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REVIEW**



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Myroslav Styranka

THE CULTURAL RESURGENCE IN UKRAINE

The vulnerable spot of any totalitarian government is the cultural element of its life. No matter how rigidly such a regime tries to control the literary, artistic and scientific spheres — by the extensive use of propaganda, by the introduction of strict censorship, by setting up its own pseudo-artistic standards, by the annihilation of heretics with terror methods — its artificially cemented structure nevertheless begins to show dangerous cracks and threatens to collapse like a house of cards at the first attack on its weakness. The present cultural situation in the USSR may be considered a classical example in this respect. The process taking place there in the literary and artistic field is probably one of the most important since Stalin's death. The entire system of the Party's cultural dictatorship, which already under Stalin's rule was built up on the basis of so-called socialistic realism, is starting to collapse before our very eyes.

It must be emphasized, however, that this process is taking place against the will of Khrushchov's regime, a fact which is definitely proved by the large-scale attack launched by Khrushchov himself and by his ideological adviser, Ilyichov, on formalism and abstractionism. To the Party these concepts mean nothing more than an attempt on the part of Soviet writers and artists to free themselves from Party control in order to develop their creative activity unhampered. Those responsible for the cultural matters of

the nation have used the de-Stalinization and the so-called liberalization for the purpose of bursting asunder fetters of socialistic realism. As matters stand now, the Party will hardly succeed under the present conditions in bringing the cultural sphere under its control without the use of force. Referring to this situation, one of the writers of the socialist-realist school sadly pointed out that the "formalists" had monopolized the cultural life in the USSR to such an extent that one had to have great courage to profess oneself an adherent of socialistic realism.

This spirit of rebellion in cultural matters and the struggle for free creative activity is making itself felt not only in Moscow and Leningrad but above all in the capitals of the different national republics. Unfortunately, this fact remains almost unnoticed by the West. And yet in the national republics this fight for free creative activity and for the independence of artistic and literary life from Party control and from the artistic standards imposed by the Party is closely linked to the national opposition against the regime. Above all, the purpose of these endeavours is to create new national forms of the fine arts and of literature, not only independent of the Party, but also of the Russian cultural centres. In other words, the champions of a cultural rebirth in the different national republics — mostly young writers, artists and composers — are not only fighting for their free creative activity (as the Russian writers are likewise doing) but also for the freedom of creating a national art.

This can be clearly seen from the example of the second-largest republic (the first being the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR) — Ukraine. At the same time as Yevtushenko, Voznesenskiy and other young writers entered the forum of Russian literature in Moscow, those writers to whom we owe the kindling of these rebellious sparks (regardless of the fact that Yevtushenko for example was partly reconciled to the Party and in the West became the troubadour of Khrushchovian "liberalism"), another group of young writers, by no means less gifted, in Ukraine, too, began to assert themselves, as for example, Ivan Drach, Mykola Vinhranovsky, Evhen Hutsalo, Vitaliy Korotych, Volodymyh Drozd, Fedir Boyko, Valeriy Shevchuk and many others.

In the poetic and prose works of these and of other writers a completely new spirit was evident; and it caused the Party considerable uneasiness not only regarding their obvious departure from socialistic realism (a crass example of this is the work of one of the most gifted of the young writers, Ivan Drach, entitled "A Knife in the Sun") but also regarding their national pathos and colour which clearly stand out in their works. This national pathos is perhaps reflected most strongly in a work by Mykola Vinhranovsky — "Ukrainian Prelude." Here the poet reveals his deep, almost mystical attachment to Ukraine:

Your face is pure as that of Hope
With fragrant fingers I touch you,
Mingling my blood with yours
As the seed with the earth in spring.
Just now you have become my home
And I have become yours in the dawn of day.
Through you my eyes have been opened.

You have taught me to love my people.
From Time's perspective you have illuminated my senses,
You have made me speak Ukrainian.
With my heart and through all my senses I perceive you,
I love you through the prism of the Universe and of Humanity.
To me you are like a sunflower in its golden dream,
I caress you like a grey-haired learned thinker.
Even the humblest plant on the stubble-field in Ukraine is lovely.

These would be the contents of the said patriotic-mystical poem by Mykola Vinhranovsky in prose. In rendering this poem in prose form, we were well aware of the generally accepted principle "He who will the poet understand, must go to the poet's land."

The Party is also concerned that the expressive courage of these young people and their stirring independence might have "infected" some of the older generation of Ukrainian writers and other cultural representatives of the country. Suddenly, the Party saw itself confronted not only with a new cultural rebirth but also with a cultural national opposition, which seems to mock Khrushchov's policy directed towards the "death of peoples" during the construction of Communism.

After the sudden appearance of the "Group of the 60's" (as the young writers' pleiad calls itself in Ukraine), the leading men of the Party in Ukraine, faithfully adhering to Khrushchov's national policy (which, incidentally, differs very little from Stalin's national policy if we disregard the somewhat more sparing use of physical terror), began to speak far more frequently of a dangerous revival of Ukrainian nationalism and quite frankly expressed their uneasiness about the creative fervour of these young Ukrainians.

The behaviour of the Party leader for ideological questions in Ukraine, Skaba, is a typical example in this respect. In a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party which was held in August of last year, Skaba sounded the alarm about the danger of nationalism in Ukraine. He emphasized that there were still people in Ukraine who ignored the objective process of the "assimilation of peoples" and who idealised the Ukrainian past. Above all, he attacked young writers and artists by accusing them of deviating from socialistic realism, of lacking respect for all previous socialistic achievements and of being under western

influence. Equally sharply, Skaba attacked "nationalistic" tendencies among some of the Ukrainian artists. He also accused them of wanting to adopt the style of a group of Ukrainian painters, headed by Boychuk, who during Stalin's time were condemned and liquidated. These painters had managed to create their own school, which was permeated with the traditions of the old Ukrainian national art.

But despite Skaba's criticism, which was quite clearly directed against the new trends of the cultural rebirth of Ukraine — above all, however, against the young creative generation of Ukraine — the Party has not succeeded in stopping this process. Skaba's behaviour, as well as a pro-Moscow attitude on the part of the Party bosses in Ukraine, must have caused a storm of protest among Ukrainian intellectuals. The works of young writers continued to be printed — with interruptions, it is true — in the columns of the literary journals in Ukraine. Furthermore, these writers are ostentatiously admitted to the Ukrainian Writers' Union. In the press they are not only protected from the attacks of the Party by the literary critics of the older and younger generation, but are also defended by writers of the older generation, as for example by the author Maksym Rylsky.

Under the influence of these young authors, even the writers of the older generation are beginning to show more courage in their writings. For instance, a story by Antonenko-Davydovych, who during Stalin's time was banned, caused a considerable stir in Ukraine last year. The author, who was rehabilitated some years ago, published in the journal "Dnipro" a story called "Za shyrmoyu" ("Behind the Screen") in which with frank criticism he touched on the conditions of life in Ukraine. This story, however, which was greatly appreciated by the readers — as is evident from the letters to the editors published in the journal "Dnipro" — had to be condemned by the Ukrainian Writers' Union owing to Party pressure. Simultaneously, this Union condemned the young critic Ivan Dziuba, who, in one of his public lectures in Lviv, criticized contemporary Ukrainian literature and declared that the introduction of basic reforms in the literary policy of the Party was imperative. In the resolution of the Union it was emphasized, as was to be expected, that Dziuba had resorted to a "shameless publicity, distortion of the actual state of Ukrainian literature and to assertions which were politically fallacious." Subsequently, Dziuba was threatened with expulsion from the Ukrainian Writers' Union, if he did not discontinue his erroneous criticism.

Immediately after the resolution adopted by the said Union, (in September of last year) a purge among the editorial staff of the various Ukrainian literary papers was started by the Party leadership. The main reason for this purge was the fact, that the works of these young writers, as well as favourable reviews of these works had been reprinted in these papers.

Recently, (in connection with the condemnation of abstractionism and modernism) a vigorous campaign against the "Group of the 60's" was launched by Khrushchov and Ilyichov. Above all, two of the most highly esteemed representatives of the young generation, the poets Drach and Vinhranovsky were attacked. The full text of Ilyichov's attack (on Dec. 23, 1962) on modernism and abstractionism was reprinted in the columns of the official newspaper of the Communist Party, "Radianska Ukrayina" ("Soviet Ukraine"). Under the title, "The poet writes for the people" the paper published an article which was unmistakably directed against the young poets of Ukraine. In the form of articles and letters to the editor, a large-scale campaign attacking the "formalistic errors" of the young poets was launched in the Soviet-controlled press in Ukraine.

As before, however, some of the older writers had the courage to defend the young writers quite openly. Above all, the articles of the writers Malyshko and Rylsky, which were published in the journal "Literaturna Ukrayina" ("Literary Ukraine") deserve to be mentioned in this connection. Especially noteworthy in this respect are the letters of a number of students, who openly defended the young writers. This again proves that the feeling of fear, which under Stalin led to everything being hushed up, has become less pronounced and that new national forces are emerging. We hope that these forces will destroy all Party theories about the death of peoples and Moscow's policy of russification.

The cultural rebirth of modern Ukraine may also be observed in other fields. It is expressed chiefly in open dissatisfaction with the Party's course of russification. Articles which have been published in the "Literaturna Ukrayina" are examples of this fact. On November 2, 1962, this journal published an article signed by several well-known writers, under the title of "How is subscription handled in Lviv?" This article criticizes the phenomena of Russian chauvinism in Lviv. According to the paper, the immigrated Russians (before World War II there were no Russians at all in Lviv) sabotage the circulation of Ukrainian newspapers and journals. Since Russians are in charge of various enterprises, they subscribe exclusively to Russian newspapers and periodicals. The said literary journal protests against this fact and denounces it as nonsense. This is not so much due to stupidity but rather to the consequences of the russification policy which has been pursued for many years and which is today fully supported by Khrushchov and carried out tacitly and obediently by the representatives of the "Ukrainian" Communist Party. A similar article was published in the same paper at the beginning of this year attacking the abuses to which the russification policy has led in Ukraine's second largest city, Kharkiv. The journal is at present also criticizing the situation in the publishing field in Ukraine and above all stresses the inadequate publication of dictionaries.

The intellectuals of Ukraine have nevertheless had enough courage not only to criticize the defects but also to make plans to fill the gaps which resulted during Stalin's terrorist rule. This can be seen from the journal "Movoznavstvo" ("Linguistics"), No. 17, which appeared last year. As can well be imagined, the development of Ukrainian linguistics was almost entirely suppressed under Stalin's rule. The dictionaries and other linguistic publications which were prepared for the press by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv were destroyed because of their "nationalist" tendencies. From the same journal we learn that Ukrainian linguists are preparing for publication a number of dictionaries, including a huge dictionary of the Ukrainian language.

It is indeed regrettable that the efforts along these lines meet with great negligence, and even with an unbelievable sabotage, on the part of the allegedly "Ukrainian" government in Kyiv. Recently many articles have appeared in the scientific and literary journals of Ukraine deploring the fact that Ukrainian linguistic editions are being printed very slowly. The first volume of the Ukrainian-Russian dictionary appeared as early as 1953, the fifth volume in 1962, whereas the last volume has not yet been printed. The situation is similar as regards other dictionaries that have long been ready for the press. They have not yet been printed since no money can be raised for such matters.

The policy pursued by the leading men of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine with regard to the publication of books proves that these men blindly obey the orders issued by the Moscow centre. Most of them are bureaucrats who are anxious about their own careers, and for this reason the opposition of the Ukrainian intelligentsia is directed not only against the Moscow centre but also against the Party branch in Kyiv. In any case, the Kyiv Party bosses have not taken any initiative of their own concerning a de-russification of Ukraine or any kind of freedom from Moscow's control, if we except the formal rehabilitation of the prominent Ukrainian cultural representatives (which was, however, prompted by the pressure exerted on the part of the Ukrainian public. The Kyiv Party bosses on the contrary, hinder the Ukrainian intelligentsia and youth from making use even of the facilities introduced by Khrushchov for the benefit of Ukrainian culture.

What are the prospects of this campaign by the Ukrainian intellectuals for the immediate future? Regardless of the Party's resistance and its efforts to pursue a russification policy under the guise of "assimilation of peoples," the Ukrainian renaissance, already in process, will win one victory after another by frustrating Moscow's plans — on one condition, however, namely that there will not be a repetition of the era of terrorism as practised under Stalin.

It must be stressed in this connection that the young Ukrainian writers and artists who are coming to the fore in Ukraine's cultural life represent a generation which was educated entirely in the so-called "international" spirit of the Soviet Russian stamp. There are many among them who were not able to attend Ukrainian schools. Nevertheless they are not writing in the Russian but in the Ukrainian language, though they are by no means less gifted than the most famous Russian modern writers. That writing in the Russian language would offer them possibilities of a more successful literary career, and even a popularity á la Yevtushenko, does not in the least concern these young Ukrainians. This shows that national feelings, such as they are for instance expressed in Vinhranovsky's poem "Ukrainian Prelude" and in other works, cannot be easily suppressed.

Another point that should be taken into consideration is that these authors did not appear suddenly as a *deus ex machina*, but that they were raised in a milieu which could not make them any different than what they are — Ukrainian patriots. In other words, these young Ukrainians are the true representatives of the Ukrainian people as well as the interpreters of its desires and its strivings.

In conclusion, we wish to stress that these regeneration processes are taking place not only in Ukraine but also in other national republics of the USSR. During recent times everywhere healthy cells of a political and cultural rebellion against Moscow have been forming. The renaissance movement is championed in particular by the younger generation. All this furnishes additional proof of the fact that the problem of nationalities in the USSR is always present and that the imperialistic system of russification, artificially created by Moscow, is doomed to failure.

THE FAR-REACHING PLANS OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISTS

In order to weaken and destroy their enemy, namely the West, the Russian Bolsheviks are wherever possible making use of the national liberation movements in the so-called colonial countries of Asia and Africa for their own aims and plans. To this end they claim the right to pose as "defenders of the subjugated peoples"; they extol the national liberation movements in Asia and Africa and attack the "imperialism" of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, and even of the United States of America, which possesses no colonies. On the other hand, however, they conceal their own Russian imperialism and colonialism, which is far worse, in Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic and Caucasian countries, and Turkestan, etc. In order to mislead and deceive the rest of the world they advocate and support the "independence" of Congo, Ghana, Mali and similar inadequate political structures, but at the same time ruthlessly suppress all the liberation aims and the fight for independence of the Ukrainian people, who number 45 million. They behold the mote that it is in their brother's eye, but do not consider the beam that is in their own eye. But in spite of all this, the Russians cannot conceal the truth, for the actual plans which they devise against the subjugated peoples constantly come to light; the Russians seek to destroy the national independence of these peoples and to denationalize and russify them ruthlessly and completely.

These plans were recently unintentionally revealed in a small pamphlet written by I. E. Kravtsev, who is one of the leading propagandists in the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. This pamphlet, which was published in

Kyiv in 1960 and is of course written in the Russian language, bears the title "Closer Relations between the Socialist Nations during the Transition to Communism." The actual question at issue is apparent from the title alone. In stressing the alleged "closer relations of the socialist peoples," the author, who undoubtedly represents the views of the leading Bolshevik clique, including Khrushchov, unintentionally exposes the true nature of these "closer relations," which are solely based on the ultimate fusion of the non-Russian peoples with the "great and superior" Russian people. For appearances' sake Kravtsev at first refers fairly often to the "development of the socialist peoples," but at the same time he also reveals the main purpose of Red Russian policy. We should therefore like to quote certain passages from his pamphlet. On page 4 he writes as follows:

"In the transition period from capitalism to socialism the bourgeois peoples will be replaced by socialist peoples. The historical mission of this new form of human community lies in bringing the social economic and cultural ideological principles of human differentiation into line with each other and subsequently fusing all nations and peoples into a single monolithic whole. The victory of Communism all over the world will result in a complete fusion of peoples, and individual national peculiarities and languages will then die out. National culture will merge in a single Communist culture with a single common language."

Kravtsev remains silent on the question as to which "single common language" is to be adopted for the entire Communist world, but we have every reason to assume that it will be the "generally comprehensible language" of the (Russian) "elder brother."

On page 11 Kravtsev is already more explicit on this point. Here he philosophizes as follows:

"The peoples of the USSR, who have voluntarily (sic!) united with the great Russian people, adopt its nobler characteristics."

In other words this means that the non-Russian peoples are the victims of a forcible russification under the pressure of the Kremlin. On page 15 Kravtsev refers to the fact that this russification will concern not only the peoples who have already been subjugated but also all the remaining peoples in the world:

"The USSR is the fatherland not only of the Soviet multi-national state but also of socialism, that is to say an international fatherland of all workers."

He thus categorically affirms that the "workers" of the whole world must master the language of their "fatherland." The reader who has any doubts in this respect will do well to bear in mind Kravtsev's statements on page 23:

"For this reason the conception of a fatherland without Russia and without the Russian people is unthinkable to the peoples of the USSR."

As regards the Ukrainians Kravtsev makes an even more concrete statement on page 22:

"In the opinion of the Ukrainians, for instance, the conception of the fatherland is by no means confined to the territory of Ukraine... Moscow is the much-loved capital of every people of our fatherland."

Thus, according to Kravtsev, Moscow and not Kyiv is the capital of Ukraine. The Ukrainians therefore have no fatherland of their own, but only Moscow. Nor have they a national economy of their own, for their entire economic system belongs to Moscow. As Kravtsev says on page 25:

"The national economies of the Soviet Republics are component parts of the single and indivisible whole of the entire national economy of the Soviet Union."

In the section boastfully entitled "The Seven-Year Plan for a Furtherance of the Closer Relations and Development of the Socialist Peoples," Kravtsev discusses the Russian aims with regard to the current Seven-Year Plan. On page 37 he writes as follows:

"In the course of the growing expansion of Communism the processes of a voluntary fusion of small ethnographical groups, tribes and small peoples with large socialist nations will increase still more... Above all, the closer relations between the related languages will be intensified: they will, as it were, intersect and be fused. And the great progressive significance of the Russian language as the mediator of the inter-national union of the peoples of the USSR and of their cultural development will increase even more."

On page 40 Kravtsev is even more explicit: "The process of developing the closer relations between the related peoples and national groups, as for instance between the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian languages, is proving particularly successful." The russification of the Ukrainians and Byelorussians thus occupies a foremost place in Moscow's plans. Kravtsev realizes that all this is clearly a russification, but he nevertheless attacks the "bourgeois nationalists" for expressing the same opinion. He stresses that the "trend to bilingual intercourse is a progressive trend" (p. 42). He attacks the nationalists because they complain about a "russification" and an "assimilation" and about the suppression of the rights of the non-Russian languages, but does not himself find a satisfactory answer to this question apart from the useless and boastful assertion that the "development of the culture of the Ukrainian people is progressing."

Kravtsev also assures us that in the course of time the conception of the national territories will likewise disappear. In this connection he refers to the fact that the Ukrainians hold the opinion that there are still Ukrainian territories in Poland behind the so-called Curzon

Line, but this does not worry him in the least, since "he would sell his own mother for a piece of rotten sausage," as the national prophet and poet of Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko, once so aptly remarked. Kravtsev deals in some details with the problem of national character and national mentality. Although he is inclined to affirm that they are merely "bourgeois inventions," he is nevertheless obliged to admit:

"It is however generally acknowledged that national peculiarities will still continue to exist for a certain period of time even after the victory of Communism in the whole world.

This means that the individual peoples are encumbered with extremely stable characteristics. And these include their national character and national language."

Kravtsev is also obliged to make the following admission:

"This indicates that the social psychology of the people of a nation is a class psychology. But the national mentality (soul) of the capitalists and of the workers of the same nation is identical. There is for instance no such thing as a difference in the national characteristics of a French worker and a French capitalist. An Englishman who has become a capitalist does not cease to be an Englishman, nor does a German who has become a Communist automatically lose his German characteristics... Precisely this common quality of its mental characteristics or of its national character is one of the fundamental peculiarities of every nation. Without a common national mentality there can be no nation" (pp. 60-61).

On this point Kravtsev was obliged to speak the truth. And it is against this truth that the Russian Bolsheviks have fought unsuccessfully and at the expense of millions of human lives for decades and still continue to fight even today. Hypocritically Kravtsev then maintains that the national character can be changed. In the first place he attacks the nationalists for daring to affirm, as we do, that Soviet Russian socialism is hostile to the mentality of our Ukrainian nation. He tries to convince the reader that the so-called "Soviet people" have allegedly created a new character, which he designates as a "Soviet multinational character" (p. 63). But he does not attempt to define these vague conceptions more closely. In this connection it must however be stressed that he contradicts his own statements about the stable quality of national characteristics.

It seems appropriate at this point to quote a statement made by Kravtsev regarding the manner in which nationalism endeavours to combat Bolshevik mendacity and russification. On page 66 he writes as follows:

"The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists tried to glorify and idealize the past of Ukraine in every possible way by describing it as a kind of Golden Age. Reactionary events long since past in the history of the nation and of its national culture are thus embellished and idealized. Even nowadays, when an objective process directed towards the

furtherance of closer relations between the socialist peoples is in progress in our country, and when all connections have been severed with what is long since past and narrow-minded, attempts are still made to idealize what seems like yesterday to the people. Some people for instance try to exaggerate the significance of national peculiarities in the life of the people and, on the other hand, seek to disparage and belittle the role of the general lawfulness on which the process to further closer relations between the peoples of the USSR is based. The remnants of nationalism are glorified in order to prevent the national culture from being influenced by the culture of other peoples, above all of the great Russian people. In this connection the nationalists idealize the historic past of their own people and try to revive outmoded national traditions, long since forgotten by the people, and to cultivate them as a 'national peculiarity.' In some cases attempts are made to represent the remnants of the outmoded past in the sphere of customs and traditions as 'peculiar qualities' of the national character. People are enchanted with these peculiarities and would even like to cultivate them. Obstinacy, national prejudice, boastfulness, and the efforts of charlatans, etc., are frequently regarded as national traditions. Failure to recognize the difference between healthy national traditions and the remnants of the outmoded past, between national pride and national boastfulness, has in some cases even resulted in individual Party and Soviet workers ceasing to combat outmoded and harmful phenomena in the field of customs and traditions effectively since they have allowed themselves to be misled by persons who are narrow-minded from the national point of view."

At the same time Kravtsev stresses that "there can be no other content in the culture of the peoples under socialism but the socialist content," that is to say the Russian content. In this connection he attacks so-called "National Communism." He affirms angrily: "The remnants of nationalism are incompatible with the transition to Communism. For nationalism is an enemy of Communism" (p. 71). And this is indeed the difficulty! For Kravtsev now loses his head and goes so far as to affirm:

"Ukrainian nationalism was not national for it always served the interests of foreign ruling classes; it always acted as the most infamous agent of foreign imperialism, and it was always a notorious enemy of the Ukrainian people... Ukrainian nationalism was never 'independent' (pp. 71-72). Generally speaking, the people who had deviated from the main course also served the same aims. They aimed to adapt the internationalist policy of the working class to the needs of the national bourgeoisie. They tried to create separate, isolated national economies and detach Ukraine in economic respect from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and from the other Soviet Republics... In the language sector they did everything to bring about an alienation between the national languages on the one hand and the Russian language on the

other, to set up a Chinese wall between the national cultures and the Soviet Russian culture, and to divert the development of national languages and cultures into nationalist bourgeois channels... We are by no means rid of the nationalist remnants... And precisely these nationalist remnants are a very grave danger. For this reason one must declare a relentless and fierce war on them until they are *destroyed completely*... The fight against bourgeois nationalism is therefore imperative in constructing a socialist camp of global dimensions and thus occupies a foremost place in all plans" (pp. 75-76).

Kravtsev concludes his remarks by enumerating all the various forms in which nationalism can appear and emphasizes the necessity of combatting it ruthlessly.

The Ukrainian people, Ukrainian culture, the Ukrainian language and economy are thus involved in a life-and-death struggle, and we shall continue this fight undauntedly.

We are moreover firmly convinced that in this grim struggle the Ukrainian people will gain a victory over the Russian occupiers. The wrath of the Russian chauvinists like Kravtsev will only serve to encourage and strengthen the Ukrainian nationalists in their aspirations and determination.

* * *

The fight for freedom of Ukraine, which is led by the nationalist revolutionary movement, is directed both against overt Russian imperialism and against international Communism, since the same enemy, namely Moscow, is involved in both cases.

The imperialism of the Russian people is a phenomenon of an historical nature, which changes its form and methods of action, but in character always remains the same. In essence Russian imperialism is based on the constant aim to enslave and subjugate other peoples and, by exploiting and crushing them, to expand its own power and its sphere of influence and to further the growth of the Russian people and of its imperium. This imperialism appears either overtly as a force and action of Russia, or else in a disguised form.

Communism is at present the most powerful form of disguised Russian imperialism. Indeed, it has become the main tool of Russian imperialism, the chief means of action of the secret plans and intentions of Russian imperialism. This applies not only to Bolshevism, that is to say not only to obviously Russian but also to international Communism.

In view of the many-sided operations and the various organized fronts of our fight for freedom, it seems to us essential to differentiate between the individual forms of the same enemy. Overt Russian imperialism, in the form of Bolshevism but also in the form of non-

Communist Russian imperialism, is directed against the independence of Ukraine. The main front against the former is located in Ukraine itself, whilst the front against the latter enemy can at present only be organized abroad. This situation may however change completely in the near future, in which case both fronts will then become of equal importance. Moscow's non-Communist imperialism may very easily replace Bolshevism.

International Communism is not confined solely to the sphere of Bolshevik influence. It engages in its activity amongst various peoples all over the world and is therefore a phenomenon of global dimensions. Russian imperialism relies on it for aid. International Communism has found a support and base in Russian Bolshevism, and it is constantly aided by Moscow. In order to fight the Ukrainian liberation movement and other anti-Bolshevik forces, international Communism constantly sets up new fronts, in addition to the Russian Bolshevik main front, by launching attacks from other sides. It is therefore imperative that we should devote particular attention to the front against international Communism in our fight for freedom.

Increase in Capital Punishment in the USSR

During the past two years capital punishment has been imposed to an increasing extent in the USSR.

In 1947 capital punishment was abolished in the USSR, but in 1950 it was introduced once more, and in 1954 the scope of its applicability was extended; in the Soviet criminal jurisdiction of 1958 and in the criminal codes of the constituent republics of the Soviet Union it was retained as an "exceptional penalty until its complete abolition." Article 22 of the "Principles of the Penal Legislation of the USSR and of the Constituent Republics of the USSR" provides that the death penalty shall be imposed for high treason, espionage, sabotage, acts of terrorism, brigandage, and murder under aggravating circumstances. Since this law was passed, the scope of applicability of this "exceptional penalty" has been extended on the strength of the following five decrees:

Decree No. 207 of May 5, 1961, referring to theft from the state or of public property to a particularly large extent, forgery, and the committing of acts of violence by dangerous persistent criminals with previous convictions;

Decree No. 291 of July 1, 1961, refers to speculation with foreign currency;

On the strength of Decrees No. 83, 84 and 85 of February 12, 1962, the death penalty is extended to include cases of attacks, under aggravating circumstances, on the life of police officials or of policemen on duty, certain cases of assault (as for example by several persons, by dangerous criminals with previous convictions, assault resulting in particularly serious consequences, or committed against a minor), and cases of passive bribery and corruption of civil servants, provided that the civil servant in question holds a responsible post or is guilty of recidivism.

Pursuant to Decree No. 147 of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of April 6, 1962, which was published in the official gazette

of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Sovieta SSSR), No. 14, 1962, these amendments were included in the "Principles of the Penal Legislation of the USSR and of the Constituent Republics of the USSR."

In its plenary session on September 14, 1961, and again in March 1962, the Supreme Court of Justice of the USSR urged that these kinds of crimes should be combatted more intensively. In March 1962 the plenum of the Supreme Court of Justice once more drew the attention of the courts to the fact that the theft of state or of public property was a dangerous crime and that one of the most important tasks of jurisdiction was to combat this crime (Directive of the Supreme Court of Justice, No. 5 of March 31, 1962).

The recent legal decrees and directives regarding capital punishment reveal contradictory trends in the latest practices of Soviet penal laws. Indeed, according to an article by N. R. Mironov, head of the Department of Administrative Organs of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was published in the journal "Partiynaya Zhizn" ("Party Life"), No. 5, 1962, there appear to be two different, opposing trends:

"Some people are of the opinion that the imposition of more severe penalties for particularly dangerous crimes is not compatible with the principles of our ideology, namely the retrogression of state administrative activity, the limitation of the penal function of the state and the aim of gradually replacing these measures by the influence of public opinion and training. This opinion cannot be upheld."

The new Communist Party programme which was adopted at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in October 1961, however, contains the following statement:

"A higher standard of living and of culture and a stronger social consciousness on the part of the people will pave the way towards the final substitution of the influence of public opinion and training for legal punishment. Under socialism everyone who has deviated from the moral path of the working individual can return to useful activity."

The increasing imposition of capital punishment in the USSR for the purpose of preventing economic crimes would appear to be a complete contradiction of this humanitarian trend. As can be seen from reports published recently on trials conducted in conformity with the new legislation, persons accused of the above-mentioned economic crimes are sentenced to death. During the very same era in which the Stalinist abuse of justice is censured and condemned and which is extolled by the present Soviet leaders as an epoch of permanent stability as regards the political, social and economic re-organization of the socialist countries, capital punishment is being imposed to an ever-increasing extent.

Mykhailo Pavliuk

Crisis in the Economy of the USSR

The system of state planning has existed in the USSR for 34 years. But it does not include all economic processes and needs, as was the case, incidentally, in Nazi Germany during World War II. Moscow has extended state planning to cover all branches of production, but it prohibits every form of planned consumption of foodstuffs by the population and hence staple commodities are usually rationed. Moscow solely plans a general pool of these products, from which it supplies in the first place ethnical Russia (Muscovy) and certain production centres of the USSR. As is no doubt known, there has in addition always been a bazaar trade in the USSR, in which prices depend on the demand for the individual goods in question. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the turnovers on these free markets, since much of the business is transacted elsewhere. In any case, the trade turnovers in this sector do not represent any significant sum in the total business transacted. There can be no denying the fact, however, that in the course of 34 years Moscow has not been able to introduce complete planning in this sector in keeping with the doctrine of Marx. The other deviation from the planning theory lies in the fact that Moscow demands that more than the quotas fixed in the plans should be fulfilled. This is proof that the Soviet Russian plans are entirely inadequate, for fulfilment in excess of the quotas fixed in the plans would normally upset the state planning and would result in over-production. Such, briefly, are the typical features of Moscow's planning system.

The problem of the crises in Soviet Russian economy is one of the fundamental and extremely important questions of present-day economic theory. But a study of the crises in the economy of the USSR encounters a number of artificial obstacles which Moscow itself systematically creates, inasmuch as it not only conceals but also falsifies statistical data and also vital facts which might shed light on the nature of the crises.

Moscow affirms that crises are a thing unknown in its planning system, which, according to its statements, eliminates unemployment and leads to a greater increase in production than is evident in either the USA or West Europe. Naturally, there will not be the same type of crises which occur in the system of free market economy, since the economy of the USSR is for the most part controlled and has no free market. But this is by no means a guarantee that there are no crises in a planned economy. They merely manifest themselves in a different form to that of the crises in the economy of the capitalistic system. For instance, there is not likely to be a stock exchange or credit panic in the USSR, since stock exchange and free loans are unknown there. The population of the USSR possesses no capital investments of its own in either industry or trade. For this reason the nature of the crises in the USSR is bound to be quite different from that of crises in a free market economy.

This main reason for all the falsifications of Moscow's planning indexes and economic data lies in the aim of the Kremlin rulers to conceal all indications of crises. In spite of this fact, however, the 34-year practice of Soviet Russian planned economy has brought so much irrefutable data on the actual course of economic processes in the USSR to light that it can no longer be concealed by falsifications.

It must be borne in mind that economic processes always have to take into account such obstacles as economic inadequacies. But depressions and crises can only be caused by organic deficiencies in the economic system. Just as all research experts when examining periodical crises in the capitalistic economy have devoted their attention exclusively to the operations on the free market as the sole regulator of the capitalistic economy, so we, too, when analysing the crises in the USSR must similarly concentrate on the planning system of Soviet Russian economy, for it is precisely this system which is a decisive factor of the economic life of the USSR. We must expose the deceitful methods to which the Russian Communists and very often the Marxists, too, on the whole resort in order to give a reason for the alleged lack of crises in the economy of the USSR.

In ascertaining the process of the crises in the Soviet Russian planned economy one must take as a starting-point for all research the existence of organic deficiencies in an economic system of this type, for only in this way can one gain an insight into the process of the crises in the economy of the USSR, their nature and the extent of the losses which they bring to the economy as a whole and to the population.

The following fundamental organic deficiencies in every planned economy, including the Soviet Russian economy, must in the first place be taken into account:

1) Before planned economy had been tried out in practice all the Marxists and socialists were convinced that a council consisting of experienced economists would be in a position to work out regular, timely and comprehensive plans for the economic leadership. It has however become evident from the economic experience of the USSR that even the most "experienced" council of economists of a planned economy commit far more serious errors than are to be found in the system of an economy regulated by the free market. Of the grave errors which we can observe in the USSR we only wish to quote those which are the direct result of the military character of the Soviet Russian economy. They include, for example, the cultivation of virgin lands, the afforestation of protected forest regions on soil in which the trees cannot grow to their full height and eventually die off because the subsoil is too salty. Countless experiments in the course of decades, on thousands of hectares of land, with the cultivation of various plants in unsuitable soil or under unfavourable climatic conditions (as for instance the cultivation of maize in Central Russia or Byelorussia, of cotton in Ukraine) have accordingly proved a failure. In addition, the extent of the productivity, as is to be expected, hardly ever tallies with the plan, the realization of which depends upon climatic conditions and is moreover rendered almost impossible since the agriculture is obliged to supply many different raw materials for the realization of the industrial plan.

An extremely grave fault in industry is the exaggerated emphasis on size in the planning of enterprises, for here the chief aim appears to be to achieve the maximum. As a rule medium-sized enterprises are most advantageous from the economic point of view. At present Moscow is also obliged to admit that the projects of building electric power stations on most of the rivers in the USSR have not been a success, for none of these power stations produces more than 50 per cent of its calculated capacity. In addition, serious errors have been made in estimating the amount of iron ore available (Cherepovets, Urals, and Komsomolsk on the Amur).

2) The planned economy and the price planning in the production processes cannot be calculated, for — as the famous Ukrainian economist Tuhan Baranovsky has proved and experience in the USSR has confirmed — the calculation of production, as propagated so enthusiastically by the Marxists, in the hours of work performed by human labour has shown itself to be entirely unfounded. Furthermore an attempt on the part of Moscow to draw up monetary calculations has revealed that in a planned economy money does not fulfil its price-determining function for the planning subject, that is to say the state. Hence in the purely production processes the Soviet Russian planned economy is far more inadequate than the capitalistic economy. For all these reasons Moscow can neither draw up accurate calculations, nor can it have a satisfactory balance of

trade or a budget. And it follows logically from all this that neither the state plan nor the planning departments throughout the USSR are capable of managing the economy of the USSR as a whole and its individual enterprises with complete economic efficiency, whereas in the capitalistic economic system, for instance, the free market can immediately react to all miscalculations.

3) The example of the Soviet Russian economy has proved that a planned economy can only be maintained with the aid of a gigantic apparatus of civil servants, of whom there are about 12 to 14 million in the USSR and who cost the economy enormous sums of money. A complicated bureaucracy as a result of extreme centralization, without which planning would be impossible, has been one of the serious organic errors in the Soviet Russian economy for the past thirty years.

4) If the fundamental organic faults of the Soviet Russian planned economy in the organizational and economic sector are so grave, how much worse must the consequences be in the sector of the social and legal conditions under which the Soviet population is obliged to live! As we have seen from a study of the USSR, all the aims and desires of the Marxists to control and subjugate the petty bourgeois mentality of the working masses and, still more, of the peasants, have proved to be completely unrealizable. For over thirty years Moscow has been trying to combat the petty bourgeois trends amongst the workers and peasants, but without the least success. The masses of the workers and peasants continue to put up a passive and secret but nevertheless stubborn and unconquerable resistance in the economic sector. And this applies above all to the Ukrainian workers and peasants.

5) A planned economy which contains the above-mentioned organic faults can only exist thanks to a dictatorial power and to the system of serfdom enforced on it, such as is only possible in the USSR. For this reason the Iron Curtain and Moscow's regime of terrorism are absolutely essential in order to crush the political, national and economic resistance of the peoples enslaved by Moscow, as well as to cover up the crises in the economy of the USSR.

Such is the nature of the organic faults in the socialist planned economy of the Red Russian imperium.

All these faults are so grave that they are bound to result in a constant process of crises and, above all, in a crisis caused by under-production. The errors committed in planning and the organic faults in the economic system of the USSR have assumed such proportions that the consequence is bound to be a constant and insatiable demand on the part of the population for every type of product.

The fact that under-production is bound to become chronic in a socialist planned economy was stressed long ago by various experts who criticized a system of economy controlled by the state. All these

forecasts have come true in the USSR. Examples of under-production are only too evident in the USSR. One example is the constant shortage of food-stuffs, as a result of which serious famines have raged in the USSR three times and have claimed millions of victims. In addition, there is also a big shortage of consumption goods, machines, means of transport, etc. This shortage would, however, not make itself felt so intensely if the development of the Soviet Russian industry had not assumed a military character. But even so, the crises would, as a result of inadequate production, unfavourably affect the Soviet Russian system of planned economy, for its organic faults have led to an under-production.

As a result of the introduction of collective farms in the USSR there are today millions of peasants who are not fully employed. If they were to be allowed to look for jobs in the towns, then in twenty years' time the towns and the production centres of the USSR would be overcrowded with unemployed. This unemployment would increase still more were it not for the fact that Moscow has liquidated many million persons capable of working by starving them to death, shooting them, or putting them into concentration camps. Accordingly, as a result of a chronic crisis the number of unemployed in the USSR would always run into several millions, and this would be undeniable proof of the permanent crisis in the Soviet Russian economy, whereas in the capitalistic states during a crisis, which does not last more than 2 to 3 years, the number of unemployed is always far less. If Moscow had not lost about 18 million persons, most of whom were capable of working, in the war against Germany, it would now most certainly be obliged to conceal the fact that it had about 10 million unemployed.

As we have already pointed out, Moscow constantly emphasizes the very considerable and systematic increase in production in the USSR. In this connection one must however bear in mind that the Soviet Russian indexes which are supposed to register the fulfilment of quotas are always exaggerated by about 20 per cent, whereas the indexes in the West are always calculated lower. Hence the percentages of the increase in production in the USSR are by no means as imposing as Moscow would have us believe. It is interesting to note that every country which tries to effect its industrialization always quotes high production indexes during the first stage. As Western economists rightly remark, this first stage is now over for the USSR. At present, Moscow is even beginning to show lower figures for its production increase and the fulfilment of plans is rated still lower.

In one of my articles on Soviet Russian economy I mentioned the fact that the socialists endeavour to explain the existence of crises in the Soviet Russian planned economy as being due to Stalin's intervention in the economic system of the USSR. It should however

be stressed that Stalin's influence is to be regarded as a product of the socialist planned economy and not vice versa.

The Ukrainian Marxist Ivan Maystrenko described Stalin's role as follows: "Stalin is actually the first and only person in history who, on the strength of the state apparatus, succeeded in dominating the entire people in this country (that is in the USSR)."

Naturally one cannot take such proof of the sociological processes in society seriously, for these socialist "arguments" are not at all convincing. The most convincing proof is provided by the workers and farmers of East Germany who have fled from the "socialist paradise" in thousands since the death of Stalin and by the fact that the number of refugees continue to increase rather than to decrease in spite of the alleged efforts of Khrushchov and Ulbricht to raise the standard of living in East Germany. The chronic crisis in production is one of the main reasons why the workers and farmers flee from the planned "Communist paradise."

We have endeavoured to prove that there are crises of a chronic nature and of great economic significance in the USSR. Unfortunately, the socialist theoreticians adopt a different attitude towards these phenomena. The socialists of every trend are anxious to ascribe all crises in the USSR to the personal character of the dictators, above all to Stalin.



Colonel Evhen KONOVALETS
(14. 6. 1891—23. 5. 1938)

*The Founder and the first Leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists
murdered by a Russian Bolshevist agent in Rotterdam, Holland,
by means of a time-bomb, 25 years ago, on 23rd May, 1938.*



Maria BASHKIRTSEVA (1860—1884)
famous Ukrainian paintress and diarist.
(See article p. 75)

Y. Onyschuk

TO UNDERSTAND RUSSIAN COMMUNISM

The problem of understanding Russia and Russian Communism has always been a real puzzle for the whole world. Russia was never properly understood in the past. It is not understood even today, especially since the idea of international Communism obscures the issue.

There is a basic misunderstanding among Western researchers of the Russian Communist problem as to what Russian Communism really is. Some writers say that Russian Communism is an international idea in action and that the Russians are only the carriers of this idea. They want to communize the world because they believe this idea to be good for the whole world. Others say that the idea of Russian Communism is only a camouflage of the real aims of the Russians; that this Communism is, in fact, only one of the consecutive stages of the Russians in their imperialistic development as a nation at the expense of other nations.

Then there is a lack of one universal understanding of Russian Communism. Public opinion in the Western World has to a large extent become convinced that we have to fight Communism, an international and impersonal idea.

The common saying is that we are in a "cold war." The peoples of the West are urged to act. But are they moving in the right direction? Who is the enemy?

The "cold war" was initiated by the Russians from Moscow. They have been acting for four decades from behind the façade of a multinational creation called U.S.S.R. The Russians then are the real cause of the cold war, not an armed fight, but nevertheless a war conducted in the ideological field in accordance with the Russian aims. The Western World, having accepted this fight on the ideological level, is trying to persuade the neutral nations that the democratic system is better than the Communistic one.

The Russians have been supporting their ideological slogans with mendacious propaganda, subversion and also warmongering. This is considered a vital part of the "cold war." The Western World, on the other hand, is reacting defensively only. From time to time the democrats consider the question as to whether they are holding the Communist threat in check, or whether the West is retreating.

But it is characteristic that public opinion in the Western World has been continuously misinformed. Or dangerous hopes and illusions have been spread from time to time to mislead public opinion. For example, a "friendship" between D. Eisenhower and Soviet Marshal Zhukov was presented at one time as a hopeful beginning of a new Russian political era. Another illusion has been continuously sold to the American public for decades; the propaganda that the Russians may change, that as a matter of fact they are changing.

This kind of reaction toward Russian political tactics represents a distinct failure to understand the Russian mind and Russian intentions. Gerhart Niemeyer was right when he stated that the Western World is trying to interpret the Russian Communist mind in terms of the Westerners' own image.¹ Because, only wishful thinking has been the basis for Western policy.

Wishful thinking has always been a characteristic feature of the Western mentality. When World War I ended in the Russian Revolution, the wishful thinkers hoped for a big change. They believed that the dictatorial system would disappear. Similarly, after World War II many Westerners believed in their wishful thinking idea that there would be eternal peace. Persons that dared to have other opinion were looked upon as suspicious trouble-makers and a danger to society. Now our present decade is also producing many irresponsible dreamers; they believe that the Russians are changing. Oh, if they only would transform their dictatorial system into a democracy! All the existing ills of today would perish. That is the way Western dreamers think.

The wishful thinking of Westerners and especially of the Americans led to an inevitable failure to understand the Russians. The recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the U.S.A. may serve as an example. In 1935 William Allan White, a leading American journalist, in his articles demanded recognition of the U.S.S.R. His argument was as follows: The regime of the Soviet Union had been in control of the country for 15 years; no other party in any European country was in charge of a government for so long. There was no danger of a Communist revolution in the U.S.A. It is true that the Russian Communists deny private property. But the Fascists do the same thing. The Communists of Moscow do not recognize Christian God. But neither to the Turks, the Japanese, nor the Egyptians. That was the way of thinking of the Americans that led to the recognition of the government of the U.S.S.R.

The dreams of some wishful thinkers of that time were curious. Especially was it significant that these traumatic visions came from good Christians. Some of the dreamers compared Communism to

¹) Gerhard Niemeyer with the assistance of John S. Reshetar Jr., *An Inquiry into Soviet Mentality*. Frederick A. Praeger: New York, 1956, p. 5.

Christianity. They believed that Communism was not an antithesis of Christianity at all. First of all, Communism was a faith born of universal aspiration, with missionaries sent out to all parts of the earth. This faith was speaking on behalf of the poor and humble and was in favour of equality. And equality was very important. These experts found Communism in the Sermon on the Mount.²

No wonder that the Western World between the two world wars was made to believe that Russian Communism was no danger at all. Louis Fisher wrote³ that he hoped the Bolshevik dictatorship would slowly abdicate and change to democracy almost imperceptibly. The world would not notice even how it happened. Sydney and Beatrice Webb were trying to prove⁴ that Stalin was not a dictator, that the famine of 1932-33 was not a famine at all, and that there was "unprecedented freedom" in the Soviet Union. Even anti-Communists hailed the Communist Constitution issued by Stalin as a sign of the democratization of Russia. Communist propaganda utilized the receptiveness of the American mind. The "Daily Worker" came out with a slogan (Feb. 22, 1937) about Communism being "Americanism of the 20th Century." To what degradation the human mind can be brought was shown by the fact that 150 prominent American writers, artists, editors, composers, and college professors signed a memorandum in support of the verdict of the Moscow trials of the Trotsky-Bukharin adherents ("Daily Worker", April 28, 1938). Such was the pattern of thinking of some of the American intellectuals before World War II. It represented a good portion of childish belief and wishful thinking, blended with Russian Communist propaganda.

But still there were other people in the U.S.A. and in the Western World that saw the danger from Russian Communism. Hamilton Fish, chairman of a special House Committee to investigate Communist activities and propaganda in the U.S.A., summarized in his book on Communism⁵ a belief that Communism was a real threat to Christianity, democracy and liberty, and that this danger was being presented to the Americans as some kind of democracy.

Furthermore, that is the official stand of many governments of the world today: democracy against Communism as an idea. Entangled in ideological verbosity, many leading personalities of the world fail to realize that the main danger for the world is not Communism as an idea, but Russian nationalist imperialism marching under the protective shield of an international idea of Communism.

²) Basil Blackwell's Collection, *Christianity and Communism*, Oxford, 1937.

³) *Current History*, Philadelphia, September, 1935.

⁴) *Soviet Communism, a New Civilization?* 2 vols. New York, 1936.

⁵) Hamilton Fish: *The Challenge of World Communism*. Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Company, 1946, pp. 150-151.

There can be no doubt that the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 had its roots in the Russian nihilist tradition. The revolution was the work of the Russian nihilists, direct heirs of the nihilists of 1860, a purely Russian national phenomenon. They believed themselves to be Marxists.⁶ But they were Russians, acting in accordance with the Russian way of thinking and in the Russian national interest.

As only writers born and educated in the territories of the former Czarist Russia could have the best insight into Russian Communism, it is not strange that they have written on that subject very extensively. Ukrainians, Dr. D. Donzow, E. Malaniuk, Kosarevych-Kosarenko, B. Homzyn, authors of many books and articles about Russia and Russian Communism, a Pole, Jan Kucharzewski (his famous 7-volumes work "From the White Eagle to Red Czarism," Warsaw, 1923-35) and a Russian philosopher Nicolas Berdyayev, author of many books (especially "Origin of Russian Communism," "Russian Idea," "Russian Revolution") — to mention only a few of the experts — all have stressed the historically proved fact that Russian Communism in action was a continuation of the eternal and permanent imperialistic aim of the Russians. Berdyayev even called Russian Communism "a peculiar sort of Russian Fascism."

Many other Europeans have regarded Russian Communism in the same way. A Hungarian Professor of History at the University of Szeged, in his book "The Fugitive Bolsheviks"⁷ about the revolution of Bela Kun in Hungary in 1919 emphatically stresses the idea that the Communist slogans of Moscow were only tools for furthering the Russian imperialistic goals. A Frenchman, Henri Beraud in his book about Russia,⁸ written after his stay in Russia in 1925, warned the French that Russian Communism was in fact an idea of Russian Nationalism used with the purpose of world conquest.

There were in all European countries people that understood the real meaning of Russian Communism and were writing about it to warn their fellow-citizens before the danger to their own country took shape. Nevertheless, in the Western World there developed a special way of thinking. Russian Communism was looked upon as some kind of abstraction completely detached from Russian history. The wishful thinkers and the Russian propaganda shaped the larger world opinion in their own image. People familiar with the problem of Russian Communism, who saw in it a natural development of Russian history and tradition as a peculiar Russian phenomenon,⁹ were not taken seriously.

6) Wladimir Weidle: *Russia: Absent and Present*. London, Hollis & Carter, 1952. Translation from French, pp. 81-82.

7) Elemer Malyusz, London: Grant Richards Fronto Ltd., 1931.

8) Henri Beraud: *The Truth About Moscow*. English translation, London. Faber and Gwyer, 1927.

9) Waldemar Gurian: *Bolshevism: Theory and Practice*, London: Sheed, Ward, 1932.

But we notice that more and more authors of today writing on Russian Communism develop in their scientific works the idea that the Bolshevik Revolution was, after all, a Russian revolution. And truly Russian Communism cannot be understood apart from the Russian heritage. The Russian institution of "mir" became an example for the collectivist system of Russian Communism. Lenin was more Russian than Marxist. He reacted more keenly to the idea of Tkachov and Bakunin than to the works of Karl Marx.¹⁰

Why then since 1917 has a part of the world understood the Russian Communist revolution as the expression of an international Communist idea?

This theoretical attitude to the understanding of Russian Communism was formulated when the Russian Bolsheviks were winning their fight against all the non-Communist Russians. The losers then presented to the world the danger of Russian Communism as an international idea because they wanted to get help from the outside world for the fight inside Russia. And they sold this idea to the world, despite the fact that there were many non-Russians and Russians alike who were telling the world that Russian Communism was only a cover for Russian imperialistic aims.

But it should be pointed out that among the non-Russians there were also Americans who told the world the true story about the Russian Communists.

To this group of Americans belonged Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. They had both come to the U.S.A. from the former Czarist Russia. Since they were both actively working against the U.S.A. policy of taking part in World War I, they were deported on the night of December 21, 1919, from America to Russia, together with 248 other political prisoners, anarchists, Communists, and others. Emma Goldman had come to the U.S.A. as a child. She liked everything Russian. But after her deportation and stay for two years in Russia she learned what Russian Communism was.

She worked as a member of a special Committee for collecting of museum pieces, especially in Ukraine. There she saw the real face of Russian Communism. She thought that in accordance with their promises the Russian Bolsheviks would carry out the idea of self-determination. But everything was done to kill such an idea. She saw the bitter struggle between the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Central chauvinistic Russian authorities in Moscow. Therefore, as she wrote in her first book, she found in Ukraine "the atmosphere charged with distrust and hatred of everything Muscovite."¹¹ In

¹⁰) Herbert McClosky and John E. Turner: *The Soviet Dictatorship*, New York, Toronto, London: McGraw — Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960. See pages: 21, 27, 45, 46, 57.

¹¹) Emma Goldman: *My Disillusionment in Russia*. Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1923, pp. 124, 201, 214.

another of her books she stressed that the time had come when in countries all over the world people were beginning to understand the real meaning of Russian Communism. She wrote that the Russian Communist revolution was Russian and for the Russians. It could not come without the February Revolution; but it came because of the psychology of the masses.¹²

Her informative section devoted to visitors to Russia and observations about them is still of interest and valid today. She divided the visitors into three categories:

1) The idealists. They were disappointed after a few months. Most of them were Americans. To this category belongs the author herself, I presume.

2) Newspapermen, journalists, etc. Hardly any of them knew the Russian language. They were carriers of misrepresentation. One of the English correspondents wrote that the teachings of Jesus were being realized in Russia.

3) To the third category of visitors to Russia belonged the official delegates, commissions, that deliberately lied about Russia on behalf of the Communists.¹³

So much for Miss Emma Goldman. But of especial interest are also the opinions of other former Communists about their experience with Communism. That of Douglas Hyde,¹⁴ the former high-ranking British Communist, is very characteristic. After 1926, when he was studying for the Methodist ministry and saw many unemployed, he always considered how these unemployed could be helped. His mind also concentrated upon the problem of liberty for individuals and nations. A leaflet about independence demands for India brought him to a Labour Hall. He saw there Communists in action for a free and independent India. This was to his liking. Therefore he became a member of a Committee and joined the International Class War Prisoners Aid. He abandoned studies for the ministry. He believed, as did the Communists, that by helping Russia he was working for a better England, France, and a better world.

Early in his new career Mr. Hyde became a journalist with the "Daily Worker." But after eight years there began a slow process of change in his mind. He saw the real meaning of Communism. When he noticed the behaviour of Molotov at the conference with his repeated "No," "No" to every proposal of the Western diplomats, he and his wife decided that they had had enough of Communism. In March 1948 he quit the Communist party, became a Catholic and devoted his life to social work for people needing help.

¹²) Emma Goldman: *My Further Disillusionment in Russia*. Garden City, New York, 1924, pp. XVI, 144, 145, 159.

¹³) Emma Goldman, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-98.

¹⁴) Douglas Hyde: *I Believed*. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1951.

Hyde's mind was full of idealistic hopes and aims. This idealism of a young man was exploited by Russian Communists until such time as he saw with his own eyes that he was merely a servant of a false idea.

Of similar mentality was another Communist from Sweden, Bjorn Hallstrom.¹⁵ He came to realize that it was a Russian conspiracy to provoke war and Communist revolution for the benefit not of a Communist idea, but for the profit of Moscow in various ways. Mr. Hallstrom also mentioned in his book how chauvinistic the Russian Communists were, when his friends in Moscow warned him not to go to Ukraine unless he wanted to become counter-revolutionary.

Eventually Hallstrom left Communism and became a missionary. Mentally he continued in the theoretical field of ideas.

Many a Communist leader has travelled through this kind of feeling and thinking. They believed in what they wanted to believe. They were idealistic wishful thinkers.

To this category of men belong Arthur Koestler, an idealistic Hungarian Communist. Disillusioned, he revealed in his many writings the misrepresentations of the Russian Communists.

Ignazio Silone, a former Italian Communist, Howard Fast, a former American Communist leader, and Milovan Djilas, a Yugoslavian Communist leader, went through a very similar experience.

Many leading European Communists believed in Communism as an idea without really understanding what Russian Communism was. They firmly believed in it as an international idea, as a religion that seemed to them good for everyone. But when they experienced what Russian Communism really meant they left the Communist party. For some of them it was a very hard decision. Being idealists, they could not live without an idea. Some of them became religious people and found other spiritual outlets as a substitute for their mistaken belief in Communism. Many of the former Communists told the world the story about the true face of Russian Communism.

The experience of the many defectors from Communism is a good lesson to the world. It has been proved that it is wrong to believe that Russian Communism is just an international idea of Communism. It should also be clear to everyone that it is wrong to approach the understanding of Russian Communism with a yardstick of an idea completely detached from the people or that they are innocent carriers of an international idea.

The defectors from Communism did not find in Russian Communism any trace of an international idea of Communism. They found in it Russian Nationalism parading as Communism. The Russian Communists have very skilfully masked their real aims; they disguised these with an ideological décor. The discussion of Communism on

¹⁵) Bjorn Hallstrom: *I Believed in Moscow*. London, 1953.

the ideological platform is the surest way of success for them. There has been no instance in the history of mankind where an idea has been defeated. Any idea with international claims and slogans will always have its followers and defenders. No wonder that the Western World cannot achieve any successes in the war of ideas and in the "cold war."

The Western World has been losing in the "cold war" with the Russians because the Western World does not understand their mentality. Russian Communism did not begin and develop from the abstract idea of Communism of Karl Marx. Communism has not been enforced on the Russians either. Communist ideas have been an indivisible part of the Russian national mentality since the beginning of Russian history. But the Russian mentality must be studied. No generalities, no assumptions or theories of people unfamiliar with the Russian problem will suffice.

Therefore, when dealing with Russian Communism it is essential that we should understand the Russian mind. Because nations, like people, possess minds too.

The mind of a nation can be explored from the historical past of the nation. This historical past is a most eloquent indication how the nation behaved itself in the past and why. Its behaviour toward other nations also tells us much. These matters can be established properly from the true historical facts. From them conclusions can be drawn regarding the interpretation of the events in our times; the historical past can be projected into the future.

But we cannot judge a nation solely on its behaviour in our times or at any one moment of history. The whole past and present must be taken into consideration. Only then can we learn how the nation thinks, what it wants and what we can expect from it in the future.

For not only history is an important factor in the understanding of any nation. The geography of a nation tells us also about its inborn character, its psychology, its way of feeling and thinking. The social structure is a very important factor in the understanding of the mind of the nation too. It reveals the group, mass, or social psychology of the nation. Philosophy and art are other factors that enable us to have a better insight into the mentality of a nation.

If we consider the variety of elements that need to be studied to understand the mind of a certain nation, we shall see that for a thorough understanding of this national mind some theoretical or ideological discussion will not help. To understand Russian Communism a thorough research of the Russian mentality is required. Only from such a study can an answer be obtained as to what Russian Communism really is. Only then will we be able to decide whether it is only an international idea, or a most convenient cover for Russian imperialism.

Prof. N. Polonska-Wasylenko

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE STATE OF UKRAINE-RUS *

INTRODUCTION

In the year 1113 Nestor, a monk of the Pechersky Monastery in Kyiv, wrote his chronicle entitled "The Story of Ancient Times, showing how the Ruthenian Country originated, who ruled in Kyiv as the first Prince and how the Ruthenian Country grew"**. Under the date of the year 6370 (862) Nestor reports on the invitation of the Norsemen (the Varangians) Rurik, Sineus and Truvor and the foundation of a large state — extending from Novgorod to Murom — by Rurik. Nestor also adds that after the death of Rurik, the (Ukrainian) regions of Lyubech and Kyiv were incorporated in this state. This aberration, that is to say the erroneous assumption that there was a connection between the earliest beginnings of the Ukrainian state and Rurik, Prince of Novgorod, was maintained until the end of the 19th century. It was only at the beginning of the 20th century that this theory was definitely refuted by the great Ukrainian historian M. Hrushevsky.¹⁾ Nestor caught at this idea at a time when there were already indications of the collapse of the mighty Kyivan state, when attempts were made to consolidate this state, and one of the means to strengthen the very idea of the unity of the state was the theory of the unity of the princely dynasty. Hence Nestor affirms that the dynasty had its origin in Rurik and in Rurik's successors, all of whom were allegedly descended from "one grandfather" and therefore, on the strength of the right of succession ruled the country of Ruthenia and formed one united state.

*) The Slav name "Ruš" means Ruthenia, the name by which Ukraine was known during the first centuries of its existence under the Ukrainian princes.

**) »Повѣсть временныхъ лѣтъ, откуда есть пошла Руская земля, кто в Киевѣ нача первѣе княжити и откуда Руская земля стала есть«.

This theory cannot bear criticism for the simple reason that the development of the two state organizations — that of Novgorod under the leadership of Rurik and that of the Ukrainian Kyivan state — assumed an entirely different course. Neither Ukraine-Ruś of the 9th to 10th century, nor the royal dynasty which ruled in Ukraine-Ruś from the 10th to the 14th century were connected with the historical event which Nestor regards as the beginning of the "Ruthenian" state, namely with the invitation of Rurik in 862 or with the person of Rurik himself. The person of Rurik attracted the attention of Russian historiographers and some of the Ukrainian historians also showed an interest in him. The question was frequently raised as to whether he was a real person or a myth, and of what origin the real Rurik was?²) The Russian historians of the 1920's in particular were interested in the personality of Rurik.³) These questions may perhaps be interesting but they have no connection whatever with the history of Ukraine.

We do not intend to occupy ourselves in this article with the results of archaeological research in Ukraine, although these results in general prove the existence of various cultures, beginning with the Neolithic Age in the southern and northern regions of East Europe.⁴) In this respect the period of the culture of Trypillia, which existed about the sixth to third millennium B.C., can definitely be proved. The region over which this culture spread included Ukraine on the right bank of the River Dnieper as far as the Carpathians and the Balkan peninsula. This illustrious culture, which was characterized by a highly developed art and above all by pottery, linked Ukraine with the countries in the world which at that time already possessed a highly developed culture, that is to say with Asia Minor, the Caucasus, with the culture of the Mediterranean countries, with the so-called Aegean culture, the cultures of Crete, Cyprus and Greece. The fact that the culture of Trypillia had much in common with the future culture of Ukraine is of particular significance: for instance, remains of dwellings and models of huts have been found which, as regards their layout, resemble the dwellings in the rural areas of Ukraine today. And the pottery ware of both cultures, both as regards shape and ornamentation, reveals many common features.⁵) To a large extent the Scythians continued the culture of Trypillia in the field of art and pottery (mainly as regards the shape of vessels) and in the settlements. The Scythians also had much in common with the Ukrainians of later eras as far as clothing (trousers, shirts, pointed caps, etc.) was concerned.⁶)

After a fairly long "vacuum," during which the migration of various peoples took place in the territory of Ukraine, there is more concrete information from about the end of the first millennium onwards on the settlement of the Slavs in the territory of the future Ukraine. Research scholars designate the nature of the burial-grounds

which have been found in the region extending from the River Dnister to as far as the province of Poltava and Sumy and in the basins of the rivers Desna and Seym in the north, as characteristic of the Slavs. It has been established with some certainty that this culture ended during the 6th to 7th century A.D. Certain finds, such as the fibulae of the "Roman type," glassware and above all Roman coins, indicate that the representatives of this culture entertained lively trade relations with the civilized world of those days.⁷⁾

The Slavs were known to the Greek and Roman writers of the 7th century B.C. as the Venedi or Veneti. And they were also designated in this way by Hesiod, Herodotus, Sophocles, Cornelius Nepos, Pliny, Ptolemy and Tacitus. The southern Venedi, who were known as the Antes (Anti, Antae), lived in the region extending from the Vistula to the mouth of the Danube and eastwards towards the Don. Of this people the historian of the Goths, Jordanes, said "the Antes are the bravest among them (the Venedi)."⁸⁾ Many research scholars, such as for instance O. Shakhmatov and S. M. Solovyov, regarded the Antes as Slavs. Other research scholars were even more explicit: L. Niederle for example designated them as Volhynians, V. Klyuchevsky as Duliby, whereas M. Hrushevsky and V. Shcherbakivsky were of the opinion that they were Ukrainians.⁹⁾ Procopius of Caesaria in his day stressed that the Slavs and the Antes spoke the same language. And O. Spitsyn pointed out that the everyday utensils used by the Slavs and the Antes resemble each other.

The Antes definitely already possessed an organized state system in the 4th century A.D. Procopius stated that the Antes were ruled by a people's assembly which as a rule decided all matters of importance. In the event of some special danger the Antes appointed a leader or king (rex), whose authority was recognized by the entire people. According to Jordanes, the power and authority of such rulers was hereditary. The names of some of these leaders are known to us. In the year 380 Boz or Bozh organized an alliance for the purpose of combatting the Visigoths under their king Vinitar. The battle ended in a heavy defeat for the Antes, Bozh, his sons and 70 notables were captured by the enemy and murdered in a most brutal way. 170 years later, that is in about 550, another leader of the Antes, Mesamir (Mezhamir), led them to war against the Avars in order to defend the independence of his country. The names of other leaders such as Ardagast and Musokos, to mention but two, are also known to us. These facts are important inasmuch as they are proof of the early attempts of the Antes to set up an organized state system during the 4th to 6th centuries. The nature of these state alliances is not quite clear: some research scholars are of the opinion that they were of

a temporary nature for the purpose of combatting the enemy; other research scholars, on the other hand, affirm, on the basis of Jordanes' testimony, that they were a union of tribes. V. Klyuchevsky, a well-known Russian historiographer, regards the Antes state as "an alliance of the Duliby." On this subject he writes as follows: "In the 6th century the East Slavs in the Carpathians belonged to a large military alliance, which might have been the first beginnings of our history: this history began in the 6th century... on the north-east slopes and ranges of the Carpathians."¹⁰)

The state of the Antes existed for 300 years, from the end of the 4th century until the beginning of the 7th century. It finally collapsed under the superior strength of the Avars. From then onwards, the name "Antes" is no longer used, but is replaced by the name "Slavs."¹¹)

The first state union of the Slavs was likewise created in Ukraine on the right bank of the River Dnieper. The Arabian writer Al-Masudi mentions a powerful Slav tribe, the "Valinana" or "Volhynians." "Of these tribes — so he writes — one tribe in former times had its own government. Their king was called Madzhak. Since he was the most powerful ruler all the other tribes were subordinated to his authority."¹²) Although the meaning of the name "Valinana" has not been clarified, the fact is nevertheless of importance that mention is once more made of a union of the Slavs under a mighty king. This state existed in the 9th century.¹³)

Thereupon there was again a "vacuum" — not as regards events and facts but as far as information on these events and facts is concerned.

"The Story of Ancient Times," to which we have already referred, contains a legend on the foundation of Kyiv by three brothers, Kyi, Shchek and Khoryv. For a long time this story was indeed regarded as a legend, as a "wandering" tale about three founders of important towns. And yet there are various facts which prompt us to consider this tale more attentively. The Armenian writer Zenob Hlak, for instance, already referred to this story in the 7th century and mentioned the three brothers Kuar (Kyi), Chorean (Khoryv) and Mentey (obviously Shchek). Another important fact which seems to corroborate the truth of this story is the finding of the remains of three settlements on three hills: on the hills of Khorevytsia and Shchekovytsia and on the hill on which the town of Ihor and Volodymyr later stood.¹⁴) Thus the information handed down to posterity by chronicles has been confirmed by the archaeological research carried out in Kyiv.

Numerous well-known research scholars, including that authority on our chronicles, the academician O. Shakhmatov, are convinced that Kyi was a real person.¹⁵)

D. S. Likhachov compares the events recorded in "The Story of Ancient Times" with the data in the Nikonovsky Chronicle, which was based on earlier chronicles. It is stated that Kyi went to war against Constantinople with a large army and was honoured by the emperor; further, that Kyi fought against the Volga and Kama Bulgars and founded the town of Kyjevets on the Danube.¹⁶⁾ The chronicle also gives some indication of when Kyi ruled: the Khazars attacked Kyiv after the death of Kyi. Hence he probably ruled sometime during the 6th to 7th century.

The above-mentioned reference to the attempts of the Slavs to found a state since the beginning of the 4th century indicates that these tribes had a comparatively high cultural level. It is interesting to note that all these state unions did not include the Slav tribes who inhabited the regions to the north and east of the territory which was later to become Ukraine. The said "Story of Ancient Times," refers to the invitation (or summoning) of the Varangians in 862 and mentions that prior to that date "there was no justice among them, one clan rose against another, there was strife amongst them, and they began to wage war among themselves." The only way to remedy this critical situation was to summon princes from overseas. This indicates that no recollection of any attempt on the part of the Slavs to form a state union prior to the year 862 survived.

From the middle of the 9th century onwards there is concrete proof of the existence of a state union of the Ukrainian tribes. The earliest references in this respect are, however, somewhat vague. About the year 800 mention is made in the "Life of St. Stephan," who was bishop of Surozh (the present Sudak in the Crimea), of an attack on Surozh by Prince Bravlin and of the latter's conversion to Christianity. It is not known from which place Bravlin came, but it is interesting to note that he had a Slav name.¹⁷⁾

Some years later a similar incident, namely an attack by a Ruthenian prince, whose name was not mentioned, was referred to in the "Life of St. George of Amastrid." On the strength of a miracle this prince was likewise converted to Christianity.¹⁸⁾

In spite of the vagueness of these accounts they are, however, both of interest, inasmuch as they prove the existence of certain unions amongst the ancestors of the Ukrainian Slavs, that is to say either tribal unions, or perhaps unions on a larger scale. The question as to where these unions were concluded is hardly necessary. The accounts of the life of St. Stephan and of St. George and the discovery of numerous finds in Tmutorokan* which are proof of the Christian religion of the local inhabitants (as for example crucifixes of various kinds, images of saints, etc.) indicate that the centre of the union of

*) Situated on the Taman peninsula in the vicinity of the Kerch Straits.

the old Ruś-Ruthenians must have been somewhere on the shores of the Sea of Azov. And this fact has in turn given rise to the question of the Black Sea-Azov Ruś.¹⁹⁾

About the middle of the 9th century Kyiv began to assume more and more importance as a big political and commercial centre of Ruś-Ukraine. Its economic importance can be seen from numerous finds of foreign coins in the region of the town of Kyiv, above all Arabian dirghems, 2,000 to 3,000 coins together in some instances, as well as from the size of the town and the burial-mounds on its outskirts. The role of Kyiv in the life of the country can also be seen from an important event which is mentioned in the "Annales Bertiniani": in 839 the envoys of the Emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire came from Constantinople to Ingelheim, in those days the capital of the Western Empire, to the court of Louis the Pious. These envoys were the Metropolitan Theophile of Chalcedon and the Imperial Spatar Theophile. The purpose of their journey was the conclusion of a peace treaty between the two empires. There were also other envoys with them, who had been sent to Constantinople by their ruler (whom they designated as "rex") of the "Rhos." These envoys, however, could not return home by the same route which they had taken to Constantinople since a barbarian people had cut off this route. Hence they requested Louis the Pious to allow them to travel through Germany. But the Emperor refused to believe that they were envoys of the Ruthenian king. He suspected them of being Norse or Swedish "explorers," that is spies, and he therefore gave orders that the matter was to be investigated. It was subsequently ascertained that these persons were of Swedish origin.²⁰⁾ The account of this incident in the "Annales Bertiniani" ends here. But it nevertheless prompts various thoughts and surmises. In the first place, from which people could these envoys have come? They could not have come from the Khazars, because in that case no other people would have been able to cut off their route back to the Black Sea. In all probability they must have come from some state which extended along the River Dnieper and was separated from the Black Sea by vast steppes. During the 9th century numerous Asiatic peoples crossed these steppes in their constant urge towards the West. From the chronological point of view the barbarian people referred to might have been either Bulgars or Hungarians. The research carried out during the past decades has revealed that Hungarians lived in the steppes of Ukraine for a fairly long time, i.e. for 100 or even 200 years.²¹⁾ They could easily have cut off the route from Kyiv to the Black Sea. The question regarding the nature of the state and its ruler, who had sent the negotiators, is however somewhat more complicated, since the investigations undertaken at the time revealed that these envoys were Swedes. This result is not entirely convincing, for it is obvious that no one in Ingelheim in those days had ever

heard of the "Rhos." On the other hand, it is not out of question that the ruler (rex) was a Varangian and was thus in a position to send envoys of Swedish origin. But the national origin of the leader-occupants by no means determines the nationality of a state. In this incident two factors are significant: the existence of a state to the north of the Black Sea which in 839 sent envoys to the Byzantine Empire, and the complete ignorance on the part of West Europeans regarding the existence of this state. This ignorance, incidentally, can be explained by the fact that constant migrations of peoples and advances from Asia were taking place, and this no doubt made events in East Europe appear extremely vague and confused to West Europeans.²²⁾

But barely 21 years were to elapse before Europe was to hear more of this hitherto unknown state of "Rus" as a result of the attack carried out by the latter on the Eastern Roman Empire, which was only saved as if by a miracle. Thus the "Rus" attacked the Second Rome.

ASKOLD

"The Story of Ancient Times" relates that in the year 866 the princes Askold and Dyr managed to approach the fortifications of Constantinople with a large fleet, consisting of about 200 ships. They took advantage of the absence of the Emperor Michael III and destroyed the surrounding districts of the town without, however, seizing the town of Constantinople itself. Thanks to a miracle of an image of the Holy Virgin, whose robes the Greeks lowered into the sea, a fierce storm suddenly broke out and destroyed some of the vessels of Askold's and Dyr's fleet.²³⁾ This account in the said chronicle is completely corroborated by various Byzantine sources, and this fact can therefore be ascertained with an exactitude which is unusual for those days.

The development of events was as follows. On June 18, 860 (and not in 866, as the above-mentioned chronicle states),²⁴⁾ a large fleet of the Rus consisting of 200 ships (some contemporaries mention as many as 300 ships) appeared off the shores of the islands, pillaged and devastated the latter, set fire to the settlements, killed the inhabitants, and then approached the walls of Constantinople. After they had seized the harbour, the "Rhos" began to lay siege to the town. They had very astutely chosen an excellent opportunity for this attack, which was by no means a coincidence. The young Emperor Michael III ("the Drunkard") was engaged in waging war on the Saracens and had only left a small number of troops behind in Constantinople under the command of the Prefect Oripas. When Michael III learnt of the danger which threatened his capital he

hurriedly returned with his army, but there was little he could do to save the situation. Nor did the prayers which were offered up and the processions that were held help at all. The Patriarch Photius delivered a number of homilies, two of which have been preserved. They are valuable sources which give us an insight into the events of that time. The siege of Constantinople lasted for more than a year. Finally, the Greeks held a solemn procession to a monastery where an omophorion (robes) of the Holy Virgin was preserved. Chanting prayers, the Greeks lowered this sacred relic into the sea. Shortly afterwards a fierce storm broke out and some of the Ruthenian ships sank, whilst the remainder withdrew in all haste. Some time later, envoys of Prince Askold came to Constantinople in order to ask the Byzantine Emperor to send his missionaries to Ruś to convert the Ruthenians to Christianity and to baptize the Prince and the inhabitants of Ruś.

This is an account of the events in question as derived and compiled from the various Greek sources. All these sources shed a uniform light on these historical events and show little divergence. They include important reports such as that of Simeon Magister, who was living in Constantinople at that time, and of Nicetas Paphlagonian, the biographer of the Patriarch Ignatius, who was banished to the island of Sthenos, which the "Rhos" had pillaged.²⁵) The most important source, however, is provided by the sermons of the Patriarch Photius.²⁶)

The following conclusions can be drawn from these sources. There can be no doubt about the fact that in 860 Byzantium was attacked by the Ruś, or "Rhos," as they were called by the Greeks (or "Scythians"). The ancient Greeks called the territories north of the Black Sea "Scythia." The question as to which "Ruś" carried out the attack has resulted in a number of hypotheses. E. E. Golubinsky, V. G. Vasilevsky and V. O. Parkhomenko, by comparing the attack on Constantinople with the accounts of the attacks on Surozh and Amastrid, are of the opinion that it was the army of the Ruthenians from Tmutorokan, that is of the "Azov Ruś," which advanced on Constantinople in 860.²⁷) This hypothesis is however negated by the statements of the Patriarch Photius: in his pastoral message he described the Ruś as follows: this people subjugated many neighbouring peoples, and since it thought a lot of itself it was so presumptuous as to attack the Roman state with armed forces. This fact is also corroborated by the Yakimovsky Chronicle, which was used by V. M. Tatishchev as late as the 18th century. Unfortunately, this chronicle disappeared later on. For a long time historiographers were sceptical as regards this source, but most historians are now of the opposite opinion, for it has meanwhile been ascertained that the said chronicle contains far more data than "The Story of Ancient Times" and moreover tallies with other sources. This also applies to the informa-

tion on Askold. The Yakimovsky Chronicle contains certain concrete details. An account is given of the victories of Askold over the Polochany, Kryvichi and other neighbours peoples and, above all, over the Pechenegs. The information as regards the latter is generally regarded as incorrect, but this may be due to an error on the part of the transcriber. What is of importance, however, is the fact that the statements of Photius regarding the "subjugation of neighbouring peoples" tally with the text of this chronicle. It would have been extremely difficult to "subjugate" the Kryvichi on the distant shores of the Sea of Azov. It is also interesting to note that according to the Yakimovsky chronicle Askold's son was killed by the Bulgars. It can therefore be assumed that Askold fought against the Bulgars.²⁸⁾

Photius' reference to the reasons which prompted the attack of the Ruś on Constantinople is of considerable significance. Photius maintains that this attack was not a predatory crime but was caused by the Greeks themselves, who had violated international law. For whereas the Ukrainians in ancient times set free the Greeks whom they had captured, the Greeks on the other hand made their prisoners-of-war slaves. It can therefore be assumed that this was the reason which led to a serious conflict between the Ruthenians and the Greeks. As the Reverend I. Nahayevsky assumes and as is also mentioned by the chronicler of the "Annales Bertiniani," the envoys were "recalled" in the year 839.²⁹⁾

The question of there being some connection between the recall of the envoys and Askold is, however, somewhat problematical. This matter is referred to by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus in his history of the rule of his grandfather, Basil the Macedonian, who succeeded Michael III as Emperor. Constantine, referring to the achievements of Basil, mentions the treaty which the latter made with the Ruś. So far, Ukrainian research scholars have not attached much importance to this treaty, whereas non-Ukrainian historiographers have given it an appropriate place in their works. Thus, for example, F. Dölger³⁰⁾ and Baron M. de Taube.³¹⁾ Dölger gives the year in which the treaty was concluded as about 874, and on this point M. de Taube agrees with him. In this connection de Taube stresses that this treaty must be regarded as the first document in the annals of Ruthenian diplomacy and, above all, in the history of Greek and ancient Ukrainian treaties of the 10th century. It is quite possible that this treaty is the one which is referred to in the agreement concluded by Oleh in 911, where there is a vague reference to a previous treaty.³²⁾

The above-mentioned treaty assumes still more significance if one compares it with another document. As was already pointed out, Kyiv played an important part in world trade. The trade routes which, via the Dnieper, connected the north with the south (the so-called "Great Route from the Varangians to the Greeks") and the

east with the west, converged on the middle course of the River Dnieper. These routes proceeded from the Caspian Sea along the Volga and inland to the Don, along the tributaries of the Don and across country as far as the upper tributaries of the Dnieper, along the River Desna and then downstream along the Pripet, or across country west of Kyiv — to Cracow, Prague and Regensburg (Ratisbona). Between the years 846 and 912 the famous Arabian scholar and author Ibn-Khordadbeh, who wrote the "Book of Routes and Realms," gave an account of the international trade routes with the East, starting with China, and with the West, the empire of Charlemagne.³³⁾ In 973 the Arabian Jew Ibrahim Ben-Yakub, a traveller and merchant, gave an account of the trade relations which existed at that time and had probably already existed much earlier, and he mentioned the fact that merchants from Ruś-Ruthenia were wont to come to Prague via Cracow.³⁴⁾

An important document refers to this golden age of Europe's trade relations with Asia: a customs tariff regulation issued by the Bavarian town of Rafelstätten, which dates from the 10th century, that is from the years 903-906, but is undoubtedly much older in origin and goes back to the days of Louis the German (876) or Carloman (880). This regulation ("Leges portorii") pertains to the customs tariffs for goods that were brought into the country by the merchants from Ruś, namely wax, horses and slaves.³⁵⁾

Thus two documents — the treaty between Ruś and Byzantium in the years 873-874 and the customs tariff regulation of Rafelstätten of the years 870-880 — are characteristic of the rule of Askold. With these two documents Ruś established itself in the political and economic life of Western Europe, that is to say in the life of the two mighty Roman empires.

The years in which Askold's young state established itself in world politics are designated by M. de Taube as an extremely important period. It was during this period that the new Emperor of the Byzantine Empire, Basil I the Macedonian, sent a dispatch to the Emperor Louis the German in which he suggested that they should make a peace and friendship pact (873) with each other, whilst Louis the German on his part put the proposal to Denmark, where two kings — the brothers Siegfried and Holfdan — ruled, that is should enter into friendly trade relations with him.³⁶⁾

Thus the old Ukrainian Kyivan state entered into diplomatic and commercial relations with the mightiest empires of the East and the West at a time when these two empires were in the act of concluding a friendship pact with each other. As de Taube rightly assumes, this alliance united Europe against new enemies — the Islamic world, Hungary and the Pechenegs. The treaty with Ruś ensured that Byzantium would be able to fight against its enemies. This alliance

lasted until the beginning of the 10th century, that is to say until the attack launched by Oleh.³⁷⁾

Whereas there can be no doubt about the existence of the mighty state of "Rhos" (as it was called by the Greeks) or Ruś in the middle of the 9th century, as confirmed by the Ukrainian chronicles, there is a good deal of hypothesis as regards the person of its ruler Askold. For whilst his name is to be found in two transcriptions "Askold" and "Oskold" solely in the Ukrainian chronicles and in the Bulgarian translation of the Greek chronicle by Hamartol, this name is not mentioned at all in the Greek original text. The Ukrainian chronicles always mention the name of Dyr together with that of Askold as having both ruled together. In these chronicles they always appear together, they lead the campaign against Byzantium jointly, and they both die at the same time as the result of a treacherous attack by Prince Oleh. For some reason or other they were, however, buried in different parts of Kyiv, — Askold on the so-called "Hungarian Hill" (Uhorśke Urochyshe), and Dyr behind the Church of St. Oryna. This detail indicates that there is something fictitious in the idea of a union between Askold and Dyr. It can be assumed that an error must have been made in this respect; for some reason or other, historical tradition united these two princes who, however, reigned separately. It is interesting to note that the Arabian writer Al-Masudi mentions Dyr separately as a mighty ruler.³⁸⁾ Research scholars on the whole differentiate between the two.³⁹⁾ M. Hrushevsky is of the opinion that Dyr ruled after Askold and possibly even after Oleh.⁴⁰⁾ This opinion is also shared by M. de Taube⁴¹⁾ and the Reverend I. Nahayevsky.⁴²⁾ V. Tatishchev and de Taube assume that Dyr must have been Askold's son.

Various hypotheses have arisen out of the fact that the information on the personality of Askold is extremely vague. His name leads one to assume that Askold was a Varagian and a Norseman. As already mentioned, the chronicles obviously regard Askold as a compatriot and a retainer of Rurik. M. de Taube devotes considerable attention to the question of Askold's origin. He affirms that Rurik and Askold came from different parts of Scandinavia: Rurik from Uppsala, and Askold from Birka. Askold took a different route to Rurik: namely, not in the direction of Lake Ladoga, but along the rivers Nieman and Pripet. And all these facts, so de Taube points out, constitute the difference between the two princes.⁴³⁾

In addition to the research scholars who regard Askold as a Varagian, there are also others who are of the opinion that he was an ancient Ukrainian. M. Hrushevsky, for instance, regards him as a Ukrainian, whilst O. O. Shakhmatov holds that he was a son of Kyi,⁴⁴⁾ an opinion which is shared by M. D. Priselkov;⁴⁵⁾ V. A. Rybakov is of the opinion that the name Askold comes from the little River Oskol.⁴⁶⁾

THE BAPTISM OF THE RUS'

The question of the baptism and conversion to Christianity of Askold and of Rus'-Ukraine is closely connected with Askold's campaign against Constantinople. But the information contained in some of the Ukrainian chronicles and in certain Byzantine sources is by no means clear and uniform. On the contrary, the accounts of this baptism and conversion to Christianity differ widely: whereas the exact date of the attack and siege on Constantinople during the reign of Michael III and the Patriarch Photius, namely June 18, 860, is given in the chronicles, information regarding the date of the baptism and conversation is vague. Indeed, it is fairly difficult to ascertain the exact date.

The account of events given by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus in his history of the rule of his grandfather, Basil I the Macedonian, is probably the most accurate. The latter succeeded in appeasing the Rus' and, by means of valuable presents, managed to persuade them to make a treaty with the Greeks. He also persuaded them to adopt Christianity and to this end the Patriarch Ignatius sent one of his archbishops to Rus'. In his sermons to the ruler of the Rus' and his counsellors this archbishop not only explained the Christian faith but also talked about miracles. His audience thereupon asked him to perform such a miracle, for instance to place the Gospel in a fire. The archbishop did so and the Gospel was not damaged by the flames. Thereupon the ruler of the Rus', his counsellors and many other persons asked to be baptized.⁴⁷⁾

Constantine's chronicler, Anselmos Bandurios, adds another account from the Colbertine Annals to the above account. According to this narrative, the Ruthenian ruler, since he was desirous of being baptized, sent his envoys to Rome. There they visited the churches and talked to the bishops and the Pope and returned home well satisfied. But the Ruthenian ruler also sent envoys to Constantinople and they were received in audience there by the Emperor Basil of the Macedonians. Divine service in the Cathedral of St. Sophia made a profound impression on them: "It is magnificent and overwhelming... it surpasses all human imagination," so they reported on their return. The ruler (rex) of Rus' was so impressed by this account that he asked to be baptized by the bishop of Constantinople. Basil immediately sent the bishop and two priests, Cyril and Athanasius, who were known for their wisdom and erudition, to him. They preached the new faith amongst the people, baptized the latter, and also introduced a new alphabet, consisting of 32 letters. The above-mentioned chronicler also refers to the miracle of the Gospel, which the flames could not destroy. To this reference by the Colbertine

Annals Bandurios adds the information that the priest Cyril was a native of Thessaloniki and a brother of Methodius, bishop of Olomouc in Moravia.⁴⁸⁾

Cesare Baronius, the papal librarian, wrote in his annals that the baptism of the Ukrainian Ruś did not take place during the reign of Basil the Younger and Constantine but during that of Basil the Macedonian. He based his statement on the Greek chronologers Ioannes Kuropalatos, Zonaros and Nikiphoros.⁴⁹⁾

The opinion expressed by the Patriarch Photius in this connection is particularly significant. In his pastoral message to all the hierarchs he wrote that the "Rhos... exchanged their abominable heathen superstition for the pure and immaculate faith... They very gladly accepted the priest and the bishop proposed to them, as well as the Christian rites and customs."⁵⁰⁾ It can be seen from this statement that Photius in mentioning the baptism of the Ukraine Ruś by no means attributes this fact to himself. Thus, someone else was responsible for this baptism, whereas Photius only mentions it as an accomplished fact.

This extremely important fact is not mentioned at all in "The Story of Ancient Times." The author and later editors confine themselves to mentioning the attack on Constantinople and to an account of the miracle, namely when a storm "destroyed the ships of the godless Ruś" ("bezbozhnykh Rusi korabli smyate"). In the Nikonovsky chronicle there is an important addition. After an account of the miracle and of the return of Askold and Dyr there follows this passage:

"Basil then (sent) a big army against the Agariani and Manichaeans. And he made a peace settlement with the aforementioned Ruś, and converted them to Christianity and they promised to receive baptism and asked for an Archpriest, and the Emperor sent (him) to them. And when they were about to receive baptism, they again hesitated, and said to the Archpriest: If we do not see a miraculous sign from thee, we do not wish to become Christians..."⁵¹⁾ As in the annals of Constantine Porphyrogenetus, the miracle of the Gospel is then described.

Thus the account of the miracle, which in Constantine's annals is closely connected with the baptism, and in the Colbertine Annals describes the missionary work of Cyril, in the Nikonovsky chronicle is linked up with Askold.

It is interesting to note that in the Ukrainian chronicles, apart from the Nikonovsky chronicle, there is no mention of the baptism in the reign of Askold. But what is even more interesting, however, is the fact that in the Yakimovsky chronicle, which V. M. Tatishchev used and in which much information has been preserved which is not to be found in other chronicles, there are two pages missing, precisely

in that part of the chronicle where one would expect to find some mention of the baptism. Nor is there any reason to suppose that this is perhaps a coincidence. The fact that these two pages are missing can be explained by the strict censorship to which chronicles were subjected. Why was this censorship introduced? We have already mentioned the fact that the chroniclers Nestor and Silvester (the latter revised Nestor's "Story of Ancient Times" in 1116 without even mentioning Nestor's name) were anxious to prove that all the rulers came of one and the same origin, to connect them all with Rurik and in this way to prove that the latter was the founder of the princely dynasty. For this reason, anything that was contrary to this idea and everything that referred to other rulers was passed over in silence. It was above all a question of glorifying the representatives of the Rurik dynasty and, in particular, Volodymyr the Saint in every possible way. To mention the fact that Ruś was converted to Christianity under Askold would — as the editors obviously assumed — have deprived Volodymyr of his fame.

Another fact which seems to us rather interesting is that very little is mentioned in the Greek sources about the baptism of Volodymyr and the organization of the Church during his reign.⁵²⁾ On the other hand, however, many of the Greek sources, including the Patriarch himself and Constantine Porphyrogenetus, mention the conversion to Christianity under Askold.⁵³⁾

"The Story of Ancient Times" mentions the treacherous murder of Askold and Dyr, — they were allegedly summoned to receive guests (foreign merchants) that had come to Kyiv. It is also stated that a certain Olma built the Church of St. Nicholas on Askold's grave. This would therefore indicate that Askold was a Christian. This church, as the Yakimovsky chronicle reports, was destroyed during the heathen reaction in the days of Sviatoslav. At the same time his brother Hlib (Gleb) was also murdered. The fact that the church which was built on Askold's grave was dedicated to St. Nicholas leads one to assume that Askold received the Christian name of Nicholas when he was baptized. And tradition was preserved from then onwards in the name "Askold's Grave" ("Askoldova mohyla").

At the beginning of the 19th century a beautiful church in the style of a rotunda, with an adjoining cemetery, was erected on "Askold's Grave." In 1935 all this was destroyed by the Russian Bolsheviks, who set up a "culture park" on the site of the cemetery. The church itself was transformed into a platform. The legend that Askold had been a saint persisted for many years amongst the people and his supposed grave beneath the church was visited by pilgrims. On a slope overlooking the cemetery stood the monastery of St. Nicholas, which was destroyed by the Bolsheviks in the 1930's. On July 2nd every year from 1866 onwards, a procession moved from

the monastery, which was entrusted with the task of looking after "Askold's Grave," to the grave after a special service had been held in the church. The revolution of 1917 put an end to this custom. V. M. Tatishchev quotes a passage from the Yakimovsky chronicle, from which it can be seen that Askold was known as Nicholas.⁵⁴) M. de Taube examines the circumstances of the treacherous murder of Askold and affirms that he must be regarded as the first martyr of Christianity in Ukraine-Ruś.⁵⁵)

The question of who was the first bishop or archbishop to be ordained as Patriarch of Kyiv is closely connected with the conversion to Christianity of the Ruś. His name has not been recorded for posterity, but a number of documents on the conversion of Ukraine-Ruś during the reign of Volodymyr mention the names of the first Metropolitans — Mykhaylo (Michael) and Leo. References to Michael date from the 12th century and later. His name is also mentioned in the Nikonovsky chronicle and in the Statute ("Ustav") of Volodymyr.⁵⁶) These references are apparently accepted as authentic by various scholars, such as Pelesh, and by contemporary research scholars, such as I. Vlasovsky.⁵⁷) It is interesting to note that there are discrepancies in the documents which mention the name of Michael; mention is for instance made of the fact that the Patriarch Photius allegedly sent Michael to Kyiv, although this is obviously an anachronism, for there is a difference of 120 to 130 years. It is however possible that Michael was the name of the archbishop whom Photius sent to Askold. It is also interesting to note that in the Yakimovsky chronicle, from which two pages were removed because they contained information about the baptism of Askold, the following part of a sentence has been preserved: ... "and giving thanks to God, Michael went to Bulgaria." It is obvious that these words are not in keeping with Michael of Volodymyr's day. The memory of this Michael has, however, been preserved in Kyiv. The Synodalists of the Cathedral of St. Sophia affirm that the first Metropolitan was Leo or Michael, but they do not mention any date.⁵⁸)

Oral accounts of the Metropolitan Michael, which were handed down to posterity, were connected with archaeological finds. In 1915 caves, which are known as "Zvirynetski," were discovered in the suburb of Pechersk in Kyiv. Two of them were dedicated to St. Michael and to St. Basil. Prof. P. E. Kovalevsky, who informed M. de Taube of this fact, expressed the opinion that they were two patron saints, — namely of the Archbishop Michael and of the ruler Volodymyr-Vasyl (Basil). In our opinion, however, this is an erroneous assumption. We tend to support the theory voiced by M. de Taube, namely that St. Basil was the patron saint of the Emperor Basil the Macedonian, who furthered the conversion to Christianity of Ukraine-Ruś. Under the rule of Volodymyr it was by no means necessary for Christians to hide in caves, but this certainly was the

case during the reign of the heathen princes Oleh and Sviatoslav.⁵⁹⁾ To the opinion expressed by P. Kovalevsky I should like to add my own observations: I myself saw the name of St. Michael carved in the wall of the said caves.

The following point should be stressed in connection with these historical traditions: it is not entirely clear for what reason St. Michael has since time immemorial been venerated as a patron saint of the town of Kyiv. The founding of the monastery of St. Michael, which, with its golden cupulas, became one of the greatest shrines of the town, is associated with his name. The figure of the Archangel Michael adorned the official seal of the town and became the magnificent coat-of-arms of Kyiv. Although no one was able to give the real reason for this veneration, the tradition of the first Metropolitan of Kyiv has been handed down to posterity.

In 882, as "The Story of Ancient Times" records, the reign of Askold, and simultaneously the reign of Dyr too, came to an end. The chronicle gives a picturesque account of how Oleh came to Kyiv by water, three years after the death of Rurik. On the way he captured Smolensk and Lyubech, and advanced towards the Kyiv hills. Here he gave orders that Askold and Dyr were to be summoned to his presence, since guests — merchants — had allegedly arrived in Kyiv. When the two princes appeared — he had brought Rurik's small son, Ihor, with him — he told them: "You are neither princes nor of princely origin, but I am of princely origin... and this is the son of Rurik." ("Vy niesta kniazia, ni roda kniazha, no az yesm' rodu kniazha... a se yest' syn Riurykov.") Whereupon he had the two princes (Askold and Dyr) murdered.

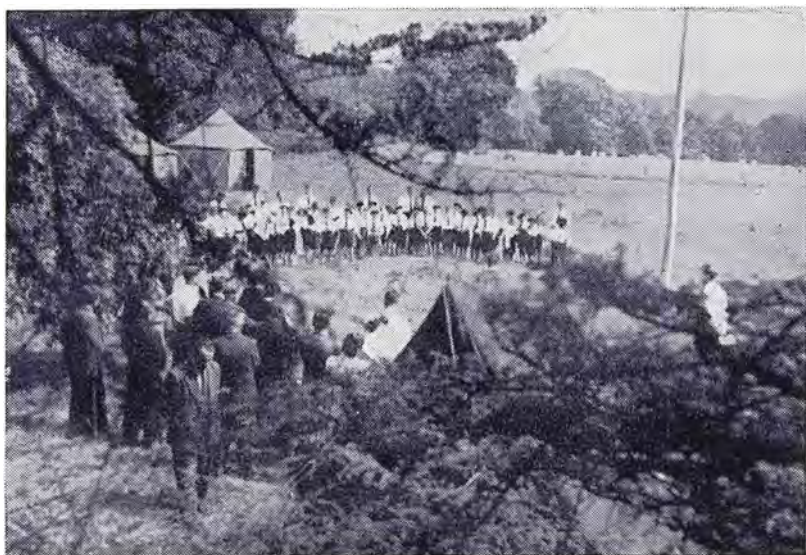
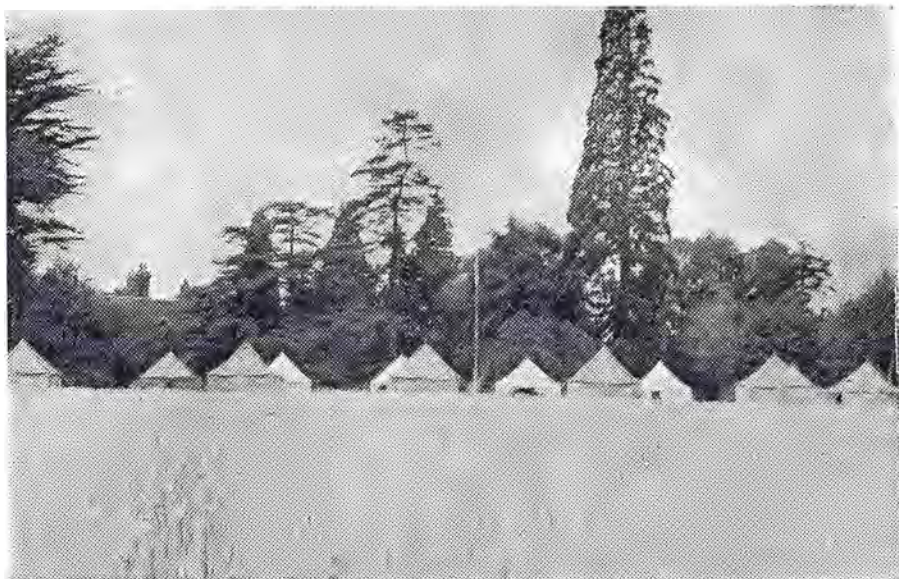
We do not intend to go into various questions which cannot be clarified owing to inadequate sources, such as for instance the origin of Askold, his nationality, and whether he was a Ukrainian — the son of Kyi, or a foreigner, that is to say a Varangian from Sweden. We have already touched on these questions above. We can solely draw conclusions from the sources at our disposal, which are unfortunately somewhat meagre. The reign of Askold is undoubtedly extremely important in the history of the Ukrainian principality of Kyiv. All the sources quoted here prove that this state was large and powerful. It first of all freed itself from Khazar supremacy; then it subjugated neighbouring tribes and finally even ventured to carry out campaigns against the mighty Byzantine Empire. What is particularly important, however, is the fact that this new state possessed large military forces: 200 ships, that is to say 6,000 to 8,000 soldiers, attacked Constantinople. In this connection one must bear in mind that it was during this era that the Norsemen, with their forces which only numbered a few hundred men, pillaged the shores of Germany, ventured as far as Paris, terrorized England, and conquered Sicily. In those days only a very powerful state could have possessed an



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Apostolic Exarch for the Ukrainian Catholic Exarchate
in England and Wales.*

(See report p. 92)

*Summer camp of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain,
Chiddingfold, Surrey.*



army numbering 6,000 men. This state concluded treaties with the Byzantine Empire and with Bavaria, went over to the Christian faith of its own free will, and as a Christian state belonged to the group of the mightiest states in Europe. Askold's state actually represents the beginning of the Kyivan state, of Ukraine-Ruś. In this respect the opinion expressed by the Russian historian V. O. Klyuchevsky, one of the most outstanding Russian historians, whose works during the past 80 years have influenced many persons, is typical: "The Ruthenian state was founded thanks to the activity of Askold and later of Oleh. The union of the Slavs was effected from Kyiv and not from Novgorod."⁶⁰)

That Nestor's conception of the origin of this state — a conception which only became known at the beginning of the 12th century — is erroneous, is proved by a work which is 50 to 60 years older than the "Story of Ancient Times," namely the "Word on the Law and Grace" ("Slovo o zakonie i blahodati") by the Metropolitan Ilarion. This hierarch of Ukrainian origin was appointed Metropolitan in 1051 at the wish of Grand Duke Yaroslav. Either in the same year or soon afterwards he wrote his "Word", in which he glorified Prince Volodymyr the Saint. Since he mentions Volodymyr's ancestors it would have been natural for him to refer to the founder of the dynasty, Rurik, too. But there is no mention whatever in the "Word" of either Rurik or Oleh. On the contrary, Ilarion affirms that the "Great Kahan (ruler) of our country is Volodymyr, the grandson of ancient Ihor, the son of the illustrious Sviatoslav."⁶¹) Thus, according to Ilarion, the dynasty of the princes of Kyiv begins with "ancient" Ihor and not with Rurik. Indeed, whilst Rurik was fighting against the insurgents and seeking to consolidate his power in Novgorod, a different kind of life was flourishing here in Ukraine-Ruś, another state was growing powerful, a state that succeeded in subjugating its neighbours, waged war against Byzantium and went over to the Christian faith of its own free will.

150 years later another notable work appeared — "Slovo o polku Ihorevie" ("The Song of Igor's Campaign"). In connection with the past fame of Ukraine we here encounter a new conception — "ancient Ihor." And it is obvious that this expression was commonly used.

Another point of interest which seems worth mentioning are the names of the ruling princes, which are to be found in the course of three centuries in the huge territory where the descendants not of Rurik but of "ancient Ihor" reigned. They are so numerous that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between their owners. Amongst these "tribal" names of the princes and founders of the dynasty there were in the course of 300 years, for instance, 25 Volodymyrs, 22 Izyaslavs, 21 Mstyslavs and Sviatoslavs, and 17 Yaroslavs. There are however only two Ruriks: the first, a grandson of Prince

Volodymyr of Novgorod, who was born in Novgorod, and the other, the son of Prince Rostyslav of Smolensk.⁶²) Thus even the names of the rulers prove that little significance as regards national characteristics can be attached to the name of the alleged founder of the dynasty.

ASKOLD'S LEGACY

With the death of Askold and the raising of Oleh to the rank of prince and ruler, the chroniclers saw themselves confronted by new difficulties. For it was not so easy to comply with the wish expressed by Rurik regarding the establishing of the dynasty of the new rulers of the Kyivan state. For this reason Oleh had himself designated by the title of voivode or as the brother-in-law of Rurik, or as the guardian or cousin of Ihor, regardless of the fact that Rurik was a Swedish Varangian from Uppsala, whereas Oleh was regarded as a Norwegian.⁶³) And it was even more difficult to draw up a chronology of events. According to the chroniclers, Rurik died in 879 and left a son, Ihor. What age this son was at that time has not been ascertained. M. de Taube assumes that he was born either in 875 or 877. Light is shed on this question by the fact that Ihor must have been a child of about 5 or 7 years of age when Oleh came to Kyiv and had Askold murdered. Oleh then ruled for 32 years as Ihor's guardian, whilst Ihor was obliged to wait until he was 39 years old before he could succeed to his "paternal" throne after the death of Oleh. In fact, he was waiting to succeed to the throne in a period when a young prince was usually already ruling the state at the age of about 18. It is therefore perfectly obvious that this account by the chroniclers is an invention, indeed a clumsy invention, which, regardless of its complete incredibility, permitted no doubts seeing that the erroneous opinion of and belief in the "lawfulness" of Rurik's government and Rurik's dynasty persisted to such an extent even in Ukraine-Ruś.

Research scholars have in recent years drawn attention to the unnatural character of such family and dynastic conditions. Efforts have been made to shed more light on the true state of affairs in the 10th century, and more and more hypotheses are being voiced that there were most probably two, or possibly even four Olehs, and two or three Ihors.⁶⁴) And Oleh's biography as recorded by the chroniclers offers some basis for these hypothesis, for evidence has been preserved that there were two graves of Oleh in Kyiv and one grave in Ladoga.

The same vagueness is also apparent in the chronicles regarding "ancient Ihor." According to one chronicle Oleh in 903 married his ward to Olha. When Ihor died 43 years later, his only son (according to the Yakimovsky chronicle he had another son called Hlib)

Sviatoslav was still a "dietesk," that is to say a child. When he (Sviatoslav) had to throw a spear, as was customary, to show that fighting was to begin, during a campaign undertaken against the Derevliany, he was unable to do so and the spear merely struck the legs of his horse. How old was he at that time? Not more than ten years of age. In that case he would have been born in 936, that is to say 33 years after Ihor married Olha. Here, too, then we have another inaccuracy in the chronicles. There is only one conclusion to be drawn from all this: after the death of Askold foreigners, who included genuine "Vikings" and other clever persons, usurped the Kyivan throne. There was no alliance amongst them, however, and still less with Novgorod. In the territory of the future vast empire of Volodymyr and Yaroslav with its state centre in Kyiv, there existed two other and possibly three other independent state centres; apart from Kyiv, Novgorod had established its own state and, in all probability, Aziv (Azov) also had its own state with its centre in Tmutorokan. At least, mention is suddenly made in the era of Yaroslav of the mighty prince Mstyslav of Tmutorokan, the conqueror of the Yasy and Kasohy, who also defeated Yaroslav and reigned in Chernihiv until his death in 1036. In fact, it was only after his death that Yaroslav became Grand Duke.

Novgorod suffered an unusual fate. In spite of his sound way of thinking and his experience in matters pertaining to the state, Oleh, Prince of Novgorod, who with the aid of the Novgorod army conquered Smolensk, Liubech and Kyiv, levied heavy taxes. And he levied them on his own native town. For 100 years Novgorod was obliged to pay these imposts to the Kyivan princes. This fact is likewise proof that during the 10th and 11th centuries Kyiv and Novgorod were the centres of two separate independent states.

In Kyiv individual rulers were deposed and replaced by others after a certain length of time, but the native population remained the same. And hence this people could not be deprived of the cultural achievements which it acquired by degrees. In this respect the inter-state treaties which Oleh concluded with the Greeks in the years 907 and 911 are of considerable importance. In this way Ukraine-Ruś, as the chroniclers stress, suddenly gave obvious proof of its high cultural level. Ukraine-Ruthenia (or Ruś) at that time already possessed its own comprehensive literary language, into which it was possible to translate the text of the international agreements from the Greek perfectly adequately. It appears that Ukraine-Ruś used a mysterious Ivan's script (*Ivanove pyśmo*) and the treaties were written in this script. It also possessed a comprehensive international and civil law, comparable to the Greek laws. Legally drawn up documents, such as, for instance, wills and evidently certificates for ships, were already known in Ukraine-Ruś. A people does not evolve and adopt such legal norms and conceptions suddenly, and on some special occasion, but gradually and throughout generations.

In his well-known "Slovo o zakonie i blahodati," to which we have already referred, the Metropolitan Ilarion mentions the deeply rooted culture of the ancient Ukrainian state of Kyiv. Referring to the ancestors of Volodymyr, he says that they ruled a state which was known throughout the whole world. Hence there can be no doubt about the fact that the Ruś were not the "barbarians" that the Greeks imagined them to be. In his "Word" Ilarion also mentioned the persons who had taken their fill of book learning (do preslykha nasytivshikhsia premudrosti knizhnoy). Even if we assume that the Metropolitan was referring to the upper class of society, that is to the elite, it is nevertheless significant that there was such an elite in those days, that is in the 10th and 11th centuries, in Ukraine-Ruś, for this was not the case in many countries of Western Europe at that time. Ilarion himself, a great scholar and authority on ancient philosophy, and the author of a work which, in its profound wisdom and beauty, surpasses the works of the contemporary literature of the Byzantine Empire or of Bulgaria, gives proof of the great cultural level of Ukraine-Ruś. There can be no doubt about the fact that he did not solely acquire his erudition in the schools which were set up by Volodymyr for the children of the upper class ("dليا ditey vyshchoi chadi"). For erudition and culture in Ukraine-Ruś were far more deeply rooted.

The first record of a "Slav script" dates back to the middle of the 9th century. Proof of this fact is contained in the "Life of Constantine," which gives an account of how St. Cyril whilst in Cherson (Crimea) encountered a man who had a Gospel and a collection of psalms, which were written in "Ruthenian letters," on him and who also spoke this language. The "Life of Constantine" also reports how rapidly Cyril learnt this language and composed a new alphabet. All this proves that this "Ruthenian" must have been a Slav, for the alphabet was also Slav.⁶⁵) The academician S. Obnorsky assumes that the beginnings of the literature of ancient Ukraine date from the middle of the 9th century.⁶⁶) This opinion is also held by the academician N. Nikolsky.⁶⁷) The language of this literature was the language of an aboriginal population, — a language which was however influenced by other languages, above all by the Bulgarian language.

The remains of the Glagolithic script which have been discovered in Ukraine are of considerable significance. The most interesting are the so-called Kyivan or Freysinger Fragments, which were found in 1873 by I. I. Sreznevsky. They consist of seven pages which contain a Slav translation of the Latin liturgy written in this script. These pages are of great interest for two reasons: firstly, as a document which proves the existence of this script, and secondly, as proof that the Latin liturgy was used in Ukraine-Ruś.⁶⁸) The fact that this liturgy existed in the Glagolithic script is proof of the existence of

Christianity in Ukraine in the 9th century, for in the 10th century the Glagolitic script was replaced by the Cyrillic script, which was created by the pupils of St. Methodius. The opinion expressed by P. Kurinny with regard to the Gospel of Rheims, which the Ukrainian princess Anna Yaroslavna took with her to France, is extremely interesting. Part of this Gospel was written in the Glagolitic and part in the Cyrillic script. Kurinny assumes that this Gospel was closely connected with the monastery in Vyshhorod, which was a centre of Christianity earlier than Kyiv was.⁶⁹⁾

The intellectual culture of the Kyivan Ruś was equalled by the material culture. Evidence of this culture can be seen in the remains of a magnificent palace in Kyiv dating from the 10th century, that is from the reign of Ihor and Olga. Marble columns, frescoes, mosaics, and the famous "Black Burial-mound" (Chorna Mohyla) near the town of Chernyhiv, which all date from the same era, are also evidence of this culture. Other finds discovered on the "Black Burial-mound" include the figures of animals, — one of them an aurochs with beautifully ornamented silver horns. The ornamentation on one of its horns consists of a plant motif, which is exactly the same as the ornamentation on the hilt of a sword that was found in Kyiv in the 10th century. The ornamentation on the other horn of the animal depicts a combat with gryphons, a subject taken from the "Byliny" (Sagas) about Stavr Hodynovych. This corroborates the fact that these objects, which reveal a high degree of excellence as regards the jeweller's art, were made by native craftsmen of this region; the figures of animals which existed in Ukraine in those days and the above-mentioned subject which belongs to the local folklore are convincing proof in this respect. There are also numerous indications that the objects found in the vicinity of the "Black Burial-mound," or rather the technique which they reflect, had a considerable influence on Poland and Czechia, a fact which has been stressed by the local archaeologists I. Shrapil, I. Chervinka and L. Niederle.⁷⁰⁾

All these factors in the sphere of material and intellectual culture prove that the culture of Ukraine-Ruś in the 10th century was deeply rooted. Indeed it is obvious that its roots went back to the previous era, which was the era of Askold. And there is further proof of the profound nature of this culture — namely Christianity.

Many sources of various origins and of various kinds clearly prove that the Christian doctrine spread to an everincreasing extent in Ukraine-Ruś about the middle of the 9th century. We have already referred to the source of the Christianization of the Ukrainian state — namely Byzantium. But this was not the only source. Undoubtedly the relations of Ukraine-Ruś to Bulgaria, whose power and political and cultural importance were steadily increasing, also played a significant part in this respect. Bulgaria during the era of Krum and, above all, during the reign of Boris, who was a contemporary of

Askold, became an important centre of Slav culture. In 864-865 Christianity was adopted there. The Yakimovsky chronicle refers to Askold's relations with Bulgaria, which are not however specified in detail, and mentions the fact that in 864 Askold's son was murdered by the Bulgarians. Incidentally, the reason for this murder has so far never been ascertained. But it certainly is interesting to note that the date of the murder corresponds with the date of Bulgaria's conversion to Christianity. Nor must one overlook the fact that the Yakimovsky chronicle records that the first Metropolitan of Kyiv, Michael, went to Bulgaria.

Western Ukraine-Ruś undoubtedly entertained relations with Moravia during the time that St. Methodius was bishop there.⁷¹⁾ M. de Taube endeavours to extend the region from which Christian doctrine spread to Kyiv; he includes in this region Regensburg, or Ratisbona, the famous and prosperous capital of South Germany, where the influences of ancient Rome, of the West and of the East converged.⁷²⁾

All these influences lead up to the second half of the 9th century, that is to the era of Askold. Nor was Christianity suppressed during the subsequent era of the Varangians; on the contrary, it asserted itself so spontaneously and so powerfully under Ihor that the Christians in Ihor's troops occupied the same status as the heathens. The oath of allegiance which was taken in the Church of St. Elijah was considered to be as valid as the heathen oath of allegiance. Ihor's treaty with the Greeks suddenly and unexpectedly revealed how great and powerful this Christian community, which possessed its own Church, was. The existence of this community, to which the upper classes belonged, explains the Christianity of the era of Olga, and also makes it comprehensible. The question as to where this Christianity came from and how it was able to assume a leading role, is unnecessary. For the answer is self-evident if one takes into account the first conversion to Christianity of Ruś-Ruthenia, which was followed three generations later by Ihor's treaty with the Greeks.

Thus all paths, though they may have been artificially interrupted, in the political, military, diplomatic, economic, cultural and, above all, in the religious field, nevertheless lead the research scholars to the second half of the 9th century, to the era of Askold, as the beginning of the state of Ukraine-Ruś.

Footnotes:

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2) "Istoriya Ukrayinskoyi RSR" ("The History of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic"), Vol. I. Kyiv, 1953, p. 50.

3) N. T. Belyayev: "Ryurik Yutlandskiy i Ryurik nachal'noy letopisi" ("Rurik of Jutland and Rurik of the Early Chronicles"); M. de Taube: "Rome

et la Russie", Paris, 1947; P. K. Kovalevsky: "Istoricheskiy put' Rossiyi" ("The Historical Path of Russia"), Paris, 1949.

4) V. Stscherbakivsky: "Kaminna doba na Ukrayini" ("The Stone Age in Ukraine"), Munich, 1947.

5) "Trypil'ska kultura na Ukrayini" ("The Culture of Trypillia in Ukraine"), Vol. I, Kyiv, 1926 (Articles by P. Kurinny, V. Kozlovska, M. Makarenko, L. Chykalenko and other authors); P. Kurinny: "Trypil'ska kultura na Ukrayini" ("The Culture of Trypillia in Ukraine"), in the periodical *Arka*, No. 1, Munich, 1947.

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7) A. A. Spitsyn: "Polya pogrebal'nykh urn" ("Urn Burial-grounds"); *Sovyetskaya Arkheologiya (Soviet Archaeology)*, 1948, Vol. X; A. L. Mongait: "Arkheologiya v SSSR" ("Archaeology in the USSR"), published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1955, pp. 310-319; B. D. Grekov: "Izbrannyye trudy" ("Selected Works"), Moscow, 1958, Vol. II, p. 303.

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10) P. Tretyakov: "Anty i Rus" ("The Ants and the Rus"), *Sovyetskaya etnografiya (Soviet Ethnography)*, 1947, Vol. IV; R. Kovalevsky: "Manuel d'Histoire Russe", Paris, 1948, pp. 28-29; V. Klyuchevsky: "Kurs russkoy istorii" ("A Course in Russian History"), Moscow, 1937, Vol. I, p. 104.

11) The widely differing terminology used in the sources to designate the territory of Ukraine makes it extremely difficult to understand all these questions. To begin with this territory was designated as "Scythia" — this name is even used by the Patriarch Photius in the 9th century. From the 7th century onwards the designation "Slav" is used. In the 9th century the chronicles mention the tribes that inhabited the territory of Ukraine, namely the Polyany, Siveriany, Derevliany, Duliby or Buzhany (or Volhynians), White Croats, Tyvertsi, and Ulychi. At the same time the designation "Rus" is also used, but only for the territory of the Poliany. The designation "Rus" is gradually extended to cover the entire principality of Kyiv. It is significant that this designation was never used for the territories of Novgorod, Rostov, Vladimir-Suzdal, etc. "To go to Rus" meant "to travel into the region of Kyiv, Pereyaslav, etc."

12) A. Harkavy: "Skazaniya musul'manskikh pisateley o slavyanakh i russkikh" ("Accounts of the Slavs and Ruthenians by Moslem Writers"), St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 136 and p. 163.

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- 16) D. S. Likhachov: "Poviest' Vremennykh liet", Moscow, 1850, Vol. II, p. 230.
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- 19) V. A. Parkhomenko: "Tri tsentra drevney Rusi" ("Three Centres of Ancient Ruś-Ruthenia"), Reports of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1913, St. Petersburg, Vol. XVIII; V. A. Parkhomenko: "O proiskhozhdenii Rusi" ("On the Origin of the Ruś"), "Russkoye proshloye" ("The Russian Past"), Petrograd, 1923; V. A. Parkhomenko: "U istokov russkoy gosudarstvennosti" ("On the Sources of Russian Statehood"), Leningrad, 1924; N. Polonskaya: *Ibid.*; V. A. Moschin: "Varyago-russkiy vopros" ("The Varangian Russian Question"). *Byzantino-Slavica*, 1931; V. A. Moschin: "Kristianstvo na Rusi do Vladimira Sv." ("Christianity in Ruthenia-Ruś until Vladimir"), Belgr.-Vladim. Compilation, 1939; M. Lapushkin: "Slavyano-russkiye poseleniya na Donu i Tamani" ("Slav-Ruthenian Settlements on the Don and Taman"), Reports of the Academy of Materialistic Culture, 1940, Vol. 6; V. V. Mavrodin: "Slavyano-russkiye poseleniya Nizhnego Dona i Severnogo Kavkaza X-XIV st." "Slav-Ruthenian Settlements on the Lower Don and in North Caucasus in the 10th to 14th Century", Pedagogical Herzen Institute, Leningrad, 1939.
- 20) "Annales Bertiniani", 839, Mon. German. Historica, Vol. I, p. 434; The Rev. Isidor Nahayevskiy: "Kyrylo-Metodiivške khrystyyanstvo v Rusi-Ukrayini" ("The Christianity of Cyril and Methodius in Ruś-Ukraine"), Rome, pp. 7-8.
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Prof. Dr. A. Kultschytzky

The Ukrainian Free University Enters a New Stage in Its Development

The Ukrainian Free University (UFU) in Munich is about to enter on a new stage in its development. In order to assess the significance of this turning-point correctly, it is necessary to survey this development thus far, at least in brief.

The UFU was founded in Vienna in January 1921 as a university in exile. It was founded by Ukrainian professors who had emigrated after the First World War, and in the autumn of that same year was transferred to Prague where, thanks to President Thomas Masaryk, it was given the same status as the Czech university and enjoyed the special patronage of the President. After World War II it was transferred to Munich in 1945 on account of the sovietization of Czecho-Slovakia. Ukrainian scholars who had emigrated during World War II and countless emigrant students flocked to the UFU in Munich. Here students were able to continue their studies in the existing faculties of law, economics and philosophy; and during the early years of this university's existence in Munich the students who registered for courses numbered 500 to 700. The Bavarian government, on the strength of Decree No. 60710 issued by the Bavarian Minister of Education A. Hundhammer officially recognized the Ukrainian Free University, its academic degrees and diplomas on September 16, 1950. From 1945 to 1956 as many as 100 masters of arts and 156 doctors, including a large number of (Slav) foreigners, graduated at the university. The fact should be mentioned here that as regards its curriculum of lectures and the work of its teaching staff the UFU on the whole paid special attention to Ukrainian subjects. As a result of the emigration of numerous students to America, the number of

lectures were cut down in 1956; and many of the professors had previously been compelled by material circumstances to emigrate overseas, most of them to the USA, where the majority of them have meanwhile resumed teaching at universities. To quote but a few examples in the field of Slavonic studies: Prof. Smal-Stocky has assumed an important post as principal of the Slavonic Institute of Marquette University in Milwaukee, where he has published an outstanding work entitled "Nationality Problems of the Soviet Union." Professor Rudnycky holds a similar post in Manitoba, Canada. In Germany Prof. Chyzevsky has been appointed principal of the Slavonic Institute in Heidelberg. Dr. Horbatch holds a lectureship at Göttingen University.

As a result of the decrease in the number of students due to emigration, the activity of the UFU as regards the didactic sector was gradually concentrated on extra-mural lectures at German universities, on specially organized conferences and guest-lectures for foreign academic audiences, and also on vacation courses with Ukrainian themes for the Ukrainian students at various European universities. Of individual lectures held for foreign audiences outside Germany we should in particular like to mention the following: the lecture on East European problems held by Professor Mirchuk in 1954 on the occasion of an international congress on problems of Mediterranean area held in Palermo; and the lecture by Professor A. Kultschytzky on "Prolegomena on the Psychology of the Ukrainian People," held in the "Centro Del Sintesi E Comparazione" in Rome in 1953. A number of Ukrainian professors — I. Mirchuk, G. Bojko, G. Studynsky, I. Kratochvil, A. Kultschytzky and V. Oreleckyj — held various lectures at German colleges and universities in Stuttgart, Heidelberg, Münster and Munich. A joint conference of the UFU with the Society of German Psychologists in Munich on the theme "East-West Tension" was organized by Prof. V. Janiv in 1953 at Munich University. A joint series of lectures on East European problems was held in 1954 in Rome with the co-operation of Prof. Giannini and Dr. Insabato, and in 1955 in Strasbourg with the co-operation of the French Professor of International Law, Le Roy. A Ukrainian-Belgian Week, which had as its theme "Ukraine Within The Framework of East Europe," was held at the University of Louvain in 1956. Lectures were held on this occasion by Belgian Professors I. Leclerque, P. de Vischer, L. Dopriez, F. Gregoire, and by Ukrainian professors. Each day a lecture was given by a Belgian and a Ukrainian scholar, who discussed the subject in question from their own point of view. To mark the occasion of this Ukrainian-Belgian Week a specially compiled work in French was subsequently published, similar to the series of articles on the Funich conference on "East-West Tension" which were published in the periodical "Geistige Welt" ("The Intellectual World"). A joint German-Ukrainian Shevchenko commemoration was recently held at the

German university in Munich, at which the German professors Hoschmieder and Schmaus and the Ukrainian professors Bojko and Kultschytzky delivered speeches. A commemorative pamphlet to mark this occasion is to be published in the near future.

As regards the vacation courses of the UFU 8 have been held for the Ukrainian students in exile in France, Belgium, England and Germany, according to circumstances, and in the course of years. They were jointly organized by the UFU and the Ukrainian students' association, and as regards the educational aspect were conducted by the UFU.

The main emphasis of the activity of the UFU was naturally on the research and publishing sector although this activity has had to be reduced, in spite of all the scientific possibilities available, owing to a shortage of funds. Despite this financial problem, however, the UFU succeeded in publishing two large compiled works of essays by its professors; a compiled work dealing with the activity of Pope Pius XII; two other compiled works which deal with Ukrainian subjects and are in the nature of encyclopedias — "Ukraine And Its People" and "Ukraine dans le Cadre de L'Est Européen" ("Ukraine within the Framework of East Europe"); three numbers of "UFU Information" containing articles by its professors; more than 30 scripts, as well as numerous works and dissertations by its professors in Europe and America which have also appeared separately. At present the UFU is engaged in publishing the above-mentioned German-compiled commemorative work on Shevchenko, as well as a history of Ukraine in the German language by Prof. Krupnytsky. If one takes into consideration the fact that the UFU has only meagre financial means at its disposal, one is bound to admit that all these publications represent a considerable achievement. Actually they are only a fragment of all that the UFU has prepared for publication, and only a fraction of what could be achieved if all the scientific possibilities of the UFU could be used to the full.

For this reason the offer made to the Ukrainian Free University in the summer of 1962 by the Federal Ministry of Affairs Pertaining to Expellees, the Bavarian Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, the Bavarian Ministry of Education and Church Affairs, the Bavarian State Chancellery and the Department of Culture of the City of Munich is of considerable significance as far as the future prospects of the development of the research and publishing activity of the UFU are concerned. It was suggested to the UFU by the above-mentioned official departments that, together with two other bodies, the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute, it should found a registered association to be known as the "Studies and Furtherance Community of Ukrainian Sciences" whereby each individual institution should retain complete autonomy as regards the scope of its work and its own special character. The aim of this association is thus to expand and

consolidate the scientific activity of each of these bodies. In order to realize this aim it is planned to elect a board of representatives of the said official departments. A 14-roomed building in Munich, Laplacestrasse No. 24, which has been taken on lease for 25 years, is to be placed at the disposal of the UFU, the Technical and Economic Institute, and the Shevchenko Society, when reconstruction of the premises has been completed.

This generous offer on the part of the German authorities was accepted by the UFU at the general assembly of the professorial staff of the UFU on December 29, 1962, and an advisory council was formed consisting of 3 representatives of the UFU, 3 representatives of the Shevchenko Society, 2 representatives of the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute, and 4 representatives of the Munich professors suggested by the Rector of the German university in Munich and confirmed by the Bavarian Ministry of Education and Church Affairs, that is to say a total of 12 members, according to the articles of association, under the chairmanship of a Ukrainian professor. The board of representatives is in the progress of being formed and for the time being will be replaced by a study group consisting of representatives of the German professors and the German authorities and three Ukrainian professors. It is planned to set aside a budget of 130,000 DM for the scientific activity of the association. It is estimated that reconstruction work on the premises that have been made available will be completed by February. The official opening of the House of Ukrainian Science is to take place on March 29, 1963.

We have designated the new stage in the activity of the UFU in connection with the founding of the association, the "Studies and Furtherance Community of Ukrainian Sciences," as a **turning-point** in the post-war fate of the UFU. So as not to disappoint the high hopes which have been set in this new association later on, it seems appropriate to explain the term "turning-point" and to stress that what is meant by this is not so much an **already apparent and achieved actual, radical improvement** in the possibilities of the activity of the UFU, but rather the **possibility** of such an improvement, that is to say the **creation of the necessary preconditions** for what is to be achieved later on. The sum of 130,000 DM, divided up amongst three institutions, is comparatively small and does not justify exaggerated hopes and expectations.

The "turning-point" does not lie in the amount of material provision that has been suggested; in view of the financial means that are at present available it is hardly likely that there will be a very noticeable increase in the scientific activity of the UFU during the first year. What is far more important, however, is the significance of the attitude of the German partners, which will enable the Ukrainian institutions, **in keeping with their achievements and their**

efficiency, and through the medium of the scientific advisory council and the German board of representatives, in which the Ukrainians will be represented by the Ukrainian chairman of the advisory council, to submit the postulates and plans of Ukrainian science and learning to the competent German authorities, and in this way and with the approval of the board of representatives to realize them by degrees in the form of a long-term scientific activity. "This unique" Ukrainian Free University — as it was aptly designated by the outstanding Rector of the UFU, Professor Mirchuk — will undoubtedly play the important part which befits it in this new stage in the development of Ukrainian studies in Germany.

40th Anniversary of a Ukrainian College in Exile

On May 26th last year the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute (UTHI), which has its seat in Munich, the capital of Bavaria, Germany; celebrated its 40th anniversary. A special jubilee celebration was held to mark this occasion. Representatives of Ukrainian cultural and political organizations as well as representatives of the German authorities and of numerous non-Ukrainian emigrant organizations were present at the opening of this celebrations in the Conference Hall of the German Museum in Munich.

On the same day academic sessions were convened by the professors of the Institute at the German Museum and in the building in Dachauerstrasse, Munich. Under the chairmanship of Prof. P. Savycky the technical department arranged the following lectures at No. 9 Dachauerstrasse:

- 1) Prof. Dr. P. Savycky: The Nature of Atmospheric Phenomena;
- 2) Prof. O. Paramoniv: The Use of Sodium Silicium Fluoride in Combatting Forest Insect Pests by Aircraft;
- 3) Prof. V. Panasenko: The Problem of Storing Consumption Goods;
- 4) Prof. M. Borovsky: Yewtrees in Ukrainian Forests and their Protection.

The economic department convened under the chairmanship of Prof. E. Glovinsky, civil engineer, in the Conference Hall at the Deutsches Museum. The following lectures were held:

- 1) Prof. J. Studynsky: The Soviet National Reserves in the Light of the Constitution of the USSR;
- 2) Prof. O. Archymovych: The Problem of the Grasslands in the Agriculture of the USSR;

- 3) Prof. R. Jendyk: Demographic Elements in the Encyclical "Mater et Magistra";
- 4) Prof. H. Hordijenko: The Development of Buckwheat in Ukraine.

After the departmental sessions a plenary session, in which reports were read by the departmental heads, was held in the Conference Hall at the German Museum. The final lecture which was given by Prof. E. Glovinsky was entitled "The Economy of Soviet Ukraine in the Fourth Year of the Seven-Year Plan."

On the evening of the same day the conference closed with an address by the Rector of the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute, Prof. Dr. Rostyslav Jendyk.

He said that it might perhaps seem surprising that a Ukrainian college had been able to exist in exile for 40 years, but added that one must take into account the fact that culture and erudition in Ukraine had always been of a very high standard. Even after the battle of Poltava (1709), in which the Ukrainians were defeated by the Russians, the famous Mohyla Academy in Kyiv continued to be a cultural centre not only in Ukraine itself but also for the whole of East and Southeast Europe. In fact, the cultural vacuum in Muscovy (Old Russia) in the 17th century could only be overcome with the help of Ukrainian scholars and intellectuals. No wonder that Ukraine and Russia are compared to ancient Greece and Rome. Greece, the home of philosophy and of culture of a high level, though conquered by the belligerent and barbarous Romans and crushed by Rome in the political and military sphere, nevertheless conquered Rome from the cultural point of view. And nowadays the Ukrainians are outstanding in the Soviet Union as one of the nations that foster culture and erudition.

Hence it is not surprising that after the conquest of Ukraine by the Russians and Poles (not to mention the occupation of Ukrainian territory by the Czechs and Rumanians) after the First World War, and after the subsequent unsuccessful fight for freedom of Ukraine and the mass exodus of the Ukrainians from their native country in 1921, numerous Ukrainian colleges were established in exile: there were four colleges in Czecho-Slovakia (the Ukrainian University, the Ukrainian College of Pedagogy and the Ukrainian College of Art in Prague, as well as the Ukrainian College of Agriculture in Podebrady near Prague, where hundreds of Ukrainian students lived in close contact with their professors, that is to say on the lines of Oxford and Cambridge), the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw, and a similar institute in Berlin. After World War II there were two Ukrainian colleges in occupied Germany: the Ukrainian University in Munich and a College of Agriculture in Regensburg; in addition, the Ukrainian emigrants in Germany founded a large number of secondary schools (including about 25 grammar schools), as well as numerous technical and vocational schools, as for instance schools of music, technical secondary schools, and commercial schools, etc.

At present there are two Ukrainian colleges in Germany, both of them in Munich: the Ukrainian Free University and the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute (UTHI).

In addition, the Ukrainians in exile also have a Free Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, a Scientific Shevchenko Society, as well as many other Ukrainian scientific institutes. No wonder this academic activity on the part of the Ukrainian emigrants is a constant source of annoyance to the Soviet Russian occupiers. For intellectual and academic life in the allegedly sovereign Soviet Ukraine is ruthlessly persecuted by the Soviet Russians and is reduced to a ridiculous minimum. The following examples are striking proof of this fact.

The 1961 catalogue "The Technical Soviet Book," for instance, contains a list of books which have appeared in Ukraine in the year in question. In the field of technical science there are 84 publications. But many of them are anything but scientific! We give a brief survey of this catalogue in order to illustrate the standard of the sciences cultivated by the Soviet regime in Ukraine. For there can be no question of the humanistic science: these are either neglected completely, or else works in this field are published in Russian (that is to say not in the Ukrainian language). Even books and treatises on the Ukrainian language are mostly published in Russian. The said catalogue is divided into the following sections:

- Literature to propagate the Seven-Year Plan;
- Literature for workers of the mass professions;
- Scientific popular literature;
- Productive technical literature;
- Chemical, gas and oil industry;
- Literature for educational purposes;
- Power engineering, radio and electronics;
- Light and foodstuffs industries;
- Reference literature;
- Miscellaneous literature;
- Building trade and architecture.

Surely one cannot designate propaganda literature to promote the Seven-Year Plan, or books for workers, or even scientific popular literature as part of the exact sciences! And the same also applies to the other publications. For instance, the 7 books in the "power engineering" category include such "research" works as "Hints for Radio Amateurs," "How to assemble and regulate TV sets," etc. The category "Light and Foodstuffs Industries" for example contains the following publications: "Ukrainian Dishes" and "Cold Menus," whilst the category "Miscellaneous Literature" includes such works as "Checking and Repair of Bicycles," etc. These few examples clearly show that the Soviet Russian occupier has degraded Ukrainian technical sciences to the level of the requirements of women on the collective farms.

As regards the publication of these so-called scientific works, the Red Russians only allow a relatively small number of copies to be printed. On an average the edition of each book printed only runs to about 3,000 copies. Naturally there are deviations in this respect — as seen from the humorous aspect. For example, a textbook for schools — “Geometrical Projection” — was only printed in an edition of 300 copies! The Academy of Architecture likewise published a book — “New Information on the Production of Building Materials” — in an edition with the same ridiculously small number of copies. On the other hand, however, 100,000 copies of the “Cold Menu” and 20,000 copies of the “Ukrainian Dishes” were printed!

The subjects and the nature of the editions of the so-called technical books clearly indicate that, apart from the meagre periodical publications of the Kyiv Academy of Sciences, Ukrainian science in Soviet Russian occupied Ukraine is merely a fiction. This does not however mean that there is no Ukrainian nation with all its higher demands for a national and state life of its own in every sphere. One of the attributes of every nation is expressed in the respective standard of the exact sciences which are cultivated in national forms. In other words, Ukrainian scholars create Ukrainian science and they must publish the results of their research work in the Ukrainian language. These scholars and their research works are, as it were, the admission ticket of Ukraine to the community of the Western cultural peoples. And this is what the Russian oppressors of the Ukrainian people have always feared in the course of the centuries (or, to be more correct, since the second half of the 18th century). And this fear is also the reason for the suppression of Ukrainian science in Ukraine by the Russians. But the development of Ukrainian science in exile cannot be prevented in any way by the Russians.

The character of Ukrainian science is bound to be the same as that of the entire Ukrainian knowledge and learning. And herein lies its historical significance as regards the origin and existence of a true science and learning and of the preconditions which have derived their origin from the thousand-year old struggle for freedom of the human intellect. In its search for objective truth, Ukrainian science in exile sets an example worthy of emulation to Ukrainian research scholars in Ukraine. For Ukrainian scholars in Ukraine languish under intellectual slavery and are therefore unable to give expression to this objective truth, — possibly, too, because they have unintentionally fallen a victim to this intellectual slavery as a result of having received the wrong kind of training. For this reason the free Ukrainian scholars in the Western world must set a shining example to the scholars in Ukraine as to how one must cultivate science and learning. The evil of Marxism-Leninism lies not so much in the fact that it penetrates every sphere of human life but, rather, that it claims to be absolutely infallible by means of ruthless physical

violence. Such a claim means death to science and learning, or at least is equivalent to a lingering disease, which results in a conscious or unconscious falsification of the countenance of the external world.

The second task of Ukrainian science in exile lies in the cultivation of those scientific fields which are completely neglected in Ukraine, or, in order to dull national self-consciousness, are either restricted to the utmost or maliciously distorted. We are referring to the humanistic sciences in the widest sense. For it is impossible to visualize an harmonious development of the human intellect without the influence and creation of these sciences out of the original sources of our cultural cycle, out of the elements of Hellenic culture. These elements in their far-reaching effects are in our opinion a curative factor to be employed in combatting the Russian Bolshevik robot, which is forced to live without the beneficial influence of religion and of classicism. But however indispensable the humanistic sciences may be to Ukraine, the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute in Munich can only confine itself to an intellectual activity on the lines of the classical Greek and Roman example, without however being able to occupy itself with studies on this subject.

The founders of the predecessor of the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute — the Ukrainian College of Agriculture in Poděbrady — were firmly convinced that the prosperity of Ukrainian science lay in the future rather than in the present when, in 1922, they established this college in the well-known Czech health resort near Prague. Its foundation cost about 100,000 dollars, and even the then President of Czecho-Slovakia, T. G. Masaryk, personally congratulated them on their courageous cultural enterprise.

In his address at the opening of the jubilee celebration held on May 26, 1962, to mark the 40th anniversary of the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute, the Rector of this Institute, Prof. Dr. R. Jendyk, said that the present Ukrainian generation would not be worse than the founders of the College of Agriculture in 1922, and he added that the jubilee celebration on the 40 anniversary of the Institute was a review of the stages through which it had passed in earlier years and a new prospect of the course which it might take in the future.

V. Chernivchanyn

The Ukrainian Academy of Science (UVAN) in Canada

(Excerpts from a report covering the time between 1948 and 1962)

The Ukrainian Free Academy of Science (UVAN) is the oldest centre of Ukrainian free science on the American continent. Its true activity began after the arrival of the well-known Ukrainian scholar, Dmytro Doroshenko, in Canada. At that time Doroshenko was president of the UVAN in Europe. After the arrival of professors Leonid Bileckyj and J. Rudnyckyj in Canada, a board of Ukrainian scholars in Canada was formed in 1949, and after the necessary preparatory work was concluded one could speak of the official foundation of the UVAN in Canada. The UVAN founded in Europe may be considered as a continuation of the UVAN in the Ukrainian capital of Kyiv. After the Ukrainian capital had been conquered by the Russian Communists, the UVAN was liquidated, or rather, it was reorganized, so that only in name has it remained Ukrainian. The UVAN in Canada which, on June 2nd 1958, was registered by the Canadian authorities, works independently, but nevertheless in close co-operation with other similar Ukrainian institutions in exile. The scientific activity of the Canadian UVAN is centred in the following fields:

1) Studies in humanistics, as for instance history, literature, philology, Slavic studies, folklore, etc., since these fields have primarily been excluded from the programme of the UVAN by the Russian occupational authorities.

2) The scientific studies in these fields have been published with the chief intention of filling the gaps caused by the restrictions and distortions of the Bolshevik occupation regime, and of informing the scientific world in the West about the latest achievements of free Ukrainian science.

3) The representation of Ukrainian science at international scientific congresses, conferences and similar meetings is considered of great importance. The exchange of publications between the Canadian UVAN and other scientific institutions of the western world has already been continued for years.

4) Scientists from the ranks of the younger generation in the free world have been encouraged to participate in the work of the UVAN.

5) Public academic lectures for the Ukrainian (but also non-Ukrainian) public have been given.

6) The scientific library, as well as the archives have been supplemented systematically.

7) The cultivation and support of Ukrainian cultural activities (exhibits, academic meetings, concerts etc.) have been sponsored by the UVAN.

Both the activity of the Academy and its publications comprise the following departments: Slavic studies, onomastics, literature, survey on Ukrainian scholars' research work, western studies, Shevchenko studies, bibliography, "Ucrainica Canadiana," the UVAN chronicles and the UVAN bulletin.

In the field of Slavic studies 50 works have been published so far in Ukrainian, English, German and other languages.

In the field of onomastics about 25 publications (in Ukrainian, English, French and other languages) have appeared up to date.

As regards the research work done by Ukrainian scholars more than 10 studies have been published both in Ukrainian and English.

In the department of literature about 10 research works may be mentioned.

In the field of Western studies the UVAN has published 6 large volumes, in Ukrainian as well as in English.

In addition the works of Shevchenko have also been published (altogether 5 volumes).

The UVAN sent its representatives to international scientific congresses, of which the following (excepting Canada and the USA) may be mentioned: Uppsala (Sweden) 1952, Salamanca (Spain) 1955, Oslo 1957, Heidelberg 1957, Florence and Pisa 1961, Utrecht 1961, and Bolzano 1961.

Publications have been exchanged with the following libraries: the Library of Congress, Washington; the New York Public Library; the British Museum, London; the National Library, Dublin; the National Library, Edinburgh; the Library of the University of Oslo; the National Library of Madrid, and others.

In 1962 a Ukrainian etymological dictionary went to the press.

The Canadian UVAN maintains permanent scientific relations with America, Australia, New Zealand and East Asia (Japan and Korea).

Apart from Ukrainians, many foreigners also participate in the work of the UVAN.

Many professors of the Canadian UVAN are members of the board of lecturers of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich.

The main seat of the UVAN is in Winnipeg; its scientific research work, however, also extends to the centre of the Ukrainian settlements in Canada, as for example to Toronto, Edmonton, and Montreal.

Both Ukrainian scholars and students, who are in close contact with the UVAN, as well as the Free Ukrainian University in Munich, are working at the University of Ottawa.

Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj Released from Soviet Dungeons

Warm Welcome from Pope John XXIII in Rome

Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj, Archbishop of Lviv, Western Ukraine, arrived in Rome on Feb. 9, after his release from 18 years imprisonment and detention in the Soviet Union.

Metropolitan Slipyj, accompanied by Cardinal Amleto Cicognani, Vatican Secretary of State, and Cardinal Gustav Testa, was received by Pope John XXIII for almost an hour in the afternoon of Feb. 10.

"A touching consolation arrived last night from Eastern Europe," the Pope said in an emotion-charged voice. "We thank God for this as a thing which in Divine providence could prepare the Holy Church and forthright souls for an outburst of sincere faith and of a simple and peaceful apostolate."

Metropolitan Slipyj who on Sunday, February 17, 1963, was 71 years of age, was arrested just a few months after he was appointed Archbishop of the Ukrainians in Lviv in November, 1944, following the death of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky.

He and other Ukrainian Bishops were tried in April, 1946, on charges of "collaboration" during the German occupation of Ukraine. In 1947 the Moscow radio announced he had been sentenced to prison. Subsequently he was tried again on charges of sending secret pastoral letters to his faithful and was sent to Siberian slave labour camps. For years there was no news from him at all. In 1958 it was reported that he was working as a servant in an old peoples' home in central Siberia. In 1960, word got out that he had been offered an important post with the Russian Orthodox Church, that of Patriarch, if he would renounce his faith. Instead of accepting the offer, he denounced the "corruption" of the Soviet-dominated Russian Orthodox Church.

When Pope John XXIII named three cardinals in pectore (in the secrecy of his own heart), it was rumored that all three were impeded behind the Iron Curtain and that Archbishop Slipyj was one of the three. The in pectore cardinals are, of course, not listed with the other cardinals and only the Pope knows their identity.

Archbishop Slipyj's long suffering, martyrdom and heroic anti-Communist stand won him the reputation of a stalwart Christian martyr. Many thought that he was dead, along with the other nine Ukrainian Catholic Bishops who were captured and put to torture by the Soviet NKVD and MVD after World War II.

There was considerable speculation about the Soviet move in releasing Archbishop Slipyj. Pope John XXIII explained only that "the Soviet government had released the prelate and allowed him to make his way to Rome, where he will live in a religious community." The event was seen in some quarters as another action by the USSR in an attempt to improve relations between the Vatican and Moscow. It followed an exchange of messages between Pope John XXIII and Khrushchov on the Pope's most recent birthday and on other occasions.

Other sources pointed to two other developments, to help explain the surprise release. The arrival of two Russian Orthodox Churchmen as observers to the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council last October followed the visit to Moscow of Msgr. John Willebrands, S.J., of the Secretariat to Promote Christian Unity. These initial contacts, it is believed, may have led to new results, including the release of Archbishop Slipyj.

Another development was the stand taken by 15 Ukrainian Catholic bishops of the free world, attending the Ecumenical Council, who denounced the presence of the two Russian Orthodox churchmen while Archbishop Slipyj was still in a Russian jail. Their protest may have started a chain reaction which led to the release of the Ukrainian Archbishop. "Il Tempo" of Rome, in discussing a possible reason for Archbishop Slipyj's release, said that Slipyj early last year was offered the post of Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow, but the Archbishop refused and sent a stern protest to the Soviet-Russian government over this "attempt at corruption."

It is recalled that on November 22, 1962 fifteen Ukrainian Archbishops and Bishops attending the Ecumenical Council in Rome issued a strong statement protesting against the presence of two Russian Orthodox observers, contrasting their presence with the continued detention and persecution of Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj. "The presence of the two Soviet-Russian observers at the Council has disconcerted true believers, astounded many Council fathers and engendered a feeling of discontent and indignation among the faithful everywhere," the statement said.

DEMAND FOR AN OFFICIAL PROTEST AGAINST SOVIET-RUSSIAN POLITICAL MURDERS IN WEST GERMANY

A LETTER TO CHANCELLOR ADENAUER

Frankfurt on Main,
Unterweg 10,
January 16, 1963.

The Federal Chancellor,
Dr. Konrad Adenauer,
B o n n

Sir,

In the recent sham fights for the security of the law in the Federal Republic some circles have maybe intentionally, others perhaps unintentionally, overlooked a case which, in view of its special character, demands the greatest attention on the part of all those who are genuinely concerned about the preservation of the constitutional statehood in that part of Germany which is free.

At the end of 1962 the Federal High Court in Karlsruhe presented its written opinion and verdict in the trial of the Ukrainian Bohdan Stashynsky, who as an agent of the Soviet Russian State Security Committee in 1957 murdered Professor Lev Rebet in Munich and in 1959 Stepan Bandera. It is stated in this opinion that both murders "on the strength of the conclusive evidence adduced at the trial, were ordered by a Soviet 'highest authority,' at least on a government basis and with the participation of Shelepin, the then chairman of the Committee for State Security in the Ministerial Council of the USSR, and that the accused was ordered to carry them out." In accordance with other decisions reached by the Federal High Court and the former Reichs Court, the court in this case distinguished between the perpetrator of murder and the mere assistant to murder, and thus clearly stated that the Ministerial Council of the USSR is the perpetrator of the murders.

This verdict on the part of a democratic independent court has proved that the "political leadership of the Soviet Union, the leadership of a world power which is wont to pride itself of its history and civilization... the political leadership of a country that is a member of the United Nations and entertains correct diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic... considers it expedient to have a murder by poison, decided at least on a government level, committed on the sovereign territory of the German Federal Republic as a state order."

One cannot fail to see in these arguments of the court a description of a state of affairs which in an unparalleled manner threatens the security of the law in the Federal Republic. Countless views pertaining to this aspect of the matter and urgent enquiries have been sent to me, asking whether the Federal Government will not at least reply with a protest to the violation of our sovereignty and constitutional state order by a foreign power. Surely it is not in keeping with the principles of international law for a foreign government to be allowed to hire murderers and give them orders to kill persons whom they

regard as their political opponents, on the sovereign territory of our state? Many circles of the population are rightly asking themselves what will eventually happen if incidents of this kind are accepted without any protest. Self-respect and protection against crimes of this type demand that at least a formal protest should be sent to Moscow.

Sir, I take the liberty of submitting these viewpoints and considerations to you and should be obliged if you would inform me whether the Federal Government, on the strength of the findings of the Federal High Court, has already sent a protest of the Federal Republic to the government of the USSR, or intends doing so in the near future.

Yours faithfully,

Richard Hackenberg,
MdL.

OPINIONS ON THE PROBLEMS OF EASTERN EUROPE

SOVIET IMPERIALISM IN UKRAINE

On September 20, 1962, the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe discussed the "methods of Communist colonialism in Central and Eastern Europe." The report of the Commission of Nations not represented was presented by Mr. LINDEN.

The striking fact about this report is that it did not mention anything about Russian Communist colonialism within the frontiers of the Soviet Union but contented itself with solely describing "Soviet colonialism" in the satellite countries! The speakers — far too few in our opinion, as if the subject was not worth a longer discussion — also refrained from raising the question of the colonialism and dreadful exploitation of which the Ukrainians, the Byelorussians, the Turkestanians and the Georgians are the victims.

Only one speaker, a Frenchman, Mr. Jean ALBERT-SOREL, resolutely took the initiative and drew the attention of the Assembly to the neo-colonialism which is likewise practised — and, as he told us, above all — outside the satellite countries, that is to say in the Soviet Union.

To show our appreciation of this justified and apt initiative on the part of Mr. Jean ALBERT-SOREL, we consider it appropriate to publish his excellent interposition.

(Editor's note)

Mr. President, Dear Colleagues, in the brief interposition which I intend to make it is not a question — and I wish to assure you on this point — of my applying the least criticism or the least reservation to the very remarkable report submitted by Mr. Linden.

I solely wish to remind the Assembly that outside the satellite countries, as they are called, where this neo-colonialism about which Mr. Linden has told us is exercised and which can be defined in very simple terms as oppression and exploitation by a party and by a doctrine, — outside these satellite countries, namely in the very heart of the country known by the geographical name of Russia, this same oppression and exploitation are likewise exercised.

I wish to refer in particular to the case of Ukraine in this connection. Ukraine, that is to say historical Ruthenia, from the very outset, namely from the beginning of the Russian revolution onwards, remained extremely aloof. In the elections on November 14, 1917, it only supplied 10 per cent of the votes for the Communist Party, in spite of the risk which it ran by manifesting this attitude at the time in question. Ukraine, which has its own special traditions and possesses its own national literature and culture, a fact which is of the utmost importance, as has been stressed just now, is at the present time still languishing under an oppression which is becoming more and more terrible.

I do not wish to hold up the Assembly too long for time is passing and the debate has already assumed considerable proportions. In order to illustrate what I have just said, I should merely like to read to you a few statements made by Lenin in December 1919:

“The elections to the Constituent Assembly in Russia, when compared with the events of the two years of civil war (1917-1919), are extremely informative. They show which regions are definitely least pro-Bolshevist. In the first place, the regions of the East Urals and of Siberia, with 12 per cent and 10 per cent of the votes to the Bolsheviks. And in the second place, Ukraine with 10 per cent of the votes to the Bolsheviks.”

These figures clearly show us that the revolution spread parallel to the graphic curve of the presence of the true Russians in Russia, that is to say in the territory which became Soviet Russia.

And Lenin concludes his report with the singularly revealing words: “It was precisely in those regions where the votes for the Bolsheviks in November 1917 were fewest in number that the counter-revolutionary movement, insurrections and counter-revolutionary organizations were most successful. The ‘final decision’ was only achieved after a long and difficult struggle, which has still not come to an end in Siberia and in Ukraine.”

At present there are still concentration camps in Ukraine, and the dreadful methods of oppression and of exploitation which we oppose and which the Council of Europe condemns still exist there.

MARIA BASHKIRTSEVA—THE FAMOUS UKRAINIAN PAINTRESS

(1860-1884)

In one of the quietest districts of Paris lies the cemetery of Passy, which is no longer used for burials. Amongst the graves of musicians and painters who died long ago there is an unusual white arbour which resembles a mausoleum. The interior of this arbour contains an artist's studio, complete in every detail. A half-finished painting on an easel and a palette with colours on it creates the impression that the artist will return after a while to resume painting.

On the opposite wall hangs the portrait of a young girl, with golden curls and sad, pensive eyes. But her grey eyes reveal such a hunger for life, so many wishes and such yearning that the beholder cannot help but ask: "Who was this young girl to whose memory this unusual tomb was erected?" She was a young Ukrainian of exceptional talent, a young genius who only lived to the age of 24.

On the coffin in the crypt there is the following inscription: "Maria Bashkirtseva, born on November 11, 1860, in Havronci, died on October 31, 1884, in Paris."

What a short and tragic life! But her genius is immortal, and on the occasion of the centenary of her birth not only French but also English periodicals published lengthy articles devoted to her memory. And all the latest guide-books on Paris mention her grave.

Maria Bashkirtseva left a number of paintings, of which the most famous is "Le Meeting," which is preserved in the "Musée de l'Art Moderne" in Paris. The others are displayed in the "Musée Cheret" in Nice. But she has probably stirred the hearts of the public even more profoundly with her extremely candid diary. It was published shortly after her death and still enjoys considerable popularity even today. Her political views and her keen discernment are far in advance of the period in which she lived, so much so in fact that she almost seems like a contemporary to us when we read her diary.

Maria's father, who possessed considerable property and wealth in Ukraine, was a landowner and a man of average intelligence. Her mother was a typical young lady from the provinces.

"Your son will be an average kind of person, but your daughter is predestined to be great" — so an old fortune-teller once told Maria's mother when Maria was still a child. These words made a deep impression on Maria, who was an extremely sensitive child, and became a kind of talisman to her which spurred her on to pursue her path undeterred to the highest goal.

In addition to the fact that she had numerous governesses, little "Musia's" education was extremely chaotic, — as chaotic and irregular as the life of her family. After a brief married life with her husband, who appears to have been inconstant and fickle, Maria's mother left him and, with her children, went to live with her parents. When Maria's grandmother, Mrs. Babinin, died in 1870 the whole family left Chernykhivka and went abroad. After moving from place to place for three years, the family took a large villa on the Promenade des Anglais in Nice and settled down there for some years.

And this was to prove a turning-point in Maria's brief life. "Little Musia," though still a child with capricious ideas, suddenly became a personality who had set herself a definite aim. The entire family was somewhat at a loss as to what to do with regard to her ambitions and desires, for Maria, though barely thirteen years of age, was determined to decide her life and career herself. With amazing thoroughness she drew up a plan of her future studies, and kept to this so undauntedly that two years later she was already reading Plato and Tacitus in the original and was quoting passages from Schopenhauer and other philosophers.

But all these far-reaching plans concealed a feverish haste and a presentiment of approaching death. For though a good fairy gave her so many fine gifts when she was born — wealth, beauty and artistic talents, a wicked fairy also hovered over her cradle and gave her an evil present — the germ of tuberculosis, the fatal heritage of her father.

Even though a brilliant future apparently awaited her, an inner voice constantly seemed to tell her that every hour in her life must have the value of a day and every month the value of a year.

— "What am I? Nothing! What do I desire to become? Everything!"

Since Maria Bashkirtseva, though still barely more than a child, was always intent upon achieving this her life's aim, she decided to try to attain immortality as a great singer. Her beautiful voice and great musical talent certainly justified her aims in this respect. But Maria, who always considered all her bold plans from the point of view of sound common sense, decided to ask the opinion of an expert before commencing her studies. But hardly had a famous maestro

prophesied a brilliant future for her lovely voice when Maria was forced to abandon the course that she herself had chosen. The spell of the wicked fairy began to work: Maria complained of pains in her throat and developed influenza which proved most obstinate. It was not long before her lovely voice became nothing more than merely a memory.

After fierce outbursts of doubt and despair, the dimmed ardour of her zeal manifested itself again after a short time, however, with renewed vehemence. She now felt that she must seek to achieve her aim in life even more rapidly. And this aim was to be painting, for as a small child she had already shown great talent in this art. Indeed, her paintings and her diary, in which from her thirteenth year onwards she expressed her inmost thoughts, have left a far more lasting and unforgettable trace of her personality behind than a passing fame as a singer would have done.

In order to be able to take up her study of painting, however, she felt that it was essential that she should first of all become acquainted with the works of the great Italian masters and in this way develop her appreciation of art. Accompanied by a chaperone she therefore went to Florence, where, with the bold judgment of a future pioneer of naturalism, she criticized the works of Raphael and was fascinated by the colours of Titian, but found fault with his female figures, whose "hands and legs are somewhat crudely portrayed" in her opinion.

In January 1876 Maria's family moved to Rome. She was captivated by this city of the Caesars and Popes, but her urge to study painting seemed to have abated a little, or at least to have been directed into other channels for a while. Under the influence of the compliments paid her by Pietro Antonelli, the handsome cousin of the famous Cardinal, Maria decided to become his wife and in this way also the queen of salons of Rome. But in spite of the fact that she had lost her heart to the said young man, she realized with her usual common sense that the fact that she had grown up without the protection of a father would debar her from the Cardinal's family, which was governed by narrow-minded principles and prejudices.

Maria therefore decided to persuade her father to come to Rome, since she was sure that she would be able to convince him of the necessity of a reconciliation with her mother. A few weeks later she left her aunt, who had accompanied her, at the German frontier and crossed the Russian frontier and reached Ukraine. She had only been there a short time when, thanks to her extreme sensitiveness, she began to sense the undercurrent of disturbances in the country which, as she rightly foresaw, would one day lead to a terrible historical conflict. She gave expression to her reflections and observations regarding the Russian people, which in spite of her youth are extremely wise and profound, in her diary and in letters to her

friends. These thoughts and opinions are almost clairvoyant and are most illuminating as regards Maria's stay in Russia.

For instance she writes as follows:

"Although this people at present are peaceful and as tame as a lamb, it will nevertheless, as a result of revolutionary and agitatory propaganda, one day resort to brutal violence and will become ruthless and cruel."

And on another occasion she wrote: "Communism is a great danger... It will bring about the downfall of civilization and of all that is beautiful and good... Only material values will then be decisive. And the fruits of man's labour will also be communized, for no one will be allowed to advance to a higher position on the strength of his own labour and merit."

If one takes into account the fact that Maria Bashkirtseva when she foresaw Bolshevism forty years before its outbreak, was only sixteen years of age, and a "young lady of a good family" and had moreover been brought up in France in the artificial atmosphere of wealthy families, then one is bound to admit that this young Ukrainian girl undoubtedly was a most striking personality and far in advance of her times.

Apart from her social success and the countless compliments that were paid her wherever she went, her visit to Russia did not fulfil her hopes and expectations. She returned to Nice alone, after only having been able to exact a promise from her father that he would visit his family in the near future. Actually, her visit to her father had been to no purpose for the Cardinal's cousin had meanwhile disappeared out of her life.

Wearied by months of arguments with her father and no doubt also numbed by her unhappy love affair, Maria seemed to lose all desire to pursue her aim, at least for a while. Although she urged herself on, she now wasted a whole year of her meteoric career in travelling. She also spent considerable time in trying to get her throat complaint cured.

Eventually, in the autumn of 1877, the whole family went to live in Paris, where Maria now definitely decided to study painting. At the beginning of October she enrolled at the Julien art school. The advent of this elegant young lady, attired in white, who aspired to become a paintress, made such an impression on the other pupils at the art school that for many years to come the principal of the school still referred to "this ray of light in the dismal studio." At first, Maria's fellow-students were apt to smile in kindly irony at the "artistic whim" of this wealthy young lady, but within a very short time they realized that she possessed an unusual talent.

Maria Bashkirtseva was now more determined than ever to achieve the aim that she had set herself. Spurred on by her presentiment of

approaching death, she worked with feverish activity for several hours every day in the studio, an unhealthy, draughty place, which only helped to impair the diseased condition of her lungs still more.

In this race against death Maria achieved her first success in 1880, when her first painting "Absorbed in Reading" was accepted by the Paris "Salon" and received a "highly commended," although most viewers were of the opinion that it easily deserved a medal.

Though greatly encouraged by her first success, Maria Bashkirtseva accepted it calmly and refused to be dazzled by it. She had meanwhile become reconciled to the fact that she was suffering from an incurable disease, but she frequently forgot this and made plans for the far off future. She spent several months in Spain and here she learnt to appreciate the beauty of the Goya's and Velasquez' works and to develop her sense of colour still more. In 1881 she descended from the heights of Parnassus for a while and even travelled to Ukraine with her parents who had meanwhile become reconciled. There she spent an enjoyable time; she went hunting, and she even began to cherish dreams of getting married some day.

After her return to Paris a newly found happiness lit up the growing shadow of death. She made the acquaintance of the great Bastien Lepage, one of the main representatives of the French impressionists. Within a short time her admiration for his works turned to love for the painter himself, and this love was to make the last few months of Maria's life happier.

"I am firmly convinced — Maria once said after having attended a performance of the opera "La Traviata" — that I too shall die the moment my wishes are fulfilled."

And this was actually the case. Not only did her paintings receive more and more recognition, but her wanderings from one rented apartment to another finally came to an end with the acquisition of a villa in the Rue d'Ampère, where Maria now received artists and writers in her own salon.

But the shadow of death was rapidly obtruding on this seemingly happy life which she now led. Maria tried to make light of her illness with a certain irony, but in reality this irony concealed fear, her overwhelming fear of nothingness. The death of her father in Ukraine hardly made an impression on her. Seized by a feverish activity, Maria was obsessed by the idea of immortalizing her life by her paintings.

The year 1884 was approaching its close and with it her life was nearing its end. No doubt thanks to her amazing energy Maria managed to preserve the feeble flame of life and she still continued to drive to one of the suburbs of Paris every day (regardless of the warning of her doctors) and stand there in the rain and the cold in order to finish her painting "The Alley." And she also continued to

visit her beloved friend Bastien, who was seriously ill. But it was now clearly evident that her life was rapidly drawing to a close.

On October 12th Maria wrote the last entry in her diary. Bastien, who was dying, was brought by his brother, who was devoted to him, to Maria's house in the Rue d'Ampère. Attired in a white velvet gown, she received them with a sad smile. The two dying lovers sat together in silence for a while. The rays of the setting sun kissed the lovers, who were already on the threshold to eternity, for the last time.

Maria Bashkirtseva died three weeks after Bastien's death.

"She was a genius" — such was the opinion expressed by the great English statesman Gladstone about Maria Bashkirtseva. And this was indeed homage, coming from a man like Gladstone who was never given to exaggeration.

NEW YORK CONFERENCE ON RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

On February 9, 1963, there was held in New York at the New Yorker Hotel a conference-forum on the topic, "Free World's Policies Toward Russian and Communist Colonialism and Toward Liberation of the Enslaved Nations." It was sponsored by the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in cooperation with over 30 US organizations, comprising descendants of the following nations: Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Cossackia, Croatia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Turkestan, and Ukraine. About 350 persons took part in the conference. It was followed by a banquet attended by about 250 persons.

The main speakers at the forum were: His Excellency Dr. Tingfu F. Tsiang — Ambassador of the Republic of China to the United States, Ambassador Soo Young Lee — Permanent Observer of Korea to the United Nations, the Honourable Jaroslav Stetko — President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and former Ukrainian Prime-Minister, and the Honourable Michael Feighan — Congressman from Ohio. Former Congressman Charles Kersten was the moderator.

Greetings were sent to the conference from the Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations — Ambassador Paul Trembley, from Madame Tran Van Chuong — Permanent Observer of Vietnam to the United Nations, and from the Korean Embassy in Washington. The Koreans wrote among other things: "We at the Korean Embassy here truly regard your organization as one of the most outstanding Anti-Communist movements of the present time, and your unceasing endeavours to bring about a unified front against Communist Imperialism is being watched in the Anti-Communist countries of Asia.

For this reason your forthcoming conference-forum will in our opinion, advance further because of the struggle against Communist Colonialism."

The forum was opened by I. Bilynsky, Chairman of the American Friends of ABN. He called it "a monumental forum" because of "such distinguished and honourable guests that we have with us." The composition of speakers was characteristic proving that "the cause of indivisible freedom constantly shows the inter-relationship of freedom among the United States, the captive nations of Europe and Asia and the now threatened countries of the free world." Mr. Bilynsky stressed that the aim of this conference was "a renewed effort to make the objective of freedom a reality so that one day the yoke of Moscow's slavery and Communist oppression will be thrown off and all the captive nations in the world will again be free."

The first speaker was Ambassador Dr. Tsiang. At the beginning he gave his "reflections on the United Nations Charter," in which he stated: "Soviet military intervention in Hungary is, in my opinion, the single most nefarious blow against the Charter of the United Nations." Analysing further the Russian attitude toward this world organization and toward the world of free nations, the Ambassador said: "The Communist world has no idea of the possibilities of co-operation among free peoples. The Communist world is reactionary. It knows only domination through the denial of the right of self-determination to its subject peoples. When all other empires are disappearing, the Soviet Russian empire has grown larger than the czars and czarinas ever dreamed of. When colonies of the West emerged as independent nations in Asia and

Africa, old cultured nations such as the Ukraine and the Baltic states remain under the yoke of Soviet imperialism. I think my voice was the first one in the United Nations raised against this perpetuation and intensification of Soviet imperialism in the present age."

Dr. Tsiang concluded his excellent speech with the proposition: "I think the United Nations should not allow the world to forget the injustice done to such peoples as those of the Ukraine and the Baltic states. We should let the delegations from the Communist countries know clearly and simply what we think of their practice of enslaving peoples who wish to be free from Soviet control and who are fully capable of governing themselves. Communist imperialism is the one obstacle to world peace and freedom. We should refuse to allow this one obstacle to stop the march of victory. Let us use all means within our power to remove this one obstacle."

The next speaker was Ambassador Soo Young Lee, who stressed that Koreans are very sympathetic to the activities of ABN, because they are active in a similar organization, called the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League. The Ambassador associated himself with the statement by Dr. Tsiang: "to which and to every single line of which I fully subscribe." He acknowledged that at this conference "are gathered representatives of people whose ancient freedom and inalienable rights have been ruthlessly trampled under the heel of the aggressive forces of Soviet imperialism. Our aim is to restore to our people the fundamental rights of self-determination, of freedom, of human dignity."

Ambassador Lee addressed the following appeal to the audience: "Precisely because we are here in freedom, and not with them behind the barricades, our responsibility is all the greater. We must speak for them the words they are not allowed to utter... We must see to it that the crimes of Communism do not become respectable because they have become habitual."

The speaker continued: "There are those who argue in the name of realism that the free nations must recognize and accept the criminal aggression that has lasted long enough to have become an established fact... but we know that the denial of human rights does not become less evil simply because it continues." Ambassador Lee added: "The imperialism that engulfed a part or all parts of our nations in the recent past is today threatening to encompass the entire globe... We shall never abandon the cause of freedom until free peoples everywhere unite to ensure its success." The distinguished guest-speaker concluded: "...we shall continue our quest until freedom has been restored to our countries and to the world. So long as our courageous men and women are dedicated to preserving the freedom and peace, civilized humanity can never be destroyed."

Mr. Kersten then gave the floor to Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko who delivered the third main address. He stated: "The vulnerable spot of the Russian colonial empire lies in the national urge to freedom and independence of the subjugated peoples... The issue of the world fight against Moscow will be determined by a third force, the most uncompromising anti-Communist force in the world, the peoples behind the Iron Curtain."

Hence, "a logical conclusion — continued the speaker — that the West... should appeal to the subjugated peoples in an analogical way as Moscow does to the peoples of Asia and Africa in keeping with their idea of independence."

Mr. Stetzko stated: "The free world will never achieve a lasting peace and security if it only defends the status quo and itself on the peripheries. The center of evil, the metropolis of the empire, — Moscow — must be attacked! ...the liberation idea is more powerful than any hydrogen bomb!... It is imperative that a global, offensive counterplan of action on the part of the free world should be put into operation... Without resorting to the use of nuclear weapons, there is a way to achieve victory. And it lies in the national liberation movements

of the peoples subjugated by Russian Communism, coordinated as a simultaneous revolution and supported by a joint anti-Bolshevik world front..."

The distinguished speaker then said: "...the main and most important task is to manifest to all subjugated nations active support of their aspirations by the Free Nations. He asked: "Is it morally justifiable to risk a nuclear war in defense of Western Germany or Great Britain? And added: "If so, then it is equally morally justifiable to stake the further existence of the world upon the liberation of the 800 million people who have been violated by Communism."

The final main speaker at the forum was Congressman Michael Feighan. He opened his address with the statement: "The great challenge of our times is the new colonialism, the new imperialism of Moscow... The ideology which motivates the new imperialism holds that all civilizations must be purged of the past and be transformed into colonies subservient to the materialistic will of Soviet Russia."

"Hence in the vortex of American foreign policy are the Captive Nations. They are the victims of the new imperialism, the new colonialism of Moscow."

Congressman Feighan then declared that the US Congress clearly defined the term "Captive Nations" in its Public Law 86-90 on the Captive Nations Week. "That law identifies the Captive Nations by name, not only the so-called satellites and the Baltic States, but the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union." The main "source of dangerous contradictions and prejudices" in respect to the captive nations is the Secretary of State and his "State Department Russian experts." The Secretary of State defended the legitimacy of Russian colonialism in Ukraine, Georgia, and Armenia on the grounds those nations were "traditional parts of the Soviet Union." The speaker continued: "The tragicomedy of the Rusk letter is that it exposes a profound official ignorance of the fact that Ukraine, Georgia, and Armenia

all were independent nations... and their independence was subverted in the first wave of imperial Russian communism," because the Secretary recognized the right to independence to nations which once enjoyed independence from Russia.

Referring to the Department of State, Mr. Feighan said: "There we find concentrated the disciples of a mythical doctrine — Russia the Sacred Cow — an untouchable Russia whose ruthless imperialism they now find to be exercising a mellowing influence on the highly civilized non-Russian nations imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain... they defend the Divine Right of Empire claimed by an unbroken line of imperial ambitions centered in the Kremlin. That same group in the State Department produced the doctrine of non-predetermination toward the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union..." He summed up: "the Russian experts in our State Department sap the lifeblood of self-determination by forbidding its application to the heartland of the Russian empire."

But not all in the State Department accept this line of thinking: "Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, for example, is informed on the facts about the formerly independent status of Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and the other non-Russian nations forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union."

The speaker then went on to emphasize that the President of the United States can and should change the activities of the State Department, because as recently as September 14, 1962, "President Kennedy called out for an active policy toward the Captive Nations."

"And those who are informed on the realities of the Russian problem must redouble their efforts to bring about the implementation of policies calculated to encourage the disease of liberty behind the Iron Curtain. For the nurtured seeds of liberty bring forth the sturdy trees of national independence. The time is long overdue for a full scale political confrontation with Russian imperialism."

Analyzing some major regional and international problems Congressman

Feighan stressed: "The crisis of Berlin is tied irrevocably to the broader issue of Captive Nations because it can not be separated from the larger question of a free, united and democratic Germany... The old frontiers of prejudice and discrimination toward the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union still existing in the State Department are no less a formidable barrier to peace than is the Berlin Wall... and we can be sure the Berlin Wall will not come down so long as the old frontiers of a Russian beach-head on our policies remain in force."

In a summary of the main ideas of the four speeches, Mr. Kersten said: "If the UN organization is to remain a viable organization then the major problem on its agenda should be the colonialism of the Russian empire. And unless it faces that object and deals with that problem, the UN cannot survive... enslavement of the captive nations does not become respectable because it has become habitual... The greatest friendly force behind the Iron Curtain is the aspiration of the peoples of the captive nations for freedom... About ten years ago the policy of liberation was handed to the State Department of the US for implementation. And we know what these experts did with that policy. They sabotaged it, they all but nullified it. And yet, those familiar with the problem that confronts the world today know that there is no alternative to the policy of liberation of the captive nations except complete and absolute defeat of freedom in the free world... And there must be the adoption of the policy that aims not at the negotiated agreements and balance in the world between freedom and slavery, but aims at the political defeat of Russian Communist imperialism at the Moscow base... the liberation of all the captive nations must be undertaken simultaneously, with a common coordinated goal of freedom for all. And it may well be that the road to freedom in Havana is through Moscow, Peking, and the capitals of the enslaved nations... as Dr. Tsiang said, freedom is indivisible, in the cause of the captive nations, in Cuba, in Ukraine, and the rest..."

There followed a series of interesting question put by the audience to the speakers, who answered them fully and added much to the exposition of the topic of the free world's policies toward Russian colonialism and liberation of the captive nations.

Later in the evening of the same day a banquet was held at which other prominent guests addressed the audience. The toastmaster Mr. Charles Andreanszky, Secretary General of the American Friends of ABN, introduced the honorary guests and the speakers. The first one was Dr. Gabor de Besheney, President of the American Friends of ABN. In a short greeting he stressed that the sole aim of AF ABN is the liquidation of Communism and restoration of full independence to all nations presently languishing under the Communist yoke. Therefore, the AF ABN is against coexistence and against Titoism or evolutionism.

The main speech was given by Ambassador Liu Chieh, the Permanent Representative of the Republic of China to the United Nations. He recalled that "like the American Friends, we of Free China are also friends of the ABN... ABN and ourselves are in a real sense comrades-in-arms. We are fighting for a common cause, the cause of freedom. These days the common enemy is Russian imperialism and world Communism."

The Ambassador praised ABN highly: "The ABN as I understand it is probably the most important organization of its kind in the world... the ABN is more far-reaching in its objectives than other organizations in that it is dedicated to the task not only of liberating the satellites in Eastern Europe, but also of liquidating the whole Soviet Empire and restoring independence to all non-Russian nations in the USSR."

Then the distinguished speaker stated: "my Delegation at the last session of the General Assembly maintained that the UN should include in its study of colonialism the foundations of all submerged nations which are under Soviet domination."

He continued: "And I believe this is what ABN stands for, because the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist

Republics was formed not with the consent of the peoples of the component national republics, but by the decree of the Russian bosses... Uprisings against the Red Army in Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, northern Caucasus, and elsewhere were forcibly and ruthlessly put down, just as the Hungarian uprising was put down by Soviet tanks in 1956." The Ambassador concluded: "The Soviet approach to the national problem within the USSR combines the age-old high-handedness of Czarist imperialism with the militant and aggressive Communist ideology. It is the worst kind of imperialism the world has ever known. The old-style imperialism was concerned merely with physical conquest, whereas, Soviet imperialism seeks to control the minds of the people as well."

"What they call liberation in their upside down language — pointed out Ambassador Lee — is, of course, enslavement." Because they claim to conquer the whole world, "the non-Communist world, I submit, should as a counter-move adopt its own policy of liberation with regard to the enslaved peoples under Soviet domination... In this prophetic struggle between freedom and slavery there is no such a thing as a status quo. You either advance or retreat... I see no reason, why we should be either Red or dead. If we make liberation our goal, we can be both alive and free... the goal of liberation must constantly be kept in view... Every effort must be directed toward weakening of world Communism and the dissolution of the Soviet empire... Such a policy would instill in enslaved peoples the new hope for freedom. Genuine resistance can be born only when the enslaved peoples are convinced that the servitude is temporary and sooner or later they will be free."

The final speech was delivered by former US Commissioner Edward O'Connor. Mr. O'Connor described the present age as "the revolutionary age" which is "divided roughly into four major parts": scientific revolution, technological revolution, educational revolution, and political revolution with the goal of national independence.

"There is much talk these days of socialist countries, socialist camp, or even hints of the coming of socialist commonwealth... but the real meaning of all that is... Russian imperialism."

"Now there are winds that blow today across this revolutionary front... We hear... the Russians want, or claim they want, a *modus vivendi* with the free world... And then there is another wind... that blows out of certain places in Washington. Phrases such as Soviet Military Presence... they are amusing words, soft, — but it ought to be called what it is: Russian military occupation... Another wind is that of nuclear stalemate concept... I listened with great care to what our friend Jaroslaw Stetzko had to say today. There he touched upon the answer to what we ought to be advocating... the opportunity of total political revolution... Demonstrated by the Hungarians in 1956 a situation in which a total people explode... a whole people against tyranny, against an oppressor... If I understood Jaroslaw correctly he indicated that there were all these tinderboxes from the Baltic Sea to the Caspian Sea to the Pacific Ocean... The whole concept is that the spark should hit all simultaneously, because 90 or 100 million Russians who are the cement of the empire will support whatever regime is in power."

"And I regret to say as a former US Commissioner of Displaced Persons that many emigres from Russia in this country stand for the same thing. They may dispute, they may disagree with the commissars, but they do agree with the concept of a great and unholy Russian empire."

"There is the horizon of human ideals, the horizon of human rights, the horizon of national rights and ideals. That is the thing toward which we must move. And if we do, I conclude on this note, taken from the splendid address of our friend Jaroslaw, we cannot fail, we must win, God is with us."

A. W. Bedriy

TRIBUTES TO UKRAINIAN FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Excerpts from Remarks and Statements by U.S. Senators and Congressmen on the Occasion of the 45th Anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence (22nd January 1918)

Hon. JAMES ROOSEVELT
of California

"...Today there are no free Ukrainians in that fair land, but even under totalitarian tyranny a stout-hearted and freedom-seeking people cherish their national goal, their freedom and independence. On this 45th anniversary celebration of their independence day let us all hope that they attain that goal..."

Hon. NEIL STAEBLER
of Michigan

"...It is proper during this anniversary observance to pay tribute to the Ukrainian people, in the spirit of their great poet, Taras Shevchenko, continue their resistance to oppression and their dedication to freedom. Let us hope that one day soon Ukraine will take its rightful place in the world community as a free and independent nation..."

Hon. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
of Wisconsin

"...Their plight has evoked well-deserved sympathy from freedom-loving peoples of the world... Let us remember this as we pay tribute to the brave people of Ukraine who have demonstrated their determination to regain independent national status. Let us pledge ourselves anew to the task of working toward a better world where all peoples can find peace, freedom and justice..."

Hon. MELVIN PRICE
of Illinois

"...We speak out in this House against imperialism and colonialism wherever the practice exists and whoever may be the aggressor. And I dare say the time is not likely soon to come when we shall hesitate to denounce Communist colonialism as well as the older imperialism of the West, which happily are being disavowed and dismantled. It is a privilege to declare the kinship of the American people with all those who love freedom, who seek independence and self-government, who wish to run their lives according to their own traditions and preferences. Most especially this group of high honour includes the captive people of Ukraine..."

Hon. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
of Illinois

"...It is a reminder of the continued protest of the American people against the enslavement of the Ukrainian people. We cannot accept the servitude of the people of the Ukrainian nation without thinking that the purpose of our foreign policy is to restore to them their historic claim of freedom as an independent nation in the free world... We must persevere. We owe it to the Ukrainian people; they must be free..."

*Hon. DOMINICK V. DANIELS
of New Jersey*

"In observing the 45th anniversary of the independence of Ukrainians, this event will also serve as an excellent occasion to urge the formation of a desperately needed Special House Committee on Captive Nations in the 88th Congress. Such a Committee — in stature and purpose appropriate to the scope and value of all the captive nations — would strongly symbolize to the world the determination of the American people never to forget the captive nations and their struggle for liberation and independence..."

*Hon. JOHN W. WYDLER
of New York*

"...Despite the long history of subjection the Ukrainian people had never willingly submitted to the indignities of political domination. Superior in their heritage, their civilization, their resources, to the Russians whose force had overcome them, they retained their separate culture and that spirit of independence which has marked them wherever they are. The celebration of Ukrainian Independence Day is a reminder that the freedom of the mind cannot be conquered..."

*Hon. CHARLES S. JOELSON
of New Jersey*

"...In the midst of all this misery and misfortune, however, the Ukrainians have kept faith with their tradition. They still fervently cling to their ideals and cherish freedom in history of the Ukrainian people during the last several decades this is one encouraging fact. On the 45th anniversary of their independence day we in the free world wish them fortitude and power in their struggle for their righteous cause, for their freedom and independence..."

*Hon. JOHN V. LINDSAY
of New York*

"...We Americans gained our independence within the course of several years; for the Ukrainians that struggle is one which spans centuries of heroic efforts and tragic defeats.

But let the people of Ukraine know, that, whether their freedom burns brightly as it did in 1918 or smolders under foreign oppression as it has before and after that memorable date, that freedom shall never be extinguished. I join with my colleagues in sincere sympathy for their long suffering and with limitless admiration for their epic struggle. Their hope and their heroism shall not have been in vain..."

*Hon. FLORENCE P. DWYER
of New Jersey*

"...But make no mistake about it, the 40 million Ukrainians now living in captivity and their countrymen everywhere know all too well that Ukraine is not free and independent. Nor have they given up the struggle for what is theirs in justice, despite the difficulties, the dangers, and the discouragements. We salute them for their courage..."

*Hon. CORNELIUS F. GALLAGHER
of New Jersey*

"...The freedom-loving people of Ukraine have not, however, abandoned their struggle for independence. They have been carrying the fight for freedom on, and still carry on with all the means at their disposal, hoping and praying that their righteous cause will eventually win. On the 45th anniversary of their Independence Day I join millions of Americans in wishing the Ukrainian victims of Soviet treachery, fortitude and power in their struggle against the forces of totalitarian tyranny..."

*Hon. QUENTIN N. BURDICK
of North Dakota*

"...As part of the observance, Hon. William L. Guy, Governor of North Dakota, issued an executive proclamation setting aside January 22nd as Ukrainian Independence Day in North Dakota. The proclamation is a symbol of freedom for the Ukrainians in North Dakota and throughout the world... I ask unanimous consent that the Governor's Proclamation and a press release by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc. Bismarck, N. Dakota, be printed in the Appendix of *The Record*..."

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD
of Pennsylvania

"...January 22, 1963 marks the 45th anniversary of the independence of Ukraine. As in previous years, in both House and the Senate the elected representatives of the American people take this memorable occasion to express the deep feeling of affinity and common purpose we hold for the captive nation of 45 million Ukrainians. We share with them the ideal of a real democracy, national self-determination and individual liberty and in many ways truly support their undying aspirations for freedom and national independence..."

Hon. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
of Illinois

"...This year, more than ever, the importance of Ukrainian Independence Day is related to the struggle of the Ukrainian people and other captive nations of communism to escape the Red yoke and restore freedom to their land. I place special emphasis on this 45th anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day of the efforts of many Members of the House on both sides of the aisle in obtaining approval of a special House Committee on the Captive Nations... It is necessary for us to emphasize the fact that Ukraine, like all other captive nations of the Soviet empire, suffers under the persecution of communism. Its people are deprived of political and economic advances, and they continue to look to us, the leaders of the free world, to collaborate with them in the ultimate restoration of a government of their own choice..."

Hon. JAMES C. CLEVELAND
of New York

"...I think this is a proper occasion to remember other formerly independent nations of Eastern Europe... Through a tragedy of modern history, they share an oppressing, temporary fate with the people of Ukraine... On this Ukrainian Independence Day we rededicate ourselves to the fight for freedom. We have an inspiration in the courage of the Ukrainian people..."

Hon. FRANK J. HORTON
of New York

"...Because freedom is stifled today in Ukraine it is appropriate for us to observe this anniversary and to speak up for those who are silenced by communism's tyranny. We who live in the free world must encourage the flame of liberty which still burns bright in the hearts of the Ukrainian people..."

Hon. SEYMOUR HALPERN
of New York

"...Passage of the captive nations Resolution, which would establish a Special Committee on the Captive Nations, would offer dramatic proof to those under the Communist yoke that they have not been forgotten by us in the free world. I join in saluting the freedom-loving people of Ukraine. Their independence may have been short-lived, but the flaming spirit of independence cannot be forever kept in check by the forces of oppression. One day, and may it be soon, a new era of freedom will dawn for the people of Ukraine..."

Hon. SAMUEL S. STRATTON
of New York

"...For these reasons the Ukrainian people have been a tremendous inspiration to all of us who are working for a world of free and independent states. The American people, including those fine Americans of Ukrainian descent, look forward anxiously and impatiently to the day when the Ukrainian National Republic will again join the free world partnership of nations..."

Hon. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
of Ohio

"...By strengthening the national independence movement in Ukraine and all the other captive nations, we enhance the cause of peace and speed the day when peace with justice will reign in the world. The desire of the common man behind the Iron Curtain for individual liberty, freedom and the dignity of life which national independence can bring is the human force which moves the tide of

self-determination which President Kennedy spoke about in his address before the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 25, 1961, and which he observed had not yet struck the Communist empire... I join with my American friends of Ukrainian origin and all other Americans in the common hope that we shall remain ever faithful to our American political heritage..."

*Hon. EMANUEL CELLER
of New York*

"...Though the Ukrainian nation, in the wake of the great cry for self-determination, achieved its goal in 1918, its tragic capture by aggressive communism robbed it of the independence it had heroically achieved. Lest we forget, it is altogether just that we remember each of its anniversaries of its independence not only as a symbol of our own dedication to freedom, but as our deeper expression of the imperatives of universal freedom in the name of the dignity of man..."

*Hon. JOHN W. McCORMACK
of Massachusetts*

"...Since then the Ukrainians have been suffering under Communist totalitarianism, but even under the most oppressive of tyrannies, these stout-hearted and down-trodden people have not ceased fighting their oppressors. They still carry on their struggle against forbidding odds in the hope that eventually their righteous cause will win out. On the 45th anniversary of their national holiday, the Ukrainian Independence Day, my hearty wishes go to these dauntless and courageous souls..."

*Hon. SILVIO O. CONTE
of Massachusetts*

"...The reign of self-determination was short-lived, but the spark which ignited the Ukrainian desire for freedom in 1918 still burns in the minds of men in every corner of the world. We cannot assume that it has died out in the hearts of Ukrainians because the power of the Kremlin is dominant in this area... We Americans want to assure the world that we have

not forgotten the plight of those less politically fortunate than ourselves..."

*Hon. JOHN W. BYRNES
of Wisconsin*

"...Since 1920, therefore, the 40 million Ukrainians have not been able to enjoy the normal benefits of a free and independent life in their historic homeland. Once again they are persecuted for clinging to their national ideals, for dreaming of independence and freedom. But oppression and persecution has united the Ukrainians against their foes and held them together. On this 45th anniversary of Ukrainian independence, we solemnly commemorate the continuing struggle for freedom of a brave and noble people..."

*Hon. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI
of Pennsylvania*

"...Today, the 45 million people of Ukraine constitute the largest captive nation in Eastern Europe. They fare no better under the tyranny of the Kremlin than their forefathers did under foreign lords. As we celebrate with them the significance of this day, let us share in the confidence that their perseverance will be vindicated."

*Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
of New York*

"...But the Ukrainian's love of freedom and passion for independence cannot be extinguished by forceful subjugation. Therefore, we commemorate this day to remind the Communists that the winds of change are blowing history in the direction of freedom for all men, and to remind ourselves to appreciate and guard the freedom that we now enjoy..."

*Hon. JAMES D. WEAVER
of Pennsylvania*

"...Thus we collectively, all Americans descended from immigrants, can anticipate that Khrushchov's grandchildren as well as all the captive people in the Communist world will some day live in freedom. For the attainment of that noble objective, I add my most ardent hopes and expectations to yours on this 45th anniversary of Ukrainian independence..."

Hon. JACOB N. GILBERT
of New York

"...We know that the people of Ukraine have not relinquished their desire for freedom; their hopes must be kept alive, and they deserve our encouragement in this tragic period of their history. We hope and pray that the day of liberation for them and other captive nations will soon be reality. I am happy to sponsor a resolution providing the formation of such a Committee on the Captive Nations which was introduced by our esteemed colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Flood)..."

Hon. FRANK T. BOW
of Ohio

"...I wish to join in the comments of my colleagues on the 45th anniversary of Ukrainian independence. I think it is important for us to recall each year, for the world to know that we do not recognize the right of the Soviet Union to turn free nations into Communist colonies, and we repudiate those Americans no matter how highly placed who feel that the Soviet Empire cannot be dismembered..."

Hon. PAUL A. FINO
of New York

"...For more than four decades, some 42 million Ukrainians have existed in their native land under the oppressive Communist totalitarianism imposed upon them by the Kremlin. On this 45th anniversary we join them in their prayer for their freedom and independence..."

Hon. ROBERT McCLORY
of Illinois

"...So long as that spirit of hope lives — so long as the ideal of national freedom is cherished by the Ukrainians and passed on from father to son and from mother to daughter — no dictatorship or tyranny can deprive this nation of their real independence — the independence of their hearts and souls. In this observance of the 45th anniversary of their independence day, it is our ardent prayer that they will regain their freedom and know peace in their historic fatherland..."

Hon. WILLIAM F. MILLER
of New York

"...I am sure that the day will come — as sure as I am that the aims of godless Communism are doomed to defeat wherever freedom-loving people have the heart and courage to oppose them. So I join all Americans in saluting the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian Congress Committee, one of the organizations that speaks for them in this country..."

Hon. JOHN D. DINGELL
of Michigan

"...On the 45th anniversary of their national independence they are not permitted to celebrate it there (Ukraine). Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians domiciled in this hospitable republic, who have become its loyal citizens, here celebrate that historic event in due solemnity. I am glad to join them in this memorable celebration of Ukrainian Independence Day..."

Hon. ANCHER NELSEN
of Minnesota

"...I wish to join with many of my colleagues in the House on this 45th anniversary observance of Ukrainian independence in asserting that that Country, like so many others in Eastern Europe, need not remain shackled forever — for wherever freedom has been, there it will one day turn. The forces of history stand opposed to tyranny, to the coercion of human beings and their God-given rights..."

Hon. JAMES M. McDADE
of Pennsylvania

"...For Ukraine today is the greatest in number of all the captive nations of Europe. Forty-five millions of souls are held captive in this land, and the slavery lies heavily upon them... The cold hands of Khrushchov lie heavily upon Ukraine, upon Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Poland and Rumania. But all I hear is rejoicing that the Soviets and Red China are in vast dispute... And we today send to these people the word that we have not forgotten them, that we stand for their freedom..."

Hon. R. WALTER RIEHLMAN
of New York

"...It is with great sympathy and understanding for our Ukrainian friends everywhere, and with steadfast hope for the future, that I join my colleagues today in reaffirming the goal of eventual liberation of all enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain..."

Hon. HAROLD M. RYAN
of Michigan

"...We are fully aware of the importance of Ukraine as an ally in the common struggle against Russian communist imperialism. On this anniversary of the independence of Ukraine, let us rededicate ourselves to the restoration of liberty and self-determination to all who now suffer behind the Iron Curtain of Red tyranny..."

Hon. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
of Illinois

"...Today Ukraine is a captive of Communist Russia and its human and economic resources are being exploited for the purpose of spreading Communism around the world. Our public commemoration, here in the Congress of the United States, of their former days of freedom and our sincere sorrow at their present plight gives them renewed encouragement not to abandon their dream of independence... We look forward to the day when 42 million Ukrainians, and their neighbour millions in other Communist-dominated countries, will once more be able to celebrate their own national holidays in freedom and independence..."

Hon. ALEXANDER PIRNIE
of New York

"...Today we commemorate the 45th anniversary of the establishment of Ukraine as an independent national state... Recently, Professor Lev E.

Dobriansky, Georgetown University, who is president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, sent me a letter which offers constructive suggestions of positive steps that we might take to dramatize Russian colonialism within. I commend to the serious consideration of the Congress the proposals as contained in his letter..."

Hon. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
of Maryland

"...Fortunately, there are many hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians in the free world, including a large number Ukrainian Americans, who solemnly observe the anniversary of that memorable day. I am glad to join all my Ukrainian American friends in the celebration of the 45th anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day..."

Hon. JOHN E. FOGARTY
of Rhode Island

"...On this occasion let the Ukrainian people know that we will plead and fight for them and that their courage and hope will not be in vain. We assure the people of Ukraine that we are with them in spirit and that we hope and pray that their freedom will be soon restored..."

Hon. WILLIAM J. GREEN, Jr.
of Pennsylvania

"...On the forty-fifth anniversary of their independence day we wish them fortitude and power in their struggle for their righteous cause, for their freedom and independence. The Ukrainians are proud of this heritage, and rightfully so. Its roots are solidly planted within those living among us, and will ever remain until the day when the freedom torch will again burn bright over the fields of Ukraine..."

UKRAINIAN CHRONICLE

In the Free World

NEW EXARCH FOR UKRAINIANS

The Holy Father John XXIII has nominated and appointed on 18th April, 1963, His Lordship Augustine Eugene Hornyak, OSBM., STD., JCB., as Apostolic Exarch for the Ukrainian Catholic Exarchate in England and Wales.

The Apostolic Exarchate for Ukrainians in England and Wales has been created by the Holy See on June 10th 1957, with His Eminence Cardinal Godfrey as the first Apostolic Exarch.

On 14th August, 1961, His Lordship Bishop Hornyak was appointed as Auxilliary Bishop to His Eminence Cardinal Godfrey for the Exarchate.

Since 30th January, 1963, following the death of His Eminence Cardinal Godfrey, the Exarchate has been entrusted to the Vicar Capitular of Westminster, His Lordship Bishop Craven.

The term "Apostolic Exarchate" nowadays is used by the Holy See to circumscribe an ecclesiastical territory for the Eastern Rite faithful, which territory is not subject to a Patriarch or an Archbishop-Metropolitan of the Eastern Rite, and where, because of a relatively small number of the faithful or for some other reasons, for example, a somewhat missionary character of pastoral work, an "Eparchy" (i.e. Diocese in Eastern Rite terminology) has not been created.

The Juridical meaning of an Apostolic Exarchate is corresponding in some respects to a Vicariate Apostolic in the Latin Rite Church. Such Apostolic Vicariates, eight in number, existed in England at the restoration of the Ordinary Hierarchy in 1850.

The Ukrainian Catholics have immigrated to this Country after the World War II, mostly refugees and ex-soldiers. Presently there are about 25,000 Catholics of Byzantine-Ukrainian Rite.

The majority of the Ukrainians have settled in the Midlands, Yorkshire and Lancashire.

Seventeen Ukrainian Catholic priests (3 monks of the Order of St. Basil the Great) take the spiritual care of the faithful with churches of their own in London, Bedford, Coventry, Wolverhampton, Nottingham, Manchester, Rochdale, Oldham, Bradford, (one chapel in Edinburgh), otherwise using about 70 Latin Rite churches for their Services.

There are approximately 5,000 children, about 2,000 of whom attend Ukrainian Saturday Schools where they have the opportunity to learn Ukrainian language, history as well as Catechism. Three Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate (Ukrainian Rite) are running a Saturday School in Bradford.

His Lordship Bishop Hornyak presently resides in London, where the plans have already been made with the late Cardinal's approval for the erection of the first Ukrainian Cathedral. To this purpose the late Cardinal has given an initial donation of £2,000. The campaign for the Cathedral among the Ukrainian faithful has brought so far £16,000, and it still goes on.

Ukrainians have not as yet abandoned their hope of returning to their own native Country, should it be made free someday. In the meantime, however, for as long as by God's Providence they are to live here, especially for the sake of the young generation, they want to preserve their religious and national traditions, just as their fellow-countrymen did in Canada, U.S.A. and elsewhere.

His Lordship Bishop Hornyak with his new appointment as Apostolic Exarch will have the rights and faculties of a residential Bishop in his own right, whose territories with a personal jurisdiction over Ukrainian Catholics extend to the whole of England and Wales.

He will be a member of the Catholic Hierarchy of England and Wales and a Suffragan Bishop of the Metropolitan See of Westminster.

MORAL SUPPORT FOR CAPTIVE NATIONS

Cong. Don L. Short (R-Second Congressional District, N. Dakota), publicly commended the Ukrainian people in their fight to regain their independence from the yoke of Russian oppression. In a speech on the House floor, commemorating the 45th anniversary of the independence of Ukraine on January 22nd, along with many of his colleagues, the Congressman spoke of the strength and courage of the 45 million Ukrainians (the largest captive nation in the world), and likened their love for freedom to that of the American people and their belief in and search for truth and justice.

Cong. Short referred to the old quotation from a famous Greek orator, "What we have in us of the image of God is the love of truth and justice," and asked the question, "What better way can we serve truth and justice by giving our moral encouragement and sympathy to the twenty-three captive nations now enslaved under Communist aggression?"

The Congressman, believing in action and not just words in giving the dignity and freedom of man a material, joined others of his colleagues in introducing a resolution which would set up a special House Committee on Captive Nations in the Congress.

Cong. Short, in commenting further on this move, said he "felt that a special House Committee would strongly symbolize to the world the determination of the American people never to forget the captive nations and their struggle for liberation and independence." He summed up his feeling by saying he felt this would prove a forum for focusing public attention on the Soviet colonialism policy, which they vehemently deny, but carry on to a greater and more ruthless degree than any other nation in history.

TRIBUTE PAID TO SHEVCHENKO IN U.S. SENATE

A very fine tribute to Taras Shevchenko, the greatest Ukrainian poet and fiery freedom-fighter whose 150th birthday anniversary will be marked by the world next year, was paid in the U.S. Senate by Hon. Sen. H. H. Humphrey (Dem., Minn.) as reported in the "Congressional Record" on March 14, 1963.

Sen. Humphrey, addressing the Vice-President of the United States, said:

"Taras Shevchenko, the national poet of Ukraine, is a relatively unknown literary figure in the West, but he ranks among the greatest of the Slavic poets — on the level of Pushkin, in the view of some critics. The fact that he wrote almost all of his poetry in the Ukrainian language is at once the reason for his obscurity and one of the chief contributions for which he is remembered today. For he was the first modern writer who was purely and thoroughly Ukrainian, and he gave much impetus to the development of a native Ukrainian language and literature. His poems were intensely patriotic, expressing the trials and the aspirations of the Ukrainian people throughout their history.

Shevchenko's life itself was filled with suffering. At the age of 24 he was released from serfdom, but 9 years later Czar Nicholas I, had him arrested because of his liberal, democratic ideas. He was condemned to serve as a common soldier in a remote area of eastern Russia, far from his beloved Ukraine. Even after his release 10 years later, Shevchenko never again enjoyed complete personal freedom, and he died 1 day after his 47th birthday — in the same year that saw the emancipation of the serfs by Czar Alexander II of Russia.

At one point during his imprisonment Shevchenko wrote these despairing lines:

*'I shall not leave the slightest trace
Upon our glorious Ukraine,
Our land, but not as ours known.'*

Time has disproven this prophecy, for his life and writings have played a great role in shaping the Ukrainian

national spirit and culture. The ideals to which Shevchenko stubbornly clung — national self-determination and democratic rule — remain a guiding light today for Ukrainians and other oppressed nationalities of Eastern Europe."

UPA ANNIVERSARY MEETING IN CHICAGO

On the 1st of December of last year, a meeting was held in Chicago to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. On this occasion, Congressman Charles Kersten, the well-known friend of the peoples who have been enslaved by Moscow gave an excellent speech in which he called special attention to the service rendered by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in defence of the freedom of the peoples living under Communist subjugation. The heroic deeds of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army were not intended to free Ukraine only — but to free all enslaved peoples within the Soviet Union. In the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, men, women, even children fought side by side. Today even armies of the western world are interested in the strategy and tactics of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The fight for freedom against Moscow, initiated by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army 20 years ago, has not come to an end yet. Congressman Kersten expressed the hope that the 20th anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army might strengthen the spiritual powers of the Ukrainian people, and that it might give new strength to the fight for freedom of the Ukraine against Moscow.

Referring to the murder of the Ukrainian freedom fighter, Bandera, and to the trial held in Karlsruhe in October of last year against his murderer, Bohdan Stashynsky, who was in Moscow's service, the speaker stated that this trial was clear proof that the government of the so-called Soviet Union had sunk to the rank of political murderers. The evidence of the frightful murders committed by Moscow given at the trial in Karlsruhe

against Stashynsky, justifies the assumption that every free nation on this side of the Iron Curtain could become, for any reason, the scene of a man-hunt for Soviet Russian agents, police and the Soviet government. The Congressman therefore called upon all the governments of the free world to take legal proceedings against the government of the USSR because of its crimes against humanity.

Among other things, Mr. Kersten said that Moscow greatly feared the Ukrainian revolutionary movement, whose motivating force was Bandera himself. Because Bandera was a guarantee for the continued existence of the Ukrainian people, Moscow decided to liquidate him. But the Ukrainian people continue to fight under the banner of Bandera. Moscow's colonial empire must one day vanish from the earth.

UKRAINIAN NOMINATED TO NEW POST

Joseph V. Charyk, Undersecretary of the Air Force, was named by President Kennedy to head the government-sponsored Communications Satellite Corp.

The corporation, voted by Congress last year, will set up and operate the orbiting relay system that will link all corners of the globe by telephone and television.

Charyk, 42, was born in Canada and became a U.S. citizen in 1948. He holds engineering and physics degrees from the University of Alberta and Cal. Tech. Mr. Charyk is of Ukrainian descent.

JAPANESE ACTIVITY ON BEHALF OF THE SUBJUGATED PEOPLES

Professor J. Kitaoka of the University of Tokyo and director of the Free Asia Association has published a book in Japanese on the anti-Communist movements in the world, in which, among other things, he gives an account of the activity and position of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), led by Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, who was interned in a Nazi concentration camp.

Professor Kitaoka has also recently published an essay on the question of the "anti-Communist movements amongst the Russians and amongst the peoples subjugated by Russia" in the Japanese periodical "Problems of the Continent" (No. 122). In this article he explains the difference between the Russian anti-Communist movement and the movements of the non-Russian nations of the USSR, such as the A.B.N., the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and others.

It has also come to our notice that the speech held by Mr. J. Stetzko on October 4, 1962, before an audience consisting of several thousand students of Tokyo University, has just been published in Japanese and is to be distributed amongst the students.

Professor Kitaoka has likewise published several articles in Japanese periodicals on A.B.N. and also on the trial of the former Soviet agent Stashynsky, the murderer of Bandera and Rebet.

A.B.N. PRESIDENT J. STETZKO IN NEW YORK

During his stay in New York A.B.N. President Jaroslaw Stetzko conferred with the ambassadors of various nations who are accredited to the United Nations. They included the ambassadors of Free China, Canada, Australia and Japan, Adlai Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador and former candidate for the office of President of the USA, as well as the ambassador-observers of Germany, Korea, and other countries.

MEETING IN NEW HAVEN CONDEMNS RUSSIAN COLONIALISM AND GENOCIDE

On March 23, 1963, A.B.N. President Jaroslaw Stetzko gave a lecture entitled "The Place of Ukraine in the World" at a political meeting in New Haven, USA. Subsequently the participators in this meeting un-animously adopted a resolution regarding Russian colonialism and, in particular, Russian genocide.

This resolution states that the citizens of the town of New Haven condemn Russian colonialism in Ukraine and in other countries

enslaved by Moscow and that they request the 24-member commission on the investigation of colonialism in the United Nations to take up the question of Russian colonialism. In addition, the citizens of New Haven demand that the USSR and its satellites should be excluded from the United Nations and that their place should be taken by the national liberation centres of the enslaved peoples in the USSR and beyond.

The resolution then cites the facts of the genocide and other murders committed at the direct instructions of the government of the USSR, headed by Khrushchov. Further, the resolution demands that the facts of the assassination of Stepan Bandera and Dr. Lev Rebet should be submitted to a special commission of the United Nations for discussion and that these crimes committed by the Kremlin should be investigated by the International Court of Justice at The Hague. An appeal is addressed to the German Federal Republic to afford protection to the Ukrainian freedom fighters living in the territory of the Federal Republic. The resolution stresses that the government of the German Federal Republic should send a note of protest to the government of the USSR demanding that such criminal acts of murder should cease.

With regard to the activity of the A.B.N. the participators of the meeting in New Haven appeal to the entire Ukrainian public in exile to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the founding of the A.B.N. this year in an appropriate manner. It is pointed out in the resolution that the activity of the A.B.N. has acquired a special historical significance for the subjugated peoples and that for this reason all the persons and communities concerned should celebrate this anniversary by various functions, press conferences, and lectures, etc., and should, above all, organize collections in order to support and assist the work and the fight for freedom of the A.B.N. In addition, the said resolution deals with a number of vital problems which are connected with the fight for freedom of the enslaved peoples.

*UKRAINE — THE FIRST VICTIM
OF RUSSIAN AGGRESSION*

During the celebrations held to mark the 45th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence and union of Ukraine, 76 legislators of the USA (on January 25, 1963) adopted resolutions in which they advocated the independence of Ukraine. They stressed that the Ukrainian people by their own will and power established their independent united Ukrainian state, but that this state was the first victim of Russian Communist imperialism and of the Russian aggression which had such disastrous consequences for the rest of the world. The resolutions adopted by the U.S. legislators, Congressmen and Senators, likewise emphasize that the Ukrainian people have by no means abandoned their fight for the restoration of their country's rightful independence, and add that Ukraine's independence would be a decisive factor in securing lasting peace in the world.

The logical conclusion to be drawn by the U.S. government from these resolutions on the part of American legislators and representatives of political life in the USA has, however, so far not been put into practice.

*EXHIBITION OF WORKS
BY S. BORATCHOK*

On Thursday, April 11, 1963, an exhibition of works of art by the Ukrainian artist Severyn Boratchok opened in one of the finest rooms of the Schumacher Gallery at No. 33, Theatinerstrasse, Munich. This exhibition continued until the first half of May. Thirty mosaics, created by the artist during the past year, were on display.

In spite of various obstacles Boratchok devotes himself most

industriously to his art and is achieving more and more success. His mosaics are made of tiny stones, coloured glass and porcelain, etc. Visitors to the exhibition were fascinated by the exquisite artistry of his creations.

*A.B.N. PRESIDENT J. STETZKO
IN CHICAGO*

During his visit to Chicago, A.B.N. President Jaroslaw Stetzko had talks with the well-known American lawyer, Prof. Dr. L. Kutner, the author of the sensational book "The World's Habeas Corpus" and chairman of the International Jurists' Commission, who has been proposed for a Nobel Prize award. Mr. Stetzko also visited Congressman Charles Kersten in Milwaukee. On his return to New York Mr. Stetzko conferred with the President of the American Organization for the Protection of Human Rights, Mr. R. Baldwin. He subsequently paid a visit to the Italian Ambassador to the United Nations and also had individual talks with various journalists accredited to the United Nations. For the purpose of furthering intensified co-operation Mr. Stetzko had talks with the representatives of the Bulgarian National Front, with Hungarian representatives of the A.B.N. in America as well as with Cossack representatives, and also with Turkestanian and Azerbaijanian friends in Washington.

During the talk which Mr. Stetzko had with the Canadian Ambassador to the United Nations, the chairman of the Chief Administration of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine, Dr. Roman Malashchuk, of Toronto, was also present.

Behind the Iron Curtain

MOSCOW ATTACKS GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER FOR PROCLAIMING "UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY"

The news agency TASS reported on January 23rd a "groundswell of indignation" among the working people of Ukraine over New York Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller's proclamation of a "Ukrainian Independence Day."

TASS quoted from letters of workers, one of whom denounced Rockefeller as a "capitalist who has waxed rich on the blood and sweat of millions."

The Governor proclaimed January 22nd as "Ukrainian Independence Day," calling it a gesture of "our keen sympathies" with the Ukrainian people's hopes for freedom.

Without saying how the people in Ukraine learned of the Proclamation, TASS cited these reactions from among the "numerous letters" allegedly received from Ukrainians.

Peter Stepanchuk, building worker, "Hero of Socialist Labour" and Deputy of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet: "Look who is showing concern for us! Rockefeller, a capitalist who waxed rich on the blood and sweat of millions of people... (we) do not need aid from anybody... To our self-appointed benefactor from abroad I say, Don't butt your nose, Mr. Rockefeller, into our Soviet home."

Mykola Tarnovsky, a writer who TASS said lived 49 years in the United States: "Don't take us for simpletons! The people of the whole world are well aware that it is your famous America that lacks freedom. What goes on in your Southern States?... The Ukrainian people freed themselves long ago, as far back as 1917, when they did away with the rule of the Czars and such magnates as you."

Vasyl Urbanyk, chairman of a collective farm: "We do not want your freedom... We have no use for it. American correspondents who visited our collective farm last year expected to see dilapidated huts, but they saw

spacious houses, they saw abundance instead of misery. You may ask about this from Lorin Sott, the editor of The Des Moines Register-Tribune, and other newsmen. They could not understand how it was possible in such a short time and after a devastating war to achieve such successes."

RESISTANCE IN UKRAINE CONTINUES

We have learnt from a reliable source that indescribable conditions at present prevail in Ukraine. The Ukrainian population is in danger of being inundated by the Russian invaders, who are spreading themselves out in Ukraine and are determined to Russify the country at all costs. True, one sees numerous signs and inscriptions written in Ukrainian in the Ukrainian towns, but this is merely an outer façade to cover up Russian supremacy in Ukraine. For in all official departments and even in the smallest local administrations Russian is the language that predominates.

To outward appearance terrorism is not as widespread as it was in Stalin's day, but the Ukrainian people nevertheless live in constant fear of the Russian hangmen; the latter terrorize the Ukrainian population just as much as they did in Stalin's day, but they now resort to other camouflaged methods. Even impartial observers notice the Ukrainians' great hatred of all that is Russian. An eye-witness from Ukraine recently reported that the Ukrainian population was repeatedly organizing resistance against the authorities and also that Ukrainian partisans were frequently carrying out raids on the administrative and Party departments, etc.

The Russian Bolsheviks have likewise intensified their anti-religious policy in Ukraine. — The said visitor to Ukraine added that the Ukrainians have become more self-confident and show considerable interest in the life, the activity and the achievements of the Ukrainian community abroad.

EXECUTIONS IN KYIV AND LVIV

On Tuesday, April 16, 1963, West European press agencies and the Moscow news agency TASS reported that 8 textile workers in Lviv had been executed for having allegedly stolen goods to the value of 2 million roubles.

A day earlier the Moscow Bolshevik press reported that a "court" in Kyiv had sentenced 10 Soviet citizens to death for having allegedly been guards at the concentration camp in Sobibor during the German occupation of Ukraine. The accused "had lain in hiding for twenty years until they were now discovered by a Bolshevik officer who had been a prisoner in the said concentration camp."

The Moscow "Pravda" of April 6, 1963, reported that the chairman of the Shevchenko rayon in Kyiv, M. Kuts, had been sentenced to death by shooting on account of corruption in allotting "dwelling-space" to people. In its edition of April 5th the same paper stated that B. Borisov and A. Borysenko had also been shot for having carried out a raid on the food supply depot No. 16 in the town of Blahovishchenske and having seriously wounded the guard of the depot Yazlovets.

The Bolshevik press has recently been reporting more and more cases in which persons have been executed on account of "bribery", "abuses", "currency speculations", and "activity for the enemy", etc. The Russian liars seem to forget their own assertions, according to which the "Soviet people" in the USSR have been re-educated and re-trained and in moral respects are far superior to the people of the West. The true reason for these drastic measures, which are not customary in the West for offences of this kind, is to be sought in an intensified terrorism in the Russian imperium which is necessitated by the increasing mass resistance against the Moscow tyrants. Since Khrushchov is powerless to break this resistance, he is once more resorting to the ruthless methods of his teacher and protector, Stalin.

Since Stalin's death Nikita Khrushchov, whom Western "peacemakers" are fond of describing as a great "humanist," has extended the application of the death penalty to numerous spheres of Soviet Russian life. Thus in June 1961, for instance, the death penalty was introduced in the case of persons who commit an offence against the currency regulations. In 1962 the death penalty was introduced for the following offences: attacks on the life, the health and the honour of the police and the militia, as well as for the application of violence and for corruption.

STUDENTS IN ODESSA SENTENCED TO PRISON

In its edition of April 9, 1963, the Moscow "Literaturnaya Gazeta" ("Literary Gazette") reported that a Bolshevik "court" in Odessa sentenced 7 students of the faculty of medicine to imprisonment for life on an alleged charge of having carried out numerous "assaults with robbery."

YOUNGER GENERATION OF UKRAINIAN WRITERS REPRIMANDED

The Kyiv "Literaturna Ukrayina" ("Literary Ukraine"), No. 25 of March 26, 1963, reports that meetings were recently held in Lviv, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, and other Ukrainian towns at which the new trends in evidence amongst the talented younger generation of Ukrainian writers were severely criticized. Orders have been issued that more meetings of this kind are to be held. At a meeting in Lviv the speaker was a Ukrainian traitor, Yuriy Melnychuk, who actually ventured to criticize Khrushchov's favourite, Yevtushenko. Melnychuk, incidentally, is notorious for his malicious propaganda against the Ukrainian nationalists, and his criticism is thus an abominable lie and defamation. He reproached Yevtushenko and Voznesenskiy with having been so misguided as to introduce ambiguities in their ideological contents and coarseness and vulgarisms in their language.

At the meeting of Ukrainian writers in Kharkiv the editor of the periodical "Prapor" ("The Flag") was attacked for having published certain poems in the January edition which expressed ideas that were false. Above all, the poem by Drach, "Ode to an Honest Coward," was sharply censured since it personifies the harmful idea of a comparison between the younger and the older generation." At the same time, Evhen Letiuk was reprimanded on account of his poem, "in which Soviet reality in the era of the personality cult is depicted in a distorted form and from a one-sided aspect."

It can thus be assumed that some of these young Ukrainian poets and writers will be deported by Khrushchov to Kazakhstan, or else sent to special camps. Stalin is dead, but his methods continue, and that "gifted maize expert" and "outstanding art connoisseur," Nikita Khrushchov, naturally sees to it that they are applied as hitherto.

ARMED CLASHES IN USSR FRONTIER REGION

The Russian news agency TASS recently reported that armed clashes had occurred in the southern frontier region of the USSR between Bolshevik troops and "armed enemy espionage units." According to TASS, these enemy units consisted of "criminals" and "armed smugglers." One hardly needs ask: since when have "smugglers" and "criminals" engaged in fierce clashes with well organized, armed Russian troops?

FAITHFUL IN USSR SEND PROTEST TO KHRUSHCHOV OVER CHURCH CLOSINGS

A copy of a letter of protest to "Premier" Khrushchov signed by several thousand parishioners and worshippers at the famous Pochaiv Monastery in Western Ukraine reached the Western World.

It dramatically illustrates the persecution of believers and the clergy in the Soviet Union.

On the strength of compiled figures some 2,000 churches have been nailed shut in the Soviet Union in the period 1960-1962.

According to a careful reading of the local and central Soviet press, the estimation can be made that no more than 10,000 churches are open in the USSR at the present time. This compares with 78,000 Orthodox religious establishments, which according to the No. 11, 1962, issue of the Soviet magazine *Science and Religion*, dotted the former empire of Russia in 1916. The state-authorized Moscow Patriarchate claimed that 20,000 churches were functioning in 1961.

The copy of the protest to Khrushchov, as well as an appeal to the World Council of Churches and American religious leaders, indicates that an open season has been in effect against the monks at Pochayiv Monastery. A number of KGB (Soviet secret police) officers are named in the documents as those responsible for the daily sorties against the monks. A favourite sport of the KGB officials is to drop in casually with a militia squad, break down a few doors and pull out a few monks, who are taken for a ride and dropped, alive but beaten up, as much as 200 miles away in the middle of a forest and warned never to return to Pochayiv. This is the lot also of pilgrims who come from many parts of the region for services.

The appeal charges that a squad of twelve militiamen headed by Captains Ostapenko and Maksimov and Major Bochkarev on August 31, 1962, forcibly removed Father Joseph, 70, to an insane asylum, where he is reported to have been murdered. Two other monks have suffered fatal injuries in the continued violence, the appeal declares.

No government decree for seizure has been issued, the appeal emphasizes. The Party authorities apparently are trying to drive the monks out through continual harassment. The parishioners, in signing the appeal, request the help of the World Council of Churches or of a concerned United Nations organization in restoring normalcy to the life of the monks at Pochayiv Monastery.

We would like to point out that the Twenty-second Party Congress stressed "the necessity of re-education for

those who find themselves in the captivity of anti-scientific religious ideology." The Congress declared that "the religious point of view must receive in our socialist conditions the most decisive rebuff. Attacks against it cannot be weakened."

Apparently the Soviet ideologists could not countenance the spectacle of droves of pilgrims trekking from all parts of Ukraine to participate in the solemn monastery services.

The parishioners' eloquent protest to Khrushchov accuses the local authorities of leaving only the bare walls in their drive to break the monastery's will to resist by large-scale confiscations. Another method, documented in the letter, is "persecution by examination." The monks are forced to submit to continual medical check-ups. Of course, it happens that the incidence of disease among them, diagnosed by state "doctors," is higher than anywhere in the Soviet Union, and many more are forcibly removed from the monastery for "clinical treatment."

According to the letter, the number of monks has been reduced from 140 in 1961 to 36 at the time of writing. Twenty-three of the "survivors" have been adjudged seriously ill, however, though they continue to perform their full-time duties.

**RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIKS BLOW UP
CHURCH IN TERNOPIL,
WEST UKRAINE**

According to a report in the Ukrainian daily "Svoboda," which is published in New York, news has been received there from Ukraine through a private source of information that the Church of the Assumption (Uspens'ka) in Ternopil, which was famous throughout the entire

province of Podolia as a place of pilgrimage, was recently blown up by the Russian Bolsheviks. At the same time, the belfry of the church, which in appearance closely resembled the belfry of the famous Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv, was also blown up. According to the same report, the cemetery adjoining the church was razed to the ground. This cemetery contained the graves of soldiers who had taken part in the Napoleonic wars and of prominent citizens of Ternopil. The Russian Bolsheviks also destroyed the chapel in the cemetery, where services were held every year on the feast-days of St. Mary and where a miraculous image of the Sorrowing Holy Virgin was displayed on such occasions. The original Uspens'ka Church, which was built of wood, was erected at the beginning of the 17th century (about 1630). In 1836 this church was removed and a stone church was erected in its stead. This edifice was extended in 1935-36 by the Ukrainian Redemptorist Order. Every year thousands of pilgrims from all over Podolia and even from the remote Ukrainian territories which prior to the first world war were under Russian rule used to visit the church during the celebrations of the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady.

It is clearly evident from this news, which has reached us from behind the Iron Curtain, that the ruthless persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Galicia continues, and that recent events, such as the release of the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan, Archbishop J. Slipyj, from imprisonment in a concentration camp in Siberia, are by no means indicative of a "thaw." And this holds good for both the Ukrainian Churches, — the Catholic as well as the Orthodox Church.

BOOK REVIEW

The Rev. Isidore Nahayevsky, Ph.D.: HISTORY OF UKRAINE. "America" Publishing House of the "Providence" Association of Ukrainian Catholics in America, Philadelphia, 1962. 295 pp.

This book has been written from the sociological, economic, political and religious standpoint of the Ukrainians in Ukraine and in exile. The author has produced an excellent and detailed study based on research from reliable sources. He refutes the lies and myths created in order to deny the very existence of the Ukrainian people and their historic position amongst the nations of the world throughout centuries.

True, several works on Ukraine and the Ukrainian people have already been published in English, but there is still a gap insofar as no complete and adequate explanation is given in these works of the spiritual ties of the Ukrainians with the Western world.

The introduction of this book contains general information on the origin of the Slav peoples, on ancient Ukraine (the Kyivan state that was known as Rus' or Ruthenia), and on the present territory of Ukraine with its natural resources; in addition, there is also some valuable information on the Ukrainian people, their history and culture, and the early relations of Ukraine with the West, above all with the Anglo-Saxons.

The author also deals with the restoration of the Ukrainian state during World War II. He emphasizes that "the abortive alliance between Hitler and Stalin was of short duration... On June 30, 1941, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, proclaimed in Lviv (Lemberg) the

independence of Ukraine. At the same time a National Assembly was called and a Provisional Ukrainian Government was established with Mr. Jaroslava Stetzko as its Prime Minister."

"Hitler and his close associates reacted to the Ukrainian proclamation of June 30, 1941, with the arrests of several members of the Ukrainian government, including Premier Stetzko and the OUN leader Bandera, who were deported to the Nazi concentration camp Sachsenhausen, where they spent almost four years. Many other prominent Ukrainian nationalists were shot or imprisoned" (p. 236).

The Reverend Nahayevsky points out that it is unnecessary to emphasize that as long as simmering resistance prevails in Ukraine and other enslaved countries of the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik leaders will hardly embark upon any military adventure. This is the chief reason why Khrushchov talks of 'peaceful coexistence' (p. 280).

The book contains numerous illustrations referring to events in Ukraine throughout the ages, from prehistoric times up to World War II and recent years.

This scholarly work by the Reverend Nahayevsky will undoubtedly prove a valuable contribution towards the enlightenment of all those who are interested in the history of Eastern Europe. And it can certainly be recommended to persons engaged in Slav studies.

V. Kapotivsky

Oleg S. Pidhaini: THE UKRAINIAN-POLISH PROBLEM IN THE DISSOLUTION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE 1914-1917. New Review Books, Toronto—New York, 1962. 126 pp.

This book is intended as an introduction to a more comprehensive work dealing with the rebirth of the Ukrainian national State in the Revolution and European diplomacy from 1917-1920, which is to be published towards the end of 1963.

At the beginning of this century neither Poland nor Ukraine presented an international problem. But democratic trends were soon to strengthen the Polish and Ukrainian demands for self-government and independence. After the collapse of

Russia and the Central Powers (Austria-Hungary and Germany) and the rebirth of the independence of Poland and Ukraine, the stage was set for the constitutional and diplomatic development of the Ukrainian-Polish frontier problem.

Towards the end of 1917 both Poland and Ukraine were eager to take part in the peace conference. The policy of the allies appeared to be friendly towards the newly established Ukrainian state. The author stresses the fact that "the journey to Brest-Litovsk, and so towards the full internationalization of the Ukrainian-Polish question, seemed necessary to the very existence of the Ukrainian National Republic, in the face of the German power in the East. The journey also seemed necessary in the face of the new Russian imperialism which was expressing itself in socialist phrases" (pp. 107-108).

What was the policy of the belligerent powers of the First World

War as regards the Ukrainian-Polish frontier problem? — The German policy was to support the extension of the Polish eastern frontiers as far as possible. The policy of the government of Vienna was to support the Polish claims to the East. France, as the most important ally of Russia was obliged to remain completely disinterested as regards the Polish eastern frontiers. The British more or less adopted the motto "do business with the Ukrainians" (p. 113), although later they did not continue to maintain this attitude towards the Ukrainians. American policy was on the whole somewhat vague, since political circles in the USA were not well informed on Ukraine's claims.

This book to a large extent contributes much to a better understanding of the somewhat confused East European policy of the belligerent powers during the First World War.

V. O.

THE UKRAINIAN-POLISH PROBLEM IN THE DISSOLUTION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE 1914-1917. *Oleg S. Pidhaini*, New Review Books, Toronto—New York, 1962, 126 pp.

This book is a useful compilation of bibliographical material, illustrating the thought-trend at work in Europe during the years under discussion, which were to result in the fixing of the Polish-Ukrainian frontier along the line demarcated by the Peace of Riga. These contemporary sources, the author points out, are not always to be taken at their face-value, since Poles and Ukrainians alike were wooed by the war propaganda of both the Russian and Austrian emperors as valuable potential allies. The glowing promises of self-determination and territorial boundaries offered by both sides would not necessarily have been carried out if either Empire had survived the war; nor indeed may the promises have been more than diplomatic piecrust, cooked up for the emergency in hand. Certainly, some of the promises signify, in cold fact, very little that warrant the sound and fury in which they are couched.

In his Introduction, the author warns us "not to allow... a hind-sight and assume that everything was moving to the formation of the Polish and Ukrainian states"... and indeed, it comes as a salutary shock to realize that as late as the Second Universal of the Ukrainian Rada (July 15, 1917) the idea of federation with Russia still seemed possible to the leaders of Ukrainian political and patriotic thought. Yet, just over six months later, total independence was proclaimed. This sudden speeding up of events was, of course, partly precipitated by the Bolshevik revolution in Russia but this is not the sole cause. The documentation reproduced in this book, clearly illustrates the ever gathering momentum of the Ukrainian national movement over these years — and — paradoxically, this development is the more effectively shown by the very fact that to illustrate this is not the author's main purpose.

For although, as he rightly says, a proper understanding of the border problem can only be obtained within the context of the whole problem of Ukrainian and Polish national resurgence, the author resists the temptation to digress into the aspects of the latter problem, however interesting, which has no direct bearing on the subject under discussion. For a treatment of peripheral problems, the reader is referred to a

comprehensive bibliography of 71 items (including 20 works in English, 17 in French, 12 in German, 9 in Ukrainian, 9 in Polish and 4 in Russian) and to the following work of our author on the rebirth of Ukraine and European diplomacy in the years 1917-1920, which, it is hoped, will appear in the latter part of 1963, and to which the present work is by way of being a prolegomenon.

Jorge Prieto Laurens: HISTORIA DEL COLONIALISMO Y IMPERIALISMO RUSO ("History of Russian Colonialism and Imperialism"). Publicaciones del Frente Popular Anticomunista de Mexico. Mexico, 1962.

About 5 months ago an interesting brochure, containing brief but instructive information on past and present-day Russia, appeared on the book-market in Latin America. The author of this brochure is the champion of the freedom of the peoples enslaved by Communism, Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens, who is not only well-known in the Americas, but also outside the Western hemisphere.

The brochure records the history, characterized by bloody wars, of both the Russia of the Tsar and that of the Bolsheviks. The author maintains the view that the present-day USSR merely represents a continuation of the old Russia of the Tsars which lusted for power and is striving to subjugate all mankind.

The author accuses the Red-Russian despots in the Kremlin of an unparalleled mendacity, since they want to create the impression outside their peoples' prison that they are the sole defenders of the peoples allegedly subjugated by the Western imper-

ialists, and that they are striving to bring liberation and prosperity to these peoples. This does not in the least correspond to the truth.

The author states that the Russian conquests in the East and the North of Europe were fairly difficult to achieve. In the South, the Russians had to fight hard. For example in Ukraine, where for hundreds of years the Russians met with a tenacious resistance on the part of the population — a resistance which was particularly evident in the Battle of Poltava in 1709.

From the author's statements it is clearly evident that the spectre threatening the free world, which calls itself the USSR but should really be called Russian empire, must be liquidated in the interests of peace-loving mankind and of Western civilization.

A map serves as an excellent illustration of the information given by the author.

V. Zatserkovny

Alf Aberg: I KAROLINERNAS SPAR ("IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE SOLDIER CHARLES XII OF SWEDEN"). Albert Bonniers Förlag, Stockholm, 1959. 115 pp.

The battle of Poltava in Ukraine in 1709, in which the allied Swedish and Ukrainian armies under the command of the King of Sweden, Charles XII, and the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa were defeated by the Russian Tsar Peter I, is still a subject of considerable interest to the world of today. On the occasion of the 250th

anniversary of this battle numerous foreigners, including, of course, many Swedes, visited the battlefield of Poltava. In 1959 the well-known Swedish paper "Svenska Dagbladet" in Stockholm sent young Dr. Alf Aberg to Ukraine and also to the other places in Russia where the Swedish soldiers of Charles XII were held as

prisoners by the Russians and for the most part suffered a dreadful death. Dr. Aberg also visited the battlefield of Poltava and compiled his interesting notes on the fatal issue of this battle for the Swedes and the Ukrainians, in the form of a book. With the help of diaries which had been kept by the officers and soldiers of Charles XII, the author traced the route of the defeated armies and also found the localities in Kyiv, Moscow and Leningrad where the Swedish prisoners-of-war had lived and worked.

Aberg gives an extremely interesting account both of his visit to Ukraine in 1959 and of the events of the battle at Poltava in 1709. He describes the careful preparations made by Charles XII for his Russian campaign and his unsuccessful advance as far as south Ukraine, where, in view of the fertile land and the exertions and the starvation which his army had been obliged to endure during the march through Poland and the Baltic countries, his soldiers thought they had reached Paradise. It is indeed significant that the author devotes a lengthy chapter entitled "In the Land of Canaan" to this subject. Dr. Aberg also visited the town of Poltava, which, to quote his own words, "is visited by tourists from all over the world on account of the memories connected with the battle of 1709." On the battlefield itself there is a museum which contains pictures and models that give the visitor an excellent insight into the course of the battle.

After their capitulation at Perevolochna on the big Ukrainian river Dnieper, the Swedish prisoners-of-war were distributed over the entire Russian territory, whilst the Ukrainian Zaporozhian Cossacks were promptly hanged. Some of the Swedish prisoners were held in captivity in Kyiv; the remainder were taken to Moscow (where they were employed on the construction of the city's fortifications and were forced to take part in the triumphal procession of Peter I in December 1709 and were jeered at on this occasion by the

people of Moscow), and to Petersburg, where, together with the Cossacks who had been abducted from Ukraine, they had to build a new capital, Petersburg, and an ornately laid out park for the Tsar.

The book contains numerous photographs, pictures and sketches, which add to its value. Unfortunately it does not contain a picture of Mazeppa, but to make up for this omission the author has included a large number of photographs of the Ukrainian buildings in Poltava, of the everyday life of the Ukrainian population, as well as of the famous Ukrainian churches in Poltava and Kyiv, which make his book extremely interesting.

After the defeat of the Swedish army at Poltava, Sweden ceased to assert her supremacy in Europe, and the Russians sought to crush Ukraine as speedily as possible, so that by the beginning of the second half of the 18th century it was reduced to the status of a Russian province.

Dr. Aberg ascertained during his stay in Ukraine that the memory of the fatal battle of Poltava and of Ukraine's friendly relations with its former allies is still kept alive amongst the Ukrainian population, especially in the region of Poltava. The author was however very distressed to see Ukrainian women forced to carry out heavy work on the roads and elsewhere.

In addition to this book, numerous articles and studies on the battle of Poltava also appeared in 1959, in particular in Sweden and amongst the Ukrainian emigrants. The articles on the battle of Poltava which were published in Soviet Ukraine to mark the 250th anniversary of Poltava were, however, unfortunately written under pressure of the present Red Russian occupants of Ukraine; hence these accounts are for the most part distorted and by no means in keeping with the historical truth. The name of Mazeppa is nowadays prohibited in occupied Ukraine, but the inhabitants of the Ukrainian capital Kyiv still call the fortifications of the city the "Mazeppa Walls" after the great Hetman, as the author points out in his book.

Dr. Aberg's work is all the more valuable since it contains a large amount of information that is new. For this reason it deserves to rank

as an important contribution to the history of Ukraine and of East Europe.

V. L u z h a n s k y

Taras Shevchenko: SONG OUT OF DARKNESS. Selected Poems translated from the Ukrainian by Vera Rich, with Preface by Paul Selver, a Critical Essay by W. K. Matthews. Introduction and Notes by V. Swoboda. The Mitre Press, London, 1961, i-xxxii, 128 pp.

Taras Hryhorovych Shevchenko was born in Moryntsi, a village south of Kiev, in central Ukraine, in 1814. He died in 1861 and the centenary of his death has been commemorated by the publication of "Song Out of Darkness." This book consists of selected poems by Shevchenko, translated from the Ukrainian by Vera Rich. The book is published under the auspices of the Shevchenko Centenary Committee which was formed in Great Britain in 1960. It is one of the Committee's aims to publish, in English, the collected works of Ukraine's greatest poet and the remaining volumes they hope to sponsor will cover Shevchenko's Prose, Drama, Diary and Correspondence.

The frontispiece of "Song Out of Darkness" is a self-portrait of Shevchenko when he was thirty-one and is followed by contributions from several eminent scholars of Ukrainian literature. The Preface is written by Paul Selver, the well-known authority and translator in the field of Czech and Slovak literature.

The critical essay on Shevchenko, "The Man and the Symbol," is by the late Professor Matthews. This much-praised essay was first published in 1951 and is here reprinted with several alterations. In his analysis of Shevchenko's political style, Professor Matthews first considers the poet detached from his reputation and he discusses Shevchenko's two books of verse — "The Minstrel" (Kobzar) and "The Haydamaks" (Haydamaky). Although both are predominately lyrical in tone, the former is only partly narrative while the latter is wholly narrative. He also throws light upon the techniques of Shevchenko's verse, its affinities with Ukrainian folk-songs and folk-ballads and dominant patterns in the subject-

matter. Of particular interest is the comparison Professor Matthews draws between Shevchenko and Burns and his conclusion that the 'differences between the two poets are probably as considerable as the similarities.' The second part of the essay deals with the poet as a symbol. All Shevchenko's literary work reflects his deep-rooted love for his native country. Professor Matthews points out that it is this patriotic aspect of Shevchenko's work which has appealed to succeeding generations of Ukrainians.

The excellent introduction by V. Swoboda gives a detailed account and appreciation of Shevchenko's life and work. He assigns to Shevchenko the honoured place of a man to whom his country, Ukraine, owes her revival as a distinct nation. He also clearly states the reasons why Shevchenko's poetry is as important and interesting today as when it was first published. This part of the essay is of vital importance to the understanding of Shevchenko as a man and the influence of his poetry. Mr. Swoboda also provides the historical background against which the poems were written and this greatly adds to an appreciation of the translations that follow. Indeed, the whole of Mr. V. Swoboda's essay is a valuable contribution to the book.

Now to the poems themselves. Thirty eight poems have been selected and translated for the present volume. Further parts will include the remaining one hundred and eighty eight titles. The translator, Vera Rich, is to be congratulated not only for her supreme achievement in the actual translations but also for her selection of the poems themselves. Thirteen of the poems printed in "Song Out of Darkness" appear now in English

translation for the first time. Among these are "The Cold Ravine," "The Boat" and "Chyhyryn." Included is one of the most important of Shevchenko's major poems, "The Neophytes," which has not been previously translated. Incidentally, this poem, in which the Russian Empire under Nicholas is portrayed in the guise of Nero's Roman Empire, contains the only reference to Britain in Shevchenko's poems, as far as is known. The poet mistakenly believed that in Nero's time Romans, condemned to penal servitude, were exiled

'...in distant regions,
In British or in Gallic legions.'

A special feature of Shevchenko's poetry is his use of internal rhymes and these pose a problem for the translator. Miss Rich has successfully surmounted this difficulty and the following are examples which are particularly noteworthy.

'And now the cranes fly in long
[skeins.' (p. 7, line 21)
'Let miseries' throug abide for
[long.' (p. 10, line 79)

and the internal half-rhyme,
'The wind blows, speaking with
[the grove.' (p. 15, line 1)

The distinction between the Ukraine and Russia has been retained: Ukraine has been translated as 'land of their fathers' and Russia as 'the Fatherland.' It should not be forgotten that while Ukraine refers to the country itself, the people are called Cossacks — simply because the word for Ukrainians had not been evolved by Shevchenko's time. These are only a few examples in illustration of the sincere way in which Miss Rich has ably succeeded in giving a true rendering of Shevchenko's poetry.

Readers will find that the notes are few but helpful and that the bibliography, set out in chronological order, is comprehensive. "Song Out of Darkness" is of immeasurable interest not only to the student of Ukrainian literature but also to those who find it fascinating to study the outstanding work of a unique and remarkable man.

M. P. Bellamy, B.A.

Alain Desroches: LE PROBLÈME UKRAINIEN ET SIMON PETLURA. LE FEU ET LA CENDRE. ("THE UKRAINIAN PROBLEM AND SIMON PETLURA. THE FIRE AND THE ASHES.") Nouvelles Editions Latines, Paris, 1962. 220 pp.

The assassination of the head of the Ukrainian state, Simon Petlura, in Paris in 1926 and the attempts to defame his memory and to show the Ukrainian-Jewish relations in a distorted and false light have prompted Alain Desroches, a lawyer by profession and a naturalized Frenchman of Jewish origin who lives in Paris, to write this book. The author goes to great pains to refute the accusations made against Petlura and the Ukrainian people, namely that they were responsible for the anti-Jewish atrocities which occurred during the revolutionary chaos in Ukraine (mainly in the years 1918 to 1920). He points out that the campaign against the Ukrainian national element

and against Petlura is conducted extremely skilfully and cunningly by the rulers in the Kremlin. It is regrettable that the Jews themselves (who are persecuted by the Soviet Russians) do not realize this fact, but continue to allow themselves to be used as a political tool in Moscow's fight against Ukraine. For one cannot interpret this question in any other way if one takes into account the fact that Petlura's murderer did not act as a Jew in May 1926 but solely as an agent of Moscow.

The conflict between Ukraine and Moscow continues, not merely in the political and cultural sphere, but also with armed violence, — a state of affairs which is hinted at in the Soviet

Russian papers (some of them in Ukrainian, too) which appear in Soviet Ukraine. The Russians then take revenge by acts of violence against the emigrant leaders of the Ukrainian movement. Examples of the Russians' treacherous methods in this respect have been the murder of Petlura in 1926, the assassination of Colonel Evhen Konovalts in Rotterdam in 1938, and the murder of the leader of the Ukrainian nationalists, Stepan Bandera, in Munich on October 15, 1959, by the agent Stashynsky who was sent to Munich by Moscow specially for this purpose and who was recently sentenced for this crime by the German Federal High Court in Karlsruhe.

The author devotes his attention mainly to the political and cultural development of the Ukrainian people, in particular, however, in the 19th and 20th centuries, since this is a precondition for a clearer insight into the treacherous murder by Moscow's agent Schwarzbart of the head of the Ukrainian state, Symon Petlura, who was in no way responsible for the anti-Jewish atrocities in Ukraine in 1918 to 1920, but, on the contrary, condemned them and took drastic action to stop them. Incidentally, Petlura was not the head of the entire Ukrainian territory, since part of it was occupied by the Red and also the White Russians.

Alain Desroches has given his book the subtitle "The Fire and the Ashes" because fire is the symbol of the revolution, whilst the ashes symbolize the subsequent dead period in Ukraine. But this subtitle is somewhat pessimistic in this case, for beneath the ashes there glows an eternal spark which will once more kindle a huge fire.

The author was born in Constantinople but he spent his childhood in Ukraine, in the harbour-town of Odessa. Some of his happiest memories are those of warm, sunny Ukraine. He also witnessed personally the dreadful atrocities of the revolution. As a young law student at the Paris Sorbonne, Alain Desroches was horrified at the assassination of Petlura. And he was particularly

indignant at Schwarzbart's treachery, for he knew Petlura fairly well and could not for a moment imagine that the latter had ever been an enemy of the Jews.

True, this book by Desroches appeared 34 years after the dreadful tragedy in Paris, but that was probably an advantage, for in this way Desroches was better able to refute successfully the defamation of Petlura's memory by the French television. In spite of the fact that the author gives an exact and objective account of the entire incident, the book reads like a novel. It is moreover pervaded with optimism and with a firm belief in the liberation of Ukraine from the Russian occupant in the near future.

One of the main tasks the author has set himself is the search for truth. For this reason he also discusses the past history of Ukraine, from which one can gain an insight into the relations between the Ukrainians and the Jews.

He deals at some length with the dark and, in fact, criminal past of Schwarzbart, who murdered Petlura in a street in Paris, far away from Ukraine. From the account given by Desroches of this incident it is obvious that Schwarzbart was a hireling of Moscow and murdered the head of the Ukrainian state at the instructions of the Kremlin.

Pages 167 to 220 of the book are devoted to the trial of Schwarzbart in October 1927. Here the author stresses the tragedy of this trial, which to everyone's surprise ended in an acquittal for the murderer.

In conclusion the author says: "The fire which glows under the ashes was to be extinguished at all costs. But capricious fate, which is less blind than justice, frequently presumes by its own laws to annul certain dubious judgements. For if the frail human heart, which is often clouded by emotions, fails to distinguish between truth and error, then the ultimate issue is that in the end reason triumphs once more" (p. 220).

This book certainly is unique if one bears in mind that the Jews rejoiced when Petlura's murderer, who had

received his instructions from Moscow to carry out this crime, was acquitted and that most of them still hold the opinion that Schwarzbart was a Jewish patriot and that Symon Petlura, even though he was in no way responsible for the anti-Jewish atrocities in Ukraine in 1918 to 1920, deserved the fate that he met at the hands of a Jewish "avenger."

The book is naturally by no means in keeping with Moscow's political principle, which aims to stir up hatred between the Ukrainians and the Jews in the hope that these two peoples will fight each other and undermine each other's strength, — a state of affairs which would then facilitate the Red Russians' fight against these two peoples.

V. Kapotivsky

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Dominique Auclères: FAUT-IL QUE MOSCOU REDOUTE LEUR INFLUENCE! ("Does Moscow fear their influence!"). "Le Figaro" of October 13-14, 1962.

The paper "Le Figaro" devoted considerable space to the trial of the former Soviet agent Stashynsky, the murderer of Bandera and Rebet, which was held in October 1962 in Karlsruhe, when it published the excellent reports by Mrs. Dominique Auclères.

In order to stress the nature of these reports and to explain the above title we publish a passage from them:

"Mr. Stetzko, who was proclaimed Prime Minister of the independent republic of Ukraine in 1941, was my neighbour for three days on the seats reserved for the press. The Germans sent him to a concentration camp that same year after they had occupied Ukraine. He remained there until the end of the war. Since then, he has a paralysed arm, and it is clearly evident that his health has been shattered. *How many Ukrainians have been killed in the struggle for independence, how many have been wounded, maimed, or assassinated in exile by Moscow's KGB? The list is already very long. Does Moscow fear their influence, since it takes so much trouble to suppress them!*"

*

L'EUROPE DES MAQUIS ("The Europe of the secret resistance groups"). "Le Charivari", No. 5, November 1962.

This excellent article gives an account of the struggle of the nations occupied by Russia (wrongly called "foreign") against the Soviet regime and foreign domination.

"In the Red world — this article states — the struggle is going on everywhere *except in Central Russia*. The peoples of the Baltic states, the Ukrainians, the Caucasians, as much individualists as the French can be, have in reality never caused to struggle against Moscow's domination... Our four years of resistance during the last war are but a pale reflection of the secret war of resistance which has developed during forty years of occupation."

Then follows a general account of the revolts and insurrections in the concentration camps, of the partisan warfare in Ukraine, of events in Poland and in Hungary in 1956.

In conclusion the article stresses: "These revolts, numerous and often bloody, could be crushed: but Soviet oppression continues to nurture resistance. In all the countries subjugated under the Russian yoke, thousands of persons continue the fight for independence, either in their places of work, or in the secret resistance movements."

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The
**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



II

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UKRAINE



Ukrainian ethnographic territory

Boundaries of Soviet republics and satellites

In Honour of the Centenary of the Death of

TARAS SHEVCHENKO

a selection of his works entitled

SONG OUT OF DARKNESS

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Myroslav Styranka

THE CULTURAL RESURGENCE IN UKRAINE

The vulnerable spot of any totalitarian government is the cultural element of its life. No matter how rigidly such a regime tries to control the literary, artistic and scientific spheres — by the extensive use of propaganda, by the introduction of strict censorship, by setting up its own pseudo-artistic standards, by the annihilation of heretics with terror methods — its artificially cemented structure nevertheless begins to show dangerous cracks and threatens to collapse like a house of cards at the first attack on its weakness. The present cultural situation in the USSR may be considered a classical example in this respect. The process taking place there in the literary and artistic field is probably one of the most important since Stalin's death. The entire system of the Party's cultural dictatorship, which already under Stalin's rule was built up on the basis of so-called socialistic realism, is starting to collapse before our very eyes.

It must be emphasized, however, that this process is taking place against the will of Khrushchov's regime, a fact which is definitely proved by the large-scale attack launched by Khrushchov himself and by his ideological adviser, Ilyichov, on formalism and abstractionism. To the Party these concepts mean nothing more than an attempt on the part of Soviet writers and artists to free themselves from Party control in order to develop their creative activity unhampered. Those responsible for the cultural matters of

the nation have used the de-Stalinization and the so-called liberalization for the purpose of bursting asunder fetters of socialistic realism. As matters stand now, the Party will hardly succeed under the present conditions in bringing the cultural sphere under its control without the use of force. Referring to this situation, one of the writers of the socialist-realist school sadly pointed out that the "formalists" had monopolized the cultural life in the USSR to such an extent that one had to have great courage to profess oneself an adherent of socialistic realism.

This spirit of rebellion in cultural matters and the struggle for free creative activity is making itself felt not only in Moscow and Leningrad but above all in the capitals of the different national republics. Unfortunately, this fact remains almost unnoticed by the West. And yet in the national republics this fight for free creative activity and for the independence of artistic and literary life from Party control and from the artistic standards imposed by the Party is closely linked to the national opposition against the regime. Above all, the purpose of these endeavours is to create new national forms of the fine arts and of literature, not only independent of the Party, but also of the Russian cultural centres. In other words, the champions of a cultural rebirth in the different national republics — mostly young writers, artists and composers — are not only fighting for their free creative activity (as the Russian writers are likewise doing) but also for the freedom of creating a national art.

This can be clearly seen from the example of the second-largest republic (the first being the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR) — Ukraine. At the same time as Yevtushenko, Voznesenskiy and other young writers entered the forum of Russian literature in Moscow, those writers to whom we owe the kindling of these rebellious sparks (regardless of the fact that Yevtushenko for example was partly reconciled to the Party and in the West became the troubadour of Khrushchovian "liberalism"), another group of young writers, by no means less gifted, in Ukraine, too, began to assert themselves, as for example, Ivan Drach, Mykola Vinhranovsky, Evhen Hutsalo, Vitaliy Korotych, Volodymyh Drozd, Fedir Boyko, Valeriy Shevchuk and many others.

In the poetic and prose works of these and of other writers a completely new spirit was evident; and it caused the Party considerable uneasiness not only regarding their obvious departure from socialistic realism (a crass example of this is the work of one of the most gifted of the young writers, Ivan Drach, entitled "A Knife in the Sun") but also regarding their national pathos and colour which clearly stand out in their works. This national pathos is perhaps reflected most strongly in a work by Mykola Vinhranovsky — "Ukrainian Prelude." Here the poet reveals his deep, almost mystical attachment to Ukraine:

Your face is pure as that of Hope
With fragrant fingers I touch you,
Mingling my blood with yours
As the seed with the earth in spring.
Just now you have become my home
And I have become yours in the dawn of day.
Through you my eyes have been opened.

You have taught me to love my people.
From Time's perspective you have illuminated my senses,
You have made me speak Ukrainian.
With my heart and through all my senses I perceive you,
I love you through the prism of the Universe and of Humanity.
To me you are like a sunflower in its golden dream,
I caress you like a grey-haired learned thinker.
Even the humblest plant on the stubble-field in Ukraine is lovely.

These would be the contents of the said patriotic-mystical poem by Mykola Vinhranovsky in prose. In rendering this poem in prose form, we were well aware of the generally accepted principle "He who will the poet understand, must go to the poet's land."

The Party is also concerned that the expressive courage of these young people and their stirring independence might have "infected" some of the older generation of Ukrainian writers and other cultural representatives of the country. Suddenly, the Party saw itself confronted not only with a new cultural rebirth but also with a cultural national opposition, which seems to mock Khrushchov's policy directed towards the "death of peoples" during the construction of Communism.

After the sudden appearance of the "Group of the 60's" (as the young writers' pleiad calls itself in Ukraine), the leading men of the Party in Ukraine, faithfully adhering to Khrushchov's national policy (which, incidentally, differs very little from Stalin's national policy if we disregard the somewhat more sparing use of physical terror), began to speak far more frequently of a dangerous revival of Ukrainian nationalism and quite frankly expressed their uneasiness about the creative fervour of these young Ukrainians.

The behaviour of the Party leader for ideological questions in Ukraine, Skaba, is a typical example in this respect. In a plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party which was held in August of last year, Skaba sounded the alarm about the danger of nationalism in Ukraine. He emphasized that there were still people in Ukraine who ignored the objective process of the "assimilation of peoples" and who idealised the Ukrainian past. Above all, he attacked young writers and artists by accusing them of deviating from socialistic realism, of lacking respect for all previous socialistic achievements and of being under western

influence. Equally sharply, Skaba attacked "nationalistic" tendencies among some of the Ukrainian artists. He also accused them of wanting to adopt the style of a group of Ukrainian painters, headed by Boychuk, who during Stalin's time were condemned and liquidated. These painters had managed to create their own school, which was permeated with the traditions of the old Ukrainian national art.

But despite Skaba's criticism, which was quite clearly directed against the new trends of the cultural rebirth of Ukraine — above all, however, against the young creative generation of Ukraine — the Party has not succeeded in stopping this process. Skaba's behaviour, as well as a pro-Moscow attitude on the part of the Party bosses in Ukraine, must have caused a storm of protest among Ukrainian intellectuals. The works of young writers continued to be printed — with interruptions, it is true — in the columns of the literary journals in Ukraine. Furthermore, these writers are ostentatiously admitted to the Ukrainian Writers' Union. In the press they are not only protected from the attacks of the Party by the literary critics of the older and younger generation, but are also defended by writers of the older generation, as for example by the author Maksym Rylsky.

Under the influence of these young authors, even the writers of the older generation are beginning to show more courage in their writings. For instance, a story by Antonenko-Davydovych, who during Stalin's time was banned, caused a considerable stir in Ukraine last year. The author, who was rehabilitated some years ago, published in the journal "Dnipro" a story called "Za shyrmoyu" ("Behind the Screen") in which with frank criticism he touched on the conditions of life in Ukraine. This story, however, which was greatly appreciated by the readers — as is evident from the letters to the editors published in the journal "Dnipro" — had to be condemned by the Ukrainian Writers' Union owing to Party pressure. Simultaneously, this Union condemned the young critic Ivan Dziuba, who, in one of his public lectures in Lviv, criticized contemporary Ukrainian literature and declared that the introduction of basic reforms in the literary policy of the Party was imperative. In the resolution of the Union it was emphasized, as was to be expected, that Dziuba had resorted to a "shameless publicity, distortion of the actual state of Ukrainian literature and to assertions which were politically fallacious." Subsequently, Dziuba was threatened with expulsion from the Ukrainian Writers' Union, if he did not discontinue his erroneous criticism.

Immediately after the resolution adopted by the said Union, (in September of last year) a purge among the editorial staff of the various Ukrainian literary papers was started by the Party leadership. The main reason for this purge was the fact, that the works of these young writers, as well as favourable reviews of these works had been reprinted in these papers.

Recently, (in connection with the condemnation of abstractionism and modernism) a vigorous campaign against the "Group of the 60's" was launched by Khrushchov and Ilyichov. Above all, two of the most highly esteemed representatives of the young generation, the poets Drach and Vinhranovsky were attacked. The full text of Ilyichov's attack (on Dec. 23, 1962) on modernism and abstractionism was reprinted in the columns of the official newspaper of the Communist Party, "Radianska Ukrayina" ("Soviet Ukraine"). Under the title, "The poet writes for the people" the paper published an article which was unmistakably directed against the young poets of Ukraine. In the form of articles and letters to the editor, a large-scale campaign attacking the "formalistic errors" of the young poets was launched in the Soviet-controlled press in Ukraine.

As before, however, some of the older writers had the courage to defend the young writers quite openly. Above all, the articles of the writers Malyshko and Rylsky, which were published in the journal "Literaturna Ukrayina" ("Literary Ukraine") deserve to be mentioned in this connection. Especially noteworthy in this respect are the letters of a number of students, who openly defended the young writers. This again proves that the feeling of fear, which under Stalin led to everything being hushed up, has become less pronounced and that new national forces are emerging. We hope that these forces will destroy all Party theories about the death of peoples and Moscow's policy of russification.

The cultural rebirth of modern Ukraine may also be observed in other fields. It is expressed chiefly in open dissatisfaction with the Party's course of russification. Articles which have been published in the "Literaturna Ukrayina" are examples of this fact. On November 2, 1962, this journal published an article signed by several well-known writers, under the title of "How is subscription handled in Lviv?" This article criticizes the phenomena of Russian chauvinism in Lviv. According to the paper, the immigrated Russians (before World War II there were no Russians at all in Lviv) sabotage the circulation of Ukrainian newspapers and journals. Since Russians are in charge of various enterprises, they subscribe exclusively to Russian newspapers and periodicals. The said literary journal protests against this fact and denounces it as nonsense. This is not so much due to stupidity but rather to the consequences of the russification policy which has been pursued for many years and which is today fully supported by Khrushchov and carried out tacitly and obediently by the representatives of the "Ukrainian" Communist Party. A similar article was published in the same paper at the beginning of this year attacking the abuses to which the russification policy has led in Ukraine's second largest city, Kharkiv. The journal is at present also criticizing the situation in the publishing field in Ukraine and above all stresses the inadequate publication of dictionaries.

The intellectuals of Ukraine have nevertheless had enough courage not only to criticize the defects but also to make plans to fill the gaps which resulted during Stalin's terrorist rule. This can be seen from the journal "Movoznavstvo" ("Linguistics"), No. 17, which appeared last year. As can well be imagined, the development of Ukrainian linguistics was almost entirely suppressed under Stalin's rule. The dictionaries and other linguistic publications which were prepared for the press by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv were destroyed because of their "nationalist" tendencies. From the same journal we learn that Ukrainian linguists are preparing for publication a number of dictionaries, including a huge dictionary of the Ukrainian language.

It is indeed regrettable that the efforts along these lines meet with great negligence, and even with an unbelievable sabotage, on the part of the allegedly "Ukrainian" government in Kyiv. Recently many articles have appeared in the scientific and literary journals of Ukraine deploring the fact that Ukrainian linguistic editions are being printed very slowly. The first volume of the Ukrainian-Russian dictionary appeared as early as 1953, the fifth volume in 1962, whereas the last volume has not yet been printed. The situation is similar as regards other dictionaries that have long been ready for the press. They have not yet been printed since no money can be raised for such matters.

The policy pursued by the leading men of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine with regard to the publication of books proves that these men blindly obey the orders issued by the Moscow centre. Most of them are bureaucrats who are anxious about their own careers, and for this reason the opposition of the Ukrainian intelligentsia is directed not only against the Moscow centre but also against the Party branch in Kyiv. In any case, the Kyiv Party bosses have not taken any initiative of their own concerning a de-russification of Ukraine or any kind of freedom from Moscow's control, if we except the formal rehabilitation of the prominent Ukrainian cultural representatives (which was, however, prompted by the pressure exerted on the part of the Ukrainian public. The Kyiv Party bosses on the contrary, hinder the Ukrainian intelligentsia and youth from making use even of the facilities introduced by Khrushchov for the benefit of Ukrainian culture.

What are the prospects of this campaign by the Ukrainian intellectuals for the immediate future? Regardless of the Party's resistance and its efforts to pursue a russification policy under the guise of "assimilation of peoples," the Ukrainian renaissance, already in process, will win one victory after another by frustrating Moscow's plans — on one condition, however, namely that there will not be a repetition of the era of terrorism as practised under Stalin.

It must be stressed in this connection that the young Ukrainian writers and artists who are coming to the fore in Ukraine's cultural life represent a generation which was educated entirely in the so-called "international" spirit of the Soviet Russian stamp. There are many among them who were not able to attend Ukrainian schools. Nevertheless they are not writing in the Russian but in the Ukrainian language, though they are by no means less gifted than the most famous Russian modern writers. That writing in the Russian language would offer them possibilities of a more successful literary career, and even a popularity á la Yevtushenko, does not in the least concern these young Ukrainians. This shows that national feelings, such as they are for instance expressed in Vinhranovsky's poem "Ukrainian Prelude" and in other works, cannot be easily suppressed.

Another point that should be taken into consideration is that these authors did not appear suddenly as a *deus ex machina*, but that they were raised in a milieu which could not make them any different than what they are — Ukrainian patriots. In other words, these young Ukrainians are the true representatives of the Ukrainian people as well as the interpreters of its desires and its strivings.

In conclusion, we wish to stress that these regeneration processes are taking place not only in Ukraine but also in other national republics of the USSR. During recent times everywhere healthy cells of a political and cultural rebellion against Moscow have been forming. The renaissance movement is championed in particular by the younger generation. All this furnishes additional proof of the fact that the problem of nationalities in the USSR is always present and that the imperialistic system of russification, artificially created by Moscow, is doomed to failure.

THE FAR-REACHING PLANS OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISTS

In order to weaken and destroy their enemy, namely the West, the Russian Bolsheviki are wherever possible making use of the national liberation movements in the so-called colonial countries of Asia and Africa for their own aims and plans. To this end they claim the right to pose as "defenders of the subjugated peoples"; they extol the national liberation movements in Asia and Africa and attack the "imperialism" of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, and even of the United States of America, which possesses no colonies. On the other hand, however, they conceal their own Russian imperialism and colonialism, which is far worse, in Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic and Caucasian countries, and Turkestan, etc. In order to mislead and deceive the rest of the world they advocate and support the "independence" of Congo, Ghana, Mali and similar inadequate political structures, but at the same time ruthlessly suppress all the liberation aims and the fight for independence of the Ukrainian people, who number 45 million. They behold the mote that it is in their brother's eye, but do not consider the beam that is in their own eye. But in spite of all this, the Russians cannot conceal the truth, for the actual plans which they devise against the subjugated peoples constantly come to light; the Russians seek to destroy the national independence of these peoples and to denationalize and russify them ruthlessly and completely.

These plans were recently unintentionally revealed in a small pamphlet written by I. E. Kravtsev, who is one of the leading propagandists in the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. This pamphlet, which was published in

Kyiv in 1960 and is of course written in the Russian language, bears the title "Closer Relations between the Socialist Nations during the Transition to Communism." The actual question at issue is apparent from the title alone. In stressing the alleged "closer relations of the socialist peoples," the author, who undoubtedly represents the views of the leading Bolshevik clique, including Khrushchov, unintentionally exposes the true nature of these "closer relations," which are solely based on the ultimate fusion of the non-Russian peoples with the "great and superior" Russian people. For appearances' sake Kravtsev at first refers fairly often to the "development of the socialist peoples," but at the same time he also reveals the main purpose of Red Russian policy. We should therefore like to quote certain passages from his pamphlet. On page 4 he writes as follows:

"In the transition period from capitalism to socialism the bourgeois peoples will be replaced by socialist peoples. The historical mission of this new form of human community lies in bringing the social economic and cultural ideological principles of human differentiation into line with each other and subsequently fusing all nations and peoples into a single monolithic whole. The victory of Communism all over the world will result in a complete fusion of peoples, and individual national peculiarities and languages will die out. National culture will merge in a single Communist culture with a single common language."

Kravtsev remains silent on the question as to which "single common language" is to be adopted for the entire Communist world, but we have every reason to assume that it will be the "generally comprehensible language" of the (Russian) "elder brother."

On page 11 Kravtsev is already more explicit on this point. Here he philosophizes as follows:

"The peoples of the USSR, who have voluntarily (sic!) united with the great Russian people, adopt its nobler characteristics."

In other words this means that the non-Russian peoples are the victims of a forcible russification under the pressure of the Kremlin. On page 15 Kravtsev refers to the fact that this russification will concern not only the peoples who have already been subjugated but also all the remaining peoples in the world:

"The USSR is the fatherland not only of the Soviet multi-national state but also of socialism, that is to say an international fatherland of all workers."

He thus categorically affirms that the "workers" of the whole world must master the language of their "fatherland." The reader who has any doubts in this respect will do well to bear in mind Kravtsev's statements on page 23:

"For this reason the conception of a fatherland without Russia and without the Russian people is unthinkable to the peoples of the USSR."

As regards the Ukrainians Kravtsev makes an even more concrete statement on page 22:

"In the opinion of the Ukrainians, for instance, the conception of the fatherland is by no means confined to the territory of Ukraine... Moscow is the much-loved capital of every people of our fatherland."

Thus, according to Kravtsev, Moscow and not Kyiv is the capital of Ukraine. The Ukrainians therefore have no fatherland of their own, but only Moscow. Nor have they a national economy of their own, for their entire economic system belongs to Moscow. As Kravtsev says on page 25:

"The national economies of the Soviet Republics are component parts of the single and indivisible whole of the entire national economy of the Soviet Union."

In the section boastfully entitled "The Seven-Year Plan for a Furtherance of the Closer Relations and Development of the Socialist Peoples," Kravtsev discusses the Russian aims with regard to the current Seven-Year Plan. On page 37 he writes as follows:

"In the course of the growing expansion of Communism the processes of a voluntary fusion of small ethnographical groups, tribes and small peoples with large socialist nations will increase still more... Above all, the closer relations between the related languages will be intensified: they will, as it were, intersect and be fused. And the great progressive significance of the Russian language as the mediator of the inter-national union of the peoples of the USSR and of their cultural development will increase even more."

On page 40 Kravtsev is even more explicit: "The process of developing the closer relations between the related peoples and national groups, as for instance between the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian languages, is proving particularly successful." The russification of the Ukrainians and Byelorussians thus occupies a foremost place in Moscow's plans. Kravtsev realizes that all this is clearly a russification, but he nevertheless attacks the "bourgeois nationalists" for expressing the same opinion. He stresses that the "trend to bilingual intercourse is a progressive trend" (p. 42). He attacks the nationalists because they complain about a "russification" and an "assimilation" and about the suppression of the rights of the non-Russian languages, but does not himself find a satisfactory answer to this question apart from the useless and boastful assertion that the "development of the culture of the Ukrainian people is progressing."

Kravtsev also assures us that in the course of time the conception of the national territories will likewise disappear. In this connection he refers to the fact that the Ukrainians hold the opinion that there are still Ukrainian territories in Poland behind the so-called Curzon

Line, but this does not worry him in the least, since "he would sell his own mother for a piece of rotten sausage," as the national prophet and poet of Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko, once so aptly remarked. Kravtsev deals in some details with the problem of national character and national mentality. Although he is inclined to affirm that they are merely "bourgeois inventions," he is nevertheless obliged to admit:

"It is however generally acknowledged that national peculiarities will still continue to exist for a certain period of time even after the victory of Communism in the whole world.

This means that the individual peoples are encumbered with extremely stable characteristics. And these include their national character and national language."

Kravtsev is also obliged to make the following admission:

"This indicates that the social psychology of the people of a nation is a class psychology. But the national mentality (soul) of the capitalists and of the workers of the same nation is identical. There is for instance no such thing as a difference in the national characteristics of a French worker and a French capitalist. An Englishman who has become a capitalist does not cease to be an Englishman, nor does a German who has become a Communist automatically lose his German characteristics... Precisely this common quality of its mental characteristics or of its national character is one of the fundamental peculiarities of every nation. Without a common national mentality there can be no nation" (pp. 60-61).

On this point Kravtsev was obliged to speak the truth. And it is against this truth that the Russian Bolsheviks have fought unsuccessfully and at the expense of millions of human lives for decades and still continue to fight even today. Hypocritically Kravtsev then maintains that the national character can be changed. In the first place he attacks the nationalists for daring to affirm, as we do, that Soviet Russian socialism is hostile to the mentality of our Ukrainian nation. He tries to convince the reader that the so-called "Soviet people" have allegedly created a new character, which he designates as a "Soviet multinational character" (p. 63). But he does not attempt to define these vague conceptions more closely. In this connection it must however be stressed that he contradicts his own statements about the stable quality of national characteristics.

It seems appropriate at this point to quote a statement made by Kravtsev regarding the manner in which nationalism endeavours to combat Bolshevik mendacity and russification. On page 66 he writes as follows:

"The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists tried to glorify and idealize the past of Ukraine in every possible way by describing it as a kind of Golden Age. Reactionary events long since past in the history of the nation and of its national culture are thus embellished and idealized. Even nowadays, when an objective process directed towards the

furtherance of closer relations between the socialist peoples is in progress in our country, and when all connections have been severed with what is long since past and narrow-minded, attempts are still made to idealize what seems like yesterday to the people. Some people for instance try to exaggerate the significance of national peculiarities in the life of the people and, on the other hand, seek to disparage and belittle the role of the general lawfulness on which the process to further closer relations between the peoples of the USSR is based. The remnants of nationalism are glorified in order to prevent the national culture from being influenced by the culture of other peoples, above all of the great Russian people. In this connection the nationalists idealize the historic past of their own people and try to revive outmoded national traditions, long since forgotten by the people, and to cultivate them as a 'national peculiarity.' In some cases attempts are made to represent the remnants of the outmoded past in the sphere of customs and traditions as 'peculiar qualities' of the national character. People are enchanted with these peculiarities and would even like to cultivate them. Obstinacy, national prejudice, boastfulness, and the efforts of charlatans, etc., are frequently regarded as national traditions. Failure to recognize the difference between healthy national traditions and the remnants of the outmoded past, between national pride and national boastfulness, has in some cases even resulted in individual Party and Soviet workers ceasing to combat outmoded and harmful phenomena in the field of customs and traditions effectively since they have allowed themselves to be misled by persons who are narrow-minded from the national point of view."

At the same time Kravtsev stresses that "there can be no other content in the culture of the peoples under socialism but the socialist content," that is to say the Russian content. In this connection he attacks so-called "National Communism." He affirms angrily: "The remnants of nationalism are incompatible with the transition to Communism. For nationalism is an enemy of Communism" (p. 71). And this is indeed the difficulty! For Kravtsev now loses his head and goes so far as to affirm:

"Ukrainian nationalism was not national for it always served the interests of foreign ruling classes; it always acted as the most infamous agent of foreign imperialism, and it was always a notorious enemy of the Ukrainian people... Ukrainian nationalism was never 'independent' (pp. 71-72). Generally speaking, the people who had deviated from the main course also served the same aims. They aimed to adapt the internationalist policy of the working class to the needs of the national bourgeoisie. They tried to create separate, isolated national economies and detach Ukraine in economic respect from the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and from the other Soviet Republics... In the language sector they did everything to bring about an alienation between the national languages on the one hand and the Russian language on the

other, to set up a Chinese wall between the national cultures and the Soviet Russian culture, and to divert the development of national languages and cultures into nationalist bourgeois channels... We are by no means rid of the nationalist remnants... And precisely these nationalist remnants are a very grave danger. For this reason one must declare a relentless and fierce war on them until they are *destroyed completely*... The fight against bourgeois nationalism is therefore imperative in constructing a socialist camp of global dimensions and thus occupies a foremost place in all plans" (pp. 75-76).

Kravtsev concludes his remarks by enumerating all the various forms in which nationalism can appear and emphasizes the necessity of combatting it ruthlessly.

The Ukrainian people, Ukrainian culture, the Ukrainian language and economy are thus involved in a life-and-death struggle, and we shall continue this fight undauntedly.

We are moreover firmly convinced that in this grim struggle the Ukrainian people will gain a victory over the Russian occupiers. The wrath of the Russian chauvinists like Kravtsev will only serve to encourage and strengthen the Ukrainian nationalists in their aspirations and determination.

* * *

The fight for freedom of Ukraine, which is led by the nationalist revolutionary movement, is directed both against overt Russian imperialism and against international Communism, since the same enemy, namely Moscow, is involved in both cases.

The imperialism of the Russian people is a phenomenon of an historical nature, which changes its form and methods of action, but in character always remains the same. In essence Russian imperialism is based on the constant aim to enslave and subjugate other peoples and, by exploiting and crushing them, to expand its own power and its sphere of influence and to further the growth of the Russian people and of its imperium. This imperialism appears either overtly as a force and action of Russia, or else in a disguised form.

Communism is at present the most powerful form of disguised Russian imperialism. Indeed, it has become the main tool of Russian imperialism, the chief means of action of the secret plans and intentions of Russian imperialism. This applies not only to Bolshevism, that is to say not only to obviously Russian but also to international Communism.

In view of the many-sided operations and the various organized fronts of our fight for freedom, it seems to us essential to differentiate between the individual forms of the same enemy. Overt Russian imperialism, in the form of Bolshevism but also in the form of non-

Communist Russian imperialism, is directed against the independence of Ukraine. The main front against the former is located in Ukraine itself, whilst the front against the latter enemy can at present only be organized abroad. This situation may however change completely in the near future, in which case both fronts will then become of equal importance. Moscow's non-Communist imperialism may very easily replace Bolshevism.

International Communism is not confined solely to the sphere of Bolshevik influence. It engages in its activity amongst various peoples all over the world and is therefore a phenomenon of global dimensions. Russian imperialism relies on it for aid. International Communism has found a support and base in Russian Bolshevism, and it is constantly aided by Moscow. In order to fight the Ukrainian liberation movement and other anti-Bolshevik forces, international Communism constantly sets up new fronts, in addition to the Russian Bolshevik main front, by launching attacks from other sides. It is therefore imperative that we should devote particular attention to the front against international Communism in our fight for freedom.

Increase in Capital Punishment in the USSR

During the past two years capital punishment has been imposed to an increasing extent in the USSR.

In 1947 capital punishment was abolished in the USSR, but in 1950 it was introduced once more, and in 1954 the scope of its applicability was extended; in the Soviet criminal jurisdiction of 1958 and in the criminal codes of the constituent republics of the Soviet Union it was retained as an "exceptional penalty until its complete abolition." Article 22 of the "Principles of the Penal Legislation of the USSR and of the Constituent Republics of the USSR" provides that the death penalty shall be imposed for high treason, espionage, sabotage, acts of terrorism, brigandage, and murder under aggravating circumstances. Since this law was passed, the scope of applicability of this "exceptional penalty" has been extended on the strength of the following five decrees:

Decree No. 207 of May 5, 1961, referring to theft from the state or of public property to a particularly large extent, forgery, and the committing of acts of violence by dangerous persistent criminals with previous convictions;

Decree No. 291 of July 1, 1961, refers to speculation with foreign currency;

On the strength of Decrees No. 83, 84 and 85 of February 12, 1962, the death penalty is extended to include cases of attacks, under aggravating circumstances, on the life of police officials or of policemen on duty, certain cases of assault (as for example by several persons, by dangerous criminals with previous convictions, assault resulting in particularly serious consequences, or committed against a minor), and cases of passive bribery and corruption of civil servants, provided that the civil servant in question holds a responsible post or is guilty of recidivism.

Pursuant to Decree No. 147 of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of April 6, 1962, which was published in the official gazette

of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (Vedomosti Verkhovnogo Sovieta SSSR), No. 14, 1962, these amendments were included in the "Principles of the Penal Legislation of the USSR and of the Constituent Republics of the USSR."

In its plenary session on September 14, 1961, and again in March 1962, the Supreme Court of Justice of the USSR urged that these kinds of crimes should be combatted more intensively. In March 1962 the plenum of the Supreme Court of Justice once more drew the attention of the courts to the fact that the theft of state or of public property was a dangerous crime and that one of the most important tasks of jurisdiction was to combat this crime (Directive of the Supreme Court of Justice, No. 5 of March 31, 1962).

The recent legal decrees and directives regarding capital punishment reveal contradictory trends in the latest practices of Soviet penal laws. Indeed, according to an article by N. R. Mironov, head of the Department of Administrative Organs of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was published in the journal "Partiynaya Zhizn" ("Party Life"), No. 5, 1962, there appear to be two different, opposing trends:

"Some people are of the opinion that the imposition of more severe penalties for particularly dangerous crimes is not compatible with the principles of our ideology, namely the retrogression of state administrative activity, the limitation of the penal function of the state and the aim of gradually replacing these measures by the influence of public opinion and training. This opinion cannot be upheld."

The new Communist Party programme which was adopted at the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in October 1961, however, contains the following statement:

"A higher standard of living and of culture and a stronger social consciousness on the part of the people will pave the way towards the final substitution of the influence of public opinion and training for legal punishment. Under socialism everyone who has deviated from the moral path of the working individual can return to useful activity."

The increasing imposition of capital punishment in the USSR for the purpose of preventing economic crimes would appear to be a complete contradiction of this humanitarian trend. As can be seen from reports published recently on trials conducted in conformity with the new legislation, persons accused of the above-mentioned economic crimes are sentenced to death. During the very same era in which the Stalinist abuse of justice is censured and condemned and which is extolled by the present Soviet leaders as an epoch of permanent stability as regards the political, social and economic re-organization of the socialist countries, capital punishment is being imposed to an ever-increasing extent.

Mykhailo Pavliuk

Crisis in the Economy of the USSR

The system of state planning has existed in the USSR for 34 years. But it does not include all economic processes and needs, as was the case, incidentally, in Nazi Germany during World War II. Moscow has extended state planning to cover all branches of production, but it prohibits every form of planned consumption of foodstuffs by the population and hence staple commodities are usually rationed. Moscow solely plans a general pool of these products, from which it supplies in the first place ethnical Russia (Muscovy) and certain production centres of the USSR. As is no doubt known, there has in addition always been a bazaar trade in the USSR, in which prices depend on the demand for the individual goods in question. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the turnovers on these free markets, since much of the business is transacted elsewhere. In any case, the trade turnovers in this sector do not represent any significant sum in the total business transacted. There can be no denying the fact, however, that in the course of 34 years Moscow has not been able to introduce complete planning in this sector in keeping with the doctrine of Marx. The other deviation from the planning theory lies in the fact that Moscow demands that more than the quotas fixed in the plans should be fulfilled. This is proof that the Soviet Russian plans are entirely inadequate, for fulfilment in excess of the quotas fixed in the plans would normally upset the state planning and would result in over-production. Such, briefly, are the typical features of Moscow's planning system.

The problem of the crises in Soviet Russian economy is one of the fundamental and extremely important questions of present-day economic theory. But a study of the crises in the economy of the USSR encounters a number of artificial obstacles which Moscow itself systematically creates, inasmuch as it not only conceals but also falsifies statistical data and also vital facts which might shed light on the nature of the crises.

Moscow affirms that crises are a thing unknown in its planning system, which, according to its statements, eliminates unemployment and leads to a greater increase in production than is evident in either the USA or West Europe. Naturally, there will not be the same type of crises which occur in the system of free market economy, since the economy of the USSR is for the most part controlled and has no free market. But this is by no means a guarantee that there are no crises in a planned economy. They merely manifest themselves in a different form to that of the crises in the economy of the capitalistic system. For instance, there is not likely to be a stock exchange or credit panic in the USSR, since stock exchange and free loans are unknown there. The population of the USSR possesses no capital investments of its own in either industry or trade. For this reason the nature of the crises in the USSR is bound to be quite different from that of crises in a free market economy.

This main reason for all the falsifications of Moscow's planning indexes and economic data lies in the aim of the Kremlin rulers to conceal all indications of crises. In spite of this fact, however, the 34-year practice of Soviet Russian planned economy has brought so much irrefutable data on the actual course of economic processes in the USSR to light that it can no longer be concealed by falsifications.

It must be borne in mind that economic processes always have to take into account such obstacles as economic inadequacies. But depressions and crises can only be caused by organic deficiencies in the economic system. Just as all research experts when examining periodical crises in the capitalistic economy have devoted their attention exclusively to the operations on the free market as the sole regulator of the capitalistic economy, so we, too, when analysing the crises in the USSR must similarly concentrate on the planning system of Soviet Russian economy, for it is precisely this system which is a decisive factor of the economic life of the USSR. We must expose the deceitful methods to which the Russian Communists and very often the Marxists, too, on the whole resort in order to give a reason for the alleged lack of crises in the economy of the USSR.

In ascertaining the process of the crises in the Soviet Russian planned economy one must take as a starting-point for all research the existence of organic deficiencies in an economic system of this type, for only in this way can one gain an insight into the process of the crises in the economy of the USSR, their nature and the extent of the losses which they bring to the economy as a whole and to the population.

The following fundamental organic deficiencies in every planned economy, including the Soviet Russian economy, must in the first place be taken into account:

1) Before planned economy had been tried out in practice all the Marxists and socialists were convinced that a council consisting of experienced economists would be in a position to work out regular, timely and comprehensive plans for the economic leadership. It has however become evident from the economic experience of the USSR that even the most "experienced" council of economists of a planned economy commit far more serious errors than are to be found in the system of an economy regulated by the free market. Of the grave errors which we can observe in the USSR we only wish to quote those which are the direct result of the military character of the Soviet Russian economy. They include, for example, the cultivation of virgin lands, the afforestation of protected forest regions on soil in which the trees cannot grow to their full height and eventually die off because the subsoil is too salty. Countless experiments in the course of decades, on thousands of hectares of land, with the cultivation of various plants in unsuitable soil or under unfavourable climatic conditions (as for instance the cultivation of maize in Central Russia or Byelorussia, of cotton in Ukraine) have accordingly proved a failure. In addition, the extent of the productivity, as is to be expected, hardly ever tallies with the plan, the realization of which depends upon climatic conditions and is moreover rendered almost impossible since the agriculture is obliged to supply many different raw materials for the realization of the industrial plan.

An extremely grave fault in industry is the exaggerated emphasis on size in the planning of enterprises, for here the chief aim appears to be to achieve the maximum. As a rule medium-sized enterprises are most advantageous from the economic point of view. At present Moscow is also obliged to admit that the projects of building electric power stations on most of the rivers in the USSR have not been a success, for none of these power stations produces more than 50 per cent of its calculated capacity. In addition, serious errors have been made in estimating the amount of iron ore available (Cherepovets, Urals, and Komsomolsk on the Amur).

2) The planned economy and the price planning in the production processes cannot be calculated, for — as the famous Ukrainian economist Tuhan Baranovsky has proved and experience in the USSR has confirmed — the calculation of production, as propagated so enthusiastically by the Marxists, in the hours of work performed by human labour has shown itself to be entirely unfounded. Furthermore an attempt on the part of Moscow to draw up monetary calculations has revealed that in a planned economy money does not fulfil its price-determining function for the planning subject, that is to say the state. Hence in the purely production processes the Soviet Russian planned economy is far more inadequate than the capitalistic economy. For all these reasons Moscow can neither draw up accurate calculations, nor can it have a satisfactory balance of

trade or a budget. And it follows logically from all this that neither the state plan nor the planning departments throughout the USSR are capable of managing the economy of the USSR as a whole and its individual enterprises with complete economic efficiency, whereas in the capitalistic economic system, for instance, the free market can immediately react to all miscalculations.

3) The example of the Soviet Russian economy has proved that a planned economy can only be maintained with the aid of a gigantic apparatus of civil servants, of whom there are about 12 to 14 million in the USSR and who cost the economy enormous sums of money. A complicated bureaucracy as a result of extreme centralization, without which planning would be impossible, has been one of the serious organic errors in the Soviet Russian economy for the past thirty years.

4) If the fundamental organic faults of the Soviet Russian planned economy in the organizational and economic sector are so grave, how much worse must the consequences be in the sector of the social and legal conditions under which the Soviet population is obliged to live! As we have seen from a study of the USSR, all the aims and desires of the Marxists to control and subjugate the petty bourgeois mentality of the working masses and, still more, of the peasants, have proved to be completely unrealizable. For over thirty years Moscow has been trying to combat the petty bourgeois trends amongst the workers and peasants, but without the least success. The masses of the workers and peasants continue to put up a passive and secret but nevertheless stubborn and unconquerable resistance in the economic sector. And this applies above all to the Ukrainian workers and peasants.

5) A planned economy which contains the above-mentioned organic faults can only exist thanks to a dictatorial power and to the system of serfdom enforced on it, such as is only possible in the USSR. For this reason the Iron Curtain and Moscow's regime of terrorism are absolutely essential in order to crush the political, national and economic resistance of the peoples enslaved by Moscow, as well as to cover up the crises in the economy of the USSR.

Such is the nature of the organic faults in the socialist planned economy of the Red Russian imperium.

All these faults are so grave that they are bound to result in a constant process of crises and, above all, in a crisis caused by under-production. The errors committed in planning and the organic faults in the economic system of the USSR have assumed such proportions that the consequence is bound to be a constant and insatiable demand on the part of the population for every type of product.

The fact that under-production is bound to become chronic in a socialist planned economy was stressed long ago by various experts who criticized a system of economy controlled by the state. All these

forecasts have come true in the USSR. Examples of under-production are only too evident in the USSR. One example is the constant shortage of food-stuffs, as a result of which serious famines have raged in the USSR three times and have claimed millions of victims. In addition, there is also a big shortage of consumption goods, machines, means of transport, etc. This shortage would, however, not make itself felt so intensely if the development of the Soviet Russian industry had not assumed a military character. But even so, the crises would, as a result of inadequate production, unfavourably affect the Soviet Russian system of planned economy, for its organic faults have led to an under-production.

As a result of the introduction of collective farms in the USSR there are today millions of peasants who are not fully employed. If they were to be allowed to look for jobs in the towns, then in twenty years' time the towns and the production centres of the USSR would be overcrowded with unemployed. This unemployment would increase still more were it not for the fact that Moscow has liquidated many million persons capable of working by starving them to death, shooting them, or putting them into concentration camps. Accordingly, as a result of a chronic crisis the number of unemployed in the USSR would always run into several millions, and this would be undeniable proof of the permanent crisis in the Soviet Russian economy, whereas in the capitalistic states during a crisis, which does not last more than 2 to 3 years, the number of unemployed is always far less. If Moscow had not lost about 18 million persons, most of whom were capable of working, in the war against Germany, it would now most certainly be obliged to conceal the fact that it had about 10 million unemployed.

As we have already pointed out, Moscow constantly emphasizes the very considerable and systematic increase in production in the USSR. In this connection one must however bear in mind that the Soviet Russian indexes which are supposed to register the fulfilment of quotas are always exaggerated by about 20 per cent, whereas the indexes in the West are always calculated lower. Hence the percentages of the increase in production in the USSR are by no means as imposing as Moscow would have us believe. It is interesting to note that every country which tries to effect its industrialization always quotes high production indexes during the first stage. As Western economists rightly remark, this first stage is now over for the USSR. At present, Moscow is even beginning to show lower figures for its production increase and the fulfilment of plans is rated still lower.

In one of my articles on Soviet Russian economy I mentioned the fact that the socialists endeavour to explain the existence of crises in the Soviet Russian planned economy as being due to Stalin's intervention in the economic system of the USSR. It should however

be stressed that Stalin's influence is to be regarded as a product of the socialist planned economy and not vice versa.

The Ukrainian Marxist Ivan Maystrenko described Stalin's role as follows: "Stalin is actually the first and only person in history who, on the strength of the state apparatus, succeeded in dominating the entire people in this country (that is in the USSR)."

Naturally one cannot take such proof of the sociological processes in society seriously, for these socialist "arguments" are not at all convincing. The most convincing proof is provided by the workers and farmers of East Germany who have fled from the "socialist paradise" in thousands since the death of Stalin and by the fact that the number of refugees continue to increase rather than to decrease in spite of the alleged efforts of Khrushchov and Ulbricht to raise the standard of living in East Germany. The chronic crisis in production is one of the main reasons why the workers and farmers flee from the planned "Communist paradise."

We have endeavoured to prove that there are crises of a chronic nature and of great economic significance in the USSR. Unfortunately, the socialist theoreticians adopt a different attitude towards these phenomena. The socialists of every trend are anxious to ascribe all crises in the USSR to the personal character of the dictators, above all to Stalin.



Colonel Evhen KONOVALETS
(14. 6. 1891—23. 5. 1938)

*The Founder and the first Leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists
murdered by a Russian Bolshevist agent in Rotterdam, Holland,
by means of a time-bomb, 25 years ago, on 23rd May, 1938.*



Maria BASHKIRTSEVA (1860—1884)
famous Ukrainian paintress and diarist.
(See article p. 75)

Y. Onyschuk

TO UNDERSTAND RUSSIAN COMMUNISM

The problem of understanding Russia and Russian Communism has always been a real puzzle for the whole world. Russia was never properly understood in the past. It is not understood even today, especially since the idea of international Communism obscures the issue.

There is a basic misunderstanding among Western researchers of the Russian Communist problem as to what Russian Communism really is. Some writers say that Russian Communism is an international idea in action and that the Russians are only the carriers of this idea. They want to communize the world because they believe this idea to be good for the whole world. Others say that the idea of Russian Communism is only a camouflage of the real aims of the Russians; that this Communism is, in fact, only one of the consecutive stages of the Russians in their imperialistic development as a nation at the expense of other nations.

Then there is a lack of one universal understanding of Russian Communism. Public opinion in the Western World has to a large extent become convinced that we have to fight Communism, an international and impersonal idea.

The common saying is that we are in a "cold war." The peoples of the West are urged to act. But are they moving in the right direction? Who is the enemy?

The "cold war" was initiated by the Russians from Moscow. They have been acting for four decades from behind the façade of a multinational creation called U.S.S.R. The Russians then are the real cause of the cold war, not an armed fight, but nevertheless a war conducted in the ideological field in accordance with the Russian aims. The Western World, having accepted this fight on the ideological level, is trying to persuade the neutral nations that the democratic system is better than the Communistic one.

The Russians have been supporting their ideological slogans with mendacious propaganda, subversion and also warmongering. This is considered a vital part of the "cold war." The Western World, on the other hand, is reacting defensively only. From time to time the democrats consider the question as to whether they are holding the Communist threat in check, or whether the West is retreating.

But it is characteristic that public opinion in the Western World has been continuously misinformed. Or dangerous hopes and illusions have been spread from time to time to mislead public opinion. For example, a "friendship" between D. Eisenhower and Soviet Marshal Zhukov was presented at one time as a hopeful beginning of a new Russian political era. Another illusion has been continuously sold to the American public for decades; the propaganda that the Russians may change, that as a matter of fact they are changing.

This kind of reaction toward Russian political tactics represents a distinct failure to understand the Russian mind and Russian intentions. Gerhart Niemeyer was right when he stated that the Western World is trying to interpret the Russian Communist mind in terms of the Westerners' own image.¹ Because, only wishful thinking has been the basis for Western policy.

Wishful thinking has always been a characteristic feature of the Western mentality. When World War I ended in the Russian Revolution, the wishful thinkers hoped for a big change. They believed that the dictatorial system would disappear. Similarly, after World War II many Westerners believed in their wishful thinking idea that there would be eternal peace. Persons that dared to have other opinion were looked upon as suspicious trouble-makers and a danger to society. Now our present decade is also producing many irresponsible dreamers; they believe that the Russians are changing. Oh, if they only would transform their dictatorial system into a democracy! All the existing ills of today would perish. That is the way Western dreamers think.

The wishful thinking of Westerners and especially of the Americans led to an inevitable failure to understand the Russians. The recognition of the U.S.S.R. by the U.S.A. may serve as an example. In 1935 William Allan White, a leading American journalist, in his articles demanded recognition of the U.S.S.R. His argument was as follows: The regime of the Soviet Union had been in control of the country for 15 years; no other party in any European country was in charge of a government for so long. There was no danger of a Communist revolution in the U.S.A. It is true that the Russian Communists deny private property. But the Fascists do the same thing. The Communists of Moscow do not recognize Christian God. But neither to the Turks, the Japanese, nor the Egyptians. That was the way of thinking of the Americans that led to the recognition of the government of the U.S.S.R.

The dreams of some wishful thinkers of that time were curious. Especially was it significant that these traumatic visions came from good Christians. Some of the dreamers compared Communism to

¹) Gerhard Niemeyer with the assistance of John S. Reshetar Jr., *An Inquiry into Soviet Mentality*. Frederick A. Praeger: New York, 1956, p. 5.

Christianity. They believed that Communism was not an antithesis of Christianity at all. First of all, Communism was a faith born of universal aspiration, with missionaries sent out to all parts of the earth. This faith was speaking on behalf of the poor and humble and was in favour of equality. And equality was very important. These experts found Communism in the Sermon on the Mount.²

No wonder that the Western World between the two world wars was made to believe that Russian Communism was no danger at all. Louis Fisher wrote³ that he hoped the Bolshevik dictatorship would slowly abdicate and change to democracy almost imperceptibly. The world would not notice even how it happened. Sydney and Beatrice Webb were trying to prove⁴ that Stalin was not a dictator, that the famine of 1932-33 was not a famine at all, and that there was "unprecedented freedom" in the Soviet Union. Even anti-Communists hailed the Communist Constitution issued by Stalin as a sign of the democratization of Russia. Communist propaganda utilized the receptiveness of the American mind. The "Daily Worker" came out with a slogan (Feb. 22, 1937) about Communism being "Americanism of the 20th Century." To what degradation the human mind can be brought was shown by the fact that 150 prominent American writers, artists, editors, composers, and college professors signed a memorandum in support of the verdict of the Moscow trials of the Trotsky-Bukharin adherents ("Daily Worker", April 28, 1938). Such was the pattern of thinking of some of the American intellectuals before World War II. It represented a good portion of childish belief and wishful thinking, blended with Russian Communist propaganda.

But still there were other people in the U.S.A. and in the Western World that saw the danger from Russian Communism. Hamilton Fish, chairman of a special House Committee to investigate Communist activities and propaganda in the U.S.A., summarized in his book on Communism⁵ a belief that Communism was a real threat to Christianity, democracy and liberty, and that this danger was being presented to the Americans as some kind of democracy.

Furthermore, that is the official stand of many governments of the world today: democracy against Communism as an idea. Entangled in ideological verbosity, many leading personalities of the world fail to realize that the main danger for the world is not Communism as an idea, but Russian nationalist imperialism marching under the protective shield of an international idea of Communism.

²) Basil Blackwell's Collection, *Christianity and Communism*, Oxford, 1937.

³) *Current History*, Philadelphia, September, 1935.

⁴) *Soviet Communism, a New Civilization?* 2 vols. New York, 1936.

⁵) Hamilton Fish: *The Challenge of World Communism*. Milwaukee, The Bruce Publishing Company, 1946, pp. 150-151.

There can be no doubt that the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917 had its roots in the Russian nihilist tradition. The revolution was the work of the Russian nihilists, direct heirs of the nihilists of 1860, a purely Russian national phenomenon. They believed themselves to be Marxists.⁶ But they were Russians, acting in accordance with the Russian way of thinking and in the Russian national interest.

As only writers born and educated in the territories of the former Czarist Russia could have the best insight into Russian Communism, it is not strange that they have written on that subject very extensively. Ukrainians, Dr. D. Donzow, E. Malaniuk, Kosarevych-Kosarenko, B. Homzyn, authors of many books and articles about Russia and Russian Communism, a Pole, Jan Kucharzewski (his famous 7-volumes work "From the White Eagle to Red Czarism," Warsaw, 1923-35) and a Russian philosopher Nicolas Berdyayev, author of many books (especially "Origin of Russian Communism," "Russian Idea," "Russian Revolution") — to mention only a few of the experts — all have stressed the historically proved fact that Russian Communism in action was a continuation of the eternal and permanent imperialistic aim of the Russians. Berdyayev even called Russian Communism "a peculiar sort of Russian Fascism."

Many other Europeans have regarded Russian Communism in the same way. A Hungarian Professor of History at the University of Szeged, in his book "The Fugitive Bolsheviks"⁷ about the revolution of Bela Kun in Hungary in 1919 emphatically stresses the idea that the Communist slogans of Moscow were only tools for furthering the Russian imperialistic goals. A Frenchman, Henri Beraud in his book about Russia,⁸ written after his stay in Russia in 1925, warned the French that Russian Communism was in fact an idea of Russian Nationalism used with the purpose of world conquest.

There were in all European countries people that understood the real meaning of Russian Communism and were writing about it to warn their fellow-citizens before the danger to their own country took shape. Nevertheless, in the Western World there developed a special way of thinking. Russian Communism was looked upon as some kind of abstraction completely detached from Russian history. The wishful thinkers and the Russian propaganda shaped the larger world opinion in their own image. People familiar with the problem of Russian Communism, who saw in it a natural development of Russian history and tradition as a peculiar Russian phenomenon,⁹ were not taken seriously.

6) Wladimir Weidle: *Russia: Absent and Present*. London, Hollis & Carter, 1952. Translation from French, pp. 81-82.

7) Elemer Malysz, London: Grant Richards Fronto Ltd., 1931.

8) Henri Beraud: *The Truth About Moscow*. English translation, London. Faber and Gwyer, 1927.

9) Waldemar Gurian: *Bolshevism: Theory and Practice*, London: Sheed, Ward, 1932.

But we notice that more and more authors of today writing on Russian Communism develop in their scientific works the idea that the Bolshevik Revolution was, after all, a Russian revolution. And truly Russian Communism cannot be understood apart from the Russian heritage. The Russian institution of "mir" became an example for the collectivist system of Russian Communism. Lenin was more Russian than Marxist. He reacted more keenly to the idea of Tkachov and Bakunin than to the works of Karl Marx.¹⁰

Why then since 1917 has a part of the world understood the Russian Communist revolution as the expression of an international Communist idea?

This theoretical attitude to the understanding of Russian Communism was formulated when the Russian Bolsheviks were winning their fight against all the non-Communist Russians. The losers then presented to the world the danger of Russian Communism as an international idea because they wanted to get help from the outside world for the fight inside Russia. And they sold this idea to the world, despite the fact that there were many non-Russians and Russians alike who were telling the world that Russian Communism was only a cover for Russian imperialistic aims.

But it should be pointed out that among the non-Russians there were also Americans who told the world the true story about the Russian Communists.

To this group of Americans belonged Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. They had both come to the U.S.A. from the former Czarist Russia. Since they were both actively working against the U.S.A. policy of taking part in World War I, they were deported on the night of December 21, 1919, from America to Russia, together with 248 other political prisoners, anarchists, Communists, and others. Emma Goldman had come to the U.S.A. as a child. She liked everything Russian. But after her deportation and stay for two years in Russia she learned what Russian Communism was.

She worked as a member of a special Committee for collecting of museum pieces, especially in Ukraine. There she saw the real face of Russian Communism. She thought that in accordance with their promises the Russian Bolsheviks would carry out the idea of self-determination. But everything was done to kill such an idea. She saw the bitter struggle between the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Central chauvinistic Russian authorities in Moscow. Therefore, as she wrote in her first book, she found in Ukraine "the atmosphere charged with distrust and hatred of everything Muscovite."¹¹ In

¹⁰) Herbert McClosky and John E. Turner: *The Soviet Dictatorship*, New York, Toronto, London: McGraw — Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960. See pages: 21, 27, 45, 46, 57.

¹¹) Emma Goldman: *My Disillusionment in Russia*. Garden City, New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1923, pp. 124, 201, 214.

another of her books she stressed that the time had come when in countries all over the world people were beginning to understand the real meaning of Russian Communism. She wrote that the Russian Communist revolution was Russian and for the Russians. It could not come without the February Revolution; but it came because of the psychology of the masses.¹²

Her informative section devoted to visitors to Russia and observations about them is still of interest and valid today. She divided the visitors into three categories:

1) The idealists. They were disappointed after a few months. Most of them were Americans. To this category belongs the author herself, I presume.

2) Newspapermen, journalists, etc. Hardly any of them knew the Russian language. They were carriers of misrepresentation. One of the English correspondents wrote that the teachings of Jesus were being realized in Russia.

3) To the third category of visitors to Russia belonged the official delegates, commissions, that deliberately lied about Russia on behalf of the Communists.¹³

So much for Miss Emma Goldman. But of especial interest are also the opinions of other former Communists about their experience with Communism. That of Douglas Hyde,¹⁴ the former high-ranking British Communist, is very characteristic. After 1926, when he was studying for the Methodist ministry and saw many unemployed, he always considered how these unemployed could be helped. His mind also concentrated upon the problem of liberty for individuals and nations. A leaflet about independence demands for India brought him to a Labour Hall. He saw there Communists in action for a free and independent India. This was to his liking. Therefore he became a member of a Committee and joined the International Class War Prisoners Aid. He abandoned studies for the ministry. He believed, as did the Communists, that by helping Russia he was working for a better England, France, and a better world.

Early in his new career Mr. Hyde became a journalist with the "Daily Worker." But after eight years there began a slow process of change in his mind. He saw the real meaning of Communism. When he noticed the behaviour of Molotov at the conference with his repeated "No," "No" to every proposal of the Western diplomats, he and his wife decided that they had had enough of Communism. In March 1948 he quit the Communist party, became a Catholic and devoted his life to social work for people needing help.

¹²) Emma Goldman: *My Further Disillusionment in Russia*. Garden City, New York, 1924, pp. XVI, 144, 145, 159.

¹³) Emma Goldman, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-98.

¹⁴) Douglas Hyde: *I Believed*. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1951.

Hyde's mind was full of idealistic hopes and aims. This idealism of a young man was exploited by Russian Communists until such time as he saw with his own eyes that he was merely a servant of a false idea.

Of similar mentality was another Communist from Sweden, Bjorn Hallstrom.¹⁵ He came to realize that it was a Russian conspiracy to provoke war and Communist revolution for the benefit not of a Communist idea, but for the profit of Moscow in various ways. Mr. Hallstrom also mentioned in his book how chauvinistic the Russian Communists were, when his friends in Moscow warned him not to go to Ukraine unless he wanted to become counter-revolutionary.

Eventually Hallstrom left Communism and became a missionary. Mentally he continued in the theoretical field of ideas.

Many a Communist leader has travelled through this kind of feeling and thinking. They believed in what they wanted to believe. They were idealistic wishful thinkers.

To this category of men belong Arthur Koestler, an idealistic Hungarian Communist. Disillusioned, he revealed in his many writings the misrepresentations of the Russian Communists.

Ignazio Silone, a former Italian Communist, Howard Fast, a former American Communist leader, and Milovan Djilas, a Yugoslavian Communist leader, went through a very similar experience.

Many leading European Communists believed in Communism as an idea without really understanding what Russian Communism was. They firmly believed in it as an international idea, as a religion that seemed to them good for everyone. But when they experienced what Russian Communism really meant they left the Communist party. For some of them it was a very hard decision. Being idealists, they could not live without an idea. Some of them became religious people and found other spiritual outlets as a substitute for their mistaken belief in Communism. Many of the former Communists told the world the story about the true face of Russian Communism.

The experience of the many defectors from Communism is a good lesson to the world. It has been proved that it is wrong to believe that Russian Communism is just an international idea of Communism. It should also be clear to everyone that it is wrong to approach the understanding of Russian Communism with a yardstick of an idea completely detached from the people or that they are innocent carriers of an international idea.

The defectors from Communism did not find in Russian Communism any trace of an international idea of Communism. They found in it Russian Nationalism parading as Communism. The Russian Communists have very skilfully masked their real aims; they disguised these with an ideological décor. The discussion of Communism on

¹⁵) Bjorn Hallstrom: *I Believed in Moscow*. London, 1953.

the ideological platform is the surest way of success for them. There has been no instance in the history of mankind where an idea has been defeated. Any idea with international claims and slogans will always have its followers and defenders. No wonder that the Western World cannot achieve any successes in the war of ideas and in the "cold war."

The Western World has been losing in the "cold war" with the Russians because the Western World does not understand their mentality. Russian Communism did not begin and develop from the abstract idea of Communism of Karl Marx. Communism has not been enforced on the Russians either. Communist ideas have been an indivisible part of the Russian national mentality since the beginning of Russian history. But the Russian mentality must be studied. No generalities, no assumptions or theories of people unfamiliar with the Russian problem will suffice.

Therefore, when dealing with Russian Communism it is essential that we should understand the Russian mind. Because nations, like people, possess minds too.

The mind of a nation can be explored from the historical past of the nation. This historical past is a most eloquent indication how the nation behaved itself in the past and why. Its behaviour toward other nations also tells us much. These matters can be established properly from the true historical facts. From them conclusions can be drawn regarding the interpretation of the events in our times; the historical past can be projected into the future.

But we cannot judge a nation solely on its behaviour in our times or at any one moment of history. The whole past and present must be taken into consideration. Only then can we learn how the nation thinks, what it wants and what we can expect from it in the future.

For not only history is an important factor in the understanding of any nation. The geography of a nation tells us also about its inborn character, its psychology, its way of feeling and thinking. The social structure is a very important factor in the understanding of the mind of the nation too. It reveals the group, mass, or social psychology of the nation. Philosophy and art are other factors that enable us to have a better insight into the mentality of a nation.

If we consider the variety of elements that need to be studied to understand the mind of a certain nation, we shall see that for a thorough understanding of this national mind some theoretical or ideological discussion will not help. To understand Russian Communism a thorough research of the Russian mentality is required. Only from such a study can an answer be obtained as to what Russian Communism really is. Only then will we be able to decide whether it is only an international idea, or a most convenient cover for Russian imperialism.

Prof. N. Polonska-Wasylenko

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE STATE OF UKRAINE-RUS *

INTRODUCTION

In the year 1113 Nestor, a monk of the Pechersky Monastery in Kyiv, wrote his chronicle entitled "The Story of Ancient Times, showing how the Ruthenian Country originated, who ruled in Kyiv as the first Prince and how the Ruthenian Country grew"**. Under the date of the year 6370 (862) Nestor reports on the invitation of the Norsemen (the Varangians) Rurik, Sineus and Truvor and the foundation of a large state — extending from Novgorod to Murom — by Rurik. Nestor also adds that after the death of Rurik, the (Ukrainian) regions of Lyubech and Kyiv were incorporated in this state. This aberration, that is to say the erroneous assumption that there was a connection between the earliest beginnings of the Ukrainian state and Rurik, Prince of Novgorod, was maintained until the end of the 19th century. It was only at the beginning of the 20th century that this theory was definitely refuted by the great Ukrainian historian M. Hrushevsky.¹⁾ Nestor caught at this idea at a time when there were already indications of the collapse of the mighty Kyivan state, when attempts were made to consolidate this state, and one of the means to strengthen the very idea of the unity of the state was the theory of the unity of the princely dynasty. Hence Nestor affirms that the dynasty had its origin in Rurik and in Rurik's successors, all of whom were allegedly descended from "one grandfather" and therefore, on the strength of the right of succession ruled the country of Ruthenia and formed one united state.

*) The Slav name "Ruš" means Ruthenia, the name by which Ukraine was known during the first centuries of its existence under the Ukrainian princes.

**) »Повѣсть временныхъ лѣтъ, откуда есть пошла Руская земля, кто в Киевѣ нача первѣе княжити и откуда Руская земля стала есть«.

This theory cannot bear criticism for the simple reason that the development of the two state organizations — that of Novgorod under the leadership of Rurik and that of the Ukrainian Kyivan state — assumed an entirely different course. Neither Ukraine-Ruś of the 9th to 10th century, nor the royal dynasty which ruled in Ukraine-Ruś from the 10th to the 14th century were connected with the historical event which Nestor regards as the beginning of the "Ruthenian" state, namely with the invitation of Rurik in 862 or with the person of Rurik himself. The person of Rurik attracted the attention of Russian historiographers and some of the Ukrainian historians also showed an interest in him. The question was frequently raised as to whether he was a real person or a myth, and of what origin the real Rurik was?²) The Russian historians of the 1920's in particular were interested in the personality of Rurik.³) These questions may perhaps be interesting but they have no connection whatever with the history of Ukraine.

We do not intend to occupy ourselves in this article with the results of archaeological research in Ukraine, although these results in general prove the existence of various cultures, beginning with the Neolithic Age in the southern and northern regions of East Europe.⁴) In this respect the period of the culture of Trypillia, which existed about the sixth to third millennium B.C., can definitely be proved. The region over which this culture spread included Ukraine on the right bank of the River Dnieper as far as the Carpathians and the Balkan peninsula. This illustrious culture, which was characterized by a highly developed art and above all by pottery, linked Ukraine with the countries in the world which at that time already possessed a highly developed culture, that is to say with Asia Minor, the Caucasus, with the culture of the Mediterranean countries, with the so-called Aegean culture, the cultures of Crete, Cyprus and Greece. The fact that the culture of Trypillia had much in common with the future culture of Ukraine is of particular significance: for instance, remains of dwellings and models of huts have been found which, as regards their layout, resemble the dwellings in the rural areas of Ukraine today. And the pottery ware of both cultures, both as regards shape and ornamentation, reveals many common features.⁵) To a large extent the Scythians continued the culture of Trypillia in the field of art and pottery (mainly as regards the shape of vessels) and in the settlements. The Scythians also had much in common with the Ukrainians of later eras as far as clothing (trousers, shirts, pointed caps, etc.) was concerned.⁶)

After a fairly long "vacuum," during which the migration of various peoples took place in the territory of Ukraine, there is more concrete information from about the end of the first millennium onwards on the settlement of the Slavs in the territory of the future Ukraine. Research scholars designate the nature of the burial-grounds

which have been found in the region extending from the River Dnister to as far as the province of Poltava and Sumy and in the basins of the rivers Desna and Seym in the north, as characteristic of the Slavs. It has been established with some certainty that this culture ended during the 6th to 7th century A.D. Certain finds, such as the fibulae of the "Roman type," glassware and above all Roman coins, indicate that the representatives of this culture entertained lively trade relations with the civilized world of those days.⁷⁾

The Slavs were known to the Greek and Roman writers of the 7th century B.C. as the Venedi or Veneti. And they were also designated in this way by Hesiod, Herodotus, Sophocles, Cornelius Nepos, Pliny, Ptolemy and Tacitus. The southern Venedi, who were known as the Antes (Anti, Antae), lived in the region extending from the Vistula to the mouth of the Danube and eastwards towards the Don. Of this people the historian of the Goths, Jordanes, said "the Antes are the bravest among them (the Venedi)."⁸⁾ Many research scholars, such as for instance O. Shakhmatov and S. M. Solovyov, regarded the Antes as Slavs. Other research scholars were even more explicit: L. Niederle for example designated them as Volhynians, V. Klyuchevsky as Duliby, whereas M. Hrushevsky and V. Shcherbakivsky were of the opinion that they were Ukrainians.⁹⁾ Procopius of Caesaria in his day stressed that the Slavs and the Antes spoke the same language. And O. Spitsyn pointed out that the everyday utensils used by the Slavs and the Antes resemble each other.

The Antes definitely already possessed an organized state system in the 4th century A.D. Procopius stated that the Antes were ruled by a people's assembly which as a rule decided all matters of importance. In the event of some special danger the Antes appointed a leader or king (rex), whose authority was recognized by the entire people. According to Jordanes, the power and authority of such rulers was hereditary. The names of some of these leaders are known to us. In the year 380 Boz or Bozh organized an alliance for the purpose of combatting the Visigoths under their king Vinitar. The battle ended in a heavy defeat for the Antes, Bozh, his sons and 70 notables were captured by the enemy and murdered in a most brutal way. 170 years later, that is in about 550, another leader of the Antes, Mesamir (Mezhamir), led them to war against the Avars in order to defend the independence of his country. The names of other leaders such as Ardagast and Musokos, to mention but two, are also known to us. These facts are important inasmuch as they are proof of the early attempts of the Antes to set up an organized state system during the 4th to 6th centuries. The nature of these state alliances is not quite clear: some research scholars are of the opinion that they were of

a temporary nature for the purpose of combatting the enemy; other research scholars, on the other hand, affirm, on the basis of Jordanes' testimony, that they were a union of tribes. V. Klyuchevsky, a well-known Russian historiographer, regards the Antes state as "an alliance of the Duliby." On this subject he writes as follows: "In the 6th century the East Slavs in the Carpathians belonged to a large military alliance, which might have been the first beginnings of our history: this history began in the 6th century... on the north-east slopes and ranges of the Carpathians."¹⁰)

The state of the Antes existed for 300 years, from the end of the 4th century until the beginning of the 7th century. It finally collapsed under the superior strength of the Avars. From then onwards, the name "Antes" is no longer used, but is replaced by the name "Slavs."¹¹)

The first state union of the Slavs was likewise created in Ukraine on the right bank of the River Dnieper. The Arabian writer Al-Masudi mentions a powerful Slav tribe, the "Valinana" or "Volhynians." "Of these tribes — so he writes — one tribe in former times had its own government. Their king was called Madzhak. Since he was the most powerful ruler all the other tribes were subordinated to his authority."¹²) Although the meaning of the name "Valinana" has not been clarified, the fact is nevertheless of importance that mention is once more made of a union of the Slavs under a mighty king. This state existed in the 9th century.¹³)

Thereupon there was again a "vacuum" — not as regards events and facts but as far as information on these events and facts is concerned.

"The Story of Ancient Times," to which we have already referred, contains a legend on the foundation of Kyiv by three brothers, Kyi, Shchek and Khoryv. For a long time this story was indeed regarded as a legend, as a "wandering" tale about three founders of important towns. And yet there are various facts which prompt us to consider this tale more attentively. The Armenian writer Zenob Hlak, for instance, already referred to this story in the 7th century and mentioned the three brothers Kuar (Kyi), Chorean (Khoryv) and Mentey (obviously Shchek). Another important fact which seems to corroborate the truth of this story is the finding of the remains of three settlements on three hills: on the hills of Khorevytsia and Shchekovytsia and on the hill on which the town of Ihor and Volodymyr later stood.¹⁴) Thus the information handed down to posterity by chronicles has been confirmed by the archaeological research carried out in Kyiv.

Numerous well-known research scholars, including that authority on our chronicles, the academician O. Shakhmatov, are convinced that Kyi was a real person.¹⁵)

D. S. Likhachov compares the events recorded in "The Story of Ancient Times" with the data in the Nikonovsky Chronicle, which was based on earlier chronicles. It is stated that Kyi went to war against Constantinople with a large army and was honoured by the emperor; further, that Kyi fought against the Volga and Kama Bulgars and founded the town of Kyjevets on the Danube.¹⁶⁾ The chronicle also gives some indication of when Kyi ruled: the Khazars attacked Kyiv after the death of Kyi. Hence he probably ruled sometime during the 6th to 7th century.

The above-mentioned reference to the attempts of the Slavs to found a state since the beginning of the 4th century indicates that these tribes had a comparatively high cultural level. It is interesting to note that all these state unions did not include the Slav tribes who inhabited the regions to the north and east of the territory which was later to become Ukraine. The said "Story of Ancient Times," refers to the invitation (or summoning) of the Varangians in 862 and mentions that prior to that date "there was no justice among them, one clan rose against another, there was strife amongst them, and they began to wage war among themselves." The only way to remedy this critical situation was to summon princes from overseas. This indicates that no recollection of any attempt on the part of the Slavs to form a state union prior to the year 862 survived.

From the middle of the 9th century onwards there is concrete proof of the existence of a state union of the Ukrainian tribes. The earliest references in this respect are, however, somewhat vague. About the year 800 mention is made in the "Life of St. Stephan," who was bishop of Surozh (the present Sudak in the Crimea), of an attack on Surozh by Prince Bravlin and of the latter's conversion to Christianity. It is not known from which place Bravlin came, but it is interesting to note that he had a Slav name.¹⁷⁾

Some years later a similar incident, namely an attack by a Ruthenian prince, whose name was not mentioned, was referred to in the "Life of St. George of Amastrid." On the strength of a miracle this prince was likewise converted to Christianity.¹⁸⁾

In spite of the vagueness of these accounts they are, however, both of interest, inasmuch as they prove the existence of certain unions amongst the ancestors of the Ukrainian Slavs, that is to say either tribal unions, or perhaps unions on a larger scale. The question as to where these unions were concluded is hardly necessary. The accounts of the life of St. Stephan and of St. George and the discovery of numerous finds in Tmutorokan* which are proof of the Christian religion of the local inhabitants (as for example crucifixes of various kinds, images of saints, etc.) indicate that the centre of the union of

*) Situated on the Taman peninsula in the vicinity of the Kerch Straits.

the old Ruś-Ruthenians must have been somewhere on the shores of the Sea of Azov. And this fact has in turn given rise to the question of the Black Sea-Azov Ruś.¹⁹⁾

About the middle of the 9th century Kyiv began to assume more and more importance as a big political and commercial centre of Ruś-Ukraine. Its economic importance can be seen from numerous finds of foreign coins in the region of the town of Kyiv, above all Arabian dirghems, 2,000 to 3,000 coins together in some instances, as well as from the size of the town and the burial-mounds on its outskirts. The role of Kyiv in the life of the country can also be seen from an important event which is mentioned in the "Annales Bertiniani": in 839 the envoys of the Emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire came from Constantinople to Ingelheim, in those days the capital of the Western Empire, to the court of Louis the Pious. These envoys were the Metropolitan Theophile of Chalcedon and the Imperial Spatar Theophile. The purpose of their journey was the conclusion of a peace treaty between the two empires. There were also other envoys with them, who had been sent to Constantinople by their ruler (whom they designated as "rex") of the "Rhos." These envoys, however, could not return home by the same route which they had taken to Constantinople since a barbarian people had cut off this route. Hence they requested Louis the Pious to allow them to travel through Germany. But the Emperor refused to believe that they were envoys of the Ruthenian king. He suspected them of being Norse or Swedish "explorers," that is spies, and he therefore gave orders that the matter was to be investigated. It was subsequently ascertained that these persons were of Swedish origin.²⁰⁾ The account of this incident in the "Annales Bertiniani" ends here. But it nevertheless prompts various thoughts and surmises. In the first place, from which people could these envoys have come? They could not have come from the Khazars, because in that case no other people would have been able to cut off their route back to the Black Sea. In all probability they must have come from some state which extended along the River Dnieper and was separated from the Black Sea by vast steppes. During the 9th century numerous Asiatic peoples crossed these steppes in their constant urge towards the West. From the chronological point of view the barbarian people referred to might have been either Bulgars or Hungarians. The research carried out during the past decades has revealed that Hungarians lived in the steppes of Ukraine for a fairly long time, i.e. for 100 or even 200 years.²¹⁾ They could easily have cut off the route from Kyiv to the Black Sea. The question regarding the nature of the state and its ruler, who had sent the negotiators, is however somewhat more complicated, since the investigations undertaken at the time revealed that these envoys were Swedes. This result is not entirely convincing, for it is obvious that no one in Ingelheim in those days had ever

heard of the "Rhos." On the other hand, it is not out of question that the ruler (rex) was a Varangian and was thus in a position to send envoys of Swedish origin. But the national origin of the leader-occupants by no means determines the nationality of a state. In this incident two factors are significant: the existence of a state to the north of the Black Sea which in 839 sent envoys to the Byzantine Empire, and the complete ignorance on the part of West Europeans regarding the existence of this state. This ignorance, incidentally, can be explained by the fact that constant migrations of peoples and advances from Asia were taking place, and this no doubt made events in East Europe appear extremely vague and confused to West Europeans.²²⁾

But barely 21 years were to elapse before Europe was to hear more of this hitherto unknown state of "Ruś" as a result of the attack carried out by the latter on the Eastern Roman Empire, which was only saved as if by a miracle. Thus the "Ruś" attacked the Second Rome.

ASKOLD

"The Story of Ancient Times" relates that in the year 866 the princes Askold and Dyr managed to approach the fortifications of Constantinople with a large fleet, consisting of about 200 ships. They took advantage of the absence of the Emperor Michael III and destroyed the surrounding districts of the town without, however, seizing the town of Constantinople itself. Thanks to a miracle of an image of the Holy Virgin, whose robes the Greeks lowered into the sea, a fierce storm suddenly broke out and destroyed some of the vessels of Askold's and Dyr's fleet.²³⁾ This account in the said chronicle is completely corroborated by various Byzantine sources, and this fact can therefore be ascertained with an exactitude which is unusual for those days.

The development of events was as follows. On June 18, 860 (and not in 866, as the above-mentioned chronicle states),²⁴⁾ a large fleet of the Ruś consisting of 200 ships (some contemporaries mention as many as 300 ships) appeared off the shores of the islands, pillaged and devastated the latter, set fire to the settlements, killed the inhabitants, and then approached the walls of Constantinople. After they had seized the harbour, the "Rhos" began to lay siege to the town. They had very astutely chosen an excellent opportunity for this attack, which was by no means a coincidence. The young Emperor Michael III ("the Drunkard") was engaged in waging war on the Saracens and had only left a small number of troops behind in Constantinople under the command of the Prefect Oripas. When Michael III learnt of the danger which threatened his capital he

hurriedly returned with his army, but there was little he could do to save the situation. Nor did the prayers which were offered up and the processions that were held help at all. The Patriarch Photius delivered a number of homilies, two of which have been preserved. They are valuable sources which give us an insight into the events of that time. The siege of Constantinople lasted for more than a year. Finally, the Greeks held a solemn procession to a monastery where an omophorion (robes) of the Holy Virgin was preserved. Chanting prayers, the Greeks lowered this sacred relic into the sea. Shortly afterwards a fierce storm broke out and some of the Ruthenian ships sank, whilst the remainder withdrew in all haste. Some time later, envoys of Prince Askold came to Constantinople in order to ask the Byzantine Emperor to send his missionaries to Ruś to convert the Ruthenians to Christianity and to baptize the Prince and the inhabitants of Ruś.

This is an account of the events in question as derived and compiled from the various Greek sources. All these sources shed a uniform light on these historical events and show little divergence. They include important reports such as that of Simeon Magister, who was living in Constantinople at that time, and of Nicetas Paphlagonian, the biographer of the Patriarch Ignatius, who was banished to the island of Sthenos, which the "Rhos" had pillaged.²⁵) The most important source, however, is provided by the sermons of the Patriarch Photius.²⁶)

The following conclusions can be drawn from these sources. There can be no doubt about the fact that in 860 Byzantium was attacked by the Ruś, or "Rhos," as they were called by the Greeks (or "Scythians"). The ancient Greeks called the territories north of the Black Sea "Scythia." The question as to which "Ruś" carried out the attack has resulted in a number of hypotheses. E. E. Golubinsky, V. G. Vasilevsky and V. O. Parkhomenko, by comparing the attack on Constantinople with the accounts of the attacks on Surozh and Amastrid, are of the opinion that it was the army of the Ruthenians from Tmutorokan, that is of the "Azov Ruś," which advanced on Constantinople in 860.²⁷) This hypothesis is however negated by the statements of the Patriarch Photius: in his pastoral message he described the Ruś as follows: this people subjugated many neighbouring peoples, and since it thought a lot of itself it was so presumptuous as to attack the Roman state with armed forces. This fact is also corroborated by the Yakimovsky Chronicle, which was used by V. M. Tatishchev as late as the 18th century. Unfortunately, this chronicle disappeared later on. For a long time historiographers were sceptical as regards this source, but most historians are now of the opposite opinion, for it has meanwhile been ascertained that the said chronicle contains far more data than "The Story of Ancient Times" and moreover tallies with other sources. This also applies to the informa-

tion on Askold. The Yakimovsky Chronicle contains certain concrete details. An account is given of the victories of Askold over the Polochany, Kryvichi and other neighbours peoples and, above all, over the Pechenegs. The information as regards the latter is generally regarded as incorrect, but this may be due to an error on the part of the transcriber. What is of importance, however, is the fact that the statements of Photius regarding the "subjugation of neighbouring peoples" tally with the text of this chronicle. It would have been extremely difficult to "subjugate" the Kryvichi on the distant shores of the Sea of Azov. It is also interesting to note that according to the Yakimovsky chronicle Askold's son was killed by the Bulgars. It can therefore be assumed that Askold fought against the Bulgars.²⁸⁾

Photius' reference to the reasons which prompted the attack of the Ruś on Constantinople is of considerable significance. Photius maintains that this attack was not a predatory crime but was caused by the Greeks themselves, who had violated international law. For whereas the Ukrainians in ancient times set free the Greeks whom they had captured, the Greeks on the other hand made their prisoners-of-war slaves. It can therefore be assumed that this was the reason which led to a serious conflict between the Ruthenians and the Greeks. As the Reverend I. Nahayevsky assumes and as is also mentioned by the chronicler of the "Annales Bertiniani," the envoys were "recalled" in the year 839.²⁹⁾

The question of there being some connection between the recall of the envoys and Askold is, however, somewhat problematical. This matter is referred to by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus in his history of the rule of his grandfather, Basil the Macedonian, who succeeded Michael III as Emperor. Constantine, referring to the achievements of Basil, mentions the treaty which the latter made with the Ruś. So far, Ukrainian research scholars have not attached much importance to this treaty, whereas non-Ukrainian historiographers have given it an appropriate place in their works. Thus, for example, F. Dölger³⁰⁾ and Baron M. de Taube.³¹⁾ Dölger gives the year in which the treaty was concluded as about 874, and on this point M. de Taube agrees with him. In this connection de Taube stresses that this treaty must be regarded as the first document in the annals of Ruthenian diplomacy and, above all, in the history of Greek and ancient Ukrainian treaties of the 10th century. It is quite possible that this treaty is the one which is referred to in the agreement concluded by Oleh in 911, where there is a vague reference to a previous treaty.³²⁾

The above-mentioned treaty assumes still more significance if one compares it with another document. As was already pointed out, Kyiv played an important part in world trade. The trade routes which, via the Dnieper, connected the north with the south (the so-called "Great Route from the Varangians to the Greeks") and the

east with the west, converged on the middle course of the River Dnieper. These routes proceeded from the Caspian Sea along the Volga and inland to the Don, along the tributaries of the Don and across country as far as the upper tributaries of the Dnieper, along the River Desna and then downstream along the Pripet, or across country west of Kyiv — to Cracow, Prague and Regensburg (Ratisbona). Between the years 846 and 912 the famous Arabian scholar and author Ibn-Khordadbeh, who wrote the "Book of Routes and Realms," gave an account of the international trade routes with the East, starting with China, and with the West, the empire of Charlemagne.³³) In 973 the Arabian Jew Ibrahim Ben-Yakub, a traveller and merchant, gave an account of the trade relations which existed at that time and had probably already existed much earlier, and he mentioned the fact that merchants from Ruś-Ruthenia were wont to come to Prague via Cracow.³⁴)

An important document refers to this golden age of Europe's trade relations with Asia: a customs tariff regulation issued by the Bavarian town of Rafelstätten, which dates from the 10th century, that is from the years 903-906, but is undoubtedly much older in origin and goes back to the days of Louis the German (876) or Carloman (880). This regulation ("Leges portorii") pertains to the customs tariffs for goods that were brought into the country by the merchants from Ruś, namely wax, horses and slaves.³⁵)

Thus two documents — the treaty between Ruś and Byzantium in the years 873-874 and the customs tariff regulation of Rafelstätten of the years 870-880 — are characteristic of the rule of Askold. With these two documents Ruś established itself in the political and economic life of Western Europe, that is to say in the life of the two mighty Roman empires.

The years in which Askold's young state established itself in world politics are designated by M. de Taube as an extremely important period. It was during this period that the new Emperor of the Byzantine Empire, Basil I the Macedonian, sent a dispatch to the Emperor Louis the German in which he suggested that they should make a peace and friendship pact (873) with each other, whilst Louis the German on his part put the proposal to Denmark, where two kings — the brothers Siegfried and Holfdan — ruled, that is should enter into friendly trade relations with him.³⁶)

Thus the old Ukrainian Kyivan state entered into diplomatic and commercial relations with the mightiest empires of the East and the West at a time when these two empires were in the act of concluding a friendship pact with each other. As de Taube rightly assumes, this alliance united Europe against new enemies — the Islamic world, Hungary and the Pechenegs. The treaty with Ruś ensured that Byzantium would be able to fight against its enemies. This alliance

lasted until the beginning of the 10th century, that is to say until the attack launched by Oleh.³⁷⁾

Whereas there can be no doubt about the existence of the mighty state of "Rhos" (as it was called by the Greeks) or Ruś in the middle of the 9th century, as confirmed by the Ukrainian chronicles, there is a good deal of hypothesis as regards the person of its ruler Askold. For whilst his name is to be found in two transcriptions "Askold" and "Oskold" solely in the Ukrainian chronicles and in the Bulgarian translation of the Greek chronicle by Hamartol, this name is not mentioned at all in the Greek original text. The Ukrainian chronicles always mention the name of Dyr together with that of Askold as having both ruled together. In these chronicles they always appear together, they lead the campaign against Byzantium jointly, and they both die at the same time as the result of a treacherous attack by Prince Oleh. For some reason or other they were, however, buried in different parts of Kyiv, — Askold on the so-called "Hungarian Hill" (Uhorśke Urochyshe), and Dyr behind the Church of St. Oryna. This detail indicates that there is something fictitious in the idea of a union between Askold and Dyr. It can be assumed that an error must have been made in this respect; for some reason or other, historical tradition united these two princes who, however, reigned separately. It is interesting to note that the Arabian writer Al-Masudi mentions Dyr separately as a mighty ruler.³⁸⁾ Research scholars on the whole differentiate between the two.³⁹⁾ M. Hrushevsky is of the opinion that Dyr ruled after Askold and possibly even after Oleh.⁴⁰⁾ This opinion is also shared by M. de Taube⁴¹⁾ and the Reverend I. Nahayevsky.⁴²⁾ V. Tatishchev and de Taube assume that Dyr must have been Askold's son.

Various hypotheses have arisen out of the fact that the information on the personality of Askold is extremely vague. His name leads one to assume that Askold was a Varagian and a Norseman. As already mentioned, the chronicles obviously regard Askold as a compatriot and a retainer of Rurik. M. de Taube devotes considerable attention to the question of Askold's origin. He affirms that Rurik and Askold came from different parts of Scandinavia: Rurik from Uppsala, and Askold from Birka. Askold took a different route to Rurik: namely, not in the direction of Lake Ladoga, but along the rivers Nieman and Pripet. And all these facts, so de Taube points out, constitute the difference between the two princes.⁴³⁾

In addition to the research scholars who regard Askold as a Varagian, there are also others who are of the opinion that he was an ancient Ukrainian. M. Hrushevsky, for instance, regards him as a Ukrainian, whilst O. O. Shakhmatov holds that he was a son of Kyi,⁴⁴⁾ an opinion which is shared by M. D. Priselkov;⁴⁵⁾ V. A. Rybakov is of the opinion that the name Askold comes from the little River Oskol.⁴⁶⁾

THE BAPTISM OF THE RUŚ

The question of the baptism and conversion to Christianity of Askold and of Ruś-Ukraine is closely connected with Askold's campaign against Constantinople. But the information contained in some of the Ukrainian chronicles and in certain Byzantine sources is by no means clear and uniform. On the contrary, the accounts of this baptism and conversion to Christianity differ widely: whereas the exact date of the attack and siege on Constantinople during the reign of Michael III and the Patriarch Photius, namely June 18, 860, is given in the chronicles, information regarding the date of the baptism and conversation is vague. Indeed, it is fairly difficult to ascertain the exact date.

The account of events given by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenetus in his history of the rule of his grandfather, Basil I the Macedonian, is probably the most accurate. The latter succeeded in appeasing the Ruś and, by means of valuable presents, managed to persuade them to make a treaty with the Greeks. He also persuaded them to adopt Christianity and to this end the Patriarch Ignatius sent one of his archbishops to Ruś. In his sermons to the ruler of the Ruś and his counsellors this archbishop not only explained the Christian faith but also talked about miracles. His audience thereupon asked him to perform such a miracle, for instance to place the Gospel in a fire. The archbishop did so and the Gospel was not damaged by the flames. Thereupon the ruler of the Ruś, his counsellors and many other persons asked to be baptized.⁴⁷⁾

Constantine's chronicler, Anselmos Bandurios, adds another account from the Colbertine Annals to the above account. According to this narrative, the Ruthenian ruler, since he was desirous of being baptized, sent his envoys to Rome. There they visited the churches and talked to the bishops and the Pope and returned home well satisfied. But the Ruthenian ruler also sent envoys to Constantinople and they were received in audience there by the Emperor Basil of the Macedonians. Divine service in the Cathedral of St. Sophia made a profound impression on them: "It is magnificent and overwhelming... it surpasses all human imagination," so they reported on their return. The ruler (rex) of Ruś was so impressed by this account that he asked to be baptized by the bishop of Constantinople. Basil immediately sent the bishop and two priests, Cyril and Athanasius, who were known for their wisdom and erudition, to him. They preached the new faith amongst the people, baptized the latter, and also introduced a new alphabet, consisting of 32 letters. The above-mentioned chronicler also refers to the miracle of the Gospel, which the flames could not destroy. To this reference by the Colbertine

Annals Bandurios adds the information that the priest Cyril was a native of Thessaloniki and a brother of Methodius, bishop of Olomouc in Moravia.⁴⁸⁾

Cesare Baronius, the papal librarian, wrote in his annals that the baptism of the Ukrainian Ruś did not take place during the reign of Basil the Younger and Constantine but during that of Basil the Macedonian. He based his statement on the Greek chronologers Ioannes Kuropalatos, Zonaros and Nikiphoros.⁴⁹⁾

The opinion expressed by the Patriarch Photius in this connection is particularly significant. In his pastoral message to all the hierarchs he wrote that the "Rhos... exchanged their abominable heathen superstition for the pure and immaculate faith... They very gladly accepted the priest and the bishop proposed to them, as well as the Christian rites and customs."⁵⁰⁾ It can be seen from this statement that Photius in mentioning the baptism of the Ukraine Ruś by no means attributes this fact to himself. Thus, someone else was responsible for this baptism, whereas Photius only mentions it as an accomplished fact.

This extremely important fact is not mentioned at all in "The Story of Ancient Times." The author and later editors confine themselves to mentioning the attack on Constantinople and to an account of the miracle, namely when a storm "destroyed the ships of the godless Ruś" ("bezbozhnykh Rusi korabli smyate"). In the Nikonovsky chronicle there is an important addition. After an account of the miracle and of the return of Askold and Dyr there follows this passage:

"Basil then (sent) a big army against the Agariani and Manichaeans. And he made a peace settlement with the aforementioned Ruś, and converted them to Christianity and they promised to receive baptism and asked for an Archpriest, and the Emperor sent (him) to them. And when they were about to receive baptism, they again hesitated, and said to the Archpriest: If we do not see a miraculous sign from thee, we do not wish to become Christians..."⁵¹⁾ As in the annals of Constantine Porphyrogenetus, the miracle of the Gospel is then described.

Thus the account of the miracle, which in Constantine's annals is closely connected with the baptism, and in the Colbertine Annals describes the missionary work of Cyril, in the Nikonovsky chronicle is linked up with Askold.

It is interesting to note that in the Ukrainian chronicles, apart from the Nikonovsky chronicle, there is no mention of the baptism in the reign of Askold. But what is even more interesting, however, is the fact that in the Yakimovsky chronicle, which V. M. Tatischev used and in which much information has been preserved which is not to be found in other chronicles, there are two pages missing, precisely

in that part of the chronicle where one would expect to find some mention of the baptism. Nor is there any reason to suppose that this is perhaps a coincidence. The fact that these two pages are missing can be explained by the strict censorship to which chronicles were subjected. Why was this censorship introduced? We have already mentioned the fact that the chroniclers Nestor and Silvester (the latter revised Nestor's "Story of Ancient Times" in 1116 without even mentioning Nestor's name) were anxious to prove that all the rulers came of one and the same origin, to connect them all with Rurik and in this way to prove that the latter was the founder of the princely dynasty. For this reason, anything that was contrary to this idea and everything that referred to other rulers was passed over in silence. It was above all a question of glorifying the representatives of the Rurik dynasty and, in particular, Volodymyr the Saint in every possible way. To mention the fact that Rus' was converted to Christianity under Askold would — as the editors obviously assumed — have deprived Volodymyr of his fame.

Another fact which seems to us rather interesting is that very little is mentioned in the Greek sources about the baptism of Volodymyr and the organization of the Church during his reign.⁵²⁾ On the other hand, however, many of the Greek sources, including the Patriarch himself and Constantine Porphyrogenetus, mention the conversion to Christianity under Askold.⁵³⁾

"The Story of Ancient Times" mentions the treacherous murder of Askold and Dyr, — they were allegedly summoned to receive guests (foreign merchants) that had come to Kyiv. It is also stated that a certain Olma built the Church of St. Nicholas on Askold's grave. This would therefore indicate that Askold was a Christian. This church, as the Yakimovsky chronicle reports, was destroyed during the heathen reaction in the days of Sviatoslav. At the same time his brother Hlib (Gleb) was also murdered. The fact that the church which was built on Askold's grave was dedicated to St. Nicholas leads one to assume that Askold received the Christian name of Nicholas when he was baptized. And tradition was preserved from then onwards in the name "Askold's Grave" ("Askoldova mohyla").

At the beginning of the 19th century a beautiful church in the style of a rotunda, with an adjoining cemetery, was erected on "Askold's Grave." In 1935 all this was destroyed by the Russian Bolsheviks, who set up a "culture park" on the site of the cemetery. The church itself was transformed into a platform. The legend that Askold had been a saint persisted for many years amongst the people and his supposed grave beneath the church was visited by pilgrims. On a slope overlooking the cemetery stood the monastery of St. Nicholas, which was destroyed by the Bolsheviks in the 1930's. On July 2nd every year from 1866 onwards, a procession moved from

the monastery, which was entrusted with the task of looking after "Askold's Grave," to the grave after a special service had been held in the church. The revolution of 1917 put an end to this custom. V. M. Tatishchev quotes a passage from the Yakimovsky chronicle, from which it can be seen that Askold was known as Nicholas.⁵⁴) M. de Taube examines the circumstances of the treacherous murder of Askold and affirms that he must be regarded as the first martyr of Christianity in Ukraine-Ruś.⁵⁵)

The question of who was the first bishop or archbishop to be ordained as Patriarch of Kyiv is closely connected with the conversion to Christianity of the Ruś. His name has not been recorded for posterity, but a number of documents on the conversion of Ukraine-Ruś during the reign of Volodymyr mention the names of the first Metropolitans — Mykhaylo (Michael) and Leo. References to Michael date from the 12th century and later. His name is also mentioned in the Nikonovsky chronicle and in the Statute ("Ustav") of Volodymyr.⁵⁶) These references are apparently accepted as authentic by various scholars, such as Pelesh, and by contemporary research scholars, such as I. Vlasovsky.⁵⁷) It is interesting to note that there are discrepancies in the documents which mention the name of Michael; mention is for instance made of the fact that the Patriarch Photius allegedly sent Michael to Kyiv, although this is obviously an anachronism, for there is a difference of 120 to 130 years. It is however possible that Michael was the name of the archbishop whom Photius sent to Askold. It is also interesting to note that in the Yakimovsky chronicle, from which two pages were removed because they contained information about the baptism of Askold, the following part of a sentence has been preserved: ... "and giving thanks to God, Michael went to Bulgaria." It is obvious that these words are not in keeping with Michael of Volodymyr's day. The memory of this Michael has, however, been preserved in Kyiv. The Synodalists of the Cathedral of St. Sophia affirm that the first Metropolitan was Leo or Michael, but they do not mention any date.⁵⁸)

Oral accounts of the Metropolitan Michael, which were handed down to posterity, were connected with archaeological finds. In 1915 caves, which are known as "Zvirynetski," were discovered in the suburb of Pechersk in Kyiv. Two of them were dedicated to St. Michael and to St. Basil. Prof. P. E. Kovalevsky, who informed M. de Taube of this fact, expressed the opinion that they were two patron saints, — namely of the Archbishop Michael and of the ruler Volodymyr-Vasyl (Basil). In our opinion, however, this is an erroneous assumption. We tend to support the theory voiced by M. de Taube, namely that St. Basil was the patron saint of the Emperor Basil the Macedonian, who furthered the conversion to Christianity of Ukraine-Ruś. Under the rule of Volodymyr it was by no means necessary for Christians to hide in caves, but this certainly was the

case during the reign of the heathen princes Oleh and Sviatoslav.⁵⁹⁾ To the opinion expressed by P. Kovalevsky I should like to add my own observations: I myself saw the name of St. Michael carved in the wall of the said caves.

The following point should be stressed in connection with these historical traditions: it is not entirely clear for what reason St. Michael has since time immemorial been venerated as a patron saint of the town of Kyiv. The founding of the monastery of St. Michael, which, with its golden cupulas, became one of the greatest shrines of the town, is associated with his name. The figure of the Archangel Michael adorned the official seal of the town and became the magnificent coat-of-arms of Kyiv. Although no one was able to give the real reason for this veneration, the tradition of the first Metropolitan of Kyiv has been handed down to posterity.

In 882, as "The Story of Ancient Times" records, the reign of Askold, and simultaneously the reign of Dyr too, came to an end. The chronicle gives a picturesque account of how Oleh came to Kyiv by water, three years after the death of Rurik. On the way he captured Smolensk and Lyubech, and advanced towards the Kyiv hills. Here he gave orders that Askold and Dyr were to be summoned to his presence, since guests — merchants — had allegedly arrived in Kyiv. When the two princes appeared — he had brought Rurik's small son, Ihor, with him — he told them: "You are neither princes nor of princely origin, but I am of princely origin... and this is the son of Rurik." ("Vy niesta kniazia, ni roda kniazha, no az yesm' rodu kniazha... a se yest' syn Riurykov.") Whereupon he had the two princes (Askold and Dyr) murdered.

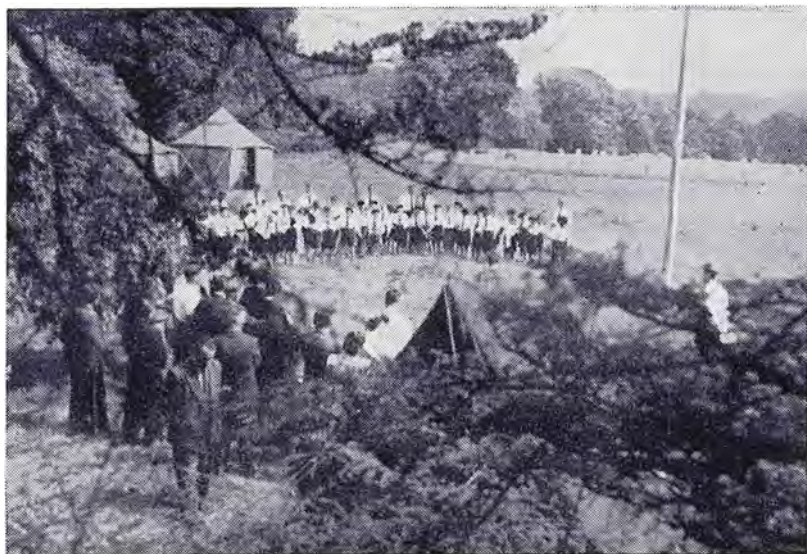
We do not intend to go into various questions which cannot be clarified owing to inadequate sources, such as for instance the origin of Askold, his nationality, and whether he was a Ukrainian — the son of Kyi, or a foreigner, that is to say a Varangian from Sweden. We have already touched on these questions above. We can solely draw conclusions from the sources at our disposal, which are unfortunately somewhat meagre. The reign of Askold is undoubtedly extremely important in the history of the Ukrainian principality of Kyiv. All the sources quoted here prove that this state was large and powerful. It first of all freed itself from Khazar supremacy; then it subjugated neighbouring tribes and finally even ventured to carry out campaigns against the mighty Byzantine Empire. What is particularly important, however, is the fact that this new state possessed large military forces: 200 ships, that is to say 6,000 to 8,000 soldiers, attacked Constantinople. In this connection one must bear in mind that it was during this era that the Norsemen, with their forces which only numbered a few hundred men, pillaged the shores of Germany, ventured as far as Paris, terrorized England, and conquered Sicily. In those days only a very powerful state could have possessed an



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Apostolic Exarch for the Ukrainian Catholic Exarchate
in England and Wales.*

(See report p. 92)

*Summer camp of the Ukrainian Youth Association in Great Britain,
Chiddingfold, Surrey.*



army numbering 6,000 men. This state concluded treaties with the Byzantine Empire and with Bavaria, went over to the Christian faith of its own free will, and as a Christian state belonged to the group of the mightiest states in Europe. Askold's state actually represents the beginning of the Kyivan state, of Ukraine-Ruś. In this respect the opinion expressed by the Russian historian V. O. Klyuchevsky, one of the most outstanding Russian historians, whose works during the past 80 years have influenced many persons, is typical: "The Ruthenian state was founded thanks to the activity of Askold and later of Oleh. The union of the Slavs was effected from Kyiv and not from Novgorod."⁶⁰)

That Nestor's conception of the origin of this state — a conception which only became known at the beginning of the 12th century — is erroneous, is proved by a work which is 50 to 60 years older than the "Story of Ancient Times," namely the "Word on the Law and Grace" ("Slovo o zakonie i blahodati") by the Metropolitan Ilarion. This hierarch of Ukrainian origin was appointed Metropolitan in 1051 at the wish of Grand Duke Yaroslav. Either in the same year or soon afterwards he wrote his "Word", in which he glorified Prince Volodymyr the Saint. Since he mentions Volodymyr's ancestors it would have been natural for him to refer to the founder of the dynasty, Rurik, too. But there is no mention whatever in the "Word" of either Rurik or Oleh. On the contrary, Ilarion affirms that the "Great Kahan (ruler) of our country is Volodymyr, the grandson of ancient Ihor, the son of the illustrious Sviatoslav."⁶¹) Thus, according to Ilarion, the dynasty of the princes of Kyiv begins with "ancient" Ihor and not with Rurik. Indeed, whilst Rurik was fighting against the insurgents and seeking to consolidate his power in Novgorod, a different kind of life was flourishing here in Ukraine-Ruś, another state was growing powerful, a state that succeeded in subjugating its neighbours, waged war against Byzantium and went over to the Christian faith of its own free will.

150 years later another notable work appeared — "Slovo o polku Ihorevie" ("The Song of Igor's Campaign"). In connection with the past fame of Ukraine we here encounter a new conception — "ancient Ihor." And it is obvious that this expression was commonly used.

Another point of interest which seems worth mentioning are the names of the ruling princes, which are to be found in the course of three centuries in the huge territory where the descendants not of Rurik but of "ancient Ihor" reigned. They are so numerous that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between their owners. Amongst these "tribal" names of the princes and founders of the dynasty there were in the course of 300 years, for instance, 25 Volodymyrs, 22 Izyaslavs, 21 Mstyslavs and Sviatoslavs, and 17 Yaroslavs. There are however only two Ruriks: the first, a grandson of Prince

Volodymyr of Novgorod, who was born in Novgorod, and the other, the son of Prince Rostyslav of Smolensk.⁶²⁾ Thus even the names of the rulers prove that little significance as regards national characteristics can be attached to the name of the alleged founder of the dynasty.

ASKOLD'S LEGACY

With the death of Askold and the raising of Oleh to the rank of prince and ruler, the chroniclers saw themselves confronted by new difficulties. For it was not so easy to comply with the wish expressed by Rurik regarding the establishing of the dynasty of the new rulers of the Kyivan state. For this reason Oleh had himself designated by the title of voivode or as the brother-in-law of Rurik, or as the guardian or cousin of Ihor, regardless of the fact that Rurik was a Swedish Varangian from Uppsala, whereas Oleh was regarded as a Norwegian.⁶³⁾ And it was even more difficult to draw up a chronology of events. According to the chroniclers, Rurik died in 879 and left a son, Ihor. What age this son was at that time has not been ascertained. M. de Taube assumes that he was born either in 875 or 877. Light is shed on this question by the fact that Ihor must have been a child of about 5 or 7 years of age when Oleh came to Kyiv and had Askold murdered. Oleh then ruled for 32 years as Ihor's guardian, whilst Ihor was obliged to wait until he was 39 years old before he could succeed to his "paternal" throne after the death of Oleh. In fact, he was waiting to succeed to the throne in a period when a young prince was usually already ruling the state at the age of about 18. It is therefore perfectly obvious that this account by the chroniclers is an invention, indeed a clumsy invention, which, regardless of its complete incredibility, permitted no doubts seeing that the erroneous opinion of and belief in the "lawfulness" of Rurik's government and Rurik's dynasty persisted to such an extent even in Ukraine-Ruś.

Research scholars have in recent years drawn attention to the unnatural character of such family and dynastic conditions. Efforts have been made to shed more light on the true state of affairs in the 10th century, and more and more hypotheses are being voiced that there were most probably two, or possibly even four Olehs, and two or three Ihors.⁶⁴⁾ And Oleh's biography as recorded by the chroniclers offers some basis for these hypothesis, for evidence has been preserved that there were two graves of Oleh in Kyiv and one grave in Ladoga.

The same vagueness is also apparent in the chronicles regarding "ancient Ihor." According to one chronicle Oleh in 903 married his ward to Olha. When Ihor died 43 years later, his only son (according to the Yakimovsky chronicle he had another son called Hlib)

Sviatoslav was still a "dietesk," that is to say a child. When he (Sviatoslav) had to throw a spear, as was customary, to show that fighting was to begin, during a campaign undertaken against the Derevliany, he was unable to do so and the spear merely struck the legs of his horse. How old was he at that time? Not more than ten years of age. In that case he would have been born in 936, that is to say 33 years after Ihor married Olha. Here, too, then we have another inaccuracy in the chronicles. There is only one conclusion to be drawn from all this: after the death of Askold foreigners, who included genuine "Vikings" and other clever persons, usurped the Kyivan throne. There was no alliance amongst them, however, and still less with Novgorod. In the territory of the future vast empire of Volodymyr and Yaroslav with its state centre in Kyiv, there existed two other and possibly three other independent state centres; apart from Kyiv, Novgorod had established its own state and, in all probability, Aziv (Azov) also had its own state with its centre in Tmutorokan. At least, mention is suddenly made in the era of Yaroslav of the mighty prince Mstyslav of Tmutorokan, the conqueror of the Yasy and Kasohy, who also defeated Yaroslav and reigned in Chernihiv until his death in 1036. In fact, it was only after his death that Yaroslav became Grand Duke.

Novgorod suffered an unusual fate. In spite of his sound way of thinking and his experience in matters pertaining to the state, Oleh, Prince of Novgorod, who with the aid of the Novgorod army conquered Smolensk, Liubech and Kyiv, levied heavy taxes. And he levied them on his own native town. For 100 years Novgorod was obliged to pay these imposts to the Kyivan princes. This fact is likewise proof that during the 10th and 11th centuries Kyiv and Novgorod were the centres of two separate independent states.

In Kyiv individual rulers were deposed and replaced by others after a certain length of time, but the native population remained the same. And hence this people could not be deprived of the cultural achievements which it acquired by degrees. In this respect the inter-state treaties which Oleh concluded with the Greeks in the years 907 and 911 are of considerable importance. In this way Ukraine-Ruś, as the chroniclers stress, suddenly gave obvious proof of its high cultural level. Ukraine-Ruthenia (or Ruś) at that time already possessed its own comprehensive literary language, into which it was possible to translate the text of the international agreements from the Greek perfectly adequately. It appears that Ukraine-Ruś used a mysterious Ivan's script (Ivanove pyśmo) and the treaties were written in this script. It also possessed a comprehensive international and civil law, comparable to the Greek laws. Legally drawn up documents, such as, for instance, wills and evidently certificates for ships, were already known in Ukraine-Ruś. A people does not evolve and adopt such legal norms and conceptions suddenly, and on some special occasion, but gradually and throughout generations.

In his well-known "Slovo o zakonie i blahodati," to which we have already referred, the Metropolitan Ilarion mentions the deeply rooted culture of the ancient Ukrainian state of Kyiv. Referring to the ancestors of Volodymyr, he says that they ruled a state which was known throughout the whole world. Hence there can be no doubt about the fact that the Ruś were not the "barbarians" that the Greeks imagined them to be. In his "Word" Ilarion also mentioned the persons who had taken their fill of book learning (do preslykha nasytivshikhsia premudrosti knizhnoy). Even if we assume that the Metropolitan was referring to the upper class of society, that is to the elite, it is nevertheless significant that there was such an elite in those days, that is in the 10th and 11th centuries, in Ukraine-Ruś, for this was not the case in many countries of Western Europe at that time. Ilarion himself, a great scholar and authority on ancient philosophy, and the author of a work which, in its profound wisdom and beauty, surpasses the works of the contemporary literature of the Byzantine Empire or of Bulgaria, gives proof of the great cultural level of Ukraine-Ruś. There can be no doubt about the fact that he did not solely acquire his erudition in the schools which were set up by Volodymyr for the children of the upper class ("dlia ditey vyshchoi chadi"). For erudition and culture in Ukraine-Ruś were far more deeply rooted.

The first record of a "Slav script" dates back to the middle of the 9th century. Proof of this fact is contained in the "Life of Constantine," which gives an account of how St. Cyril whilst in Cherson (Crimea) encountered a man who had a Gospel and a collection of psalms, which were written in "Ruthenian letters," on him and who also spoke this language. The "Life of Constantine" also reports how rapidly Cyril learnt this language and composed a new alphabet. All this proves that this "Ruthenian" must have been a Slav, for the alphabet was also Slav.⁶⁵) The academician S. Obnorsky assumes that the beginnings of the literature of ancient Ukraine date from the middle of the 9th century.⁶⁶) This opinion is also held by the academician N. Nikolsky.⁶⁷) The language of this literature was the language of an aboriginal population, — a language which was however influenced by other languages, above all by the Bulgarian language.

The remains of the Glagolitic script which have been discovered in Ukraine are of considerable significance. The most interesting are the so-called Kyivan or Freysinger Fragments, which were found in 1873 by I. I. Sreznevsky. They consist of seven pages which contain a Slav translation of the Latin liturgy written in this script. These pages are of great interest for two reasons: firstly, as a document which proves the existence of this script, and secondly, as proof that the Latin liturgy was used in Ukraine-Ruś.⁶⁸) The fact that this liturgy existed in the Glagolitic script is proof of the existence of

Christianity in Ukraine in the 9th century, for in the 10th century the Glagolitic script was replaced by the Cyrillic script, which was created by the pupils of St. Methodius. The opinion expressed by P. Kurinny with regard to the Gospel of Rheims, which the Ukrainian princess Anna Yaroslavna took with her to France, is extremely interesting. Part of this Gospel was written in the Glagolitic and part in the Cyrillic script. Kurinny assumes that this Gospel was closely connected with the monastery in Vyshhorod, which was a centre of Christianity earlier than Kyiv was.⁶⁹⁾

The intellectual culture of the Kyivan Ruś was equalled by the material culture. Evidence of this culture can be seen in the remains of a magnificent palace in Kyiv dating from the 10th century, that is from the reign of Ihor and Olga. Marble columns, frescoes, mosaics, and the famous "Black Burial-mound" (Chorna Mohyla) near the town of Chernyhyv, which all date from the same era, are also evidence of this culture. Other finds discovered on the "Black Burial-mound" include the figures of animals, — one of them an aurochs with beautifully ornamented silver horns. The ornamentation on one of its horns consists of a plant motif, which is exactly the same as the ornamentation on the hilt of a sword that was found in Kyiv in the 10th century. The ornamentation on the other horn of the animal depicts a combat with gryphons, a subject taken from the "Byliny" (Sagas) about Stavr Hodynovych. This corroborates the fact that these objects, which reveal a high degree of excellence as regards the jeweller's art, were made by native craftsmen of this region; the figures of animals which existed in Ukraine in those days and the above-mentioned subject which belongs to the local folklore are convincing proof in this respect. There are also numerous indications that the objects found in the vicinity of the "Black Burial-mound," or rather the technique which they reflect, had a considerable influence on Poland and Czechia, a fact which has been stressed by the local archaeologists I. Shrapil, I. Chervinka and L. Niederle.⁷⁰⁾

All these factors in the sphere of material and intellectual culture prove that the culture of Ukraine-Ruś in the 10th century was deeply rooted. Indeed it is obvious that its roots went back to the previous era, which was the era of Askold. And there is further proof of the profound nature of this culture — namely Christianity.

Many sources of various origins and of various kinds clearly prove that the Christian doctrine spread to an everincreasing extent in Ukraine-Ruś about the middle of the 9th century. We have already referred to the source of the Christianization of the Ukrainian state — namely Byzantium. But this was not the only source. Undoubtedly the relations of Ukraine-Ruś to Bulgaria, whose power and political and cultural importance were steadily increasing, also played a significant part in this respect. Bulgaria during the era of Krum and, above all, during the reign of Boris, who was a contemporary of

Askold, became an important centre of Slav culture. In 864-865 Christianity was adopted there. The Yakimovsky chronicle refers to Askold's relations with Bulgaria, which are not however specified in detail, and mentions the fact that in 864 Askold's son was murdered by the Bulgarians. Incidentally, the reason for this murder has so far never been ascertained. But it certainly is interesting to note that the date of the murder corresponds with the date of Bulgaria's conversion to Christianity. Nor must one overlook the fact that the Yakimovsky chronicle records that the first Metropolitan of Kyiv, Michael, went to Bulgaria.

Western Ukraine-Ruś undoubtedly entertained relations with Moravia during the time that St. Methodius was bishop there.⁷¹⁾ M. de Taube endeavours to extend the region from which Christian doctrine spread to Kyiv; he includes in this region Regensburg, or Ratisbona, the famous and prosperous capital of South Germany, where the influences of ancient Rome, of the West and of the East converged.⁷²⁾

All these influences lead up to the second half of the 9th century, that is to the era of Askold. Nor was Christianity suppressed during the subsequent era of the Varangians; on the contrary, it asserted itself so spontaneously and so powerfully under Ihor that the Christians in Ihor's troops occupied the same status as the heathens. The oath of allegiance which was taken in the Church of St. Elijah was considered to be as valid as the heathen oath of allegiance. Ihor's treaty with the Greeks suddenly and unexpectedly revealed how great and powerful this Christian community, which possessed its own Church, was. The existence of this community, to which the upper classes belonged, explains the Christianity of the era of Olga, and also makes it comprehensible. The question as to where this Christianity came from and how it was able to assume a leading role, is unnecessary. For the answer is self-evident if one takes into account the first conversion to Christianity of Ruś-Ruthenia, which was followed three generations later by Ihor's treaty with the Greeks.

Thus all paths, though they may have been artificially interrupted, in the political, military, diplomatic, economic, cultural and, above all, in the religious field, nevertheless lead the research scholars to the second half of the 9th century, to the era of Askold, as the beginning of the state of Ukraine-Ruś.

Footnotes:

1) M. Hrushevskiy: "General Scheme of Russian History." A compilation of articles on the Slav element. St. Petersburg, 1904. Vol. I.

2) "Istoriya Ukrayinskoyi RSR" ("The History of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic"), Vol. I. Kyiv, 1953, p. 50.

3) N. T. Belyayev: "Ryurik Yutlandskiy i Ryurik nachal'noy letopisi" ("Rurik of Jutland and Rurik of the Early Chronicles"); M. de Taube: "Rome

et la Russie", Paris, 1947; P. K. Kovalevsky: "Istoricheskiy put' Rossiya" ("The Historical Path of Russia"), Paris, 1949.

4) V. Stscherbakivsky: "Kaminna doba na Ukrayini" ("The Stone Age in Ukraine"), Munich, 1947.

5) "Trypil'ska kultura na Ukrayini" ("The Culture of Trypillia in Ukraine"), Vol. I, Kyiv, 1926 (Articles by P. Kurinny, V. Kozlovska, M. Makarenko, L. Chykalenko and other authors); P. Kurinny: "Trypil'ska kultura na Ukrayini" ("The Culture of Trypillia in Ukraine"), in the periodical *Arka*, No. 1, Munich, 1947.

6) M. I. Rostovtsev: "Ellinstvo i iranstvo na yuge Rossiya" ("The Hellenic and Persian Element in South Russia"). Petersburg, 1918; M. Müller: "Don i Priazovye v drevnosti" ("The Don and the Azov Region in Ancient Times"), Munich, 1958, Vol. I-II.

7) A. A. Spitsyn: "Polya pogrebal'nykh urn" ("Urn Burial-grounds"); *Sovyetskaya Arkheologiya (Soviet Archaeology)*, 1948, Vol. X; A. L. Mongait: "Arkheologiya v SSSR" ("Archaeology in the USSR"), published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1955, pp. 310-319; B. D. Grekov: "Izbrannyye trudy" ("Selected Works"), Moscow, 1958, Vol. II, p. 303.

8) Ju. M. Levycky: "Bili khorvaty" ("The White Croats"). *Analecta ordinis S. Basilii Magni*, Rome, 1956, Series II, selection II, Vol. II, edition 3-4.

9) M. Hrushevsky: "Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy" ("History of Ukraine-Rus"), Vol. II, Lviv-Lemberg, 1898; V. Stscherbakivsky: "Formatsiya ukraïnskoyi natsiyi" ("The Formation of the Ukrainian Nation"), Prague, 1940, p. 116; B. D. Grekov: *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 302-303.

10) P. Tretyakov: "Anty i Rus" ("The Ants and the Rus"), *Sovyetskaya etnografiya (Soviet Ethnography)*, 1947, Vol. IV; R. Kovalevsky: "Manuel d'Histoire Russe", Paris, 1948, pp. 28-29; V. Klyuchevsky: "Kurs russkoy istorii" ("A Course in Russian History"), Moscow, 1937, Vol. I, p. 104.

11) The widely differing terminology used in the sources to designate the territory of Ukraine makes it extremely difficult to understand all these questions. To begin with this territory was designated as "Scythia" — this name is even used by the Patriarch Photius in the 9th century. From the 7th century onwards the designation "Slav" is used. In the 9th century the chronicles mention the tribes that inhabited the territory of Ukraine, namely the Polyany, Siveriany, Derevliany, Duliby or Buzhany (or Volhynians), White Croats, Tyvertsi, and Ulychi. At the same time the designation "Rus" is also used, but only for the territory of the Poliany. The designation "Rus" is gradually extended to cover the entire principality of Kyiv. It is significant that this designation was never used for the territories of Novgorod, Rostov, Vladimir-Suzdal, etc. "To go to Rus" meant "to travel into the region of Kyiv, Pereyaslav, etc."

12) A. Harkavy: "Skazaniya musul'manskikh pisateley o slavyanakh i russkikh" ("Accounts of the Slavs and Ruthenians by Moslem Writers"), St. Petersburg, 1870, p. 136 and p. 163.

13) D. S. Likhachov: "Poviest' Vremennykh liet" ("The Story of Ancient Times"), Moscow, 1850, Vol. II, p. 220.

14) M. K. Karger: "Dofeodal'nyy period Kiyeva po arkheologicheskim dannym" ("The Pre-feudal Era of Kyiv according to Archaeological Data"). (Kratkiye soobshcheniya o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniyakh II MK. — Short Reports on lectures and field research). Edition I, 1939.

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Prof. Dr. A. Kultschytzky

The Ukrainian Free University Enters a New Stage in Its Development

The Ukrainian Free University (UFU) in Munich is about to enter on a new stage in its development. In order to assess the significance of this turning-point correctly, it is necessary to survey this development thus far, at least in brief.

The UFU was founded in Vienna in January 1921 as a university in exile. It was founded by Ukrainian professors who had emigrated after the First World War, and in the autumn of that same year was transferred to Prague where, thanks to President Thomas Masaryk, it was given the same status as the Czech university and enjoyed the special patronage of the President. After World War II it was transferred to Munich in 1945 on account of the sovietization of Czecho-Slovakia. Ukrainian scholars who had emigrated during World War II and countless emigrant students flocked to the UFU in Munich. Here students were able to continue their studies in the existing faculties of law, economics and philosophy; and during the early years of this university's existence in Munich the students who registered for courses numbered 500 to 700. The Bavarian government, on the strength of Decree No. 60710 issued by the Bavarian Minister of Education A. Hundhammer officially recognized the Ukrainian Free University, its academic degrees and diplomas on September 16, 1950. From 1945 to 1956 as many as 100 masters of arts and 156 doctors, including a large number of (Slav) foreigners, graduated at the university. The fact should be mentioned here that as regards its curriculum of lectures and the work of its teaching staff the UFU on the whole paid special attention to Ukrainian subjects. As a result of the emigration of numerous students to America, the number of

lectures were cut down in 1956; and many of the professors had previously been compelled by material circumstances to emigrate overseas, most of them to the USA, where the majority of them have meanwhile resumed teaching at universities. To quote but a few examples in the field of Slavonic studies: Prof. Smal-Stocky has assumed an important post as principal of the Slavonic Institute of Marquette University in Milwaukee, where he has published an outstanding work entitled "Nationality Problems of the Soviet Union." Professor Rudnycky holds a similar post in Manitoba, Canada. In Germany Prof. Chyzevsky has been appointed principal of the Slavonic Institute in Heidelberg. Dr. Horbatch holds a lectureship at Göttingen University.

As a result of the decrease in the number of students due to emigration, the activity of the UFU as regards the didactic sector was gradually concentrated on extra-mural lectures at German universities, on specially organized conferences and guest-lectures for foreign academic audiences, and also on vacation courses with Ukrainian themes for the Ukrainian students at various European universities. Of individual lectures held for foreign audiences outside Germany we should in particular like to mention the following: the lecture on East European problems held by Professor Mirchuk in 1954 on the occasion of an international congress on problems of Mediterranean area held in Palermo; and the lecture by Professor A. Kultschytzky on "Prolegomena on the Psychology of the Ukrainian People," held in the "Centro Del Sintesi E Comparazione" in Rome in 1953. A number of Ukrainian professors — I. Mirchuk, G. Bojko, G. Studynsky, I. Kratochvil, A. Kultschytzky and V. Oreleckyj — held various lectures at German colleges and universities in Stuttgart, Heidelberg, Münster and Munich. A joint conference of the UFU with the Society of German Psychologists in Munich on the theme "East-West Tension" was organized by Prof. V. Janiv in 1953 at Munich University. A joint series of lectures on East European problems was held in 1954 in Rome with the co-operation of Prof. Giannini and Dr. Insabato, and in 1955 in Strasbourg with the co-operation of the French Professor of International Law, Le Roy. A Ukrainian-Belgian Week, which had as its theme "Ukraine Within The Framework of East Europe," was held at the University of Louvain in 1956. Lectures were held on this occasion by Belgian Professors I. Leclerque, P. de Vischer, L. Dopriez, F. Gregoire, and by Ukrainian professors. Each day a lecture was given by a Belgian and a Ukrainian scholar, who discussed the subject in question from their own point of view. To mark the occasion of this Ukrainian-Belgian Week a specially compiled work in French was subsequently published, similar to the series of articles on the Munich conference on "East-West Tension" which were published in the periodical "Geistige Welt" ("The Intellectual World"). A joint German-Ukrainian Shevchenko commemoration was recently held at the

German university in Munich, at which the German professors Hoschmieder and Schmaus and the Ukrainian professors Bojko and Kultschytzky delivered speeches. A commemorative pamphlet to mark this occasion is to be published in the near future.

As regards the vacation courses of the UFU 8 have been held for the Ukrainian students in exile in France, Belgium, England and Germany, according to circumstances, and in the course of years. They were jointly organized by the UFU and the Ukrainian students' association, and as regards the educational aspect were conducted by the UFU.

The main emphasis of the activity of the UFU was naturally on the research and publishing sector although this activity has had to be reduced, in spite of all the scientific possibilities available, owing to a shortage of funds. Despite this financial problem, however, the UFU succeeded in publishing two large compiled works of essays by its professors; a compiled work dealing with the activity of Pope Pius XII; two other compiled works which deal with Ukrainian subjects and are in the nature of encyclopedias — "Ukraine And Its People" and "Ukraine dans le Cadre de L'Est Européen" ("Ukraine within the Framework of East Europe"); three numbers of "UFU Information" containing articles by its professors; more than 30 scripts, as well as numerous works and dissertations by its professors in Europe and America which have also appeared separately. At present the UFU is engaged in publishing the above-mentioned German-compiled commemorative work on Shevchenko, as well as a history of Ukraine in the German language by Prof. Krupnytsky. If one takes into consideration the fact that the UFU has only meagre financial means at its disposal, one is bound to admit that all these publications represent a considerable achievement. Actually they are only a fragment of all that the UFU has prepared for publication, and only a fraction of what could be achieved if all the scientific possibilities of the UFU could be used to the full.

For this reason the offer made to the Ukrainian Free University in the summer of 1962 by the Federal Ministry of Affairs Pertaining to Expellees, the Bavarian Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, the Bavarian Ministry of Education and Church Affairs, the Bavarian State Chancellery and the Department of Culture of the City of Munich is of considerable significance as far as the future prospects of the development of the research and publishing activity of the UFU are concerned. It was suggested to the UFU by the above-mentioned official departments that, together with two other bodies, the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute, it should found a registered association to be known as the "Studies and Furtherance Community of Ukrainian Sciences" whereby each individual institution should retain complete autonomy as regards the scope of its work and its own special character. The aim of this association is thus to expand and

consolidate the scientific activity of each of these bodies. In order to realize this aim it is planned to elect a board of representatives of the said official departments. A 14-roomed building in Munich, Laplacestrasse No. 24, which has been taken on lease for 25 years, is to be placed at the disposal of the UFU, the Technical and Economic Institute, and the Shevchenko Society, when reconstruction of the premises has been completed.

This generous offer on the part of the German authorities was accepted by the UFU at the general assembly of the professorial staff of the UFU on December 29, 1962, and an advisory council was formed consisting of 3 representatives of the UFU, 3 representatives of the Shevchenko Society, 2 representatives of the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute, and 4 representatives of the Munich professors suggested by the Rector of the German university in Munich and confirmed by the Bavarian Ministry of Education and Church Affairs, that is to say a total of 12 members, according to the articles of association, under the chairmanship of a Ukrainian professor. The board of representatives is in the progress of being formed and for the time being will be replaced by a study group consisting of representatives of the German professors and the German authorities and three Ukrainian professors. It is planned to set aside a budget of 130,000 DM for the scientific activity of the association. It is estimated that reconstruction work on the premises that have been made available will be completed by February. The official opening of the House of Ukrainian Science is to take place on March 29, 1963.

We have designated the new stage in the activity of the UFU in connection with the founding of the association, the "Studies and Furtherance Community of Ukrainian Sciences," as a **turning-point** in the post-war fate of the UFU. So as not to disappoint the high hopes which have been set in this new association later on, it seems appropriate to explain the term "turning-point" and to stress that what is meant by this is not so much an **already apparent and achieved actual, radical improvement** in the possibilities of the activity of the UFU, but rather the **possibility** of such an improvement, that is to say the **creation of the necessary preconditions** for what is to be achieved later on. The sum of 130,000 DM, divided up amongst three institutions, is comparatively small and does not justify exaggerated hopes and expectations.

The "turning-point" does not lie in the amount of material provision that has been suggested; in view of the financial means that are at present available it is hardly likely that there will be a very noticeable increase in the scientific activity of the UFU during the first year. What is far more important, however, is the significance of the attitude of the German partners, which will enable the Ukrainian institutions, **in keeping with their achievements and their**

efficiency, and through the medium of the scientific advisory council and the German board of representatives, in which the Ukrainians will be represented by the Ukrainian chairman of the advisory council, to submit the postulates and plans of Ukrainian science and learning to the competent German authorities, and in this way and with the approval of the board of representatives to realize them by degrees in the form of a long-term scientific activity. "This unique" Ukrainian Free University — as it was aptly designated by the outstanding Rector of the UFU, Professor Mirchuk — will undoubtedly play the important part which befits it in this new stage in the development of Ukrainian studies in Germany.

40th Anniversary of a Ukrainian College in Exile

On May 26th last year the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute (UTHI), which has its seat in Munich, the capital of Bavaria, Germany; celebrated its 40th anniversary. A special jubilee celebration was held to mark this occasion. Representatives of Ukrainian cultural and political organizations as well as representatives of the German authorities and of numerous non-Ukrainian emigrant organizations were present at the opening of this celebrations in the Conference Hall of the German Museum in Munich.

On the same day academic sessions were convened by the professors of the Institute at the German Museum and in the building in Dachauerstrasse, Munich. Under the chairmanship of Prof. P. Savycky the technical department arranged the following lectures at No. 9 Dachauerstrasse:

- 1) Prof. Dr. P. Savycky: The Nature of Atmospheric Phenomena;
- 2) Prof. O. Paramoniv: The Use of Sodium Silicium Fluoride in Combatting Forest Insect Pests by Aircraft;
- 3) Prof. V. Panasenko: The Problem of Storing Consumption Goods;
- 4) Prof. M. Borovsky: Yewtrees in Ukrainian Forests and their Protection.

The economic department convened under the chairmanship of Prof. E. Glovinsky, civil engineer, in the Conference Hall at the Deutsches Museum. The following lectures were held:

- 1) Prof. J. Studynsky: The Soviet National Reserves in the Light of the Constitution of the USSR;
- 2) Prof. O. Archymovych: The Problem of the Grasslands in the Agriculture of the USSR;

- 3) Prof. R. Jendyk: Demographic Elements in the Encyclical "Mater et Magistra";
- 4) Prof. H. Hordijenko: The Development of Buckwheat in Ukraine.

After the departmental sessions a plenary session, in which reports were read by the departmental heads, was held in the Conference Hall at the German Museum. The final lecture which was given by Prof. E. Glovinsky was entitled "The Economy of Soviet Ukraine in the Fourth Year of the Seven-Year Plan."

On the evening of the same day the conference closed with an address by the Rector of the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute, Prof. Dr. Rostyslav Jendyk.

He said that it might perhaps seem surprising that a Ukrainian college had been able to exist in exile for 40 years, but added that one must take into account the fact that culture and erudition in Ukraine had always been of a very high standard. Even after the battle of Poltava (1709), in which the Ukrainians were defeated by the Russians, the famous Mohyla Academy in Kyiv continued to be a cultural centre not only in Ukraine itself but also for the whole of East and Southeast Europe. In fact, the cultural vacuum in Muscovy (Old Russia) in the 17th century could only be overcome with the help of Ukrainian scholars and intellectuals. No wonder that Ukraine and Russia are compared to ancient Greece and Rome. Greece, the home of philosophy and of culture of a high level, though conquered by the belligerent and barbarous Romans and crushed by Rome in the political and military sphere, nevertheless conquered Rome from the cultural point of view. And nowadays the Ukrainians are outstanding in the Soviet Union as one of the nations that foster culture and erudition.

Hence it is not surprising that after the conquest of Ukraine by the Russians and Poles (not to mention the occupation of Ukrainian territory by the Czechs and Rumanians) after the First World War, and after the subsequent unsuccessful fight for freedom of Ukraine and the mass exodus of the Ukrainians from their native country in 1921, numerous Ukrainian colleges were established in exile: there were four colleges in Czecho-Slovakia (the Ukrainian University, the Ukrainian College of Pedagogy and the Ukrainian College of Art in Prague, as well as the Ukrainian College of Agriculture in Podebrady near Prague, where hundreds of Ukrainian students lived in close contact with their professors, that is to say on the lines of Oxford and Cambridge), the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw, and a similar institute in Berlin. After World War II there were two Ukrainian colleges in occupied Germany: the Ukrainian University in Munich and a College of Agriculture in Regensburg; in addition, the Ukrainian emigrants in Germany founded a large number of secondary schools (including about 25 grammar schools), as well as numerous technical and vocational schools, as for instance schools of music, technical secondary schools, and commercial schools, etc.

At present there are two Ukrainian colleges in Germany, both of them in Munich: the Ukrainian Free University and the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute (UTHI).

In addition, the Ukrainians in exile also have a Free Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, a Scientific Shevchenko Society, as well as many other Ukrainian scientific institutes. No wonder this academic activity on the part of the Ukrainian emigrants is a constant source of annoyance to the Soviet Russian occupiers. For intellectual and academic life in the allegedly sovereign Soviet Ukraine is ruthlessly persecuted by the Soviet Russians and is reduced to a ridiculous minimum. The following examples are striking proof of this fact.

The 1961 catalogue "The Technical Soviet Book," for instance, contains a list of books which have appeared in Ukraine in the year in question. In the field of technical science there are 84 publications. But many of them are anything but scientific! We give a brief survey of this catalogue in order to illustrate the standard of the sciences cultivated by the Soviet regime in Ukraine. For there can be no question of the humanistic science: these are either neglected completely, or else works in this field are published in Russian (that is to say not in the Ukrainian language). Even books and treatises on the Ukrainian language are mostly published in Russian. The said catalogue is divided into the following sections:

- Literature to propagate the Seven-Year Plan;
- Literature for workers of the mass professions;
- Scientific popular literature;
- Productive technical literature;
- Chemical, gas and oil industry;
- Literature for educational purposes;
- Power engineering, radio and electronics;
- Light and foodstuffs industries;
- Reference literature;
- Miscellaneous literature;
- Building trade and architecture.

Surely one cannot designate propaganda literature to promote the Seven-Year Plan, or books for workers, or even scientific popular literature as part of the exact sciences! And the same also applies to the other publications. For instance, the 7 books in the "power engineering" category include such "research" works as "Hints for Radio Amateurs," "How to assemble and regulate TV sets," etc. The category "Light and Foodstuffs Industries" for example contains the following publications: "Ukrainian Dishes" and "Cold Menus," whilst the category "Miscellaneous Literature" includes such works as "Checking and Repair of Bicycles," etc. These few examples clearly show that the Soviet Russian occupier has degraded Ukrainian technical sciences to the level of the requirements of women on the collective farms.

As regards the publication of these so-called scientific works, the Red Russians only allow a relatively small number of copies to be printed. On an average the edition of each book printed only runs to about 3,000 copies. Naturally there are deviations in this respect — as seen from the humorous aspect. For example, a textbook for schools — “Geometrical Projection” — was only printed in an edition of 300 copies! The Academy of Architecture likewise published a book — “New Information on the Production of Building Materials” — in an edition with the same ridiculously small number of copies. On the other hand, however, 100,000 copies of the “Cold Menu” and 20,000 copies of the “Ukrainian Dishes” were printed!

The subjects and the nature of the editions of the so-called technical books clearly indicate that, apart from the meagre periodical publications of the Kyiv Academy of Sciences, Ukrainian science in Soviet Russian occupied Ukraine is merely a fiction. This does not however mean that there is no Ukrainian nation with all its higher demands for a national and state life of its own in every sphere. One of the attributes of every nation is expressed in the respective standard of the exact sciences which are cultivated in national forms. In other words, Ukrainian scholars create Ukrainian science and they must publish the results of their research work in the Ukrainian language. These scholars and their research works are, as it were, the admission ticket of Ukraine to the community of the Western cultural peoples. And this is what the Russian oppressors of the Ukrainian people have always feared in the course of the centuries (or, to be more correct, since the second half of the 18th century). And this fear is also the reason for the suppression of Ukrainian science in Ukraine by the Russians. But the development of Ukrainian science in exile cannot be prevented in any way by the Russians.

The character of Ukrainian science is bound to be the same as that of the entire Ukrainian knowledge and learning. And herein lies its historical significance as regards the origin and existence of a true science and learning and of the preconditions which have derived their origin from the thousand-year old struggle for freedom of the human intellect. In its search for objective truth, Ukrainian science in exile sets an example worthy of emulation to Ukrainian research scholars in Ukraine. For Ukrainian scholars in Ukraine languish under intellectual slavery and are therefore unable to give expression to this objective truth, — possibly, too, because they have unintentionally fallen a victim to this intellectual slavery as a result of having received the wrong kind of training. For this reason the free Ukrainian scholars in the Western world must set a shining example to the scholars in Ukraine as to how one must cultivate science and learning. The evil of Marxism-Leninism lies not so much in the fact that it penetrates every sphere of human life but, rather, that it claims to be absolutely infallible by means of ruthless physical

violence. Such a claim means death to science and learning, or at least is equivalent to a lingering disease, which results in a conscious or unconscious falsification of the countenance of the external world.

The second task of Ukrainian science in exile lies in the cultivation of those scientific fields which are completely neglected in Ukraine, or, in order to dull national self-consciousness, are either restricted to the utmost or maliciously distorted. We are referring to the humanistic sciences in the widest sense. For it is impossible to visualize an harmonious development of the human intellect without the influence and creation of these sciences out of the original sources of our cultural cycle, out of the elements of Hellenic culture. These elements in their far-reaching effects are in our opinion a curative factor to be employed in combatting the Russian Bolshevik robot, which is forced to live without the beneficial influence of religion and of classicism. But however indispensable the humanistic sciences may be to Ukraine, the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute in Munich can only confine itself to an intellectual activity on the lines of the classical Greek and Roman example, without however being able to occupy itself with studies on this subject.

The founders of the predecessor of the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute — the Ukrainian College of Agriculture in Poděbrady — were firmly convinced that the prosperity of Ukrainian science lay in the future rather than in the present when, in 1922, they established this college in the well-known Czech health resort near Prague. Its foundation cost about 100,000 dollars, and even the then President of Czecho-Slovakia, T. G. Masaryk, personally congratulated them on their courageous cultural enterprise.

In his address at the opening of the jubilee celebration held on May 26, 1962, to mark the 40th anniversary of the Ukrainian Technical and Economic Institute, the Rector of this Institute, Prof. Dr. R. Jendyk, said that the present Ukrainian generation would not be worse than the founders of the College of Agriculture in 1922, and he added that the jubilee celebration on the 40 anniversary of the Institute was a review of the stages through which it had passed in earlier years and a new prospect of the course which it might take in the future.

V. Chernivchanyn

The Ukrainian Academy of Science (UVAN) in Canada

(Excerpts from a report covering the time between 1948 and 1962)

The Ukrainian Free Academy of Science (UVAN) is the oldest centre of Ukrainian free science on the American continent. Its true activity began after the arrival of the well-known Ukrainian scholar, Dmytro Doroshenko, in Canada. At that time Doroshenko was president of the UVAN in Europe. After the arrival of professors Leonid Bileckyj and J. Rudnyckyj in Canada, a board of Ukrainian scholars in Canada was formed in 1949, and after the necessary preparatory work was concluded one could speak of the official foundation of the UVAN in Canada. The UVAN founded in Europe may be considered as a continuation of the UVAN in the Ukrainian capital of Kyiv. After the Ukrainian capital had been conquered by the Russian Communists, the UVAN was liquidated, or rather, it was reorganized, so that only in name has it remained Ukrainian. The UVAN in Canada which, on June 2nd 1958, was registered by the Canadian authorities, works independently, but nevertheless in close co-operation with other similar Ukrainian institutions in exile. The scientific activity of the Canadian UVAN is centred in the following fields:

1) Studies in humanistics, as for instance history, literature, philology, Slavic studies, folklore, etc., since these fields have primarily been excluded from the programme of the UVAN by the Russian occupational authorities.

2) The scientific studies in these fields have been published with the chief intention of filling the gaps caused by the restrictions and distortions of the Bolshevik occupation regime, and of informing the scientific world in the West about the latest achievements of free Ukrainian science.

3) The representation of Ukrainian science at international scientific congresses, conferences and similar meetings is considered of great importance. The exchange of publications between the Canadian UVAN and other scientific institutions of the western world has already been continued for years.

4) Scientists from the ranks of the younger generation in the free world have been encouraged to participate in the work of the UVAN.

5) Public academic lectures for the Ukrainian (but also non-Ukrainian) public have been given.

6) The scientific library, as well as the archives have been supplemented systematically.

7) The cultivation and support of Ukrainian cultural activities (exhibits, academic meetings, concerts etc.) have been sponsored by the UVAN.

Both the activity of the Academy and its publications comprise the following departments: Slavic studies, onomastics, literature, survey on Ukrainian scholars' research work, western studies, Shevchenko studies, bibliography, "Ucrainica Canadiana," the UVAN chronicles and the UVAN bulletin.

In the field of Slavic studies 50 works have been published so far in Ukrainian, English, German and other languages.

In the field of onomastics about 25 publications (in Ukrainian, English, French and other languages) have appeared up to date.

As regards the research work done by Ukrainian scholars more than 10 studies have been published both in Ukrainian and English.

In the department of literature about 10 research works may be mentioned.

In the field of Western studies the UVAN has published 6 large volumes, in Ukrainian as well as in English.

In addition the works of Shevchenko have also been published (altogether 5 volumes).

The UVAN sent its representatives to international scientific congresses, of which the following (excepting Canada and the USA) may be mentioned: Uppsala (Sweden) 1952, Salamanca (Spain) 1955, Oslo 1957, Heidelberg 1957, Florence and Pisa 1961, Utrecht 1961, and Bolzano 1961.

Publications have been exchanged with the following libraries: the Library of Congress, Washington; the New York Public Library; the British Museum, London; the National Library, Dublin; the National Library, Edinburgh; the Library of the University of Oslo; the National Library of Madrid, and others.

In 1962 a Ukrainian etymological dictionary went to the press.

The Canadian UVAN maintains permanent scientific relations with America, Australia, New Zealand and East Asia (Japan and Korea).

Apart from Ukrainians, many foreigners also participate in the work of the UVAN.

Many professors of the Canadian UVAN are members of the board of lecturers of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich.

The main seat of the UVAN is in Winnipeg; its scientific research work, however, also extends to the centre of the Ukrainian settlements in Canada, as for example to Toronto, Edmonton, and Montreal.

Both Ukrainian scholars and students, who are in close contact with the UVAN, as well as the Free Ukrainian University in Munich, are working at the University of Ottawa.

Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj Released from Soviet Dungeons

Warm Welcome from Pope John XXIII in Rome

Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj, Archbishop of Lviv, Western Ukraine, arrived in Rome on Feb. 9, after his release from 18 years imprisonment and detention in the Soviet Union.

Metropolitan Slipyj, accompanied by Cardinal Amleto Cicognani, Vatican Secretary of State, and Cardinal Gustav Testa, was received by Pope John XXIII for almost an hour in the afternoon of Feb. 10.

"A touching consolation arrived last night from Eastern Europe," the Pope said in an emotion-charged voice. "We thank God for this as a thing which in Divine providence could prepare the Holy Church and forthright souls for an outburst of sincere faith and of a simple and peaceful apostolate."

Metropolitan Slipyj who on Sunday, February 17, 1963, was 71 years of age, was arrested just a few months after he was appointed Archbishop of the Ukrainians in Lviv in November, 1944, following the death of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky.

He and other Ukrainian Bishops were tried in April, 1946, on charges of "collaboration" during the German occupation of Ukraine. In 1947 the Moscow radio announced he had been sentenced to prison. Subsequently he was tried again on charges of sending secret pastoral letters to his faithful and was sent to Siberian slave labour camps. For years there was no news from him at all. In 1958 it was reported that he was working as a servant in an old peoples' home in central Siberia. In 1960, word got out that he had been offered an important post with the Russian Orthodox Church, that of Patriarch, if he would renounce his faith. Instead of accepting the offer, he denounced the "corruption" of the Soviet-dominated Russian Orthodox Church.

When Pope John XXIII named three cardinals in pectore (in the secrecy of his own heart), it was rumored that all three were impeded behind the Iron Curtain and that Archbishop Slipyj was one of the three. The in pectore cardinals are, of course, not listed with the other cardinals and only the Pope knows their identity.

Archbishop Slipyj's long suffering, martyrdom and heroic anti-Communist stand won him the reputation of a stalwart Christian martyr. Many thought that he was dead, along with the other nine Ukrainian Catholic Bishops who were captured and put to torture by the Soviet NKVD and MVD after World War II.

There was considerable speculation about the Soviet move in releasing Archbishop Slipyj. Pope John XXIII explained only that "the Soviet government had released the prelate and allowed him to make his way to Rome, where he will live in a religious community." The event was seen in some quarters as another action by the USSR in an attempt to improve relations between the Vatican and Moscow. It followed an exchange of messages between Pope John XXIII and Khrushchov on the Pope's most recent birthday and on other occasions.

Other sources pointed to two other developments, to help explain the surprise release. The arrival of two Russian Orthodox Churchmen as observers to the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council last October followed the visit to Moscow of Msgr. John Willebrands, S.J., of the Secretariat to Promote Christian Unity. These initial contacts, it is believed, may have led to new results, including the release of Archbishop Slipyj.

Another development was the stand taken by 15 Ukrainian Catholic bishops of the free world, attending the Ecumenical Council, who denounced the presence of the two Russian Orthodox churchmen while Archbishop Slipyj was still in a Russian jail. Their protest may have started a chain reaction which led to the release of the Ukrainian Archbishop. "Il Tempo" of Rome, in discussing a possible reason for Archbishop Slipyj's release, said that Slipyj early last year was offered the post of Orthodox Patriarch of Moscow, but the Archbishop refused and sent a stern protest to the Soviet-Russian government over this "attempt at corruption."

It is recalled that on November 22, 1962 fifteen Ukrainian Archbishops and Bishops attending the Ecumenical Council in Rome issued a strong statement protesting against the presence of two Russian Orthodox observers, contrasting their presence with the continued detention and persecution of Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj. "The presence of the two Soviet-Russian observers at the Council has disconcerted true believers, astounded many Council fathers and engendered a feeling of discontent and indignation among the faithful everywhere," the statement said.

DEMAND FOR AN OFFICIAL PROTEST AGAINST SOVIET-RUSSIAN POLITICAL MURDERS IN WEST GERMANY

A LETTER TO CHANCELLOR ADENAUER

Frankfurt on Main,
Unterweg 10,
January 16, 1963.

The Federal Chancellor,
Dr. Konrad Adenauer,
B o n n

Sir,

In the recent sham fights for the security of the law in the Federal Republic some circles have maybe intentionally, others perhaps unintentionally, overlooked a case which, in view of its special character, demands the greatest attention on the part of all those who are genuinely concerned about the preservation of the constitutional statehood in that part of Germany which is free.

At the end of 1962 the Federal High Court in Karlsruhe presented its written opinion and verdict in the trial of the Ukrainian Bohdan Stashynsky, who as an agent of the Soviet Russian State Security Committee in 1957 murdered Professor Lev Rebet in Munich and in 1959 Stepan Bandera. It is stated in this opinion that both murders "on the strength of the conclusive evidence adduced at the trial, were ordered by a Soviet 'highest authority,' at least on a government basis and with the participation of Shelepin, the then chairman of the Committee for State Security in the Ministerial Council of the USSR, and that the accused was ordered to carry them out." In accordance with other decisions reached by the Federal High Court and the former Reichs Court, the court in this case distinguished between the perpetrator of murder and the mere assistant to murder, and thus clearly stated that the Ministerial Council of the USSR is the perpetrator of the murders.

This verdict on the part of a democratic independent court has proved that the "political leadership of the Soviet Union, the leadership of a world power which is wont to pride itself of its history and civilization... the political leadership of a country that is a member of the United Nations and entertains correct diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic... considers it expedient to have a murder by poison, decided at least on a government level, committed on the sovereign territory of the German Federal Republic as a state order."

One cannot fail to see in these arguments of the court a description of a state of affairs which in an unparalleled manner threatens the security of the law in the Federal Republic. Countless views pertaining to this aspect of the matter and urgent enquiries have been sent to me, asking whether the Federal Government will not at least reply with a protest to the violation of our sovereignty and constitutional state order by a foreign power. Surely it is not in keeping with the principles of international law for a foreign government to be allowed to hire murderers and give them orders to kill persons whom they

regard as their political opponents, on the sovereign territory of our state? Many circles of the population are rightly asking themselves what will eventually happen if incidents of this kind are accepted without any protest. Self-respect and protection against crimes of this type demand that at least a formal protest should be sent to Moscow.

Sir, I take the liberty of submitting these viewpoints and considerations to you and should be obliged if you would inform me whether the Federal Government, on the strength of the findings of the Federal High Court, has already sent a protest of the Federal Republic to the government of the USSR, or intends doing so in the near future.

Yours faithfully,

Richard Hackenberg,
MdL.

OPINIONS ON THE PROBLEMS OF EASTERN EUROPE

SOVIET IMPERIALISM IN UKRAINE

On September 20, 1962, the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe discussed the "methods of Communist colonialism in Central and Eastern Europe." The report of the Commission of Nations not represented was presented by Mr. LINDEN.

The striking fact about this report is that it did not mention anything about Russian Communist colonialism within the frontiers of the Soviet Union but contented itself with solely describing "Soviet colonialism" in the satellite countries! The speakers — far too few in our opinion, as if the subject was not worth a longer discussion — also refrained from raising the question of the colonialism and dreadful exploitation of which the Ukrainians, the Byelorussians, the Turkestanians and the Georgians are the victims.

Only one speaker, a Frenchman, Mr. Jean ALBERT-SOREL, resolutely took the initiative and drew the attention of the Assembly to the neo-colonialism which is likewise practised — and, as he told us, above all — outside the satellite countries, that is to say in the Soviet Union.

To show our appreciation of this justified and apt initiative on the part of Mr. Jean ALBERT-SOREL, we consider it appropriate to publish his excellent interposition.

(Editor's note)

Mr. President, Dear Colleagues, in the brief interposition which I intend to make it is not a question — and I wish to assure you on this point — of my applying the least criticism or the least reservation to the very remarkable report submitted by Mr. Linden.

I solely wish to remind the Assembly that outside the satellite countries, as they are called, where this neo-colonialism about which Mr. Linden has told us is exercised and which can be defined in very simple terms as oppression and exploitation by a party and by a doctrine, — outside these satellite countries, namely in the very heart of the country known by the geographical name of Russia, this same oppression and exploitation are likewise exercised.

I wish to refer in particular to the case of Ukraine in this connection. Ukraine, that is to say historical Ruthenia, from the very outset, namely from the beginning of the Russian revolution onwards, remained extremely aloof. In the elections on November 14, 1917, it only supplied 10 per cent of the votes for the Communist Party, in spite of the risk which it ran by manifesting this attitude at the time in question. Ukraine, which has its own special traditions and possesses its own national literature and culture, a fact which is of the utmost importance, as has been stressed just now, is at the present time still languishing under an oppression which is becoming more and more terrible.

I do not wish to hold up the Assembly too long for time is passing and the debate has already assumed considerable proportions. In order to illustrate what I have just said, I should merely like to read to you a few statements made by Lenin in December 1919:

“The elections to the Constituent Assembly in Russia, when compared with the events of the two years of civil war (1917-1919), are extremely informative. They show which regions are definitely least pro-Bolshevist. In the first place, the regions of the East Urals and of Siberia, with 12 per cent and 10 per cent of the votes to the Bolsheviks. And in the second place, Ukraine with 10 per cent of the votes to the Bolsheviks.”

These figures clearly show us that the revolution spread parallel to the graphic curve of the presence of the true Russians in Russia, that is to say in the territory which became Soviet Russia.

And Lenin concludes his report with the singularly revealing words: “It was precisely in those regions where the votes for the Bolsheviks in November 1917 were fewest in number that the counter-revolutionary movement, insurrections and counter-revolutionary organizations were most successful. The ‘final decision’ was only achieved after a long and difficult struggle, which has still not come to an end in Siberia and in Ukraine.”

At present there are still concentration camps in Ukraine, and the dreadful methods of oppression and of exploitation which we oppose and which the Council of Europe condemns still exist there.

MARIA BASHKIRTSEVA—THE FAMOUS UKRAINIAN PAINTRESS

(1860-1884)

In one of the quietest districts of Paris lies the cemetery of Passy, which is no longer used for burials. Amongst the graves of musicians and painters who died long ago there is an unusual white arbour which resembles a mausoleum. The interior of this arbour contains an artist's studio, complete in every detail. A half-finished painting on an easel and a palette with colours on it creates the impression that the artist will return after a while to resume painting.

On the opposite wall hangs the portrait of a young girl, with golden curls and sad, pensive eyes. But her grey eyes reveal such a hunger for life, so many wishes and such yearning that the beholder cannot help but ask: "Who was this young girl to whose memory this unusual tomb was erected?" She was a young Ukrainian of exceptional talent, a young genius who only lived to the age of 24.

On the coffin in the crypt there is the following inscription: "Maria Bashkirtseva, born on November 11, 1860, in Havronci, died on October 31, 1884, in Paris."

What a short and tragic life! But her genius is immortal, and on the occasion of the centenary of her birth not only French but also English periodicals published lengthy articles devoted to her memory. And all the latest guide-books on Paris mention her grave.

Maria Bashkirtseva left a number of paintings, of which the most famous is "Le Meeting," which is preserved in the "Musée de l'Art Moderne" in Paris. The others are displayed in the "Musée Cheret" in Nice. But she has probably stirred the hearts of the public even more profoundly with her extremely candid diary. It was published shortly after her death and still enjoys considerable popularity even today. Her political views and her keen discernment are far in advance of the period in which she lived, so much so in fact that she almost seems like a contemporary to us when we read her diary.

Maria's father, who possessed considerable property and wealth in Ukraine, was a landowner and a man of average intelligence. Her mother was a typical young lady from the provinces.

"Your son will be an average kind of person, but your daughter is predestined to be great" — so an old fortune-teller once told Maria's mother when Maria was still a child. These words made a deep impression on Maria, who was an extremely sensitive child, and became a kind of talisman to her which spurred her on to pursue her path undeterred to the highest goal.

In addition to the fact that she had numerous governesses, little "Musia's" education was extremely chaotic, — as chaotic and irregular as the life of her family. After a brief married life with her husband, who appears to have been inconstant and fickle, Maria's mother left him and, with her children, went to live with her parents. When Maria's grandmother, Mrs. Babinin, died in 1870 the whole family left Chernykhivka and went abroad. After moving from place to place for three years, the family took a large villa on the Promenade des Anglais in Nice and settled down there for some years.

And this was to prove a turning-point in Maria's brief life. "Little Musia," though still a child with capricious ideas, suddenly became a personality who had set herself a definite aim. The entire family was somewhat at a loss as to what to do with regard to her ambitions and desires, for Maria, though barely thirteen years of age, was determined to decide her life and career herself. With amazing thoroughness she drew up a plan of her future studies, and kept to this so undauntedly that two years later she was already reading Plato and Tacitus in the original and was quoting passages from Schopenhauer and other philosophers.

But all these far-reaching plans concealed a feverish haste and a presentiment of approaching death. For though a good fairy gave her so many fine gifts when she was born — wealth, beauty and artistic talents, a wicked fairy also hovered over her cradle and gave her an evil present — the germ of tuberculosis, the fatal heritage of her father.

Even though a brilliant future apparently awaited her, an inner voice constantly seemed to tell her that every hour in her life must have the value of a day and every month the value of a year.

— "What am I? Nothing! What do I desire to become? Everything!"

Since Maria Bashkirtseva, though still barely more than a child, was always intent upon achieving this her life's aim, she decided to try to attain immortality as a great singer. Her beautiful voice and great musical talent certainly justified her aims in this respect. But Maria, who always considered all her bold plans from the point of view of sound common sense, decided to ask the opinion of an expert before commencing her studies. But hardly had a famous maestro

prophesied a brilliant future for her lovely voice when Maria was forced to abandon the course that she herself had chosen. The spell of the wicked fairy began to work: Maria complained of pains in her throat and developed influenza which proved most obstinate. It was not long before her lovely voice became nothing more than merely a memory.

After fierce outbursts of doubt and despair, the dimmed ardour of her zeal manifested itself again after a short time, however, with renewed vehemence. She now felt that she must seek to achieve her aim in life even more rapidly. And this aim was to be painting, for as a small child she had already shown great talent in this art. Indeed, her paintings and her diary, in which from her thirteenth year onwards she expressed her inmost thoughts, have left a far more lasting and unforgettable trace of her personality behind than a passing fame as a singer would have done.

In order to be able to take up her study of painting, however, she felt that it was essential that she should first of all become acquainted with the works of the great Italian masters and in this way develop her appreciation of art. Accompanied by a chaperone she therefore went to Florence, where, with the bold judgment of a future pioneer of naturalism, she criticized the works of Raphael and was fascinated by the colours of Titian, but found fault with his female figures, whose "hands and legs are somewhat crudely portrayed" in her opinion.

In January 1876 Maria's family moved to Rome. She was captivated by this city of the Caesars and Popes, but her urge to study painting seemed to have abated a little, or at least to have been directed into other channels for a while. Under the influence of the compliments paid her by Pietro Antonelli, the handsome cousin of the famous Cardinal, Maria decided to become his wife and in this way also the queen of salons of Rome. But in spite of the fact that she had lost her heart to the said young man, she realized with her usual sound common sense that the fact that she had grown up without the protection of a father would debar her from the Cardinal's family, which was governed by narrow-minded principles and prejudices.

Maria therefore decided to persuade her father to come to Rome, since she was sure that she would be able to convince him of the necessity of a reconciliation with her mother. A few weeks later she left her aunt, who had accompanied her, at the German frontier and crossed the Russian frontier and reached Ukraine. She had only been there a short time when, thanks to her extreme sensitiveness, she began to sense the undercurrent of disturbances in the country which, as she rightly foresaw, would one day lead to a terrible historical conflict. She gave expression to her reflections and observations regarding the Russian people, which in spite of her youth are extremely wise and profound, in her diary and in letters to her

friends. These thoughts and opinions are almost clairvoyant and are most illuminating as regards Maria's stay in Russia.

For instance she writes as follows:

"Although this people at present are peaceful and as tame as a lamb, it will nevertheless, as a result of revolutionary and agitatory propaganda, one day resort to brutal violence and will become ruthless and cruel."

And on another occasion she wrote: "Communism is a great danger... It will bring about the downfall of civilization and of all that is beautiful and good... Only material values will then be decisive. And the fruits of man's labour will also be communized, for no one will be allowed to advance to a higher position on the strength of his own labour and merit."

If one takes into account the fact that Maria Bashkirtseva when she foresaw Bolshevism forty years before its outbreak, was only sixteen years of age, and a "young lady of a good family" and had moreover been brought up in France in the artificial atmosphere of wealthy families, then one is bound to admit that this young Ukrainian girl undoubtedly was a most striking personality and far in advance of her times.

Apart from her social success and the countless compliments that were paid her wherever she went, her visit to Russia did not fulfil her hopes and expectations. She returned to Nice alone, after only having been able to exact a promise from her father that he would visit his family in the near future. Actually, her visit to her father had been to no purpose for the Cardinal's cousin had meanwhile disappeared out of her life.

Wearied by months of arguments with her father and no doubt also numbed by her unhappy love affair, Maria seemed to lose all desire to pursue her aim, at least for a while. Although she urged herself on, she now wasted a whole year of her meteoric career in travelling. She also spent considerable time in trying to get her throat complaint cured.

Eventually, in the autumn of 1877, the whole family went to live in Paris, where Maria now definitely decided to study painting. At the beginning of October she enrolled at the Julien art school. The advent of this elegant young lady, attired in white, who aspired to become a paintress, made such an impression on the other pupils at the art school that for many years to come the principal of the school still referred to "this ray of light in the dismal studio." At first, Maria's fellow-students were apt to smile in kindly irony at the "artistic whim" of this wealthy young lady, but within a very short time they realized that she possessed an unusual talent.

Maria Bashkirtseva was now more determined than ever to achieve the aim that she had set herself. Spurred on by her presentiment of

approaching death, she worked with feverish activity for several hours every day in the studio, an unhealthy, draughty place, which only helped to impair the diseased condition of her lungs still more.

In this race against death Maria achieved her first success in 1880, when her first painting "Absorbed in Reading" was accepted by the Paris "Salon" and received a "highly commended," although most viewers were of the opinion that it easily deserved a medal.

Though greatly encouraged by her first success, Maria Bashkirtseva accepted it calmly and refused to be dazzled by it. She had meanwhile become reconciled to the fact that she was suffering from an incurable disease, but she frequently forgot this and made plans for the far off future. She spent several months in Spain and here she learnt to appreciate the beauty of the Goya's and Velasquez' works and to develop her sense of colour still more. In 1881 she descended from the heights of Parnassus for a while and even travelled to Ukraine with her parents who had meanwhile become reconciled. There she spent an enjoyable time; she went hunting, and she even began to cherish dreams of getting married some day.

After her return to Paris a newly found happiness lit up the growing shadow of death. She made the acquaintance of the great Bastien Lepage, one of the main representatives of the French impressionists. Within a short time her admiration for his works turned to love for the painter himself, and this love was to make the last few months of Maria's life happier.

"I am firmly convinced — Maria once said after having attended a performance of the opera "La Traviata" — that I too shall die the moment my wishes are fulfilled."

And this was actually the case. Not only did her paintings receive more and more recognition, but her wanderings from one rented apartment to another finally came to an end with the acquisition of a villa in the Rue d'Ampère, where Maria now received artists and writers in her own salon.

But the shadow of death was rapidly obtruding on this seemingly happy life which she now led. Maria tried to make light of her illness with a certain irony, but in reality this irony concealed fear, her overwhelming fear of nothingness. The death of her father in Ukraine hardly made an impression on her. Seized by a feverish activity, Maria was obsessed by the idea of immortalizing her life by her paintings.

The year 1884 was approaching its close and with it her life was nearing its end. No doubt thanks to her amazing energy Maria managed to preserve the feeble flame of life and she still continued to drive to one of the suburbs of Paris every day (regardless of the warning of her doctors) and stand there in the rain and the cold in order to finish her painting "The Alley." And she also continued to

visit her beloved friend Bastien, who was seriously ill. But it was now clearly evident that her life was rapidly drawing to a close.

On October 12th Maria wrote the last entry in her diary. Bastien, who was dying, was brought by his brother, who was devoted to him, to Maria's house in the Rue d'Ampère. Attired in a white velvet gown, she received them with a sad smile. The two dying lovers sat together in silence for a while. The rays of the setting sun kissed the lovers, who were already on the threshold to eternity, for the last time.

Maria Bashkirtseva died three weeks after Bastien's death.

"She was a genius" — such was the opinion expressed by the great English statesman Gladstone about Maria Bashkirtseva. And this was indeed homage, coming from a man like Gladstone who was never given to exaggeration.

NEW YORK CONFERENCE ON RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

On February 9, 1963, there was held in New York at the New Yorker Hotel a conference-forum on the topic, "Free World's Policies Toward Russian and Communist Colonialism and Toward Liberation of the Enslaved Nations." It was sponsored by the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in cooperation with over 30 US organizations, comprising descendants of the following nations: Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Cossackia, Croatia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Turkistan, and Ukraine. About 350 persons took part in the conference. It was followed by a banquet attended by about 250 persons.

The main speakers at the forum were: His Excellency Dr. Tingfu F. Tsiang — Ambassador of the Republic of China to the United States, Ambassador Soo Young Lee — Permanent Observer of Korea to the United Nations, the Honourable Jaroslav Stetzko — President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and former Ukrainian Prime-Minister, and the Honourable Michael Feighan — Congressman from Ohio. Former Congressman Charles Kersten was the moderator.

Greetings were sent to the conference from the Permanent Representative of Canada to the United Nations — Ambassador Paul Trembley, from Madame Tran Van Chuong — Permanent Observer of Vietnam to the United Nations, and from the Korean Embassy in Washington. The Koreans wrote among other things: "We at the Korean Embassy here truly regard your organization as one of the most outstanding Anti-Communist movements of the present time, and your unceasing endeavours to bring about a unified front against Communist Imperialism is being watched in the Anti-Communist countries of Asia.

For this reason your forthcoming conference-forum will in our opinion, advance further because of the struggle against Communist Colonialism."

The forum was opened by I. Bilynsky, Chairman of the American Friends of ABN. He called it "a monumental forum" because of "such distinguished and honourable guests that we have with us." The composition of speakers was characteristic proving that "the cause of indivisible freedom constantly shows the inter-relationship of freedom among the United States, the captive nations of Europe and Asia and the now threatened countries of the free world." Mr. Bilynsky stressed that the aim of this conference was "a renewed effort to make the objective of freedom a reality so that one day the yoke of Moscow's slavery and Communist oppression will be thrown off and all the captive nations in the world will again be free."

The first speaker was Ambassador Dr. Tsiang. At the beginning he gave his "reflections on the United Nations Charter," in which he stated: "Soviet military intervention in Hungary is, in my opinion, the single most nefarious blow against the Charter of the United Nations." Analysing further the Russian attitude toward this world organization and toward the world of free nations, the Ambassador said: "The Communist world has no idea of the possibilities of co-operation among free peoples. The Communist world is reactionary. It knows only domination through the denial of the right of self-determination to its subject peoples. When all other empires are disappearing, the Soviet Russian empire has grown larger than the czars and czarinas ever dreamed of. When colonies of the West emerged as independent nations in Asia and

Africa, old cultured nations such as the Ukraine and the Baltic states remain under the yoke of Soviet imperialism. I think my voice was the first one in the United Nations raised against this perpetuation and intensification of Soviet imperialism in the present age."

Dr. Tsiang concluded his excellent speech with the proposition: "I think the United Nations should not allow the world to forget the injustice done to such peoples as those of the Ukraine and the Baltic states. We should let the delegations from the Communist countries know clearly and simply what we think of their practice of enslaving peoples who wish to be free from Soviet control and who are fully capable of governing themselves. Communist imperialism is the one obstacle to world peace and freedom. We should refuse to allow this one obstacle to stop the march of victory. Let us use all means within our power to remove this one obstacle."

The next speaker was Ambassador Soo Young Lee, who stressed that Koreans are very sympathetic to the activities of ABN, because they are active in a similar organization, called the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League. The Ambassador associated himself with the statement by Dr. Tsiang: "to which and to every single line of which I fully subscribe." He acknowledged that at this conference "are gathered representatives of people whose ancient freedom and inalienable rights have been ruthlessly trampled under the heel of the aggressive forces of Soviet imperialism. Our aim is to restore to our people the fundamental rights of self-determination, of freedom, of human dignity."

Ambassador Lee addressed the following appeal to the audience: "Precisely because we are here in freedom, and not with them behind the barricades, our responsibility is all the greater. We must speak for them the words they are not allowed to utter... We must see to it that the crimes of Communism do not become respectable because they have become habitual."

The speaker continued: "There are those who argue in the name of realism that the free nations must recognize and accept the criminal aggression that has lasted long enough to have become an established fact... but we know that the denial of human rights does not become less evil simply because it continues." Ambassador Lee added: "The imperialism that engulfed a part or all parts of our nations in the recent past is today threatening to encompass the entire globe... We shall never abandon the cause of freedom until free peoples everywhere unite to ensure its success." The distinguished guest-speaker concluded: "...we shall continue our quest until freedom has been restored to our countries and to the world. So long as our courageous men and women are dedicated to preserving the freedom and peace, civilized humanity can never be destroyed."

Mr. Kersten then gave the floor to Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko who delivered the third main address. He stated: "The vulnerable spot of the Russian colonial empire lies in the national urge to freedom and independence of the subjugated peoples... The issue of the world fight against Moscow will be determined by a third force, the most uncompromising anti-Communist force in the world, the peoples behind the Iron Curtain."

Hence, "a logical conclusion — continued the speaker — that the West... should appeal to the subjugated peoples in an analogical way as Moscow does to the peoples of Asia and Africa in keeping with their idea of independence."

Mr. Stetzko stated: "The free world will never achieve a lasting peace and security if it only defends the status quo and itself on the peripheries. The center of evil, the metropolis of the empire, — Moscow — must be attacked! ...the liberation idea is more powerful than any hydrogen bomb!... It is imperative that a global, offensive counterplan of action on the part of the free world should be put into operation... Without resorting to the use of nuclear weapons, there is a way to achieve victory. And it lies in the national liberation movements

of the peoples subjugated by Russian Communism, coordinated as a simultaneous revolution and supported by a joint anti-Bolshevik world front..."

The distinguished speaker then said: "...the main and most important task is to manifest to all subjugated nations active support of their aspirations by the Free Nations. He asked: "Is it morally justifiable to risk a nuclear war in defense of Western Germany or Great Britain? And added: "If so, then it is equally morally justifiable to stake the further existence of the world upon the liberation of the 800 million people who have been violated by Communism."

The final main speaker at the forum was Congressman Michael Feighan. He opened his address with the statement: "The great challenge of our times is the new colonialism, the new imperialism of Moscow... The ideology which motivates the new imperialism holds that all civilizations must be purged of the past and be transformed into colonies subservient to the materialistic will of Soviet Russia."

"Hence in the vortex of American foreign policy are the Captive Nations. They are the victims of the new imperialism, the new colonialism of Moscow."

Congressman Feighan then declared that the US Congress clearly defined the term "Captive Nations" in its Public Law 86-90 on the Captive Nations Week. "That law identifies the Captive Nations by name, not only the so-called satellites and the Baltic States, but the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union." The main "source of dangerous contradictions and prejudices" in respect to the captive nations is the Secretary of State and his "State Department Russian experts." The Secretary of State defended the legitimacy of Russian colonialism in Ukraine, Georgia, and Armenia on the grounds those nations were "traditional parts of the Soviet Union." The speaker continued: "The tragicomedy of the Rusk letter is that it exposes a profound official ignorance of the fact that Ukraine, Georgia, and Armenia

all were independent nations... and their independence was subverted in the first wave of imperial Russian communism," because the Secretary recognized the right to independence to nations which once enjoyed independence from Russia.

Referring to the Department of State, Mr. Feighan said: "There we find concentrated the disciples of a mythical doctrine — Russia the Sacred Cow — an untouchable Russia whose ruthless imperialism they now find to be exercising a mellowing influence on the highly civilized non-Russian nations imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain... they defend the Divine Right of Empire claimed by an unbroken line of imperial ambitions centered in the Kremlin. That same group in the State Department produced the doctrine of non-predetermination toward the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union..." He summed up: "the Russian experts in our State Department sap the lifeblood of self-determination by forbidding its application to the heartland of the Russian empire."

But not all in the State Department accept this line of thinking: "Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, for example, is informed on the facts about the formerly independent status of Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and the other non-Russian nations forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union."

The speaker then went on to emphasize that the President of the United States can and should change the activities of the State Department, because as recently as September 14, 1962, "President Kennedy called out for an active policy toward the Captive Nations."

"And those who are informed on the realities of the Russian problem must redouble their efforts to bring about the implementation of policies calculated to encourage the disease of liberty behind the Iron Curtain. For the nurtured seeds of liberty bring forth the sturdy trees of national independence. The time is long overdue for a full scale political confrontation with Russian imperialism."

Analyzing some major regional and international problems Congressman

Feighan stressed: "The crisis of Berlin is tied irrevocably to the broader issue of Captive Nations because it can not be separated from the larger question of a free, united and democratic Germany... The old frontiers of prejudice and discrimination toward the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union still existing in the State Department are no less a formidable barrier to peace than is the Berlin Wall... and we can be sure the Berlin Wall will not come down so long as the old frontiers of a Russian beach-head on our policies remain in force."

In a summary of the main ideas of the four speeches, Mr. Kersten said: "If the UN organization is to remain a viable organization then the major problem on its agenda should be the colonialism of the Russian empire. And unless it faces that object and deals with that problem, the UN cannot survive... enslavement of the captive nations does not become respectable because it has become habitual... The greatest friendly force behind the Iron Curtain is the aspiration of the peoples of the captive nations for freedom... About ten years ago the policy of liberation was handed to the State Department of the US for implementation. And we know what these experts did with that policy. They sabotaged it, they all but nullified it. And yet, those familiar with the problem that confronts the world today know that there is no alternative to the policy of liberation of the captive nations except complete and absolute defeat of freedom in the free world... And there must be the adoption of the policy that aims not at the negotiated agreements and balance in the world between freedom and slavery, but aims at the political defeat of Russian Communist imperialism at the Moscow base... the liberation of all the captive nations must be undertaken simultaneously, with a common coordinated goal of freedom for all. And it may well be that the road to freedom in Havana is through Moscow, Peking, and the capitals of the enslaved nations... as Dr. Tsiang said, freedom is indivisible, in the cause of the captive nations, in Cuba, in Ukraine, and the rest..."

There followed a series of interesting question put by the audience to the speakers, who answered them fully and added much to the exposition of the topic of the free world's policies toward Russian colonialism and liberation of the captive nations.

Later in the evening of the same day a banquet was held at which other prominent guests addressed the audience. The toastmaster Mr. Charles Andreanszky, Secretary General of the American Friends of ABN, introduced the honorary guests and the speakers. The first one was Dr. Gabor de Besheney, President of the American Friends of ABN. In a short greeting he stressed that the sole aim of AF ABN is the liquidation of Communism and restoration of full independence to all nations presently languishing under the Communist yoke. Therefore, the AF ABN is against coexistence and against Titoism or evolutionism.

The main speech was given by Ambassador Liu Chieh, the Permanent Representative of the Republic of China to the United Nations. He recalled that "like the American Friends, we of Free China are also friends of the ABN... ABN and ourselves are in a real sense comrades-in-arms. We are fighting for a common cause, the cause of freedom. These days the common enemy is Russian imperialism and world Communism."

The Ambassador praised ABN highly: "The ABN as I understand it is probably the most important organization of its kind in the world... the ABN is more far-reaching in its objectives than other organizations in that it is dedicated to the task not only of liberating the satellites in Eastern Europe, but also of liquidating the whole Soviet Empire and restoring independence to all non-Russian nations in the USSR."

Then the distinguished speaker stated: "my Delegation at the last session of the General Assembly maintained that the UN should include in its study of colonialism the foundations of all submerged nations which are under Soviet domination."

He continued: "And I believe this is what ABN stands for, because the so-called Union of Soviet Socialist

Republics was formed not with the consent of the peoples of the component national republics, but by the decree of the Russian bosses... Uprisings against the Red Army in Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, northern Caucasus, and elsewhere were forcibly and ruthlessly put down, just as the Hungarian uprising was put down by Soviet tanks in 1956." The Ambassador concluded: "The Soviet approach to the national problem within the USSR combines the age-old high-handedness of Czarist imperialism with the militant and aggressive Communist ideology. It is the worst kind of imperialism the world has ever known. The old-style imperialism was concerned merely with physical conquest, whereas, Soviet imperialism seeks to control the minds of the people as well."

"What they call liberation in their upside down language — pointed out Ambassador Lee — is, of course, enslavement." Because they claim to conquer the whole world, "the non-Communist world, I submit, should as a counter-move adopt its own policy of liberation with regard to the enslaved peoples under Soviet domination... In this prophetic struggle between freedom and slavery there is no such a thing as a status quo. You either advance or retreat... I see no reason, why we should be either Red or dead. If we make liberation our goal, we can be both alive and free... the goal of liberation must constantly be kept in view... Every effort must be directed toward weakening of world Communism and the dissolution of the Soviet empire... Such a policy would instill in enslaved peoples the new hope for freedom. Genuine resistance can be born only when the enslaved peoples are convinced that the servitude is temporary and sooner or later they will be free."

The final speech was delivered by former US Commissioner Edward O'Connor. Mr. O'Connor described the present age as "the revolutionary age" which is "divided roughly into four major parts": scientific revolution, technological revolution, educational revolution, and political revolution with the goal of national independence.

"There is much talk these days of socialist countries, socialist camp, or even hints of the coming of socialist commonwealth... but the real meaning of all that is... Russian imperialism."

"Now there are winds that blow today across this revolutionary front... We hear... the Russians want, or claim they want, a *modus vivendi* with the free world... And then there is another wind... that blows out of certain places in Washington. Phrases such as Soviet Military Presence... they are amusing words, soft, — but it ought to be called what it is: Russian military occupation... Another wind is that of nuclear stalemate concept... I listened with great care to what our friend Jaroslav Stetzko had to say today. There he touched upon the answer to what we ought to be advocating... the opportunity of total political revolution... Demonstrated by the Hungarians in 1956 a situation in which a total people explode... a whole people against tyranny, against an oppressor... If I understood Jaroslav correctly he indicated that there were all these tinderboxes from the Baltic Sea to the Caspian Sea to the Pacific Ocean... The whole concept is that the spark should hit all simultaneously, because 90 or 100 million Russians who are the cement of the empire will support whatever regime is in power."

"And I regret to say as a former US Commissioner of Displaced Persons that many emigres from Russia in this country stand for the same thing. They may dispute, they may disagree with the commissars, but they do agree with the concept of a great and unholy Russian empire."

"There is the horizon of human ideals, the horizon of human rights, the horizon of national rights and ideals. That is the thing toward which we must move. And if we do, I conclude on this note, taken from the splendid address of our friend Jaroslav, we cannot fail, we must win, God is with us."

A. W. Bedriy

TRIBUTES TO UKRAINIAN FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

Excerpts from Remarks and Statements by U.S. Senators and Congressmen on the Occasion of the 45th Anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence (22nd January 1918)

Hon. JAMES ROOSEVELT
of California

"...Today there are no free Ukrainians in that fair land, but even under totalitarian tyranny a stout-hearted and freedom-seeking people cherish their national goal, their freedom and independence. On this 45th anniversary celebration of their independence day let us all hope that they attain that goal..."

Hon. NEIL STAEBLER
of Michigan

"...It is proper during this anniversary observance to pay tribute to the Ukrainian people, in the spirit of their great poet, Taras Shevchenko, continue their resistance to oppression and their dedication to freedom. Let us hope that one day soon Ukraine will take its rightful place in the world community as a free and independent nation..."

Hon. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI
of Wisconsin

"...Their plight has evoked well-deserved sympathy from freedom-loving peoples of the world... Let us remember this as we pay tribute to the brave people of Ukraine who have demonstrated their determination to regain independent national status. Let us pledge ourselves anew to the task of working toward a better world where all peoples can find peace, freedom and justice..."

Hon. MELVIN PRICE
of Illinois

"...We speak out in this House against imperialism and colonialism wherever the practice exists and whoever may be the aggressor. And I dare say the time is not likely soon to come when we shall hesitate to denounce Communist colonialism as well as the older imperialism of the West, which happily are being disavowed and dismantled. It is a privilege to declare the kinship of the American people with all those who love freedom, who seek independence and self-government, who wish to run their lives according to their own traditions and preferences. Most especially this group of high honour includes the captive people of Ukraine..."

Hon. ROLAND V. LIBONATI
of Illinois

"...It is a reminder of the continued protest of the American people against the enslavement of the Ukrainian people. We cannot accept the servitude of the people of the Ukrainian nation without thinking that the purpose of our foreign policy is to restore to them their historic claim of freedom as an independent nation in the free world... We must persevere. We owe it to the Ukrainian people; they must be free..."

Hon. DOMINICK V. DANIELS
of New Jersey

"In observing the 45th anniversary of the independence of Ukrainians, this event will also serve as an excellent occasion to urge the formation of a desperately needed Special House Committee on Captive Nations in the 88th Congress. Such a Committee — in stature and purpose appropriate to the scope and value of all the captive nations — would strongly symbolize to the world the determination of the American people never to forget the captive nations and their struggle for liberation and independence..."

Hon. JOHN W. WYDLER
of New York

"...Despite the long history of subjection the Ukrainian people had never willingly submitted to the indignities of political domination. Superior in their heritage, their civilization, their resources, to the Russians whose force had overcome them, they retained their separate culture and that spirit of independence which has marked them wherever they are. The celebration of Ukrainian Independence Day is a reminder that the freedom of the mind cannot be conquered..."

Hon. CHARLES S. JOELSON
of New Jersey

"...In the midst of all this misery and misfortune, however, the Ukrainians have kept faith with their tradition. They still fervently cling to their ideals and cherish freedom in history of the Ukrainian people during the last several decades this is one encouraging fact. On the 45th anniversary of their independence day we in the free world wish them fortitude and power in their struggle for their righteous cause, for their freedom and independence..."

Hon. JOHN V. LINDSAY
of New York

"...We Americans gained our independence within the course of several years; for the Ukrainians that struggle is one which spans centuries of heroic efforts and tragic defeats.

But let the people of Ukraine know, that, whether their freedom burns brightly as it did in 1918 or smolders under foreign oppression as it has before and after that memorable date, that freedom shall never be extinguished. I join with my colleagues in sincere sympathy for their long suffering and with limitless admiration for their epic struggle. Their hope and their heroism shall not have been in vain..."

Hon. FLORENCE P. DWYER
of New Jersey

"...But make no mistake about it, the 40 million Ukrainians now living in captivity and their countrymen everywhere know all too well that Ukraine is not free and independent. Nor have they given up the struggle for what is theirs in justice, despite the difficulties, the dangers, and the discouragements. We salute them for their courage..."

Hon. CORNELIUS F. GALLAGHER
of New Jersey

"...The freedom-loving people of Ukraine have not, however, abandoned their struggle for independence. They have been carrying the fight for freedom on, and still carry on with all the means at their disposal, hoping and praying that their righteous cause will eventually win. On the 45th anniversary of their Independence Day I join millions of Americans in wishing the Ukrainian victims of Soviet treachery, fortitude and power in their struggle against the forces of totalitarian tyranny..."

Hon. QUENTIN N. BURDICK
of North Dakota

"...As part of the observance, Hon. William L. Guy, Governor of North Dakota, issued an executive proclamation setting aside January 22nd as Ukrainian Independence Day in North Dakota. The proclamation is a symbol of freedom for the Ukrainians in North Dakota and throughout the world... I ask unanimous consent that the Governor's Proclamation and a press release by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc. Bismarck, N. Dakota, be printed in the Appendix of *The Record*..."

Hon. DANIEL J. FLOOD
of Pennsylvania

"...January 22, 1963 marks the 45th anniversary of the independence of Ukraine. As in previous years, in both House and the Senate the elected representatives of the American people take this memorable occasion to express the deep feeling of affinity and common purpose we hold for the captive nation of 45 million Ukrainians. We share with them the ideal of a real democracy, national self-determination and individual liberty and in many ways truly support their undying aspirations for freedom and national independence..."

Hon. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
of Illinois

"...This year, more than ever, the importance of Ukrainian Independence Day is related to the struggle of the Ukrainian people and other captive nations of communism to escape the Red yoke and restore freedom to their land. I place special emphasis on this 45th anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day of the efforts of many Members of the House on both sides of the aisle in obtaining approval of a special House Committee on the Captive Nations... It is necessary for us to emphasize the fact that Ukraine, like all other captive nations of the Soviet empire, suffers under the persecution of communism. Its people are deprived of political and economic advances, and they continue to look to us, the leaders of the free world, to collaborate with them in the ultimate restoration of a government of their own choice..."

Hon. JAMES C. CLEVELAND
of New York

"...I think this is a proper occasion to remember other formerly independent nations of Eastern Europe... Through a tragedy of modern history, they share an oppressing, temporary fate with the people of Ukraine... On this Ukrainian Independence Day we rededicate ourselves to the fight for freedom. We have an inspiration in the courage of the Ukrainian people..."

Hon. FRANK J. HORTON
of New York

"...Because freedom is stifled today in Ukraine it is appropriate for us to observe this anniversary and to speak up for those who are silenced by communism's tyranny. We who live in the free world must encourage the flame of liberty which still burns bright in the hearts of the Ukrainian people..."

Hon. SEYMOUR HALPERN
of New York

"...*Passage of the captive nations Resolution*, which would establish a Special Committee on the Captive Nations, would offer dramatic proof to those under the Communist yoke that they have not been forgotten by us in the free world. I join in saluting the freedom-loving people of Ukraine. Their independence may have been short-lived, but the flaming spirit of independence cannot be forever kept in check by the forces of oppression. One day, and may it be soon, a new era of freedom will dawn for the people of Ukraine..."

Hon. SAMUEL S. STRATTON
of New York

"...For these reasons the Ukrainian people have been a tremendous inspiration to all of us who are working for a world of free and independent states. The American people, including those fine Americans of Ukrainian descent, look forward anxiously and impatiently to the day when the Ukrainian National Republic will again join the free world partnership of nations..."

Hon. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
of Ohio

"...By strengthening the national independence movement in Ukraine and all the other captive nations, we enhance the cause of peace and speed the day when peace with justice will reign in the world. The desire of the common man behind the Iron Curtain for individual liberty, freedom and the dignity of life which national independence can bring is the human force which moves the tide of

self-determination which President Kennedy spoke about in his address before the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 25, 1961, and which he observed had not yet struck the Communist empire... I join with my American friends of Ukrainian origin and all other Americans in the common hope that we shall remain ever faithful to our American political heritage..."

*Hon. EMANUEL CELLER
of New York*

"...Though the Ukrainian nation, in the wake of the great cry for self-determination, achieved its goal in 1918, its tragic capture by aggressive communism robbed it of the independence it had heroically achieved. Lest we forget, it is altogether just that we remember each of its anniversaries of its independence not only as a symbol of our own dedication to freedom, but as our deeper expression of the imperatives of universal freedom in the name of the dignity of man..."

*Hon. JOHN W. McCORMACK
of Massachusetts*

"...Since then the Ukrainians have been suffering under Communist totalitarianism, but even under the most oppressive of tyrannies, these stout-hearted and down-trodden people have not ceased fighting their oppressors. They still carry on their struggle against forbidding odds in the hope that eventually their righteous cause will win out. On the 45th anniversary of their national holiday, the Ukrainian Independence Day, my hearty wishes go to these dauntless and courageous souls..."

*Hon. SILVIO O. CONTE
of Massachusetts*

"...The reign of self-determination was short-lived, but the spark which ignited the Ukrainian desire for freedom in 1918 still burns in the minds of men in every corner of the world. We cannot assume that it has died out in the hearts of Ukrainians because the power of the Kremlin is dominant in this area... We Americans want to assure the world that we have

not forgotten the plight of those less politically fortunate than ourselves..."

*Hon. JOHN W. BYRNES
of Wisconsin*

"...Since 1920, therefore, the 40 million Ukrainians have not been able to enjoy the normal benefits of a free and independent life in their historic homeland. Once again they are persecuted for clinging to their national ideals, for dreaming of independence and freedom. But oppression and persecution has united the Ukrainians against their foes and held them together. On this 45th anniversary of Ukrainian independence, we solemnly commemorate the continuing struggle for freedom of a brave and noble people..."

*Hon. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI
of Pennsylvania*

"...Today, the 45 million people of Ukraine constitute the largest captive nation in Eastern Europe. They fare no better under the tyranny of the Kremlin than their forefathers did under foreign lords. As we celebrate with them the significance of this day, let us share in the confidence that their perseverance will be vindicated."

*Hon. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
of New York*

"...But the Ukrainian's love of freedom and passion for independence cannot be extinguished by forceful subjugation. Therefore, we commemorate this day to remind the Communists that the winds of change are blowing history in the direction of freedom for all men, and to remind ourselves to appreciate and guard the freedom that we now enjoy..."

*Hon. JAMES D. WEAVER
of Pennsylvania*

"...Thus we collectively, all Americans descended from immigrants, can anticipate that Khrushchov's grandchildren as well as all the captive people in the Communist world will some day live in freedom. For the attainment of that noble objective, I add my most ardent hopes and expectations to yours on this 45th anniversary of Ukrainian independence..."

Hon. JACOB N. GILBERT
of New York

"...We know that the people of Ukraine have not relinquished their desire for freedom; their hopes must be kept alive, and they deserve our encouragement in this tragic period of their history. We hope and pray that the day of liberation for them and other captive nations will soon be reality. I am happy to sponsor a resolution providing the formation of such a Committee on the Captive Nations which was introduced by our esteemed colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Flood)..."

Hon. FRANK T. BOW
of Ohio

"...I wish to join in the comments of my colleagues on the 45th anniversary of Ukrainian independence. I think it is important for us to recall each year, for the world to know that we do not recognize the right of the Soviet Union to turn free nations into Communist colonies, and we repudiate those Americans no matter how highly placed who feel that the Soviet Empire cannot be dismembered..."

Hon. PAUL A. FINO
of New York

"...For more than four decades, some 42 million Ukrainians have existed in their native land under the oppressive Communist totalitarianism imposed upon them by the Kremlin. On this 45th anniversary we join them in their prayer for their freedom and independence..."

Hon. ROBERT McCLORY
of Illinois

"...So long as that spirit of hope lives — so long as the ideal of national freedom is cherished by the Ukrainians and passed on from father to son and from mother to daughter — no dictatorship or tyranny can deprive this nation of their real independence — the independence of their hearts and souls. In this observance of the 45th anniversary of their independence day, it is our ardent prayer that they will regain their freedom and know peace in their historic fatherland..."

Hon. WILLIAM F. MILLER
of New York

"...I am sure that the day will come — as sure as I am that the aims of godless Communism are doomed to defeat wherever freedom-loving people have the heart and courage to oppose them. So I join all Americans in saluting the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian Congress Committee, one of the organizations that speaks for them in this country..."

Hon. JOHN D. DINGELL
of Michigan

"...On the 45th anniversary of their national independence they are not permitted to celebrate it there (Ukraine). Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians domiciled in this hospitable republic, who have become its loyal citizens, here celebrate that historic event in due solemnity. I am glad to join them in this memorable celebration of Ukrainian Independence Day..."

Hon. ANCHER NELSEN
of Minnesota

"...I wish to join with many of my colleagues in the House on this 45th anniversary observance of Ukrainian independence in asserting that that Country, like so many others in Eastern Europe, need not remain shackled forever — for wherever freedom has been, there it will one day turn. The forces of history stand opposed to tyranny, to the coercion of human beings and their God-given rights..."

Hon. JAMES M. McDADE
of Pennsylvania

"...For Ukraine today is the greatest in number of all the captive nations of Europe. Forty-five millions of souls are held captive in this land, and the slavery lies heavily upon them... The cold hands of Khrushchov lie heavily upon Ukraine, upon Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Poland and Rumania. But all I hear is rejoicing that the Soviets and Red China are in vast dispute... And we today send to these people the word that we have not forgotten them, that we stand for their freedom..."

*Hon. R. WALTER RIEHLMAN
of New York*

"...It is with great sympathy and understanding for our Ukrainian friends everywhere, and with steadfast hope for the future, that I join my colleagues today in reaffirming the goal of eventual liberation of all enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain..."

*Hon. HAROLD M. RYAN
of Michigan*

"...We are fully aware of the importance of Ukraine as an ally in the common struggle against Russian communist imperialism. On this anniversary of the independence of Ukraine, let us rededicate ourselves to the restoration of liberty and self-determination to all who now suffer behind the Iron Curtain of Red tyranny..."

*Hon. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
of Illinois*

"...Today Ukraine is a captive of Communist Russia and its human and economic resources are being exploited for the purpose of spreading Communism around the world. Our public commemoration, here in the Congress of the United States, of their former days of freedom and our sincere sorrow at their present plight gives them renewed encouragement not to abandon their dream of independence... We look forward to the day when 42 million Ukrainians, and their neighbour millions in other Communist-dominated countries, will once more be able to celebrate their own national holidays in freedom and independence..."

*Hon. ALEXANDER PIRNIE
of New York*

"...Today we commemorate the 45th anniversary of the establishment of Ukraine as an independent national state... Recently, Professor Lev E.

Dobriansky, Georgetown University, who is president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, sent me a letter which offers constructive suggestions of positive steps that we might take to dramatize Russian colonialism within. I commend to the serious consideration of the Congress the proposals as contained in his letter..."

*Hon. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL
of Maryland*

"...Fortunately, there are many hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians in the free world, including a large number Ukrainian Americans, who solemnly observe the anniversary of that memorable day. I am glad to join all my Ukrainian American friends in the celebration of the 45th anniversary of Ukrainian Independence Day..."

*Hon. JOHN E. FOGARTY
of Rhode Island*

"...On this occasion let the Ukrainian people know that we will plead and fight for them and that their courage and hope will not be in vain. We assure the people of Ukraine that we are with them in spirit and that we hope and pray that their freedom will be soon restored..."

*Hon. WILLIAM J. GREEN, Jr.
of Pennsylvania*

"...On the forty-fifth anniversary of their independence day we wish them fortitude and power in their struggle for their righteous cause, for their freedom and independence. The Ukrainians are proud of this heritage, and rightfully so. Its roots are solidly planted within those living among us, and will ever remain until the day when the freedom torch will again burn bright over the fields of Ukraine..."

UKRAINIAN CHRONICLE

In the Free World

NEW EXARCH FOR UKRAINIANS

The Holy Father John XXIII has nominated and appointed on 18th April, 1963, His Lordship Augustine Eugene Hornyak, OSBM., STD., JCB., as Apostolic Exarch for the Ukrainian Catholic Exarchate in England and Wales.

The Apostolic Exarchate for Ukrainians in England and Wales has been created by the Holy See on June 10th 1957, with His Eminence Cardinal Godfrey as the first Apostolic Exarch.

On 14th August, 1961, His Lordship Bishop Hornyak was appointed as Auxiliary Bishop to His Eminence Cardinal Godfrey for the Exarchate.

Since 30th January, 1963, following the death of His Eminence Cardinal Godfrey, the Exarchate has been entrusted to the Vicar Capitular of Westminster, His Lordship Bishop Craven.

The term "Apostolic Exarchate" nowadays is used by the Holy See to circumscribe an ecclesiastical territory for the Eastern Rite faithful, which territory is not subject to a Patriarch or an Archbishop-Metropolitan of the Eastern Rite, and where, because of a relatively small number of the faithful or for some other reasons, for example, a somewhat missionary character of pastoral work, an "Eparchy" (i.e. Diocese in Eastern Rite terminology) has not been created.

The Juridical meaning of an Apostolic Exarchate is corresponding in some respects to a Vicariate Apostolic in the Latin Rite Church. Such Apostolic Vicariates, eight in number, existed in England at the restoration of the Ordinary Hierarchy in 1850.

The Ukrainian Catholics have immigrated to this Country after the World War II, mostly refugees and ex-soldiers. Presently there are about 25,000 Catholics of Byzantine-Ukrainian Rite.

The majority of the Ukrainians have settled in the Midlands, Yorkshire and Lancashire.

Seventeen Ukrainian Catholic priests (3 monks of the Order of St. Basil the Great) take the spiritual care of the faithful with churches of their own in London, Bedford, Coventry, Wolverhampton, Nottingham, Manchester, Rochdale, Oldham, Bradford, (one chapel in Edinburgh), otherwise using about 70 Latin Rite churches for their Services.

There are approximately 5,000 children, about 2,000 of whom attend Ukrainian Saturday Schools where they have the opportunity to learn Ukrainian language, history as well as Catechism. Three Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate (Ukrainian Rite) are running a Saturday School in Bradford.

His Lordship Bishop Hornyak presently resides in London, where the plans have already been made with the late Cardinal's approval for the erection of the first Ukrainian Cathedral. To this purpose the late Cardinal has given an initial donation of £2,000. The campaign for the Cathedral among the Ukrainian faithful has brought so far £16,000, and it still goes on.

Ukrainians have not as yet abandoned their hope of returning to their own native Country, should it be made free someday. In the meantime, however, for as long as by God's Providence they are to live here, especially for the sake of the young generation, they want to preserve their religious and national traditions, just as their fellow-countrymen did in Canada, U.S.A. and elsewhere.

His Lordship Bishop Hornyak with his new appointment as Apostolic Exarch will have the rights and faculties of a residential Bishop in his own right, whose territories with a personal jurisdiction over Ukrainian Catholics extend to the whole of England and Wales.

He will be a member of the Catholic Hierarchy of England and Wales and a Suffragan Bishop of the Metropolitan See of Westminster.

MORAL SUPPORT FOR CAPTIVE NATIONS

Cong. Don L. Short (R-Second Congressional District, N. Dakota), publicly commended the Ukrainian people in their fight to regain their independence from the yoke of Russian oppression. In a speech on the House floor, commemorating the 45th anniversary of the independence of Ukraine on January 22nd, along with many of his colleagues, the Congressman spoke of the strength and courage of the 45 million Ukrainians (the largest captive nation in the world), and likened their love for freedom to that of the American people and their belief in and search for truth and justice.

Cong. Short referred to the old quotation from a famous Greek orator, "What we have in us of the image of God is the love of truth and justice," and asked the question, "What better way can we serve truth and justice by giving our moral encouragement and sympathy to the twenty-three captive nations now enslaved under Communist aggression?"

The Congressman, believing in action and not just words in giving the dignity and freedom of man a material, joined others of his colleagues in introducing a resolution which would set up a special House Committee on Captive Nations in the Congress.

Cong. Short, in commenting further on this move, said he "felt that a special House Committee would strongly symbolize to the world the determination of the American people never to forget the captive nations and their struggle for liberation and independence." He summed up his feeling by saying he felt this would prove a forum for focusing public attention on the Soviet colonialism policy, which they vehemently deny, but carry on to a greater and more ruthless degree than any other nation in history.

TRIBUTE PAID TO SHEVCHENKO IN U.S. SENATE

A very fine tribute to Taras Shevchenko, the greatest Ukrainian poet and fiery freedom-fighter whose 150th birthday anniversary will be marked by the world next year, was paid in the U.S. Senate by Hon. Sen. H. H. Humphrey (Dem., Minn.) as reported in the "Congressional Record" on March 14, 1963.

Sen. Humphrey, addressing the Vice-President of the United States, said:

"Taras Shevchenko, the national poet of Ukraine, is a relatively unknown literary figure in the West, but he ranks among the greatest of the Slavic poets — on the level of Pushkin, in the view of some critics. The fact that he wrote almost all of his poetry in the Ukrainian language is at once the reason for his obscurity and one of the chief contributions for which he is remembered today. For he was the first modern writer who was purely and thoroughly Ukrainian, and he gave much impetus to the development of a native Ukrainian language and literature. His poems were intensely patriotic, expressing the trials and the aspirations of the Ukrainian people throughout their history.

Shevchenko's life itself was filled with suffering. At the age of 24 he was released from serfdom, but 9 years later Czar Nicholas I, had him arrested because of his liberal, democratic ideas. He was condemned to serve as a common soldier in a remote area of eastern Russia, far from his beloved Ukraine. Even after his release 10 years later, Shevchenko never again enjoyed complete personal freedom, and he died 1 day after his 47th birthday — in the same year that saw the emancipation of the serfs by Czar Alexander II of Russia.

At one point during his imprisonment Shevchenko wrote these despairing lines:

*'I shall not leave the slightest trace
Upon our glorious Ukraine,
Our land, but not as ours known.'*

Time has disproven this prophecy, for his life and writings have played a great role in shaping the Ukrainian

national spirit and culture. The ideals to which Shevchenko stubbornly clung — national self-determination and democratic rule — remain a guiding light today for Ukrainians and other oppressed nationalities of Eastern Europe.”

UPA ANNIVERSARY MEETING IN CHICAGO

On the 1st of December of last year, a meeting was held in Chicago to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. On this occasion, Congressman Charles Kersten, the well-known friend of the peoples who have been enslaved by Moscow gave an excellent speech in which he called special attention to the service rendered by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in defence of the freedom of the peoples living under Communist subjugation. The heroic deeds of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army were not intended to free Ukraine only — but to free all enslaved peoples within the Soviet Union. In the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, men, women, even children fought side by side. Today even armies of the western world are interested in the strategy and tactics of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The fight for freedom against Moscow, initiated by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army 20 years ago, has not come to an end yet. Congressman Kersten expressed the hope that the 20th anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army might strengthen the spiritual powers of the Ukrainian people, and that it might give new strength to the fight for freedom of the Ukraine against Moscow.

Referring to the murder of the Ukrainian freedom fighter, Bandera, and to the trial held in Karlsruhe in October of last year against his murderer, Bohdan Stashynsky, who was in Moscow's service, the speaker stated that this trial was clear proof that the government of the so-called Soviet Union had sunk to the rank of political murderers. The evidence of the frightful murders committed by Moscow given at the trial in Karlsruhe

against Stashynsky, justifies the assumption that every free nation on this side of the Iron Curtain could become, for any reason, the scene of a man-hunt for Soviet Russian agents, police and the Soviet government. The Congressman therefore called upon all the governments of the free world to take legal proceedings against the government of the USSR because of its crimes against humanity.

Among other things, Mr. Kersten said that Moscow greatly feared the Ukrainian revolutionary movement, whose motivating force was Bandera himself. Because Bandera was a guarantee for the continued existence of the Ukrainian people, Moscow decided to liquidate him. But the Ukrainian people continue to fight under the banner of Bandera. Moscow's colonial empire must one day vanish from the earth.

UKRAINIAN NOMINATED TO NEW POST

Joseph V. Charyk, Undersecretary of the Air Force, was named by President Kennedy to head the government-sponsored Communications Satellite Corp.

The corporation, voted by Congress last year, will set up and operate the orbiting relay system that will link all corners of the globe by telephone and television.

Charyk, 42, was born in Canada and became a U.S. citizen in 1948. He holds engineering and physics degrees from the University of Alberta and Cal. Tech. Mr. Charyk is of Ukrainian descent.

JAPANESE ACTIVITY ON BEHALF OF THE SUBJUGATED PEOPLES

Professor J. Kitaoka of the University of Tokyo and director of the Free Asia Association has published a book in Japanese on the anti-Communist movements in the world, in which, among other things, he gives an account of the activity and position of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), led by Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, who was interned in a Nazi concentration camp.

Professor Kitaoka has also recently published an essay on the question of the "anti-Communist movements amongst the Russians and amongst the peoples subjugated by Russia" in the Japanese periodical "Problems of the Continent" (No. 122). In this article he explains the difference between the Russian anti-Communist movement and the movements of the non-Russian nations of the USSR, such as the A.B.N., the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and others.

It has also come to our notice that the speech held by Mr. J. Stetzko on October 4, 1962, before an audience consisting of several thousand students of Tokyo University, has just been published in Japanese and is to be distributed amongst the students.

Professor Kitaoka has likewise published several articles in Japanese periodicals on A.B.N. and also on the trial of the former Soviet agent Stashynsky, the murderer of Bandera and Rebet.

A.B.N. PRESIDENT J. STETZKO IN NEW YORK

During his stay in New York A.B.N. President Jaroslaw Stetzko conferred with the ambassadors of various nations who are accredited to the United Nations. They included the ambassadors of Free China, Canada, Australia and Japan, Adlai Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador and former candidate for the office of President of the USA, as well as the ambassador-observers of Germany, Korea, and other countries.

MEETING IN NEW HAVEN CONDEMNS RUSSIAN COLONIALISM AND GENOCIDE

On March 23, 1963, A.B.N. President Jaroslaw Stetzko gave a lecture entitled "The Place of Ukraine in the World" at a political meeting in New Haven, USA. Subsequently the participators in this meeting un-animously adopted a resolution regarding Russian colonialism and, in particular, Russian genocide.

This resolution states that the citizens of the town of New Haven condemn Russian colonialism in Ukraine and in other countries

enslaved by Moscow and that they request the 24-member commission on the investigation of colonialism in the United Nations to take up the question of Russian colonialism. In addition, the citizens of New Haven demand that the USSR and its satellites should be excluded from the United Nations and that their place should be taken by the national liberation centres of the enslaved peoples in the USSR and beyond.

The resolution then cites the facts of the genocide and other murders committed at the direct instructions of the government of the USSR, headed by Khrushchov. Further, the resolution demands that the facts of the assassination of Stepan Bandera and Dr. Lev Rebet should be submitted to a special commission of the United Nations for discussion and that these crimes committed by the Kremlin should be investigated by the International Court of Justice at The Hague. An appeal is addressed to the German Federal Republic to afford protection to the Ukrainian freedom fighters living in the territory of the Federal Republic. The resolution stresses that the government of the German Federal Republic should send a note of protest to the government of the USSR demanding that such criminal acts of murder should cease.

With regard to the activity of the A.B.N. the participators of the meeting in New Haven appeal to the entire Ukrainian public in exile to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the founding of the A.B.N. this year in an appropriate manner. It is pointed out in the resolution that the activity of the A.B.N. has acquired a special historical significance for the subjugated peoples and that for this reason all the persons and communities concerned should celebrate this anniversary by various functions, press conferences, and lectures, etc., and should, above all, organize collections in order to support and assist the work and the fight for freedom of the A.B.N. In addition, the said resolution deals with a number of vital problems which are connected with the fight for freedom of the enslaved peoples.

**UKRAINE — THE FIRST VICTIM
OF RUSSIAN AGGRESSION**

During the celebrations held to mark the 45th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence and union of Ukraine, 76 legislators of the USA (on January 25, 1963) adopted resolutions in which they advocated the independence of Ukraine. They stressed that the Ukrainian people by their own will and power established their independent united Ukrainian state, but that this state was the first victim of Russian Communist imperialism and of the Russian aggression which had such disastrous consequences for the rest of the world. The resolutions adopted by the U.S. legislators, Congressmen and Senators, likewise emphasize that the Ukrainian people have by no means abandoned their fight for the restoration of their country's rightful independence, and add that Ukraine's independence would be a decisive factor in securing lasting peace in the world.

The logical conclusion to be drawn by the U.S. government from these resolutions on the part of American legislators and representatives of political life in the USA has, however, so far not been put into practice.

**EXHIBITION OF WORKS
BY S. BORATCHOK**

On Thursday, April 11, 1963, an exhibition of works of art by the Ukrainian artist Severyn Boratchok opened in one of the finest rooms of the Schumacher Gallery at No. 33, Theatinerstrasse, Munich. This exhibition continued until the first half of May. Thirty mosaics, created by the artist during the past year, were on display.

In spite of various obstacles Boratchok devotes himself most

industriously to his art and is achieving more and more success. His mosaics are made of tiny stones, coloured glass and porcelain, etc. Visitors to the exhibition were fascinated by the exquisite artistry of his creations.

**A.B.N. PRESIDENT J. STETZKO
IN CHICAGO**

During his visit to Chicago, A.B.N. President Jaroslaw Stetzko had talks with the well-known American lawyer, Prof. Dr. L. Kutner, the author of the sensational book "The World's Habeas Corpus" and chairman of the International Jurists' Commission, who has been proposed for a Nobel Prize award. Mr. Stetzko also visited Congressman Charles Kersten in Milwaukee. On his return to New York Mr. Stetzko conferred with the President of the American Organization for the Protection of Human Rights, Mr. R. Baldwin. He subsequently paid a visit to the Italian Ambassador to the United Nations and also had individual talks with various journalists accredited to the United Nations. For the purpose of furthering intensified co-operation Mr. Stetzko had talks with the representatives of the Bulgarian National Front, with Hungarian representatives of the A.B.N. in America as well as with Cossack representatives, and also with Turkestanian and Azerbaijanian friends in Washington.

During the talk which Mr. Stetzko had with the Canadian Ambassador to the United Nations, the chairman of the Chief Administration of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine, Dr. Roman Malashchuk, of Toronto, was also present.

Behind the Iron Curtain

MOSCOW ATTACKS GOVERNOR ROCKEFELLER FOR PROCLAIMING "UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY"

The news agency TASS reported on January 23rd a "groundswell of indignation" among the working people of Ukraine over New York Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller's proclamation of a "Ukrainian Independence Day."

TASS quoted from letters of workers, one of whom denounced Rockefeller as a "capitalist who has waxed rich on the blood and sweat of millions."

The Governor proclaimed January 22nd as "Ukrainian Independence Day," calling it a gesture of "our keen sympathies" with the Ukrainian people's hopes for freedom.

Without saying how the people in Ukraine learned of the Proclamation, TASS cited these reactions from among the "numerous letters" allegedly received from Ukrainians.

Peter Stepanchuk, building worker, "Hero of Socialist Labour" and Deputy of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet: "Look who is showing concern for us! Rockefeller, a capitalist who waxed rich on the blood and sweat of millions of people... (we) do not need aid from anybody... To our self-appointed benefactor from abroad I say, Don't butt your nose, Mr. Rockefeller, into our Soviet home."

Mykola Tarnovsky, a writer who TASS said lived 49 years in the United States: "Don't take us for simpletons! The people of the whole world are well aware that it is your famous America that lacks freedom. What goes on in your Southern States?... The Ukrainian people freed themselves long ago, as far back as 1917, when they did away with the rule of the Czars and such magnates as you."

Vasyl Urbanyk, chairman of a collective farm: "We do not want your freedom... We have no use for it. American correspondents who visited our collective farm last year expected to see dilapidated huts, but they saw

spacious houses, they saw abundance instead of misery. You may ask about this from Lorin Sott, the editor of The Des Moines Register-Tribune, and other newsmen. They could not understand how it was possible in such a short time and after a devastating war to achieve such successes."

RESISTANCE IN UKRAINE CONTINUES

We have learnt from a reliable source that indescribable conditions at present prevail in Ukraine. The Ukrainian population is in danger of being inundated by the Russian invaders, who are spreading themselves out in Ukraine and are determined to Russify the country at all costs. True, one sees numerous signs and inscriptions written in Ukrainian in the Ukrainian towns, but this is merely an outer façade to cover up Russian supremacy in Ukraine. For in all official departments and even in the smallest local administrations Russian is the language that predominates.

To outward appearance terrorism is not as widespread as it was in Stalin's day, but the Ukrainian people nevertheless live in constant fear of the Russian hangmen; the latter terrorize the Ukrainian population just as much as they did in Stalin's day, but they now resort to other camouflaged methods. Even impartial observers notice the Ukrainians' great hatred of all that is Russian. An eye-witness from Ukraine recently reported that the Ukrainian population was repeatedly organizing resistance against the authorities and also that Ukrainian partisans were frequently carrying out raids on the administrative and Party departments, etc.

The Russian Bolsheviks have likewise intensified their anti-religious policy in Ukraine. — The said visitor to Ukraine added that the Ukrainians have become more self-confident and show considerable interest in the life, the activity and the achievements of the Ukrainian community abroad.

EXECUTIONS IN KYIV AND LVIV

On Tuesday, April 16, 1963, West European press agencies and the Moscow news agency TASS reported that 8 textile workers in Lviv had been executed for having allegedly stolen goods to the value of 2 million roubles.

A day earlier the Moscow Bolshevik press reported that a "court" in Kyiv had sentenced 10 Soviet citizens to death for having allegedly been guards at the concentration camp in Sobibor during the German occupation of Ukraine. The accused "had lain in hiding for twenty years until they were now discovered by a Bolshevik officer who had been a prisoner in the said concentration camp."

The Moscow "Pravda" of April 6, 1963, reported that the chairman of the Shevchenko rayon in Kyiv, M. Kuts, had been sentenced to death by shooting on account of corruption in allotting "dwelling-space" to people. In its edition of April 5th the same paper stated that B. Borisov and A. Borysenko had also been shot for having carried out a raid on the food supply depot No. 16 in the town of Blahovishchenske and having seriously wounded the guard of the depot Yazlovets.

The Bolshevik press has recently been reporting more and more cases in which persons have been executed on account of "bribery", "abuses", "currency speculations", and "activity for the enemy", etc. The Russian liars seem to forget their own assertions, according to which the "Soviet people" in the USSR have been re-educated and re-trained and in moral respects are far superior to the people of the West. The true reason for these drastic measures, which are not customary in the West for offences of this kind, is to be sought in an intensified terrorism in the Russian imperium which is necessitated by the increasing mass resistance against the Moscow tyrants. Since Khrushchov is powerless to break this resistance, he is once more resorting to the ruthless methods of his teacher and protector, Stalin.

Since Stalin's death Nikita Khrushchov, whom Western "peacemakers" are fond of describing as a great "humanist," has extended the application of the death penalty to numerous spheres of Soviet Russian life. Thus in June 1961, for instance, the death penalty was introduced in the case of persons who commit an offence against the currency regulations. In 1962 the death penalty was introduced for the following offences: attacks on the life, the health and the honour of the police and the militia, as well as for the application of violence and for corruption.

STUDENTS IN ODESSA SENTENCED TO PRISON

In its edition of April 9, 1963, the Moscow "Literaturnaya Gazeta" ("Literary Gazette") reported that a Bolshevik "court" in Odessa sentenced 7 students of the faculty of medicine to imprisonment for life on an alleged charge of having carried out numerous "assaults with robbery."

YOUNGER GENERATION OF UKRAINIAN WRITERS REPRIMANDED

The Kyiv "Literaturna Ukrayina" ("Literary Ukraine"), No. 25 of March 26, 1963, reports that meetings were recently held in Lviv, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, and other Ukrainian towns at which the new trends in evidence amongst the talented younger generation of Ukrainian writers were severely criticized. Orders have been issued that more meetings of this kind are to be held. At a meeting in Lviv the speaker was a Ukrainian traitor, Yuriy Melnychuk, who actually ventured to criticize Khrushchov's favourite, Yevtushenko. Melnychuk, incidentally, is notorious for his malicious propaganda against the Ukrainian nationalists, and his criticism is thus an abominable lie and defamation. He reproached Yevtushenko and Voznesenskiy with having been so misguided as to introduce ambiguities in their ideological contents and coarseness and vulgarisms in their language.

At the meeting of Ukrainian writers in Kharkiv the editor of the periodical "Prapor" ("The Flag") was attacked for having published certain poems in the January edition which expressed ideas that were false. Above all, the poem by Drach, "Ode to an Honest Coward," was sharply censured since it personifies the harmful idea of a comparison between the younger and the older generation." At the same time, Evhen Letiuk was reprimanded on account of his poem, "in which Soviet reality in the era of the personality cult is depicted in a distorted form and from a one-sided aspect."

It can thus be assumed that some of these young Ukrainian poets and writers will be deported by Krushchov to Kazakhstan, or else sent to special camps. Stalin is dead, but his methods continue, and that "gifted maize expert" and "outstanding art connoisseur," Nikita Khrushchov, naturally sees to it that they are applied as hitherto.

ARMED CLASHES IN USSR FRONTIER REGION

The Russian news agency TASS recently reported that armed clashes had occurred in the southern frontier region of the USSR between Bolshevik troops and "armed enemy espionage units." According to TASS, these enemy units consisted of "criminals" and "armed smugglers." One hardly needs ask: since when have "smugglers" and "criminals" engaged in fierce clashes with well organized, armed Russian troops?

FAITHFUL IN USSR SEND PROTEST TO KHRUSHCHOV OVER CHURCH CLOSINGS

A copy of a letter of protest to "Premier" Khrushchov signed by several thousand parishioners and worshippers at the famous Pochaiv Monastery in Western Ukraine reached the Western World.

It dramatically illustrates the persecution of believers and the clergy in the Soviet Union.

On the strength of compiled figures some 2,000 churches have been nailed shut in the Soviet Union in the period 1960-1962.

According to a careful reading of the local and central Soviet press, the estimation can be made that no more than 10,000 churches are open in the USSR at the present time. This compares with 78,000 Orthodox religious establishments, which according to the No. 11, 1962, issue of the Soviet magazine *Science and Religion*, dotted the former empire of Russia in 1916. The state-authorized Moscow Patriarchate claimed that 20,000 churches were functioning in 1961.

The copy of the protest to Khrushchov, as well as an appeal to the World Council of Churches and American religious leaders, indicates that an open season has been in effect against the monks at Pochayiv Monastery. A number of KGB (Soviet secret police) officers are named in the documents as those responsible for the daily sorties against the monks. A favourite sport of the KGB officials is to drop in casually with a militia squad, break down a few doors and pull out a few monks, who are taken for a ride and dropped, alive but beaten up, as much as 200 miles away in the middle of a forest and warned never to return to Pochayiv. This is the lot also of pilgrims who come from many parts of the region for services.

The appeal charges that a squad of twelve militiamen headed by Captains Ostapenko and Maksimov and Major Bochkarev on August 31, 1962, forcibly removed Father Joseph, 70, to an insane asylum, where he is reported to have been murdered. Two other monks have suffered fatal injuries in the continued violence, the appeal declares.

No government decree for seizure has been issued, the appeal emphasizes. The Party authorities apparently are trying to drive the monks out through continual harassment. The parishioners, in signing the appeal, request the help of the World Council of Churches or of a concerned United Nations organization in restoring normalcy to the life of the monks at Pochayiv Monastery.

We would like to point out that the Twenty-second Party Congress stressed "the necessity of re-education for

those who find themselves in the captivity of anti-scientific religious ideology." The Congress declared that "the religious point of view must receive in our socialist conditions the most decisive rebuff. Attacks against it cannot be weakened."

Apparently the Soviet ideologists could not countenance the spectacle of droves of pilgrims trekking from all parts of Ukraine to participate in the solemn monastery services.

The parishioners' eloquent protest to Khrushchov accuses the local authorities of leaving only the bare walls in their drive to break the monastery's will to resist by large-scale confiscations. Another method, documented in the letter, is "persecution by examination." The monks are forced to submit to continual medical check-ups. Of course, it happens that the incidence of disease among them, diagnosed by state "doctors," is higher than anywhere in the Soviet Union, and many more are forcibly removed from the monastery for "clinical treatment."

According to the letter, the number of monks has been reduced from 140 in 1961 to 36 at the time of writing. Twenty-three of the "survivors" have been adjudged seriously ill, however, though they continue to perform their full-time duties.

**RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIKS BLOW UP
CHURCH IN TERNOPIL,
WEST UKRAINE**

According to a report in the Ukrainian daily "Svoboda," which is published in New York, news has been received there from Ukraine through a private source of information that the Church of the Assumption (Uspens'ka) in Ternopil, which was famous throughout the entire

province of Podolia as a place of pilgrimage, was recently blown up by the Russian Bolsheviks. At the same time, the belfry of the church, which in appearance closely resembled the belfry of the famous Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv, was also blown up. According to the same report, the cemetery adjoining the church was razed to the ground. This cemetery contained the graves of soldiers who had taken part in the Napoleonic wars and of prominent citizens of Ternopil. The Russian Bolsheviks also destroyed the chapel in the cemetery, where services were held every year on the feast-days of St. Mary and where a miraculous image of the Sorrowing Holy Virgin was displayed on such occasions. The original Uspens'ka Church, which was built of wood, was erected at the beginning of the 17th century (about 1630). In 1836 this church was removed and a stone church was erected in its stead. This edifice was extended in 1935-36 by the Ukrainian Redemptorist Order. Every year thousands of pilgrims from all over Podolia and even from the remote Ukrainian territories which prior to the first world war were under Russian rule used to visit the church during the celebrations of the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady.

It is clearly evident from this news, which has reached us from behind the Iron Curtain, that the ruthless persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Galicia continues, and that recent events, such as the release of the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan, Archbishop J. Slipyj, from imprisonment in a concentration camp in Siberia, are by no means indicative of a "thaw." And this holds good for both the Ukrainian Churches, — the Catholic as well as the Orthodox Church.

BOOK REVIEW

The Rev. Isidore Nahayevsky, Ph.D.: HISTORY OF UKRAINE. "America" Publishing House of the "Providence" Association of Ukrainian Catholics in America, Philadelphia, 1962. 295 pp.

This book has been written from the sociological, economic, political and religious standpoint of the Ukrainians in Ukraine and in exile. The author has produced an excellent and detailed study based on research from reliable sources. He refutes the lies and myths created in order to deny the very existence of the Ukrainian people and their historic position amongst the nations of the world throughout centuries.

True, several works on Ukraine and the Ukrainian people have already been published in English, but there is still a gap insofar as no complete and adequate explanation is given in these works of the spiritual ties of the Ukrainians with the Western world.

The introduction of this book contains general information on the origin of the Slav peoples, on ancient Ukraine (the Kyivan state that was known as Rus' or Ruthenia), and on the present territory of Ukraine with its natural resources; in addition, there is also some valuable information on the Ukrainian people, their history and culture, and the early relations of Ukraine with the West, above all with the Anglo-Saxons.

The author also deals with the restoration of the Ukrainian state during World War II. He emphasizes that "the abortive alliance between Hitler and Stalin was of short duration... On June 30, 1941, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, proclaimed in Lviv (Lemberg) the

independence of Ukraine. At the same time a National Assembly was called and a Provisional Ukrainian Government was established with Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko as its Prime Minister."

"Hitler and his close associates reacted to the Ukrainian proclamation of June 30, 1941, with the arrests of several members of the Ukrainian government, including Premier Stetzko and the OUN leader Bandera, who were deported to the Nazi concentration camp Sachsenhausen, where they spent almost four years. Many other prominent Ukrainian nationalists were shot or imprisoned" (p. 236).

The Reverend Nahayevsky points out that it is unnecessary to emphasize that as long as simmering resistance prevails in Ukraine and other enslaved countries of the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik leaders will hardly embark upon any military adventure. This is the chief reason why Khrushchov talks of 'peaceful coexistence' (p. 280).

The book contains numerous illustrations referring to events in Ukraine throughout the ages, from prehistoric times up to World War II and recent years.

This scholarly work by the Reverend Nahayevsky will undoubtedly prove a valuable contribution towards the enlightenment of all those who are interested in the history of Eastern Europe. And it can certainly be recommended to persons engaged in Slav studies.

V. Kapotivsky

Oleg S. Pidhaini: THE UKRAINIAN-POLISH PROBLEM IN THE DISSOLUTION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE 1914-1917. New Review Books, Toronto—New York, 1962. 126 pp.

This book is intended as an introduction to a more comprehensive work dealing with the rebirth of the Ukrainian national State in the Revolution and European diplomacy from 1917-1920, which is to be published towards the end of 1963.

At the beginning of this century neither Poland nor Ukraine presented an international problem. But democratic trends were soon to strengthen the Polish and Ukrainian demands for self-government and independence. After the collapse of

Russia and the Central Powers (Austria-Hungary and Germany) and the rebirth of the independence of Poland and Ukraine, the stage was set for the constitutional and diplomatic development of the Ukrainian-Polish frontier problem.

Towards the end of 1917 both Poland and Ukraine were eager to take part in the peace conference. The policy of the allies appeared to be friendly towards the newly established Ukrainian state. The author stresses the fact that "the journey to Brest-Litovsk, and so towards the full internationalization of the Ukrainian-Polish question, seemed necessary to the very existence of the Ukrainian National Republic, in the face of the German power in the East. The journey also seemed necessary in the face of the new Russian imperialism which was expressing itself in socialist phrases" (pp. 107-108).

What was the policy of the belligerent powers of the First World

War as regards the Ukrainian-Polish frontier problem? — The German policy was to support the extension of the Polish eastern frontiers as far as possible. The policy of the government of Vienna was to support the Polish claims to the East. France, as the most important ally of Russia was obliged to remain completely disinterested as regards the Polish eastern frontiers. The British more or less adopted the motto "do business with the Ukrainians" (p. 113), although later they did not continue to maintain this attitude towards the Ukrainians. American policy was on the whole somewhat vague, since political circles in the USA were not well informed on Ukraine's claims.

This book to a large extent contributes much to a better understanding of the somewhat confused East European policy of the belligerent powers during the First World War.

V. O.

THE UKRAINIAN-POLISH PROBLEM IN THE DISSOLUTION OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE 1914-1917. *Oleg S. Pidhaini*, New Review Books, Toronto—New York, 1962, 126 pp.

This book is a useful compilation of bibliographical material, illustrating the thought-trend at work in Europe during the years under discussion, which were to result in the fixing of the Polish-Ukrainian frontier along the line demarcated by the Peace of Riga. These contemporary sources, the author points out, are not always to be taken at their face-value, since Poles and Ukrainians alike were wooed by the war propaganda of both the Russian and Austrian emperors as valuable potential allies. The glowing promises of self-determination and territorial boundaries offered by both sides would not necessarily have been carried out if either Empire had survived the war; nor indeed may the promises have been more than diplomatic piecrust, cooked up for the emergency in hand. Certainly, some of the promises signify, in cold fact, very little that warrant the sound and fury in which they are couched.

In his Introduction, the author warns us "not to allow... a hind-sight and assume that everything was moving to the formation of the Polish and Ukrainian states"... and indeed, it comes as a salutary shock to realize that as late as the Second Universal of the Ukrainian Rada (July 15, 1917) the idea of federation with Russia still seemed possible to the leaders of Ukrainian political and patriotic thought. Yet, just over six months later, total independence was proclaimed. This sudden speeding up of events was, of course, partly precipitated by the Bolshevik revolution in Russia but this is not the sole cause. The documentation reproduced in this book, clearly illustrates the ever gathering momentum of the Ukrainian national movement over these years — and — paradoxically, this development is the more effectively shown by the very fact that to illustrate this is not the author's main purpose.

For although, as he rightly says, a proper understanding of the border problem can only be obtained within the context of the whole problem of Ukrainian and Polish national resurgence, the author resists the temptation to digress into the aspects of the latter problem, however interesting, which has no direct bearing on the subject under discussion. For a treatment of peripheral problems, the reader is referred to a

comprehensive bibliography of 71 items (including 20 works in English, 17 in French, 12 in German, 9 in Ukrainian, 9 in Polish and 4 in Russian) and to the following work of our author on the rebirth of Ukraine and European diplomacy in the years 1917-1920, which, it is hoped, will appear in the latter part of 1963, and to which the present work is by way of being a prolegomenon.

Jorge Prieto Laurens: HISTORIA DEL COLONIALISMO Y IMPERIALISMO RUSO ("History of Russian Colonialism and Imperialism"). Publicaciones del Frente Popular Anticomunista de Mexico. Mexico, 1962.

About 5 months ago an interesting brochure, containing brief but instructive information on past and present-day Russia, appeared on the book-market in Latin America. The author of this brochure is the champion of the freedom of the peoples enslaved by Communism, Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens, who is not only well-known in the Americas, but also outside the Western hemisphere.

The brochure records the history, characterized by bloody wars, of both the Russia of the Tsar and that of the Bolsheviks. The author maintains the view that the present-day USSR merely represents a continuation of the old Russia of the Tsars which lusted for power and is striving to subjugate all mankind.

The author accuses the Red-Russian despots in the Kremlin of an unparalleled mendacity, since they want to create the impression outside their peoples' prison that they are the sole defenders of the peoples allegedly subjugated by the Western imper-

ialists, and that they are striving to bring liberation and prosperity to these peoples. This does not in the least correspond to the truth.

The author states that the Russian conquests in the East and the North of Europe were fairly difficult to achieve. In the South, the Russians had to fight hard. For example in Ukraine, where for hundreds of years the Russians met with a tenacious resistance on the part of the population — a resistance which was particularly evident in the Battle of Poltava in 1709.

From the author's statements it is clearly evident that the spectre threatening the free world, which calls itself the USSR but should really be called Russian empire, must be liquidated in the interests of peace-loving mankind and of Western civilization.

A map serves as an excellent illustration of the information given by the author.

V. Zatserkovny

Alf Aberg: I KAROLINERNAS SPAR ("IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE SOLDIER CHARLES XII OF SWEDEN"). Albert Bonniers Förlag, Stockholm, 1959. 115 pp.

The battle of Poltava in Ukraine in 1709, in which the allied Swedish and Ukrainian armies under the command of the King of Sweden, Charles XII, and the Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa were defeated by the Russian Tsar Peter I, is still a subject of considerable interest to the world of today. On the occasion of the 250th

anniversary of this battle numerous foreigners, including, of course, many Swedes, visited the battlefield of Poltava. In 1959 the well-known Swedish paper "Svenska Dagbladet" in Stockholm sent young Dr. Alf Aberg to Ukraine and also to the other places in Russia where the Swedish soldiers of Charles XII were held as

prisoners by the Russians and for the most part suffered a dreadful death. Dr. Aberg also visited the battlefield of Poltava and compiled his interesting notes on the fatal issue of this battle for the Swedes and the Ukrainians, in the form of a book. With the help of diaries which had been kept by the officers and soldiers of Charles XII, the author traced the route of the defeated armies and also found the localities in Kyiv, Moscow and Leningrad where the Swedish prisoners-of-war had lived and worked.

Aberg gives an extremely interesting account both of his visit to Ukraine in 1959 and of the events of the battle at Poltava in 1709. He describes the careful preparations made by Charles XII for his Russian campaign and his unsuccessful advance as far as south Ukraine, where, in view of the fertile land and the exertions and the starvation which his army had been obliged to endure during the march through Poland and the Baltic countries, his soldiers thought they had reached Paradise. It is indeed significant that the author devotes a lengthy chapter entitled "In the Land of Canaan" to this subject. Dr. Aberg also visited the town of Poltava, which, to quote his own words, "is visited by tourists from all over the world on account of the memories connected with the battle of 1709." On the battlefield itself there is a museum which contains pictures and models that give the visitor an excellent insight into the course of the battle.

After their capitulation at Perevolochna on the big Ukrainian river Dnieper, the Swedish prisoners-of-war were distributed over the entire Russian territory, whilst the Ukrainian Zaporozhian Cossacks were promptly hanged. Some of the Swedish prisoners were held in captivity in Kyiv; the remainder were taken to Moscow (where they were employed on the construction of the city's fortifications and were forced to take part in the triumphal procession of Peter I in December 1709 and were jeered at on this occasion by the

people of Moscow), and to Petersbourg, where, together with the Cossacks who had been abducted from Ukraine, they had to build a new capital, Petersburg, and an ornately laid out park for the Tsar.

The book contains numerous photographs, pictures and sketches, which add to its value. Unfortunately it does not contain a picture of Mazeppa, but to make up for this omission the author has included a large number of photographs of the Ukrainian buildings in Poltava, of the everyday life of the Ukrainian population, as well as of the famous Ukrainian churches in Poltava and Kyiv, which make his book extremely interesting.

After the defeat of the Swedish army at Poltava, Sweden ceased to assert her supremacy in Europe, and the Russians sought to crush Ukraine as speedily as possible, so that by the beginning of the second half of the 18th century it was reduced to the status of a Russian province.

Dr. Aberg ascertained during his stay in Ukraine that the memory of the fatal battle of Poltava and of Ukraine's friendly relations with its former allies is still kept alive amongst the Ukrainian population, especially in the region of Poltava. The author was however very distressed to see Ukrainian women forced to carry out heavy work on the roads and elsewhere.

In addition to this book, numerous articles and studies on the battle of Poltava also appeared in 1959, in particular in Sweden and amongst the Ukrainian emigrants. The articles on the battle of Poltava which were published in Soviet Ukraine to mark the 250th anniversary of Poltava were, however, unfortunately written under pressure of the present Red Russian occupants of Ukraine; hence these accounts are for the most part distorted and by no means in keeping with the historical truth. The name of Mazeppa is nowadays prohibited in occupied Ukraine, but the inhabitants of the Ukrainian capital Kyiv still call the fortifications of the city the "Mazeppa Walls" after the great Hetman, as the author points out in his book.

Dr. Aberg's work is all the more valuable since it contains a large amount of information that is new. For this reason it deserves to rank

as an important contribution to the history of Ukraine and of East Europe.

V. L u z h a n s k y

Taras Shevchenko: SONG OUT OF DARKNESS. Selected Poems translated from the Ukrainian by Vera Rich, with Preface by Paul Selver, a Critical Essay by W. K. Matthews. Introduction and Notes by V. Swoboda. The Mitre Press, London, 1961, i-xxxii, 128 pp.

Taras Hryhorovych Shevchenko was born in Moryntsi, a village south of Kiev, in central Ukraine, in 1814. He died in 1861 and the centenary of his death has been commemorated by the publication of "Song Out of Darkness." This book consists of selected poems by Shevchenko, translated from the Ukrainian by Vera Rich. The book is published under the auspices of the Shevchenko Centenary Committee which was formed in Great Britain in 1960. It is one of the Committee's aims to publish, in English, the collected works of Ukraine's greatest poet and the remaining volumes they hope to sponsor will cover Shevchenko's Prose, Drama, Diary and Correspondence.

The frontispiece of "Song Out of Darkness" is a self-portrait of Shevchenko when he was thirty-one and is followed by contributions from several eminent scholars of Ukrainian literature. The Preface is written by Paul Selver, the well-known authority and translator in the field of Czech and Slovak literature.

The critical essay on Shevchenko, "The Man and the Symbol," is by the late Professor Matthews. This much-praised essay was first published in 1951 and is here reprinted with several alterations. In his analysis of Shevchenko's political style, Professor Matthews first considers the poet detached from his reputation and he discusses Shevchenko's two books of verse — "The Minstrel" (Kobzar) and "The Haydamaks" (Haydamaky). Although both are predominately lyrical in tone, the former is only partly narrative while the latter is wholly narrative. He also throws light upon the techniques of Shevchenko's verse, its affinities with Ukrainian folk-songs and folk-ballads and dominant patterns in the subject-

matter. Of particular interest is the comparison Professor Matthews draws between Shevchenko and Burns and his conclusion that the 'differences between the two poets are probably as considerable as the similarities.' The second part of the essay deals with the poet as a symbol. All Shevchenko's literary work reflects his deep-rooted love for his native country. Professor Matthews points out that it is this patriotic aspect of Shevchenko's work which has appealed to succeeding generations of Ukrainians.

The excellent introduction by V. Swoboda gives a detailed account and appreciation of Shevchenko's life and work. He assigns to Shevchenko the honoured place of a man to whom his country, Ukraine, owes her revival as a distinct nation. He also clearly states the reasons why Shevchenko's poetry is as important and interesting today as when it was first published. This part of the essay is of vital importance to the understanding of Shevchenko as a man and the influence of his poetry. Mr. Swoboda also provides the historical background against which the poems were written and this greatly adds to an appreciation of the translations that follow. Indeed, the whole of Mr. V. Swoboda's essay is a valuable contribution to the book.

Now to the poems themselves. Thirty eight poems have been selected and translated for the present volume. Further parts will include the remaining one hundred and eighty eight titles. The translator, Vera Rich, is to be congratulated not only for her supreme achievement in the actual translations but also for her selection of the poems themselves. Thirteen of the poems printed in "Song Out of Darkness" appear now in English

translation for the first time. Among these are "The Cold Ravine," "The Boat" and "Chyhyryn." Included is one of the most important of Shevchenko's major poems, "The Neophytes," which has not been previously translated. Incidentally, this poem, in which the Russian Empire under Nicholas is portrayed in the guise of Nero's Roman Empire, contains the only reference to Britain in Shevchenko's poems, as far as is known. The poet mistakenly believed that in Nero's time Romans, condemned to penal servitude, were exiled

'...in distant regions,
In British or in Gallic legions.'

A special feature of Shevchenko's poetry is his use of internal rhymes and these pose a problem for the translator. Miss Rich has successfully surmounted this difficulty and the following are examples which are particularly noteworthy.

'And now the cranes fly in long
[skeins.' (p. 7, line 21)
'Let miseries' throng abide for
[long.' (p. 10, line 79)

and the internal half-rhyme,

'The wind blows, speaking with
[the grove.' (p. 15, line 1)

The distinction between the Ukraine and Russia has been retained: Ukraine has been translated as 'land of their fathers' and Russia as 'the Fatherland.' It should not be forgotten that while Ukraine refers to the country itself, the people are called Cossacks — simply because the word for Ukrainians had not been evolved by Shevchenko's time. These are only a few examples in illustration of the sincere way in which Miss Rich has ably succeeded in giving a true rendering of Shevchenko's poetry.

Readers will find that the notes are few but helpful and that the bibliography, set out in chronological order, is comprehensive. "Song Out of Darkness" is of immeasurable interest not only to the student of Ukrainian literature but also to those who find it fascinating to study the outstanding work of a unique and remarkable man.

M. P. Bellamy, B.A.

Alain Desroches: LE PROBLÈME UKRAINIEN ET SIMON PETLURA. LE FEU ET LA CENDRE. ("THE UKRAINIAN PROBLEM AND SIMON PETLURA. THE FIRE AND THE ASHES.") Nouvelles Editions Latines, Paris, 1962. 220 pp.

The assassination of the head of the Ukrainian state, Simon Petlura, in Paris in 1926 and the attempts to defame his memory and to show the Ukrainian-Jewish relations in a distorted and false light have prompted Alain Desroches, a lawyer by profession and a naturalized Frenchman of Jewish origin who lives in Paris, to write this book. The author goes to great pains to refute the accusations made against Petlura and the Ukrainian people, namely that they were responsible for the anti-Jewish atrocities which occurred during the revolutionary chaos in Ukraine (mainly in the years 1918 to 1920). He points out that the campaign against the Ukrainian national element

and against Petlura is conducted extremely skilfully and cunningly by the rulers in the Kremlin. It is regrettable that the Jews themselves (who are persecuted by the Soviet Russians) do not realize this fact, but continue to allow themselves to be used as a political tool in Moscow's fight against Ukraine. For one cannot interpret this question in any other way if one takes into account the fact that Petlura's murderer did not act as a Jew in May 1926 but solely as an agent of Moscow.

The conflict between Ukraine and Moscow continues, not merely in the political and cultural sphere, but also with armed violence, — a state of affairs which is hinted at in the Soviet

Russian papers (some of them in Ukrainian, too) which appear in Soviet Ukraine. The Russians then take revenge by acts of violence against the emigrant leaders of the Ukrainian movement. Examples of the Russians' treacherous methods in this respect have been the murder of Petlura in 1926, the assassination of Colonel Evhen Konovalets in Rotterdam in 1938, and the murder of the leader of the Ukrainian nationalists, Stepan Bandera, in Munich on October 15, 1959, by the agent Stashynsky who was sent to Munich by Moscow specially for this purpose and who was recently sentenced for this crime by the German Federal High Court in Karlsruhe.

The author devotes his attention mainly to the political and cultural development of the Ukrainian people, in particular, however, in the 19th and 20th centuries, since this is a precondition for a clearer insight into the treacherous murder by Moscow's agent Schwarzbart of the head of the Ukrainian state, Symon Petlura, who was in no way responsible for the anti-Jewish atrocities in Ukraine in 1918 to 1920, but, on the contrary, condemned them and took drastic action to stop them. Incidentally, Petlura was not the head of the entire Ukrainian territory, since part of it was occupied by the Red and also the White Russians.

Alain Desroches has given his book the subtitle "The Fire and the Ashes" because fire is the symbol of the revolution, whilst the ashes symbolize the subsequent dead period in Ukraine. But this subtitle is somewhat pessimistic in this case, for beneath the ashes there glows an eternal spark which will once more kindle a huge fire.

The author was born in Constantinople but he spent his childhood in Ukraine, in the harbour-town of Odessa. Some of his happiest memories are those of warm, sunny Ukraine. He also witnessed personally the dreadful atrocities of the revolution. As a young law student at the Paris Sorbonne, Alain Desroches was horrified at the assassination of Petlura. And he was particularly

indignant at Schwarzbart's treachery, for he knew Petlura fairly well and could not for a moment imagine that the latter had ever been an enemy of the Jews.

True, this book by Desroches appeared 34 years after the dreadful tragedy in Paris, but that was probably an advantage, for in this way Desroches was better able to refute successfully the defamation of Petlura's memory by the French television. In spite of the fact that the author gives an exact and objective account of the entire incident, the book reads like a novel. It is moreover pervaded with optimism and with a firm belief in the liberation of Ukraine from the Russian occupant in the near future.

One of the main tasks the author has set himself is the search for truth. For this reason he also discusses the past history of Ukraine, from which one can gain an insight into the relations between the Ukrainians and the Jews.

He deals at some length with the dark and, in fact, criminal past of Schwarzbart, who murdered Petlura in a street in Paris, far away from Ukraine. From the account given by Desroches of this incident it is obvious that Schwarzbart was a hireling of Moscow and murdered the head of the Ukrainian state at the instructions of the Kremlin.

Pages 167 to 220 of the book are devoted to the trial of Schwarzbart in October 1927. Here the author stresses the tragedy of this trial, which to everyone's surprise ended in an acquittal for the murderer.

In conclusion the author says: "The fire which glows under the ashes was to be extinguished at all costs. But capricious fate, which is less blind than justice, frequently presumes by its own laws to annul certain dubious judgements. For if the frail human heart, which is often clouded by emotions, fails to distinguish between truth and error, then the ultimate issue is that in the end reason triumphs once more" (p. 220).

This book certainly is unique if one bears in mind that the Jews rejoiced when Petlura's murderer, who had

received his instructions from Moscow to carry out this crime, was acquitted and that most of them still hold the opinion that Schwarzbart was a Jewish patriot and that Symon Petlura, even though he was in no way responsible for the anti-Jewish atrocities in Ukraine in 1918 to 1920, deserved the fate that he met at the hands of a Jewish "avenger."

The book is naturally by no means in keeping with Moscow's political principle, which aims to stir up hatred between the Ukrainians and the Jews in the hope that these two peoples will fight each other and undermine each other's strength, — a state of affairs which would then facilitate the Red Russians' fight against these two peoples.

V. K a p o t i v s k y

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Dominique Auclères: FAUT-IL QUE MOSCOU REDOUTE LEUR INFLUENCE! ("Does Moscow fear their influence?"). "Le Figaro" of October 13-14, 1962.

The paper "Le Figaro" devoted considerable space to the trial of the former Soviet agent Stashynsky, the murderer of Bandera and Rebet, which was held in October 1962 in Karlsruhe, when it published the excellent reports by Mrs. Dominique Auclères.

In order to stress the nature of these reports and to explain the above title we publish a passage from them:

"Mr. Stetzko, who was proclaimed Prime Minister of the independent republic of Ukraine in 1941, was my neighbour for three days on the seats reserved for the press. The Germans sent him to a concentration camp that same year after they had occupied Ukraine. He remained there until the end of the war. Since then, he has a paralysed arm, and it is clearly evident that his health has been shattered. *How many Ukrainians have been killed in the struggle for independence, how many have been wounded, maimed, or assassinated in exile by Moscow's KGB? The list is already very long. Does Moscow fear their influence, since it takes so much trouble to suppress them!*"

*

L'EUROPE DES MAQUIS ("The Europe of the secret resistance groups"). "Le Charivari", No. 5, November 1962.

This excellent article gives an account of the struggle of the nations occupied by Russia (wrongly called "foreign") against the Soviet regime and foreign domination.

"In the Red world — this article states — the struggle is going on everywhere *except in Central Russia*. The peoples of the Baltic states, the Ukrainians, the Caucasians, as much individualists as the French can be, have in reality never caused to struggle against Moscow's domination... Our four years of resistance during the last war are but a pale reflection of the secret war of resistance which has developed during forty years of occupation."

Then follows a general account of the revolts and insurrections in the concentration camps, of the partisan warfare in Ukraine, of events in Poland and in Hungary in 1956.

In conclusion the article stresses: "These revolts, numerous and often bloody, could be crushed; but Soviet oppression continues to nurture resistance. In all the countries subjugated under the Russian yoke, thousands of persons continue the fight for independence, either in their places of work, or in the secret resistance movements."

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Slava Stetzko

A.B.N. IDEAS ASSERT THEMSELVES

THE 20th ANNIVERSARY OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (A.B.N.), 1943-1963

In 1917 a congress of representatives of the peoples of Eastern Europe, who were enslaved by tsarist Russia, was held in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine. Delegates from the following countries were present on this occasion: Ukraine, Poland, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, as well as delegates of the Don Cossacks and even from distant Siberia. All these representatives came to Kyiv for the purpose of discussing ways and means of waging a co-ordinated fight against the Russian imperialistic policy.

Unfortunately it was not possible to create an organized front of the peoples subjugated by Moscow during the years 1917-1920, a fact which later proved extremely disadvantageous for the fight for freedom, for not all the above-mentioned nations were able to defend their newly restored state independence successfully and were thus victimized by the new Russian occupants — the Bolsheviks. In place of the former tsarist empire, a new empire, the so-called USSR, was established. Even those nations which had temporarily succeeded in liberating themselves from Russian rule (Poland and the Baltic states) were unable to maintain their state independence in the vicinity of the Russian imperium. Hence they once more came under the Russian Bolshevik sphere of influence and subjugation.

Nevertheless, the idea of a common front of the subjugated peoples in the fight against Moscow was constantly alive; it began to assume more concrete forms and finally became the guiding principle of the fight for freedom of the subjugated peoples. In the course of World War II this idea was revived once more and began to assume practical and organized forms.

Twenty-two years ago, that is to say when the German advance against Russia commenced, the organizations of the nations subjugated by Moscow began to publish the information bulletin "Our Front" abroad at the initiative of the Ukrainian revolutionary nationalist organization (OUN). In this publication they appealed to all revolutionary forces to co-operate, to co-ordinate their activity and to set up a common fighting front against the Russian imperialists.

Somewhat later, in 1956, the Hungarian revolution clearly proved and confirmed the vital necessity of a common front of the subjugated peoples. The leaders of the Hungarian revolution counted above all on considerable support from the Western world and for this reason appealed to the West and not to the subjugated peoples of the USSR. But the Hungarians' hopes of help from the West were bitterly disappointed.

In the above-mentioned information bulletin "Our Front" the purpose and programme of the joint fight of the subjugated peoples were outlined as follows:

"Our aim is political sovereignty for the nations enslaved by Moscow, and the way to achieve this aim is by the complete collapse of the Russian prison of peoples, which must be effected by the revolutionary forces of the peoples enslaved by Moscow. No present changes in the boundaries of the Russian prison of peoples can have any influence whatever on the revolutionary policy of the nations that are interested in the collapse of the Russian imperium..."

"Our Front" likewise clearly defined the attitude of the organizations of the nations subjugated by Moscow towards the Russian people and their imperialism.

"We must always bear in mind that the Stalinist constitution and other Soviet Russian 'benefits' of the well-established, centuries-old Russian imperialism support the present regime of the Kremlin clique with all its NKVD apparatus... The Russian anti-Bolshevist nationalists are merely anxious to seize power in the Russian imperium. They aim to take over the positions now held by the Bolsheviks in the Kremlin. We, however, aim to destroy the Russian imperium... It is thus obvious that there can be no co-operation between the revolutionary organizations of the peoples enslaved by Moscow and the Russian anti-Bolshevist nationalists..."

To those pacifists who still wish to believe in a co-operation, under certain conditions, with the Russians of various trends, we should merely like to say: what change has there been in the course of the past decades in the attitude of the "trustworthy" Russian anti-Communists towards the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian and other subjugated peoples, who are longing to possess their own sovereign national states? Incidentally, those who advocate co-operation with the "good" Russians are unable to give us a satisfactory answer to this question. Actual facts, however, prove that there has been no change of attitude whatever, for the lust of subjugation on the part of the Russian imperialists of every hue has not diminished in the least. There are countless examples which prove that this is the case. We should, however, only like to quote one fairly recent example. We well remember the notorious statement issued by 16 Russian professors in the USA, in which they indignantly protested

against the fact that the U.S. Congress had approved "Captive Nations Week" and at the same time promised the subjugated peoples in the USSR moral support. Surely one cannot assume that the Russian "anti-Communists" have given proof of their friendly attitude towards Ukraine by wearing the Ukrainian emblem "Tryzub" (a trident) and appearing on behalf of a spurious "Ukrainian Liberation Movement" (as was the case in Saigon in 1957 and in Taipei in 1960 on the occasion of the international anti-Communist conferences held there)! One should always bear in mind the watchword proclaimed in "Our Front": "Moscow as a centre of imperialistic acts of violence must be destroyed. The liberation of the subjugated peoples can only be achieved by a consistent and uncompromising fight on the part of the young and promising non-Russian peoples."

In the course of the heroic fight of the subjugated peoples, above all, however, of the Ukrainian people on two fronts — against the Russian Bolsheviks and the German Nazis, the idea of a common front of the subjugated nations became a concrete reality.

In November (21st to 22nd), 1943, at the initiative of the revolutionary OUN, the first conference of the enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia, which had as its motto: "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!", was convened. It was attended by authorized representatives of the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Tatars, North Caucasians, Bashkirs, Chuvash, and Turkestanians (Uzbeks and Kazakhs).

On the eve of the conference a fierce combat was fought against the Germans, who were advancing on the place where the conference was to be held. In addition to detachments of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), national detachments of other subjugated peoples, under the command of a Georgian major, also took part in this combat. The German troops were defeated. This combat was a symbolical expression of the common ideas and the common fight of the subjugated peoples against the Russian and the Nazi aggressors.

The decision was now reached to form a co-ordination committee of the subjugated peoples which was to correlate their revolutionary fights for freedom. To this end national military units of the individual subjugated peoples were now organized in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army for the purpose of setting up and consolidating a common front; it was intended that these national units should later develop into independent national insurgent armies, which would then continue the fight for freedom in the respective national territories. The anti-Bolshevist campaigns and operations of the insurgents in the territories of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Slovakia, the Baltic countries, Poland, Turkestan, the Caucasus, and the Far East were thus facilitated considerably.

The common front of the subjugated peoples which was initiated in the home-countries was confirmed by a political act abroad, that is to say in exile. On April 16, 1946, the First Congress of the Anti-

Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) was held in Munich, Germany. A statement issued by the Secretariat of A.B.N. on this occasion is worded as follows:

"In continuation of the action initiated at the First Conference of the Subjugated Peoples of East Europe and Soviet Asia held on November 21st—22nd, 1943, which action aims to unite all the peoples enslaved and endangered by Bolshevism and Hitlerism for the purpose of setting up a common defense front against Bolshevism and Hitlerism, a Constituent Assembly of the authorized representatives of state political factors, of the national liberation movements and freedom-loving organizations of the peoples of the countries of Europe and Asia occupied by the Soviet Russians was convened on April 16, 1946. This Constituent Assembly set about creating an Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.)."

The Declaration of A.B.N. contains the following passage:

"The A.B.N. is a union of freedom-loving peoples for the purpose of jointly combatting Bolshevism. The geopolitical scope of A.B.N. covers the entire territory of Europe and Asia ruled by the Soviet Russians. The Finns, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Poles, Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Serbians, Croats, Slovenians, Albanians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Ukrainians, Cossacks, Kalmucks, the North Caucasian peoples, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Turkestanians (Turkmen, Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Kazakhs, Kirghiz and Karakalpaks), the non-Russian peoples of the so-called Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.): the Tatars, Bashkirs, Mongolian and other peoples of Siberia and the Far East, — these are the peoples included in A.B.N. Each of these peoples has its own problems to solve and its own aims, but they all have one thing in common in A.B.N.: the fight against Bolshevism. All else in A.B.N. is subordinated to this fight for national independence and for the disintegration of the Russian imperium. The ultimate aim of the fight of A.B.N. is expressed in the watchword on its banner: "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!"

Thus the political and militant ideological conception of the liberation of all the peoples subjugated by Moscow was at last clearly defined, in order that a lasting peace should be established amongst all the peoples of the world after the inevitable destruction of Russian Bolshevik tyranny, that the state frontiers of each people should be safeguarded against every form of warlike aggression, and, finally, that the people of every country should be able to live in peace without having to fear war and suffering.

A.B.N. emphatically rejected the deceptive and false watchword of the Comintern — "Proletarians of all countries, unite!" and proclaimed its own watchword: "Freedom-loving peoples and individuals of the whole world, unite in the fight against Bolshevism and for the independence of peoples and the freedom of individuals!" From this memorable date onwards, A.B.N. began to develop its own activity and to extend it to the countries of the free world. We consider it

appropriate at this point to give a brief survey of the activity of A.B.N. and its ideological success in regard to the international situation of recent years.

In May 1948 the Second Congress of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations convened in Munich. It was attended by representatives of the national liberation organizations of the following countries: Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Idel-Ural, Cossackia, Lithuania, Latvia, Rumania, Slovakia, the North Caucasus (the Ossetians, Karbardines, Chechens, Circassians and Balkars), and Serbia.

In the early post-war years A.B.N. had to contend with great difficulties. The Western world did not want to endanger its "friendship" with the Russian Bolsheviks, who up to a short time previously had been their allies in the war against Nazi Germany. Hence the West was bent upon preserving a "peaceful coexistence" with the Russian imperium. Moreover the Western world regarded the ideas of A.B.N. as too "aggressive" and did not appreciate and assess them rightly.

The first organization in the free world with which A.B.N. established close contact was the Scottish League for European Freedom, led by John F. Stewart, which supported the ideas and the fight for freedom of the peoples enslaved by Moscow. From June 12th to 14th, 1950, a congress of delegates of the revolutionary liberation movements represented in A.B.N. was held in Edinburgh (Great Britain) under the sponsorship of the Scottish League for European Freedom. It was attended by 35 authorized delegates of the following 17 peoples: Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, Serbians, Croatians, Bulgarians, Rumanians, Georgians, Don Cossacks, North Caucasians, Turkestanians, Azerbaijanians, and Idel-Uralians. In co-operation with the Scottish League for European Freedom, the A.B.N. conference in Edinburgh appealed to the peoples of the free world to set up a common anti-Bolshevist front of all freedom-loving peoples on both sides of the Iron Curtain for the purpose of defending freedom, religion and culture against Russian Bolshevist barbarism.

This appeal was worded as follows:

"Bear in mind that you will not be rid of the eternal spectre of destruction until the peoples subjugated by Russia attain their state sovereignty in their own territories again. And this will not happen until the terrible imperium which was built up in blood and sweat and at the expense of countless millions of enslaved human beings (for genocide has become the basis of Moscow's existence) has been destroyed."

At this conference of A.B.N. in Edinburgh — and the Scottish League for European Freedom was in unanimous agreement with its resolutions — the idea of a common fighting front of global

dimensions against the Russian Communist imperium and its aggressive policy was proclaimed.

In September of the same year A.B.N. repeated its appeal to the free world at a press conference in Frankfurt on Main, which was attended by press representatives from the USA, England, Germany, France, and other countries. In this appeal A.B.N. stressed the fact that insurgent armies and national underground liberation movements were still operating behind the Iron Curtain without having received any help whatsoever so far from the rest of the world. It was pointed out that moral and technical support of the liberation movements in the USSR by the West would not only assist the fight of the Western world but also accelerate its victory over Moscow, and that in this way the free world would be protected against the danger of a third, and no doubt atomic, world war.

Immediately after the conference of the central organization of A.B.N. mass-demonstrations were held in various towns of Western Germany, Great Britain, Canada, the USA, France, and other European and non-European countries. These demonstrations were organized by the branches of A.B.N. mainly for the purpose of persuading the free world to adopt a friendly attitude towards the fight for freedom of the peoples enslaved by Moscow. The ideas of A.B.N. rapidly gained a footing in all those countries in which the political emigrants of the subjugated peoples of the USSR had settled. In this way a network of A.B.N. branches was established in the free world. Thus in March 1951, for instance, an organization, the "American Friends of A.B.N." (AF ABN), was founded in the USA. In March 1953 a branch of A.B.N. was founded in Australia and also in Canada. In addition, other A.B.N. branches were founded in other countries, as for instance Great Britain, France, Spain, and Holland, etc.

The Third Congress of A.B.N. was held in Munich from March 27th to 29th, 1953. It was stated at this conference:

"In view of the present international political situation... the peoples united in A.B.N. and all the other peoples of Europe and Asia either subjugated by Moscow or directly menaced must, in their fight, rely above all on their own forces in order to achieve their aim..." A.B.N. "co-operates with those forces and circles in the free world which are in complete solidarity with the ideas of national freedom and independence of the peoples enslaved by Russian Bolshevism."

At the same time the leaders of the Central Committee of A.B.N. intensified their political activity and strengthened the contacts which they had established with political circles and prominent politicians in the free world. A number of prominent members of A.B.N., and, above all, the President of the Central Committee of A.B.N., Jaroslaw Stetzko, and Veli Kayum-Khan, the President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee, undertook journeys in Europe and in the Near East.

In 1955 Jaroslaw Stetzko visited Spain, where he had talks with the head of the Spanish State, General Franco. The General was greatly interested in the fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Moscow and in the principles and aims of A.B.N.

At the invitation of the government of Free China, Jaroslaw Stetzko visited Formosa in 1956. On this occasion he conferred with the President of Free China, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and with other statesmen of Free China. As a result of this visit by the President of A.B.N. an agreement was reached on the co-operation of A.B.N. and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) in the fight against Communism and Russian imperialism. In this agreement the common aim of these two anti-Communist organizations was defined as follows: "to crush the international Communist bloc, to annihilate Russian imperialism and to support those nations enslaved by Moscow in Europe and Asia to restore their independence in their original ethnographical areas." The task of these two organizations, so the agreement stated, was to "endeavour to strengthen the consolidation of the Asian and European peoples in the fight against Communism and Russian imperialism and to further the setting up of a joint international front on the basis of state independence for all nations."

As a result of the conclusion of this agreement an A.B.N. Mission, consisting of Mr. V. Kosyk and Mr. Zablockyj, in 1957 proceeded to Taipei, where it began its activity immediately. The main task of this Mission consisted in transmitting broadcast programmes to countries behind the Iron Curtain (Siberia in particular), in spreading the truth, by means of articles and lectures, in Asia about the fight for freedom of the Ukrainians and of other peoples subjugated by Moscow, in establishing personal contacts, and in furthering and intensifying A.B.N.'s co-operation with the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League.

When in 1957 the Third Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, which by now included amongst its members practically all the free peoples of Asia, as well as Australia and Turkey, convened, it was attended for the first time by representatives of A.B.N. as "observers." The member-delegates of Asia stressed the necessity of a fight against "international Communism", but did not mention Russian imperialism which, under the guise of Communism, actually represents the greatest menace to the free world. At this conference the spokesmen of A.B.N., J. Stetzko, General F. Farkas de Kisbarnak, and Mrs. Slava Stetzko, for the first time brought up the question of the many years' struggle of the peoples subjugated by Moscow against Russian Communist imperialism and appealed to the free peoples of Asia to show their solidarity with the peoples subjugated within the so-called Soviet Union. A fierce argument ensued between the members of the Russian organization "NTS", who were likewise present at the

conference as observers, and the A.B.N. representatives. As has always been the case so far, the Russian NTS representatives tried to pose as an "authorized representation" of all the peoples of the USSR, who allegedly constitute "one Russian people" and aim to establish a "Russian federation" after the destruction of Communism. A definite and logically founded reply by the spokesmen of A.B.N. to the white Russian imperialists compelled the Executive Committee and the delegates of APACL to occupy themselves with the question as to what difference there is between the aims and programme of A.B.N. and those of the NTS. A fierce debate on this subject ensued amongst the delegates of the APACL Conference, whereupon, in the course of a reception, the Turkish Ambassador made a brief but exceedingly apt statement, namely: "The difference between A.B.N. and the NTS is perfectly clear and simple: A.B.N. wants to see the Russian imperium destroyed, whilst the Russian NTS organization seeks to preserve this imperium from decay."

We should like to point out that the NTS occupied a strong position in Asia. Since the NTS received considerable financial aid from American "private circles," who would like to see the Russian empire preserved, it was able to establish branch-organizations in various countries of Free Asia. In doing so, the NTS posed as an anti-Communist organization and even went so far as to take the credit for the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which is anti-Russian, and for the riots organized by non-Russian prisoners in the concentration camps of the USSR. In this way the NTS was able to propagate its watchwords, all of which amounted to the preservation of "one indivisible Russia," perfectly freely in Asia.

The activity of the A.B.N. Mission in Free China (Formosa), a large-scale campaign on the part of A.B.N., publications and the foreign language editions of "ABN Correspondence," and personal contacts established by representatives of the Central Committee of A.B.N., etc., however, elucidated the freedom idea of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, exposed Russian imperialism and colonialism, and drew the attention of the Asian peoples to the true character and origin of Communism.

At the APACL Conference in Taipei in 1960 the A.B.N. delegation was once more forced to denounce the NTS and to this end published and circulated a memorandum. In this memorandum facts were quoted and documentary proof was produced to show the consistent and unchangeable character of the predatory policy of both the tsarist and also the present Red imperium. As all the delegates to the conference were acquainted with the contents of this memorandum, the NTS representatives protested and left the conference hall.

Thus the ideas of the fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Moscow began to gain a footing to an ever-increasing degree in Asia and Europe and on the American continent and met with a great response in these countries.

In the autumn of 1957 A.B.N. signed an agreement on co-operation with the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent (ICOC). Meanwhile co-operation with Dutch, Spanish and other anti-Communist organizations was also being intensified.

That same year the delegates of the Inter-American Confederation, at the proposal of A.B.N., undertook a visit to Taipei, where in agreement with the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League a resolution was passed to the effect that an anti-Communist World Congress was to be convened. To this end a Preparatory Conference, which was attended by representatives of anti-Communist organizations from 65 countries, was convened in Mexico in March 1958. This Conference was to establish the basis for a future World Congress and to reach all the necessary decisions regarding the convocation of such an anti-Communist congress. The authorized organizers of the Preparatory Conference in Mexico were APACL and ICOC. Chairman of the Conference was Admiral Carlos Penna Botto, the President of ICOC. Delegates of A.B.N. and of the Ukrainian organizations took part in the discussions held by the individual commissions of the Conference, whose task it was to draw up the statutes, the programme and the political platform of the future anti-Communist World Congress. The following Ukrainians, who represented the ideas and principles of A.B.N., attended the Conference: Jaroslaw Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of A.B.N., Dr. N. Procyk representing the American Friends of A.B.N., I. Bilinsky, editor, representing the Organization of the Four Freedoms of Ukraine, V. Dushnyk, editor, representing the Ukrainian Congress Committee in the USA, V. Bezchlibnyk of A.B.N. (Canada), M. Sosnovsky, editor, and I. Boyko of the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation (LVU), and M. A. Rubinez from Argentina, who represented the Anti-Communist Union of the Subjugated Peoples of Europe, which has its seat in Buenos Aires.

Incidentally, the Ukrainian delegates at this Conference played a fairly important part in formulating the political resolutions adopted in connection with the programme of the Conference. Jaroslaw Stetzko was elected president of the political Convocation commission, which was to draft the platform of the intended World Congress. The Mexican Conference can thus be regarded as a further stage in the evolution of the ideological principles of A.B.N. as regards the drafting and formulation of the programmes and ideology of the anti-Communist organizations of the free world. This Conference ascertained that: "Communism is an evil ideology which militates against human nature and destroys the culture of the human race." It was further stated in the resolutions of the Conference that: "in view of the fact that under the leadership of Soviet Russia the International Communist Movement is collectively making political infiltration, economic penetration and military

aggression against the nations and peoples of the free world to achieve its ultimate objective of world conquest and enslavement of the entire human race, we, freedom-loving, democratic peoples of the world, will, for the purpose of ensuring and restoring national independence, freedom and democracy, and for the liberation of subjugated peoples from Communism and Russian imperialism, as well as for the effective destruction of the international Communist movement directed by Moscow, unite to form a World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation of all the races, nationalities, countries and creeds.

The Conference approved a political platform for the World Anti-Communist Congress which stressed: "Since international Communism is an instrument of Russian imperialism, the struggle against international Communism includes the struggle against Russian imperialism, with the clear understanding that the ultimate goal of the struggle for freedom and justice throughout the world is the destruction of international Communism and Russian imperialism, the disintegration of the Russian empire, now existing in the form of the so-called USSR and satellites, and the re-establishment of national independent states in the ethnographic territories of the peoples enslaved by Russia at any period in the past in Eastern and/or Central Europe and Asia."

The approval of this platform by the representatives of anti-Communist organizations from 65 countries was obviously a triumph for the watchword proclaimed 22 years ago by the Ukrainian liberation movement — "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!"

The resolutions of the Conference thus condemned the aims of the white Russian imperialists to direct the fight against Russian totalitarianism and imperialism into a false course, for the white Russians are merely intent upon waging this fight against the Communist regime in order to preserve the Russian imperium in some other form.

The delegates of A.B.N. were also elected to the Steering Committee which was to be responsible for all the preparatory work for the World Congress.

The fact must be stressed that by 1958, that is to say 15 years after the founding of A.B.N., the activity of the political emigrants of the countries subjugated by Russia had increased considerably and had assumed global dimensions. In numerous countries of the free world and in particular in the USA and in Canada rallies, conferences, press interviews, demonstrations, and meetings, etc., were organized, at which resolutions exhorting the free world to support the fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated behind the Iron Curtain were adopted.

In September 1958 a congress of the organization of "American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations" (AF ABN), which was attended by 500 persons, was held in New York. One of the

principal speakers on this occasion was the well-known authority on East European problems and loyal supporter of the freedom aims of the Ukrainians and other subjugated peoples, Dr. Edward M. O'Connor, former U.S. Commissioner for Displaced Persons, who delivered a speech on "American Realism and the Russian Imperium." More than 30 American Senators and Congressmen sent greeting telegrams to the Congress.

This Congress could be regarded as a forum at which the official policy of the USA was confronted with the demands and aims of the peoples subjugated by Russia. At the same time the principles to be applied in the further activity of AF ABN were also defined. AF ABN made it plain that in its future working plan it intended to create certain preconditions for the activity of A.B.N. in the USA and win over the American public for the question of the liberation of the peoples subjugated in the USSR. To this end American public opinion from now onwards began to be influenced directly and indirectly by rallies organized by AF ABN, literature and personal contacts with prominent political personalities from the subjugated countries.

Interest in the ideas of militant Ukraine and in the principles of A.B.N. began to increase steadily in the USA. Thus A.B.N. President Jaroslaw Stetzko was invited by the Un-American Activities Committee of the U.S. Congress (on May 14, 1958) and by the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Congress (on July 30, 1958) to express his views on events in the Middle East, to testify on the methods and aims of Russian aggression in general, and to discuss the problems connected with the liberation of the peoples enslaved by Moscow, the problems of the national liberation revolutions, of an atomic war, etc. Basing his arguments on international events and actual facts, Mr. Stetzko drew attention to the so-called psychological war of the West against Moscow, to the false attitude expressed in the programmes of the "Voice of America," "Radio Liberation" and "Radio Free Europe," to the situation behind the Iron Curtain, as well as to the necessity of a change in the policy pursued by the U.S. Government hitherto with regard to the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

In the first half of October 1958 the 4th Anti-Communist Continental Congress was held in Antigua, Guatemala. This Congress was of especial significance inasmuch as its resolutions clearly and definitely defined the enemy in political and ideological respect, whereas the psychological war between the USA and the USSR was not anti-Russian in character (it was solely confined to combatting Communism and the Kremlin government; moreover support was, for instance given to Titoism, but not to the freedom-loving national movements). 170 delegates of various anti-Communist organizations from 22 states of Central, South and North America took part in the Guatemala Congress. The Presidium of the ICOC had also invited

the President of the Central Committee of A.B.N., Jaroslaw Stetzko, and the Chairman of AF ABN, Dr. N. Procyk, to attend the Congress.

This Congress, which was held under the auspices of the Guatemalan Government — and the President of Guatemala also took part in the discussions during the various sessions, unanimously approved and augmented the political platform of the Preparatory Conference in Mexico, supported the idea of convening an anti-Communist World Congress, and expressed itself in favour of the political ideas and principles of A.B.N. with regard to the Russian imperium. We quote some passages from the resolutions adopted at this Congress:

“The resolution proposed by U.S. Congressman Michael A. Feighan, demanding state independence for all nations subjugated by Russia, and adopted at the 47th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union at Rio de Janeiro, shall be supported.”

“A request shall be directed to the governments of the free world and in particular to the Governments of the whole of the American Continent to follow an uncompromising and logical policy of liberation with regard to the peoples subjugated by Russia and by Communism.”

“Moral and political support must be given to the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).”

Like the Conference in Mexico, this Congress in Guatemala represented a further stage in the propagation of the ideas of A.B.N. and the organization of anti-Communist world front based on the principle of political independence for all the peoples subjugated by Russia.

At this point we should like to add that the resolution on “Captive Nations Week” which was adopted by the U.S. Congress likewise represents an ideological victory for A.B.N., for this resolution clearly defines the position of the subjugated peoples (Hungary, Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Rumania, Turkestan, and other subjugated countries) with regard to their oppressor (Russia). Although the U.S. Congress has not realized this resolution in a concrete form and in practice, it is nevertheless the first state act on the part of a nation of the free world which exposes the true character of both Communism and Russian imperialism.

In 1960 two prominent statesmen, Canadian Prime Minister **John F. Diefenbaker** and Foreign Minister **F. Serrano** of the Philippines, openly condemned Russian imperialism before the United Nations Assembly, a fact which infuriated Nikita Khrushchov.

The role of the Ukrainian people as a vanguard in the fight against Russian imperialism, that is to say against the enemy not only of the

subjugated peoples of the USSR but also of the entire free world, is extremely difficult. The Russian Fifth Column has extended its red network throughout the entire world. The white Russian imperialists, the propagators of the idea of "one indivisible Russia" under the leadership of Kerensky or the NTS, and a whole lot of other white Russian parties are all tenaciously pursuing the same subjugation policy as regards the subjugated peoples of the USSR. Taking advantage of a "peaceful coexistence" with the free world, Moscow intensifies its terrorist regime in Ukraine and in the other oppressed countries. Those who refuse to submit to this regime are liquidated; they are either shot, sent to concentration camps, or sentenced to slave-labour. Moscow punishes the refractory peoples for refusing to renounce God and their natural right to a free national and state life. Moscow is well aware of the fact that the potential strength of the political emigrants represents a grave danger to itself. But unfortunately the free world has not yet realized this fact and does not use the political emigrants as its allies in its psychological war.

But in spite of all difficulties and obstacles the representatives of the subjugated peoples united in A.B.N. are succeeding in winning over and mobilizing more and more national forces in America, Europe and Asia for the fight against Russian imperialism and for the liberation of the enslaved peoples of the USSR, as well as for the disintegration of the most ruthless empire in the whole of history, namely the Russian-ruled USSR. The treacherous murder of Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Ukrainian nationalists, threatening letters and warnings to Ukrainian emigrants, acts of provocation and terrorism, all of which are intended to break the spirit of resistance of the political emigrants, have brought the Russian tyrants very little success. On the contrary, many of the supporters of so-called coexistence are beginning to realize the vile nature of the plans entertained by Moscow for the purpose of destroying the free world. Every attempt on the part of Moscow to liquidate the political emigrants, to demoralize them and cause them to abandon their aims, encounters a growing resistance and a firm resolve on the part of these emigrants of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR to continue their fight against the Russian imperialists until the final victory is achieved.

Further proof of the victory of the ideas of A.B.N. and of the subjugated peoples can be seen from the 7th Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL), which was held in Manila, the capital of the Philippines, in May 1961.

This Conference was convened by the Philippine Chapter of APACL and the organization of the League in Free China. It was given active support by the Philippine Government, a fact which greatly contributed towards its success, and was attended by delegates from the following countries: Australia, Free China, Iran, Iraq, South Korea, Macao, Malaya, Pakistan, the Philippines, Japan,

Jordan, the Ryukyus, Singapore, Thailand, Turkey, the Republic of Vietnam, New Zealand, Ceylon, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, France, and others. Delegations from the USA, headed by Senator Dodd, and of A.B.N., of the American-Asian Educational Exchange (AAEE), of CIAS (International Committee for Information and Social Activity), and other international organizations attended the Conference as observers.

The Conference opened with an invocation by His Eminence Cardinal Santos. In addition to prominent politicians from the above-mentioned states and organizations, the main speakers also included the President of the Philippine Republic, the Foreign Minister of the Philippine Government, and the Commander-in-Chief of the Philippine forces.

From the political point of view the participation of the A.B.N. delegation represented a big step towards the realization of the idea of the liberation of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, as can be seen from the resolutions which were adopted at this Conference. We quote the following excerpts:

"The Seventh Conference of the APACL

Noting that since 1918 the imperialistic and aggressive policies of Russian Communism have resulted in the creation of a vast empire which poses a dire threat to the security of all the free peoples of the world;

Calling attention to the fact that these policies have led, through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Poland, Hungary, Lithuania, Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Rumania, Bulgaria, East Germany, Mainland China, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Korea, Albania, Idel-Ural, Cossackia, Turkestan, North Vietnam, and others;

...RESOLVES:

1) To express its solidarity with the captive nations struggling for their liberation from Communist domination, and to condemn Soviet Russian colonialism in all its forms and implications;

2) To urge the governments of free countries to insist firmly in the United Nations and elsewhere on the right of self-determination and national independence of all nations and peoples subjugated by world Communism directed by Moscow and Peiping;

3) To call upon the free world to defend itself and free the enslaved through the mounting of a common and united effort, this to be brought about by the collaboration of all freedom-loving organizations and individuals without regard to any other differences or difficulties between their peoples;

4) To assure that this League shall constantly strive for the freedom and independence of all peoples and nations throughout the world, supporting such governments until national enslavement has been terminated for all time."

The Russian imperialists of the NTS (Narodno-Trudovoy Soyuz = National Labour Union), who had suffered considerable defeats at the previous international conferences of the APACL, did not appear at the Manila Conference. In their stead, however, the representatives of ACEN (Assembly of Captive European Nations) zealously tried to defend the interests of the Russian imperium and the so-called status quo of 1939. These representatives came from New York and were apparently of the opinion that they would be able to impress certain countries that are dependent on the USA for material aid. A clash eventually occurred between A.B.N. and ACEN in the Resolutions Committee, but thanks to its determined attitude and its arguments, A.B.N. defeated its opponent.

The APACL Conference in Manila was once more proof of the fact that, in spite of great difficulties and obstacles and even in spite of an intensified action on the part of the enemy in the APACL countries against the freedom idea of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, the principles of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) are asserting themselves to an ever-increasing extent. Although A.B.N. may still have to wage a long and grim fight against the Russian oppressors and usurpers, its guiding principle, namely that the Russian imperium must be disintegrated, is gaining more and more ground and is being adopted by all clear-sighted persons who believe in the national freedom idea and who will undoubtedly have a decisive influence on the policy of the states of the anti-Communist bloc in the near future.

Other important international anti-Communist congresses in recent years at which A.B.N. has played a decisive part, inasmuch as its ideas and principles have been accepted unanimously in the form of resolutions adopted on these occasions, have been the 8th Conference of APACL in Tokyo, Japan, in October 1962, and the International Anti-Communist Conference in Malta in October/November 1962, which was organized by the "Lega Anti-Kommunista" in Malta.

We have only given a brief survey of the manner in which the ideas and principles of A.B.N. are asserting themselves in the free world to an ever-increasing degree. The activity of A.B.N., of its leaders and the political emigrants of the subjugated peoples, above all of the Ukrainians, is far more extensive than one might assume from this article. A.B.N. has always regarded it as its duty to enlighten the free world about the true nature of Russian Communism and to win over this world for the fight against Russian imperialism and persuade it to mobilize all its forces for this purpose. Within a relatively short time the co-workers of A.B.N. have succeeded in introducing the freedom ideas and principles of A.B.N. in the forum of international politics. Hence these ideas and principles have become the symbol of the freedom and national state independence of the subjugated peoples in the Russian prison of peoples which is known as the USSR.

Prof. Dr. Vasyl Oreletsky

STARVATION OF UKRAINE BY MOSCOW IN 1921 AND 1933

This year the Ukrainians in the free world are commemorating the sad 42nd and 30th anniversary respectively of the starvation of Ukraine by Moscow.

After the signing of the Ukrainian-Russian alliance in January 1654 in the Ukrainian town of Pereyaslav (near Kyiv) and the subsequent negotiations in Moscow in March of the same year, it already became evident to the Ukrainian delegation that the Russians had falsified the terms of these agreements and were putting a different construction on them than had been the case in Pereyaslav two months previously. In order to assert the Russian claims Russian troops and agitators were sent to the large Ukrainian towns for the purpose of terrorizing and misleading the Ukrainian population. These Russian methods of subversion have remained unchanged up to the present time, as the free world knows only too well. The Russian mentality and character have not changed in the least in the course of the centuries. In the opinion of the Ukrainians the present rulers in Moscow are still the same dangerous Russian imperialists that they were hundreds of years ago. The Ukrainians furthermore regarded the 1917 revolution as nothing but an internal conflict between the Russians themselves, and the Bolshevik Communist watchwords solely as another form of Russian imperialism and of Russian camouflage manoeuvres.

It was therefore logical that the primary aim of the Russian Communist Party was to consolidate its power in the Russian Empire, with a view to conquering the entire free world later on. For this reason the new Russian Bolshevik government sought to assert its power by terrorist measures and at all costs to re-conquer the non-Russian peoples who had meanwhile seceded from Russia and had established their own national states during the years 1917-1920. The first country to fall a victim to Red Russian imperialism was Ukraine, which was already invaded by the Soviet Russian armies on December 17, 1917. But why Ukraine? Because the Ukrainian people are the largest non-Russian people and constituted the gravest obstacle to the Russians in the latter's "collection" of the non-Russian peoples who had seceded and restoration of the former Russian imperium. This unequal struggle continued for three years, during which time the Soviet Russians did not hesitate to resort to the most ruthless

terrorist measures imaginable in Ukraine. A large-scale persecution of Ukrainians was staged: the Ukrainian clergy, the secular intelligentsia, farmers, artisans and workers were massacred.

After seizing the Ukrainian capital, Kyiv, on February 9, 1918, the Soviet Russian army at the orders of its commander-in-chief Mikhail Muravyov and in collaboration with the Russian political police organized a terrible mass-pogrom against the harmless Ukrainian population of the town. After the liberation of Kyiv on March 1, 1918, the Red Cross estimated that more than 5,000 Ukrainians, including the Metropolitan Volodymyr of Kyiv, had been massacred there. Similar pogroms were also organized by the Russian army of invasion and the Soviet Russian secret police in other towns and villages of Ukraine.

These terrorist measures on the part of Moscow in Ukraine continued until the end of 1920, when the Poles and Russians decided to carry out a joint onslaught, as a result of which the Ukrainian army was finally defeated by the Russians. Ukraine was however only overpowered by armed force, for the spirit of resistance of the Ukrainian people had by no means been broken. Moscow was only too well aware that the Ukrainian farming class was the backbone of the Ukrainian people. For this reason it already resorted to drastic methods of exploitation against the Ukrainian farmers in order to rob Ukraine of all its grain supplies and thus undermine the vitality of the Ukrainians.

In spite of the fact that the harvest in Ukraine was extremely poor in 1921, Moscow issued orders, at Lenin's instructions, that huge quantities of grain and other foodstuffs were to be requisitioned there; in this way the Ukrainian people were not only robbed of their crops, but also deprived of their staple foodstuffs and thus doomed to starvation. The countless confiscations of grain by Moscow resulted in the first artificially created famine in Ukraine. Hundreds of thousands of persons perished in Ukraine during the famine, and millions died later as a result of undernourishment.

This was the first attempt on the part of Moscow after the Ukrainian fight for freedom to exterminate the Ukrainian farming class physically by starvation. It is interesting to note that at the same time there was also a shortage of foodstuffs in some of the Volga regions of Russia. Moscow appealed to various foreign relief organizations for help, but neither mentioned Ukraine in doing so, nor organized any material assistance for the starving Ukrainian population, a fact which is hardly surprising since it was Moscow's plan to starve Ukraine. The only help which Ukraine received came from Ukrainian emigrants, who through certain foreign organizations managed to send modest relief indirectly, in the form of clothes, money, and medical supplies, etc., to their enslaved fellow-countrymen.

Little news of the first famine in Ukraine reached the public elsewhere in the world, but the second famine in 1933 was commented upon at considerable length in the West, in spite of the fact that Moscow sought to hush up this second famine at all costs so as to be able to let further millions of Ukrainians starve to death.

This famine in Ukraine actually began in the summer of 1932 and was only "officially" ended in the autumn of 1933. But there can be no doubt about the fact that the consequences of this dreadful catastrophe were by no means ended by that time. The enmity between the Ukrainians and the Russians was above all evoked by the opposition of the Ukrainians to Communism and also to the Russian occupation of their country.

In order to effect the so-called "de-kulakizations," that is to say the forcible expropriation of the Ukrainian farmers, Moscow sent special units, mainly consisting of Russian Communists, from Moscow, Tula, Leningrad, Gorkiy and other Russian towns to Ukraine. Both wealthy and also poorer Ukrainian farmers firmly refused to join the collectives (the kolkhozes). Together with their families, they were then massacred, or deported to the regions in the extreme north of Russia and to Siberia.

According to very modest estimates, about 2 million Ukrainians were deported during the years 1929-1932, whilst 300,000 to 500,000 "kulaks" (prosperous farmers) were brutally murdered in the Ukrainian villages.

Ukraine protested against these terrorist measures, and numerous riots broke out all over Ukraine. On various occasions during the years 1929-1930 the Ukrainian insurgents, led by Otaman Shpak, attacked detachments of the Russian secret police, GPU, and members of the Russian occupation forces. In September 1930 a revolt broke out in the vicinity of the town of Vinnytsia. In June 1931 Ukrainian insurgents revolted in several districts of the province of Kamyanets-Podilsky (the old capital of Podolia, on the River Zbrutch). At the same time the Ukrainian provinces of Kherson, Volhynia, Dnipropetrovsk, and Chernyhiv were also the scene of anti-Russian riots. Moscow sent special units of the "Muscovite Proletarian Division," which consisted solely of Russians, to the province of Chernyhiv to combat the Ukrainian insurgents there.

How was the artificial famine organized by Moscow?

In addition to the vigorous opposition of the Ukrainian farmers to the forcible collectivization (i.e. expropriation) introduced by Moscow, there were at that time also many secret organizations in Ukraine (mainly in the towns), which actively opposed the Russian occupation, — as for instance, the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine" (SVU), founded in 1926, the Ukrainian Nationalist Centre

(1931), and a Ukrainian military organization discovered at the beginning of 1933. On June 20, 1934, the Russian governor of Ukraine, Postyshev, was obliged to admit officially: "The nationalist elements were particularly active in 1931 and 1932."

Moscow began to be alarmed. For this reason the Russians wanted to complete the collectivization at all costs in order to destroy the "social basis of Ukrainian nationalism" and at the same time break the resistance and fighting spirit of the entire Ukrainian people.

In 1932 the harvest in Ukraine was on the whole satisfactory, with the exception of three southern provinces. But, on the other hand, agriculture had been badly hit by the persecutions, the expropriation, the collectivization and the deportation of countless farmers and their families. The Russian Communists however admitted that the harvest in Ukraine had been fairly good, and in the session of the Central Committee of the Party on January 11, 1933, Stalin stated that the harvest in the USSR in 1932 had been much better than the 1931 harvest. The Russian rulers in Ukraine affirmed that 807,800,000 puds of grain had been harvested in Ukraine, but this figure was exaggerated, for the Communists wanted to prove that after the requisitioning of grain by the state and after deducting the seed-corn there was still enough grain left to provide the population of Ukraine with food. But this official data was not correct. For we learn from Soviet Russian sources that up to the end of January 1933 the Soviet state had received 255 million puds of Ukrainian grain. On the other hand, 145 million puds should have been reserved as seed-corn. Accordingly, the remaining 407 million puds should have sufficed completely to feed a population of 32 million (of which 24 million persons lived in the rural areas of Ukraine). Hence Moscow's statements were incorrect, for a famine was already raging in Ukraine in the spring of 1932. Quite apart from the fact that the requisitioned 255 million puds of Ukrainian grain (which were taken to Russia) would have been enough to protect the 5 million victims of the famine in Ukraine from starvation.

In the winter and spring of 1932 the Russian occupation authorities requisitioned practically all the grain from the Ukrainian farmers, so that a famine was already raging by the end of spring. By the beginning of the summer the Ukrainian farmers and their families were already dying off like flies. The Russian authorities meanwhile had sentries posted to guard the fields and in this way robbed the farmers of all the crops. On August 7, 1932, the Russian government issued the notorious decree on the "protection of socialist property" in order to prevent the starving farmers from going into the fields. At Moscow's orders the so-called government of Soviet Ukraine on December 6, 1932, resorted to drastic measures in order to fulfil the quotas fixed by the Kremlin for the grain deliveries to the state. These inhuman measures also involved those regions of Ukraine which had so far only been partly hit by the famine.

Of these measures, the following in particular must be mentioned: the cessation of grain deliveries to these regions, the suspension of trade by the state and the co-operatives, the closing down of the state sales stores and of the co-operatives, the confiscation of grain supplies, the embargo on the purchase of staple products, and the suspension of loans, etc.

In view of such diabolical methods on Moscow's part it is hardly surprising that about 1,500,000 persons died of starvation in Ukraine during the period from June to December 1932. But this was only the beginning of the terrible tragedy of Ukraine. For Moscow also organized a large-scale extermination of everything that was Ukrainian: independent Ukrainian agriculture, Ukrainian culture and literary life were to be suppressed and destroyed. Since the mission of Molotov and Kaganovich in 1932 had proved unsuccessful, Moscow hastened to send Pavel Postyshev and the notorious functionary of the Russian secret service, Balitskiy, to Ukraine in January 1933. Postyshev was vested with the powers of a dictator in Ukraine by Moscow, and Balitskiy was appointed head of the GPU in Ukraine. Hence the entire police as well as Moscow's other terrorist organs were under the latter's control and authority.

Together with Postyshev and Balitskiy thousands of Russians also came into Ukraine in order to occupy key-positions in the administration and in all sectors of economic and political life there. Postyshev himself later admitted that by October 1933, that is to say by the time the famine was "overcome," 3,000 Russians held posts as new functionaries in the "political centres" of the machine tractor stations and kolkhozes. A further 10,000 Russians held important posts in the collectives (kolkhozes) as chairmen or secretaries, etc., and 3,000 Russians were "organizers of the Party" in the kolkhozes.

The famine reached its height during the period from February to June 1933. In this connection we should like to quote the testimony of various persons, both foreigners and Ukrainians, who themselves witnessed this terrible tragedy in Ukraine.

For instance the paper "The Russian Courier," which appeared in Paris, in its edition No. 11, 1932 (p. 23), wrote as follows: "...one sees the emaciated figures of women with their children, branded by the mark of famine, in their arms. A large number of farmers are at present to be seen in the towns since they have heard that one can buy food here unrestrictedly. They are hoping to buy or beg some. Even in Kharkiv (at that time the provisional capital of Ukraine — author's note) there are a large number of farmers begging for bread. But the militia chases them out of the town."

In its edition of July 23, 1932, the same paper published another report by an eyewitness of the famine in Ukraine: "The general food situation in Ukraine defies all description. Famine is raging there — with all its consequences: the bark of trees and grass are now a substitute for bread."

As regards the famine in Ukraine, the American correspondent W. H. Chamberlin expressed the opinion that the Soviet Russian government could have successfully prevented this famine with its own means if it had really wanted to do so ("Russia's Iron Age," Boston, 1934, p. 89).

The Congressional Record, Washington, 1952, Vol. 98, par. 2, p. 210, states that cases of cannibalism were confirmed by W. C. Bullitt, the American diplomat and former ambassador to Moscow, in the course of a deposition before the Committee against Un-American Activities, House of Representatives of the USA. In reply to a question by Mr. Rankin as to how many Ukrainians had died of starvation, Mr. Bullitt said that they numbered 3 to 5 million. Mr. Rankin then asked him whether it was true that men, women and children who were dying of hunger had in dreadful desperation eaten the flesh of their own children and of members of their family. Mr. Bullitt replied that he was extremely distressed to have to admit that this was true and added that he possessed two photos taken in Ukraine which showed a mother and the skeleton of her child whom she had eaten.

Below we quote some reports by eyewitnesses who survived the famine. These reports are to be found in the book "The Black Deeds of the Kremlin." A White Book, Vol. 2, The Great Famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933, pp. 73-74. The first of these reports comes from the region of Vovchansk in the province of Kharkiv and states that scores of people died every day. Their bodies were left in the houses and remained there for several days since no one had sufficient strength left to bury them. As the work of digging grave was too difficult, mass-graves were dug. The corpses were piled up on carts, like blocks of wood, taken to the edge of the pit and tipped in; they fell in all anyhow. It was a terrible sight. Many of those who buried them one day were themselves dead the next day.

The other report comes from the region of Parkhomivka in the province of Kharkiv and describes the following incident. A cart which was collecting corpses stopped in front of the house of a peasant called Koval. He was still alive but the men who were collecting the corpses set about dragging him to the cart. He feebly tried to remonstrate with them and begged them not to put him on the cart but to give him something to eat. But the corpse-collectors told him that they were too busy to return for him later and that he would die in any case. Koval, still alive, was thus thrown into a mass-grave. But during the night he managed to climb out from under the corpses and crawled out of the cemetery and as far as the first house. There one of his family brought him some boiled meat and

he gradually recovered. In 1941 he was still alive, and his friends used to call him "Koval the Immortal."

The above-mentioned book, "The Black Deeds of the Kremlin," contains accounts of numerous such hair-raising incidents as these, which frequently occurred during the famine. Owing to lack of space, however, we cannot quote more such cases.

It is extremely regrettable that the late well-known French politician, Edouard Herriot, allowed himself to be deceived by the Russian occupation authorities and wrongly informed by them as regards the famine in Ukraine. The Russians had carefully planned the route which he was to take through the distressed areas of Ukraine and had instructed the population in all the places through which he was to pass to give him an enthusiastic welcome. But did this French politician ever once ask the Russians to show him the places he himself wanted to see? We do not think so, for his visit was determined by diplomatic protocol. And the Russians took advantage of this fact. Herriot merely saw a falsified version of reality in Ukraine.

The Ukrainians in West Ukraine (at that time under Polish administration) and the Ukrainian emigrants, as well as certain international organizations were anxious to help the starving Ukrainians, but Moscow turned down all offers of assistance. Kalinin affirmed before the central Executive Committee of the USSR in December 1933: "The political liars propose to come to the aid of Ukraine, which is allegedly starving... Only the most decadent classes would venture to make such cynical statements." The Soviet Russian Foreign Minister, Litvinov, denied that there was a famine in Ukraine even more emphatically. In a letter dated January 4, 1934, which he sent to the American Congressman H. E. Koppelman, he acknowledged a letter of December 14th from the latter and thanked him for having drawn his attention to certain Ukrainian complaints. He added that there were a large number of these pamphlets in circulation and that they were full of lies and had been written by counter-revolutionary organizations abroad.

These "pamphlets" incidentally were protests by Ukrainian organizations in the USA, which Koppelman had collected and sent to the Soviet Russian government.

At that time the population of southern White Ruthenia (Byelorussia), of the region of the Volga Germans, of the North Caucasus and even of Kazakhstan was also starving, but the famine there had by no means assumed the same proportions as in Ukraine, and hence there were fewer victims. It is, however, interesting to note that all the areas which were hit by famine were without exceptions non-Russian.

It is very difficult to give an exact estimate of the number of victims of the famine in Ukraine, but certain sources more or less

truthfully confirm the total number of persons who perished in Ukraine.

Thus the pro-Communist American socialist Harry Lang, for instance, reports that a high-ranking Soviet Russian functionary informed him that at least 6 million Ukrainians had died of starvation. Indeed, as many as 40 per cent of the population in some villages died in the course of a few months. Another American and enthusiastic Communist, Adam J. Tawdul, learnt from the then Minister of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (in Kharkiv), Skrypnyk, that at least 8 million persons died of starvation in Ukraine and in the North Caucasus (the Ukrainian Kuban region). The head of the GPU, Balitskiy, assumed that the famine in Ukraine must have claimed about 8 to 9 million victims (see "Saturne," Bulletin de la Commission Internationale Contre le Régime Concentrationnaire, No. 6, January-February 1956).

As already mentioned above, the former American ambassador to Moscow estimated the number of victims of the famine in Ukraine at 3 to 5 million.

A high-ranking functionary of the Bureau of Statistics in Ukraine, Mme. H. Vilna, expresses the opinion that about 6.5 million persons perished in Ukraine during the famine.

According to the "Ukrainian Review", No. 15, 1959, p. 19 (in Ukrainian), published by the Institute for Research on the USSR in Munich, the following statistics give one an idea of the extent of the famine in Ukraine during the years 1932-1933:

Persons who died of starvation in 1932:	1,504,600
Persons who died of starvation in 1933:	3,317,000
	Total: 4,821,600
Loss in natural population increase:	1,000,000
	Total losses in 1932 and 1933: 5,821,600

Artificially created famine — a political weapon of the Kremlin

The russification of Ukraine could be effected all the more easily since the expropriation of the wealthy farmers in Ukraine was carried out most drastically the whole of the time, that is to say before and after the famine. And it was also facilitated by the fact that countless Ukrainians were deported and an even greater number perished during the famine. The Russians inundated devastated Ukraine. Many of them obtained important positions in the administration, in the supervision of the kolkhozes, in agriculture, and in the educational sector, etc. Thus the expropriation, the famine and the purges to a very large extent furthered the Russian colonization of Ukraine in the years 1929 to 1937.

Many Ukrainian Communists were either liquidated, or else committed suicide. About 18 months before he committed suicide, M. Skrypnyk, an old Ukrainian Communist and one of Lenin's followers, in strict confidence told a well-known Ukrainian opera singer (meanwhile deceased) from the West, who visited Soviet Ukraine in order to give a concert there: "I have been sadly mistaken. All Russians are chauvinists. Ukraine will be ruined under the Soviet Russian regime." As a result of the famine created by Moscow in 1932 and 1933, Skrypnyk committed suicide on June 6, 1933.

Thus Russia triumphed over Ukraine in the years 1933 and 1934. In the joint plenary session of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Party on January 7, 1933, Stalin stated in his report that in the course of the first Five-Year Plan the socialist system had liquidated the capitalist elements in industry and the kulaks in agriculture as a class. And the "History of the Communist Party" (p. 19) affirms: "The collective system has managed to liquidate misery and poverty in the province. Millions of poor farmers have been able to provide for their future."

The Russian dictator of Ukraine, Postyshev, jubilantly declared on January 11, 1934: "The year 1933 brought the complete defeat of the nationalist and Petlura elements as well as of the other hostile elements (in Ukraine) which have infiltrated into the various sectors of the socialist structure" (Postyshev: "In the Fight for the Leninist-Stalinist Policy" (in Ukrainian), Kyiv, 1935, p. 112).

At the beginning of 1933 Harry Lang, the correspondent of the "Jewish Daily Forward" in New York, visited Ukraine. In an account of this journey he wrote as follows: "As we travelled through the vast expanses of Ukraine... we saw fumes rising up out of the huge stacks of grain in the fields — the grain was rotting..." ("Le Courier Socialiste," No. 19, 1933).

There was therefore grain in Ukraine, but it was heavily guarded by Russian special units.

The above-mentioned American journalist W. H. Chamberlin aptly wrote as follows: "The famine was used exclusively and intentionally as an instrument of Moscow's national policy. For it was the last possible means of breaking the resistance of the Ukrainian farmers against the new system."

Of the numerous articles which were published by various Ukrainian periodicals on the subject of the famine in Ukraine during the years 1932 and 1933, the title of one article is particularly significant: "Moscow will not be able to escape the judgment of history."

K. V.

THE WEALTH OF UKRAINE AND POLITICS

It is a fact that Ukraine occupies an important place in the Soviet Union both from the ethnographical (44.5 million inhabitants) and the economic point of view. It is indeed an immensely rich country. Coal, iron ore, manganese, mineral oil, natural gas, precious stones (topaz, opal, sapphire, ruby, onyx, amethyst, tourmalin), etc., are found there. And, of course, also wheat and other cereals.

The following figures will give the reader an idea of the proportion of Ukraine's production to the total production of the USSR in 1962.

	<i>Ukraine's Production</i>	<i>Percentage of Total Production of USSR</i>
I. Energy — raw materials — semi-products		
Cast-iron	28.1 million tons	50.8
Steel	30.6 " "	40.1
Rolled metals	24.6 " "	41.3
Steel tubes	2.4 " "	26.0
Iron ore	70.9 " "	55.3
Coal	175.2 " "	33.8
Coke	32.3 " "	57.6
Cement	9.9 " "	17.2
Chemical fertilizers	4.8 " "	27.8
Gas	26.2 milliard cub. m.	34.8
Electricity	69.5 " kw/h	18.8
II. Equipment goods		
Metallurgical equipment	111,800 tons	46.3
Oil equipment	14,400 "	11.8
Tractors	104,900 units	36.5
III. Food products		
Meat (excluding meat from collective and private farms)	1.1 million tons	23.0
Granulated sugar	4.5 " "	57.7
Dairy produce	1.7 " "	18.3
Edible oil (excluding products from collective and private farms)	0.62 " "	31.1
Canned foods	1.4 milliard tins	24.0
IV. Finished industrial products (without indication of percentage in relation to total production of USSR)		
Motor cars	33,900	
Cameras	383,400	
Radio sets and amplifiers	263,800	
Television sets	221,000	
Refrigerators	156,100	
Washing machines	159,900	
Sewing machines	125,300	

A comparison between the production of Ukraine with that of the large countries of Europe shows that Ukraine produces as much coal as England or the Federal Republic of Germany. As regards natural gas, Ukraine raises more than any other country in Europe.

Ukraine produces comparatively little petroleum: 3.8 million tons in 1962 (France produced 1.9 million tons in 1960), but there are very large deposits in the country, which according to the government projects will bring the production of mineral oil in Ukraine up to 45 million tons by 1980. In addition, the production of electricity in Ukraine will amount to more than 500 milliard kw/h by 1980, that is to say 50 per cent more than France, England and the Federal Republic of Germany together produce at present. The production of steel — likewise according to the plans of the Soviet government — is to be increased to 75 million tons. By 1980 Ukraine is to produce 120 milliard cubic metres of gas, that is 8 times more than at present.

Ukraine also ranks foremost in Europe as regards the manufacture of power transformers (38.2 million kw/A) and of various types of agricultural machines (seeding-machines, grubbing ploughs, maize harvesters).

In addition to its industrial importance Ukraine also possesses a highly developed agriculture. In 1961 its wheat harvest amounted to more than 15 million tons, that is to say considerably more than the harvest of Canada or of any other country in Europe. The total grain harvest in 1962, including maize, amounted to about 38.3 million tons. As regards the production of sugar, Ukraine ranks second in the world next to Cuba.

* * *

The review on Ukraine's production in 1962 which we have published above emphasizes and corroborates the fact that Ukraine is a wealthy country. But it must above all be stressed that the Ukrainians derive little or no benefit from the wealth of their country. Even Soviet statistics reveal some of the truth regarding the colonial exploitation of Ukraine. They show, among other things, that 504 million tons of raw materials and of finished goods left Ukraine by rail during the year 1960. In return, Ukraine only received 483 million tons of raw materials and finished goods during the same period.

The economy of Ukraine is an integral part of the economy of the USSR. Hence Ukraine receives no payment for the products which it exports beyond its frontiers; in exchange it receives some raw materials (very little, in fact) and products manufactured in the other republics of the Soviet Union, above all in Russia. It goes without saying that amongst the products sent into Ukraine there are often goods which are useless since there is no demand for them at all in Ukraine; and also that certain essential goods are only manufactured

outside the country, whilst others, manufactured on the spot, are not to be had there. Ukraine is deprived of its wealth, for the Russians have countless means at their disposal of keeping it economically dependent on them. In spite of all the possibilities available, an enormous number of essential goods are not manufactured in Ukraine. In addition, the nominal and intrinsic value of the products introduced into Ukraine is considerably less than the value of the products and raw materials which Russia takes out of Ukraine.

"Of all the parts forcibly wrested from the Empire of the tsars — wrote Charles Dubreuil, former professor of French literature at the university of Kyiv, in 1919 — Ukraine is undoubtedly the most precious. Consequently one realizes why its masters of former times and its adversaries of today unite their efforts and struggle with all their might against the national movement which urges the Ukrainian people to live in freedom and independence henceforth" (Charles Dubreuil: "Deux années en Ukraine" ("Two years in Ukraine"), Paris, 1919).

The wealth of Ukraine has been its misfortune. And this wealth has always been the object of covetousness on the part of its neighbours. This is the main reason why the Russians — red and white alike — are set upon proving by means of subterfuges, untruths and falsifications that Ukraine "constituted and shall constitute part of Russia." The national interests of the Russian empire prompt them to falsify history, to distort the truth and actual facts, provided that ignorant foreigners continue to accept the idea that "Ukraine is Russia" and not a country occupied by Russia.

Since the occupation of Ukraine by Soviet Russia in 1920 the economy of Ukraine, which is undoubtedly the most important economic entity in Eastern Europe, has merely served the interests of the odious imperialism of the Russian ruling class. In our opinion there is only one possible way of arresting the Russian colonial expansion which at the moment is acting as an aid to Communism, and of annihilating the menace with which Russia is threatening Europe and the whole world. And this possibility is the restoration of the independence of Ukraine, as well as of Byelorussia and the countries of the Caucasus. The idea of the restoration of this independence is neither extraordinary nor impossible, but is entirely in keeping with the de-colonization campaign which has recently been undertaken in the world and with the principle of self-determination of the peoples.

It is above all a question of realizing the importance of this problem and of genuinely wanting to defend the noble cause of human freedom.

(Sources: Statistical data on the production of the USSR and Ukraine, published on January 26th and February 1st, 1963, by the Central Bureau of Statistics of the Ministerial Council of the USSR and Ukraine respectively. Ukraine: realizations and projects, "The Moscow News," July 28, 1962, p. 8-9.)

Jaroslaw Stetzko

The Status and Role of Ukraine in the World*

II

At the Turning Point of Epochs and Worlds

The chief problem which at present occupies our world most is the threat of an atomic war. And the questions connected with this problem make other matters, which are no less important and concern the majority of mankind, appear insignificant by comparison. In any case, the danger of an atomic war determines the policy of the Western major powers. But in addition to this undoubtedly many-sided and complicated problem, other equally important matters confront all mankind, and though they leave their mark on the world more noticeably than events in any other epoch of the history of the world, they are assiduously avoided as if they did not exist. The problem of the subjugated peoples in the Russian and in the Communist sphere of influence as a whole is the key problem of world politics at present. In practice world politics hinge on this problem, although this fact is not admitted. Are not Berlin, East Germany, Laos, and the Chinese mainland, all of which have been subjugated under the Communist system introduced from Russia, part of the complex whole of the subjugated peoples, as a special third decisive force which determines the aspect of the world today? The problem of Ukraine, which, in view of the human fighting potential of that country, its geopolitical position, its natural reserves and its role as an intellectual centre in the fight against Russian tyranny, is a most vital problem, belongs to the category of questions about which world politics keep silent.

At present a number of trends are in evidence which aim at a solution of the complicated problems that confront mankind. But intellectual and political chaos — the ideological crisis of the free world, the crisis of religious faith, still continue to prevail; it would however be wrong to assume that there are no longer any sound ideas in the free world and that they are all in some way or other out of date and old-fashioned. The ideas have not been used up, but man

*) Conclusion of the article published in "The Ukrainian Review", Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 49-69.

has misused them. The ideas of Europe have not stagnated, but the people of West Europe have become disloyal to them. The characteristic feature of Europe is heterogeneity and not homogeneity (uniformity) — nationalisms and not internationalisms. The strength of the European ideas always lay in advance and progress — in the firm conviction that these ideas were superior to other ideas, in a willingness to fight in the spirit of the ancient conquerors on the part of the champions of these ideas. But what of our day? West Europe has grown indifferent. It has ceased to show enthusiasm for any ideas. Politics and, to an even greater extent, foreign politics are nowadays more an art than a science. One must be able to comprehend the most important problems, to unriddle and understand the main trends in the development of the world and the central ideas which determine the present process in the world's history. What is needed are great statesmen, politicians and historians who are capable of comprehending and of orientating themselves to what is happening all around us. What is needed are men who have the great gift and the courage to make decisions, and to recognize the concatenation of the events that are happening in the world. They need not necessarily be highly erudite, but they must above all be personalities with a sound common sense, political courage, instinct and farsightedness.

The present state of the world is due to many causes. During the past 500 years there were less far-reaching and momentous revolutionary events than during the past 50 years, if one takes into account the conglomeration of upheavals occasioned by revolutionary events during this relatively short period. True, the discovery of America was the first and most unique event of its kind which brought about an upheaval in the world and left its mark on the past 500 years of history. Thanks to the spirit of discovery and of conquest of Europe, new continents, countries and peoples were discovered and opened up. In this way different cultures, religions, ideas, ways of living and social conceptions were able to meet. The European discoverers and conquerors entered new continents and countries; they discovered new peoples, who now became acquainted with each other. True, abuses occurred, but the essence and purpose of all these efforts was a creative one, — man's wish and longing for what was new and his search for what was still undiscovered drove the restless spirit of Europe into the unknown. This spirit was the champion and herald of the ideas of Europe, of its religious faith and its way of living, and not solely of colonial rule. It was very different from the Russian spirit of ruin and destruction.

In the meantime the revolutionizing events of the past fifty years have led to the downfall of many idols. Since West Europe did not remain loyal to its ideals but surrendered its integral eastern territory to the barbarous Russian Eurasians, it was bound to forfeit its political position in the world sooner or later, for it was now divided.

Betrayal of the National Idea

Had West Europe comprehended the ideas and plans of Charles XII and Mazeppa and thus prevented the defeat at Poltava in 1709, it would not have paved the way to Europe and the rest of the world for Russia by its indifference. Had West Europe in 1918 supported the national state independence of Ukraine and of the other nations liberated from the tsarist yoke, it would now occupy a stable and powerful position in the world. The armies of the Russian barbarians would not at present occupy the very heart of Europe, and Russia would not be the dominating force in Asia. The Western statesmen failed to comprehend the great historical process — the rebirth of the nations, above all after the disintegration of the peoples' prison in 1917/18.

Hitler and the National Socialists did not in the least realize the course which the development of the world was taking; they wanted to turn back the wheel of history. Nor did Churchill and Roosevelt, the former ally of Stalin, comprehend the nature and meaning of the development of mankind, the significance of the historic hour. In place of the imperium, national states began to appear on the scene of history. Hence, from the aspect of culture, freedom and justice, it was erroneous to ally oneself with gangsters against criminals. In any case, the historical process during the first decades of this century already indicated the direction in which the future development would proceed. Japan won the war against Russia in 1905 thanks to an internal revolution in the Russian imperium. The allies of the victorious Entente, the Russians, lost the war owing to national liberation revolutions within the Russian imperium. As a result of the first world war three empires collapsed: Imperial Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey. But in spite of the grim struggle, new forces matured, and the main trends of the future development were already clearly apparent. In order to play off their partners against each other and to justify their own aims, the empires that remained created "miniature empires," inasmuch as they infected the Serbs, Poles and Czechs with moribund imperialism; they created Yugoslavia, which was not a creation of the Serbs but of the French. Millions of Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians and Germans were forced under Polish rule; Slovaks and Ukrainians were handed over to the Czechs, and Ukrainians, Hungarians and Bulgarians were abandoned to the Roumanians.

Even in those days the Western powers already betrayed Europe by forcing one European people under the rule of another. In this

way they made Russia, a non-European and anti-European power, the arbitrator in Europe. The Czechs, the Serbs and the Polish national democrats set their hopes on Russia, with whose aid they hoped to be able to preserve their "miniature empires." The statesmen of Europe failed to realize that Russia, once she has intervened in European affairs, always emerges out of the dispute as the victor, for close relatives who quarrel usually hate each other afterwards. Neither Poincaré nor Clemenceau regarded Ukraine as a problem. Neither of them saw beyond Versailles, and neither of them wanted to take the development of historical events into account.

Instead of realizing the idea of national states in Europe 45 years ago, the West did something most improbable and absurd. It supported the Russian Bolshevist imperium; it supported Denikin, Wrangel, Koltchak and Kerensky in order to prevent the independent states of Ukraine, Georgia, and Turkestan, etc., from being restored. To its own disadvantage it held up the process of development in the East, which would have been most expedient for itself.

Changes in the Balance of Power

As a result of World War II all the "victorious" empires in the world which had existed until that time, above all the British, French, Dutch and Belgian empires, made their exit from the world stage. The most significant and portentous event of the post-war period is the disintegration of the British Empire, hitherto the greatest world empire in history. The fading out of this power within so short a time has disorientated many people. The picture of the world as they conceived it has been disturbed and has become confused. The largest fleet in the world no longer rules the oceans; the power which could prevent any other power from ruling the world is no more. New powers have come into being to which the world has not yet accustomed itself, and whose abilities and intentions as regards the world order are little known. India with her neutralism and her vague and constantly veering course, and other, similar members of the Commonwealth do not occupy a clearly defined and stable position in the political power conflict. The fact that the African and Asian continents have ceased to be dependent on European powers, the creation of a number of independent states out of former colonies, the defeat of Germany, the loss of her position in Europe and the occupation of one-third of her territory by Russia have led to a shift in the distribution of power. The increase in power of the largest and only existing empire, the Russian imperium, which — since the European world powers made their exit — has extended its sphere of influence to huge territories and is aiming to rule the whole world, including the mother countries of the former great European colonial empires, has changed the entire appearance of the world.

On the other hand, as a result of the two world wars, and, above all, as a result of World War II, an extra-European state, namely the United States, has become the strongest power in the world, and the Asian aspect is as important to it as the European aspect. The Russian imperium, which ranks next to the USA in the technical and material sense, is likewise an extra-European power, but it is above all an anti-European power, whereas the USA in its ideology adheres to the European idea of freedom and of the independence of peoples. The Russian imperium has achieved a hitherto unparalleled expansion, inasmuch as it has taken advantage of the erroneous policy of the Western powers, in particular of the USA, to occupy vast territories of Central Europe. But the West overlooks the internal weakness of this imperium, its vulnerable spot, namely the subjugated peoples and the unnatural Communism on its soil. It is a colossus with feet of clay. But it is an undeniable fact that the British Empire and the former distribution of power in the world, as well as the other vanished empires of the West have been supplanted by new forces: the world-embracing imperial, barbarian **Russian power** with the subversive idea of Communism for all countries of the world, above all for the coloured peoples, and the **American power** with the newly created national states, which are caught between two powers, or else adopt the course of neutralism, that is to say are on the side of Moscow.

In Africa there are no longer any colonies, but there are now colonies in Europe. At present 17 million Germans, members of a people, whose leaders not so very long ago strove to rule the world, are colonial slaves. The most political nation of the world, England, which until recently possessed the greatest empire in the history of the world (there has been no foreign invasion for 900 years), is in danger of becoming a colonial dependence of the most barbarous power in the world, Russia.

Never before in history have a large proportion of a people who is threatened by a foreign attack, by betraying their own country, served the potential aggressor, as for instance the Communist parties in Italy or France and their supporters are now doing. **Never before have peoples who were threatened ignored to such an extent peoples who are subjugated by the same enemy, as possible allies and thus undermined all means of self-defence.**

All this is the result of the chaos of ideas and of man's disorientation as regards the trends of the development of mankind and of a lack of faith in the truth of these trends. In former times it would have been unthinkable for England or France, for instance, to have permitted Nazi ideas or those of the French revolution — that is to

say ideas of the enemy — to exist side by side with the English or French way of thought, as is now the case at the universities in Great Britain and in France.

China, which is ruled by the Russian idea, will also cause considerable trouble if the politicians of the West, who overlook the fact that the ideas of freedom are stronger than Communist terrorism, do not take the initiative and resort to counter-measures on a political level.

The fact that France has confined itself to the European continent and the alliance of those two sworn enemies Germany and France, undoubtedly an event of historical significance for Europe, are two factors which are expedient, inasmuch as they defeat any intentions on the part of either of these states to make an ally of Russia. The lost war of the Western victors, who have joined forces with defeated Germany and Japan, and the inclusion of the states that were conquered in the camp of allies against the former "friend" Russia have rapidly changed the entire distribution of power.

Revolutionised Strategy

If one takes into account the great revolutionizing changes and progress in the technique of warfare — nuclear weapons and the destructive power which they represent, the rapid increase in civilizing and technical achievements, and at the same time the decay of moral values and the discrepancy between the intellectual, moral processes and the civilizing, technical processes which run counter to each other, one is bound to recognize the ever-growing dangers that threaten the world.

The increasing religious indifference, in fact atheism, in the free world, as can be seen from the alarming example of the USA, where religion has been banned as a subject of instruction in the schools, and the degeneration of the moral principles of individuals and peoples lead to a life of chaos and result in a people becoming an amorphous mass without spiritual leadership, without energy and without a noble aim.

In addition to the revolutionizing changes in the technique of arms, the significance of the armed people, of insurgent partisan units and of insurgent tactics and strategy is steadily growing, much to the surprise of all technocrats. Atomic weapons are countered by the weapons of the intellect and of ideas, of partisan and underground tactics and strategy, a fact which was recently also acknowledged by the President of the United States. Twenty years after it was founded, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and its idea is now becoming the salvation of mankind and also the salvation from the atomic threat. The strategy at present adopted by Russia is something

hitherto unprecedented, — namely a combination of aggression with internal civil and peripheral wars, the aim of which is the achievement of world domination by means of the so-called “salami tactics,” that is to say step by step, in which the opportunism of the West, which maintains that it is not worth risking a war on account of such trivial matters, is used to advantage by Russia. The result has been the loss of Laos, Vietnam and Korea, and the “Wall” in Berlin. The fact that the West does not follow a clearly defined political principle and course in the present conflict, which has assumed global dimensions, and Moscow’s orientation to the peripheral regions for the purpose of diverting the attention of the West from the inevitability of an attack on the starting-point of the evil, are resulting in the West concentrating on fronts that are of secondary importance. Africa is certainly a continent of strategical importance; but the decisive battle will be fought **not in Africa but in the steppes of Ukraine**, in the world of the subjugated peoples, in the Russian peoples’ prison.

The main issue lies in reducing the human potential of the Russian Communist bloc by winning over and rousing the enthusiasm of the subjugated peoples for new ideas and by supporting and defending these peoples. For it is precisely such measures which will augment and strengthen the insurgent partisan forces, which will be the deciding factor in the future cataclysm. As long as the West fails to realize that a new world is about to emerge from the interior of the Russian imperium, it will continue to steer towards its downfall. As long as the West fails to adopt the new constructive order of national independent states on the ruins of the Russian imperium and does not recognize this revolutionary order — irrespective of whether it desires this order or not, it will continue to feel that it is threatened by approaching danger.

Ukraine’s Key Role

Never in the history of the world has the fight for the realization of ideas of freedom and justice, for the victory of Divine Truth on earth, led to ruin and decay. New forces are at work in the catacombs of the Russian peoples’ prison. And the West must set its hopes on these forces. The light of the rebirth of the peoples and of the idea of national, Christian and human freedom shines forth from the underground movement in Ukraine. The greatest bulwark against every menace — whether it is a yellow, a red, an existing or a non-existing menace — must not be based on injustice and coercion, but always on free individuals and peoples who defend freedom and not slavery, and who would die rather than submit to enslavement. Any general and politician who is a man of moral principles will prefer to defend a fortress with free individuals rather than with prisoners.

Thus the key position in the fight against evil, the centre of which is Moscow, is held by the subjugated peoples. And it is time the West realized this fact. It must drastically wipe out the treachery in its own ranks. For this reason the Communist parties must be prohibited as parties of treachery and parties of the enemy. The dissemination of the ideas of the enemy, of ideas of treachery, at the universities must likewise be prohibited.

The freedom-loving world possesses a huge intellectual potential. But its vulnerable spot is a lack of faith in its own values, defeatism, an overestimation of material values as compared to spiritual values, duty to God, human dignity, moral values, heroism, self-sacrifice, and further worship of the golden calf, egoism, self-complacency and indifference to the fate of the subjugated peoples. It is senseless to hope that vital human problems can be solved by Utopian dreams, for **the world is a planet of strife and of work, of tears and suffering, of sweat and blood, of self-sacrifice and heroism, of eternal striving to attain an ideal which mankind will never achieve. At the point of divergence of epochs and worlds the same truths are binding for us** which the Christian faith taught mankind 2000 years ago. And we must continue to fight for these same truths, always bearing in mind that we shall never find a nobler ideal than self-sacrifice for our "neighbour." The answer to all the doubts which assail the world at this point of divergence and to the dread of destruction by nuclear weapons is: those who, in spite of all the troubles and misery of this world, fight for the Truth of God on earth, for justice, for freedom, against injustice, against godlessness, and for their own fatherland, will never be the object of destruction. If it has been decided by Divine Providence that this planet is doomed to decay, than it is better to lay down one's life in the fight for freedom rather than to capitulate before evil. We have many guiding signs in our life and in our fight. The conception of the world which is propounded by Ukraine is a realization of the ideas of the independence of peoples, of justice, of freedom of the individual, which is only limited by justice, and of religious faith. He who serves an idea and believes in it as an absolute truth, is fearless.

In the chaos of ideas and principles the great historical course of Ukraine stands out clearly marked and defined. Although the reality of this world is complicated and burdened by many factors, the main trends of its development have assumed a definite shape, and one is to some extent justified in hoping that the freedom-loving world will eventually find the right path which Ukraine has been following for the past 50 years.

Prof. Dr. M. Sharleman

The "Song of Igor" from the Aspect of Natural Science

The "Song of Igor" is the subject of an extensive literature. A bibliographical list which was published in 1940 and is by no means complete contains as many as 703 publications on the "Song of Igor." So far, only philologists, historians and writers have translated the "Song of Igor," or written commentaries or dissertations on it. Scholars in the field of natural science, or to be more exact, authorities on the plant and animal life in Ukraine, have hitherto not occupied themselves with it. Representatives of the humanistic studies have carried out research on the "Song of Igor," this unique work in the entire Ukrainian literature, and have clarified many of the somewhat vague passages, but unfortunately, owing to their faulty knowledge of the plant and animal life in Ukraine, they have misinterpreted the exact data contained in this outstanding work. The only publication which, to our knowledge, deals with questions pertaining to geography, climatology and geobotany in the "Song of Igor" is a dissertation by P. Savitskiy (1903).

A superficial study of the literature which has been published on the "Song of Igor" reveals that the later translations and commentaries contain most errors, a fact which has already been pointed out by A. Pushkin¹). Falsifications are already to be found in some of the early translations. This is corroborated by the unknown author of a translation which appeared at the end of the 18th century: "This poem was written in the Slav-Russian language at the end of the 12th century, but it contains so many Little Russian expressions that one cannot understand it unless one knows the Polish (sic!) language. This translation contains neither the original quality of the old dialect nor the clarity of the present dialect. For

1) "The Song of Igor." Bibliographical list, Moscow, 1940 (in Russian).

this reason I regard it as my task to remove all that is superfluous from the translation, to make the work more accessible to the reader, and to clarify historical facts in the notes" (Ilyinskiy, 1920).

It is apparent at a first glance that the rural element plays an extremely important part in the "Song of Igor." The keynote of the entire poem is zoomorphic in character. The zoologist who is acquainted with the fauna of Ukraine, as well as those who are familiar with the flora and the geographical features of that country will find many valuable and stimulating ideas in this work; in other words, had an exact analysis of the "Song of Igor" been made from the natural science aspect, there would probably be no more doubts as to its originality and it would be easier to solve the problem as to who was its author.

Some years ago (in 1940) we made our first attempt to analyze the "Song of Igor" from the point of view of the student of natural science, in particular of the authority on the fauna of Ukraine. Upon studying this work closely we formed our own opinion regarding its author (1942). Continuing this research, we collected new material, which, together with the old material contained in a few little known editions, is listed below. We should however like to point out that the literary sources on the "Song of Igor" have not by any means been exhausted to the full²). This fact was however only of slight importance as regards the task which we had set ourselves, since the scientific data given in the earlier commentaries repeated and only varied in certain details.

The "Song of Igor," a unique artistic and scientific work, is in its abbreviated form and as regards its manifold contents not only a work of art, but must, above all, be regarded as a unique and outstanding scientific creation from the historical and geographical point of view. There is not a single superfluous word or epithet in it which merely serves a poetic purpose; all the adjectives which it contains endow the work with an unusual dynamic quality and, at the same time, show that the author chose them with great care in order to come as close to reality as possible. Let us take as an example the attractive but at a first glance apparently somewhat vague adjective "silvery," which the author uses. When he talks about the "silvery flow of the Sula," we know exactly what he means, — for the waters of a river placidly flowing through the steppes shine like silver when the sun falls on them. But to call the banks of the Donets "silvery," as the author does, seems at a first glance to be a poetic exaggeration. But this epithet can be interpreted realistically when used in this connection, for the Donets in its course flows

²) P. N. Savitskiy (1930) has made a short but exhaustive analysis of the "Song of Igor" from the geographical and geobotanical aspect. He came to the conclusion that the author possessed not only poetic but also scientific gifts, which enabled him to describe the natural phenomena he observed so aptly.

through the chalk hills, the so-called "Sacred Hills," and hence its waters collect a large quantity of chalk. This chalk is deposited on the sandbanks and in the bends of the river and gives it a whitish colour. In the sunlight its banks really shine like "silver." Scholars in the field of natural science will therefore have no doubts about the fact that the author of the "Song of Igor" had not only a high standard of education and culture in his day but also considerable knowledge of the natural sciences, which he acquired as a huntsman through direct contact with Nature. He was intimately acquainted with the flora and fauna of his native country; he observed them carefully in all their manifold forms, registered the details faithfully in his memory and then reproduced them in his "Song of Igor." He undoubtedly took part in the campaign against the Polovtsi, a fact which is substantiated by the precise description of the landscape as regards place and time. Such a realistic picture could not possibly have been based on hearsay or solely on poetic intuition. Even if we had no records of Igor's campaign in the chronicles of those days, we should be able to ascertain where and when, in fact in which month, this tragic warlike venture took place — solely on the strength of an analysis of the text of the "Song of Igor" from the natural science aspect.

The undulating landscape, groves of oak-trees, esparto grass, and the "squeaks of the animals," probably of the badgers and the marmots, indicate that the east region of Ukraine must have been the scene of the action. The climbing adder — a species of large snake which is a native of south Ukraine — is found most frequently in the steppes on the Sea of Azov. Other phenological data indicate that the campaign must have taken place not earlier than the end of April and not later than the month of May. At this time of the year the song of the nightingale can be heard almost uninterruptedly day and night and the shrill cries of the badgers and marmots are particularly loud. The escape of Prince Igor from captivity must have occurred at about the same time: "the nightingales were singing and the woodpeckers were hammering." The characteristic "Spring hammering" of the woodpecker is only rarely heard after May. The historical fact that Igor fled from Polovtsi captivity a year after his defeat, that is to say in April or May in the year 1186, is known to us (Riha 1934). We therefore agree with the opinion expressed by P. N. Savitskiy, who writes: "It is perfectly clear to us that the author of the 'Song' possessed not only poetic talent but also a scientific knowledge as regards his apt characterization of the natural phenomena which he observed." Savitskiy thus classes the "Song of Igor" as belonging to the category of so-called factual literature and regards its author definitely as a pioneer of the science of the steppes.

In the "Song of Igor," which contains a wealth of factual information, we find mention of 22 to 25 different species of animals, of a plant which is typical of the steppes, namely esparto grass, of a characteristic phenomenon of the wooded steppes — the *Quercus* — oak-tree groves, as well as of collective names for trees and grasses, for sedge-grass, and of a tree — the yew-tree — which is rarely found in this region. The animals which are mentioned include 8 mammals, 13 birds and one amphibian. It is only natural that many of the animals and birds mentioned belong to the category of game, for it is evident from old reference sources that farming and hunting were the two main occupations in Ruś-Ukraine (Aristov 1866). In those days there were extensive forests, which abounded in game, in the immediate vicinity of Kyiv (Nestor Chronicle, 1767 edition)³).

The murals in St. Sophia's Cathedral⁴) in Kyiv which contain hunting motifs (Sharleman 1938), as well as "The Teachings of Volodymyr Monomach to the Children" are eloquent proof of the economic significance of hunting in Ukraine in olden times. It is interesting to note that the dressing of hides and skins continued to be an important occupation for a long time and that in the 17th century special huntsmen's guilds existed, as for instance the beaver-hunters, wild duck hunters, and falconers. And much earlier the leopard hunters already formed their guilds. The huntsmen's guilds in the region of Chernyhiv, that is to say in the native district of most of the men who took part in Igor's campaign, existed for a long time, namely until about the end of the 18th century. Even today the dressing of the skins and hides of wild animals in Ukraine brings in about 9 million roubles every year⁵). The author of the "Song of

³) I should like to express my sincere thanks to V. V. Miyakivsky and S. Paramoniv for their valuable assistance in helping me to obtain the necessary literature and reference works. Also to N. V. Imhart for his valuable advice in connection with this article.

⁴) St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kyiv, as a monument of culture, and the "Song of Igor" have many features in common. These two creations of world-fame are proof of the high level of intellectual and cultural life in Rus-Ukraine in the 11th—12th century. But there is also a distinct difference between the two. The murals in the Cathedral depict life in Ukraine in peace times, whereas the "Song of Igor" shows us Ukraine in combat with its enemies.

⁵) V. Shcherbakivsky (Studies of the Ukrainian Historical-Philological Society in Prague, Vol. III, 1941, p. 40) is in error when he assumes that "the cultural basis of creative activity of the Ukrainians was not hunting and collecting mushrooms, but agriculture with every kind of domestic animal, fruit-trees, and poultry, in particular hens." Actually hunting played a predominant part in ancient times. It was the essential factor of prosperity and of the first indications of cultural life, if we accept the chronicles, the "Teachings of Monomakh," the "Ruś Law," the "Song of Igor," and the secular murals in St. Sophia's in Kyiv as authentic proof, which they assuredly are. Not only "every kind of domestic animal" was to be found in Ukraine, but also specially trained dogs for hunting purposes, as for instance, greyhounds, setters, dachshounds

Igor" must undoubtedly have been an outstanding hunter and falconer. He is particularly fond of comparing the heroes of his poem with falcons or hunting-falcons. Of his 65 references to animals, 13 are to falcons and one to hunting-falcons. He has an amazing knowledge of the habits of the falcon, as can, for example, be seen from the following lines: "When it is the falcon's rutting-time, he drives away all the birds and will not let his nest be ravished." The expression "rutting-time" is still used by hunters in some districts. It means the mating-stage of the young bird that has got its plumage. Those who are acquainted with the habits of birds know how courageously a falcon will drive away a golden eagle, which is far stronger than a falcon, from its nest. The above passage has unfortunately been incorrectly interpreted by some translators and commentators as "when it is the falcon's moulting-time." Falcons, like other birds of prey, have no special moulting-time. They lose their feathers gradually in the course of the year. In any case, moulting in a bird is a sign of disease. Hence a desire to fight at such a time would be unnatural. Another line in the poem — "the falcon glides in the breeze" — shows the keen perception and extensive knowledge of Nature of the author. He had already rightly ascertained that birds of prey can only glide in a current of air. But it was not until the development of aviation that the technique of gliding was explained. According to the principle of the so-called "Philip's plate," two forces affect the bird's wings: the counter-pressure of air and the weight of the bird. The composite effect of these two forces acting in different directions enables the bird to glide forward without moving its wings.

The following line is also particularly interesting: "Far travels the falcon, driving the birds to the sea." This is an accurate description of the habits of the peregrine falcon, which, in the autumn, in pursuit of whole flocks of wild ducks, which constitute its main prey, travels as far as the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. For as a rule various kinds of ducks from the north winter in these regions. The falcons mentioned in the "Song of Igor" are usually peregrine falcons, as the following line shows: "Like a falcon that hunts the geese and the swans, he flew under the clouds of mist." Another

and bloodhounds. Horses were also trained specially for hunting, and there were packs of hounds and trained hunters' guilds. Not only princes hunted, but the people, too, hunted the ermine, the polecat and the marten as a livelihood, with small white dogs with pointed ears, that is to say a type of hunting still prevalent today in northeast Europe and in Siberia. This type of hunting in a different form was still customary in our country until the middle of the 19th century. Ukraine probably had the oldest hunting laws to be found in the "Ruś Law." The author is therefore in error when he affirms that there was no "neighbourhood of bears" in Ukraine. This neighbourhood still exists today, and in the 17th century bears were to be found far south in the forest steppes near Chyhyryn (Erich Lasota). (See Sharleman 1938 and Zubareva 1940.)

kind of falcon found in our regions, the lanner falcon, was not used for hunting such large birds as wild geese and wild swans. The peregrine falcon, and above all the female, which is larger and stronger, and also the hunting falcon were more suitable for this purpose. This hunting falcon, as it was called in the old sources, was undoubtedly the common falcon (*Falco gyrofalco*), a native of Scandinavia, which was brought to our regions by the Varangian rulers and their retinue.

The price for all hunting birds such as the falcon, the common falcon and the hawk was high in Ruś-Ukraine. It is stipulated in the "Ruś Law" that a thief who had stolen a bird must pay a fine of 3 hryvni to the state and of 1 hryvnia to the owner of the bird. By comparison, a horse only cost 1 to 2 hryvni in the 12th century. The vanquished had to give their hunting birds to the victor as tribute. The reason why hunting birds and in particular falcons were prized so highly in ancient Ukraine is obvious. They not only gave their owner entertainment, but also brought him a large profit. Even today a golden eagle or a falcon costs more in Kazakhstan than the best horse.

The wolf is mentioned in the "Song of Igor" nine times. Hence he ranks second in importance to the falcon in this poem. Like Volodymyr Monomach in his "Teachings to the Children," the author of the "Song of Igor" designates the wolf as the "savagc beast." This characterization was still used in some districts of Ukraine in the 19th century (Sementovsky 1857). The adjectives "grey," or "bare-footed" are usually applied to the wolf. The author of the "Song of Igor" says of the wolf: "at night he roams about," and "in the ravines the wolves scent the approaching storm." The role played by the wolf in the "Song of Igor" shows how important this animal was to man in the 12th century. Later on, too, there were still many wolves in Ukraine, and in the 13th century caps were made of wolf's fur there for export to West European countries (Aristov 1866, p. 148).

The auroch ("tur"), usually as a nickname for a prince, is frequently mentioned in the "Song of Igor." In the old sources this word "tur" is used to refer to two different kinds of wild ox: the original ox, that is the real auroch (*Bos primigenius*), from which our domestic ox is descended, and whose direct descendant is the Ukrainian grey steppe ox⁶), and also the European bison (*Bison bonasus*). The latter name is not mentioned in the old sources. The fact that people in those days were unable to distinguish between the auroch and the European bison can be seen from the following

⁶) Even in our day the word "tur" was still used for "ox" in the Kyiv district. I myself heard it used in various phrases in the neighbourhood of Uman as recently as 1914. And it is still used in Galicia (s. Hrinchenko "Dictionary," 1925, p. 1912).

note by a Greek historian: during a visit of the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos Komnenos to the Galician ruler Yaroslav, the latter, together with the Prince of Kyiv and other Ukrainian princes, arranged an auroch hunt. Andronikos is said to have shot animals on this occasion which, according to the Greek historian, are found in large number in Ukraine and in size are larger than a bear or leopard (Sementovsky 1857, p. 17).

Notes by certain authors show that in the old sources the word "tur" was used to refer to the European bison. They write, for instance, that calves of a cow and a "tur" were stillborn, and they obviously mean a hybrid of a cow and a bison (Zubareva 1940).

The fox, the ermine, the squirrel and the pard are each mentioned once in the "Song of Igor." "The foxes bark as the red shields approach." There are still a large number of foxes in the Ukrainian steppes and it is by no means an uncommon occurrence for them to bark at travellers. The ermine usually inhabits the lower courses of the rivers in Ukraine, a fact which has been observed by the author of the "Song of Igor." He writes: "Like an ermine Prince Igor leaps into the reeds." In the 12th century there were still many beavers (Castor fiber) in Ukraine, but in spite of this fact their fur was one of the dearest kinds. In Yaroslavna's "Lament" there is mention of a "beaver sleeve." Squirrels are mentioned by the author in the following connection: he complains that the princes are fighting each other in hostile conspiracy, and that the heathens (i.e. the Polovtsi) have meanwhile triumphantly invaded the land of Ukraine and are "taking a squirrel from every farmstead."

Since time immemorial it had been the custom to hunt squirrels (*Sciurus vulgaris*) with dogs, the so-called yelpers, in Ukraine, a fact which is substantiated by the ancient chronicles and the murals in St. Sophia's in Kyiv. How widespread this form of hunting was, can be seen from the following line, which refers to the rendering of tributes in the form of squirrel pelts in ancient Ukraine: "The Khazars received from the Polyany, Siveriany and Vyatychi a white squirrel from each farmstead." A white squirrel is one that changes its colour in the winter to light grey (white). And this "white" winter pelt was so valuable in olden times that it was used as a means of payment for rendering tributes and other financial obligations. According to a source of the year 996, Volodymyr the Great "placed one-tenth of his income at the disposal of the Tithe Church in Kyiv" (St. Laurentius Chronicle, 8, 10, according to Aristov, p. 17-18). In the 14th century, too, there were undoubtedly still a large number of squirrels in Ukraine, for "a thousand good squirrels cost 5 roubles." But the common squirrel was twice as cheap as the Novgorod squirrel; hence "100 squirrels cost 1 rouble." Squirrel hunting was by no means as widespread later on. In Byelorussia, however, as

many as 200,000 squirrels were killed as recently as 1926⁷). Certain commentators (Ch. Kors, Barsov, and recently also I. Novikov) have interpreted the line "they dispersed like mice on a tree" as referring to a different kind of squirrel, namely the flying squirrel. On the strength of the fact that someone somewhere in the Pskov region used the word "mouse" for flying squirrel (*Pteromys volans*), I. Novikov affirms that the "mouse" in the "Song of Igor" is a flying squirrel. But this interpretation is untenable. True, it is not improbable that a small and unusual animal with nocturnal habits was popularly referred to as a "mouse," the name given to all small rodents in the dialect of the Pskov region. In Ukraine the small dormice, which likewise live in trees, are sometimes also referred to as mice. But it is hardly likely that the bard of the "Song of Igor," which was most certainly composed in Ukraine, where there were and are no flying squirrels, would mention these animals which no one in this region knew. Nor would a poet ("Boyan") have done so. The metaphorical use of the word "mouse" instead of "flying squirrel" would have been incomprehensible to every social class. This is one of those cases of which A. Pushkin rightly said: "The commentators have outvied each other in making expressions which are not clear even more obscure by adding their own unfounded corrections and assumptions."

The pard or leopard likewise did not belong to the animal kingdom of Ukraine. It was presumably brought there from the south. And yet it was already known there in the days of Igor. A chronicler compares the campaign of Prince Sviatoslav with this animal stalking its prey: "he walked as lightly as a pard" (Laurentius Chronicle, p. 63). In 1169 Sviatoslav Olhovych made his father-in-law Yuriy Dolgorukiy a present of a leopard: "he first came to Yuriy and gave him a pard." (Cf. Hypatius Chronicle, p. 340.) And "Sviatoslav gave Rostyslav a 'pard' (leopard) and two fast horses." It is interesting to note how historians and scholars who have engaged in research on the old historical sources, to which the "Song of Igor" also belongs, have tried to solve the pard question. Karamzin expressed the opinion that the princes did not give each other living pards but only their skins (Cf. "History of the Russian Imperium"). And Aristov (p. 3-4) wanted to interpret the word "pard" either with lynx, panther, or leopard.

S. Shambinago, W. Riha, Chervinskiy, and H. Storm (1934) translated the word "pard" by "panther," and A. Orlov (1938) with "panther offspring." Dr. I. Mandychevsky approaches this problem with a self-assurance which brooks no opposition and solves it quite simply in his own way, namely by affirming: "pard — ancient Ukrainian lynx." Only complete ignorance of the Ukrainian zoological nom-

⁷) A. Fedyushin: "Dynamics and geographical distribution of hunting animals in the U.S.S.R." (in Russian), Minsk, 1929, p. 79.

enclature could have prompted this scholar to hit on such an explanation. For nowhere in Ukraine is the lynx referred to as a "pard." The hypothesis propounded by I. Novikov (1938, p. 129-130) is more plausible. He affirms quite rightly that the word "pard" cannot be translated by "panther." In fact, he was the first person who came to the conclusion that "pard" was the same as "leopard" or "hunting leopard." But his assumption that the leopard referred to in the "Song of Igor" is the African leopard, since this animal was to be found in Ust-Urt on the Caspian Sea, is erroneous. In the "Song of Igor" and in other sources the Asian leopard is actually meant by "pard." This kind of leopard is still found today along the east coast of the Caspian Sea, in the Mangyshlak mountains, and in Turkestan. It is also found fairly frequently in Afghanistan and Iran. Another error which the above-mentioned author makes is that he translates the word "family" by the word "herd" or "pack," for it is characteristic of the leopard that it does not go hunting in a pack but with its family. Incidentally, no beast of prey of the cat family goes hunting in a herd; the lion is the only exception in this respect. It is indeed strange that so far no commentator has ever raised the question as to whether "pards" (leopards) were used in Ukraine as tamed animals for hunting hoofed animals. There is, however, enough material available from which to obtain an answer to this question. In addition to proof provided in the above-mentioned chronicles, the murals in St. Sophia's in Kyiv depict three leopards in the act of attacking a wild horse, or perhaps it is a wild ass. The use of leopards, which were trained for hunting purposes, in olden times was very common. In the year 1470 Joseph Barbar saw a hundred of such trained leopards, which belonged to the ruler of Armenia, and the Mongol rulers possessed so many leopards of this kind that they often took a thousand of them with them when they went hunting. Leopards were also brought to West Europe. The German Emperor Leopold I (1640-1705) was given two leopards by the Turkish Sultan and he often took them with him when he went hunting.⁸⁾ Even today leopards are still kept in large numbers at the courts of some Indian princes, and a special caste of persons is employed to catch and train these beasts of prey.⁹⁾ It is interesting to note that there were also skilled leopard-hunters in Ukraine in ancient days. They are mentioned in the decrees issued by the khans (eg. Aristov, p. 4). But it can be assumed that the Ukrainians in olden times got these leopard-hunters from their eastern and southern neighbours, and it is also possible that the Ukrainian princes obtained them as war-booty or as tributes from the vanquished nomads. Naturally, leopard-hunters were already known in Ukraine in the

⁸⁾ Brehm: "Tierleben" ("Animal Life"), 1886, Vol. I, p. 316 (Russian edition).

⁹⁾ Haake: "Die Tierwelt" ("The Animal Kingdom"), Vol. 2 (Russian edition).

10th century, for they are mentioned by a chronicler when writing about Sviatoslav (942-972).

An idea of hunting with leopards in those days can be gained from ancient poems and miniatures. Leopards and falcons were even taken on military campaigns. Abul Kassim Tussi (Ferdoussi, 934-1027) gives the following account of a campaign conducted by the Persian hero Bishan to Turan: "In preparation for a pleasant hunt he took leopards and falcons with him. Like a lion he rushed on, full of angry strength, and ruthlessly felled wild asses and gazelles. His leopards hurled themselves on the chamois of the steppes and tore out their hearts with their claws."¹⁰) The leopards were brought to the hunt on carts, a practice which is still followed in India today, or the hunters set the leopard behind the saddle on the horse, as can be seen from some miniatures.¹¹) There was only a comparatively small number of leopards in Ukraine and they were, of course, only kept at the courts of princes. Proof that they were only few in number can be seen from the fact that they are not mentioned at all in the "Ruś Law," although this work frequently refers to falcons, hunting dogs and horses. The opinion expressed by the scholar Orlov (1938, p. 14), to the effect that the "savage beast" mentioned by Volodymyr Monomach is a kind of leopard, is most certainly erroneous.¹²) In the first place, wild leopards did not exist in Ukraine; hence no leopard could have "leapt at Prince Volodymyr's hips." And in the second place, no cases are known in literature of persons being attacked by leopards.¹³) In olden times only tamed and so-called "gentle" leopards were kept for hunting purposes (cf. Peretz, p. 262). Some scholars are of the opinion that the murals in St. Sophia's showing hunting scenes are of a later date than the building itself, and that they depict a hunt held by Volodymyr Monomach and were painted at his request (cf. P. Kurinny). These murals show two scenes in which horsemen are attacked by animals: in one scene by a bear, in the other by a wolf. A leopard in the act of attacking is not depicted here, But, as has already been pointed out, the wolf was referred to in the old sources as the "savage beast."

¹⁰) Bishan and Mashin: "The Literature of Iran," 1935, p. 95 (Russian edition).

¹¹) See miniatures in the following editions: F. R. Martin: "The Miniature Painting and Painters of India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th century," Vol. 2, pp. 115, 116, 179, 189. London, 1912. — Gleich and Dier "Die Kunst des Islam" ("The Art of Islam"), Propyläen Verlag, 1925, p. 517. "Die Ausstellung Mohammedanischer Kunst" ("The Exhibition of Mohammedan Art"), Munich, 1910. Vol. I.

¹²) This erroneous opinion is also expressed by E. Pelensky, who writes: "the savage beast is the lynx." Krypyakevyeh assumes that some other, now unknown beast of prey is meant. But there were no unknown beasts of prey in Ukraine in ancient times.

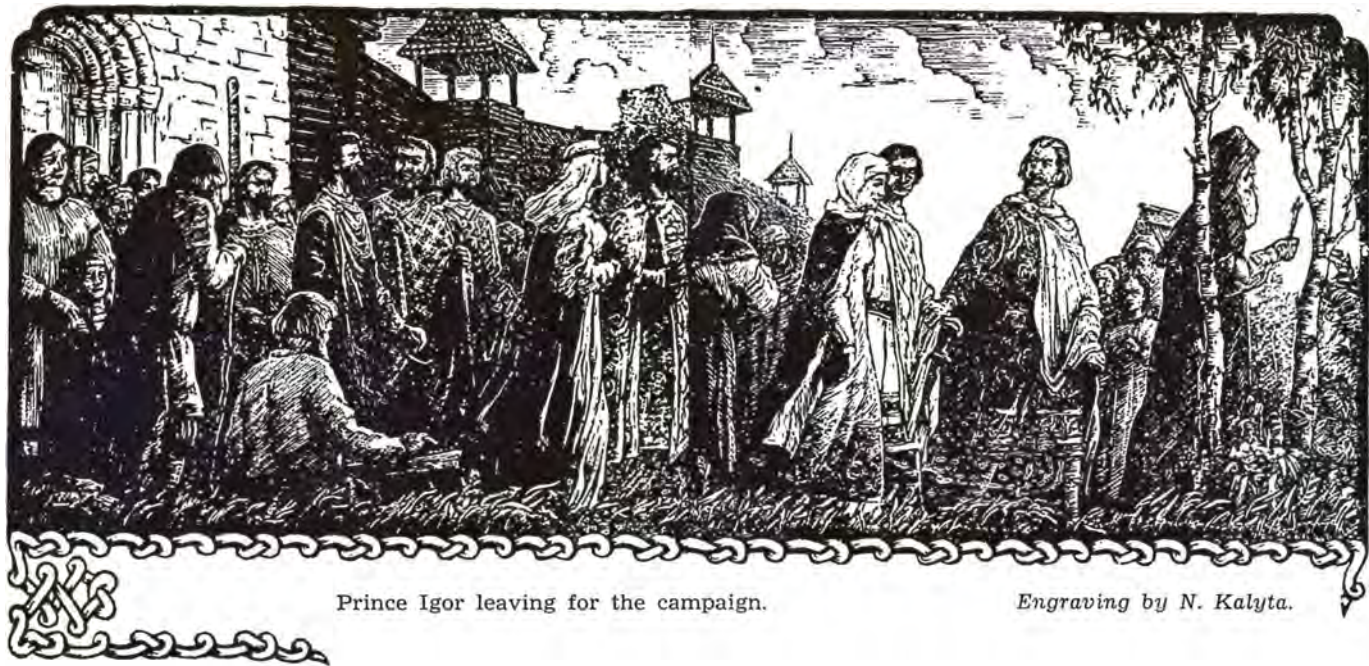
¹³) Guldensdaedt: "Reise durch Russland und das kaukasische Gebirge" ("A Journey through Russia and the Caucasian Mountains"). St. Petersburg 1787-1791.

In the "Song of Igor" reference is sometimes made to animals that are not mentioned by name; hence it is difficult to know which animals are actually meant. When the author of the "Song of Igor" talks about the "squeaks of the animals," he can only be referring to the badgers and the marmots. I. Novikov (1938) rightly assumed that the "squeaking animals" mentioned in the "Song of Igor" are badgers and marmots, for even recently there were still many badgers in the region which Igor's armies must have crossed. According to Beauplan's statements, they were still to be found in large numbers as far as the River Dnieper in the 16th century. In the 18th century they still inhabited the regions along the River Seym in the vicinity of Baturyn and Nizhyn. Nowadays they are found in large numbers in the neighbourhood of Starobilsk and in smaller colonies in the district of Velykyy Burlak and Vovcha, as well as near Luhansk. They also occur east of the Donets and Don rivers. In these regions there are also large numbers of pearly marmots, whilst grey marmots are to be found south of the Donets bend. One can imagine what huge numbers of badgers and marmots lived in these regions in olden days when the steppes were still untouched by the plough, and how loudly their cries resounded when they were excited. Barsov's assumption (1876, quoted by Peretz) that wolves also utter such squeaking cries, and Orlov's assumption (1938) that some goats, presumably the kinds that inhabit the steppes, also do so, are unfounded. These animals never utter squeaks, and in any case the author of the "Song of Igor" was thoroughly acquainted with the habits of animals. Incidentally, hunters in those days used to imitate the howling of wolves (cf. Hypatius Chronicle).

Of the birds that played a part in hunting, swans are referred to most frequently in the "Song of Igor." Undoubtedly the swan was in those days a favourite bird, the much-prized booty of every falconer. Wild swans, geese and ducks were hunted not merely for pleasure, but above all as food for meals. Apart from wild swans, reference is also made in the "Song of Igor" to the hooper swan, which still makes its nest in the mouth of rivers in Ukraine and in olden times was to be found throughout the entire country, and probably also to the northern singing-swan. A reference to the latter is contained in the following line in the "Song of Igor": "he then let loose his falcons on a flock of swans and the swan that was caught first sang its song." It is a well-known fact that the singing-swan gives a melodious cry, and the description in the line quoted can be regarded as an example of the so-called swan-song. Another interesting comparison is drawn in the line: "at midnight the steppe carts screech as loudly as swans that are scared." P. N. Savitskiy rightly affirms: "a person who had not heard the screeching sound of the steppe carts in the night could never have drawn this comparison." Similarly, someone who is not familiar with the cry of the swan



An old map of South-Eastern Ukraine (*Gastaldo, 16th century*) depicting the area where Prince Igor's campaign took place. CUMANI is another name for Polovtzi.



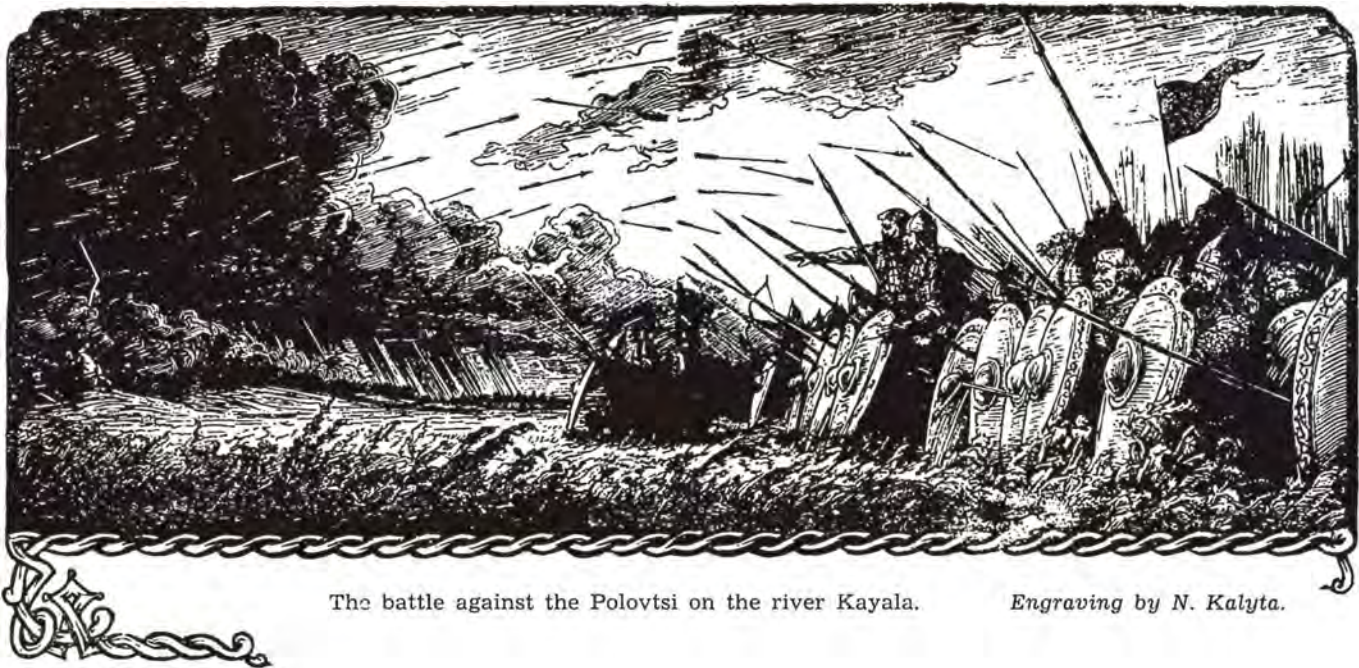
Prince Igor leaving for the campaign.

Engraving by N. Kalyta.



The march across the steppes.

Engraving by N. Kalyta.



The battle against the Polovtsi on the river Kayala.

Engraving by N. Kalyta.

could not have drawn such a comparison either. Nowadays too, when the singing-swans fly southwards in the autumn to hibernate in the regions of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, their cries disturb the nightly sleep of the villagers.

There are two references in the "Song of Igor" to the wild duck, which is described as "white"; and in the comparison which the author draws: "as keen of hearing as a wild duck on the water," he stresses a striking characteristic of this bird. Hunters know that of all the different kinds of ducks, the wild duck has the keenest hearing. When swimming in the water it is always on its guard and the instant it notices a human being it flies up and loudly beats its wings. Gulls swimming "on the waves" are equally keen of hearing. If a human being or an animal appears in their vicinity, they give a warning cry. These birds probably warned Prince Igor when, unsuspecting, he wanted to rest on the banks of the River Donets, which "spread out green grass on silvery banks for him and surrounded him with gentle mist in the shade of green trees."

The so-called tufted duck is equally vigilant. During Igor's flight from captivity these birds warned him whenever danger threatened. In olden times when there were still many old hollow trees in the lowlands of the rivers, large numbers of wild ducks were undoubtedly found in Ukraine, for they are particularly fond of building their nests in hollow trees. It is not so very long ago that the nest of a wild duck was found in the lowlands of the River Dnieper. In the 10th-12th century wild ducks, as well as other varieties of ducks and also geese were caught with the aid of large hanging-nets, and in the 18th century there was still a special guild of wild duck catchers in the district of Chernyhiv.

Mention is also made in the "Song of Igor" of birds that were of no economic importance in those days. There are, for instance, two references to the eagle. When the author talks about the "blue-grey eagle," he undoubtedly means the golden eagle, for it is still popularly designated as "blue-grey" in Ukraine even today. In the line: "The cry of the eagles calls animals to the bones," the author is referring to the white-tailed sea-eagle, which more than any other kind of eagle is a carrion-feeder and whose cry can often be heard in these regions. For in recent times they have built their eyries in the basins of the Don and Donets, that is to say in the districts through which Igor, accompanied by other princes, led his armies. And the eyries of sea-eagles, golden eagles and spotted eagles, as well as of other birds of prey¹⁴⁾ were to be found in the forests of the Donets basin, not far from Izyum, as recently, as a few years ago. It is thus obvious that in the ancient days of the "Song of Igor," when there

¹⁴⁾ Rudynsky and Horlenko: "Zbirnyk Prats' Zool. Muzeju UAN" (Compilation of the Zoological Museum of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, No. 20, 1937, p. 141-155).

were huge forests in the basins of the Don and the Donets, large numbers of birds of prey inhabited these regions.

There are frequent references to the raven in the "Song of Igor." Sometimes it is described as "black" and sometimes as "grey-blue." In the former case the common raven is meant, which is a carrion-feeder, and with which anyone who had spent most of their life hunting or on military campaigns would be familiar. There are also references to the "grey hooded crow," birds which are extremely numerous in Ukraine. At night they assemble in large flocks: "they assemble the whole night, from evening onwards"; and the nightly screech of these crows is a familiar sound in Ukraine. The common ravens, however, do not assemble at night, and hence one does not hear them screech during the night. Both the hooded crow and the common raven are mainly carrion-feeders. "Screeching loudly, they fly down on the battlefield after the battle in order to share the corpses amongst themselves." In October 1943 we personally convinced ourselves of the fact that huge swarms of hooded crows approached the scene of the fighting near Kyiv and then assembled in the town for the night, screeching loudly. In olden times the opinion was held that these birds spelt disaster. And the author of the "Song of Igor" wished to stress the sad atmosphere of the heroic but unsuccessful campaign by mentioning these birds in his epic. He uses the word "cawing" in connection with the crows, a word which is very onomatopoeic. With regard to the jackdaw, the author mentions "the talk of the jackdaws," "the jackdaws converse," and "the jackdaws are in a bad humour." In this way the author seeks to give a true picture of the nature of the cries and the behaviour of this bird. And indeed the pleasanter sounds made by the jackdaw remind us of a human conversation. Very aptly the author talks about "the shrieking magpies," for they most certainly shriek — and also "chatter" — when they gather together on trees and in the reeds in regions that are flooded.

The following line is extremely descriptive: "by their hammering the woodpeckers show the way to the river." Instead of singing, the woodpeckers, especially in the spring, hammer on the branches of trees with their strong beak. In the steppes the trees only grow in the river valleys and are therefore not visible from afar. Every sound, however, carries a long way in the steppes. Thus whenever Igor during his flight from captivity heard the "hammering" of a woodpecker, he knew at once that there must be a river somewhere in the vicinity, even though it was not visible. By following the sound of this "hammering" he easily found his way to the water. In Igor's native district the woodpeckers lived in the forests at a higher altitude; Igor could therefore only have become acquainted with the habits of these birds during the period that he was held captive by the Polovtsi, or during his flight. It is surprising that

such a realistic sentence could evoke the idea of "prophesying from the hammering of the woodpecker" (Potebnia).

The poet mentions the nightingale at the beginning and at the end of the "Song of Igor": "with joyful song the nightingale proclaims the sunrise." Even the memory of the nightingale's song makes man happy, according to the great Ukrainian poet Shevchenko. And the talented author of the "Song of Igor" in the 12th century already described the effect which the song of the birds has on human emotions very beautifully.

A mysterious bird "zegzitsa" is mentioned in Yaroslavna's "Lament." Some commentators have affirmed that the cuckoo is meant, others that this bird is undoubtedly the swallow, and the scholar Peretz (1926) collected considerable material on this question. But both the cuckoo and the swallow are known by their proper name in Ukraine and there are no local synonyms at all for them. On looking through a diary which contains a record of an expedition sent into the Desna region by the Academy of Sciences in 1933, however, I came across an interesting note. The bird which we generally call the lapwing in Ukraine is called the "hihichka," "sihichka" and "sinsichka" by the rural population in the villages between the River Korop and the town of Novhorod Siversky. When compiling the essays on the list of natural science names in the "Song of Igor," I did not remember this note, nor did I consult the "Dictionary of Zoological Terms"¹⁵), where under the many names used for the "chayka" or lapwing such names as "hihichka" and "kihichka" also occur. It has meanwhile become perfectly clear to me that the "zegzitsa" bird referred to in Yaroslavna's "Lament" is identical with the "chayka" or lapwing. The author of the "Song of Igor" was an outstanding huntsman and as such he also had an excellent knowledge of the animal kingdom of his native Ukraine. In order to emphasize the distress and sorrow of the Princess Yaroslavna he therefore resorted to a comparison with the bird which since time immemorial had been regarded as the symbol of longing and yearning in Ukraine, namely the lapwing. (Cf. the song: "Woe to the lapwing.")

The lapwing, which is frequently found in Ukraine, is known by different names in various districts. Many of these names have been collected by the Nature research scholar I. Verkhratsky. In our "Dictionary" we quoted 33 synonyms, but owing to lack of space this number had to be cut down by half. Actually we have discovered 60 different names for this bird. It would therefore not be surprising if the local name for this bird, presumably "zihzichka," used by the author of the "Song of Igor," was Slavonicized by those who later re-wrote the poem and turned into "zegzitsa." It is possible that in

¹⁵) Part I: "The Names of Birds," State Publishing Department of Ukraine, 1927 (Ukrainian edition).

those days this name had no definite local but a general character in Ukraine. The names "zihzichka" and "hichichka" are onomatopoeic and suggest the call and the cry of the lapwing, as well as sounds to be heard during its flight. True, the name "chayka" is also to be found in the "Song of Igor." From the expression "like a gull on the waves" we learn that the "chayka" of this work is not the present Ukrainian "chayka" (that is to say the lapwing), but is identical with the Russian "chayka" (i.e. gull), which is nowadays known in Ukraine by the somewhat obscure name of "martyn." There can be no doubt about the fact that the author of the "Song of Igor," who had a profound sense of beauty, referred to the right bird in the above-mentioned comparison in order to intensify the impression of Yaroslavna's great longing. He himself was familiar with this bird since he had frequently encountered it in the meadows when he was hunting with falcons. And he knew that the cry of the lapwing ("hichichka") reminds one of the lamenting tones of hopeless longing and sorrow more strongly than does the somewhat sentimental call of the cuckoo. And he also knew that in the human imagination the idea of the cuckoo was in no way compatible with the idea of the River Danube (whither the "zegzitsa" is to fly in the "Song"). For it would be absurd to talk about a forest bird like the cuckoo flying to a river. The "hichichka" or lapwing, on the other hand, chiefly inhabits regions that are close to rivers and lakes. So far we have failed to find an explanation for the word "dyv," used by the author of the "Song of Igor." The theory that a night-bird, probably the horned owl, or a deity borrowed from Indian or Persian mythology is meant, has failed to convince us. Neither the author of the "Song of Igor" nor those who took part in the campaign were as superstitious as the commentators would have us believe. In this respect we should like to stress the words of Igor in the chronicle: "No one knows God's secrets. And the creator of all signs is God." We recently learnt from Dr. J. O. Rusov that his father, Prof. O. Rusov, who worked in the district of Chernyhyv for a long time, is of the opinion that the word "dyv" is derived from "dyvytysia," that is "to look." "Dyv" would therefore be a person who looks or looks out, an observer, a scout, or someone on reconnaissance for the military campaign. It has also occurred to us that we heard this word used in the region of the River Desna, in the vicinity of the mouth of the Seym, in 1933. Thus the "dyv" in the "Song of Igor" is not necessarily an Eastern deity, but more probably a military scout, whose duty it was to spy out the "unknown terrain" from his look-out in a tree and then inform the soldiers of the campaign by certain calls or shouts.

A snake, the climbing adder, is also mentioned in the "Song of Igor." Three types of climbing adders are to be found in the region in which the action of the poem takes place, and they are all natives of the steppes. Even today they are frequently found in the Azov steppes, and in olden times, before this region was cultivated with

the plough, there must have been swarms of them. In spite of their size (they are up to 6 feet in length) they crawl through the grass of the steppes with considerable speed and also soundlessly. Once again we are made aware of the poet's profound sense of beauty when he refers to the soundlessness of the climbing adder in order to depict the silence of the steppes through which Igor passes when he flees from captivity. In the region of Novgorod Siversky, that is to say Igor's native district, there were no climbing adders. Hence the author of the "Song of Igor" could only have become acquainted with this kind of snake during the campaign, or during his captivity or flight. Unfortunately, commentators and translators who were not familiar with the character of southern Ukraine have mutilated the sentence: "climbing adders only creep," more than any other line in the poem. Various interpretations have been given; and the climbing adders have even been confused with various kinds of birds, with the result that this line, which from the geographical point of view is one of the most striking in the whole poem, has been sadly distorted.

As we have seen, numerous animals are thus mentioned in the "Song of Igor." On the other hand, however, there are few references to plant-life. But the steppes are extremely bare, and to anyone who is not an authority on plant-life they will not seem very striking. There are various general references in the poem to trees, grass, reeds, and oak forests. In order to emphasize Yaroslavna's great longing the author mentions the feather-grass which is a typical feature of the steppes. No other plant could give one a clearer picture of the steppes and of their monotonous and somewhat mournful character. Unfortunately, some commentators (Peretz, p. 308) have altered this word to esparto grass. One of the trees mentioned in the "Song of Igor" is the yew-tree, for there is a reference to a bed made of the wood of the yew-tree. Some translators have misinterpreted this as a bed made of plain boards, which in our opinion is an absurd translation. The wood of the yew-tree is very hard and durable, and in olden times it was used to make beds, tables, chairs and coffins. This comparatively rare and valuable wood was imported to the region of the Dnieper Ukraine from West Ukraine (Galicia). In the Carpathians the yew-tree is to be found growing singly or in groves. A comprehensive analysis of the plant-life mentioned in the "Song of Igor" has been given by P. N. Savitskiy. Although the various plants are only mentioned briefly, they nevertheless give us a very clear picture of those regions through which Igor's army passed, namely the forest and feather-grass steppes.

What conclusions can therefore be drawn on the strength of the scientific and, in particular, the zoological analysis of the "Song of Igor"? In the first place, various assumptions that the "Song of Igor" is not an authentic work are categorically refuted as a result of this analysis. A. Pushkin already expressed the opinion that none of the poets whom he knew possessed so much talent that they could

create a poetic forgery of the perfection of the "Song of Igor." In all the works of all the poets of the 18th century "there is not as much poetry as there is in Yaroslavna's Lament and in the description of the battle and of Igor's flight"¹⁶). After a careful study of the poem the authority on natural science is likewise bound to reject the assumption that it is a forgery. No average poet of the above-mentioned period would have been capable of imitating such a valuable zoomorphic ornament (an expression used by Riha). This hypothetical "forger" would have had to be both a great poet and an outstanding authority on Nature. Even if he had been versed in the style of the ancient Ukrainian sources, it would still have been impossible for him to produce such a comprehensive pantheistic picture of Nature. There were no descriptions of Nature which supplied information about the period in question, that is Igor's day, and which could have been used by the "forger." Brief notes in the chronicles and in the teachings of Volodymyr Monomach are but pale shadows compared to the contents of the "Song of Igor." An analysis of this work from the aspect of natural science provides a fitting basis for an attempt to solve the question as to who the author of this epic was. For this question has been a point of controversy for the past 150 years. It is interesting to note how different the opinions held by various scholars are in this respect. K. Aksakov (after Peretz) assumed that the author was a foreigner, namely a Greek, who had a fluent knowledge of the ecclesiastical Slav language: "His work which is interspersed with fancy and empty phrases has none of the powerful character of the ancient monumental works that were published by Kirsa Danilov." Since we do not wish to occupy ourselves with those scholars who regard the "Song of Igor" as a forgery, let us now devote our attention to those who have endeavoured to ascertain the nationality of the author. Malyshevsky, for instance, was of the opinion that the author was a native of Tmutorokan'. Vladimirov held the view that he came from Kyiv. Others affirmed that he was a native of the region of Chernyhiv or of Galicia (Orlov was the last to express this opinion, in 1938). Other scholars thought he came from the south and maintained that he was a Ukrainian from the Dnieper region (Soloviev, O. Müller). On the strength of the geographical analysis of the "Song of Igor," P. Savitskiy (1930) came to the conclusion that the author had lived in Novhorod Siversky.

Opinions also differ widely as to the religious confession of the poet. Some of the commentators affirm that he was a Christian and only mentioned heathen gods in his work for artistic reasons. Others are of the opinion that he was a heathen (Orlov, 1933).

¹⁶ P. 228. This passage has been quoted in an improved form: for the words "in the plan," the words "in lament" have been substituted, which are in keeping with the analysis of Pushkin's manuscripts which was undertaken by Gudziy.

The question as to which social class the author came from is also a point of controversy amongst scholars. S. Mandychovsky (1918, p. 51) solves this problem in the easiest way, although his views on the subject are entirely unfounded. He is of the opinion that the "Song of Igor" "was written in the spring of 1188 in the region of Chernykhiv by an educated farmer. Its character is in keeping with the Ukrainian national element and only shows a slight literary and ecclesiastical nuance." Vladimirov affirms that the poet "was one of those parish-clerks employed by princes who added authentic notes about military campaigns to the old chronicles. They were adept at using fine expressions and, if necessary, knew how to introduce a saying used by the people or in literature in the appropriate place." Other scholars have expressed the opinion that the author of the "Song of Igor" was a follower of Igor or of Sviatoslav, and yet others have maintained that he was a court bard, that is to say not an "ecclesiastical personage."

W. Riha (1936) has recently occupied himself intensively with the question of the poet's social status. He points out that in the "Song of Igor" "individual followers are not mentioned. On the contrary, the entire work refers without exception solely to royal personages. At least thirty princes are mentioned. And the character of some of them is even described in very apt poetic language." W. Riha regards this as proof that "the author was connected with these social circles not only to outward appearance but also intimately. The author was personally acquainted with many members of these royal dynasties and their thoughts and feelings were the same as his own. His knowledge was profound, exact and comprehensive. All the facts that we learn from the chronicles are corroborated in all the appropriate details by the events narrated in the 'Song of Igor.' Thus we can accept the hypothesis that the author was himself a member of these royal circles as completely logical. But of what rank exactly was he? There are two possibilities: either a prince himself composed the 'Song of Igor,' or else the author was a bard who lived at the court of a prince as court poet and thus was in close contact with the royal dynasty." W. Riha then adds: "we can assume that the poet was not only well informed as regards the political importance of the individual personalities whom he mentions, but also that he was sufficiently talented to preserve the poetic traditions of the past history of this royal dynasty and, in spite of the fact that a whole century had elapsed since then, to use these traditions in the process of creating his own poetic work." This scholar comes to the conclusion that particular attention should be paid to the view that the author was a court poet in the service of a prince. Exactly opposite opinions are held by various commentators regarding the question as to whether the unknown author himself experienced the campaign against the Polovtsi in 1185, which he describes in his poem, or whether he based his poem on narratives which he heard from other

persons. Which participator in the campaign could have been the creator of the "Song of Igor"? I. Novikov assumes that the author of the poem was a son of the commander of "a thousand," i.e. a detachment, who is mentioned in the Kyiv chronicle. But S. Boguslavskiy (1938) refutes this theory as unfounded. True, the son of a commander was in captivity with Prince Igor and also persuaded him to flee. But that is all that we have been able to ascertain. How can one therefore assume that this follower of the prince was capable of writing such an outstanding work as the "Song of Igor"? Prof. E. Lyatskiy (after Prof. Pelensky, 1944) is of the opinion that the "Song" is a collective work by several poets and that the first part, the so-called "Lay of Igor," was written by Bilovod Prosovyeh, who also took part in the disastrous campaign. Bilovod Prosovyeh not only escaped death on the River Kayala, but he also managed to escape from captivity by fleeing and eventually returned to his native district. Here he presumably related the big defeat of Igor's army to the Kyiv prince Sviatoslav, who was passing through Chernyhiw. In our opinion Prof. Lyatskiy's theory is however completely untenable, — namely that the "Song of Igor" is a collective work. The analysis of this poem from the natural science aspect has convinced us that this work can only have been written by one poet, since the zoomorphic background is the same from beginning to end. A difference in style between individual parts of the poem can be explained by the fact that the talented poet, who was a master of many forms of poetic art, wrote them at different times. Prof. E. Pelensky also holds the view that the theory of the existence of several independent parts of the "Song of Igor" is unnatural and unfounded. In his opinion the poem is a uniformly created work, written by one poet alone, namely by the above-mentioned Bilovod Prosovyeh. For this reason the edition of the "Song of Igor" edited by Prof. Pelensky bears the name of Bilovod Prosovyeh as the author (though this name is given in inverted commas). But we are as little convinced by this theory as we are by the other theory, namely that Bilovod Prosovyeh only wrote the first part of the poem. After all, he only took part in the campaign until the defeat on the River Kayala. Where then could he have obtained the material on the captivity, the flight and the return home and Kyiv journey of Prince Igor? For it is not solely the analysis of the poem from the natural science aspect that leads us to assume that the author not only took part in the campaign and the fighting, but was also taken a prisoner by the enemy and escaped from captivity. This opinion is also shared by A. Maykov. If we were to assume — though such an assumption would be entirely illogical — that the poet wrote his work on the strength of narratives related to him by other persons who had taken part in the events depicted in the poem, the question would then arise as to whom we should regard as the actual author: the interpreter or the narrator?

We should now like to propound our assumption regarding the authorship of the "Song of Igor." True, this assumption is likewise only a theory, but it is based on logical conclusions drawn from material contained in an analysis of the poem primarily from the natural science aspect. It is obvious that a definite answer to the question as to who the author of this poem really was, cannot be given. But the above-mentioned analysis can certainly help us to solve the problem. In the first place, we are convinced, after having examined the "zoomorphic ornament," that the author must certainly have taken part in the campaign, for it would be impossible to give such an accurate and subjective account of Nature, embellished with numerous details, as is to be found in the "Song of Igor," merely on the strength of other persons' narratives. Indeed, this point has already been stressed by us. The author must have experienced captivity himself, since he heard the cries of the swans as they migrated southwards in the autumn in order to hibernate on the sea-coast. And this resulted in another association of ideas in his mind. He drew a comparison between the cries of these birds and the screeching sound of the two-wheeled Polovtsi carts. Here, too, he must also have seen falcons in the autumn, which "travel far, driving the other birds to the sea." What is more, the author of the poem must certainly have also experienced Igor's flight from captivity! How could he otherwise have known that the "hammering" of the woodpecker in the steppes serves to show one the way to a river. Only someone who had been obliged to hide in the bushes near a river to escape the pursuing enemy, or had rested there in the green shade of the trees, or had learnt from his own experience to make use of the vigilance of such birds as the wild duck, gull or tufted duck, in order to detect the approach of a human being or animal, could have a knowledge of such details. It seems extremely probable that the wooded river valley of the northern Donets played an important part in Igor's flight from captivity, and for this reason the poet expresses his gratitude to this river. As its antithesis he mentions the River Stuhna, in which Prince Rostyslav met his death.

According to a note in the Laurentius Chronicle, Igor fled from captivity together with a Polovtsian of the name of Ovlur.¹⁷⁾ Only one logical conclusion can be drawn from this fact, namely that Igor himself could have written the "Song of Igor." One is however bound to ask oneself whether it would have been possible for a prince who was the instigator and main figure of a disastrous campaign to have also written a poem about this campaign. The creator of the "Song of Igor" was undoubtedly both the composer and the reciter of the poem, — like the ancient Scandinavian scalds

¹⁷⁾ According to V. Tatishchev ("Russian Poems," 1774), Igor escaped from captivity together with five other persons, but none of the material available in the chronicles affords a basis for this assertion.

were; he was, so to speak, a talented scald of Ruś-Ukraine. But could a prince also be a scald?

Riha states: "The details we know about the position of the scalds characterize their entire environment. Among the scalds we find the names of Norwegian kings, as for instance Harald Harfagri (850-933), Olaf Haraldson (1014-1030), Harald Sigurdarson (1047-1066), or the names of Vikings, such as the famous Icelandic scald Egill Skallagrímsón (904-990) and other persons of royal birth, as for instance Eyvindr, who was descended from the kings of Norway."

It was ascertained at a relatively early date that the "Song of Igor" was written in a poetic measure that is characteristic of the Scandinavian metre (see Abicht, Peretz, etc.), and hence its form resembles that of the poems of the scalds. Many scholars (G. Derzhavin, A. Mickiewicz, M. Polevoy, M. Pogodin, P. Polevoy, Longinov, Jarcho, Abicht, Hoffmann, Peretz, and others) have discovered Scandinavian, Norman or North Germanic influences in the "Song of Igor." It is obvious that the author must have been influenced by the Scandinavians and by other Germanic poets. We also know that various scalds (as for instance Sigwart and Harald) lived at the courts of princes. And relations between Ruś-Ukraine and Scandinavia and the rest of the Germanic world were close and permanent. It would therefore not have been out of the question for a prince of Ukraine to imitate Scandinavian and Germanic examples and write a poetic work, a "serious confession," on a campaign against the Polovtsi. There is one other question which we consider to be of interest: could Igor write a poem about his own deeds and give expression to a friendly feeling towards himself in the person of the chief hero of the poem? To this question we should like to reply that the poet shows even more friendly feeling towards other princes, such as Buy-Tur Vsevolod, the Kyiv prince Sviatoslav, the Galician prince Yaroslav, Vseslav, and Volodymyr, the prince of Pereyaslav, than he does towards Prince Igor. For in reality none of the many princes mentioned in the "Song of Igor" but "the Ukrainian soil" (ruśkaya Zemlya), that is to say Ruś-Ukraine, is the chief hero of this immortal work (see Orlov, 1938). Not only the heroic deeds, the victories and defeats of the princes are the theme of the poem. The poet also occasionally reveals confidential secrets of a private and personal nature pertaining to their closest relatives and talks about their wives, their "customs and habits," etc. And it is significant that in doing so he often gives the princes somewhat frivolous nicknames, but only gives the princesses their patronymics. Only a cousin — and a highly esteemed cousin at that — could have ventured to take such liberties with members of the royal families!

The assumption that Igor was the author of the "Song of Igor" is moreover based on certain passages in which personal remorse is expressed; light is also shed on Igor's feelings towards his brother Vsevolod, who as a result of this rash campaign very nearly perished.

These passages certainly become more comprehensible if one assumes that Igor was the only possible author of the poem. The concise but exhaustive account of the emotional agitation of the hero prior to his flight from captivity also becomes more understandable if viewed from this aspect. For an outsider would never have been able to describe the fears and impatience of Prince Igor prior to his flight so realistically: "Igor sleeps, Igor wakes. In thought he measures the expanse of the country from the big Don to the little Donets." Since he spent a whole year in captivity (Riha, 1934) and during most of this time went hunting in the beautiful countryside — "he went wherever he wished, and like a falcon he went hunting" (see *Kyiv Chronicle*), he had plenty of opportunity to ponder over the past and the present. He undoubtedly realized that the quarrels between the princes aggravated the internal and external difficulties of his native country and its main social class, the peasantry, still more. And this no doubt led him to reflect on the consequences of his rash action, namely his individual and disastrous campaign against the Polovtsi. We are convinced that the first draft of the "Song of Igor" must already have been composed in the mind of its creator whilst he was still in captivity. This opinion is also shared by A. Maykov¹⁸): "The poet witnessed and took part in the campaign and also in the captivity. And during his enforced stay in the steppes this poetic work was born in his mind." We are indebted to Igor's lengthy flight for the genesis of the poem, for Igor rode to the Donets, together with Ovlur, for some days and then, when their horses were too exhausted to go on any further, they were obliged to walk on foot for eleven days. It was not until much later, however, that the poem was completed. And the song of Sviatoslav's dream and the joyful verses of the latter part of the poem were presumably written by the author when his safe return home was deeply impressed in his mind. The "Song of Igor" is essentially the confession of a genius, "a difficult confession" of remorse (hence the word "difficult"), a report by Igor to all the princes, above all to Sviatoslav, the "great and ruthless prince of Kyiv." But it is not only a confession of remorse. It is also a stirring appeal to the leading men of the country to end their constant quarrels and to join forces in defending their native country against the peoples from the eastern steppes. As far as the facts recorded in the chronicles are concerned, they were in our opinion only ascertained on the strength of the "Song of Igor" and from the narratives of other participators in the campaign.

¹⁸) "Collected Works," 1893, Vol. III, p. 501.

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The Truth About Events in Lviv, West Ukraine, in June and July, 1941

**AN OPEN LETTER TO THE "RHEINISCHER MERKUR,"
COLOGNE**

Sir,

In order to enlighten the German public may I be permitted to give an account of events in Lemberg (Lviv) in June and July 1941, since the Ukrainian question has recently been raised in the German press on various occasions in connection with the anti-Ukrainian Bolshevik defamatory campaign. Numerous facts are distorted and a false account of the events in question is presented which must be refuted in the interests of historical truth.

We, Ukrainians are particularly pained at the fact that certain German press factors, to whom, thanks to their prestige, the best intentions must be attributed, affirm, for instance, in connection with the much-discussed "Nightingale Battalion" that this battalion was a unit set up for the purpose of destroying the Jews and that Stepan Bandera, who was murdered by the Soviet agent Stashynsky on October 15, 1959, and is regarded by all Ukrainians as the champion of Ukraine's freedom, was "anti-Jewish and anti-Polish and a Ukrainian nationalist leader who was obsessed by fanatical national socialist ideas."

The Case of the "Nightingale Battalion"

Certain German army circles who in 1941 realized that the entire development of events was leading up to a military conflict with Bolshevism accordingly sought to establish contact with the Ukrainian side. It is significant that practically all these pro-Ukrainian German High Command circles — and one of the prominent men amongst them was Admiral Canaris — later opposed the Nazi regime. On the strength of their moral attitude these circles manifested a sincere and open-minded sympathy for us Ukrainians and realized that a victory on the part of Germany in the conflict with Bolshevism

would only be possible on the basis of a genuine partnership and friendship with the Ukrainians as the most important anti-Russian factor in the USSR. The leading Ukrainian political factors at that time considered it possible that German policy, in view of the difficulties which were to be expected in the Eastern campaign, would also adopt the principle of the disintegration of the Russian imperium into independent national states, all the more so since Germany up to the Munich Agreement had advocated the right of self-determination. At the same time, these Ukrainian circles regarded it as essential that a military trained detachment should be available for the possible formation of a future Ukrainian insurgent army in the event of Hitler's policy in the East being directed against Ukrainian interests.

Thus Ukrainian military units were set up within the framework of the German army shortly before the outbreak of the German-Russian war. The "Nightingale" and "Roland" legions were set up with the aim of using them on behalf of the independent Ukrainian state in the war against Russia and forming the cadre of the future Ukrainian national army out of them. The preconditions for this was that Germany should recognize the liberation aims of the Ukrainian people, that is to say its national state independence. These Ukrainian aims, as already mentioned, were supported by certain opposition circles of the German High Command, including Admiral Canaris, against the wish of the German National Socialist Party. These circles also effected the setting up of the Ukrainian military unit without previously informing Hitler of this fact.

The assertion that the "Nightingale Battalion" was set up for the purpose of destroying the Jews is simply not true.

It was stated in an agreement between representatives of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and German High Command circles as follows:

- 1) The Ukrainian legion is a unit which is formed for the purpose of fighting for the Ukrainian state;
- 2) The legion swears allegiance to the Ukrainian state but not to Germany or to Hitler as the latter's representative; accordingly the political training of the soldiers in absolute loyalty to the Ukrainian political aims is guaranteed;
- 3) The legion is commanded by Ukrainian officers; the German officers are only in charge of the general supervision. Military training commences every day with the hoisting of the Ukrainian flag and ends with the singing of the Ukrainian patriotic prayer. German political and ideological instructions is not included at all in the training programme.

It is completely illogical to accuse the opposition circles of the German High Command, headed by Canaris, of having set up a unit within the German army to destroy the Jews; actually they set up this unit in order to support the Ukrainian independence aims since they were convinced that the conflict with Bolshevism could only be won in this way. There can be no doubt about the fact that Soviet Russia intended to overrun Germany and West Europe sooner or later. The aim of the Ukrainian partner in the above-mentioned agreement was to fight Bolshevik Russia as the main enemy and to restore the independence of Ukraine. At that time neither the Poles nor the Jews were our enemies. Poland had been conquered and thus was no danger to Ukraine. Nor did the Jews constitute any occupation power or any other organized state power which might have been harmful to the Ukrainian national element.

But it was obvious to the Ukrainian politicians from the attitude of the German government that a second front must be set up in Ukraine against Nazi Germany and that in this connection any subsidiary fronts must be liquidated.

This fact was realized not only by myself as head of the Ukrainian government at that time but also by the Ukrainian Commander-in-Chief of the "Nightingale Battalion" and deputy Minister of Defence of the government headed by me, Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka, later Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), who organized the two-front war of the UPA, as is known, numbered 200,000 men at the height of its development.

When the members of the Ukrainian government were arrested and Hitler began to enforce his colonial policy in Ukraine, the Ukrainian legion (consisting of the "Nightingale" and "Roland" battalions) on September 15, 1941, sent a memorandum, signed by every single soldier, to the German High Command in Berlin. This memorandum contained the following demands:

- 1) The independence of the Ukrainian state to be recognized by Germany at least subsequently;
- 2) all Ukrainian political prisoners, including Stepan Bandera, and all members of the government in Lemberg (Lviv), headed by Jaroslaw Stetzko, to be released;
- 3) the Legion was only to be employed on the East front and not on Ukrainian territory;
- 4) the Legion was to be commanded exclusively by Ukrainian officers; the duties and rights of the Ukrainian officers were to be equal to those of the German officers;
- 5) those members of families of soldiers who had been arrested were to be released and the same rights were to be conceded to them as to Germans;

- 6) the soldiers of the Legion were not to be forced to swear allegiance to Germany;
- 7) under these circumstances and conditions the Legion would be prepared to sign a contract of service for one year, namely each soldier to sign in his own name.

The German High Command declared that it was not competent to deal with the political demands made. Clauses 3 and 6 as well as other points were approved and accepted. Although the political demands were not agreed to, the members of the Legion signed the contract of service in order to ensure a thorough training in practical service, which would prove advantageous for them in the event of a fight for freedom on two fronts. After fighting against the Bolsheviks for a year, all the members of the Legion refused to renew the contract of service. Thereupon the Legion was dissolved; its officers were arrested by the Gestapo, and the non-commissioned officers and the ranks were placed under police surveillance. Captain R. Shukhevych escaped during the transport and some months later became the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under the name of Taras Chuprynka. Practically all the men of the Legion went over to the UPA and, thanks to their previous military training, assumed important functions there.

In assessing the situation at that time the German press has attached considerable importance to the account given by Mr. A. Dallin (his book — "German Rule in Russia 1941-1945").

We should like to stress that this book should be regarded not as objective but rather as tendentious. It is typical of Dallin that he merely talks about Russia. Actually, the armies of Hitler only occupied part of Russia. Ukraine is not Russia. And anyone who claims that it is, has simply failed to understand the essence of the problems in question.

It is likewise typical of Dallin that he makes no mention whatever of the fact that three members of the Ukrainian state government, Ivan Klymiv-Legenda, A. Piasetsky and D. Yatsiv, were murdered by the Gestapo in 1942. Nor has Dallin considered it necessary to get in touch with any of the leading Ukrainian politicians of those days, in particular with the head of the Ukrainian state government at that time.

Incidentally, the American Dallin is of Russian origin and of the Jewish faith; he has leftist views and supports the "Great Russian" imperialist principles which the Ukrainians, as advocates of the disintegration of the Russian imperium, combat. Thus in his case the preconditions are lacking for an objective assessment of the Ukrainian problem. Hence his tendency to disparage the Ukrainian national

element, which represents exactly the opposite of his political views and ideology.

It is an established fact that the Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan Count Andreas Sheptytsky, — whose beatification process is in progress — in a pastoral letter courageously defended the Jews who were persecuted and murdered by the Gestapo and was one of the first persons to accuse the Soviet Russians of having committed the mass-murders in the Lemberg (Lviv) prisons in June 1941. Had the "Nightingale Battalion" taken part in the pogroms against the Jews, Sheptytsky by reason of his uncompromising moral attitude would not have spared anyone who was guilty. On the contrary, however, he received R. Shukhevych, who was deeply religious, and his officers in audience and gave them his blessing.

The Case of Poland

It is entirely false to affirm that the Ukrainians carried out a purge amongst the Polish upper class in Lemberg (Lviv). Until recently not even the Soviet Russians thought of making such an allegation. There are no plausible reasons or circumstances whatever which would justify blaming the "Nightingale Battalion" for the murder of the Polish intellectuals in Lviv.

The accusations made by the Soviet Russians are as follows: Volume III of the extensive compilation of documents of the Nuremberg Trials published in the Soviet Union contains an exact account on pages 243-245, namely: 'Already prior to the capture of the town of Lviv the Gestapo departments, at the orders, of the German government, compiled lists containing the names of leading representatives of the intellectuals, the list of the 38 professors in Lviv who were to be liquidated'... (here follows the list of names). 'Mass-arrests and executions began immediately after the capture of the town of Lviv.' The Gestapo arrested..." etc.

Thus neither an army unit nor the "Nightingale Battalion" was responsible for these crimes!

And accordingly, during the Nuremberg Trials, no one accused the "Nightingale Battalion" of these crimes.

(Quoted from the Polish journal "Kultura," Paris, No. 1/147-2/148, p.176, 1960.)

It is further stated: "...On February 15, 1946, during the afternoon session of the Nuremberg Tribunal the Soviet Public Prosecutor Smirnov read a statement made by Professor Groer of the Medical Faculty of Lviv University, who only managed to escape death thanks to a lucky coincidence. In this statement Prof. Groer gives

an account of the arrest and ill-treatment of Polish professors, including himself and Prof. Bartel, by the Gestapo on July 3, 1941.”

“Professor Sosnicki told me during the winter of 1941/42 — so the author of the article in ‘Kultura’ writes — that some of the members of the families of the professors had received an official corroboration to the effect that their husbands or fathers had been shot at the ‘special command of the head department of the security service.’”

In a pamphlet published by the Bolsheviks under the title “Pid chuzhymy praporamy” (Under Foreign Flags) the German security service units are also held responsible for these murders and no mention whatever is made of the “Nightingale Battalion.” In addition, a letter was published in the Polish London daily paper “Dziennik Polski” on August 18, 1958, by Mrs. Wl. Chomsowa of London, who from the outbreak of the war until January 1944 was constantly in contact with the family of Professor Bartel. She wrote that Prof. Bartel was shot in July 1941 at the personal command of the leader of the Reichs S.S., Himmler. At that time the “Nightingale Battalion” had already been hundreds of miles away from Lviv, namely in the east.

At that time a special command of the German security service, headed by Eberhard Schöngard and Heinz Heim, was operating in Lviv. These two Gestapo officers are directly responsible for the physical liquidation of the Polish professors and also for the arrest of the Ukrainian national government.

In an article entitled “Oberländer as seen from Berlin’s perspective” (p. 138) the Polish journal “Kultura”, No. 3, 1960, quotes a statement made by the Polish Professor Sokolnicki, who at present still lectures at the Technical College in Lviv. In this statement he definitely holds the Gestapo responsible for the murder of Prof. Bartel and the other Polish professors and accuses neither the Ukrainians nor any German army unit of these crimes.

It is obvious that in order to undermine the prestige of the German Federal Republic the Soviet Russians would not have hesitated to expose the German army units (and for obvious reasons the Ukrainian units too), if there had been the least justification for doing so.

The Case of Bandera

The various falsifications of the truth as regards our national hero Bandera are particularly painful to us Ukrainians. The nationalism of a subjugated people, who have been fighting for their existence for generations, that is to say a liberation nationalism, has no connection

whatever with the conquest nationalism which has come to the fore in the guise of imperialist principles or petty bourgeois chauvinism during the 19th and 20th centuries.

It was stated in the manifesto of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), under the leadership of Bandera, in December 1940:

“We Ukrainians set up our banner for the freedom of peoples and individuals.”

“We are fighting

for the dignity and freedom of the individual;
for the right to profess one's own convictions openly;
for the freedom of all religions;
for complete freedom of conscience.”

The resolutions of the 2nd Congress of the OUN (April 1941) state:

2) The course to our ultimate aim is the Ukrainian revolution in the Russian imperium, the USSR, together with the fight for freedom of the peoples subjugated by Moscow, under the motto of “Freedom for peoples and for individuals.”

3) ...The relations of the OUN to other states and political movements are determined by their anti-Russian attitude and not by any ideological concord with the Ukrainian national movement.

8) Above all, political expediency, and not differences as regards philosophy, ideology and political programmes, is the decisive factor as regards the setting up of a common front of the anti-Russian revolutionary fight for freedom.

Clause 5 of the resolutions of the Units Abroad of the OUN with regard to the programme of this organization states: “The OUN is fighting for the ideal of a Christian Ukraine and it professes and defends the Christian philosophy of life which for a thousand years has moulded the Ukrainian spirit and the Ukrainian character.”

No one would ever think of branding Churchill, de Gaulle or Roosevelt as Communists because they made an alliance with Stalin against Hitler. It is therefore entirely illogical to brand the Ukrainians who intended to form a common liberation front with German High Command circles against Russia as Nazis for this reason and to impute a racial hatred to them which they have never manifested in the whole of their development; such racial hatred is in no way in keeping with the religious and moral views of the Ukrainian people, still less since we Ukrainians have never denied our Christian attitude and have made millions of sacrifices not only for our native country but also for Christianity. — Incidentally, the Ukrainians fought a two-front war, but Roosevelt's successors only recognized the Russian Bolshevik danger years later.

True, Bandera was anti-Polish but only to the same extent to which General de Gaulle was anti-German during the German occupation of France and the Germans in the East Zone of Germany are naturally anti-Russian at present. Any other attitude would show a lack of character.

As one of Bandera's closest political friends I should like to emphasize most definitely that Bandera was a devout Christian, who came of an old Catholic clerical family, was not anti-Semitic (neither pragmatically anti-Jewish, nor dogmatically an advocate of racialism).

In spite of the fact that the German public prosecutor has already announced that Bandera was murdered by a Soviet Russian agent, his death is still regarded as a mystery by some German journalists.

As regards all statements to the effect that Bandera was also connected with the purge carried out amongst the Polish upper class in Lviv, the fact must be stressed that he was already in Cracow and under Gestapo police surveillance on July 1, 1941, and was arrested and taken to Berlin on July 5th. On the other hand, it is also a fiction to make out that the Polish Minister of the Interior, Colonel and later General Pieracki, endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with the Ukrainians. Actually, he was one of the most ruthless executors of Polish imperialist, chauvinistic policy on the basis of a rigid military dictatorship. Attention must also be drawn to the fact that the extent and nature of the ill-treatment and tortures which were even inflicted on Catholic priests, women, children and aged persons during the notorious "pacification" of West Ukraine evoked protests in the British House of Commons. On account of these atrocities Pieracki was sentenced to death by the Ukrainian revolutionary tribunal and accordingly shot in his office in Warsaw in 1934.

Why is Stauffenberg nowadays regarded as a hero in Germany? And why is Bandera, who fought for the liberation of his country from **alien** rule, defamed in this way? Where Hitler is concerned, the attempt to murder this tyrant is regarded as a heroic deed. But when the freedom fighters of other nations fight against **foreign** tyrants, they are branded as criminals! Wherein lies the reprehensible difference between a bomb directed by the Ukrainians against foreign despots who have subjugated their country, and Stauffenberg's bomb?

The manner in which freedom fighters of other nations are branded as criminals by Germany in ignorance of the true facts, is not likely to create the atmosphere of trust and mutual respect which can become the basis for new and better relations between the German and the East European peoples.

We Ukrainians are proud of the fact that the Soviet Russian Marshal Vatutin, the NKVD General Moskalenko, the Red Polish Deputy Minister of Defence Swierczewski, and the Chief of Staff of the German S.A., Lutze, were killed in the course of military operations by the UPA, under the command of General Taras Chuprynka, the former Ukrainian commander of the "Nightingale Battalion."

A story which is most certainly unfounded is the allegation that Bandera fell into disfavour with Himmler on account of the execution of Pieracki and that Himmler then favoured the more moderate Ukrainian leader Melnyk. Bandera was never in contact with Himmler and the Gestapo. It is however an established fact that Bandera's co-worker, Mykola Lebid, who fled from Poland, was extradited to Poland by Berlin in 1934 at Himmler's and Goering's orders and was then sentenced to death during the Bandera trial in Warsaw in 1936.

The assertion that the "Nightingale Battalion" was set up immediately after a Ukrainian nationalist congress in Cracow in April 1941, **preparatory to an attack** on the Soviet Union, is an argument of the type made by Adzhubey. Is it a crime to try to liberate oneself from alien rule? If the free Germans found an historical opportunity to prepare the liberation of their enslaved fellow-countrymen in the East Zone, would such a step be regarded as a crime?

An invasion pogrom on the part of the Ukrainians, which could be compared to a retreat pogrom on the part of the Soviet Russians, never occurred. And anyone who makes assertions to the contrary is completely influenced by cunning Soviet Russian propaganda. Similarly, "a punitive pogrom" organized by the Ukrainian "Nightingale Battalion" in the NKVD prison in Lviv is also an invention. The "Nightingale" was a disciplined military unit within the framework of the German army, and its men were politically trained in the Ukrainian freedom-loving spirit and were inspired by high moral and Christian ideals. They were definitely not a rowdy gang of adventurers, but came from the Ukrainian elite, from the best families of the country.

All defamations on paper cannot transform the historical truth into the contrary. We Ukrainians have made the greatest sacrifices and have risked everything we had in the service of Christian and humanitarian principles. There is nothing in our past of which we need be ashamed, and we are prepared to face all courts and authorities who set themselves the task of ascertaining the real truth.

Yours truly,

Jaroslav Stetzko

Pope John XXIII and the Ukrainian Catholic Church

There is a saying in Rome that the Church always receives as its Pope the man whom it needs most at the moment. It is God's will that in times of confusion, trouble and fear the Church should appoint as its Holy Father and Shepherd a man of strong personality. Pope John XXIII was such a man. It was with considerable satisfaction that the Catholics of the Eastern Rite learned on November 27, 1958, that Angello Guiseppe Roncalli had been elected Pope, for he was a man who had an intimate knowledge of the Eastern Church from his own personal experience. The most significant period in the life of John XXIII before he was elected Pope was undoubtedly the period from 1925-1935, during which he held office as Apostolic Delegate in Bulgaria. The Catholics in Bulgaria, some of whom belonged to the Uniate Church, others to the Roman Catholic Church, only comprised a small minority of 50,000 to 60,000 souls. Roncalli had many opportunities to become acquainted with the Orthodox Church, with its liturgy, and with its monasteries. Thus he gained an intimate knowledge of a Church which has been separated from the Roman Catholic Church for the past 900 years but which is still most closely related to it as regards its creed and its liturgy. And it was no doubt during this period that the affection with which he later remembered the faithful of the Eastern Church on every possible occasion after he had been elected Pope, was first awakened. Here in Bulgaria and ten years later in Constantinople Roncalli showed that same tolerance, affection and friendship towards Christians of other creeds and even towards Mohammedans which were such an admirable quality of his personality as Pope John XXIII.

For over 1000 years no Pope in office in the Holy See had had such an intimate knowledge of the Eastern Church from his own personal experience as John XXIII. In his first message to the faithful he expressed the fervent wish that this Church would return to the common paternal home. His inspired idea of convening an oecumenical council in order to make the aspect of the Catholic Church more attractive and more lovable to Christians of other creeds, and his magnanimous gesture of inviting dignitaries of other Churches to attend this council as observers and of giving them

assistance and proof of his friendship were no doubt the result of his experiences in the East. One of the bitterest disappointments in his whole life was probably the refusal of Patriarch Athanagoras to send observers to the 2nd Vatican Council.

Immediately after he had been crowned Pope, John XXIII devoted especial attention to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the free world and extended its hierarchy.

December 5, 1958: inauguration of the beatification of Metropolitan Andreas Sheptytsky;

January 25, 1959: New Zealand and Oceania are placed under the authority of the Ukrainian Exarch of Australia. Bishop Ivan Prashko is appointed Exarch;

September 20, 1959: an Apostolic Exarchate is set up in Germany. Bishop Platon Kornyliak is appointed Exarch;

July 12, 1960: Bishop Platon Kornyliak is made a member of the Theological Commission;

August 16, 1960: Metropolitan Maksym Hermaniuk, Metropolitan Konstantyn Bohachevsky and Archbishop Ivan Buchko are elected members of the Commission for the Eastern Church; Archbishop Havryil Bukatko is made a member of the Secular Apostolate;

March 9, 1961: Inauguration of the Ukrainian Apostolic Exarch in France. Bishop Volodymyr Malantchuk is appointed Exarch;

April 16, 1961: for the first time in hundreds of years a liturgy according to the rites of the Eastern Church is celebrated in St. Peter's by Pope John XXIII, and Acacio Coussa is consecrated as a bishop;

August 15, 1961: John XXIII appoints Bishop Ambrosius Senyshyn Metropolitan of Philadelphia, founds a new diocese in Chicago and ordains Bishop Jaroslav Garbo;

July 12, 1962: Pope John XXIII sets up a Ukrainian Exarchate in Brazil. Bishop Joseph Martynetz is appointed Exarch;

August 12, 1962: Pope John XXIII appoints Bishop Andreas Sapelak Apostolic Visitor for the Ukrainians in Argentina;

April 19, 1963: The Pope sets up the Ukrainian Apostolic Exarchate in England and appoints Bishop Avhustyn Horniak as Exarch.

The greatest act of charity performed by Pope John XXIII was the liberation of the Metropolitan and Archbishop of Lviv, Joseph Slipyj from Soviet Russian captivity in Siberia. On his death-bed the Pope received Metropolitan Slipyj in audience and the Metropolitan expressed his profound gratitude to His Holiness.

G. P.

*

On June 22, 1963, the newly elected Pope Paul VI visited the Ukrainian Metropolitan and Archbishop of Lviv, Joseph Slipyj, who was confined to bed owing to illness.



Lesya Ukrainka in Ukrainian
national costume.



Lesya Ukrainka Memorial in Cleveland, Ohio,
with its author, the Ukrainian sculptor
Vasyl Cheresnyovsky, standing nearby.

Dr. Karl Siehs

Lesya Ukrainka

TO COMMEMORATE THE 50th ANNIVERSARY OF HER DEATH
(FEBRUARY 26, 1871 — SEPTEMBER 1, 1913)

Even if one completely disregards biographical data in the case of Lesya Ukrainka, one is nevertheless bound to admit that an atmosphere of tragedy surrounds this poetess which is symbolical of her own native country. "Together with Franko and Kotsiubynsky, Lesya Ukrainka ranks as one of the most outstanding talents of modern Ukrainian literature. In her ideological dramas in particular she achieves the highest perfection of language and style. The action of her dramas is set in distant (ancient) lands, and for this reason her dramatic works met with comparatively little response on the part of her contemporaries."

The above quotation already reveals one aspect of the tragedy of Lesya Ukrainka. In this respect it is not necessary to cite passages from her works; one need only recall the pseudonym of the poetess, whose real name was Larysa Petrivna Kosach, whose father Petro Antonovych Kosach could not even speak Ukrainian, and whose mother Olena Pchilka, the sister of Michael Drahomaniv, the famous Ukrainian progressive thinker, was an outstanding Ukrainian authoress, some of whose works were even translated into German.

Larysa's pen-name, which was chosen for her by her mother, means "Lesya of Ukraine" or "Lesya the Ukrainian," and in view of the fervent patriotism which inspired the works of the poetess was an admirable choice.

Hence it seems all the more tragic that so many of her fellow-countrymen should have failed to understand and appreciate her works during her lifetime. In an article written on the occasion of

the 15th anniversary of the death of the poetess, Zerov gives a survey of the controversy and criticism to which her works were formerly subjected. And precisely because this gifted poetess fought with all her heart and soul for her native Ukraine and was inspired by a noble patriotism, this lack of appreciation and understanding on the part of her compatriots seems all the more incomprehensible. Not only was Lesya Ukrainka obliged to spend most of her life far away from her beloved country as a result of the disease with which she was stricken in early years, but the bitterness of her suffering was further increased by the fact that she felt estranged from part of her fellow-countrymen.

In order to shed more light on this fact which undoubtedly strikes the reader today as somewhat strange, one must go back to the factors involved in the main problem and inherent tragedy of Ukrainian literature. These are two fundamental trends, which can be designated as "centripetal" and "centrifugal" forces in Ukrainian literature, that is to say forces which, on the one hand, amounted to purely national trends, to put it briefly, and, on the other hand, called for an orientation to Western Europe, — comparable perhaps to the Russian Slavophil element and the pro-Western element, although this comparison is not applicable in every respect since circumstances in Ukraine, especially as regards its literature, are more complicated.

A comment by Les Kurbas, the director of the "Molodyj Teatr" ("Young Theatre"), may serve as a further elucidation: "After a long epoch of Ukrainophilism, romantic admiration of the Cossacks, ethnographism and a modernism based on Russian examples, we see in our literature, which has so far reflected all social trends, a vital and extremely significant turning-point. Our literature is directly adjusted to Europe... This is the only true course for our art to take."

In many of the ideas which Lesya Ukrainka expresses she seems to be a direct precursor of the "Ukrainska Khata" ("Ukrainian Home," Kyiv, 1909-1914) and of the "Moloda Muza," ("The Young Muse," Lviv, 1906-1914), of the "Kyivan Neo-classicists" and of similar literary groups, which are orientated to Europe and are fiercely attacked by the Soviet Russians. It is thus hardly surprising that her works were confiscated when Dray-Khmara was arrested a second time.

George Luckyj affirms: "Unlike the West European symbolists, the Ukrainian symbolists were not concerned at all with protests against materialism. They reacted sharply to the narrow ethnographism of the 19th century in Ukrainian literature and represented a trend towards "Europeanization," but at the same time sought to preserve their national identity."

A letter from Lesya Ukrainka to her uncle Michael Drahomaniv clearly shows that she can be regarded as a direct precursor of this "Europeanization trend" in Ukrainian literature: "But such a 'pro-Western element' is already making itself felt amongst the young members of our society, in so far as many of them are beginning to learn French, German, Italian and English in order to be able to read foreign literature... I hope that as many Ukrainians as possible will get to know foreign literatures so that the clumsy dilettantism which at present prevails in our literature so much will perhaps one day disappear from it."

Lesya Ukrainka, who spoke eight languages, became the prototype of the literary scholar orientated to the West, and it is not surprising that, apart from her great influence on the group of Neo-classicists, she was also the subject of much controversy and criticism. Her masterpiece "Forest Song," which she wrote shortly before her death is closely related not only to Oles' "Nad Dniplom" but also to Gerhart Hauptmann's "The Sunken Bell." Thanks to her mother's guidance, Lesya Ukrainka had an intimate knowledge of the works of Victor Hugo, Madame de Staël, Jonathan Swift, George Sand, Dickens, Auerbach, Mickiewicz, Pushkin, Lermontov, Carducci, and other famous writers, whilst her lyric poetry clearly shows the influence of Heine at his best.

As early as 1898, I. Franko said in a literary criticism: "I repeat; on reading the flabby and spineless writings of our contemporary Ukrainian litterateurs and comparing them with these bold, alert, and vigorous, and at the same time simple and straightforward poems of Lesya Ukrainka, one cannot resist the feeling that this fragile, invalid girl is almost the only man in all our present-day Ukraine."

Zerov does not agree with this opinion and stresses that this formula of Franko's must be accepted with a grain of salt (for with certain reservations the author himself supports this viewpoint). He maintains that this formula does not give an accurate picture of Lesya Ukrainka's poetry. He affirms: "One must not derive 'manly' from 'man' in this respect, which would be far removed from the manifestations of the feminine psyche." And he adds: "If one goes so far as to talk about the manly quality of Lesya Ukrainka's works, then one must certainly derive this concept from the meaning of the Latin word 'virtus' and not from Weininger's interpretation of 'M'... for in spite of everything... she always remains womanly in her poetry."

The divergencies in the interpretation of the works of this poetess are to some extent to blame for the fact that she is almost unknown outside Ukraine. Unfortunately this fact cannot be denied, and

Clarence A. Manning very aptly remarks: "Abroad, recognition of her work has spread rather slowly. Only a few of her poems and dramatic works have appeared in translation, and this volume, prepared by the late Dr. Percival Cundy, is the first large-scale attempt to make known to the English-speaking world a figure who is of value not only to her own people but to world literature." (Quoted from Professor Manning's Foreword to the book "Spirit of Flame." A Collection of the Works of Lesya Ukrainka. Translated by Percival Cundy. New York, 1950.)

We should like to add that the translations into English are no exception, for what Professor Manning says in the above-mentioned Foreword also applies to Russian literature, inasmuch as the first collection of Lesya Ukrainka's works in a Russian translation only appeared 4 years earlier than the English translation. In German only a few of her poems are available, whilst Georgia, a country with which Lesya Ukrayinka had close ties, likewise did not publish a collection of her works in translation until a short time ago. The Czech translations are fairly comprehensive, but they, too, have only been published in recent years.

However disappointing all this may be, one can but hope that Clarence A. Manning is right when he says: "With every decade the literary reputation of Lesya Ukrainka has grown and today the poetess is recognized as one of the leading figures in modern Ukrainian literature, second only to Taras Shevchenko, the incomparable master of the language, and on a par in her artistic productions with Ivan Franko. This is a remarkable tribute to a woman who died in her early forties, after a lifetime of invalidism and physical suffering."

This life of invalidism and physical suffering was the heaviest cross which Lesya Ukrainka had to bear. The disease which made her an invalid in 1885 when she was barely 14 years of age, demanded the greatest will-power, courage and endurance from her and endowed her with that quality which Zerov defines as "virtus." Tuberculosis, which at first attacked her hands, later spread to her legs and eventually to her lungs and kidneys. Owing to the state of her health she was unable to devote herself completely to her literary inspirations and creative activity. A few days of literary activity would be interrupted by months of pain and suffering. And the fear of some day no longer being able to work was constantly with her. Her letters clearly reveal the torment and tragedy of her life.

Lesya Ukrainka's childhood years, filled with an extensive cultural training under her mother's guidance, were as yet not clouded by the disease which was to make her an invalid for the remaining thirty years of her life. The only external event which seems to have

cast a shadow on her young life at that time was the fact that her aunt, Helena Antonovna Kosach, was deported to Siberia as a political prisoner in 1878. As early as 1880 Lesya wrote one of her first poems, "Hope," which though naive in form already gave promise of her future talent:

H O P E

No more can I call liberty my own,
To me there's naught remains but hope alone.

The hope to see once more my loved Ukraine.
To come back in my native land again.

To gaze once more on Dnieper's azure wave —
I care not if alive or in the grave.

To view the steppe, its ancient funeral mounds,
To sense the ardent strength which there abounds...

No more can I call liberty my own,
To me there's naught remains but hope alone.

Had she a presentiment of her own future? For like her aunt, she was later to become a captive, confined to a sick-bed, and moving from one sanatorium to another, from one place to another, from one country to another, in search of a cure.

When in 1885 — two years before her first poem was published in Lviv, the disease which beset her all her life commenced, frequent trips were made to Kyiv for treatment, until it was necessary for her to spend a longer period there in 1894. The disease had taken her by surprise whilst she was engaged in translating Gogol's "Evenings at Dikanka" into Ukrainian, a task in which her brother collaborated.

At that time, however, she was still able to gratify her fervent desire for erudition. In 1891 she visited Vienna, where for the first time she encountered the West, which here and in Berlin, too, though in another sense, was to determine her fate.

She spent 1894-95 in Bulgaria, in Sofia, on a visit to her uncle Drahomaniv. It was a sad period of study and learning for Lesya, for her uncle was a sick man and died six months after her arrival in Sofia. It was her sad duty to send the news of his death to his relatives and friends in Ukraine.

1896-97 Lesya was once more in Kyiv. The disease, which appeared to have receded, now suddenly became much worse again. After a stay in the sunny Crimea (in 1896), which had however not helped

her, she was taken to Berlin in 1897 for an operation, which, for the time being at least, appeared to have been successful. In 1900 she was back again in her own country, in Zelenyy Hay and dreaming of Egyptian impressions. Perhaps this too was a presentiment?

A new relapse forced her to try a cure in the Carpathians in 1901. It was here that she made the personal acquaintanceship of Ivan Franko. But her stay in the Carpathians brought no relief. After spending some time in Campolung and Burkut, she eventually went to San Remo, where she spent 1902-03. But by now the disease had become incurable, and her ceaseless travel from one sanatorium and from one health resort to another commenced. Her friend L. M. Starytska-Cherniakhivska in her memoirs says of Lesya: "Many a time she used to say that she no longer had the strength to continue to live the life of a hothouse plant, torn away from her native soil, and yet, though living thus far away from her home and native land, her thoughts were continually flying back to it."

Her poem "A Former Spring" reveals all the sorrow and renunciation in her heart, but also the noble greatness of her moral strength, when she says:

I lay and thought: "The spring has come for all;
 For everyone she has a gift to bring;
 But yet for me alone she has no gift,
 I am forgotten by the jocund spring."

Nay, spring did not forget! An apple tree
 Tapped with its branches on my window pane;
 The tender green leaves flashed before my eyes,
 The snowy blossoms dropped like falling rain.

Eventually she returned to her beloved Ukraine once more, not cured, but nevertheless happy to be in her own country again. But in 1904 she was already obliged to go to Tbilisi for another cure, and from then until 1907 she only returned to Ukraine twice. In June 1906 she was in Zelenyy Hay again, but in 1907 she was obliged to go to live in the Crimea. The great realist Anton P. Chekhov, who depicted the southern landscape, the Ukrainian steppes and the sea as exquisitely as did Lesya, of whom he was a fellow-sufferer, for he too was obliged to live in foreign lands on account of his health, had already died four years previously, in 1904, when Lesya married Klyment V. Kvitka. A temporary improvement in her state of health had made marriage possible.

But her happiness was short-lived. Soon after her marriage her health rapidly deteriorated, and from then onwards she lived at Yalta in the Crimea, at resorts on the Sea of Azov and on the

Black Sea. A second trip to Berlin shattered all her hopes of relief by another operation. An operation was impossible because of her condition. Lesya once more returned to the Crimea and to the Caucasus. In 1909 she lived at Telavi in Kakhelia, Choni in Imeretia, and at Kutaisi, Georgia. Had she a premonition that her life would end here?

But her struggle against death was not yet ended. The next three winters, which were full of pain and suffering, she languished in Egypt, at Heluan near Cairo.

On September 1, 1913, she was released from her suffering for ever in Sumari, Georgia.

* * *

Lesya Ukrainka is one of the few gifted artists who from the very outset of their creative activity have devoted themselves unhesitatingly and unwaveringly to the development of their poetic style and expression. Although she reveals an outstanding talent in her descriptions of Nature, a talent which is apparent in all her works, she herself never had any doubts as to her choice of the poetic genre for which she had most inclination. This can no doubt be ascribed to the iron strength of will which characterized her unique personality, which was necessary if she was not to despair in life and without which she would never have left such a rich legacy of verse and prose to posterity.

Although her works are by no means onesided, one can nevertheless trace a uniform aim and development towards a dramatic style — even though she does not renounce her feminine lyricism — all through them, that is to say a continuous systematic development of her true talent such as one seldom finds in a poet.

Her lyrical and dramatic works are rich in colour, but her poetic creativeness did not exhaust itself in this field alone, even though it was perhaps nowhere else developed to such perfection. The social-humanitarian themes and the criticism of social institutions which were characteristic of her literary activity, in particular after she had occupied herself intensively with Heine (her translation of Heine's "Buch der Lieder" was published in Lviv in 1892), indicate that she also engaged in publicistic activity.

However great her merits are in the field of publicistic activity and prose, her achievements were even greater, however, in the field of lyricism. It is now generally agreed that her creative activity and development as a poet can be divided into the following periods: 1) 1884 to 1893; 2) 1894 to 1903; 3) 1904 to 1913.

True, the volumes of her poems which were published during her lifetime cannot be classified wholly according to this system, but they nevertheless represent important stages in the development of

her talent. We are referring to the following editions: 1) *Na krylakh pisen'* ("On Wings of Song"), Lviv, 1893; 2) *Na krylakh pisen'*, Kyiv, 1904.

The volume published in Lviv was compiled and edited by Ivan Franko, and although it appeared some years before the Kyiv edition it can be regarded as more complete than the latter volume, which has obviously been subjected to a drastic censorship.

3) *Dumy i mriyi. Poeziyi Lesi Ukrainky* ("Thoughts and Dreams"), published in Lviv in 1899.

4) *Vidhuky Poeziyi* ("Echoes"), published in Chernivtsi in 1902. Hitherto unpublished works were edited by Maria Derkach and published in 1947 by the publishing firm of "Vilna Ukrayina" in Lviv.

During the first period Lesya Ukrainka's poems clearly show the influence of the old Ukrainian style which was developed by Shevchenko's successors and, according to Zerov, "was long and lastingly influenced by the lachrymose sentimentalism of a sickly Nadson..." But Vorony, for instance, does not reach this sentimentalism of Nadson, if one compares his "Ne zhuryś, divchyno, v tuhu ne vdavaysia" with Nadson's "Drug moy, brat moy," and Hrabovsky, according to Zerov, does not even equal the weakest of his Russian models. In Lesya Ukrainka's earliest poems considerable influence in this respect, namely that of Starytsky, Hrabovsky and Konysky, can also be ascertained. Soviet critics stress the influence of Nekrasov in particular in Lesya's earliest works, but the influence of Fofanov is far more marked. (Cf. Lesya's poem "Happy are ye, all ye spotless stars!" with Fofanov's "Zvezdy yasnye, zvezdy prekrasnyye.")

It would however be entirely erroneous to assume from what has just been said that the first period of Lesya Ukrainka's poetic creativeness was completely or mainly concerned with such themes as the above-mentioned. The lines quoted previously in this article (from the cycle "Melodies") already usher in the second period, in which Heine's influence gradually made itself felt, whilst in the first period, on the other hand, there are already clear indications of Lesya Ukrainka's later tendency to chose social-humanitarian themes. (As for instance in: "Do tebe Ukraino, nasha bezdol'naya maty" — "For thee, O Ukraine, O our mother unfortunate," or "Dosvitni ohni" — "Foregleams of the Dawn.")

As already mentioned, the second period begins with "Melodies" and "Davnia kazka" (A fairytale of olden times — 1893-1894). Critics have maintained that Lesya Ukrainka failed to achieve the forcefulness and vigour of Heine in her works, but "Davnia kazka" certainly refutes this opinion, and though it is by no means the highlight of this period, its language and dramatic effect are nevertheless powerful and impressive.

Lesya's greatest poetic achievement in this second period of her literary activity is the collection "Thoughts and Dreams." An increasing dramatization is now also noticeable. More than in her previous poems she tends to compose cycles and shows a preference for dialogues. The poems "Fiat nox," "U pustyni" ("In the desert"), "To be or not to be," and "Ave regina" are typical of this period. Here Lesya Ukrainka uses blank verse, and, though in other respects lyric poems, they strongly resemble dramatic monologues.

In addition to the cycles written during this period, the lyric-narrative poem now begins to occupy an important place in Lesya's work. These translations bring us to the third and most mature period of her literary activity, in which, according to Zerov, she soared to golden heights. Here, too, there are, of course, still reminders of the earlier periods, as can be clearly seen in her "Legend of the Giant," which was only written in 1913. This poem combines the vigour found in Heine, didacticism and lyricism, but here the lyricism is extremely subjective.

In this legend, which Lesya only wrote in Heluan in Egypt six months before her death, the boy Lavrin tells the story of a mighty giant who boasted of his power, until God punished him by casting a spell on him and making him sleep so soundly and so long that he was powerless to wake up even when the enemy seized hold of his heart. How long the giant will sleep, no one knows; perhaps he will awaken before sunrise, perhaps only after a hundred years have elapsed.

This third period is however characterized by the fact that the lyric with a social theme now recedes into the background; with profound insight and tenderness the poetess portrays the most intimate feelings and emotions of the female soul and mind. As for instance in her poem "Hebrew Melody," in which the woman of Israel still worships her beloved like a sacred shrine even though some alien beauty may have snared his heart. The poems "Romance" (Ne dyvysia na misiats' vesnoyu — Do not gaze at the moon in spring) and "Skhidnia melodiya" ("Eastern Melody") also belong to this category.

When the poetess turned to the emotions and feelings of her own sex as a theme and abandoned social criticism, her poetry, in Zerov's opinion, gained much in clarity and became an expression of the "eternally feminine."

Although Lesya Ukrainka's lyricism is outstanding, the most perfect expression of her literary creativeness is to be found in her dramatic poems. A transition to this genre is evident in many of her lyrics, as we have already pointed out, above all in a series of lyric-narrative poems, the "Poems and Legends." To these belong "Robert Bryus, korol' shotlandskyy" ("Robert Bruce, King of

Scotland," which was published in "Dzvinok" in 1894), "Izolda Biloruka" ("Isolde of the White Hands"), and "Vila posestra" ("Vila, the Blood-sister," based on Serbian folklore, begun in 1901 and completed in 1911).

Even if one only assesses Lesya Ukrainka's dramatic creativeness in terms of works, one is nevertheless bound to admit that it was very considerable, as can be seen from the following brief list of her most important works: "Blakytyna troyanda" ("The Blue Rose" — 1896), "Oderzhyma" ("The Possessed" — 1901), "Vavylons'kyy polon" ("The Babylonian Captivity" — 1903), "Na ruyinakh" ("On the Ruins" — 1904), "Try khvylyny" ("Three Moments" — 1905), "Osinnia kazka" ("An Autumn Fairytale" — 1905), "V domi roboty, v krayini nevoli" ("In the Workhouse, in the Land of Slavery" — 1906), "U katakombakh" ("In the Catacombs" — 1905), "Kassandra" ("Cassandra" — 1907), "Rufin i Priscilla" ("Rufinus and Priscilla" — 1906-1909), "U pushchi" ("In the Woods" — 1908), "Yohanna, zhinka Chusova" ("Johanna, Chusa's Wife" — 1909), "Boyarynia" ("The Noblewoman" — 1910), "Na poli krovy" ("The Field of Blood" — 1910), "Lisova pisnia" ("Forest Song," her masterpiece, inspired by themes from folklore, — 1911), "Advokat Martian" ("Martianus, the Advocate" — 1911), "Kaminnyy Hospodar" ("The Stone Host," — based on the theme of Don Juan, — 1912), and "Orgiya" ("Orgy," which bears the influence of Krasinski's "Irydion," — 1912/13).

Lesya's bent towards the drama was fostered in her youth by her friendship with the Starytsky family, and this influence, coupled with her natural talent, led to her first real attempt to write a drama, "The Blue Rose," in 1896. It was not a success, but nevertheless two years later she began work on a new drama, "In the Woods," which unlike her first attempt was written in verse. True, she laid it aside for ten years, and it was not completed and published until 1908.

The action of this dramatic poem is set in the Puritan world of New England. Critics have pointed out that Lesya sought to portray herself in the sculptor Richard Iron. He believes in art for art's sake, whilst his fellows, the austere Puritans, demand that he use his art for practical and utilitarian purposes. The ensuing conflict forms the substance of the drama. The critics rejected this drama too. Lesya's opinion on their criticism was: "What people think they want, is precisely what they must not have."

Her first dramatic poem to be published was "The Possessed," which was written in four scenes and appeared in 1901. The action is laid in Palestine in the days of Christ. Here the great influence which the Bible had on Lesya Ukrainka's work is very evident. Mariam cannot accept Jesus' doctrine that one should love everyone, even one's enemies, and she affirms that hate, too, can be justified:

"What! Only he can know no hate
Who all his life has never loved."

Two more dramatic poems followed: "The Babylonian Captivity" and "On the Ruins." Like "The Possessed," they are both based on Hebrew history from the Bible. Beneath the surface they both symbolically reveal conditions in Ukraine under tsarist rule.

Each successive drama that she wrote now represented a new step in the development and perfection of her talent. In 1902 she commenced writing "Cassandra," but it was not completed until 1907. Here the action is set in ancient Troy before the city's fall. Cassandra, the queen, is the only person who perceives the signs of decay in the social structure of Troy. She prophesies its ruin, but no one believes her words.

"Three Moments" (1905) is called "a dialogue," but it is much more than this. The plot is set in the days of the French Revolution, and its theme is the conflict which arises out of the opposing views of a Girondist idealist and a Montagnard realist.

"Rufinus and Priscilla," begun in 1906 and completed three years later, was one of Lesya's favourite works. Whereas the first two scenes were written at a stretch without many alterations or corrections, the remaining scenes cost her much toil and necessitated a good deal of reading of special literature. The scene is set in Rome in the early days of Christianity, and the conflict lies in the heart of Rufinus himself, who cannot accept the teaching of Christianity. Devotedly attached to his wife Priscilla, a fervent Christian, he voluntarily shares her fate when she is condemned to death as a martyr, but he dies without the solace of faith in a life beyond.

Three other dramatic poems, "In the Catacombs," "The Field of Blood," and "Johanna, Chusa's Wife," also reveal Lesya Ukrainka's interest in the era of early Christianity.

"The Noblewoman" (which she wrote in Egypt in 1910) seems to be a concession to the critics who reproached her with refusing to use Ukrainian material in her dramas. In some respects "The Noblewoman" stands apart from the rest of her dramatic poems. It narrates the story of a Cossack maiden, Oksana, who marries Stepan, who was born in Ukraine but was brought up in Moscow. She goes to live in Moscow with her husband, but the situation becomes tragic when she realized that Stepan is being completely russified. True, the time is historical, but the theme and problem are contemporary.

In 1911, whilst she was in Kutaisi in Transcaucasia, Lesya Ukrainka produced her masterpiece "Forest Song" in the space of three days, after she had previously re-written it three times in order to condense the plot. For the first time the critics were unanimous in their opinion that it was an outstanding work. B. Yakubsky said of this work: "In truth, this is a symbolic drama of profound psychological interest, of an extraordinary deep and tender

lyricism whose language, full of the rich treasures of native folklore, is most harmonious and musical. Without exaggeration, one can say that it is an outstanding creation, not only of Ukrainian literature, but of the world's literature. It has already been compared with similar works by Maeterlinck and Hauptmann and has emerged from this comparison with honour." It has a certain affinity not only with "Udine" but also with Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream."

In addition to its classical note of Romanticism, "Forest Song" is also a glorification of Nature. But man, by going his own way, has become alienated from the laws and the beauty of Nature. When Mavka wishes to follow Lukash, the peasant, Forest Elf says:

"...But I

Respect your freedom. Go! sport with the wind;
 Play all you like with wild Will-o'-the-Wisp;
 Allure all spirits to yourself, be they
 Of water, forest, mountain, field, or air.
 But keep aloof from human pathways, child;
 You'll find no freedom there, but woes instead,
 To clog your steps and weigh you down. My child,
 Once start to tread them and your freedom's gone!"

One must remain true to one's own nature. Lukash was only happy as he lived by his own intuitive feelings. As soon as he succumbed to the influence of wordly domination, he betrayed his own nature. He lost his human form and began to resemble a wolf; and he was only saved in his madness by the one person whom in his blindness he had always wronged: by Mavka and her infinite love and pity. But Mavka too has betrayed her own nature, as Forest Elf tells her. When she asks him in surprise whom she has betrayed, he answers:

"Yourself.

You gave up dwelling in the high tree tops,
 And came down low to walk in baser paths."

The gentle melancholy which pervades this work is heightened as the action moves against the background of the changing seasons of Nature in their annual cycle.

"Forest Song" was followed by three other poetic dramas, which, though they did not represent a further highlight in Lesya Ukrainka's literary activity, were certainly of as high a merit as her previous works. "Martianus, the Advocate" (1911) again takes us back to the days of early Christianity. The scene is set in Puteoli,

near Naples, about the year 300 A.D. Martianus is secretly a Christian, but is obliged to conceal this fact from his wife and children, and this results in his becoming alienated from them. The role that Martianus is compelled to play is a hard test for his natural human feelings, but he stands this test manfully and courageously to the end.

In "The Stone Host" Lesya Ukrainka uses the theme of Don Juan, but gives it a new symbolical significance which is applicable to purely Ukrainian problems. The action of "Orgy," the last of her works, which appeared in the year of her death, is set in Corinth during the period of Roman rule in Greece. The conflict arises out of the oppression of the ancient Greek culture by young militant Rome. Anteus, the poet-singer, kills his wife when she dances for the Roman conquerors and strangles himself with a string of his own lyre.

In conclusion we should like to quote an English critic on Lesya Ukrainka:

"Apart from the intrinsic value of her work, the chief merit of Lesya Ukrainka was that she exercised the function of a beneficent innovator in the field of Ukrainian poetry, an introducer of fresh new forms as well as ideas. Emerging from the imitative influences of the post-Shevchenko tradition, she laboured consciously to lead Ukrainian literature out of its provincialism and the preoccupation of its writers with purely domestic themes and subjects. With the clear conviction that every national literature must needs have its own peculiar native colouring, she also was convinced that it must necessarily profit by conforming to universal standards and develop itself within the framework of the ideas common to all humanity. This point of view can be seen even in her adolescent lyrics with titles such as: "Sappho," "Mary Stuart's Last Song," "To my Piano," "Dante's Wife," and many others. Such themes were a novelty in Ukrainian poetry then. At the same time she successfully experimented with European forms hitherto unused by Ukrainian poets. These characteristics of an innovator dissatisfied with the current forms and ideas derived from tradition made her a new and vitalizing force in Ukrainian letters. Sensing that the social organism had entered on a new phase of development, and feeling that the people were sufficiently awakened to a knowledge of, and interest in the nation's past, she was profoundly convinced that it was necessary for the younger generation to create a literature that should run in the general current of universal ideas. She also introduced a new psychological attitude in her people's literature unlike the then prevailing one, which was that of looking backwards and sighing over a glorious if sombre past. This, indeed, had been the dominating mood of the successors of Shevchenko, weeping tears of helplessness over what was irretrievably gone. Lesya Ukrainka's attitude, on the contrary, was one of faith in the innate strength of

an indestructible nation, and consequently, the compelling necessity of battling on with a firm conviction of ultimate victory."

A complete appreciation of Lesya Ukrainka's work is only possible if one takes into consideration her convictions and her outlook on life and the world in general. Two famous scholars, Donzov and Mirchuk, have in their critical essays contributed greatly to a better understanding of Lesya Ukrainka's personality and literary activity. We should at this point, however, like to quote a passage by Zerov, which serves to complete the picture of this great poetess.

"The great Greek scholar Theocritus of Alexandria believes in the ultimate victory of erudition. His era is however an era of Christian fanaticism, which destroys all scholarly works for the sole reason that they are of heathen origin. The philosopher is arrested and his library is to be raided and searched. The children of Theocritus, a boy and a girl, remove the manuscripts which will be of most value to future generations from the library and secretly bury them in the sand, in the desert beyond the town. The sun rises, the children kneel down and, turning their faces to the sun, pray: 'O Helios! Save our treasures! We entrust them to you and to the golden desert.' The time will come when the manuscripts which were hidden for safety from mankind will be of use to the latter. Perhaps this prayer: 'O Helios! Save our treasures! We entrust them to you and to the golden desert' only holds good for the time being and only for a short time."

These pictures and this prayer can be interpreted as an allegory. By degrees the treasures hidden in the sand are discovered; in the 'cold realm of stern lines,' as Khotkevych writes, "the hot springs gush forth and Lesya Ukrainka arises before our eyes as the personality who stands at the head of her entire literary generation."

Lesya Ukrainka

Translated by Vera Rich

CONTRA SPEM SPERO

Thoughts, away, you heavy clouds of autumn,
For now springtime comes, a gleam with gold!
Shall thus in grief and wailing for ill-fortune
All the tale of my young years be told?

No, I want to smile through tears and weeping,
Sing my songs where evil holds its sway,
Hopeless, a steadfast hope forever keeping,
I want to live! You thoughts of grief — away!

On poor sad fallow-land, unused to tilling,
I'll sow blossoms, brilliant in hue,
I'll sow blossoms where the frost lies, chilling,
I'll pour bitter tears on them as dew.

And those burning tears shall melt, dissolving,
All that mighty crust of ice away,
Maybe blossoms will come up, unfolding
Singing springtime for me, too, some day.

Up the flinty steep and craggy mountain
A weighty ponderous boulder I shall raise,
And bearing this dread burden, a resounding
Song I'll sing, a song of joyous praise.

In the long dark ever-viewless night-time
Not one instant shall I close my eyes,
I'll seek ever for the star to guide me,
She that reigns bright mistress of dark skies.

Yes! I'll smile, indeed, through tears and weeping,
Sing my songs where evil holds its sway,
Hopeless, a steadfast hope forever keeping,
I shall live! You thoughts of grief — away!

RHYTHMS. PART I.

And where have you scattered, re-echoing words,
That without you my grief is dumb, unheard?
Like the waters of spring you swept wide in a flood,
Through the gorges, through the valleys, through ravines.
Why will you not be as the waves on the sea,
Why not shout in bold clamour to heaven,
Why not drown in resounding breakers my woe,
Why not scatter into pieces the gloom of my soul
With strong insistent onslaught of tempest.
Not for this reason, words, I reared you up,
Gave you the blood of my own heart to drink from,
That you might pour away like sluggish venom,
Overgrowing souls like a dull rust.
Like rays bright flashing, like waves wildly lashing,
Like sparks swift outpouring, like stars loftily soaring,
Like weapons brightly flashing, swords slashing,
Thus I'd have reared, taught you thus, my words!
That you'd create a mountain echo and not groaning,
Existing for song and not lamentation.
Then shock, rend, even, indeed, slay,
Be not but rains of autumn's inundations.
Blaze brightly, burn away, but do not fade!

(C) Vera Rich, 1963.

Jaroslaw Stetzko

THE KREMLIN ATTACKS THE VATICAN

Comments on the Second Vatican Oecumenical Council

In our article "The Oecumenical Council and the Expectations of the Faithful of the Persecuted Church" (published in "ABN Correspondence," No. 1, January/February 1963) we stressed the dangers which would ensue from the intrigue that the Kremlin was obviously conducting against the Vatican; an intrigue which was furthered still more by the presence of two observers of the pseudo-Christian Russian "Church" at the said Council. For this reason we shall in the present article continue our criticism and comments regarding the relations of the Kremlin to the Vatican in the light of the latest events. We should, however, like to emphasize from the outset that we are in no way criticizing the Catholic Church as an institution, an institution which **under no circumstances can or will ever agree** to a coexistence with the anti-Christian regime. But we consider it our duty to criticize the policy pursued by part of the present ecclesiastical hierarchy. The devout and orthodox Catholics believe in the infallibility of the Pope in all matters pertaining to the dogmas of religious faith and moral principles if he proclaims them ex cathedra. In other matters even the Pope may be mistaken, and for this reason the devout Catholics may be permitted to criticize certain views expressed by the Pope, provided that they do so with all due respect and also recognize the incontestable authority of His Holiness in all matters pertaining to the dogmas of religious faith and moral principles. The author of this article is a devout and orthodox Catholic and he regards the authority of the Pope as inviolable. In spite of this fact, however, he considers himself justified

in questioning the prudence of the course adopted by the Vatican in its relations with the Kremlin. In our opinion there was a marked difference between the decisions reached by Pope Pius XII and those of Pope John XXIII. Pope Pius held the view that water and fire were incompatible. He excommunicated the Communists since he regarded them as incorrigible atheists. He rightly regarded Communism and religion as incompatible ideologies. He considered Communism, its role and its character, from the universal point of view. Pope John XXIII on the other hand viewed Communism from the Italian standpoint. In his opinion, the party led by Togliatti was by no means a fifth column of a foreign power, but an Italian political party. He did not regard it as a non-Italian party, as the party of Moscow.

True, many Italians vote for the Communist Party and nevertheless go to confession and Holy Communion. This attitude is determined by moods and emotion, vacillating sentiments, outburst of enthusiasm and inconsistent views. In spite of this fact, however, one cannot draw any concrete conclusions from it as regards world Communism as a system, — a system which fundamentally was, is and always will be anti-religious. In their views and practical measures the Communist leaders assess religion as the opium of the people. And this unchangeable fact should always be borne in mind.

The Vatican should not draw any practical conclusions with regard to Communism as a system determined by the Russian mentality from a change in attitude, not of Communism as a movement, but of individual adherents of Communism as a social economic system, or in view of the deceptive watchwords pertaining to the attitude towards religion which are at present being uttered in Italy. One cannot make a pact with the Russian atheists, the actual initiators of the persecution of the Church, of nations and of individuals. The blessing pronounced upon the leader of militant atheism, Khrushchov, through Adzhubey and his wife ("for your closest relatives") both amazed and depressed us. True, one can pray for sinners and criminals, but one should not conduct conversations with them as if they were one's partners. For Khrushchov has not been converted and become a Paul with whom the representatives of Christ could conduct talks. In our opinion, agreements with the Communist system, which is nothing but a form of Russian godless colonial rule in the countries enslaved by Moscow, are illusory and futile. The Vatican aims to obtain religious freedom for the Catholic faith, but at the same time is prepared to acknowledge the existence of the Communist regime. But our argument is: one of the inherent characteristics of Communism, the creation of the Russian mentality, is the negation of religion as an uncompromising enemy in spiritual, ideological and moral respect.

The Russian Bolsheviks persecute and will continue to persecute religion, not because Marx and his theory furthered religious persecution by barbarous methods, but because the Russian mentality as reflected in Bolshevism was always the same, even before the phenomenon of Marxist doctrine. Although Marx adopted a negative attitude towards religion, in his works he did not by any means demand the destruction of religion by violence, a method which the Russian Bolsheviks are so fond of practising. For this is solely a privilege of the Russians and their disciples in the whole world, for whom the Kremlin is a kind of Mecca. Various Muscovite sects, as for instance the "Dukhobory," "Molokany," "Byeguny," "Stranniki" and "Nemolyaki," paved the way for Communism as a ruthless, barbarous system of society. All these sects were fervent advocates of this system long before the forcible introduction of Bolshevism.

Even the Russian philosopher N. Berdyayev admits that Bolshevism is an organic creation of the Russian mentality, a typically Russian national phenomenon. The talented Ukrainian paintress Maria Bashkirtseva, who died of tuberculosis at the age of 24, already prophesied Communism in Russia 80 years ago when she characterized the Russians as a people with an organic tendency to Communism. The famous Ukrainian historian of the 19th century, Kostomarov, stressed the superficiality of the religiousness of the Russians, their religious atheism, the nihilism and corruption prevalent in the theological colleges... And the French aristocrat A. de Custine ascertained in the 19th century that the sons of the Russian priests were for the most part anti-religious organizers. Atheists such as Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky came from Russian clergymen's families. In 1620 a Swede, Botvin, raised the question as to whether the Russians were Christians at all. Peter I ordered all Russian civil servants to attend church and threatened them with punishment if they did not do so... Byelinsky wrote to Gogol that his opinion that the Russians were pious was erroneous. On the contrary, the Russians, so he pointed out, were godless. Two famous Russians, Stepniak and Bulgakov, affirmed that the atheism of the Russians was a kind of religion. And Stepniak added that the Russians believed that the Devil was God's helpmate.

Precisely because of its character there can be no fundamental change in the Russian Communist system. This system cannot exist without the persecution of religion. Nor can it negate its true character, since otherwise it would be ruined. In the 1920's the NEP (New Economic Policy) of the Russian Bolsheviks was introduced and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAPTs) was at first tolerated. For this Church the Ukrainian ecclesiastical heroes, the Metropolitans Lypkivsky and Boretsky and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, died as martyrs. Within a few years, however, the

Russian Bolsheviks liquidated these ecclesiastical dignitaries and also their Church, which had previously been sanctioned by the Bolsheviks themselves. After the Ukrainian clergy had openly shown themselves to be militant Christians of the UAPTs, they were obliged to lay down their lives in prisons and slave-labour camps, where they were either tortured to death or shot. The same fate will undoubtedly befall the two Catholic Churches and, above all, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, if their priests, who are at present active underground, should openly carry out their ecclesiastical tasks and duties. Internal — national, religious, cultural, social and economic — forces, which threaten to destroy the Russian imperium and its regime from within, are at present bringing pressure to bear on the Kremlin. For this reason the Kremlin must now act cautiously and must offer a substitute NEP in the religious and cultural sector in order to be able to expose these forces more easily later on and thus destroy them. The Kremlin aims to expose and liquidate the new Chuprynkas, the new Greek Catholic Lypkivskys and Boretzkys, who are secretly active in the underground in the name of Christ. It is thus the perfidious intention of the Kremlin to expose these fighters by pretending to make various concessions. By releasing the Ukrainian Metropolitan Slipyj from imprisonment the Kremlin wanted to give the West, which has been lulled by the coexistence idea, new “proof” of a change in its regime. It is conceivable that Cardinal Mindszenty, Archbishop Beran and the Ukrainian martyr Bishop Hopko will also be released in the near future, but **at the same time** the Kremlin will continue to close down and destroy numerous churches in the Soviet Russian sphere of influence, to kill men such as Bandera, and to prepare new murders secretly. The hypocrisy of the Kremlin is only too evident. Other “concessions” will probably follow in the very near future if the “proof” provided in the case of Metropolitan Slipyj or Cardinal Mindszenty should not suffice to deceive the naïve West and to divert its attention from the eventuality of a **surprise attack by the Kremlin on the West.**

Caveant consules! We warn the West against Moscow’s deceptive game, against the outbreak of a sudden war, against an unexpected advance on the part of the Red Russian troops against Western Europe, and against another world war, which, if the West is not vigilant enough, might well destroy it in these dangerous times.

We should always bear in mind that “alleviations” of every kind which are conceded to the Ukrainian or to any other Catholic Church **whilst, at the same time, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church is persecuted,** might result in a **diversion amongst the Ukrainians,** which would in turn lead to entirely unnecessary disputes in the denominational sector. The Vatican should realize that Moscow by its “concessions” to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church is

endeavouring to cause a certain disorientation in order to be able to persecute the other heroic Church of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, more ruthlessly, since it has no intention whatever of making any "concessions" to this Church too. It is an established fact that the priests and faithful of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church are languishing in the prisons and concentration camps of the USSR. But the Kremlin does not mention them at all. That great Metropolitan Lypkivsky died as a martyr. Has the Vatican thought of these martyrs and heroes who laid down their lives for Christ? It grieves us profoundly to think that it has not done so. On the other hand, a blessing was bestowed through the Adzhubey family, on that criminal Khrushchov, who during the period that he was governor-general of Ukraine by the grace of Stalin liquidated both Ukrainian Churches. Neither Mrs. Bandera, the wife of the Ukrainian leader murdered by Moscow, nor her children received the Pope's blessing. This is the sad truth!

I do not wish to disparage the authority of the Pope, the supreme head of the Catholic Church in which I believe. But precisely because I believe in this Church I consider it my duty to tell my brothers of the same faith the truth. Some persons might point out that the question at issue is a political one. This is not true. The Church should not concern itself with transitory political matters but with truth and moral principles, with noble ideals. I do not regard the attitude adopted by certain Vatican circles as correct, — namely that ecclesiastical policy should enable the faithful to enjoy freedom of religious practices under every state political, ideological and social system and should not let them become martyrs. This is a purely abstract theory and is equivalent to reducing religion completely to the level of formalism, whilst **the true nature** of religion is not taken into account at all.

The true nature of religion does not consist merely in visiting church, for one can also pray in prison or in a slave-labour camp. The true nature of religion is the fight for truth even though one may not be in a position to take the Holy Sacrament. **The time has now come to wage the fight for the realization of Christian truth here on earth and in all spheres of life.** The Ukrainian national liberation idea and Ukrainian freedom-loving nationalism are inseparably bound up with militant Christianity. And this nationalism strives to realize the Truth of God on earth, inasmuch as it defends the right of Ukraine and of other peoples enslaved by Moscow to national independence, to freedom of the individual and to social justice. The entire purport of the Ukrainian ideas can be summed up in the following words: God, fatherland, truth, honour, freedom, and justice... The essential difference between our conception of Christian practices and that of certain Vatican circles lies in the fact that we are of the opinion that Christianity should in

principle and in all spheres of life oppose Communism and should not, by means of the recognition and tolerance of the main principles and fundamental phenomena of the Russian Bolshevik system in many spheres of life, strive to obtain a "minimum of freedom" for formal religious practices. True, we do not believe that there is any people on whom the curse of God rests to such an extent that it could never partake of the truth of Christ wholly. But we cannot by any means reconcile ourselves to the thought that there are certain circles in the Vatican who are of the opinion that militant atheists and persecutors of Christ, namely the bulk of the Russian people, could become overnight a people of crusaders. If that were the case, all the subjugated nations who are tortured and persecuted because they defend the truth of Christ would in future be led by the Russian sham Pauls regardless of the fact that the saints, heroes and martyrs of our day — men like Metropolitans Lypkivsky and Slipyj, Petlura, Chuprynka, Bandera — were killed or imprisoned by the Russians.

The opportunism which has seized part of the Western Church and some of its hierarchs casts a shadow on this terrible epoch.

Attempts are being made now to reach a *modus vivendi* with the Antichrist, who, according to the Gospel of St. Matthew, tempted the Son of God and promised Him the kingdoms of the world. But Christ withstood this temptation.

At first the West began to evade the fight for the truth of Christ in everyday life, and now it capitulates, by way of experiment, directly to the Antichrist. But capitulation on the part of the West to a life of ease and comfort, to the "golden calf," may also lead to capitulation to another "calf" as personified by the aggressive evil of the Kremlin. Martyrdom is to be avoided for the sake of the peaceful exercise of formal religious practices.

The question at issue is not that the Catholic churches behind the Iron Curtain, in the USSR, should be opened but that the truth of Christ should triumph. For the churches may be opened, but truth nevertheless continues to be persecuted. **Truth must be realized in all spheres of our life.** Is the Vatican really convinced that the Kremlin would agree to a realization of Christian truth in all spheres of our life! — One must bear in mind Moscow's old watchword: "Moscow is the third and last Rome; there can never be a fourth Rome."

The 7 million Italians who, as a result of the weakness of the Church in ideological, moral and altruistic respect and in consequence of the lack of a profound Christian faith and firm will to fight for justice and against evil not only in formal sermons but also in deeds, have become pro-Communists, cannot cast a shadow on our militant

Church, on our holy Kyiv, a centre of the rebirth of Christianity in the world. **We, who may perhaps already tomorrow be the victims of Khrushchov's crimes, herewith solemnly and openly declare that we will spare no sacrifice for truth and that we will enter into no coexistence with the tyrants, not even for any ephemeral concessions, which are nothing but a diabolical temptation on the part of the Antichrist.**

We know only too well that Moscow will never renounce the Ukrainian territories of its own free will. We shall have to drive Moscow out of Ukraine by force and punish the tyrants.

The Ukrainian Church can only be really free in an independent Ukrainian state, but not in a Russian prison of peoples. For it has never been and never will be possible for the Ukrainian Church to be free as long as the national freedom of Ukraine is crushed under the heel of the Russian barbarians. **Even though the whole world may fall round Khrushchov's neck, we, the Ukrainian nationalists, will defy Moscow, for we prefer to fight and to die rather than to see our people and our Church degraded.** We shall never shake hands with the hangman of Ukraine, not even if all the churches in Ukraine should be opened (which we, incidentally, **consider most unlikely**), for the occupant of Ukraine can only be driven out of Ukraine with the aid of Ukrainian weapons.

We bow down in reverence before the great self-sacrifice and noble personality of the sorely tried Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj, of whom the entire Christian world and not only the Catholic Church can rightly be proud, for he has become the symbol of resistance against militant atheism for the whole of Christianity, like the first Christians and the apostles of Christ in the days when people were not concerned with things of secondary importance but with the main issue, namely faith in God and in Christ and the willingness to die for this faith. Metropolitan Josef Slipyj is a martyr of militant Christianity, both of Catholicism and of Orthodoxy, for during the many long years of his imprisonment he was undoubtedly a spiritual father and a comforter to Catholics, to members of the Orthodox Church and to Protestants alike, in short to all those who believe in Jesus Christ. They all regarded him as an indomitable, undaunted, great and incomparable spiritual leader and a good shepherd of the Christian flock. The Orthodox Ukrainians likewise venerate Metropolitan Slipyj. And the faithful of the entire Christian world see in him the new spirit of a martyr and an example worthy of being imitated. He not only strengthened the Christians in their faith by his conduct as a martyr, by his sufferings and his unbroken spirit, but the Mohammedans, the Buddhists and all those who believe in God regarded him as a spiritual comforter, as a modest but great man who was prepared to endure suffering for us all. In view of

Metropolitan Slipyj's great merits, it is the more surprising that certain circles in the Vatican have so far failed to recognize them, for he has not yet been honoured even with the title and rank of a cardinal.

We Ukrainian Christians shall be grateful to the Almighty if the divine providence entrusts our Metropolitan, who already belongs to the whole of Christianity, with a great mission in the entire Oecumenical Church. We are firmly convinced that the intrigues and temptations of the Devil, of which St. Matthew speaks, will be defeated if a great martyr for God and for man, for the honour and dignity of the individual, for his native country, and for all his fellow-sufferers, a great Christian and Ukrainian, namely Metropolitan Slipyj, is chosen as the leader of the great crusade of faith and of the entire militant Christianity against the Russian Antichrist. We are firmly convinced that the temptations of Satan will then be overcome and that he will not achieve his aim.

In its fight for the rebirth of the world, for its de-barbarization and for its Christianization, Christianity must be led by martyrs and ascetics, by heroes and fighters. In view of this fact, the demand that the minimum of freedom should be granted for the exercise of formal religious practices seems very petty and insignificant. Far more important matters are at issue: the supremacy of Christ or of the Antichrist, but not a coexistence between the two.

The heroism and the martyrdom of millions of persons for Christ and for their fatherland, for man, created in God's image, today predestine Kyiv to give the West a new stimulus. For at this stage Kyiv might well assume the lead of the Christian crusade against the destructive forces of the Antichrist to the honour and glory of the entire Oecumenical Church. This city, the city of St. Sophia, which was blessed by Christ's Apostle St. Andrew, should fulfil this duty towards the city of the Apostle St. Peter. It is by no means a Ukrainian but a Russian theory that "there will never be a fourth Rome," for there will always be only one Rome. But in the interests of the Oecumenical Church in our day Kyiv should occupy the position which it deserves, as a vanguard of heroes and martyrs, headed by the Ukrainian Metropolitan and martyr Josef Slipyj, in a crusade of militant Christianity.

In view of the great danger which threatens the Church and the tasks which must necessarily arise out of this situation, faint-heartedness and hesitancy must be cast aside. The light of the rebirth of mankind shines forth from the Ukrainian Christian East in the catacombs. *Ex Oriente lux* — even though it is an Orient which at present is forced to be active underground!

Interview with H. E. Mr. Soo Young Lee, Permanent Observer of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations

Question 1: Does Your Excellency agree with the contention that rulers of the Soviet Union are Russian colonialists and imperialists who conquered and dominate the nations in the Soviet Union, the so-called satellites in East-Central Europe, and other countries with Communist regimes like North Korea, North Vietnam, Cuba?

Answer: The rulers of the Soviet Union are colonialists and imperialists in the most acid sense of the word. Their colonialism and imperialism over non-Russian nations and minorities within the Soviet Union, over the European satellites and over north Korea is far harsher and more ruthless than was Western expansionism. It is ironic that the Soviets have extended and tightened their grip over other peoples at the very time the Western powers have been divesting themselves of subject countries.

Question 2: Can the policy of peaceful co-existence between the free nations and the Communist bloc assure freedom and peace to the free nations? If not, what policy should be pursued by the Free World?

Answer: The Communist policy of "peaceful co-existence" is purely a time-gaining tactic in the Communist grand design to dominate the world. The Free World should refuse to be taken in by it. Instead, we should continue to demonstrate our readiness and determination to stand for international justice and freedom of all nations presently subjugated by Russia.

Question 3: What can and should the free nations do in order to contribute to eventual liberation of the Russian colonial empire and the establishment of independent national states of all peoples which presently linger under Communist domination in whole or in part?

Answer: Through every way and means available we should make known to the enslaved peoples of the Soviet colonial empire that we support their aspirations for freedom and trust that they eventually will command the means to realize their independence.

Question 4: Is the question of liberation of North Korea from Communist colonial rule connected closely with the liberation of Ukraine from Russian-Communist colonial oppression?

Answer: The situations of north Korea and the Ukraine are similar in that foreign (Soviet-Russian) power has manipulated local puppets to set up and dominate a Communist regime. There is a difference on the question of their liberation, however, in that the United Nations for fifteen years has made Korea its responsibility, with the objective of realizing a unified, democratic and independent nation. In respect to Ukraine first the question of Soviet-Russian colonialism must be placed on the agenda of the United Nations and then appropriate action should follow according to the principles and rules of the United Nations.

Question 5: Why the United Nations have not yet exposed and condemned Soviet-Russian colonialism while they most energetically pursue the complete liquidation of former European empires? Why the double-standard on colonialism exists in the U.N.?

Answer: In the halls of the United Nations, there has been less criticism of Soviet-Russian colonialism than of Western colonialism because many Afro-Asian delegates, while long acquainted at first hand with the Western variety, have little knowledge of Soviet tyrannies. Every effort should be made to expose these delegates to hard facts calculated to acquaint them with Soviet colonial oppression and alert them to Soviet designs for world conquest.

Question 6: In what ways can the United Nations contribute to the liquidation of Soviet-Russian colonialism and liberation of nations subjugated by it?

Answer: Free World spokesmen should take advantage of every conceivable opportunity in the United Nations forums to emphasize that, while the era of Western colonialism in drawing to a close, a new and more vicious form of colonialism holds sway over a considerable part of the world. Typically, in the United Nations debates on the Korean, Hungarian and Cuban questions extensive documentation on Communist-Russian practices can be made available to all delegates.

Question 7: What can the subjugated nations expect in this respect from the coming Session of the U.N. General Assembly?

Answer: The enslaved peoples of north Korea, of Hungary, Cuba and all other nations under Russian colonialism should be heartened by the knowledge that their plight is coming under international scrutiny during the next Session of the United Nations General Assembly. The question of subjugation of all the nations and not only of the enumerated above should be placed on the agenda.

Question 8: What is the attitude of the Korean Government toward the liberation of the nations subjugated by Russian-Communist colonialists?

Answer: Just as the Republic of Korea is anxious to see the liberation of Communist-dominated north Korea, so it supports the aspirations for freedom beating in the hearts of all peoples living under Communist domination.

Question 9: What could the United Nations do in the field of human rights in order to alleviate the condition of slavery under which live the subjugated nations? What powers give in this respect (a) the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, (b) the Genocide Convention, and (c) the Declaration on Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples?

Answer: Free World spokesmen should make every effort to acquaint all delegates to the United Nations with the provisions of these three documents. They should provide delegates with extensive data proving how the Communists persistently contravene such conventions and declarations.

Petition to U.N.O. against Russian Colonialism

During his stay in the USA recently, Mr. Jaroslaw Stetzko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine and now President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.), had interviews with various representatives of the U.N. and various American authorities with a view to drawing the attention of public opinion all over the world to the colonial status which Ukraine is at present obliged to endure, as well as to Moscow's violation of international and human rights.

On May 6, 1963, Mr. Stetzko submitted to the U.N. Commission of Twenty-four countries, which occupies itself with problems pertaining to colonialism, a petition signed by representatives of former prisoners of Soviet concentration camps and of former soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and also by himself. The petition requests that the said Commission should discuss the question of Russian colonialism in Ukraine, as well as the assassination in the German Federal Republic of the leader of the Ukrainian national liberation movement, Stepan Bandera, and also of a Ukrainian exile politician, Lev Rebet, by the Soviet secret service at the orders of the Russian government, — assassinations against which the Federal Government of Germany protested on April 23, 1963, in a verbal note to the Soviet Embassy in Bonn.

Below we publish the text of the petition.

P E T I T I O N

To the United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

To consider Soviet-Russian colonialism in Ukraine

We, the undersigned, request the Special Committee to consider arranging a hearing on and a study of colonial conditions prevailing in Ukraine.

It is proposed to investigate in particular two recent murders — of the Head of the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement, Stepan Bandera, and of the prominent Ukrainian journalist and writer, Lev Rebet — perpetrated by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

As further evidence of the colonial subjugation of Ukraine to Soviet-Russian domination may serve:

- 1) systematic destruction of religious life in Ukraine,
- 2) genocide by continuous mass deportations of Ukrainians into territories of the U.S.S.R. outside Ukraine,
- 3) forced Russification of all aspects of Ukrainian national culture,
- 4) foreign, Soviet-Russian political system imposed and maintained by force,
- 5) economic colonialism by ruthless exploitation of Ukrainian national resources, labour, and knowledge, profits of which contribute to the aggrandizement of the Russian and not the Ukrainian nation,

- 6) seizure of political sovereignty of the Ukrainian nation by Russian imperialists and stultifying by this means all development of life and creative abilities of the Ukrainian people.

This Petition is based on the strength of the following laws and resolutions:

1. Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations Organization which reaffirms "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small."
2. Article I of the Charter which rules "friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples," and "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."
3. Resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly which declares that
 - "1. The subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation,
 - "2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.
 - "4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected."

Although the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is a member state of the United Nations, nevertheless its people and state are under complete colonial domination of Russia which works through the organs of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party. Therefore, Ukraine endures a *de facto* colonial status and should be considered under the above mentioned laws and resolutions of the United Nations.

Upon request, we shall immediately procure for the Committee's availability any supplementary information and witnesses.

Sig. Jaroslaw Stetzko
former Prime-Minister of Ukraine

Very respectfully,
Sig. Mykola Hryckowian
representative of former members of
the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

Sig. Eugene Lozynskyj
President of the Ukrainian Society of Political Prisoners

Enclosures:

- 1) Sentence and Oral Opinion of the High Court of the Federal Republic of Germany in the criminal case against the Soviet citizen Bohdan Stashynsky,
- 2) Written Motivation of the Verdict in the Stashynsky-Trial,
- 3) Summary of facts of trial of Stashynsky,
- 4) Shelepin — the Chief Perpetrator,
- 5) Shepherd in Chains — Martyrdom of Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj,
- 6) Bolshevik Persecution of Religion and Church in Ukraine,
- 7) Ukraine — Colony of Russia,
- 8) Supplementary documentation,
- 9) Telegram from Bonn.

May 6th, 1963.

Tributes to Ukrainian Fight for Freedom

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS AND STATEMENTS
BY U.S. SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN

(Conclusion from "The Ukrainian Review", Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 86-91.)

Hon. HERMAN TOLL
of Pennsylvania

"...But the spirit of nationalism survives in Ukraine as well as in the hearts of Americans of Ukrainian descent. The 2 million Americans of Ukrainian ancestry, many of whom live in the bountiful state of Pennsylvania, rightfully pray for the day when Ukraine will once again be free and independent..."

Hon. HENRY S. REUSS
of Wisconsin

"...On the 45th anniversary of the Ukrainian people's attempt to free themselves from oppression, it is especially appropriate that we never forget any of man's efforts to build a peaceful world... All of us join in saluting the heroic people of Ukraine, then and now, who hold freedom to be man's most important goal..."

Hon. JOHN J. ROONEY
of New York

"...Since then some 42 million Ukrainians have been suffering under the Soviet totalitarian dictators, and neither their united efforts nor those of their friends have enabled them to better their unenviable lot... The very least we could do on the 45th anniversary of their national holiday, Ukrainian Independence Day, is to wish them patience, fortitude and strength in their struggle for their freedom..."

Hon. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO
of Connecticut

"...Today, after suffering interminably under the unbearable yoke of the Kremlin, these people still have faith in their cause, and have not ceased fighting their oppressors... On this 45th anniversary of their Independence Day, we wish more power to these dauntless and courageous Ukrainians..."

Hon. EDWARD P. BOLAND
of Massachusetts

"...We in America remember these valliant struggles against tyranny. We remember the anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian freedom and sovereignty. We salute the proclamation with the hope that the aspirations of an independent Ukraine will again become a reality..."

Hon. HAROLD C. COLLIER
of Illinois

"...Together with the 2½ million Americans of Ukrainian ancestry, we shall look to the day when the now largest nation under Communist control in Eastern Europe, will once again be a truly free nation. The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, which is dedicated in assisting the U.S. Government in combatt-ing Communism is working diligently toward this goal. On this then, the 45th anniversary of their independence day, I take the moment to comment and salute the people of Ukraine..."

Hon. PETER W. RODINO, Jr.
of New Jersey

"...Ukraine stands more than just a single nation for all the world to see. To be sure, it is a rich land, whose fertility and mineral wealth is responsible for a large percentage of the agricultural and industrial product of the Red government that rules Ukraine. But more than just a rich land, populated by peace-loving and hard-working people, Ukraine stands as an example of what Communism is and does. Let those nations who are now free, but who would invite into their government the Communists, look to the tragedy of this noble and historic nation..."

Hon. WILLIAM B. WINDALL
of New Jersey

"As we honour Ukrainian independence with words, may I urge my colleagues to take action as well. The resolution offered by my distinguished colleague from Illinois, the Hon. Edward J. Derwinski, which would create a Special Committee on Captive Nations, seems to be a logical and necessary first step to concentrate our efforts and attention in the future... In this spirit of dedication may we

then join together to honour the Ukrainian nation..."

Hon. ROBERT N. GIAIMO
of Connecticut

"...As one who has visited Ukraine, I am especially conscious of the importance of this day and of the great Ukrainian pride and spirit which is living under the dreadful yoke of Soviet imperialism. They have not given up hope of deliverance nor have we ceased to strive and pray for their freedom..."

"Her Name Is Blessed Amongst The Jews"

In its edition of August 6, 1962, the Jewish paper "Tug Morgen" published a short article by A. Feinman which is indeed noteworthy.

On the occasion of the death in Paris, at the age of 100, of a Ukrainian woman, Sophia Pylypenko, the author relates how her daughter sacrificed her life in order to save a Jewish mother and her child.

This incident happened during the Nazi occupation of Ukraine. Sophia Pylypenko's daughter who was a nun, known as Sister Maria, one day saw a group of Jews, men and women, who were being taken to a concentration camp by the Gestapo. At the end of this sad procession there was a young woman; she was carrying a small child in her arms and was obviously fatigued. The nun took in the situation at a glance; she then suddenly ran up to the Germans and spoke to them in a low voice. They at once made the young Jewish woman with the baby step out of the group and the young nun took her place. Together with the other victims, she was later murdered in the gas chamber at the concentration camp.

The woman who was saved by Maria Pylypenko today lives in Israel. She owes her life to the noble sacrifice of this Ukrainian nun.*)

*) We should like to stress that since the war the Russian Whites and their supporters, fierce advocates of the integrity of the Russian empire, have never ceased to designate the Ukrainians as accomplices of Hitler's genocide, as anti-Semites and advocates of racial persecution, in order to calumniate the Ukrainians' fight for freedom and independence.

U K R A I N I A N C H R O N I C L E

CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION FOR SHEVCHENKO CHAMPION OF LIBERTY STAMP

At the opening of the 88th Congress of the USA in January 1963, two outstanding members of the U.S. Congress inspired by Shevchenko's immortal belief and dedication to freedom, introduced two resolutions calling for the issuance of a "Champion of Liberty" postage stamp in 1964 in honour of Taras Shevchenko. These resolutions were introduced by the Hon. Edward J. Derwinski of Illinois (H. J. Res. 165) and Hon. Thaddeus J. Dulski of New York (H. J. Res. 174).

One way to honour Shevchenko and the heritage which he left for the Ukrainian people and all other freedom-loving peoples of the world is to stand behind these projects in honour of Shevchenko: support the fund raising campaign for his statue and the Derwinski-Dulski resolutions on the issuance of a Shevchenko "Champion of Liberty" postage stamp in 1964.

Editor's Note: The following resolution (H. J. Res. 174) was introduced on January 24, 1963 by the Hon. Thaddeus J. Dulski of New York:

Whereas the Eighty-sixth Congress of the United States honoured Taras Shevchenko, Ukraine's poet laureate, by authorizing the erection of a monument to him on public grounds in Washington, District of Columbia; and

Whereas the same Congress provided for a documentary biography of Shevchenko in tribute to the everlasting spirit and works of this freedom fighter of Europe; and

Whereas the unremitting condemnations and attacks by imperialist Moscow and its colonial puppets against these farseeing acts clearly prove the wisdom of the United States Government in properly claiming this contemporary of Lincoln as one of freedom's outstanding lights; and

Whereas in 1961 the President of the United States paid respects to the ideals and immortal teachings of this former serf, whose poetry, art, and philosophy have deeply inspired the forty-five million Ukrainian nation in its aspirations to freedom and independence; and

Whereas the profound humanism of this champion of liberty was courageously directed against the colonial subjugation of all the non-Russian nations in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, as well as against the suppression of the Jews and the slavery of Negroes; and

Whereas in consonance with the policy of the United States it is both proper and fitting to advance the aspirations for freedom and independence of all nations by honouring their historic advocates of human liberty, and thus forging indissoluble spiritual ties with the respective peoples; and

Whereas by all evidence the Champion of Liberty stamp series has become an important and essential vehicle of expression in the formation and strengthening of such ties; and

Whereas in 1964 friends of freedom everywhere will be observing the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Shevchenko's birth: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Postmaster General is required and authorized to issue a Champion of Liberty postage stamp in honour of Taras Shevchenko, fighter for freedom in Eastern Europe. Such stamp shall be of such denomination and design and shall be issued for such period commencing in 1964 with the one hundred and fiftieth Shevchenko anniversary as the Postmaster General shall determine.

FIRST UKRAINIAN CATHEDRAL IN AUSTRALIA

Melbourne, Australia. The solemn pontifical blessing of the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul here took place on Easter Sunday, April 14, 1963. The Cathedral was blessed by the Most Rev. Bishop John Prashko, with the assistance of the clergy. The solemn event was witnessed by many Catholic and Orthodox Ukrainians, some coming from great distances. Present also were Latin Rite clergy and city officials.

A UKRAINIAN ARTIST IN MUNICH

For the past 19 years Gregory Kruk has lived in Munich and he is regarded as one of Munich's outstanding sculptors. Every year his works are admired in the Munich "Haus der Kunst" and in the big art exhibitions held there in connection with the Munich society of artists. Exhibitions in Berlin, Paris, London, Rome, Vienna, New York and Philadelphia have also made his name famous abroad.

One would imagine that Gregory Kruk is a successful and prosperous artist, who gets so many orders that he can hardly carry them all out. Actually, however, his success is limited to the appreciation of his talent by the press and by art connoisseurs, who write about his works most enthusiastically. In almost two decades Gregory Kruk has only sold a few of his works. The present Mayor of Berlin, Willy Brandt, bought one of his sculptures and gave it to Federal President Lübke as a birthday present, and Bonn's Minister Dr. Waldemar Kraft bought a bronze statue from Kruk for his private collection.

Recently Kruk designed a monument to commemorate 60,000 Ukrainian refugees who died of starvation and illness. This monument is to be set up in Gmünd in Austria. Kruk has not asked for a fee for his work, nor will he receive one. He will only receive a reimbursement for material and transport.

How does this artist, who has created his own world of figures, which are so expressive of life and of movement, manage to exist? When first he came to Munich in 1944 as a Ukrainian refugee, he and his brother for a time ran a food kiosk; after the occupation of Munich by the American forces he was employed as a teacher of sculpture at the UNRRA University there for a year, but when this institute was closed down he went back to the food kiosk. For a time he received assistance from the Welfare Board, and he also worked as an unskilled labourer on building sites for 2,50 Marks pay an hour. What a tragic existence for an artist of our day, who is now obliged to let rooms in order to eke out a meagre livelihood!

Gregory Kruk was born in West Ukraine in 1911 as the son of a potter. As a child, when he used the soft clay as a toy for modelling, he already felt the urge to become a sculptor. All his life he has been modest in his wants and has been content with very little. And in spite of the many privations that he has endured, there is a humorous twinkle in his eyes as he says: "I am happy because I am free."

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA NOVEL AGAINST UPA

An official military publishing firm in Prague has recently published a Czech translation of a novel by the Polish Communist writer Jan Gerhard entitled "Fires in the Carpathians" (421 pages). In a vile manner this novel defames and belittles the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), whose units have fought in Ukraine, Poland, Slovakia and the Behemian countries against Soviet Russia and its red puppet governments and have waged a courageous struggle for the independence of the Ukrainian state and of all the nations subjugated by Moscow.

**"LIEUTENANT MOSSUR FIGHTS
BANDERA UNITS"**

This is the title of a review written by J. Eljassiek on a film called "The Blown Up Bridge." This film, which was shot by the Polish film company "Illusion," is based on a little book entitled "Masses of Snow Start Moving." The screenplay was written by the author of the book, Roman Bratny. The film was directed by G. Passendorfer.

In his review J. Eljassiek stresses that Bratny's book and his screenplay diverge from each other very considerably. The book gives the reader an impression which is quite different to the one created by the film.

In his book Bratny relates the story of a Polish officer and agent who, disguised as a member of Bandera's fighting units, tries to get into one of the detachments of the Ukrainian nationalists in order to establish contact with the headquarters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and in this way liquidate the latter. The author emphasizes the psychological background: the adventures of this agent, who, in order to gain the confidence of the UPA soldiers, is obliged to fire on his own fellow-soldiers and in doing so kills one of the Polish soldiers who has accompanied him, and similar incidents.

As Eljassiek points out, these "psychological factors" have been omitted in the film, which consists mostly of cheap, sensational effects, in which there is a lot of shooting and a lot of people are shot, etc. Eljassiek emphasizes the mediocre quality of films such as this one, which for instance show the liquidation of a commander of the UPA, and affirms that the plot of the film is so naive that even a child would know that the "hero" is an agent. And what is even more naive about the plot, so

he adds, is the fact that the agent is shadowed by "a mysterious Ukrainian Amazon"!

Of course, the film has a happy end, for it can be assumed that the agent achieves his aim. Whether the young people of Poland who are educated by means of such a glorification of agent activity, cunning and treachery, will become good citizens of the "People's Poland," is however extremely questionable. For youth that is trained in this way will likewise want to practise treachery.

**KHRUSHCHOV ACCUSES STALIN
OF PLANS TO ERADICATE
UKRAINIAN INTELLIGENTSIA**

Speaking at the meeting of Soviet writers and cultural workers, Nikita S. Khrushchov accused Stalin of wanting to destroy the Ukrainian intelligentsia en masse under the pretext that is espoused the cause of Ukrainian nationalism.

He stated:

"It is also known that Stalin endeavoured to destroy a substantial part of the active intelligentsia of Soviet Ukraine. Apparently, under the whispers of Beria and Kaganovich he suspected nationalist tendencies and sympathies among the active intelligentsia in post-war Soviet Ukraine, and he was pushing the events in a direction that would give him an opportunity to liquidate some of the most outstanding writers and cultural leaders of Ukraine. If Ukrainian Bolsheviks would have succumbed to these moods of Stalin, it is clear that the Ukrainian intelligentsia would have suffered greater losses than it did, and undoubtedly a 'case' against Ukrainian nationalists would have been invented..."

BOOK REVIEW

"RUSSEN — WEISSRUSSEN — UKRAINER — DIE WELT DER SLAWEN"

("Russians — Byelorussians — Ukrainians — The World of the Slavs"), Part II. Published by Hans Kohn-Fischer Bücherei, Frankfurt on Main and Hamburg, 1962, 283 pp.

In this second volume of the "World of the Slavs" four authorities on East European history trace the development of the three most important Slav peoples of East Europe from earliest days up to the present time: the Russians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians. Günther Stöckl gives the reader a detailed, but unfortunately not quite accurate, account of the growth of the Russian empire, from the "collection of Russian soil" and the evolution of tsarist despotism to the beginning of the 19th century. Hans Kohn, who has edited this book, deals with the period from 1800 until the end of the first world war, that is to say with a period of upheaval, in which the old conservative forces in the state and in politics struggled against new revolutionary trends and completely exhausted themselves. Georg von Rauch describes the genesis of the so-called Soviet Union as well as its internal and external transformation. The last section in this volume is by Peter Scheibert, who examines the importance and the position of the Byelorussians and Ukrainians in the USSR. The reader gains an insight into the main political lines along which the history of the above-mentioned three peoples proceeded. In addition, an account is also given of the intellectual and cultural trends of the past centuries. This publication was preceded by the first volume of "The World of the Slavs," which deals with the Poles, Czechs and southern Slav peoples.

The Western world does not always have a clear conception of the origin, the development and the mutual relations of the three peoples, Russians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians. For this reason one might have assumed that this work would supply a certain enlightenment and elucidation in this respect. Unfortunately, however, this is not the fact, since the authors base their accounts on a false argument from the start,

namely that in former centuries (and above all until about the 15th century) the present "Great Russians, who since Peter I have wrongly called themselves "Russians," settled the regions that are now inhabited by the Byelorussians and Ukrainians. In reality there were in those days no Russians in the sense meant by the authors of this book, for all the historical maps up to the 17th century only show the state of Muscovy, whose inhabitants were called Muscovites. Incidentally, we should like to point out that the Poles, Ukrainians and Byelorussians still call the present Russians "Muscovites."

In this review we should only like to discuss in brief the section of the volume by Peter Scheibert, which deals with the Byelorussians and Ukrainians. Peter Scheibert, who has been a professor of East European history at the University of Marburg since 1961, would no doubt have done better in his essay to devote more attention to Ukrainian historiography instead of relying on Russian historiography with its various faults and omissions. At the beginning of his essay on the Ukrainians he writes: "It seems an extremely bold venture to try to determine the starting-point of Ukrainian history if one takes into account the heated national controversies which are connected with such an attempt" (p. 225). Immediately afterwards, however, he admits: "the written language of the Kyiv principality, which by degrees managed to assert itself against the ancient ecclesiastical Slav language of the imported Balkan Slav literature, was obviously different to the colloquial language of the people and to the language of the higher classes. In the 'Song of Igor,' for instance, we find colloquial expressions which are more closely related to the present Ukrainian language than to the language of Great Russia..."

Since the author gives the names of Ukrainian towns and rivers, etc., in the Russian pronunciation (for example, Tschigirin instead of Tschyhyryn, Malaja Chortytzia instead of Mala Chortytzia, etc.), we can but assume that he did not even take the trouble to differentiate more precisely between Ukrainian and Russian. Hence essay is hardly likely to win the approval of the Ukrainians.

He is inclined to regard the old Ukrainians and old Byelorussians as Russians. For this reason he makes such statements as the following: "The old Russian written language, which is only connected in a very limited way with the Byelorussian and Ukrainian languages of today, became the language of the grand-ducal chancellery and of the legal codes" (p. 230). The author is referring to the Slav language used at the court of the Grand Duke Olgerd of

Lithuania. No old Russian language, but old Ukrainian with a mixture of Byelorussian expressions was in those days used at the court of the Grand Duke Olgerd.

It was not until after the unfortunate battle of Poltava (1709) that the process of russification began in Ukraine, a process which still continues today, as the author himself admits on page 265: "According to all reports, the difference between Ukrainians and Russians is now more marked than ever. For this reason the larger towns, and above all Lviv, too, are now being russified by force. It remains to be seen whether, in the younger generation, on the strength of a mutual pride in technical achievements, a common Soviet (for "Soviet" read "Russian," — reviewer's note) national consciousness will be created."

V. Orel'sky

Horst Mönlich: "REISE DURCH RUSSLAND" ("JOURNEY THROUGH RUSSIA"). Ohne Plan im Land der Pläne (Without a Plan in the Land of Plans). Paul List Verlag, Munich, 1961. 250 pp.

The author is not particularly interested in so-called higher politics, — he merely wanted to re-visit the country where he had been as a soldier during World War II. He is unbiassed when giving an account of his journey, and perhaps for this very reason the observations which he has made and the facts which he has ascertained in post-war Russia are all the more interesting. Unfortunately, he was prevented by the authorities on various excuses from visiting Ukraine. He was particularly interested in seeing Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, but his efforts to obtain permission to do so were in vain. But his account of the regions of East and Southeast Ukraine, through which he was allowed to pass in the course of his journey, is extremely informative.

We should like to quote the author's own words on page 177: "If, after the experiences which our travellers had, one crosses the frontiers of Ukraine, it is as if one encounters the light of another world. There is no mood which is not reflected in the changed

landscape... Here everything is at once different. Southern light-heartedness is interwoven with the colours of the landscape; here the air seems lighter and life is more colourful... The traveller is amazed at the rich black soil of Ukraine, which abounds in ores, at the plantations of sugar-beet, sunflowers and cotton..." (p. 180). The author is surprised that a young Russian — that is to say, not a Ukrainian — feels "so much at home" here in the south (p. 182).

On page 194 the author stresses that an attempt was made after World War II to drive the Ukrainians out of Ukraine, and adds that this proved impossible, however, because of the huge size of the Ukrainian population.

On page 219 the author gives an account of the visit of the group of Canadian Ukrainians to Zaporozhe. An expression of curiosity flashed across the faces of the workers in Zaporozhe, but "the group passed by too quickly for them to satisfy their curiosity, and curiosity and the feeling of encountering an unknown world

gave place to concentrated attention..." (p. 220).

In a restaurant in Zaporozhe the travellers partook of a "Ukrainian speciality," which consisted of cucumber salad with tomatoes, Ukrainian borschch, varenyky (small patties

with filling), and, of course, caviar (pp. 221-222).

The author relates the account of his journey through Russia in a pleasing narrative and humorous style.

V. L u z h a n s k y

George Tys-Krojmaluk: GUERRA Y LIBERTAD ("WAR AND FREEDOM").
Biblioteca del Instituto Informativo, Editorial Ucraino, No. 3. Buenos Aires, 1961. 186 pp.

The author of this book took part in the combats which the "Halychyna" (Galicia) Division (later called The First Division) fought against the Russian Bolsheviks during World War II, and, as an authority on his subject, has published this historical and military study on the organization of this Division and its operations (in particular at Brody in 1944) in conjunction with units of the German army. He deals above all with the military and political aspect of the Division. In particular, he stresses that the German military leaders viewed the formation of this Ukrainian military unit with mixed feelings, for, in spite of the fact that it was obvious that the German armies would suffer a complete defeat, the Germans realized that the Ukrainians regarded this military unit solely as a cell of the future Ukrainian army which would bring about the final liberation of Ukraine from the Red Russians. Thus, there could be no talk of a true Ukrainian-German brotherhood in arms, especially not as it could be assumed that Ukraine would be colonized by the Germans in the event of the Nazis winning the war.

Mr. Tys-Krojmaluk carefully analyses the events of the war and the participation of the "Galicia" Division in the Russian Bolshevik break-through battles and points out that the Ukrainian soldiers of this Division conducted themselves bravely before the enemy, but were however obliged to retreat at Brody in view of the overwhelming superior strength of the Russians. Many of the soldiers of the Division then went over to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA),

which was fighting against the Germans and the Russians; others retreated in ordered formation to the West, where they were then later interned in Rimini, in Italy.

Since the Ukrainian "Galicia" Division did not fight against the Western allies as this condition had been explicitly agreed upon with the German military leaders when the Division was formed, the Ukrainian soldiers in question were not extradited to the Russians after the war.

The soldiers of the Division were immune to Nazi propaganda and had their own Ukrainian army chaplains, which was not the case in the other (German and non-German) military organizations.

By means of extensive material the author shows that, with the approaching German collapse, the Ukrainians had no other alternative but to act according to the motto of hoping against hope. It goes without saying that the Division lost many Ukrainian soldiers in the battle of Brody.

The author also quotes numerous eyewitness reports by Ukrainians and Germans, which show that the co-operation between the German commands and the Ukrainians did not function entirely smoothly since both sides did not trust each other.

In addition, the author considers the formation of the "Galicia" Division from the international point of view and quotes opinions expressed by foreigners (above all by Americans), which show that the soldiers of this Division sacrificed their lives for their

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COMMENTARY**THE MOSCOW-PEKING CONFLICT**

The conflict between Russia and Red China is rooted in national differences and in the clash of national interests, which are to be concealed by the ideological conflict. Seen objectively, this conflict provides the subjugated peoples with a situation that is psychologically favourable for the development of revolutionary activity, inasmuch as it furthers the consolidation of the revolutionary forces. On the other hand, however, it is misleading to the free world as regards an alleged lessening of the Russian danger, for this danger was equally strong before the Communists seized power in China. Moreover, this conflict reveals the true character of Bolshevism as a modern form of Russian imperialism even more clearly.

The conflict of the Red Chinese regime with Russia is, among other things, the result of the pressure exerted by the broad masses in China, whose attitude on principle is anti-Russian. The emphasis placed on the ideological factor by the Chinese Communists, at the expense of the technical military factor (which until recently predominated in Moscow's strategy), resulted in a special ideological congress being held by the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR in June 1963. The thermonuclear military power factor was beginning to undermine the ideological aspect of Moscow's policy as well as its ideological and political aims and its tenacity to continue to pursue these aims, since those in power in Moscow were convinced that the nuclear rockets would

force everyone else to capitulate. The conflict with Peking will strengthen the ideological and political aspect of Moscow's policy once more, and for this reason it will also be advantageous for Russia.

Any speculations on a joint front of the West with Russia against Red China in the military sector are bound to fail, for the free world (quite apart from the aggravation of the Russian-Peking conflict) and Russia have far fewer common interests than have Russia and Red China.

The monism dethroned again by pluralism in the Communist world movement is speeding up the latter's disintegration. To overestimate this phenomenon and its possibilities would however be entirely erroneous as long as the substratum of Communism has not been destroyed and as long as a new belief, which would be strong enough to eliminate Communism, has not made its appearance in the free world. The expansion of the Russian imperium must inevitably and logically lead to new conflicts, which incidentally have already existed in the past (as for instance Trotskyism, Bukharinism, etc.). The only difference is that pluralism has now managed to set up the territorial bases which Trotskyism lacked. But ideological pluralism has always existed. The essential strength of Communism lies in the faith of the Russian people in it, for Communism is organically a Russian idea and the product of the Russian mentality. For precisely this reason Russia and not China is a greater danger to the free world, for Chinese Communism is an idea which has been imported from without and which, in view of the fact that Confucianism has been deeply rooted in the Chinese people for over 2000 years, has no prospects for the future.

The Communist regime in China is aggressive, but it is by no means representative of the China masses, the creators of the Great Wall of China. The Russian imperium can never be a bulwark against the biological pressure of other races, for the prisoners will never defend their prisons. Only an alliance of free and independent states, established on the ruins of the Russian imperium, can guarantee peace and security as a just international order — if needs be, with the support of the free countries of the West.

Myroslaw Styranka

THE "CRIMES" OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION

It is only now, when the loyal supporters of Khrushchov and of the Communist Party of the USSR are expressing considerable alarm everywhere in the Soviet Union at the number of "renegades" in literature and art, that the extent to which oppositionist trends have recently spread amongst the younger generation is becoming clearly evident. And these trends can definitely be described as a "mass" revolt against all the phenomena of Stalinism both in literature and art and also against the representatives of this Stalinism. To an ever-increasing degree the creative younger generation is opposing these representatives of Stalinism and expressing its hatred and contempt of them. As a young poet said recently, the younger generation is of the opinion that the "old ones" are nothing but snakes which only exist by crawling on the ground and that it is therefore high time that they died.

How true this characterization is, can be seen from the statements made by writers such as Novychenko and Tychyna, as well as other Stalinist henchmen, who have recently come to the fore in connection with Khrushchov's campaign against the younger generation of writers. Their cringing obsequiousness and their vile defamations are the clearest evidence of the old Stalinist intolerance.

The young intellectuals are above all reproached with refusing to be as obsequious as the "old ones," for which reason they find it impossible to shout "hurrah" for the Party on every occasion. For these persons are anxious to keep their own independent character, an attitude which, as is only natural, the true slaves cannot accept with indifference.

One should really ignore the scribblings of the Party henchmen. But unfortunately one cannot do so, since all the other writers are obliged to keep silent. Hence these empty and formless writings are the only source from which one can learn a few facts about the oppositionist trends of the younger generation.

Thus an article entitled "What is the origin of superstition" by Leonid Novychenko, which was published in the journal "Literaturna Ukraïna" ("Literary Ukraine") on April 5, 1963, to some extent sheds light on the views held by the younger generation of writers. As is now mentioned by Novychenko, the Moscow periodical "Literaturnaya Gazeta" ("Literary Gazette") in December last year organized a meeting of young writers in the Ukrainian capital Kyiv. On this occasion Novychenko "was personally and profoundly shaken" when some of the persons present "quite unexpectedly expressed political and speculative views which were incomprehensible to others" — as he himself affirms in his loyalty to the Party. "One of the speakers at this meeting stated quite plainly that all views are permissible in Soviet literature... Another speaker affirmed that the entire middle-aged generation of Ukrainian writers were nothing but Stalinists and good-for-nothings who must be driven out of literature without delay. A third speaker revelled in vague sophistical manipulations with the dialectic laws... And the fourth speaker, Ivan Drach, whose book I edited (as Party censor — our note!), suddenly began to maintain that the entire Ukrainian literature of the past decades... was to blame for the fact that the young writers do not meet with any understanding."

Light is shed on the attitude of the younger generation of composers by an article "We soldiers of the Party" — a title which recalls former Stalinist days — written by the composer K. Dankevych, which was published in the "Pravda Ukrainy." In this article Dankevych mentions a young music connoisseur, Halyna Mokriyeva, who had successfully passed all her examinations at the Kyiv College of Music. She wrote an article in which she "approved of the erroneous views of certain young composers as regards the reactionary and so-called dodecaphonous trend in music. Mokriyeva opposed the return of composers to the sources of popular musical works and criticized those composers who dedicate their compositions to noteworthy historical events. It goes without saying that the periodical to which Mokriyeva offered this article was obliged to refrain from publishing it. Nevertheless it was published, but abroad and by a journal which obstinately propagates reactionary trends in art."

Mokriyeva is, however, no exception. Dankevych also mentions other composers — revolutionaries who are determined to compose works according to their own taste at all costs. Mokriyeva's attitude

to the typically Stalinist compositions of every kind which are dedicated either to Bolshevik "heroes" or to "heroic events" is significant. It can be assumed that these trends predominate amongst the young Ukrainian composers and writers who engage in creative work.

The oppositionist attitude towards the traditions of Stalinism which are being continued by Khrushchov is by no means rare amongst the young Ukrainian intellectuals. This fact was, incidentally, corroborated by the recent decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine regarding a thorough readjustment of the activity of the Komsomol (Communist youth) organizations (see "Pravda Ukrainy" of March 31, 1963). It is perfectly obvious from this decree that the entire activity of the Komsomol is permeated with formalism and that the young people seem to be indifferent to Party propaganda, since they show little interest in political problems and do not by any means fulfil their "socialist" duties. The general terms of the said decree reflect considerable alarm and uneasiness at the aversion of youth to the so-called Soviet life.

Hence it can be assumed that the oppositionist attitude amongst the young composers and writers of Ukraine is an indication of the general oppositionist attitude amongst the entire youth of Ukraine.

All the measures which have recently been adopted by the Party are closely connected with these oppositionist trends amongst the young Ukrainians. The Party does not fear the liberal aberrations of Ehrenburg or of any other writer of the older generation as much as the general discontent amongst the young people of Ukraine which is evident in literature and art, for this phenomenon may perhaps already tomorrow be manifested on the political barricades.

There can be no doubt about the fact that this ferment amongst the youth of Ukraine and of the other non-Russian countries enslaved by Moscow is doubly dangerous, for it is to a large extent an opposition that is national in character.

The Party will naturally do its utmost to put a stop to this opposition. At the end of May this year a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was devoted to cultural and ideological problems, was held. On this occasion the elements of the opposition were criticized and censured. It looks as though the Party has come to the conclusion that "moral" arguments no longer suffice and that "concrete" measures must therefore be adopted. For otherwise the hydra of the general opposition and the rapidly growing ferment will continue to increase in intensity.

Hon. Michael A. Feighan
House of Representatives, U.S.A.

UNITED STATES POLICY TOWARD THE CAPTIVE NATIONS

The great challenge of our times is the new colonialism, the new imperialism of Moscow. This challenge poses a clear and present danger to representative self-government, to individual liberty, to the basic freedoms cherished by all mankind and to a peaceful world in which justice, charity, tolerance, and brotherhood govern the relations between nations. For the ideology which motivates the new imperialism holds that all civilizations must be purged of the past and be transformed into colonies subservient to the materialistic will of Soviet Russia. And those, past and present, who man this drive to world empire, leave no doubts about their fanatical dedication to those objectives.

Hence in the vortex of American foreign policy are the Captive Nations. They are the victims of the new imperialism, the new colonialism of Moscow. What we do or fail to do in restoring to them their rightful place in the community of civilized nations is the surest test of our intentions and the honest measure of our dedication to the cause of peace with justice.

Yet we do not have a uniform and clearly defined policy toward the Captive Nations. This vital area of our foreign policy is beset by dangerous contradictions, prejudice, and self-defeating doctrines. The extent of this disarray at the vortex of our foreign policy is observed best by an examination of the term Captive Nation and its application to our nation's commitments.

If we turn to the Congress of the United States for such a definition we find an official expression of directness and clarity in Public Law 86-90, the Captive Nations Week law. That law identifies the Captive Nations by name, not only the so-called satellites and the Baltic States, but the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union —

including several whose names have been purged from the great book of history by the Russian imperialists and one that has been partitioned by the Muscovites into five so-called Soviet Republics. Also one finds in that law the names of the Asian nations whose national integrity has been subverted by the Red Banner of modern day Russian imperialism, and those three nations which have been partitioned by communist aggression and Red Army occupation. But equally important to the findings of that federal statute is its identification of Russian communism as the despoiler of national independence and master of the techniques of national servitude. Finally, Public Law 86-90 finds that the aspirations of the people in the Captive Nations for freedom and national independence constitutes a powerful deterrent to war and one of our best hopes for a just peace.

I believe, therefore, it is proper to conclude Congress is not responsible for the dangerous contradictions and prejudices which attend our government's approach to the central issue of Captive Nations versus Imperial Russian Communism. Truth and objective fact on this central issue, established by the two-year official inquiry of the Select Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression of the 83rd Congress, guided the language and intent of Public Law 86-90. It is worth noting in this connection that the validity of the voluminous reports, basic findings, conclusions and recommendations of that Select Committee remain unchallenged to this day. As is known, the Moscow propaganda organs reacted violently to the work of that Select Committee, but Russian governments, whether under the Tzars or the Commissars, have always worked in the shadows where truth is a stranger and objective fact is an unwelcome lamp.

Under our Constitution, Congress does not set our foreign policy anymore than it has authority to execute it. That authority and the responsibility which accompanies it rests with the President and he is free to select those whom he wishes to share either or both with him. Congress can exercise regulatory authority where public funds are involved in the execution of foreign policy, in matters of foreign trade, and the Senate must ratify treaties with foreign powers. Congress reserves the exclusive right to declare war, which invariably results from a failure of foreign policy, yet has very little real authority over its formulation or execution. Nevertheless, Congress, as the voice of the people, possesses ways and means to exercise an influence on foreign policy — not the least of which are the "sense of Congress" resolutions such as were passed on the Berlin crisis, the Cuban crisis, the Middle-East crisis and on the Captive Nations. So we must look elsewhere for the source of the dangerous contradictions and prejudices which attend our policy toward Imperial Russian communism.

The most obvious place to turn next is to Secretary of State Dean Rusk because his greatest claim to fame in this critical policy area arises from an ill-conceived letter bearing his name and addressed to the Chairman of the House Rules Committee in connection with a pending resolution to establish a Special Committee on Captive Nations. That letter expressed opposition to the establishment of such a House Committee and defended the legitimacy of Russian colonialism in Ukraine, Georgia, and Armenia on the grounds those nations were traditional parts of the Soviet Union. While stating that our government has consistently upheld the right of subjugated people in the Soviet Empire to national independence, governments of their own choosing and to human rights and freedom, Rusk then restricts these rights to formerly independent nations. The tragic comedy of the Rusk letter is that it exposes a profound official ignorance of the fact that Ukraine, Georgia, and Armenia all were independent nations in the wake of World War I and that their independence was subverted in the first wave of imperial Russian communism. He then compounds his comedy of errors by claiming that our government's support for the right of formerly independent nations is "weakened by any action which confuses the rights of formerly independent peoples or nations with the status of areas such as the Ukraine, Armenia, or Georgia" because this would put us in the position of "seeming to advocate the dismemberment of a historic state." Such tortured reasoning as this is common to Russian thinking and mythology, particularly when the political principle of self-determination must be abused and perverted to defend modern day Russian colonialism. Moreover, it parallels the irrational thinking found in the "Lenin-Stalin Solution to the National Question"¹ which, by the way, the ideological organs of Moscow are now using to argue their case for a permanent partition of Germany and the strangulation of Berlin². The greatest fantasies of history are those based solely upon Russian "truths" which crawl out from the shadows of despotism where, as is well known, truth is a stranger and objective fact an unwelcome lamp.

In a spirit of fair play, I suggest all the blame for this tragic comedy of errors does not rest solely on Secretary Rusk. He is not generally regarded as an authority on Russian colonialism or the supporting tactics of imperial communism. Moreover, experience in recent years has taught us that Secretaries of State are seldom masters of the Department over which they serve and more often than not the entrenched bureaucracy are in sure, if subtle, command of policy.

¹) See "Lenin-Stalin Solution to the National Question," Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow.

²) See "The German Demand for Self-Determination" German Information Center, New York, N.Y.

Now we turn to the Department of State, to that entrenched bureaucracy of "Russian experts," who, somewhat like Ole Man River, just keep rolling along their erroneous course despite changes in national Administrations and growing protests of an aroused electorate. There we find concentrated the disciples of a mythical doctrine — Russia the Sacred Cow — an untouchable Russia whose ruthless imperialism they now find to be exercising a "mellowing" influence on the highly civilized non-Russian nations imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain. Unmindful of the fact that imperial Russian power has posed a constant threat to Europe, the Near and Middle East Asia for many centuries they defend the Divine Right of Empire claimed by an unbroken line of imperial ambitions centered in the Kremlin.

That same group in the State Department produced the doctrine of "non-predetermination" toward the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union which haunted the Eisenhower Administration. In brief, that doctrine holds that if the unbridled right of self-determination was extended to the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union this would result in a prejudgement on the political future of the Eurasian land mass now under control of Moscow. The implied admission is clear. The non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union would choose the course of national independence which would mean the end of imperial Russian power. Rights to national independence, to self-government, to basic human rights and freedom are thus withheld from millions of peoples inhabiting that darkened area of the world. Like the current ideological elite of the Kremlin, who defend the Lenin-Stalin theories on self-determination through K. Ivanov in the communist party organ "Pravda"³, the Russian experts in our State Department sap the life blood of self-determination by forbidding its application to the heartland of the Russian empire.

Such massive discrimination against some submerged nations held in colonial bondage by Moscow does severe damage to the honesty of our intentions with regard to imperialism and colonialism. We have demonstrated our support for national independence movements in South and South East Asia, in the Middle-East and in Africa, despite what it cost us in our relations with some of our NATO allies. But we have demonstrated an unwillingness to support national independence movements which would reduce the power of aggression held by those who would destroy us. It is little wonder that so-called neutralism has become popular and profitable in recent years or that the concept of a European "third force" now threatens the stability of our NATO shield. Principles must be applied to all without fear or favour if they are to be regarded as the hallmark of American foreign policy.

³) See "Pravda," December 20, 1961 issue, article by K. Ivanov, p. 4-5.

Let me make it clear that I am not engaging in a blanket charge against all the Area Desks and Divisions of the Department of State. I am speaking about the entrenched bureaucracy of "Russian experts" in the Department who backstopped the Rusk letter, who authored the doctrine of non-predetermination and whose thinking is allied with the "Lenin-Stalin Solution to the National Question." There are many within the Department who reject policy based upon Russian myths and who are informed of the facts on Russia, the Russians and their empire. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson, for example, is informed on the facts about the formerly independent status of Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, and the other non-Russian nations forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union. He made this clear in a United Nations debate on colonialism when he reviewed the history of Soviet imperialism, charging the Russians with subverting the national independence of those nations, among many others. This defense of historical truth by Ambassador Stevenson, took place in the United Nations a short while before Secretary Rusk assumed the indefensible position as protector of Russian colonialism in his letter to the House Rules Committee. This episode underscores what I mean by the dangerous contradictions and prejudice which log jam the vortex of American foreign policy.

Let us now turn our examination of this vital issue to the constitutional source of American foreign policy — the President of the United States. The public statements, addresses, published papers, and public commitments of President Kennedy serve as the basis for this examination. Here the record is clear, devoid of contradictions and limitations on governing principles, and, deeply rooted in our American political heritage. In his address before the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 25, 1961, President Kennedy analyzed the new colonialism of Moscow and called for the unfettered, universal application to the principle of self-determination in these words:

"But colonialism in its harshest forms is not only the exploitation of new nations by old, of dark skins by light — or the subjugation of the poor by rich. My nation was once a colony, and we know what colonialism means; the exploitation and subjugation of the weak by the powerful, of the many by the few, of the governed who have given no consent to be governed, whatever their continent, their class, or their colour.

"And that is why there is no ignoring the fact that the tide of self-determination has not reached the Communist empire, where a population far larger than that officially termed 'dependent' lives under governments installed by foreign troops instead of free institutions, under a system which knows only one party and one belief, which suppresses free debate and free elections and free newspapers and free books and free trade unions, and which builds a wall to keep truth a stranger and its

own citizens prisoners. Let us debate colonialism in full and apply the principle of free choice and the practice of free plebiscites in every corner of the globe."

In an address at Buffalo, New York, on September 14, 1962, before a Pulaski Day Observance, President Kennedy called out for an active policy toward the Captive Nations. He said:

"What policies can we pursue to encourage what Thomas Jefferson called the disease of liberty? It is not enough to make speeches about liberations. Our government must pursue an active policy which holds out the promise of freedom behind the iron curtain."

Those who hide behind the fear of nuclear war or use the so-called nuclear stalemate argument to kill political action in the cause of peace with freedom will find no comfort in this commitment by President Kennedy. And those who are informed on the realities of the Russian problem must redouble their efforts to bring about the implementations of policies calculated to encourage the "disease of liberty" behind the iron curtain. For the nurtured seeds of liberty bring forth the sturdy trees of national independence. The time is long overdue for a full scale political confrontation with Russian imperialism. Here the prospects of escalation into world peace with freedom are practically unlimited. Alternative choices now open to us, including political inaction, could well railroad us to defeat — with or without a nuclear war.

But earlier this year, in his State of the Union message, President Kennedy again displayed his keen perception of the growing political storm within the Empire of Moscow when he observed:

"The disarray of the communist empire has been heightened by two other formidable forces. One is the historical force of nationalism — and the yearning of all men to be free. The other is the gross inefficiency of their economies. For a closed society is not open to ideas of progress — and a police state finds that it cannot command the grain to grow."

Basic to the Berlin Crisis is the issue of unfettered application of the political principle of self-determination. And the crisis of Berlin is tied irrevocably to the broader issue of Captive Nations because it can not be separated from the larger question of a free, united and democratic Germany. President Kennedy announced our policy on that issue as follows:

"The United States Government continues to believe that there will be no real solution to the German problem, nor any real tranquility in Central Europe, until the German people are reunited in peace and freedom on the basis of the universally recognized principle of self-determination"⁴.

⁴) See President Kennedy's reply to the Russian Aide Memoire on Berlin and Germany, July 17, 1961.

The dangerous conflict between the policies of President Kennedy and those expressed by Secretary Rusk in his letter to the House Rules Committee heralds the need for immediate and far-reaching changes to bring State Department policies with regard to self-determination, the rights of nations, colonialism, and imperialism in line with those announced by the President. If the entrenched bureaucracy of Russian experts in the State Department are allowed to work their will against the policies of the President of the United States, representative self government in the United States is doomed. Meanwhile, we will continue to suffer the pains of national frustration and economic dissipation until that Gordian knot on our political ideals is severed.

It is fair to say that so long as these dangerous contradictions and prejudices continue to log jam the vortex of American foreign policy we may not claim a policy toward the Captive Nations. And all the rest of our foreign policy which of necessity must take its direction and strength from the vortex is immeasurably weakened.

What is needed if we are to win our goal of peace with freedom is a new horizon of ideals to which the foreign policies of our government can be firmly attached and against which we can make reliable evaluations on the rate of our progress. President Kennedy has made a strong start in illuminating a horizon of ideals, based upon our American political heritage and toward which he endeavours to move the future of the world. But we can not accomplish this monumental task alone. And his efforts are retarded by the old frontiers of reaction and discrimination within our government which as I have indicated, continue to exist and to exert an unhealthy influence on our attitude toward the Captive Nations.

The old frontiers of prejudice and discrimination toward the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union still existing in the Department of State are no less a formidable barrier to peace than is the Berlin Wall. In some respects those old frontiers are more formidable. It is quite reasonable to conclude that had our foreign policy been free of those prejudices during World War II we would not have the problem of Captive Nations today — at least not in its present magnitude. But we can be sure the Berlin Wall will not come down so long as the old frontiers of a Russian beachhead on our policies remain in force. We can hardly expect to accomplish in Berlin, surrounded as it is by the Red Army, what we have failed to accomplish within our own government, free as it is to take corrective actions.

It is not difficult, in the light of this examination of the forces and counterforces at work in the crucial area of American policy toward imperial Russia, to understand the hidden barriers erected against establishment of a House Committee on Captive Nations. A Special Congressional Committee by nature is a probative body, it seeks

the views of all who want to be heard on great public issues, it works in the open market place of public opinion and it delights in the techniques of sifting fact from fiction. The public spotlight of Congress is harsh on those who function best in the shadows of special privilege, but is kind to those who work openly to serve the common good and the safety of their fellow Americans. This explains the fervour in support of such a Committee by those who know the realities of communist imperialism by personal experience and the lack of such fervour by those who man the barriers of opposition.

The stalemate which now applies to this public issue must be broken. Involved is the question whether the new horizon of ideals opened up by President Kennedy shall prevail as our policy toward the Captive Nations or whether the old frontiersmen entrenched in the State Department shall continue to buck the rising tide of self-determination in the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union.

I am confident that many Americans share with me a determination to help build the new horizon of ideals to guide us to our goal of peace with freedom.

THE TELEGRAM OF SYMPATHY TO MRS. J. KENNEDY FROM MRS. JAROSLAWA BANDERA

Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy
Washington, D.C.

Dear Madam,

Profoundly moved by the tragic death of President John F. Kennedy I extend my deepest and most sincere sympathy to you and your children.

As a widow with three children whose husband and father Stepan Bandera, the leader of Ukrainian Liberation Movement, had been assassinated on Kremlin's order by Soviet-communist agent on 15. 10. 1959 in Munich, I share your greatest personal loss.

I pray to God that these sacrifices may help the cause of freedom of the peoples subjugated and the peoples threatened by the same enemy.

Sincerely yours,

Jaroslawa Bandera

Jaroslaw Stetzko

THE STEPS TO VICTORY

**Thoughts on the Aims and Objectives of a Proposed World Centre
against Russian Imperialism, for True National Independence
and Freedom**

Aims and objectives of a world centre against Russian imperialism can be classed in two groups. The first group (I) consists of all efforts and activities that should have as their aims the following:

1. To organize and assemble under one banner the main centres of intransigence in the free world against the policies of conquest and national oppression combined with social subjugation that are furthered by Moscow. The action should be taken in accordance with the principles outlined in the section on the ideological and political platform (see "Principles")*, with the purpose of influencing in an organized way various Governments so that they change their policies in regard to the Russian incarceration of nations and to Communism. Also, to educate a new generation of Western leaders to replace those who are only too willing to compromise with tyranny and conspiracy of Moscow.

2. To stimulate the organization of a new order on a world-wide scale of firm believers in God and country, whose ideals and ways of life would illuminate society and who would be the standard-bearers of the **rebirth of the free world**. Only with this rebirth can the victory of these ideals be achieved behind the Iron Curtain. This is what is urgently needed. We should not forget that the strength of ideas of the Western World, indeed the strength of the West itself always lay in its expansive spirit.

3. The aim of the **Rebirth Movement** of the free world, i.e. the movement rooted in faith in God and nation, would be to bring about the victory of our ideas behind the Iron Curtain, i.e. the

*) "ABN-Correspondence", No. 4/1963, Munich, Germany.

liberation of the nations subjugated by Russia, the restoration of their independent statehood and realisation of social justice in those sovereign states.

The second (II) group of aims and objectives pertains to political, propagandistic, financial and military aid that should be granted to national liberation revolutionary movements inside and outside the U.S.S.R.

The sovereignty of each nation must be guaranteed i.e. the donor of this help cannot interfere in the internal affairs of the recipient nation, and aid should be given to the central organ of each movement, and the center in turn shall distribute that help through its own channels and according to its own independent plans.

Ad I. Two-fold actions are indispensable: a) in the West, i.e. in the free world and b) for the subjugated nations directly. Yet both these actions are indissolubly united. An action which is not based on centres of the free world that have a strong faith in basic values, such as independence for nations and freedom for individual, but instead has its source in material interests, is of ephemeral nature, i.e. it can always be beaten by higher bids or can be sold at auction for higher price. We need in the West champions of definite ideas and a strong faith in them. Only then can the action have a lasting foundation, and will not depend, for instance, on changes in tax allowances.

Ideological and political fight, a spiritual crusade based on high principles must begin immediately. An ideological and political assault on the centres of evil, of defeatism, marasmus, decay, falsehoods and misinformation. And such an aggressive attitude ought to be based on thorough knowledge of the real conditions and aspirations of the subjugated nations gained from studies and knowledge of primary sources.

From the above statements it follows that a CENTRE OF IDEOLOGICAL and POLITICAL COORDINATION OF ACTIONS, composed of sovereign spokesmen of the subjugated nations and new forces of the free world, is urgently needed. And these spokesmen should be treated as parties to agreement and not as agents of intelligence services, since if the opposite were to be the case, there would not be much sense in beginning this action at all. To be sure: another Free Europe Committee or ACLB (American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism) is completely superfluous.

A CENTRE OF POLITICAL-MILITARY ACTION should be created with the purpose of developing the new strategy of struggle in the sense of insurgent-revolutionary concepts of General Taras Chuprynka and General J. F. C. Fuller, and of training the cadres accordingly. The cadres of the subjugated peoples can be at the disposal of the sovereign spokesmen of respective peoples alone, and must not be treated as saboteurs of various intelligence services.

RESEARCH INSTITUTE OF THE IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, CULTURAL, AND RELIGIOUS STRUGGLE behind the Iron Curtain, in opposition to the Institute for the Study of the History and Culture of the USSR which is an illusion devoid of objective scientific endeavour. The concept of an Institute of Soviet Studies deludes us into believing in the existence of a new area of learning, worthy of research. "Soviet Studies" is nothing but a study of the Russian mentality, methods of deception used by Russian imperialism and Communism. It is more important that everyone should understand the spirit of resistance of the subjugated nations, and only in connection with this the Russian methods of deception and extermination.

Instead of an Institute of Soviet Studies there should be an Institute of Research into Russian imperialism that would examine and expose colonialism, genocide, ideas of the Third Rome, and Pan-Slavism, and show the duplicity of the so-called liberation of proletariat or colonial nations and other similar ideas of Russian imperialism.

Moscow maintains that the nations of the world have accepted two different ideologies and two social-political systems — capitalist and communist, — thus trying to place them on the same level as merely competitive ideas. In doing this Moscow attempts to hide the fact that the nations where Communist ideology is dominant have been subjugated by Russia by force of arms. Moscow tries to create the impression that these nations voluntarily chose the so-called socialistic system of life. The fact, however, remains that not a single nation subjugated by Russo-Communist imperialism after World War I and World War II, except the governing Russian nation, voluntarily accepted the Communist system, and none of them accepts Moscow as its metropolis in any respect.

Publications by the above-mentioned Institute in various languages of the world should expose the true character of the Russian evil. Such an institute ought to employ a new kind of personnel, i.e. people who until now had to remain silent in the West but who are at the disposal of the ABN.

At the same time the struggle of the subjugated nations against enslavement and Russian tyranny and the analysis of official announcements made by Russian imperialists and their stooges in combination with information gathered through other channels must be presented in their true meaning.

The national fight and the manifold manifestations of national life, including the ideological struggle, should be clearly defined, because up to now they were concealed or distorted and interpreted as opposition to the regime or contention for ephemeral alleviations. The great revolution of nations that is at present unfolding must now be revealed to the free world to the full extent. Similarly the nega-

tion of the liberating nationalism of subjugated nations should cease, for no one disclaims the nationalism of the Afro-Asian peoples. At the same time, the above-mentioned publications will expose to the Afro-Asian nations the true character of Moscow and of Communism in general.

The **Press Agency** should spread information and communications with new contents and tendencies, which differ from those that have been disseminated so far in the free world. This ought to be the Agency of truth, which hitherto has been distorted in the free world.

Radio stations and television programs should have the purpose of propagating ideas, explained on an ideological level, to reveal the truth about the struggle of the enslaved peoples and to enlighten the societies of the free world, particularly its youth. Therefore, new radio stations and new television programs are indispensable. They should be combative, propagating idealism, loftiness, greatness, showing the life and heroism of the enslaved peoples, the great personalities of Gen. T. Chuprynka, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Stepan Bandera, the underground Church, should reveal the genocide inspired by Moscow, the Muscovite man-made famine in Ukraine and in other countries of the U.S.S.R., Khrushchov's warfare against the Ukrainian insurgents, conditions in the concentration camps of the U.S.S.R., the Hungarian uprising, the heroism and martyrdom of all nationalities and their great leaders, as well as the sacrifices of great men of the West — in general, to disseminate another and different content by means of these communications, to influence the masses.

The **official political journal** of the Centre should shape different political attitudes of the free world toward Moscow-Peking tyrants from those prevailing up till now. This journal should be published in many languages. It would have to be a militant journal, campaigning for the ideas and concepts, defined in the platform of the Mexico Conference of 1958, by ABN, and in the addendum to this plan.

The **ideological journal** of the Centre would have to further the moral and ideological renaissance of the Occident and the whole free world in the spirit of faith in God, heroic humanism and nationalism, to bring about a moral revolution in the ideological realm.

The journal would have to give a new interpretation to current events. The problem of a moral renovation of the free world is inseparably tied up with the liberation of the enslaved peoples from Russian imperialism and tyranny. This issue of mutual interdependence should remain paramount and be proclaimed as dominant. Renovation is not possible by accepting the thesis of a passive tolerance of evil, namely that the enslaved can be exterminated as long as we can enjoy a life of comfort.

The whole action cannot be limited to simple education; its end is a campaign against Moscow and its fifth column by all possible means in the free world.

Mass demonstrations, manifestations, marches in solidarity with the liberation struggle of the enslaved nations, as well as protest rallies against tyranny and the false policies of the governments of the free countries, mobilization of the masses for such a campaign, rallies of youth in front of consulates and embassies, against Khrushchov's or Gromyko's visits, against friendly gestures toward the tyrants, for a complete rejection of co-existence and compromise, which always result in the capitulation of the West.

Furthermore, the journal should campaign against the subversive and terroristic actions of the KGB (Soviet secret police) which are directed against a possible unified action of the enslaved and the free world.

It would be necessary to organize international conferences on various continents to strengthen the front against the common enemy of the enslaved and the free.

An **international congress** should be organized to develop a world-wide action on the basis of the Mexico conference of 1958.

The fighters for freedom and political independence should visit various countries with lectures and public appeals for co-operation in the struggle for independence of the enslaved nations. Participants in the struggle should be invited to speak about this struggle and about the Golgotha of the subjugated peoples in concentration camps and prisons.

It would be a mistake to hope that Moscow will not succeed in its propaganda, which aims to undermine the prestige of the USA and other Western powers in the eyes of the subjugated nations, especially now during the realization of the contemporary policies of Messrs. Rusk and Rostow.

It should be realized that failure is bound to attend a propaganda which concentrates on exaggerated praise of something which is against human nature, for instance of the view that religion is superfluous, that national idea is something old-fashioned, that collective farms are justifiable; on the other hand, however, a thousand-fold repetition of the possible consequences of the co-existence policy, i.e. the loss of Hungary, Cuba, Laos, the extradition by the American authorities of thousands of refugees in 1945 to the Russians etc., will be crowned by success.

The highest achievement in Russia's plans for world domination was the recognition and tacit acceptance by the West of the **status quo**, that is the status of enslavement of the non-Russian nations, the establishing of diplomatic relations with the Western world, and

the fact of the legal recognition granted to Moscow's agents in the capitals of the captive and subjugated nations.

A further important concession on the part of the official West to Moscow is the actual isolation of the national political spokesmen of the subjugated nations and discrimination against them by branding them, in the spirit of Bolshevik intentions, as fascists or anti-Semites, despite the fact that many of them, as for instance the Chairman of ABN himself, for years suffered in Nazi concentration camps. The voice of these people is not only not heeded, but in practice it is being suppressed and negated.

The national political emigrants, the champions of the ideas of national liberation and of the uncompromising fight against Bolshevism and Russian Imperialism continue to be, for the future too, potentialities, which through a proper liberation policy on the part of the West could start a chain-reaction and release immense explosive powers behind the Iron Curtain against the oppressive domination of Russia.

America lost a great opportunity for itself and for the whole global moral and cultural development (expansion), for it neglected the immigrants from behind the Iron Curtain by letting them live in New York slums and by letting former college and university professors, well-known intellectuals and cultural workers, become cleaners and floor-sweepers at factories and at similar establishments.

Toynbee was right when he designated the emigrants as the yeast of the rebirth of the West, but...

Bitterness, nihilism, acute disappointment, seized most of them. Nothing would have been easier, instead of giving billions of dollars to pro-Communist neutralists and to Titoist Yugoslavia, than to have created opportunities at well-established institutions and schools for these thousands of intellectuals and cultural workers of East European extraction to study and teach; in this way they would have been able to use their cultural potentialities for the purpose of spreading the new ideals which are old truths; and they would have contributed towards deepening the idealistic elements within American society whilst at the same time they would be exposing the truth about Russian tyranny. All these forces should have been included in the psychological battle carried on by the free world against tyrants, but such action should have been determined not by an ideological and philosophical basis dictated by experts of the Harvard type or by Russophiles of the Rostow, Kennan, Bohlen type, but by an independent own ideological basis, without any binding instructions from above.

All is not lost yet, however...

It is a grave mistake to reduce everything to terms of technical sciences, medicine, and civilization, to dollar value, for people do not

live by bread alone and they need medicine not only for the body but also for the soul.

One of the important objectives of the World Centre must be to include in an appropriate way the potentialities of our political emigrants in the total fight of the free world.

It was a missed opportunity on the part of the West that the extraordinary fact of the bravura raid (1948-1949) across the frontiers of 3 countries performed by a detachment of 500 members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, who under dangerous and very difficult conditions carried out the order given by General Taras Chuprynka, namely to spread the truth about the reality of the struggle and slavery under Russian domination, was neither exploited nor even publicized. These 500 insurgents, now organized in the Association of Former UPA Fighters, in our opinion constitute an ideo-political potential similar to the Hungarian insurgents of the so-called satellite complex.

In addition to the matters mentioned above the following separate problems must be mentioned:

1) The encirclement of the U.S.S.R. and the so-called satellite countries by A.B.N. missions with the aim of ideological, political and propagandistic penetration by means of people and literature. Furthermore, the setting up of radio stations of ABN in countries adjoining the Russian Communist empire, for instance in Germany (West Berlin), Turkey, Pakistan, Taipei (where an ABN mission is already active and is at present broadcasting), in Korea, Vietnam, Japan, the Philippines, Greece, etc.

Strategic radio stations should be so powerful that the possibility of being jammed would be minimized and, accordingly, the means of penetration behind the Iron Curtain minimized.

Transportation by planes of leaflets and various kinds of revolutionary propagandist material, which should be dropped in the territories of the countries within the USSR, including Siberia. Here the experience and technique of national China in its raids over mainland China could be used and perfected.

2) Provided political conditions were fulfilled, training and supply of technical equipment, guerrilla leaders and technical knowledge needed for those destined to be dropped behind the Iron Curtain should for various reasons be placed in the hands of the respective national organizations. From outside authorities only technical assistance and the training of instructors (or advisors) would be expected but not direct contact or supervision of those individuals who would be dropped over the said territory.

A separate objective should be the training of the organizers of guerrilla warfare in the event of a third war, but this requires that our political platform be recognized and accepted. Without political

guarantees it will not be possible to obtain people for sabotage actions. In other words, without a clear statement of specific political commitments on the part of the West no manpower could be enlisted for subversive and sabotage actions.

In this context a selection of young men capable of military service from the nationalities behind the Iron Curtain and formation of separate combat groups is unavoidable, since otherwise, if dropped as individual saboteurs on the territories of their origin, they will be seized by the insurgent units, for the simple reason that the insurgents would like to free themselves from Bolshevik provocations and counter-saboteurs of the type of the Soviet bands led by Kovpak before and after 1945, who tried to deceive the UPA commanding officers by disguising as nationalist guerrillas.

3) A Research Institute in the national languages of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain to edit publications which are to be sent to these peoples.

4) Infiltration and enlightenment during Youth Festivals, Olympic Games, among Soviet seamen and tourists who visit the West or who ask for political asylum, special training for those who intend to tour the countries behind the Iron Curtain, — all this should be done confidentially but according to a definitely worked out plan or system — mailing to various addresses of publications in the national languages of these countries, etc.

5) Writing, editing and publishing of strategic and political material to be ready in the event of a war and thus be able to influence by this material members of the Soviet armed forces, Party members, members of Communist youth organizations, collective farmers, cultural workers, but above all and especially addressed to the nations as a whole. This is an important task.

6) Strengthening the already existing ABN missions and establishing new ABN missions in various countries of the world, including Africa, in order to expose Russian imperialism through these nations. In addition, a mission working with the United Nations and aiming to denounce Russian aggressive policies must be set up in order to attack Russian imperialists from all sides. Books about the national problems in the USSR, their colonial character and the struggle of these nations against the USSR should be published in various languages. Similarly, the "ABN-Correspondence" should appear in large editions in various languages, since the unique approach of ABN to different cardinal issues is not expressed by any other magazine or publication.

7) A staff preparing plans for combating the KGB (Soviet secret police) is indispensable.

8) Instead of the puppet governments of Moscow the free nations should recognize the revolutionary centres as legitimate spokesmen

of the independent strivings of the subjugated peoples until such time as sovereign governments shall be formed on liberated territories.

9) The free governments should proclaim a great Charter of national-state independence and individual freedom for all the enslaved within the USSR and the Communist sphere. This Charter should serve as a manifesto of the struggle of all freedom-loving mankind and the policies of the Free World in respect to Russia should be formulated accordingly. The dismemberment of the Russian empire as well as the destruction of Communism by means of which Moscow conceals its imperialism should become dominant slogans of all the freedom-loving peoples. The liquidation of this empire will bring the end of Communism. Not the all but vanished Western colonialism, but Russian colonialism is the acute problem of world politics. It should be unmasked everywhere and at all times. The assistance given by the West to the subjugated peoples is assistance to itself.

10) In opposition to the present United Nations Organization there should be formed another U.N. with equal rights for its members, U.N.-fighters for the liberation of all colonially enslaved nations and the establishment of independent states within ethnographic boundaries. Such a U.N. organization should not, however, become a kind of world government, since otherwise the principles of national sovereignty and national entity will be negated. But the sovereignty of nations should be the central idea of the new United Nations Organization, as a fighting movement for the national idea, the freedom of individual, faith in God, and social justice. There must be no room in the new United Nations for tyrants, neutralists, and co-existentialists.

The vital need of our day is the formation of a world-wide front of free and subjugated nations, with a closely co-ordinated strategy of struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism, a front which would originate from a global co-ordinating centre on the basis of the political concept of the national liberation movements of the subjugated peoples, which form the first front of combat.

The entire activity, particularly in respect to the areas of the subjugated peoples, cannot be directed by any foreign responsibility for the whole action; its content and scope must be determined by the national revolutionary centres or liberation organizations which are sovereign in their decisions. The West can only supply technical opportunities for its unfolding but not the political directives or policies, as in the case with the Free Europe Committee, or the ACLB which realize the political line of the State Department, but not of the subjugated nations fighting for national independence.

Prof. Dr. A. Kultschytzky

The Task of Ukrainian Science in the Free World

The predominance of the lyrical element in the spiritual life of the Ukrainians — and the Polish writer Lobodowski rightly talks about the “cordocentric” Ukrainians — which has been recognized by all research scholars of Ukraine, demands that we should be cautious from the outset, and also from the point of view of methodology, in our attempts to assess the importance of science in the Ukrainian cultural structure, precisely because of the fundamental difference between the scientific “ratio” and the lyrical “emotio.” Let us for the time being omit the problems of assessment and confine ourselves to a definition of the phenomenon of science in the development of Ukrainian intellectual and spiritual life. We shall endeavour to undertake this definition, and the analysis which is part of it, on the level of and in keeping with the ideas of the sociology of knowledge evolved by the famous Munich phenomenologist Max Scheler.

Max Scheler negates the possibility of the theory of knowledge for knowledge's sake considering it as foolish as the aesthete's theory of “art for art's sake.” According to Scheler, the “why and wherefore,” which is knowledge and which is searched for, cannot in turn be a knowledge but must in every case be a “developing” or “changing.” In Scheler's opinion there are three supreme aims of developing, which knowledge can and must serve. Firstly, the intellectual development and growth of the person who knows — this is formative knowledge. Secondly, the development and evolution of the world in its relation to its supreme reason for being and existing, that is to the Godhead, and this knowledge of the Godhead is, according to Scheler, “salvation knowledge.” Thirdly, the aim of a practical understanding of and transformation of the world for our human aims and purposes, — that is to say knowledge of the positive “science,” the “ruling or achievement knowledge,” which Scheler also calls “working knowledge.”

According to the extent to which a tendency to one of these three kinds of knowledge predominates, concrete forms of knowledge are developed, as for example the religious metaphysics of India, or a form of knowledge is evolved which furthers the development of the individual, the “humanitas,” i.e. humanity, the form of the

"sciences humaines," — humanistic sciences, such as were, for instance, developed in the ancient Greek and Roman world. The modern technically orientated natural science of the achievement and working knowledge is most clearly in evidence in the USA on the one hand, and in the Soviet Union on the other hand, where it has however become an absolute and glorified form of this knowledge, namely the so-called "scientificism."

The question now obtrudes itself: what is the position of Ukrainian science and its forms of knowledge, in so far as it once originated before the days of the Soviet Union and even today in exile — where it serves almost two million Ukrainian emigrants — continues to develop outside the Soviet sphere of influence?

To this question the Ukrainian sociologist M. Shlemkevych gives a brief and concise answer which reflects the attitude of the entire history of Ukrainian culture. He writes as follows: "The Ukrainian philosophy of life and the world in general centres round historical and sociological problems. This fact is particularly evident in the conscious attitude of the Ukrainian nation in the 19th and 20th centuries. The Ukrainian intellectuals of our and of the past century did not occupy themselves mainly with questions pertaining to gnosis and to natural science, as did the West European thinkers, but with problems concerning the historical fate of Ukraine and the truth of history. That is the reason why Shevchenko, Kostomariv, Hrushevsky, Tomashivsky and Donzov have become the creators and representatives of the present Ukrainian philosophy of life." Shevchenko was the great bard of the Cossack Ukrainian past; Kostomariv, the founder of modern Ukrainian historiography; Hrushevsky, one of the greatest historiographers of Eastern Europe; Tomashivsky, a penetrating historian of West Ukraine and its cultural ties and relations with Western Europe; Lypynsky, a research scholar of history and a sociologist of the Cossack Hetman era, who advances from historical research to brilliant and original sociological theories of a class-state, which, "mutatis mutandis," are comparable to the reasoning of Charles Maurras or Otmar Spann. According to Shlemkevych, this tendency to an historical and sociological philosophy of life is common to all Ukrainians in so far as historical fate has dealt us, as individuals and as a national community, the severest blows.

This theory on the part of the said sociologist is corroborated by an analysis of the structure of Ukrainian science, in so far as it is a question of the Ukrainian cultural development that has not, or only in part, been determined by Marxism-Leninism. In quantitative respect history in all its ramifications of the history of literature and culture in general, ethnology, ethnography, linguistics and sociology, occupies the most important place in the sum-total of scientific production in the 19th and 20th centuries, that is until 1930.

In qualitative respect everything that the Ukrainians can describe as on a par with the West European level of culture on the whole belongs to the aforesaid branches of knowledge. All these branches of knowledge, which are connected with the idea of "humanitas," reveal the components of "formative knowledge," that knowledge which has as its aim the intellectual and spiritual development and growth of the individual, namely in a double sense: in the case of this knowledge, in so far as it was native to Ukraine in the 19th and in the first quarter of the 20th century, it is a question not only of the individual person who thirsts for knowledge, that is the development of the individual "ego," but also, in the sense of the "personalism" of Emanuel Mounier, of the "collective ego" development as it were, that is to say the intellectual and spiritual development and growth of the Ukrainian "we," the collective "person" of the nation. In the course of linguistic, ethnological, historical and sociological research the nation becomes conscious of itself.

In so far as the said humanistic branches of knowledge are moreover concerned with the form of cognition and perception which, according to Eduard Spranger is typical of the intellectual world, in which "emotio," feeling, and intuition, "l'esprit de finesse," and not the mechanical, mathematical form of cognition of "explanation by ratio," of the "esprit de géométrie," are applied, this humanistic orientation of Ukrainian science was entirely in harmony with the emotional structure of the Ukrainian "cordocentric" individual, a fact which to a large extent explains the success of this science in the humanistic field in spite of such unfavourable social and political conditions.

But in the 1920's a momentous turning-point occurs in the fate of Ukrainian culture, in which Ukrainian science played the role of formative knowledge, — a turning-point, which, if we apply Oswald Spengler's comparison, namely that cultures resemble human personalities, can indeed be designated as a "tragic turning-point." A cultural and historical development now takes place which, in Spengler's sense, we must regard as a cultural "pseudomorphosis."

Spengler uses an allegory which is taken from the geological world and describes this pseudomorphosis as follows: "The crystals of a mineral are embedded in a layer of stone. Fissures and clefts result; water drips down and gradually washes out the crystals until only their hollow shape is left. Later volcanic eruptions occur which break up the structure of the mountains; glowing masses burst forth, solidify and crystalize. But they cannot crystalize in their own shapes; they are forced to do so in the hollow shapes already there; in this way false forms of crystals, with an inner structure which is not in keeping with the outer structure, a type of stone with an appearance that is not its own, result. Mineralogists call this process pseudomorphosis."

"Historical pseudomorphoses," so Spengler adds, "are, in my opinion, cases in which a foreign old culture is so powerful in a country that a young culture which is native to the country in question cannot breathe and is not only unable to develop its own unadulterated forms of expression, but cannot even achieve a complete state of consciousness. Everything which arises out of the depths of a former spiritual wealth is molded in the hollow shapes of the foreign culture; young feelings grow torpid in old works, and instead of the creative power and strength of the young native culture asserting itself, a hatred of the distant foreign power grows and assumes gigantic proportions."

This description of pseudomorphosis is allegorically an extremely apt description of the tragedy of Ukrainian culture, which is forced to crystallize in Marxist-Leninist Russian hollow shapes. For Spengler's organic "old" or oppressive culture one only needs to substitute a mechanically planned "new," tyrannical, Marxist-Leninist, Russian controlled civilization.

Without in the least wishing to doubt the value and importance of the vast modern development of "achievement and working knowledge" in the Western world and in the Soviet Union, we nevertheless share Scheler's opinion that the "future of human culture will not be determined by a onesided rejection of one kind of knowledge in favour of another." Still less so if it is a question of a compulsory pseudomorphosis on the part of the "ruling and achievement knowledge," whose "flame," as Scheler says, "will never and at no stage in its possible progress give the nucleus of our life, that is the intellectual personality in man, the necessary light and guiding strength, from which this nucleus can in turn nourish itself: the "humanitas" and the "knowledge" that it demands."

Thus the task of Ukrainian science in the free world is defined and summarized: to nurture, foster and develop our own native kind of knowledge, which is inspired by the spirit of formative knowledge but which has been superseded by the pseudomorphosis of Ukrainian culture.

And this must be effected not by means of any exclusiveness, but in keeping with the future synthesis, demanded by Max Scheler, of the "salvation," "formative" and "achievement" knowledge under the lodestar, which fulfils the role of a guide amongst the stars, without however being as remote and inaccessible to us as the stars. Under the lodestar of an idea, which Professor Volodymyr Derzhavyn of the Ukrainian Free University has expressed so aptly in his demand that the "Ukrainian specificity of the European intellect should be developed still further."

Those European friends who show their desire to help us to realize this idea will earn the profound and eternal gratitude of the "cordocentric" Ukrainian people.

Vera Rich

"ELLISIF JARIZLEIFSDÓTTIR" IN THE NORTHERN SOURCES

Insofar as any such tenuous anniversary can be marked, this year, 1963, marks the 250th anniversary of the beginnings of "Northern" or Scandinavian studies in eastern Europe.¹ Such studies, of course, have always shown a particular interest in the eastward expansion of the Scandinavian peoples, the part they played in the foundation of the state of Kievan Ruś, and the close contacts, including many dynastic marriages, between the Ruś princes and the ruling houses of Scandinavia.

Yet although the history of Kievan Ruś is, of course, the first stage in the history, as opposed to the pre-history, of Ukraine, these northern marriages have, in general, attracted relatively little attention from the general student of Ukrainian affairs. Hence we have the anomaly, that although the marriage to the king of France of Anna, daughter of Yaroslav the Wise, Grand Prince of Kyïv, is a matter of common knowledge, very little note is made, except by experts, of the marriage of her sister Elizabeth to King Harald of Norway — although by that marriage she became queen of a large northern empire to which, but for the fortune of one battle, England itself might have been added.

This marriage, like so much of the history of Ruś-Scandinavian connections, is not mentioned in the Slavonic sources at all. When, however, we turn to the Scandinavian sources, the picture is very different. Yaroslav, or as he was known to the northern peoples "Jarizleifr" is mentioned more than any other Ruś-lander² in the

1) Taking as starting date the beginning of the period of foreign studies of V. N. Tatishchev, who "spent between 1713 and 1717 several busy years abroad, engaging in various studies and collecting a valuable library of geographical and historical treatises." An analysis of the part Tatishchev played as precursor and initiator of Northern studies may be found in N. T. Belaiev, "Eymundar Saga and Icelandic Research in Russia", *Saga Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research*, 1934, pp. 93-99.

2) In view of the change of meaning of the word "Russian" to mean Muscovite, and the fact that Kyïv-Ruś was by no means conterminous with modern Ukraine, we seem to be lacking a word in English to denote an inhabitant of the Ruś state. *Rusyn* sounds clumsy in English, *Ruthenian* has other connotations. I am therefore adopting the suggestion offered to me by Elizabeth Harvey, of the word "Ruś-lander" — on the analogy of "Ice-lander", "Shetlander", "New-Zealander", etc.

historical sagas — indeed, he is the only identifiable Rus-lander to be mentioned in the Poetic Edda.³ The marriage of his daughter, therefore, becomes for the Northern historians, a matter of intense interest. However, since the material on this particular subject comes almost entirely from Icelandic sources, not all of which have been translated into languages readily understandable to the average Slavic student, it will be profitable, before considering the material they contain, to consider the sources themselves, their value, and the general approach of the Icelandic historians to their work.

Of these historians, perhaps the most famous is Snorri Sturluson (1178-1241), whose monumental history of the kings of Norway, usually known from its opening words as *Heimskringla* is a most valuable source for the history of many European countries. Snorri's approach to his sources was critical and scientific. In his preface to his work he enumerates the sources he has used: intelligent people, family registers, scaldic verse, the lost historical works of Ari Thorgilsson (1067-1148)⁴ and Eiríkr Oddsson, and earlier sagas, three of which are quoted by name. Snorri comments on each of these sources, explaining his reasons for using them, and how much reliability he places on them. He is wary, too, of hagiography, and the occasional miracles he mentions are usually "tied" to a historical event.⁵ *Heimskringla* may not be free of historical inaccuracy, but its author's approach of his sources can be in no way held to blame for this.⁶

However, *Heimskringla* is not our only source for the subject — there are several other Icelandic historical compilations which contain relevant material. One of these — the saga of the Jarls of Orkney — is among Snorri's named sources.⁷ This saga — generally

³) In *Godrunarkviða hin forna*, stanza 20. In the same stanza occurs the name Jarizkarr, evidently referring to some prince. But this name cannot be identified, in fact, Finnur Jónsson considers it to be a hybrid of the Slavonic "Jariz" and Norse "Karr." (*Lexicon poeticum antiquae linguae septentrionalis*, København, 1931). If this is correct, it is interesting to see that not only was the name "Jarizleifr" inflected grammatically according to the pattern of the Norse name Leifr — it was considered as a compound of Leifr, so that the z (s) was felt to belong, not to the second element, as it properly does, but to the first, and "Jariz-" was considered to be a Slavonic name-element by whoever coined the name "Jarizkarr."

⁴) One work of Ari's, *The Book of the Icelanders (Islendingabók)* does survive, but only in an abridged "second edition", from which, Ari tells us in his prologue, "the lives of kings" have been omitted. Thus the very part of the work which would have been of use to us, is lost for ever.

⁵) Thus in the "Saga of Harald Hardrade" in *Heimskringla* (Ch. 55) the miracle is "linked" to the thank-offering of a new roof for St. Olaf's church.

⁶) For a further discussion of Snorri's use of his sources, see the Introduction, by P. G. Foote, to the "Everyman" edition of *Heimskringla* (Revised edition, London, 1961).

⁷) Named in *Heimskringla*, St. Olaf's Saga, Ch. 109.

known as Orkneyinga Saga — is, of its nature a somewhat localized document, which tends to deal with world affairs only insofar as they affect Orkney. Nevertheless, the work is of importance in that its author⁸ must have had access to a collection of "kings' lives" which does not seem to have been any of the collections which have come down to us. As we shall see later, however, there is one chapter in Orkneyinga Saga, which is extremely relevant to our problem.

Snorri's other definite source which we must consider is the *Morkinskinna*. Properly speaking, the name "Morkinskinna" (=rotten manuscript) applies, not to the content but to the physical condition of the manuscript, however, the name is conventionally used to refer to the actual body of historical material contained in it. Moreover, "certain details point to the possibility that the Morkinskinna which has come down to us is not a faithful copy but rather a somewhat altered edition of an earlier work. When it is said that some work is based on the Morkinskinna, this must be understood to express briefly that the work is based on a lost text, which to us must be represented by the Morkinskinna, since no better copies are now in existence."⁹

The author of *Morkinskinna* also approached his sources critically. "Once he says that he does not mean to write down everything he has heard: it must be based on reliable evidence, 'for we prefer that our narrative be added to later on rather than it should be necessary to deduct from it.' He is well aware that those lays of the scalds which had been recited about the princes themselves in their immediate vicinity must to a certain extent be regarded as first-rate sources. He therefore quotes freely from them, and it is evident from certain of his remarks that he carefully considered how far they could be regarded as reliable."¹⁰

Where, perhaps, the author of *Morkinskinna* fails as a historian in comparison with his contemporary Snorri¹¹ is that Snorri has a more consistent attitude, with less episodic material, and a greater emphasis on keeping to a strict record of the kings' reigns. However, since *Morkinskinna* preserves material on our subject that is not in *Heimskringla*, we can hardly blame its author on that count.

Unfortunately, there is a considerable lacuna in *Morkinskinna* which must have included material relating to Harald's flight to

8) For all problems of authorship, dating etc., of the Orkneyinga Saga, see Alexander Burt Taylor, *The Orkneyinga Saga*, Edinburgh and London, 1938.

9) See *Morkinskinna* (Facsimile Edition), Corpus Codicum Islandicorum Medii Aevi, Copenhagen, 1934, Introduction by Jón Helgason, p. 12.

10) Jón Helgason, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

11) *Heimskringla* must have been written some time between 1230 and Snorri's death in 1241. *Morkinskinna* was written some time in the interval 1217-1237 from internal evidence. See Jón Helgason, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

Ruś in 1030. Luckily, this material is preserved elsewhere. The "Saga of Magnus the Good and Harald Hardrade" in the compendious collection of historical sagas, the *Flateyrbók*, to which it is in fact a later addition,¹² seems to have been incorporated bodily from *Morkinskinna* — with some variants of wording the text is the same as that of the existing parts of *Morkinskinna*. Thus, *Flateyrbók* can be used to fill in this lacuna. A slightly different version of *Morkinskinna* seems to have been used by the author of the 14th century manuscript *Hulda*. This manuscript is, for the most part, a combination of the *Morkinskinna*-variant and of *Heimskringla*. The *Hulda* text occurs also in the still younger manuscript *Hrokkinskinna*.

Of the other principal historical manuscripts, *Fagrskinna* has nothing new to offer to our investigation.¹³ It only remains for us to mention the *Knytlingasaga* — a history of the kings of Denmark. This is a late work — it shows clear evidence of having been written under the influence of Snorri, and also quotes as a source Snorri's nephew, Ólafr hvításkald († 1259).¹⁴ As in the case of *Orkneyinga Saga*, the subject matter of this work would not lead us to expect a detailed account of the story of Harald and Elizabeth — nevertheless, as I shall show later, it is not without a certain importance in the analysis of our subject.

So much, then, for our sources. What have they to tell us? There are three main phases that they relate in the story of Harald and Elizabeth — the first occurring some time in the early '30's of the 10th century, the second in the early '40's and the last in the fateful years 1066-1067. The dating is not always clear — but we start, at least, with a firm date — the battle of *Stiklastaðir* in the summer of 1030.

In this battle fell the King of Norway, Olaf the Saint, fighting in defence of his kingdom. Fighting in the battle was Olaf's fifteen-year-old half-brother Harald (Harald "Hardrade" or "the Stern") as he is known to history. Harald, severely wounded, escaped from the battle, and, while Svein Knutson¹⁵ made himself king of Norway, Harald, together with a small band of Olaf's men, who had escaped from the defeat at *Stiklastaðir* "the following spring, found themselves ships, and in the summer went east, to Garth-land¹⁶ to King

¹² See *Flateyrbók* (Facsimile Edition) Corpus Codicum Islandicorum Medii Aevi, Copenhagen 1930, Introduction by Finnur Jónsson, pp. 4, 7.

¹³ "It may be considered an established fact that the very great conformity between the two works [*Morkinskinna* and *Fagrskinna*] is due to the circumstance that the author of *Fagrskinna* made use of the *Morkinskinna*." Jón Helgason, *op. cit.*, p. 12. See also, G. Indrebø, *Fagrskinna*, 1917, 17-34.

¹⁴ See Stefán Einarsson, *History of Icelandic Literature*, New York, 1957, p. 120.

¹⁵ Svein was the eldest son of Knut (Canute) by Aelfgifu of Northampton. This is, of course, the Canute who ruled England from 1014-1035, and about whom the well-known legend of the tide is told.

¹⁶ "Garth-land" = *Gardariki* (probably = land of walled towns), is the name given to Ruś in the sagas. The first element is cognate with Old Slavonic "grad."

Jarizleifr."¹⁷ According to Snorri, Yaroslav simply gave them a kind reception, but according to the lost *Morkinskinna* Harald had ideas about making his welcome even more permanent. According to the somewhat verbose text in *Hulda*,¹⁸ and the slightly more pithy one of *Flateyrbók*,¹⁹ Harald asked Yaroslav for the hand of his daughter Elizabeth ("whom the Northmen call Ellisif") in marriage. Yaroslav, exercising no doubt the wisdom for which he was famed, did not reject this proposal, but suggested to Harald that it would not be conducive to his, Yaroslav's, honour to marry his daughter to a landless foreigner, and that, therefore Harald should set about winning himself more honour and renown.

Whatever motive, after serving with Yaroslav for some time, Harald set out again on his travels, finally taking service with the famous Varangian guard at Constantinople. During this time, he harried Sicily and North Africa, and, as a result, he "acquired great wealth, in gold, jewels, and all kinds of valuable commodities; and all the wealth which he collected, and which he did not need for his own expenses, he sent by his trusted men to Holmgarth,²⁰ into King Jarizleifr's keeping."²¹ At last,²² after various remarkable

17) *Heimskringla*, Saga of Harald Hardrade Ch. 2.

18) *Hulda-Hrokkinskinna*, Saga of Harald Hardrade. Ch. II. The speech ascribed to Yaroslav is clearly an author's expansion of earlier material. The expression "Saint Olaf" (*Hrokkinskinna* as "Saint Olaf your brother") gives an immediate sense of anachronism. But one must be careful, of accusing the author of open anachronism. According to a verse of *Sighvatr*, Olaf, while in Ruś, had cured a certain "Valdamarr" (= Volodymyr), presumably from his name a member of the princely house, perhaps Yaroslav's son Volodymyr. Hence the author of *Hulda-Hrokkinskinna* may well have assumed that Olaf had already, in 1031, a reputation in Ruś for sanctity. Anne Holtmark, however (*Studier i norrøn diktning*, Oslo, 1955, pp. 16, 24) suggests that this Valdamarr is the son of the high-born widow, whom Olaf saved from choking to death. (*Heimskringla*, St. Olaf's saga, Ch. 189). But this, says Snorri, was not considered miraculous at the time — merely due to Olaf's medical skill. We may note, too, that in the verse mentioned there is no suggestion that the cure was due to supernatural intervention.

19) *Flateyrbók*; Saga of Magnus the Good and Harald Hardrade, Ch. 12.

20) Holmgarth is Novgorod. Scandinavian tradition knows Yaroslav primarily as prince of Novgorod. In fact, he held this position until the death of his father Volodymyr (the Great) in 1015. After the wars over the succession, and the division of Ruś between Yaroslav and his brother Mstislav in 1026, Yaroslav seemed to have preferred to remain in Novgorod for long periods until 1036, when Mstislav died. It is the year that we find Yaroslav appointing his son Volodymyr as ruler of Novgorod, and commencing building operations on the citadel and church of St. Sophia at Kyiv. It seems clear, therefore, that it was in this year that Yaroslav finally moved his court to Kyiv. See the *Nachal'naya letopis*, Anno Mundi 6544-6545 (A.D. 1037-1038).

21) *Heimskringla*, Saga of Harald Hardrade, Ch. 5.

22) According to Snorri, (*Heimskringla*, SHH, Ch. 16), three Emperors of Constantinople had died, while Harald was there. These must be Romanus III (†1034), Michael IV (†1041), Michael V (†1042). Thus, accepting this dating, Harald must have reached Constantinople some time before April 11, 1034, and set out for the North some time after April 14, 1042.

adventures, including a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Harald heard that his nephew Magnus Olafson had become king in Norway and Denmark,²³ and deciding to return home, he left, not without difficulty, the service of the Greek emperor, and taking ship, sailed round the Black Sea coast, up the Dniπρο, and so to Yaroslav.²⁴

During this voyage, Harald found occasion to indulge his gift for verse-writing: he composed a song of sixteen stanzas, of which four-and-a-half survive in their entirety. Each stanza ends with the refrain

"Yet in Garthland Gerthr the
Gold-ringed scorns me coldly."

"By this," all our sources agree, "he meant Ellisif, the daughter of King Jarisleifr."

To one unacquainted with the intricacies of Norse poetry, it might seem strange that, if he meant "Ellisif" he said "Gerthr". The romantically-minded might find this an example of "Euphemia serves to grace my measure," the cynic might suspect that the poems were addressed to another lady altogether.

The explanation is, however, quite different. Although Gerthr (Gerda) does occur somewhat rarely as a woman's name,²⁵ it is one of the rare exceptions to the rule that human beings in general, were not given the names of supernatural beings.²⁶ For here Gerthr

²³) Magnus was Olaf's son by Alfhildr, not by Astrid his queen. Harald's claim to the throne of Norway seems to have been a) that he was Olaf's half-brother; b) that he was the son of Sigurd king of Ranrike (a district of southern Norway). However, after Magnus' death, he considered himself his heir and his "claim" to the throne of England was that he was the heir of Magnus, who, himself, had been made the heir of Harthaknut (ruled England 1040-1042) by the Treaty of Brennørerne (1038) which Harthaknut repudiated on his deathbed. In fact, Harald's claim to both thrones was primarily the claim of strength, and in the case of the latter, his claim had the same legal validity — nil — as that of William of Normandy, since the English monarchy was elective.

²⁴) The Norse Sources all say that Yaroslav was in Novgorod. This is almost certainly a mistake, and I have taken it to be so in my poem "Elizabeth the Wise-king's daughter" (*Nashe zhyttya*, October 1963). But, if we assume that Harald left Constantinople in 1042 there is just the chance that Yaroslav was in Novgorod. In 1042, according to the Novgorod Chronicle: "*Volodymyr, the son of Yaroslav, went against the Yem people with the men of Novgorod*" and it is just possible, therefore, that in view of his son's successful campaign against this Finnish tribe, Yaroslav paid a state visit to this town. But my personal opinion is that this is most likely to be an error in the original Norse sources. See also *Heimskringla*, SHH, Chs. 15-16; *Morkinskinna* pp. 15-16 in C. R. Unger's edition (Christiania, 1867); *Flateyrbók* Saga of Magnus the Good and Harald Hardrade, Ch. 16.

²⁵) Taking as a rough guide to popularity the frequency with which a name is recorded in the *Landnamabók* (which gives the names of the original settlers of Iceland), we find, among some 800 feminine names, only 3 Gerthrs. On the other hand, we have, for example 34 Helgas, 12 Halldoras, 19 Gudruns, 14 Jorunns etc.

²⁶) See G. Turville-Petre, *Origins of Icelandic Literature*, Oxford, 1953, p. 35.

is the giantess, the wife of the god Freyr, and the heroine of the poem *Skirnismál*, which, as a love-poem, stands quite alone in Norse literature.²⁷ What we are dealing with here is a "kenning," a metaphorical expression that, although rudimentary in most literatures, finds its full complexity in the language of the Scalds.²⁸ Many kennings were of mythological type — and the need for a Scald, even in the Christian period, to know his mythology for this purpose has been largely instrumental in preserving so many of the old legends²⁹ — and this is what we have here. A well-known type of kenning for a woman, especially for a lady of high rank and wealth, was formed by combining any name of a female mythological being with a word for jewellery or gold.³⁰ The choice of the name Gerthr in this case, although peculiarly appropriate to the situation,³¹ would have been made, primarily, owing to the needs of the prosody. Indeed, as we shall see later, the name "Gerthr" fits so well into the poem that the use of "Ellisif" would not only have been less "poetic" from the point of view of metaphor, but one can hardly imagine how the refrain could exist without it.

But to return to the story. Harald collected his wealth from Yaroslav, "So enormous a treasure that no man in the northern lands had ever seen the like in one man's keeping."³² And "This winter King Jarizleifr married his daughter to Harald."³³

The following spring, Harald began his journey home, first to Sweden, the land of his wife's grandfather, King Olaf the Swede.³⁴ **There he met his wife's mother's cousin, Svein Úlfsson³⁵** (otherwise

27) For *Skirnismál*, see G. Turville-Petre, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19. The reader should note that this does not, of course, mean that *Skirnismál* was itself known to Harald — the legend must have existed independently.

28) See G. Turville-Petre, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-31.

29) I.e. in Snorri's *Edda*, the first part of which, *Gylfaginning*, is intended as a hand-book on mythology, to explain the kennings of scaldic verse. An English translation by J. Young exists, namely: *The Prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson — tales from Norse Mythology*, Cambridge, 1954.

30) See especially Rudolf Meissner, *Die Kennningar der Skalden*, Rheinische Beiträge, 1921. For kennings referring to women, pp. 395-421.

31) Gerthr in *Skirnismál* at first rejects Freyr's proposal of marriage in a haughty manner. See note 27, and the ref. there cited.

32) *Heimskringla*, SHH, Ch. 16, of *Morkinskinna*, p. 16 in the edition of C. R. Unger, Christiania, 1867. *Flateyrbók* SMG & H.H. Ch. 16. *Fagrskinna* Ch. 43.

33) *Heimskringla*, SHH, Ch. 17, of *Morkinskinna* (ed. Unger) *loc. cit.*, *Flateyrbók* SMG & H.H. Ch. 16. *Fagrskinna* Ch. 23. *Hulda-Hrokkinskinna* SSH, Ch. 15.

34) Elizabeth's mother was Ingigerd, known better to Slav historians under her baptismal name of Irene. According to the *Nachal'naya Letopiš* she died in *anno mundi* 6558 (A.D. 1050). In the annal relating to her death, she is not called by name: it reads simply "Umerla knyahinya, zhená Yaroslava" — "The princess, wife of Yaroslav, died."

35) Svein's mother, Astrid or Estrith, was the half-sister of King Olaf of Sweden, on her mother's side, and of King Knut of England on her father's side. (See *Heimskringla*, Saga of Magnus the Good, Ch. 22).

known as Svein Estrithson) who had been driven out of Denmark by Magnus.³⁶ Harald and Svein made an alliance, and gathered an army. They attacked Denmark, but soon an agreement was reached by which Norway was partitioned between Magnus and Harald. This arrangement held until Magnus died, after which Harald became king of all Norway. Svein, meanwhile, made himself king of Denmark.

During the years of Harald's rule, Elizabeth remained in the background, unrecorded by history. In the first year of his reign, Harald took a second wife, Thora, the daughter of Thorberg Arnason. Whether Christianity sat rather lightly upon Harald, or whether it was a matter of the exercise of a king's right to take a morganatic wife,³⁷ we may observe two things. One is that by his marriage to Thora, Harald acquired kinship with a number of prominent men who were, technically at least, his subjects.³⁸ The other is that, in spite of this, our historians never attribute to Thora the rank due to Elizabeth — the latter is "Elizabeth the queen," the former "Thora, Harald's wife," or "Thora, Thorberg's daughter." This is the more remarkable in that, whereas Thora became the mother of Harald's two sons, Magnus and Olaf, Elizabeth only gave him daughters, Ingigerd (named, presumably after her grandmother), and Maria. And in the fatal year of 1066, when Harald set out on his ill-starred invasion of England, Thora was left behind, together with her son Magnus, who was appointed regent, while "Harald took with him Ellisif the queen and her two daughters, Maria and Ingigerd. Olaf, the son of king Harald also went abroad with his father."³⁹

Before reaching England, Harald collected reinforcements in his western dominions of Shetland and Orkney.⁴⁰ There, in the latter, he left Elizabeth and their daughters. It would be interesting, indeed, if we could identify the exact place where they stayed, but this is not possible. It may be said, however, that in the mid-eleventh century, the seat of government of Orkney appears to have been at Birsay, a "high-tide island" off the Orkney mainland. Here was the

³⁶) See *Heimskringla*, Saga of Magnus the Good, Chs. 31 ff.

³⁷) For morganatic marriages in the Middle Ages, see especially, E. A. Freeman, *History of the Norman conquest of England*, Oxford, 1867, vol. 1, pp. 204-205.

³⁸) Thora was the daughter of Thorberg Arnason, one of the four powerful Arnason brothers — Kalfr, Finn, Arni and Arnbjorg. She was first cousin to Ingibjorg, the wife of Jarl Thorfinnr of Orkney.

³⁹) *Heimskringla* SHH. Ch. 82 cf. *Hulda-Hrokkinskinna*, SHH. Ch. 114-115 and *Morkinskinna* (ed. Unger) p. 112 which has no mention of Ingigerd.

⁴⁰) Orkney and Shetland were settled by Norwegians during the late 9th and early 10th centuries. They were annexed to Norway by King Harald Fair-Hair († circa 940) and remained a Norwegian possession (ruled by Jarls who were, however, largely autonomous) until 1468, when they were pawned to Scotland as security for 50,000 Rhenish guilders. Their legal status is probably, technically, still that of an unredeemed pledge.

Cathedral, and the Bishop's residence; here was the palace⁴¹ of the great Jarl Thorfinnr († 1064). Since Paul and Erlend, Thorfinnr's sons and joint Jarls of Orkney, sailed with Harald on his expedition, it seems at least possible, that Elizabeth and her retinue may have occupied the temporarily-vacant palace.

There is no space in this article to discuss either Harald's claim to the English throne (which was based as much on might as on right), nor to trace in detail the course of his campaign. At first victorious, the tide soon turned against him. In the Battle of Stamford Bridge (near York), on September 25, 1066, Harald's forces were attacked by the army of his namesake, Harold Godwinson, King of the English. In the fighting Harald of Norway was killed. On the same day and at the same hour, five hundred miles away in Orkney, his daughter Maria died suddenly, and "people say that they had one life between the two of them."⁴²

Olaf, Harald's son, was allowed to leave England after the battle⁴³ and, with the remnant of the Norwegian forces, he made his way north to Orkney, where he wintered. The following spring he returned to Norway, where he was accepted as joint king with Magnus. His stepmother, Elizabeth, and his surviving half-sister Ingigerd accompanied him.⁴⁴ What, however, became of Elizabeth after this is not clear.

⁴¹) See *Orkneyingasaga*, Ch. 31. This palace is *not* the site known as the Earl's palace. The latter, built by Earl Robert Stewart in the sixteenth century, is on the Mainland of Orkney. Thorfinnr's palace is the site now known as the Brough of Birsay.

⁴²) *Orkneyingasaga*, Ch. 34. *Morkinskinna* (Ed. Unger) p. 221, *Fagrskinna*, Ch. 62, *Hulda-Hrokkinskinna* Ch. 123. Snorri records Maria's death, but not the comment "people say..."

⁴³) On this occasion (unlike the Battle of Fulford — a victory for Harald Hardrade a few days earlier), Olaf had stayed with the ships and had not fought. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle "The king gave quarter to Olaf son of the Norse king, and their bishop, and the Earl of Orkney and all those who survived on the ships and they went up to our king and swore oaths that they would always keep peace and friendship with this country and the king let them go home with twenty-four ships." See *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle — a revised translation*, Edited by Dorothy Whitelock, London 1961; Annal for 1066, D text. In addition to these facts, Florence of Worcester, basing his information, apparently, on a manuscript of the ASC now lost, names the "earl" who was guarding the ships as Paul (Erlend is nowhere mentioned by English sources — and we may assume that he was the younger of the two Jarls), and says that hostages were also given. He also gives the number of the ships as twenty. One may remark here, that Harold of England's treatment of his defeated foes was in sharp contrast to what his own men were to receive after his death, only 18 days later, in battle against William of Normandy at Hastings. One may also remark, that the oath made on this occasion has not been broken in almost 900 years.

⁴⁴) *Heimskringla* SHH, Ch. 98; *Hulda-Hrokkinskinna* SHH, Ch. 123. The other sources do not specifically mention Elizabeth, when recording Olaf's return to Norway.

Certain historians would, in fact, deny that Elizabeth was still alive in 1066 — they would rather preserve the proprieties and kill her off before Harald's marriage to Thora.⁴⁵ This, however, implies a refutation of our sources, which I am not prepared to discuss at the moment, except to say that to "tailor" history to suit 19th and 20th century ideas of morality seems hardly justifiable.

Another theory is that she married Svein Estrithson, king of Denmark. This is stated as a fact by N. de Baumgarten in *Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides russes du X^e au XIII^e siècles*,⁴⁶ whence it has received the credence due to an authoritative statement. Baumgarten's source, however, is the Norwegian historian P. A. Munch,⁴⁷ who seems to offer little more evidence for it than the fact that Svein Estrithson, whose matrimonial entanglements were many and diverse, seems to have had a wife or mistress who was a Ruś-lander since his son, Thorgisl "went east, to Garth-land, where he had kinsmen on his mother's side."⁴⁸ Leaving aside the fact that after the death of Magnus, hostilities had broken out between Svein and Harald, and a war of sporadic harrying and raiding had been waged for almost all of Harald's reign,⁴⁹ and that, unless she married Harald as a child of twelve years of age,⁵⁰ she would by now (1067) be getting rather old for child-bearing, it seems rather a large presumption to make, that any Ruś-landic wife or concubine of Svein must, automatically have been Elizabeth. Moreover, since Elizabeth was important enough to be mentioned in the *Knytlingasaga*, when Harald and Svein formed their alliance,⁵¹ it seems very unlikely that, if she had returned to Denmark, the fact

⁴⁵ Thus, for example, N. M. Karamzin, *Istoriya gosudarstva rossijskogo*, St. Petersburg, 1815-1824, Vol. 2, pp. 237 ff. Note 41: "Ona (=Elisaveta) skoro umerla, ostaviv dvukh docherei, Ingigerdu i Mariyu." (She soon died, leaving two daughters, Ingigerd and Maria). Karamzin gives Snorri as a reference for this — in fact, of course Snorri gives the names of her daughters only, and does not give any evidence for the date of her death — a fine piece of misleading.

Again, following Gustav Sturm (*Historisk Tidsskrift*, 3, 424 ff.) Knut Gjerset, in his *History of the Norwegian People* (New York, 1915, pp. 28 ff.) attributes any reference to Elizabeth after Harald's marriage to Thora as being due "to some strange error" saying "That Harald who was a Christian king could live in open bigamy without protest from the Pope or clergy is quite incredible."

But Gjerset does not seem fully aware of the practice of morganatic marriage in medieval Europe. See note 36, *supra*.

⁴⁶ In *Orientalia Christiana*, vol. 14, no. 73, Rome, October 1931.

⁴⁷ P. A. Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie*, Christiania, 1855, vol. 2, pp. 380 ff.

⁴⁸ *Knytlingasaga*, Ch. 23

⁴⁹ Peace was made in 1064. For the course of the war see *Heimkringla* SHH, Chs. 31-74.

⁵⁰ Although the dating of this part of the history cannot be given with absolute precision, it is generally agreed that the marriage of Harald and Elizabeth must have taken place some time between Autumn 1042 and Spring 1045.

⁵¹ *Knytlingasaga*, Ch. 22.

would not have been noted. Again, attempts have been made to equate Elizabeth with the mother of young Olaf mentioned in the Scholia to Adam of Bremen's History,⁵² as having married Haakon the Red — but why this should refer to Elizabeth, (Olaf's step-mother) and not to Olaf's true mother, Thora, is not quite clear. As far as can be ascertained, the last reference to Elizabeth is her departure from Orkney in 1067.

For the moment, then, we must leave Elizabeth's fate as unknown, unknown, indeed, as her whole story would have been, if we had been left only Slavonic sources for the history of the period. She has, it is true, only a minor part to play, and perhaps her most significant role was the tie of kinship she established between her husband and her mother's cousin Svein Estrithson at the time when Harald was fighting for his kingdom. Nevertheless, at the time of Harald's death, he was master of a considerable Northern empire and therefore, in any study of Ruś connections with western Europe, Elizabeth's marriage to Harald, as related in the Northern sources, must be a matter of no little significance.

In conclusion, I should like to express my sincere gratitude for the advice and assistance so kindly extended to me by Professors P. G. Foote (London), Jón Helgason (Copenhagen) and G. Turville-Petre (Oxford), in the preparation of this article.

⁵²) Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, Book III, Scholion 84: Duobus Hericis in prelio interfectis, Halzstein, filius regis Stenkel, in regnum levatus est. Quo mox depulso, accersitus est Anunder a Ruzzia, et illo nihilominus amoto Sueones elegerunt quendam Haquinem. Iste accepit matrem iuvenis Olaph in matrimonio." (Ed. Werner Trillmich and Rudolf Buchner, Berlin 1961, p. 396).

According to Francis J. Tschan, the Anunder mentioned here is the Inge of the northern sources, the brother of Alstan (Halzstein). Tschan comments further "The matter of Haakon's marriage to Olaf's mother is confused, but probably correct." F. J. Tschan, *Adam of Bremen, History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen. Translated with an introduction and notes*, New York, 1959.

APPENDIX

THE "GERTHR" VERSES OF HARALD HARDRADE

These verses, (which are preserved in their fullest form in the *Morkinskinna*), are written in the *Drottkvaett* or court metre, which consists of a series of couplets, arranged in eight-line stanzas. The couplet is the unit of metre, each line consisting of three stresses, which we may enumerate by A-F:

A x B x C x
D x E x F x

These are interspersed by unstressed syllables, (indicated by x's above, though the arrangement is not necessarily as shown), and are related phonetically according to the following rules:

- Syllable C must form a half-rhyme (consonance) with either A or B;
- Syllable F must form a perfect rhyme with either D or E;
- Syllable D must alliterate with two of A, B and C
- Syllables E and F must *not* alliterate with D.

This basic scheme does not account for many of the minor refinements, but it does make clear the very high degree of technical skill required to write it. It also explains why the Icelandic historians considered scaldic verses a first-rate historical source, since it would be virtually impossible for them to be altered in transmission without its becoming immediately apparent by breakdowns in the prosody.

The present translations are an attempt to render, as faithfully as possible, the effect of the original. The stressed and unstressed syllables, and the alliteration, all fall in the correct places. The rhymes have been reproduced as far as possible, and the vowels, at least behave as they should, but once or twice I have been obliged to "conventionalize" a consonant agreement: v/th, nd/d, in a manner that no Norse scald could have approved. The text used is that accepted by Finnur Jónsson in *Den Norsk-Islandske Skjaldedigtning, København og Kristiana, 1912*.

Found we there the Throned-folk,
Thus in mighty muster;
Fought to finish, battling
Fierce the proud encounter,
Left I young the young king,
Youth slain in fight ruthless,
Yet in Garth-land Gerthr the
Gold-ringed scorns me coldly.

Barque to broad Sikilia
Bound, then went we proudly,
Trim brown skiff, deer-skimmer,
Scudded, heroes under;

Never think I thither
That wastrel would hasten,
Yet in Garth-land Gerthr the
Gold-ringed scorns me coldly.

I, taught in skills eight-fold,
Ygg's mead brew I truly,
Speed with haste when horsed well,
Have at whim gone swimming...

Nor lass nor lady sees us
Lazing upon days when
The order's swift sword-play
Sit in town lately waiting;
Broke we path with pike-tips
Proud signs speak our wreaking,
Yet in Garth-land Gerthr the
Gold-ringed scorns me coldly.

I was born where bows are
Bent by Upland-settlers,
Now with skiff I skim the
Skerries, farmers terror;
Came I far the foam-ways
Flailing, since dared I sailing,
Yet in Garth-land Gerthr the
Gold-ringed scorns me coldly.

NOTES TO THE VERSES

- Stanza 1. This refers to the death of King Olaf in the Battle of Stiklastaðir, against the Thronds.
- Stanza 2. The raid on Sicily. This occurred during Harald's period of service with the Varangians.
- line 3. Reading "bryn" with Morkinskinna, not "brynt" as accepted by Finnur Jónsson. The expression "vengis hiotr" a kenning for "ship" is a crux. The second element however means a "deer" and I have somewhat arbitrarily rendered the first element as "skimmer."
- Stanza 3. This verse has become corrupted by confusion with a similar verse written by Rognvald, Jarl of Orkney.
- line 2. Ygg is a by-name of the god Odin — his "mead" is poetry.
- Stanza 5. Lines 1 and 3 have no half-rhyme in the original.

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MAZEPA or MAZEPPA ?

When the name "Mazepa" is mentioned, most English-speaking people think of Byron's mythical hero rather than of a historical figure¹. The personality and activities of Ivan Mazepa (1639-1709), Hetman² of the Ukraine, his career, his relationship with Peter the Great and the Swedish king Charles XII, and finally his tragic end have been called to the attention of not only contemporary diplomats and historians, but also of poets such as Byron ("Mazeppa"), Hugo ("Les Orientales"), Pushkin ("Poltava"), Ryleyev ("Voynarovsky"), Slowacki ("Mazepa"); and composers such as Liszt, Maurer, Pedrel, Pedrotti, Tschaykovsky; and painters such as Boulanger, Gotschall, and Vernet.

Mazepa's participation on the side of August II of Saxony, King of Poland, in the period 1704-1706, aroused a great deal of interest in him not only in Europe, but also even in America³. His alliance

¹) There are numerous works about Mazepa, just to mention a few, such as: J. Chr. von Engel, *Geschichte der Ukraine und der ukrainischen Kosaken*, etc., Halle 1796; A. Jensen, *Mazepa. Historiska Bilder fran Ukraina och Karl XII:s dagar*, Lund 1909; M. I. Kostomarov, "Mazepa i mazelintsy," *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy*, St. Petersburg 1905, Vol. VI, (first edition 1882-1884); B. Krupnycky, *Hetman Mazepa und Seine Zeit (1687-1709)*, Leipzig 1942; V. Luciw, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa*, New York 1957; Martel Rene- E. Borshchak, *La vie de Mazepa*, Paris 1931; C. J. Nordmann, *Charles XII et l'Ukraine de Mazepa*, Paris 1958; A. Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta yoho doba*, New York-Paris-Toronto 1960; S. M. Soloviev, *Istoriya Rossii s drevneyshikh vremen*, St. Petersburg 1864-1865, Vol. XV, pp. 1484-1530; F. Umanets, *Getman Mazepa*, St. Petersburg 1897.

²) Hetman — literally translated means "Headman," the official title of the Chief Executive of the Ukraine from 1648-1764.

³) For details see my paper "Mazepa in the Light of Contemporary English and American Sources," *The Ukrainian Quarterly* 1959, Vol. XV, No. 4, pp. 346-362.

with the Swedish King and their defeat at Poltava (July 7, 1709), provided not only rich material for the contemporary press and memoirs, but became a historical controversy.

The crux of the controversy is as much Mazepa's character, (selfishness, desire of power, revenge, Machiavellism, etc.), as it is the question of whether or not he invited Charles XII to enter the Ukraine and then failed to give the help he had promised.

One of the first poets who became interested in Mazepa, was Byron, who wrote in 1818 a poem "Mazeppa," describing Mazepa's romantic love affair, which he told to Charles XII during flight after the battle of Poltava⁴.

Ten years later Pushkin wrote a poem, "Poltava," in which he described not only the battle itself, one of the most important for the further historical development of Russia, but also devoted his attention to Mazepa, emphasizing negative attitudes of his character.

However, the purpose of this article is not to discuss Pushkin's "Poltava" and its veracity, which was stressed by John P. Pauls in his research work under the title: "Historicity of Pushkin's Poltava"⁵, but rather to show the correct spelling of Mazepa's name, which was questioned by Pauls. In his work Pauls stated: "...that Hetman Ivan Stepanovych Mazepa used double "p" when signing his name..."⁶ However, this detail does not correspond to the historical fact, as could be proven from Mazepa's available letters bearing his own signature, written with only one "p."

In order to follow a chronological sequence, a document ("pry-siazhnyj lyst" — oath of allegiance) of 1682, reproduced by the very well known Ukrainian historian, Michael Hrushevskyj, in his history of Ukraine, shows that Mazepa's signature contains only one "p"⁷.

Mazepa's signature, as reproduced by another Ukrainian historian, D. N. Bantysh-Kamenskyj, in his work, also has only one "p"⁸.

A Russian historian, Nicholas Ustrialov, published in his history of the reign of Peter I, Mazepa's three letters. In these letters dated March 15, 1690 written to the Polish king Jan III Sobieski, to the Ukrainian Catholic bishop Joseph Shumliansky, and to a monk Solomon, Mazepa's name is spelled with one "p"⁹.

⁴) For details see: Lydia Holubnychy, "Mazepa in Byron's Poem and in History," *The Ukrainian Quarterly* 1959, Vol. XV, No. 4, pp. 336-345.

⁵) John P. Pauls, "Historicity of Pushkin's Poltava," *The Ukrainian Quarterly* 1961, Vol. XVII, No. 3, pp. 230-246, & No. 4, pp. 342-361.

⁶) *The Ukrainian Quarterly* 1961, Vol. XVII, No. 3, p. 230.

⁷) M. Hrushevskyj, *Ilyustrovana Istoriya Ukraïny*, Winnipeg 1918, p. 365.

⁸) D. N. Bantysh-Kamenskyj, *Istoriya Maloy Rossii*, Moscow 1830, Vol. III, appendix.

⁹) N. Ustrialov, *Istoriya tsarstvovaniya Petra Velikogo*, St. Petersburg 1858-1863, Vol. II, pp. 479-482.

In the letter of July 12, 1700 to the magistrate of the city of Danzig (Gdansk), Mazepa also signed his name with one "p"¹⁰.

There are also other letters of Hetman Mazepa, namely, fifty four letters to the Polish voyevoda (commanding general) of the city of Belz, Adam Sieniawski, in the period 1704-1708, bearing Mazepa's own signature, written with one "p." These letters are preserved and were found by a Ukrainian priest, Pavlo Khrushch, in the Archives of the Family Czartoryski in Cracow under No. 5890. P. Khrushch published the text of some above-mentioned Mazepa's letters under the title: "Neznani, oryginalni lysty Hetmana Ivana Mazepy do Adama Sieniavskoho, voyevody belžkoho z 1704-1708 rr.". (Unknown, original Letters of Hetman Ivan Mazepa to Adam Sieniawski, Voyevoda of Belz, in the years 1704-1708)¹¹.

An evident proof of the case may be seen from the facsimile signature of Hetman Mazepa, which is here published for the first time. This signature was written in his own hand, in the letter of August 26, 1704 from his headquarters at Chudniv to the Polish voyevoda of the city of Kalish, Zygmunt Galecki. In this letter, as it could be seen, Mazepa signed his name with only one "p." In two other letters, namely, of July 29, 1704 from the camp at Pavoloch and of August 8, 1704 from the camp of Berdychiv, also to Z. Galecki, Mazepa, signing his name, also used one "p." These three letters were captured by the Swedes in 1704, and are preserved in **Svenska Riksarkivet**, the Swedish State Archives in Stockholm under **Cosacica I**. The text of these letters was published by a Swedish historian, Alfred Jensen, first at **Svenska Autografsaellkapets Tidskrift** 1881, and then in **Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka** under the title "Try lysty Mazepy" (Three Letters of Mazepa)¹².

In the copy of Mazepa's letter of August 14, 1705 to the magistrate of the city of Lviv, which was found by a Ukrainian historian, Stephan Tomashivsky, in the library of the Family Ossolinski in Lviv under No. 1447, Mazepa's signature does not contain a double "p"¹³.

Another evidence that Mazepa used only one "p" in spelling his name, is his undated, but presumably written in 1707, letter to Joseph I, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. This letter is located in **Reichsadelsakten** of the Austrian State Archives in Vienna, and was found by the author of this article. A photostatic copy of it was

¹⁰) A photostatic copy of this letter is in the author's possession.

¹¹) *Analecta Ordinis St. Basilii Magni*, Lviv 1935, Vol. VI, pp. 219-223.

¹²) *Publications of the Shevchenko Scientific Society*, Lviv 1909, Vol. 92, pp. 239-241.

¹³) S. Tomashivskyj, "Nezvistnyy lyst Mazepy do mista L'vova" (Unknown Mazepa's Letter to the City of Lviv), *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, Lviv 1900, Vol. 37, pp. 7-8.



Severyn Boraczok: MADONNA

(See article p. 84)

published in a Ukrainian weekly *Shlyakh Peremohy*, Munich, August 28, 1960, No. 35¹⁴.

It is to be noted that Mazepa's mother's signature as reproduced by a Ukrainian historian, Vasyl Bidnov, in his article "Maria Mahdalyna, maty het'mana Mazepy" (Mary Magdalene, Mother of Hetman Mazepa), also appears with one "p"¹⁵.

A Ukrainian art historian, Volodymyr Sichyn'skyj, reproduced in his paper "Graviury Mazepy. Graviury na chest' Mazepy i gravirovani portrety Het'mana" (Mazepa's copperplates. Copperplates in honour of Mazepa and pictures of the Hetman), a contemporary plate (1708) by Daniel Galakhovsky with the following engraving: "CELSISSIMO & ILLVSTRISSIMO DOMINO D: IOANNI MAZEPA EXERCITVM S: C: M: ZAPOROVIIENSIVM SVPREMO DVCI," etc.¹⁶, where only one "p" is indicated.

In another article, "Slidamy Mazepy u Halychyni" (After the tracks of Mazepa in Galicia), Sichyn'skyj reproduced a dedication in the name of Mazepa by his secretary in August 1705 on the book *Apostol* (a service-book in the Orthodox Church), given to the Monastery of St. Basil the Great (Ordinis St. Basilii Magni) in Verkhtrata, near Rava Ruška, where only one "p" is used¹⁷.

There is sufficient evidence that Mazepa did not sign his name with a double "p"; but as a matter of fact, James Millington had already noted this detail when he was translating into English Viscount E. Melchior de Vogüé's "Mazepa: La legende et l'histoire," *Revue de deux Mondes*, 1881, Vol. 48, pp. 320-351, under the caption **The True Story of Mazepa**. He says: "...I follow the orthography of Western Europe, but the name ought strictly to be written with one "p", Mazepa..."¹⁸

¹⁴) A photostatic copy of Mazepa's letter to Joseph I is also published and evaluated in author's book: *Mazepa im Lichte der zeitgenoessischen deutschen Quellen (Mazepa in the Light of the Contemporary German Sources)*, Munich 1962, pp. 30-32.

¹⁵) *Pratsi Ukrain'skoho Naukovoho Instytutu (Publications of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute*, further quoted as "PUNI"), Warsaw 1938, Vol. 46, p. 51.

¹⁶) PUNI, Vol. 46, p. 150.

¹⁷) PUNI, 1939, Vol. 47, pp. 95-96.

¹⁸) J. Millington, *The True Story of Mazepa*, London 1884, pp. 95-96.

THE ABDUCTION OF ANDRIY VOYNAROVSKY

BY TSAR PETER I

(HAMBURG, 1716)

An Abridgement by V. O. of L. Vynar's book, "Andriy Voynarovsky."

The political methods of the Russian rulers, such as subversion, subversive propaganda, the maintenance of garrisons in the most important towns of the countries to be occupied later on by the Russians, and the abduction of prominent personalities (politicians, high-ranking military officers, ecclesiastical dignitaries, famous scholars, etc.) of these countries, have remained unchanged throughout the centuries. The crimes against humanity which are at present committed by the Russian government and its agents in the West were likewise the usual thing in previous centuries under the tsars. This policy of violence on the part of the Russian rulers towards the neighbours of Russia usually developed into mass-murder, as is clearly proved by the destruction of the Republic of Novgorod as well as massacres in Cossack Ukraine in the past centuries, by the artificially created famine at Stalin's instigation in Ukraine in the 1930's (in which millions of Ukrainians perished), by the mass-murders in the Ukrainian town of Vinnytsia, by the ruthless massacre of Ukrainian intellectuals and patriots (about 3,000) in Lviv (Lemberg) in June 1941, and by the mass-murder of thousands of Polish officers in Katyn, etc.

The centuries-long struggle of Ukraine for its independence and freedom is marked by these inhuman methods on the part of the Russian rulers towards Ukraine, which was the first country to experience what the Central and West Europeans are now personally

experiencing themselves. The fighting methods of Moscow can probably be illustrated most clearly by the tragic case of one of the most outstanding representatives of the Ukrainian liberation movement in the 18th century, Andriy Voynarovsky, who was a nephew of the Ukrainian head of state known in the West, the famous Ukrainian Hetman Ivan Mazepa. We quote a passage from the book "Andriy Voynarovsky" by Liubomyr Vynar, published in Ukrainian by the "Dniprova Khvyliya" Publishing House in Munich, which most aptly characterizes the abduction carried out by Peter I, for two reasons: 1) the abduction of Voynarovsky is one of the most sensational incidents in the centuries-long Russian-Ukrainian life and death struggle, and 2) the case of Voynarovsky clearly proves to West Europe that the vile fighting methods of the Moscow rulers have remained the same as they were in former times.

Voynarovsky's fate was closely connected with the part that he had played in the battle of Poltava (1709), which ended so disastrously for Ukraine and Sweden. In his monograph of Voynarovsky, the author Liubomyr Vynar uses numerous historical sources: German, English, French, Polish, Russian, Swedish and Ukrainian documents, as well as other literature on this subject. In his account of historical facts he gives the reader a picture of the most turbulent years in the history of Ukraine. Hetman Mazepa and his nephew Andriy Voynarovsky — together with other Ukrainian Cossack leaders — made a daring attempt to liberate Ukraine from Russia and to this end they concluded a military alliance with King Charles XII of Sweden against Peter I. Andriy Voynarovsky was assigned the task of acting as liaison officer between the Ukrainian and the Swedish armies. After the victory of the Russian Tsar Peter I over Charles XII and Mazepa at Poltava on July 8, 1709, Voynarovsky withdrew with these two heads of state to the town of Bendery (Bender) in Bessarabia, which at that time was still under Turkish protection. After the death of Mazepa in the same year (October 2, 1709) a close bond of friendship existed between Charles XII and Voynarovsky. The latter was sent to Constantinople by Charles XII and entrusted with the mission of establishing contact with the representatives of England and France and with other diplomats accredited to the Turkish capital, in order to prevent further expansion on the part of Moscow in East and Northeast Europe. In addition, Charles XII and the Ukrainian Cossack leaders were anxious to bring about a coalition with the Turks and with the Crimean Tatars, who to a certain extent were dependent on Istanbul, for the purpose of liberating Ukraine from Russia. Their efforts in this respect were, however, of no avail. Soon afterwards the Swedes and the "Mazepines" ("Mazepyntsi"), the name given to the Ukrainians who had gone into exile with Mazepa, left Turkish territory and later visited the countries of West and

North Europe. Voynarovsky went to Vienna and here he established diplomatic contacts with various influential circles. He subsequently went to the free Hanseatic town of Hamburg, where the fate which Peter I had devised for him eventually befell him.

At that time Russia was extremely anxious to save its prestige, which had suffered considerably in West Europe. To this end the government of Peter I spent exorbitant sums on propaganda abroad. But in spite of this fact the attitude and opinion of the European public as regards the Russia of Peter I continued to be negative and, indeed, hostile. As the Russian Resident at the Hague, Andrey Artemovich Matveyev, stated in those days, he felt most uncomfortable there, for "their affection (i.e. of the Dutch — author's note) is confined solely to compliments, whilst otherwise they behave in a very cool manner towards me." The same attitude was apparent in all the European capitals.

At the beginning of the 18th century Hamburg played an important part in international political life. As has been very aptly affirmed by the outstanding authority on Mazepa, E. Borschchak, who died some years ago, Hamburg became a "centre of all parties and nations" during the so-called Nordic War from 1700-1721 for supremacy in the Baltic. It was in Hamburg that personal contacts were established and political intrigues were hatched; Hamburg was teeming with agents, not to mention spies. For this reason the Russian government began to devote special attention to Hamburg already at the beginning of the 18th century. In 1709 Peter I appointed a German, Friedrich Boetger, to the post of Russian Resident in Hamburg. Boetger was to protect Russia's good name and to prevent all libel and defamation which might harm Russia. At that time Hamburg was definitely pro-Swedish, and the Hamburg press published most unfavourable accounts of Russia and, above all, condemned the ruthless brutality of the Russians. The advent of Mazepa's nephew Voynarovsky in Hamburg undoubtedly aroused the lively interest of political circles in Europe in the political affairs of Ukraine and its fight against Russian tyranny.

In those days the Countess Aurora Maria Königsmark, who was known as "Diana of Saxony," held her salon in Hamburg, where the most influential personalities of Hamburg and guests from elsewhere, diplomats, artists, writers and philosophers, used to meet. The Countess herself played an important part in the political life of those days. On behalf of King August II of Poland, the Countess endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between Charles XII and August, but her efforts proved futile, a fact which prompted Voltaire to compose a satire, in which he affirmed that Charles XII, the conqueror of many hearts and kings, had refused to allow the Countess to enter his court so as not to fall a victim to her seductive charms.

Voynarovsky became acquainted with the Countess soon after his arrival in Hamburg and frequently visited her salon. There he also made the acquaintance of an English diplomat, Lord Matheson, and the two soon became friends. Precisely at that time a turning-point in England's pro-Russian policy and a certain "English orientation" on the part of the Ukrainian emigrants became apparent. Whilst still in Constantinople Voynarovsky had already endeavoured to arouse the interest of the English in Ukrainian affairs, and for this reason he constantly studied England's foreign policy most intently. As Borshchak very rightly points out, the English government was considerably alarmed at Russian expansion, especially as Russian troops were stationed in Mecklenburg and thus represented a threat to Hanover, the hereditary realm of King George I of Great Britain. This fact to a very large extent favourably influenced Anglo-Ukrainian relations. The Russian ambassador to Vienna, Lapchinskiy, complained that the English were doing their utmost to prevent Russia from exerting her power. Some documents which shed light on Voynarovsky's meetings with Lord Matheson in Hamburg have fortunately been preserved. They indicate Voynarovsky's extraordinary diplomatic skill. For instance, Matheson writes as follows to his government: "Yesterday (on September 18, 1716 — author's note) I had a long talk with Mazepa's nephew, Voynarovsky. He gave me an account of the political situation in North Europe and pointed out to me that Your Majesty's interests were endangered by the Tsar. The Tsar as the ruler of Livonia will soon be able to control the whole of North Europe, by which the balance of power there will be shattered for ever. One of the means to weaken the tsarist power would, in Voynarovsky's opinion, be to support the Cossack (Ukrainian — author's note) nation, whose rights and freedoms are being suppressed. England — so Voynarovsky told me — knows quite well what slavery means to a whole nation, especially in this case as the Cossack nation is freedom-loving." Matheson incidentally also added: "Seldom have I met such a cultured and noble-minded man."

Boetger must have been well aware of Voynarovsky's negotiations, for he promptly informed Peter I, who at that time was in Copenhagen, of Voynarovsky's stay and activity in Hamburg.

Voynarovsky did not however have a chance to bring his negotiations with Lord Matheson to a satisfactory conclusion. For Peter I promptly realized how dangerous Voynarovsky's political action might prove and gave orders that Mazepa's nephew was to be seized without delay so as to put a stop to his anti-Russian activity. The subsequent abduction of Voynarovsky caused a considerable stir in all European states and amongst European diplomats. It now became only too evident to them that Moscow was capable of resorting to the most unlawful methods in order to combat opponents whom it regarded as dangerous.

Peter I decided to remove Mazepa's nephew by force. After having been informed by Boetger of Voynarovsky's stay and activity in Hamburg, Peter I immediately held a conference on board his ship. The Russian Ambassador to Denmark, Prince Vasily Dolgorukov, Vice-Chancellor Shafirov and Count Tolstoy, former Russian ambassador to Turkey, were present on this occasion. On September 4th Boetger already received instructions to carry out the abduction of Voynarovsky. The Tsar promised Boetger a reward as well as an annual pension for life of 500 roubles. The Tsar's adjutant, Alexander Rumyantsev, was instructed to assist Boetger in his task. Accompanied by several Russian officers, Rumyantsev arrived in Hamburg during the first half of October. From then onwards the Russian spies began to watch all the movements of the Ukrainian nobleman and patriot, Voynarovsky. A report by Boetger, together with bills for expenses incurred in connection with maintaining the network of Russian spies, has been preserved.¹⁾

On October 12th Voynarovsky, as he was returning home after having lunched at the house of the Countess Königsmark, was treacherously and brutally assaulted and seized by a group of Russian agents, who had been lying in wait for him. Numerous accounts and descriptions of this dreadful case of abduction have been preserved. We only intend to quote the most significant documents on this subject. In our opinion the most credible source of information is an account of this incident which was written the day after the

¹⁾ This report contains the following statements:

"I am employing spies and other persons to shadow Voynarovsky night and day, to watch him all the time, and so that I can be sure that he will not disappear — this has cost me 421 ducats."

"For the period from September 21st to October 12th I paid 56 ducats to Captain Matyushkin and his soldiers, the same sum for the upkeep of their horses, for hay, oats and straw, and for billets. This sum does not include the daily pay of one Reichs taler, which I paid to the dragoons during the time from October 12 to December 5."

"From October 12th to December 5th, 1716, I paid out 140 Reichs taler for hay, straw and oats to feed the horses of the dragoons."

"I paid 336 Reichs taler, that is 6 taler a day for 56 days, during the time from October 12th to December 5th for the accommodation in my house provided for Voynarovsky, for Captain Matyushkin and the lieutenant of the town of Hamburg, who guarded Voynarovsky, including wine, beer, tea, sugar and meals twice a day."

"I paid 7 taler to the Hamburg sentries who assisted in the abduction of Voynarovsky. In addition, they also received from me 34 taler as "tips" for the time from October 16th to December 5th (51 days)."

"Lighting for 56 days cost me 56 taler. I had to spend 112 taler on heating during the same period of time. This makes a total of 867 $\frac{1}{3}$ or 359 ducats."

In addition, Boetger even succeeded in getting his own spy Gallen employed as secretary to Voynarovsky. And Boetger also bribed the chambermaid who looked after the room in which Voynarovsky lived. According to Boetger's calculations, the maintenance of this entire network of spies cost 889.12 gold ducats (specie ducats).

abduction of Voynarovsky and sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Stockholm by the Swedish Ambassador Rotlib from Hamburg. In this report of October 13, 1716, the Ambassador writes as follows²):

"There is now no longer any safety in Hamburg, where — without mentioning previous cases, many of which are known already to Your Excellency, — yesterday afternoon the well-known person of Voynarovsky, the nephew of Mazepa, who was with the King of Sweden in Turkey and who has been here a few months, was in broad daylight seized by the head whilst in a coach and was taken to the house of the Muscovite Resident here as a prisoner. He had lunched at the house of the Countess Königsmark and as he was about to drive home from there through the ABC-Strasse, the Muscovite Resident, who had been lying in wait in a certain house, together with a Hamburg patrol of about 16 men, ran up to the coach as it was driving past and in this way forced him to ride to his house as a prisoner. At the same time 12 Russian dragoons, who had stopped in front of the town-gate, were allowed into the town and are now guarding poor Voynarovsky in the house of the Resident. There is no doubt that he will be extradited to the Tsar and that he will have to face great trouble. A few days ago he was warned on various occasions by many of his good friends to be on his guard against such a misfortune and to go away from here. But he would not listen to their warnings and said he was not a subject of the Tsar and that the Russians could not lawfully hold anything against him. What happens to him further, I shall have the honour to report..."

A similar account of the abduction of Voynarovsky is to be found in the German chronicle of the town of Hamburg. It was however not compiled until some years after Voynarovsky's abduction.³)

Owing to lack of space we shall refrain from quoting other sources in this connection.

The first person to appear before the Hamburg magistracy after the abduction of Voynarovsky was General Veling, the Swedish Ambassador in Hamburg and commander-in-chief of the Swedish troops stationed in Bremen. He demanded the immediate release of Voynarovsky on the grounds that the latter enjoyed the protection of the King of Sweden and held a commission in the Swedish Royal Guards as a colonel. An account of this *démarche* on the part of General Veling is given in a report by the French Ambassador Poussaint, known as a skilled diplomat, which has been preserved in the records of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As can be seen from this account, considerable significance is attached to the

²) This account is translated from the German language of those days.

³) *Chronicles of Hamburg, 1709-1726; Vol. V: An Attempt to set up a reliable record of ecclesiastical and political conditions in the Town of Hamburg*, edited by Steltzner, 1739, pp. 457-460.

fact that Voynarovsky was a colonel of the Swedish army and enjoyed the special protection of Charles XII.

The arrest and abduction of Voynarovsky was now beginning to have unpleasant consequences for the Hamburg magistracy and for the Russians. We should like to quote the opinion and attitude of certain foreign diplomats which characterize the situation at that time.

The Prussian Resident Burhart in Hamburg for instance reported to his sovereign as follows on October 13th:

"With the assistance of the magistracy the local Russian Resident arrested Mazepa's nephew, Voynarovsky, who has been staying here some time, as a Russian vassal and agitator. Against the wish of the magistracy, which had no inkling, the Russian Resident took Voynarovsky to his house and had him put under guard there. The Swedes are demanding Voynarovsky's release, for they affirm that he is a colonel of the Swedish royal army. The magistracy, which had no idea that Voynarovsky was a member of the Swedish army, has been unable to do anything in the matter, since Voynarovsky is guarded by Russian soldiers as a prisoner in the house of the Russian Resident."

The English diplomat Lord Matheson reported to his government in great consternation and indignation that "my friend, Voynarovsky, a most congenial man, has been arrested by the Russian Resident in an abominable manner." Matheson added that he was greatly worried about Voynarovsky's fate.

The French ambassador Poussaint, who was an authority on East European affairs, organized a large-scale campaign in order to effect Voynarovsky's release. Numerous papers sharply criticised the unparalleled impertinence of the Russians.

In reply to the *démarche* on the part of the Swedish government, the Chief Magistrate of Hamburg stated that he would never have given his consent to Voynarovsky's arrest if he had known that he was a high-ranking officer of the Swedish army. But this assurance on the part of the Chief Magistrate came too late. In the meantime General Veling had managed to get in touch with Voynarovsky. The latter gave the Swedish general a protest, which was addressed to the German Emperor, the "Head of the German Empire," to Charles XII, the "Protector of the Cossack nation," to the French "Christian King, who defends legal and moral principles in Europe," and to the English King, the "Friend and Ally of the Swedish King, my benefactor." In this protest Voynarovsky stressed that "even amongst the Turks the right of asylum is inviolable, for which reason the Sultan refused to extradite Mazepa to the Russian Tsar."

Within a week there was a favourable turn in the matter. On October 18th an official intervention was made by representatives of those European powers that were particularly interested in

Voynarovsky's release, to the Hamburg magistracy. Each one of these diplomats expressed his indignation at the violation of the international legal right of asylum for political refugees. Rotlib even threatened that measures of reprisal would be taken against ships from Hamburg in the Swedish ports. An emphatic opinion was expressed by the German diplomat Kurtzrock, who made a categorical statement to the effect that the final decision in this matter rested with the German Emperor.

The Hamburg Senate had meanwhile realized the great indiscretion and error that had been committed and decided to come to Voynarovsky's aid. The main thing was to prevent the Russians from taking Voynarovsky away from Hamburg. Tsar Peter I had meanwhile been following the course of events with the greatest attentiveness and, after hearing of the intervention of the above-mentioned powers, he immediately sent a threatening note to the Hamburg magistracy, to the effect that, if Voynarovsky were not extradited, he himself would come to Hamburg "with a good company" (he was referring to the Russian troops stationed in North Germany — author's note) and "would seek out his vassal and agitator, who had been in command of three regiments in Ukraine and had eventually deserted." This argument was a flagrant lie invented by the Tsar, who in this way was trying to make out that Voynarovsky was one of his subjects who had deserted from the tsarist army. The Hamburg Senate was now in a difficult position, but it nevertheless managed to find a logical way out of the situation. In reply to the constant threats and demands of the Russians, the Senate stated that it was not competent to make a decision as far as the extradition of Voynarovsky was concerned, since it must wait for a recommendation from the German Emperor, who must be regarded as the real ruler of Hamburg. In the meantime Boetger was trying to collect a number of Russian regiments in Hamburg for the purpose of taking Voynarovsky out of the town by force.

It was not long before a reply from the Emperor arrived. On December 2nd the German Ambassador Kurtzrock handed the Hamburg magistracy the following communication from the Emperor:

"His Majesty the Holy Roman Emperor and Our Most Gracious Sovereign has learnt with distress that your Council on the strength of one-sided information has not only allowed the nobleman Voynarovsky, who has sought protection in our territories and has found safe asylum on Imperial soil, to be arrested by your guards but has also handed him over to the Muscovite Resident as a captive in the latter's house.

Just as His Imperial Majesty has never received any complaints against the said Voynarovsky from His Majesty the Tsar, so, too, His Excellency the Imperial Vice-Chancellor has informed the Muscovite

Resident in Vienna of this arbitrary and unusual action in the Holy Roman Empire and has emphasized that if any complaint is to be made against the said nobleman, then, as a point of order, such complaint must be submitted to the Supreme Court of Justice of the Holy Roman Empire.

To this the Muscovite Resident in Vienna, who no doubt knows that one cannot proceed so arbitrarily in the Holy Roman Empire, has sent a modest reply and has promised to refer this matter to higher authorities.

Esteemed Gentlemen, I wish to remind you that this town is a neutral and Imperial frontier town, that neither now nor in future shall you allow yourselves to be subjected to such pressure, 'but shall act in absolute conformity with the principles of Imperial neutrality,' and shall in no way take steps 'to have less qualified persons arrested on the strength of one-sided information,' still less to extradite such persons.

May it please His Imperial Majesty to protect this town in all just and equitable matters, to promote its commerce, so that it always conducts itself courageously in all matters thanks to the grace of His Imperial Majesty.

Hamburg, December 2nd, 1716, His Majesty's Dutiful and Obedient Servant H. H. von Kurtzrock."⁴)

The Emperor's reply thus actually authorized the Hamburg magistracy to refuse to extradite Voynarovsky. Accordingly, the magistracy decided to place Voynarovsky under Kurtzrock's, i.e. the imperial, protection for the time being. In the meantime a message was sent to Peter I in Altona, informing him of the decision of the Hamburg Senate. The delegation of the Hamburg magistracy arrived in Altona, a small town near Hamburg, on December 3rd. The Tsar received the delegation with the threat that he would be obliged to send Sheremetyev to Hamburg with Russian troops.

The matter was further complicated by the arrival of the Tsarina, who was expecting a baby and furthermore intended celebrating her name-day on December 5th in Hamburg.

At this point we should like to quote the Ukrainian authority Borshchak, who made a thorough study of this whole affair and came to the following important conclusions:

"Meanwhile it was the Tsarina's name-day on December 5th and the Tsar had intended holding a sumptuous banquet in Hamburg to celebrate this occasion. But he could not go there before the matter of Voynarovsky had been settled to his — the Tsar's — advantage. The Tsarina was expecting her baby any day, and for this reason she wanted to go to Hamburg in order to have medical attention during her confinement. Hence not only political but also

⁴) This note is preserved in the Hamburg State Archives, No. C1. VII. Lit. Mc. No. 2, vol. 1b.

personal reasons prompted the Tsar to seize Voynarovsky as speedily as possible. All this was facilitated by an unusual plot, to which Mazepa's nephew fell a victim. The reports of the French ambassador enable us to comprehend the outward circumstances which accompanied this plot, but the internal concatenation of the entire affair still remains vague and to a large extent shrouded in mystery.

On December 4th the Tsarina's Mistress of Ceremonies arrived in Hamburg on an official mission, namely to make arrangements for the Tsarina's confinement. Inofficially, however, she was to speed up matters with regard to the Voynarovsky affair. In order to illustrate the methods of the Russians more clearly, we consider it essential to quote a letter written by the Countess Aurora Königsmark to the French Ambassador Poussaint immediately after the Russian Mistress of Ceremonies had visited her.

"Today the Mistress of Ceremonies of the Tsarina visited me and told me that the Tsarina was in a very poor state of health and was expecting her confinement any day now. For this reason it is absolutely necessary that the Tsarina should come to Hamburg, but the Tsar will not hear of such a thing as long as the case of Mr. Voynarovsky has not been settled. The Tsarina is firmly convinced that if Voynarovsky were to go to the Tsar voluntarily and of his own accord, he would not only not be punished but would, moreover, be allowed to settle down in Europe anywhere he liked. As regards his relatives who have been deported to Siberia, they would be allowed to return to Ukraine and their property which has been confiscated would be restored to them. The Tsar only wishes to discuss certain Cossack matters with Voynarovsky. The Mistress of Ceremonies added that it is the Tsarina's name-day tomorrow and he would be particularly well-disposed towards Voynarovsky on this day, since it is so happy an occasion for him and for the entire court. After all these events I look forward to a happy outcome of this matter, which has wearied us all to the point of exhaustion."

It is precisely in this letter, written by Voynarovsky's friend, that the mystery of the tragedy enacted in Hamburg lies concealed. Through his envoy, the Mistress of Ceremonies of the Tsarina, the Tsar had explicitly assured the Countess Königsmark (who was obviously a very good friend of Voynarovsky's) that he was in no danger from the Tsar if he declared of his own free will that he wanted to see the Tsar. The Mistress of Ceremonies even added that the Tsar was anxious to discuss certain "Cossack matters" with Mazepa's nephew, in order to create the impression that this was merely to be a harmless Russian-Ukrainian political talk. But there can be no doubt about the fact that the Tsar had no intention of pardoning Voynarovsky.

But the Countess was not only person who drove Voynarovsky into the Russian trap. On December 18th, that is to say after the

event, the above-mentioned indefatigable French ambassador wrote to Versailles as follows:

"I have been informed that the circumstances to which the unfortunate Voynarovsky has fallen a victim are most mysterious. In the name of the Tsar the Danish and Saxon envoys have promised him a complete pardon for his relatives and the inviolability of his own freedom if he appears of his own free will before the Tsar, who allegedly only wishes to discuss the affairs of Ukraine with Voynarovsky."

In the reports by Hagedorn and Loosena (the Danish and the Saxon envoys) which have been published so far, there is no mention whatever of the matter of which the French ambassador writes. In spite of this fact, however, we assume that Poussaint would hardly have passed on such important news to Versailles if he had not previously made quite sure that it was authentic. Incidentally, the reports on this matter, which interested the people of Hamburg so profoundly, were fairly recent. It can be assumed that the foreign diplomats who undertook the *démarche* on Voynarovsky's behalf were firmly convinced that the Ukrainian nobleman would be pardoned. Nothing definite can now be said as to whether these diplomats received the Russian Mistress of Ceremonies, or whether the proposals of the Tsar were conveyed to the diplomats in some other way. Nor do we know whether the two diplomats conveyed the above-mentioned proposals personally to Voynarovsky, or through some other person, possibly through the Countess Königsmark.

But in any case — and this is the most important point about the whole affair — Voynarovsky believed all this talk, even though he must have been well aware of the true nature of Russian promises. There are, however, no documents available to shed light on the mental process which prompted Voynarovsky to believe in the possibility of his being pardoned by the Tsar.

On December 5th the people of Hamburg learnt to their great surprise that Voynarovsky himself had requested the Hamburg magistracy and Senate to extradite him to the Tsar. Voynarovsky's request was categorical and was worded as follows: "Since the name-day of Her Imperial Majesty is being celebrated today, I request the Most Honourable Senate and Magistracy to take me to the Tsar. I wish to ask the Tsar's forgiveness and I hope that in view of this day of great celebration His Imperial Majesty will give me his pardon."

Naturally, the magistracy was extremely pleased at this solution to a situation in which it had been involved for the past six weeks.

Thus ended Voynarovsky's life as a free person and Ukrainian political emigre. A new chapter of his life in Russian prisons and in exile had now begun. It can be assumed that the Countess

Königsmark — either knowingly or unknowingly — became the tool of the Russian plot. In all probability she had most influence on Voynarovsky's decision. But this unpremeditated step on the part of this Ukrainian nobleman will always remain one of the most interesting riddles in history.

In Russian Prisons and in Exile

Boetger, together with a strong guard, immediately took Voynarovsky to Altona, where the Tsar was in residence. That same day (December 5th) the Tsar received him in audience in a fairly friendly manner. But three days later he was taken to the Russian headquarters at Beissenburg, where he was subjected to the first tortures.

Russian tactics have remained the same throughout the centuries; before the European forum the Tsar created the impression that Voynarovsky had been pardoned, but in reality he had been handed over to the Russian hangmen. As Sweden was only too well acquainted with the Russians' juridical methods, it endeavoured through its representative, General Veling, to remove Voynarovsky from the tsarist jurisdiction at all costs. On December 15th Veling already handed the Hamburg magistracy a note of protest, in which he most sharply criticized the extradition of Voynarovsky to the Tsar.

On December 30th Boetger on his part and in the name of the Tsar handed the Hamburg magistracy a special memorandum, in which he tried to make out that Voynarovsky was a subject of the Tsar and, incidentally, that he had been pardoned.

From Beissenburg Voynarovsky was taken to the "Dömnitz" fortress in Mecklenburg, but little could be ascertained about this period of his captivity.

The Russians did their utmost to make the forcible abduction of Voynarovsky appear in as favourable a light as possible and sought to influence the European press in this direction. But, with the exception of the well-known European organ "Theatrum Europaeum" (1716), they were not very successful in this respect.

Prof. Ohloblyn is of the opinion that the Tsar hoped to learn various secrets from Voynarovsky. Peter I was above all interested in the following questions: 1) he wanted to learn more details about Sweden's activity and plans; 2) the relations and contacts between the Ukrainian emigrés and their native country were of particular interest to the Tsar, since there was considerable opposition in Ukraine to his regime. And in addition, the Tsar intended shattering all the hopes of the Ukrainians of a hetman who was a close relative of Mazepa, by arresting and deporting Voynarovsky.

The exact date on which Voynarovsky was taken to the fortress of SS. Peter and Paul (where he was imprisoned for more than

5 years) is not known to us. But a letter written by his faithful servant, Andriy Yakubovsky, to Voynarovsky's wife Hanna, who was living in Germany, which is dated October 11, 1723, states that Voynarovsky was about to be sent to Siberia. In a previous letter dated August 21st, Yakubovsky mentions the fact that Voynarovsky is guarded so closely and under such strict surveillance that one can hardly speak a word to him. And he adds in this letter, which is also addressed to Voynarovsky's wife, Hanna: "We should be better off amongst the heathens and the Turks... than here. The people here know no pity, for they treat my master and me most cruelly. Even the dogs enjoy more freedom than we do, for they are at least treated better than we are. My master would rather go begging somewhere else than live in this misery." Hanna Voynarovska sent her husband a parcel containing shirts, boots and other necessary articles. These articles Yakubovsky then sold in order to help his master in his indescribable need with the money obtained in this way.

In a letter of October 18, 1723, a Swede, Anders Hellenberg informed the King of Sweden that Voynarovsky was about to be deported to Siberia and begged the King to help Voynarovsky in his great need and distress.

Meanwhile Peter I had decided to have Voynarovsky deported as soon as possible to Yakutsk in remote Siberia, where he would be completely isolated from all human civilization. Here he would be doomed to death, for since he was used to the warm climate of Ukraine he would not be able to survive the severe climate of northeast Siberia for long.

Voynarovsky spent about 16 years in this barren and desolate region in the extreme north of Russia. In vain he waited for the "Emperor's pardon" and his release. Reliable historical documents on this last chapter in the life of Voynarovsky are, however, not available, and the only information we have in this respect is very meagre and vague.

The Russian poet and revolutionary Kondrat Ryleyev (1795-1826), for instance, in his poem "Voynarovsky" very realistically and successfully portrayed Voynarovsky's mood and emotions in the desolate and deserted region of Yakutsk. The poet stresses that hardly anyone ever visits the prison in snowbound Yakutsk. In this icy climate and amidst the primitive Yakut people the days drag on interminably. Once or twice a year criminals, broken in body and soul, are brought here by heavy military escorts. The only occasions on which there is any liveliness in Yakutsk are the rare visits of merchants from Moscow who come here to buy furs.

In 1737 the scholar G. F. Miller (of German origin) travelled through Yakutsk on a commission for the Russian Academy of Sciences. On this occasion he "came across" Andriy Voynarovsky

in his dismal exile. This was the last news of Voynarovsky. It is generally assumed that by 1740 he was no longer alive.

In 1828 the well-known German physicist Erman Georg Adoler (1806-1877) visited Yakutsk, where he made the acquaintance of the writer and Decembrist Alexander Bestuzhev-Marlinskiy, who from 1827-1829 was in exile. K. Ryleyev heard of this. And this prompted the famous German poet Adalbert Chamisso (1781-1838), who was a friend of Adoler, to translate Ryleyev's poem "Voynarovsky."

In a letter of November 23, 1833, Bestuzhev mentions the fact that nothing is known of the whereabouts of any grave in which Voynarovsky was buried (in Yakutsk — author's note). But he does, however, refer to the settlement of Yarmonka on the opposite bank of the River Lena to Yakutsk, where there must have been a "yurta" (a primitive hut) in which Voynarovsky lived.

Thus, there no longer existed any material traces of Voynarovsky by the beginning of the 19th century. All that was known about him by that time was based on hearsay.

At the time of Voynarovsky's abduction his two children — a son, Stanyslav, and a daughter, Eleonore — were living with their mother, Hanna, in Silesia. She eventually went to live in Sweden in order to request Charles XII to repay the considerable sums of money which he had received from the Ukrainian treasury in Bendery (in 1709). In addition, she also appealed to the King of Sweden to take steps to effect the liberation of her husband. According to Jensen, there are more than 70 letters and petitions, etc., written by Hanna Voynarovska in Latin, German, French and Swedish, in the Swedish state archives.

After a time Hanna Voynarovska was given a beautiful castle on Lake Mälär, a considerable sum of money and also a house in Stockholm. In this way she was able to give her children a good education, but unfortunately she was not able to help her husband in exile.

Voynarovsky's son Stanyslav studied at various European universities, including Breslau and Linz, where he studied law. For a time he lived in Sweden. From 1739-1742 he studied in Strasbourg, but he eventually went back to Sweden, where he had many friends and acquaintances, for good. His sister Eleonore is said to have married a Swedish nobleman.

The descendants of the Voynarovsky family later lived in Galicia. One of the most famous was the Rev. Tyt Evhen Voynarovsky-Stolobut (1856-1938), who was greatly esteemed amongst the Ukrainians in Galicia as a great Ukrainian patriot.

At present there is a descendant of Voynarovsky's living in Vienna: the architect Johann Wojnarowsky, and his wife Claudia and their son Franz, who is a doctor of law and also an architect.

Prof. Dr. Volodymyr Starosolsky

Fundamentals of Russian Imperialism

There is frequently a tendency in the West to affirm that Russian imperialism must not by any means be identified with the Russian people, since the advocate and representative of this imperialism is solely "the government," the "ruling class of leaders," "the tsarist regime," "the system which predominates in the USSR," "the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," "the government of the USSR," etc., — that is to say by no means the Russian nation. In all these cases the basic adjective "Russian" is systematically omitted.

In order to refute these arguments we should like to quote the views on this subject which have been expressed by the outstanding Ukrainian political thinker, sociologist and theoretician of national problems, Professor Dr. Volodymyr Starosolsky, in his excellent "Theory of the Nation," which was published by the press of the Ukrainian Sociological Institute in Vienna in 1922. Here, Prof. Starosolsky, who was one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, affirms that Russian messianism and imperialism have originated out of a genuine national source, namely the subjective state of the Russian national community, and must be regarded as a phenomenon of the latter's spontaneous aims.

Volodymyr Starosolsky was arrested by the Russian Bolshevik government in Lviv in the autumn of 1939 and was deported to Kazakhstan. He died in Russian captivity in Mariinsk on February 25, 1942. Below we quote some of his views.

The Editor

* * *

National messianism in recent times asserted itself in a new form and with new vehemence in a country where, from the point of view of abstract logic, one would least of all have expected it, namely in revolutionary Russia.

Its appearance is so characteristic that it can be quoted as a typical example of the manner in which national feelings continue to develop spontaneously: its true character always asserts itself in spite of the conscious will and definite aims of the nation. Never has the rational conception of the political movement been able to detach itself as completely from its psychical content as the ideology

adopted by the Russian revolution could from the psychology of national messianism. The French Revolution proclaimed the rights of the peoples and regarded the nation as the champion and representative of these rights, for which it fought (national sovereignty), and as a hero of the revolutionary fight. The Russian revolution, on the other hand, based its ideology on the rights of the workers in the whole world, and hence recognized these persons, the world proletariat, as its hero. This hero of the Russian revolution is a logical negation of the idea of a "nation" as a compact, subjective unit. From the logical aspect the ideology of the social world revolution divides mankind not into nations but into fighting classes. Irrespective of national frontiers, each of these classes belongs to the homogeneous world community. Logically such a conception would only be applicable to a psychical expression of the class struggle and not of national messianism. The fact that this has not been the case is proof of the invincible force of national spontaneity. For this is by no means solely dependent on formal and rational logic; it is merely an expression of those forces which, in keeping with the laws of collective psychology, are casually related. It is precisely for this reason that the national messianism of the Russian revolution is particularly interesting and deserves to be examined more closely.

By virtue of its political watchwords revolutionary Russia systematically severed all connections with the past: one of its first actions was a refusal to consider the feelings and sentiments of the old "national" Russia, including all its wishes and aims. "Comrade, hold your rifle firmly, — we shall fire a bullet through the head of the holy Rus'" (Russia is meant by Rus' here, — translator's note.), — this was the watchword which was instilled into the first soldiers of the Red Army and was the dominating rule of conduct during the early years of the Russian revolution. Not only had the old Russian national community, as a result of an incessant biological process, spontaneously refused to allow itself to be crushed by the blows of the revolution, but it had, moreover, undoubtedly consolidated its strength, intensified its self-confidence, and developed an unexpected energy. The revolutionary messianism with which the works of the leading poets of the Russian revolution (and poetry is a direct and therefore the most sincere and genuine expression of actual feelings and sentiments) are permeated, is, as far as its character is concerned, national and sincere. In this respect there can be no doubts whatever.

Yesenin, for instance, also enthuses about Russia in his "Triptych", which was published by the "Scythian" press in 1920 (page 8). He calls the Russians the huntsmen of the universe who aim to reach the sky. His work is nothing but a eulogy in praise of the chosen Russian people.

Similar views are expressed by Klyuyev: he dreams of the day when Russia will rule China and Europe, the north and the south (in his "Song of the Sun-bearers" published in the "Scythian" press in 1920, page 7).

Russia is here and there and everywhere, — a centre and pivot of events in the world, the Messiah of the world, the advocate and representative of new truths and of a new order not only for itself but also for all the peoples.

A. Byelyy probably expresses his opinion, or rather his belief, most clearly. In his poem "The Fatherland" ("Rodina") he affirms: "O spontaneity which bursts into flame — rage and burn me — Russia, Russia, Russia, thou Messiah of the coming day." The same poet dedicates the following words to Russia in his poem "Christ Is Arisen": "Russia — my country, thou art like a woman kissed by the sun, a woman admired by all, — I see thee, my Russia, the chosen one of God and the slayer of dragons..." ("Khristos Voskrese," published in the "Scythian" press in 1920, page 57).

In the poem "The Scythians" ("Skify") by A. Blok the national messianism of the Russians is expressed in the form of a particularly marked national messianism, which clearly has the outlines of a definite national imperialism. Russia, which stands at the point of contact of two worlds, Europe and Asia, will decide the ultimate issue of the centuries-old struggle between these two worlds. The theme of Blok's poem is a Russia which has this special mission. Blok does not, however, raise the question as to how Russia is going to fulfil this mission. He is not in the least concerned with this problem; it is all the same to him how Russia achieves this task. The only thing that is of decisive importance in his opinion is the fact that Russia has been predestined to hold the fate of the whole world in its hands and that Russia is invincible. This poem by Blok opens as follows:

"You number millions — but we are infinite hosts —
Do not dare to engage in a struggle with us!
We are indeed Scythians — and quite rightly we are Asiatics,
Greedy and slit-eyed!"

The essential quality of this poem is based not on historiography but on the threats expressed in the above lines. This is in other words a challenge to Europe, — a challenge which is dictated by the feeling of Russian separateness, by the consciousness that Russia exists as a special subjective entirety, and by the conviction that Russia is invincible. The "Scythians" are a spontaneous manifestation of the spontaneous vitality of the Russian national community; they are the voice of the Russian nation.

That messianism is the decisive trend amongst the leading poets of the Russian revolution is also stressed by the critic Ivanov-

Razumnik in an article which bears the characteristic title "Russia and Ionia" ("Rossiya i Ioniya," published in the "Scythian" press in 1920). In this article and even more so in his article "The Test in Storm and Tempest" ("Ispytaniye v groze i bure," also published in the "Scythian" press), Ivanov-Razumnik becomes the advocate of the doctrine of Russia as the Messiah. The second article in particular is of especial interest. Here the author discusses the origin of the thoughts expressed by the above-mentioned poets. We are above all interested in the origin of the "Scythians." Ivanov-Razumnik is quite correct in his opinion regarding the source from which the "Scythians" originated. It is the same source which inspired Pushkin to write "The Defamers of Russia," which Tyutchev dipped into, and which inspired Vladimir Solovyov to compose "Pan-Mongolism," "The Dragon" and "Three Talks" ("Ispytaniye," p. 23 et seq.). Yes, the same source, irrespective of all the differences caused by changing circumstances.

"Two enemies confront each other: the Russian "Scythian" and the European citizen, the new Russia and the old Europe. If Russia has a mission to fulfil, then it is the following: Russia must destroy the old world of Europe from within by means of its "Scythian element," by its intellectual and social "maximalism"; it must achieve what the ancient world achieved in the opposite direction by means of the intellectual and social maximalism of Christianity. The ancient world penetrated this "barbarism" and destroyed it from within; but it made Christianity commonplace and narrow-minded. It is now the turn of the new Russia to fulfil its mission by impregnating the old "world of culture" with the spirit of maximalism" ("Ispytaniye," p. 37). Thus the said critic implements the train of thought of the Russian poets. True, he also stresses that both the "Scythians" and also the "citizens" are of international and in fact of purely national origin, from which the entire Russian messianism has been derived. In character this messianism has always remained the same throughout the past century in spite of changed and completely altered circumstances. And it is precisely this fact which clearly proves that Russian messianism is by no means determined by the above circumstances or by reason and intellect; it has its origin in the subjective state of the Russian community; it is an expression of the irrational, spontaneous will of this community.

Dr. Franz Grobauer

I MET ARCHBISHOP SLIPYJ IN A SIBERIAN PRISON CAMP

A former Austrian prisoner-of-war, Dr. Franz Grobauer, made the acquaintance of the Ukrainian Metropolitan Joseph Slipyj in a prison-camp in Northern Siberia and shared not only barrack life with him but even a bed.

On Archbishop Slipyj's release, Dr. Grobauer wrote an eyewitness report in the Vienna newspaper "Neues Österreich." Below we print an abridged version of his account.

There was a violent jolt, and the train slowly came to a stop. Excited cries and hurrying footsteps became audible. Outside, someone shouted an order; the heavy door of the cattle truck was slid back. A gang of soldiers (political militia) jumped out into the darkness of the icy winter night.

The tramp through the deep snow-field was extremely difficult and exhausting. Again and again one or other of my fellow-prisoners, all of whom were emaciated, sank down into the snow, and I was in no better form myself. Months of moving from camp to camp in this God-forsaken northern land, after two and a half years of grinding solitary confinement, had seriously undermined my health and powers of resistance.

With nothing but straw shoes on my feet I fought my way grimly through the masses of snow. A few yards away from me yet another man collapsed; a guard went up to him at once and, standing over him, proceeded to prod him with the butt of his rifle. Exhausted though he was, the man tried to get up, only to collapse once more. With difficulty I ploughed my way through the snow to him, took hold of his arm, and with my other hand dragged his belongings behind us. We were eventually told to halt in front of a wooden hut; here it was to be decided which of the prisoners were to be sent straight to camp and which of them were to be put into hospital for the time being.

My companion

Although the so-called "meat inspection" was only superficial, it took a long time, and while we waited for our turn I was able to get acquainted with my new companion and fellow-sufferer. His dignified appearance and his beard, which at that time was almost grey, led me to conjecture that he was a priest. And this assumption proved to be correct.

After some hesitation he admitted that he was the Archbishop of Lviv, Joseph Slipyj. The exertions of the dreadful journey had made him seem much older than he really was. Weary to the point of exhaustion, he sat on his haversack and, like the rest of us, waited for the next few hours to decide his fate.

Suddenly the door flew open, and two grim-looking young men appeared on the scene. They made a careful search of the room, and finally their gaze fell on the Archbishop, who was still sitting on his haversack. They rushed up to him, but before we realized what was happening they had both gone out of the room again — and with them the Archbishop's belongings. He himself was lying on the floor, and blood was dripping from his nose and mouth.

He had hardly managed to get up again, when his name was called out, together with mine. Both of us were to be put in the sick-bay for the time being. We agreed that luck was indeed with us, for although it was only the beginning of November, the thermometer already registered 40 degrees (Centigrade) below zero. And to have had to live in the wretchedly inadequate camps at that time of the year would have been a real martyrdom.

The sick-bay

But when we opened the door of the sick-bay we stood rooted to the ground, for a dreadful sight met our eyes. Stark naked, the inmates, all of whom were so emaciated that they were nothing but skin and bones, were slowly moving through the long room. We were still watching this strange scene when a bowed figure draped in blankets came up to the Archbishop and embraced him. I was introduced to him; his name was Nicholas A. Charnetsky and, like Archbishop Slipyj, he too came from Galicia and was a bishop of the Uniate Church.

On Friday — and it was a Friday when we arrived in Inta — all hospital clothing was collected. These garments consisted not of at least a shirt and long trousers, as are usually worn by hospital inmates in our part of the world, but solely of swimming-shorts and sports-vests, — and this form of attire on bloodless, emaciated bodies in the icy coldness of the far North! Next day, after the sauna (steam bath) each man was given a fresh set of shorts and vest — clean, though damp — to put on.

A Ukrainian doctor, who was of course also a fellow-prisoner, allocated the Archbishop — and myself, at the latter's request — to the Bishop's bed. For months the three of us shared this bunk, with myself in the middle, the Metropolitan on my left, and the Bishop on my right.

Easter

I was the youngest of the three of us, but had been sentenced to the longest term, namely ten years penal servitude. The Archbishop had been sentenced to eight years, the Bishop to six years penal servitude. Both of them had been sentenced under Paragraph 54/1b, section 10, of the notorious Ukrainian law regarding "agitation" against the Soviet regime. Indeed, the many priests whom I met in Soviet prisons and penal labour camps had all been sentenced for offending against this law.

One of these priests I remember particularly well. He was a simple country priest from Carpatho-Ukraine. We were prisoners together in a "silence" camp. On one of our free Sundays, when the prisoners had just assembled for roll-call in the yard, this priest suddenly strode into the centre of the yard, and, bringing out a home-made wooden cross from beneath his coat, held it up and called out in a loud voice: "Christ is risen! He is truly risen!" Apart from himself, none of the prisoners had realized that it was Easter Sunday. But hardly had the prisoners heard this impressive announcement of the Resurrection when the camp guards hurled themselves on the puny figure of this courageous priest and proceeded to kick and beat him and drag him away to the cells.

A few days after my arrival in Inta a third prelate from Galicia joined our group. Although he was nearly 80 and could hardly walk, he had been dragged to the camp in Inta all the way from Lviv. His name was Hradiuk; he was the Provincial of the ancient Order of St. Basil and a courageous opponent of Stalinism. For this reason he had been sentenced to ten years imprisonment.

Treasured memories

I looked after this poor, helpless old man as best as I could, and he often asked me to talk to him about Vienna and Austria. His tired eyes would then light up, and in a tremulous voice he would assure me that he had once been an Austrian and, at heart, had always remained one.

Far more interesting than my talks with the Provincial were those which I had with the Archbishop and the Bishop. Archbishop Slipyj had an extremely keen mind. Sometimes he would talk of his student days in Innsbruck and would gratefully remember various teachers. And he always spoke most fondly of Austria. More than 15 years

earlier, Archbishop Slipyj had worked on behalf of (or "interceded for") the intentions of the Vatican Council. Even at that time, close collaboration between the Eastern Churches had seemed to him to be of vital importance. But never for a moment did he deny his great love for his Ukrainian homeland and for its inhabitants.

The Russian Communists feared the Ukrainian Metropolitan even in captivity and never ceased to spy on him. Even in the sick-bay there were questionable characters amongst the prisoners who had been put there by the secret police for the purpose of inducing certain inmates to talk and of listening to their conversation. But we frustrated their intentions in this respect, for none of these fellows knew Latin, whereas the priests and I did.

Whenever one of these spies was near, we only conversed in the language of Cicero. So some of them tried sham piety on the priests and successfully deceived the Bishop, who was very affable and easy to approach. He was too gullible; he blessed the scoundrels, consecrated their home-made rosaries and never noticed that they were robbing him. On one occasion one of these rogues noticed that the Archbishop wore a gold cross under his shirt. It was not long before a carefully planned attack on him was carried out and he was robbed of his gold cross.

One day the Archbishop, who was constantly running a high temperature and happened to be feeling worse than usual on this particular day, asked me to fetch a parcel which had arrived for him. As I was walking down the corridor, someone suddenly threw a sack over my head and tore the package out of my hand. Hours later we found the small linen bag in the snow outside the hut. All it contained was greasy paper, loose grains of semolina, oats and buckwheat — and a small paper bag. This contained some dried grapes, and the thief must have overlooked it as it was right at the bottom of the linen bag.

When the long nights began to recede in the land of the midnight sun and the slave-drivers drove their prisoners to work once more, the hour of farewell came. The Archbishop and the Bishop accompanied me as far as the fence which separated the sick-bay from the desolate tundra. A last embrace, an affectionate handshake, and I said farewell, for they both remained behind. Never was I to meet them again on my long pilgrimage through that vale of sorrow and suffering, the labour camps and penitentiaries of the Soviet Union.

Dr. J. Senkiv

Introduction of the Slav Liturgy in Eastern Europe

After friendly relations had been established between Great Prince Volodymyr and the Byzantine imperial court, Ruś-Ukraine, where Christianity had long been widespread in the upper classes of society, was officially Christianized according to the Byzantine rites in the year 988. Byzantine, Western Slav and Bulgarian missionaries, who introduced the established Slav liturgy in oral and written form in all the towns of the Balkan Slavs, now came to Ruś-Ukraine. Kyiv, the capital of the great Ruś state at that time, became the missionary town of Slav Christianity in the whole of Eastern Europe. Magnificent churches, monasteries and palaces were built there in the Byzantine style, and schools were founded, in which the old ecclesiastical Slav language was taught and liturgical music, which in Ruś-Ukraine reached a high degree of excellence (Kyivan chants), was cultivated. Once Christianity had been introduced in Ruś-Ukraine a lively literary activity began there. Not only were books introduced from Constantinople, Bulgaria and Bohemia copied in the monasteries of Ruś-Ukraine, they were also translated, and new books were written. A considerable number of literary sources written in the old ecclesiastical Slav language and dating from the Middle Ages have been preserved to this day. An extremely valuable manuscript of the Kyivan literary school of the 11th century is the Cyrillic Gospel and Glagolitic Missal.

From Kyiv the Slav liturgy and scriptures spread via White Ruthenia to the north (Novgorod) and far to the north-east, where the Russian empire later developed out of the Russian principality of Moscow. In the course of time Moscow became a stronghold of the orthodox faith of a specifically Russian character. The Slav liturgy and scriptures became a decisive factor in the development of the Russian language, literature and culture.

In the 17th century Ukraine once more became an important political and cultural centre in Eastern Europe. It established close relations with the Occident. West European baroque music, architecture and literature were introduced in Ukraine to an ever-increasing degree. Under the auspices of the Kyivan Metropolitan P. Mohyla a lively pedagogical and literary activity now asserted

itself throughout Ukraine. A famous translation of the Holy Scriptures appeared in the West Ukrainian town of Ostroh, and in 1619 a Ukrainian, M. Smotrytsky, wrote a grammar of the old ecclesiastical Slav language, which soon spread widely amongst the Balkan Slavs.

The old ecclesiastical Slav language predominated in practically all spheres of public life in Eastern Europe until well on into the 18th century. During certain eras it ranked as the official state language in Ukraine, Russia, and even in Lithuania. By degrees, however, it lost its original character as a result of the influence of the national colloquial languages. It was Ukrainized in Ukraine and Russified in Russia, until it finally came to be regarded as a largely unintelligible and dead language and its use was restricted to the Church.

In Russia Lomonosov liberated the Russian language from the influence of the old ecclesiastical Slav language in about the year 1755. In all the Russian Orthodox churches, however, it has been retained up to the present day. In Ukraine the transition from the old ecclesiastical Slav language to a living Ukrainian national language was effected by the Ukrainian poet Kotlyarevsky in 1798. With his travesty of the "Aeneid" he transformed the colloquial Ukrainian language into a literary language. Since 1918 the Ukrainian language has been used as the approved ecclesiastical language in the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. The old Slav liturgy has gradually been replaced by the Ukrainian liturgy in use in the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in those countries which are outside the Russian sphere of influence.

The Byzantine liturgy in the old Slav language, which was approved and sanctified by Rome 1100 years ago is today supported and furthered by the Roman Catholic Church among the Ukrainians of the Eastern rite who are in union with Rome and have their own Ukrainian Catholic Church. This union between a part of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and Rome took place in Berestya (Brest-Litovsk) in 1596.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church which uses old Slav language with Ukrainian pronunciation in liturgy, enjoys a far-reaching autonomy. Apart from its own liturgy according to the Byzantine rite, it has its own hierarchy, its own canon law, fasting and feast days according to the old Julian calendar, the Eucharist in both forms and marriage in the priesthood. As regards its traditions the Ukrainian Catholic Church is Eastern in character, but it is nevertheless closely connected with the Occident. It represents an intermediate form of East European Catholicism. Today its faithful include not only Ukrainians but also members of other nations.

Adeline Cymbalisty

LESYA UKRAINKA

In 1963 the Ukrainians commemorate and honour Lesya Ukrainka, one of the outstanding modern Ukrainian poets and the greatest Ukrainian poetess. It is just fifty years ago that she died at the early age of 42, and in that short span of years, most of which were spent in illness and suffering, she produced some of the finest poems to be found in Ukrainian literature. In her lyrical way Lesya Ukrainka left us an unequalled example of a strong spirit which she so well expressed in her poem 'Contra Spem Spero.' Among the world's poets there are few women who can be regarded as great. All women therefore have reason to be proud of the fact that such optimistic words in the face of hopelessness as came from Lesya, should have come from a woman poet.

Born Larýsa Kosách into a family of the Ukrainian upper classes which valued and endeavoured to retain its national culture, Lesya Ukrainka's childhood was a happy one. The woodlands of Volhynia which surrounded her home impressed their beauty and mystery upon her, and she was to draw deeply on this later when she came to write her great drama, 'Forest Song.'

Like most people, Lesya too was open to external influences that contributed towards enriching her poetical soul. But the greatest influence on her during these early formative years was without doubt her mother. Sister of the Ukrainian scholar and professor Michael Drahomaniv, and herself a writer, she cultivated her daughter's bent towards literature; encouraged her and corrected her work, conducting her education in Ukrainian. Thus from her mother she learned the language of her people with its richness of expression, and under her mother's guidance she started her valuable collection of Ukrainian folk-songs. She was hardly twelve when she wrote her first poem for publication under the pen-name Lesya Ukrainka, a name invented by her mother and meaning literally 'Lesya of Ukraine.' Thus the name for a poet was born and from that time no other was used. Apart from a thorough grounding in her own language Lesya studied foreign languages and their literatures and eventually mastered Russian, French, German, Italian and English as well as the Latin and Greek classics. The wealth of European literature was opened up to her, and gave her great advantages over other Ukrainian poets.

But tragedy had struck. At the age of twelve she developed tuberculosis and was no longer able to take part in normal activities. For her remaining years she was to seek for health, travelling abroad

to warmer climates, and while searching for a respite from her illness she continued to write. Between bouts of fever; between periods of travelling and times of depression some of her finest dramatic poems were put on paper.

These were the terrible personal difficulties which beset the poet, but there were others and they were political. Ukraine enjoyed no freedom, the last remnants of which had been wiped out by Imperial Russia. The Ukrainian language had been reduced mostly to colloquial use and it was only when Ivan Kotlyarevsky wrote his 'Aeneid' in Ukrainian and was followed by the mighty Taras Shevchenko that the beauty and the dignity of the language was appreciated again. From this time modern Ukrainian literature developed, but when Lesya Ukrainka was five years old a law was passed forbidding the printing of books in the Ukrainian language within the territory of the Russian Empire. To overcome this, Ukrainian writers were forced to have their works printed and published abroad or in Western Ukraine which was part of the Austrian Empire. Lesya, who was forced to spend long periods away from her homeland was aware on her frequent returns to it, of the oppression imposed by the Tsarist government, which was determined to blot out any feeling of Ukrainian national consciousness. It is characteristic of Lesya, and here she differs from most Ukrainian poets, that few of her works dealt directly with Ukrainian questions and material, and this is very probably because of her desire to write freely about the things which most interested her. But she wrote of love of country and sacrifice; of the need for justice and mercy, and without mentioning her own country by name, by analogy she clearly wrote about its problems.

It is interesting to note a certain similarity both in life and in poetical themes between Lesya Ukrainka and the English poetess Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Living in the early 19th century she too was something of a prodigy, beginning her epic poem, 'The Battle of Marathon' at the age of eleven and having it published when she was fourteen. Like Lesya she too studied foreign languages; was deeply read in Latin and Greek, and at fifteen was struck down with the same terrible illness. Conditions made a normal life impossible for both these poets. Each was turned in upon herself, and each led a life of the intellect. To both was given hatred of oppression and tyranny, and social-humanitarian themes played an important part in their works. Both were extremely sensitive to the beauties of nature, and from both women a strong spirit exacted an enormous output from a weak body. But whereas Elizabeth Browning enjoyed the liberties of a free country this was not so with Lesya Ukrainka. Thus the English poet was concerned with the social evils of her day, while Lesya Ukrainka dealt with national problems. Elizabeth Browning poured out her feelings against the employment

of children in mines and factories in her poem, 'Cry of the Children,' and against slavery in, 'The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point'; Lesya's 'The Babylonian Captivity' and 'Orgy' wrote of bondage and slavery, and oppression of national culture by foreign conquerors. It is not difficult to see that in the poem, 'Robert Bruce the King of Scotland,' the poem in which, six times defeated by the English, Robert Bruce calls his people to arms again to fight for freedom, Lesya saw her own country and people and sought to exhort them in their struggle.

There are indications that she was well acquainted with classical English literature, notably with Shakespeare, as can be seen from her poem, 'To Be Or Not To Be,' and hence perhaps her predilection for blank verse technique which allows more freedom of expression, and in which she wrote among other poems all her dramatic works. The fact that she borrowed many themes from Western Europe, for example, 'Isolde Whitehands,' 'Catacombs' and others, makes her no less an original poet, for she was a poet of European rank.

Among her literary works special mention must be made of Lesya's masterpiece, 'Forest Song,' a dramatic poem which has often been staged in Ukraine and which was written two years before her death. This fairy drama is full of beauty and tenderness, and is acted out against a background of changing seasons. It has caused Ukrainian critics to grow lyrical in its praise. B. Yakubsky called it "a symbolic drama of profound psychological interest, of an extremely deep and tender lyricism whose language, full of the rich treasures of native folklore is most harmonious and musical." We agree with him that it is "an outstanding creation, not only of Ukrainian literature but of the world's literature."

With the passing of time the literary reputation of Lesya Ukrainka has increased, until she is now regarded as one of the leading figures of modern Ukrainian writing. Introducing new European forms into her poetry; criticised by many of her contemporaries for her exotic themes, and with her aims as an artist so often misunderstood, it is now realised that she was greater than she seemed when alive, and appreciation and admiration have grown steadily. She clearly saw Ukrainians as a European people with the right to draw upon the literary inheritance of that continent, and with great technical skill she was able to implant on Ukrainian soil new devices and conventions that were proving themselves abroad. From her early lyrics which are full of vigour and challenge she progressed to her dramatic poems which were her greatest achievements.

Lesya Ukrainka died in 1913 at the height of her powers. Weak in body she had done battle with her words:

Yes! I'll smile indeed, through tears and weeping,
Sing my songs where evil holds it's sway,
Hopeless, a steadfast hope forever keeping,
I shall live! You thoughts of grief — away!

Lesya Ukrainka

SEVEN STRINGS

A CYCLE*

(Dedicated to Uncle Mykhailo)

TRANSLATED BY VERA RICH

I. Doh.

(Hymn. Grave)

Dolorous mother, Ukraina, fortune-neglected,
To thee a string is tuned firstly,
And that string with a quiet solemnity thus will re-echo,
And song from the heart will flow, bursting.

Across the wide world the song will fly forth, ever-speeding,
And with it a hope, well-belovéd,
Speeding will fly, through the world among human-kind seeking
Where fortune still hides, undiscovered.

And maybe my song, all alone, will meet out on its roaming
In the wide world, with bird-songs melodious,
And that resonant flock will take wing thither, hastening, coming
By pathways afar, brambled over.

*) This is one of the most characteristic and technically successful example of verse-cycle in the works of Lesya Ukrayinka, who was especially interested in this form of presentation of her poems. In addition to being an acrostic on the tonic-sol-fa, it is an exercise in certain classical verse-forms and techniques. The English-speaking reader will note that, in this cycle, the older form of the tonic-sol-fa, with "si" instead of "ti", is used, and, further, that the rondeau does not begin with the refrain, as it would in the English tradition.

Beyond the blue sea, beyond the great hills they'll speed, flying,
 To a field open, unbounded,
 Into the spaces of heaven they'll soar, higher-higher,
 Where fortune, maybe, they'll encounter.

And thither, maybe, to our own native home, she will come then,
 That fortune desired, long expected,
 To thee, Ukraina, my own and my dearly beloved,
 My mother by fortune neglected.

II. Re

(Song. Brioso)

Raging the storm howls, lamenting,
 What's a storm — I do not fear it,
 Though I meet with misadventure,
 Yet I dread not nor revere it.
 Hey, you storm-clouds, grimly-glaring,
 Spells against you I'm preparing,
 See, a magic sword I'm drawing,
 I shall arm my songs for warring.
 All your little raindrops early
 Shall be changed to little pearlets,
 Then shall fail and break your brightly
 Flashing fires of silver lightning.
 I'll set misadventure drifting
 On this water flowing swiftly,
 All my sleep I'll scatter, spreading
 With free songs in the dark meadow.
 Raging the storm howls, lamenting,
 What's a storm — I do not fear it,
 Though I meet with misadventure,
 Yet I dread not nor revere it.

III. Mi

(Lullaby, Arpeggio)

Meek the moon shinningly
 Quiet rays beguilingly
 Pours on us, shines,
 Sleep then, my tiny one,
 Late grows the time.

Now you sleep happily,
What sorrows drab can be
 You do not know;
You'll learn too rapidly
 Heartache and woe.

The hour goes wearily!
The minute — drearily!
 Woe does not sleep...
Lullabye, dearest, to
 Live is to weep.

Shameful detestably
To yield to destiny;
 Your hour will come,
'Gainst fate your quest shall be, —
 Sleep will be done...

Meek the moon shingly
Quiet rays beguilingly
 Pours on us, shines,
Sleep then, my tiny one,
 While there is time.

IV. Fah (Sonnet)

Fantasy, thou art the magic force
Which built a world in spaces empty, brinkless,
Poured feeling in the star-rays that, unthinking,
Waken the dead from sleep's eternal course.

Life into chilly billows thou dost force!
Where thou art, fantasy, is joy and springtime,
To thee, bright fantasy, our greetings bringing,
We raise our bent brows once more heavenwards.

Fantasy, thou goddess light of plumage,
Opening to us a world of gold illusion,
Thou with a rainbow dost to earth unite it;

Terrestrial and mysterious dost unite,
If the human soul knew not thy brightness,
Life would be sad and gloomy as black night.

V. Sol
(Rondeau)

So lovely in springtime there streams
The nightingale's song in green spinneys,
But I cannot hear the sweet singing,
And the spring flowers where fragrances teem,
Not for me in the woodland are springing, —
I see not this heaven of springtime;
Those songs and the blossom's bright gleam
I recall, like some tale, wonder-bringing,
In dreams!...

Songs that echo, resounding free themes,
In our own land I long to hear ringing, —
On all sides sorrow's grieving voice keens!
O my land, shall in thee fly forth winging
Free songs only thus, as it seems,
In dreams?

VI. Lah.
(Nocturno)

Largessed with moonlight, mild nights of springtime,
Where have you fled from us, whither?
Nightingale music, like silver bells ringing,
Are you silent and vanished forever?

O no, still not time, for we have not yet sounded
All the wonders of night, heavy-laden,
For still there resound, as of old there resounded
The wonderful spring-songs of maidens.

Still the light phantom high over us hovers,
The springtime's azure-blue dreaming,
While in the heart still unfolds in full blossom
The flower of hope, golden and gleaming.

Into the land of mysterious night-time
On fantasy's plumes thoughts go winging,
There with rays playing, so lovely are shining
The fair tranquil eyes of the springtime...

There the bright stars and there tranquil blossoms
In wondrous speech are united,
There the green boughs whisper, quietly tossing,
There hymns of love echo widely.

And the blossoms and stars and the boughs greenly vernal
Speak together, in words where love flowers,
Of the forces of springtime, world-wide and eternal,
Of the magic of spring, strong in power.

VII. Si
(Settina)

See, seven strings I pluck, string after string,
 May my strings echo, resounding,
 May my songs fly, swiftly bounding,
Through my dear land may they fly on swift wing.
 And maybe they'll find, flying onward,
 A kobza, tuned loud to the concord
Of the strings, to my songs' quiet soft murmuring.

And that kobza shall play, maybe, stronger and freer,
 Than my own quiet-sounding strings,
 And its notes, bold as they ring,
May find in the world a more sensitive ear;
 Though that kobza be heard far around,
 Yet never its music shall sound
More true than my own quiet strings, nor sincere.

(C) Vera Rich 1963

Vasyl Stefanyk

S O N S

Dedicated to my friend Levko Bachynsky

Vasyl Stefanyk was born in the village of Rusiv in East Galicia on May 14, 1871. He studied medicine for a time but did not complete his studies, and later settled in his native village as a farmer. With profound psychological insight he describes the hard lot of the poor Galician farmers, their poverty, domestic troubles, the loneliness of the aged, and their love of the soil, in his sketches and short stories. His style is forcible, simple and apt. His short stories have been published in the following collections: "The Little Blue Book" (1899), "The Stone Cross" (1900), "The Path" (1901), "Maple Leaves" (1904), "My Words" (1905), and "The Soil" (1926). Vasyl Stefanyk died in Rusiv on December 7, 1936.

Maxim was harrowing the summer wheat with strong, young horses. The clods of soil flew up like feathers. Maxim threw his hat on the ground; his shirt slipped over his shoulders. A cloud of dust whirled up from the soil and covered the tuft of hair on his head and his hairy chest. He cursed loudly and violently, and the people working on the neighbouring fields said to each other:

— The old chap is always angry, but he still holds in his young horses with firm reins; yes, he is rich; he has always been well-fed since his childhood, but he has lost both his sons, and ever since then he is always cursing, in the fields and in the village.

Maxim pulled up his horses with a sudden jerk.

— Old bones are like an old willow-tree; good enough for a fire, but no good when it comes to running alongside the horses. When one's feet get tired with working and when one's knees give way, then they are no longer worth very much. Old chap, the time has come for you to crawl up onto the stove¹.

¹) In East Europe people lie on the stoves, which are often so large that they occupy half the room. (Translator's note).

He shook his grey head in front of the horses' black manes and went on shouting:

— Yes, my good fellow, I can still crawl up onto the stove, but the stove is cold and shabby. The pictures on the walls are dirty and the icons gaze into the empty room like hungry dogs. My old woman used to decorate them with evergreens and rosemary and gild the doves² in front of them, so that the saints would be kind, the room friendly, and the children would grow up strong and healthy. There were a lot of saints, but all the lot of them were not worth a rush. My sons have gone; I have buried my old woman, too; and you — you saints — must excuse the evergreens — you should have gone to more trouble...

— Come on, gee-ho, White Dapple! let's toil on this soil as long as God wills that we should.

And Maxim and his horses moved from one end of the field to the other again; clouds of dust rose up and covered them; and the teeth of the harrow bit into the soil, crushed it and tore it apart to make a soft bed for the seed.

— Hey, Bosak³, you're not a horse at all, you old dog, — you've bitten my shoulder, one bite after another, again and again. And stop pulling. Life has pulled me about such a lot that I can hardly stand on my legs. Early every morning I give you your oats, before I have had a bite to eat myself; I brush you, and I water you with my tears, but you bite me. Now, White Dapple is like a human being to me; he follows all my movements with his black eyes; he feels sorry for me; he dries an old man's tears with his mane; but you, you wicked creature, are completely heartless. Only a few days ago you tore out a whole tuft of my hair and threw it down in the dirt. That is the kind of thing you do, for, though you may be a very beautiful horse, you are nevertheless wicked. I cannot sell you to the Jews, but if St. George were to visit me, then I should give you to him as a present, and then you could go with him and slay dragons; you are not fitted to till the land, for you are far too restless.

He wet his fingers with spit, washed the wound on his shoulder and strewed sand on it.

— Gee-ho, go on, gee-up!

The noise of the harrow grew less, the soil yielded and fell apart; Maxim felt a softness under his feet, — a softness which only dwells

²) Doves, which are gilded, are frequently hung in front of the icons. (Translator's note).

³) Bosak (= barefoot), name for a black horse which has white markings on its feet. (Translator's note).

in the heart of a farmer on rare occasions. The soil gives him this softness and that is why he loves it so much. And when he has sown the corn with his hand, he says to the seed: I have made a soft cradle for you, — grow heavenwards!

Maxim grew calmer; he was no longer shouting, and suddenly he pulled up his horses.

— What the devil! — blasted old leg, what are you hurting for and creaking in every joint, you crooked old devil?

Then he looked round and saw a long trail of blood along the furrow behind him. He sat down on the ground.

— A piece of broken glass! Damn it! Of all the bad luck! Just when I'm in the midst of working and can't leave the field before I've finished. I can't tear myself in pieces to get all my work done! But you, poor field, will not get much benefit from my old blood, for old blood, like old manure, is not much good; it's a loss for me and no profit for you.

Limping, he unharnessed the horses, led them to the cart and gave them some hay.

— And I don't know why the sun should look down so grimly on an old man because he makes his midday pause so early; I can't walk any further...

Maxim took out of his pocket a chunk of bread, some ham and a bottle of schnaps, and proceeded to cleanse the wound with schnaps; then he tore a strip off his shirt-sleeve, wrapped it round his foot and tied it up with a piece of string.

— Now you can go on hurting, or stop hurting, just as you like, but you'll have to go on harrowing just the same!

He took a sip of schnaps, bit into the chunk of bread and began grumbling loudly once more:

— And they dare to call this — bread! You can only comb a Jew's horses with it, but not a good horse because it is so hard that it would take the skin off its back. And then these idlers come to me and say: "We will bake bread for you, we will do your washing for you, — if you will only leave us your fields." — Do these wretched bitches think that I would plough and till my fields for them? When I die, flowers will grow on my fields and will nod their little heads in prayer, — a prayer for the old man.

Maxim angrily hurled the chunk of bread into the middle of the field.

— Disgusting stuff! It's enough to make one's teeth chatter with loathing! Let's have a drink of schnaps — that will go down smoothly...

— Hey, you be quiet and don't squawk over my head; Whom are you singing for? A tattered and bitten old man? Fly away up to heaven and tell your God that He needn't send me a silly bird to sing to me, for if He is as mighty as He is supposed to be, then He would do better to send me my sons. For it is by His will that I have been left all alone in this great big world. Your God shall not fool me with fine songs! Go away!

And he threw a clod of earth at the lark. But the lark began to sing even more beautifully over his head and had no intention of flying to God.

— Little bird, you don't understand a thing, not a thing. When my Ivan was a little boy and chased you because he wanted to catch you, and when he tried to find your nest in the furrows and played his flute, you acted cleverly and sang, as you were meant to do. Your song and the sound of Ivan flute resounded across the plain; and the sun shone down on you, and you were all like God's voice over me, over the shining ploughs and over the whole happy world. And as if through a golden sieve, God poured light on us through the sun, and the whole earth and all people were bathed in golden light. And this was how the sun began spring on earth, as if in a large kneading-trough...

— And we took the cakes out of this kneading-trough. And the cakes were set before the musicians, and the young people, decorated with flowers, embraced and got married, and spring covered the countryside like a sea, like a flood; in those days, little bird, your song flowed into my heart like clear, icy cold water into a new beaker...

— Go to those countries, little bird, where the cakes have not yet been stolen and the children have not been massacred.

Maxim clutched his head with his hands and bent low until his body was nearly touching the ground.

— Shame on me — that an old man like me should talk so much nonsense like a tearful old woman, for there is nothing that can help me on this earth...

— Oh, my sons, my sons, where have you been laid to rest? I would sell not only all my land but also my soul in order to be able to walk to your grave with bleeding feet. My God, the golden books in the churches lie when they say that Thou hadst a son! They say Thou hast let Thy son be resurrected. But I do not say to Thee: let my sons be resurrected! I only say: show me their graves so that I can lie down next to them. Thou seest the whole world, but Thou art blind to my graves...

— May the blue vault of Thy heaven be torn like my heart!...

— If only one of them would come to me, poor old man that I am, — for I know, my sons, that you have embraced women and lain with them. Yes, they were like young oak-trees... Bring your bastard to me. Carry it to me in your arms. Come, do not be ashamed! For its grandfather will spread out carpets under your feet and will cut up his finest linen to make swaddling-clothes for the bastard. For you cannot wear a bridal wreath and you weep for shame.

And the old man raised both hands and seemed to appeal to the whole world with them:

— Come, my daughter-in-law, come to father — we need no priest!

His body was racked with sobs; he lay down on the ground and dried his tears with the soil as though it were a large cloth. And he called out again:

— Or, Beloved of my son, who has borne him no child, come to me if no one else will come; and I shall see the touch of his hands on your neck, the pressure of his lips on your lips, and in your eyes I shall behold the gaze of his eyes and I shall treasure them in my heart. Like a dog I shall scent the smell of his hair on your hands... Come, Beloved of my son, and save an old man!

— You are still alive, but my sons are dead. Come to me and speak to me of them. Sprinkle cool dew on my grey hairs, for they burn me like hot wires. My head is a-flame with this fire.

The old man tore out some grey hairs and threw them on the soil.

— Grey hairs, singe the earth, for I can no longer endure you.

All the strength had gone from his body and eventually he lay down on the ground. He lay there a long time in silence, but after a while he began to speak in a gentle voice:

— The last time Andriy — he was always the “scholar” in my eyes — came to see me, he said “Father — we are now going into battle for Ukraine.” — “For which Ukraine?” — But he picked up a little clod of earth on his sabre and replied: “This is Ukraine, and here — pointing to his chest with his sabre — is its blood. We are going to wrest our native soil from the enemy’s grasp. Give me a white shirt — he said, — give me some clear water so that I can wash myself, and keep well!” — How his sabre shone and dazzled me! “My son — I said — I have another son, Ivan, — he is younger than you, but take him with you for this task; he is strong; I would rather bury you both in this our soil than that it should belong to the enemy.” — “Very well, Father, — he said — we will both of us go.” — And when my old woman heard this, I saw at once that death was shrouding her in a white cloth. I withdrew to the threshold, for I heard her eyes fall out of their sockets and roll on the ground like dead stones. At least, that was how it seemed to me, but the light had already gone from them.

— Next morning they both left; my old woman leaned heavily on the garden-gate and did not say a word; she gazed unseeingly at them, as if she were already far away, in heaven. And when I took them to the station I said to them: "Andriy, Ivan, don't go back; think of me, for I am alone, — your mother died at the garden-gate..."

Until late that evening Maxim guided his horses up and down across the field, but he no longer shouted. He had grown silent. And the children who were herding the sheep, and the grown-ups who passed him as they were ploughing, did not greet him, for they were afraid of him. Grimy with soil, tattered, and bent, he looked as though he were slowly sinking into the earth.

* * *

Late that evening, after Maxim had seen to the cows and the horses and had milked the sheep, he went into the house.

— Poor devil, you have grown so silent and dead as though someone had stabbed you with a knife, — as though you can no longer speak... But wait, I will kindle a little fire for you...

He boiled some oatmeal, put on a white shirt, ate his supper, and sat in silence for a while. Then he knelt down on the ground and prayed:

— Thou Mother of Christ, watch over my house, — Thou, with Thy Son on Thy lap, and on either side of Thee, Andriy and Ivan... Thou hast given one son, I give Thee two.

Maria Buchhold

MOSAICS BY SEVERYN BORACZOK

A GERMAN ART-CRITIC'S COMMENTS ON A UKRAINIAN PAINTER

The mosaics on view in the Schumacher Gallery in Munich* were exhibited for the first time in this famous art city on the Isar. Numerous visitors attended the opening of the exhibition, and to judge from the expression on the faces of many of them, they were profoundly impressed by and greatly interested in the art of this painter. Indeed, the works on view were a particularly happy choice and gave the beholder an excellent insight into Severyn Boraczok's creative talent. They consisted of mosaics made of exquisite Florentine glass, which formed the basis for the colourful creation of motifs that were warm and alive. The effect created was thus direct, powerful and extremely impressive, as well as unforgettable.

Is it possible to use the art of painting to create a language which is understood by the beholder without fail, which stirs him so deeply that he retains in his memory what he has seen? It certainly is possible, and Severyn Boraczok's art succeeds in achieving this aim.

What is the secret of his art? It is the secret of the power of radiation of colours and lines and of the composition of colours and lines in the form of the picture, which then makes an impression on us.

The secret of the power of radiation of colours is closely connected with the secret of light. Goethe occupied himself with this secret very intensively and made countless experiments in order to expound his theory of colours (which appeared in 1808). Other scholars, as for instance Kepler and Newton, also engaged in research on light and colours. Goethe discussed their views and experiments in his thesis on this subject.

*) An Exhibition of Severyn Boraczok's mosaics took place at the Schumacher Gallery in Munich, between April 11th and May 6th, 1963.



Severyn Boraczok: GOOD ADVICE



Severyn Boraczok: SUNRISE

"Were the eye not sunlike, it could not see the sun" — and that is the essential point, namely that our power of vision is based on a gleam of the sunlike rays of heavenly light. By reason of this knowledge, with which the artist is blessed by his natural talent, he is able to create certain effects and impressions with his works.

For what is expressed by colours, lines and forms in Boraczok's mosaics — and they are, above all, an excellent example on account of the fortunate choice of material — is striking proof of the hidden source of light in ourselves. Perhaps in some cases this source was long obscured; if it is however awakened and activated in the right way and through the medium of art, then this art must undoubtedly be expressed in works in which the artist reaches perfection.

Furthermore, the choice of colours, their correlation, interplay, contrast and significance in relation to each other must result in an artistic, harmonious balance in the composition as a whole. This harmony then communicates itself to the beholder; he is stirred by a feeling of happiness and exaltation; he is transported from the narrow and irksome confines of the everyday cares and trivialities with which he is normally obliged to concern himself, into the creative realm of art and of the artist; and it is the fervent desire and aim of the artist to reveal to the beholder the wonders of creation by means of truth and beauty. The Greeks called this aim "kalokagathia," namely truth and beauty. And they demanded that the painter and the sculptor should achieve this aim. We should at this point like to add that there are still many places in Ukraine, as Boraczok himself told me, where one can see remains of marble statues dating from the colonial era of the Greeks.

Though man may not always be aware of the truth and beauty which is offered him again and again, and though he often thoughtlessly ignores the beauty which God has created in our world, guardians of truth and beauty who appeal to man's heart and soul and in many cases lead him back to these values by their works, are appointed again and again.

And this is the purpose and aim which Severyn Boraczok's art serves. In the course of his long life he has given proof of this fact in countless works. In this respect he is indeed unique amongst contemporary Western painters, for nothing can ever deprive him of his memories and impressions of his native Ukrainian soil and skies, — an artistic treasure which is invaluable.

Even in his earlier works this quality of his art was already apparent. In addition to objective works, Boraczok has also created a number of pictures in which he uses hitherto unknown combination of forms. (I have intentionally avoided that erroneous word "abstract," since it is misleading and apt to scare many visitors to exhibitions.) — These works reveal the manner in which the artist

may reach the border beyond which new perspectives and forms are opened up to him. It is thus not surprising that one of the pictures exhibited bears the title "Transparency." Beyond the border there is some entirely new quality which does not resemble the qualities so far familiar in the artist's works. This quality asserts itself thanks to the receptive and creative power of the artist. The designation "abstract" is inadequate for such an opening up and inclusion of new perspectives and forms. For here we have a new art of perception and composition, which aims to transmit to us something which we have so far never seen. The artist paves the way to new artistic experiences for us; he leads us into new spheres. What was hitherto a border and a wall, now becomes transparent, and by this transparency new impressions communicate themselves to us.

This, too, is a quality in Boraczok's works which transports us from the banality of everyday life when we behold his pictures. In my opinion art should always elevate and elate us spiritually, even when it portrays sad or terrible scenes or subjects (as for example Picasso's "Guernica"). It must stir us profoundly, but at the same time it must arouse in us the strength to overcome the emotional shock and to look beyond it to the sources of help and solace.

Some of Boraczok's mosaics belong to the genre of illustration and include several humorous scenes. In this respect I should like to mention "Doves' Talk," "In the Exhibition" and "Good Advice," which are particularly amusing. The latter work shows a woman of mature age who is endeavouring to give a young girl good advice, but it seems fairly obvious that this advice will not be taken since the young girl is apparently conceited and obstinate and knows everything better. — The mosaic which depicts the "Madonna" and has been created in the style of an icon is particularly impressive.

The mosaic "Sunrise" stirs us profoundly. "Marathon," a reminder of ancient Greece (all the more interesting since Ukraine was once colonized by the Greeks), greatly impresses the beholder by its quality of archaic power and forcefulness. This mosaic is symbolical of the artist's viewpoint, namely that a marathon must be achieved again and again in life.

Light and colour, harmoniously united, characterize Boraczok's art; he has become a master who can express his visions perfectly. The works that he has created pay homage to his native country, to Europe, to the Creator, and to man's spiritual exaltation.

Ukrainian Chronicle

THE TELEGRAM OF SYMPATHY

Sent by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain
to the President of the USA, Lyndon Johnson,
on President Kennedy's Death

MR. LYNDON JOHNSON
PRESIDENT USA WASHINGTON

DEEPEST HEARTFELT SYMPATHY TO YOU AND AMERICAN NATION FOR THE TRAGIC LOSS OF LIFE OF THE COURAGEOUS AND VALIANT PRESIDENT KENNEDY DEFENDER OF HIGHEST IDEALS OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION. WE HAVE NO DOUBT THAT JUSTICE AND FREEDOM OF NATIONS, INCLUDING FREEDOM OF UKRAINE WILL PREVAIL IN HUMAN HISTORY. WE ARE WITH AMERICAN NATION IN DAYS OF NATIONAL MOURNING.

*General Council, Association of Ukrainians
in Great Britain, London*

THE LETTER OF SYMPATHY

Sent by the A.B.N. Delegation in Great Britain
to the U.S. Ambassador in London

His Excellency
DAVID K. E. BRUCE, C.B.E.,
The American Ambassador,
24-31, Grosvenor Sq.,
London, W.1.

25th Nov. 1963.

Your Excellency,

On this day of National Mourning of the American Nation for the late President of the United States John F. Kennedy, who was murdered by the hand of a Communist assassin, we express our deepest and most sincere sympathy to you and to the American people.

With President Kennedy the entire world, and especially our subjugated nations, lost a gallant leader and defender of the noble ideals of the human race.

From the published facts of this tragic and most brutal murder we have no doubts that this is the devilish work of the international Communist conspiracy with its headquarters in the blood-thirsty Moscow. That is why they unleashed all the dark forces in an attempt to minimise the effects of this greatest crime and to blame other people for it.

But sooner or later the real culprits of this crime as well as of many others committed in the last few decades will be brought to justice.

May God bless the American people and their new President in these days of trial and guide you safely to a better future.

Yours sincerely,

*A.B.N. Delegation
in Great Britain*

THE 9-th CONFERENCE OF APACL (ASIAN PEOPLES' ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE), HELD IN SAIGON, VIETNAM, OCTOBER 24-31, 1963.

This year the 9th Conference of APACL was held in Saigon, where the APACL Secretariat also has its headquarters. The subject of the Conference was the Moscow-Peking conflict, the repercussions of this conflict and the anti-Communist tactics.

Over 100 delegates and observers took part in the Conference. Delegations from Australia, China, Hong Kong, Iran, Japan, Jordan, the Republic of Korea, Macao, Malaysia, New Zealand, North Borneo, the Philippines, Singapore, Turkey, Thailand and the Republic of Vietnam were present. The following organizations and countries were invited as observers: ABN (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations), ACEN (Assembly of Captive European Nations), Chile, International Committee for Information and Social Activities (CIAS), Free Pacific Association, India, International Conference on the Political Warfare of the Soviets, Italy, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Saudi Arabia, the United States of America, and Germany.

Large delegations came from Free China, headed by Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, from the Philippines, headed by Congressman Ramon D. Bagatsing, and from Korea, headed by Mr. Dong Jo Kim. The largest delegation was the one from Vietnam. The ABN delegation was represented by Mrs. Slawa Stetzko and Mr. Michael de Alschibaja.

The President of the Conference, Mr. Tran Le-Quang, the Secretary-General, Mr. Vu Ngoc Truy, the President of the Free Pacific Association, Father Raymond J. de Jaegher, the Foreign Minister Truong Cong Cuu, the Minister of Civic Action Ngo Trong Hiêu, and a delegation of parliamentary representatives gave a reception for the delegates and observers on their arrival.

The ABN delegation took an active part in the plenary session and also in the sessions of the various committees. On behalf of ABN Mrs. Slawa Stetzko held a speech, which was reprinted in English and French and distributed amongst all the delegates.

In the 3rd Committee, which was headed by the Korean delegate, Dong Jo Kim and which occupied itself above all with the question of anti-Communist tactics, ABN resolutions were moved by the Turkish delegates. The Turkish delegation was headed by Senator Fethi Tevetoglu and his deputy Uwan Cevik.

Our resolution, which was moved by the Turkish delegates, was seconded by Australia, Hong Kong, Malaysia and Macao. After discussion in the committee meetings on October 25th and 29th, it was unanimously voted by the delegates in the 3rd Committee and, like the other resolutions, was later accepted with considerable applause in the plenary session on October 31st.

We print the text of the ABN resolution below. This time the resolution took into account the problem of Croatia, which so far has always encountered considerable opposition on account of the special position of Yugoslavia.



A group of participants in the 9th Conference of the APACL in Saigon, Vietnam: (from right to left) former Minister Ivan M. Lombardo (Italy), Lady Trikamdas (India), Michael de Alchibaja (Georgia), Mrs. Slava Stetzko (Ukraine).



A group of women participants in the 9th Conference of APACL in Saigon. From the right: Lady Trikamdass (India), Mrs. Slava Stetzko (Ukraine and A.B.N.), Secretary of the International Women's Association (third), Dr. Nguyen Phuoc Dai (Vietnam), and two ladies from the Preparatory Committee.

On the whole all the delegates from the Asian countries showed considerable sympathy for our problems, although they did not always comprehend in what way their own freedom is threatened by the Russian imperium. Those who showed a profound sympathy and understanding for our problems were the delegates from Turkey, who advocated our cause as if it were their own, the delegates from China, which is the strongest member of the APACL and whose opinion is respected by all the other Asian delegations, and the delegates from Australia, New Zealand, Hong Kong and Korea.

The ABN delegation has formed a sincere friendship with the Vietnamese delegates. The Vietnamese, under the government of the late President Ngo Dinh Diem, were the hosts of the Conference. They bore all the financial expenses of the Conference.

Various receptions were given for those taking part in the Conference by the following persons: the Foreign Minister Truong Cong Cuu, the Minister of Civic Action Ngo Trong Hieu, the Mayor of Saigon, the Chinese Ambassador to Viet Nam, the President of the Conference and Minister for Rural Affairs Tran Le-Quang, the Secretary-General of the Conference Vu Ngoc Truy, the President of the Pacific Association Rev. R. J. de Jaegher, Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, President of the Chinese Chapter, the Mayor of Dalat, and the Administrative Council of the Chamber of Commerce. In addition, a dinner was given by the German Ambassador, Baron Wendland, for the German and the ABN delegations.

All the delegations were received in a general audience by the late President Ngo Dinh Diem. Some delegations, including the ABN representatives, were also received in a private audience by him and on this occasion presented him with gifts (objects of folk-art).

The members of the Conference also took part in the national holiday on October 26th, when a military parade was held, and on October 26th and 28th they visited the town of Dalat and the "strategic hamlets," which represent a new method of preventing the Communist invasion from the north.

On October 28th the members of the Conference were invited to the opening of the nuclear reactor in Dalat. On this occasion they also visited various other "strategic hamlets" and modern factories (textiles, paints).

The ABN delegates also visited the Foreign Ministry and the office of the Vietnam Press, where an interview took place. The ABN delegates had brought a number of ABN publications with them which were distributed amongst the members of the Conference.

The members of the diplomatic corps were invited to all the receptions, and those who were taking part in the Conference thus had an opportunity to further already existing contacts and also to make new ones.

The Conference elected as the new President of APACL Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, who is also the President of the Chinese Chapter of the League, Mr. Vu Ngoc Truy was re-elected as Secretary-General. It was decided that the 10th Conference in 1964 should be held in Taipei (Free China, Formosa).

Every day during the Conference reports were issued for the press by the secretariat. After the speech made on behalf of ABN by Mrs. Slawa Stetko a particularly gratifying comment, which stressed the most important points in this speech, was made. It was pointed out that "the lady-representative of ABN had stressed that this conference was a proclamation of solidarity with the fight for freedom of Vietnam, and had said that a partial victory would not eliminate the danger as long as Communism was not destroyed at its very roots and that it could only be destroyed by a common front of the free world and the subjugated peoples, who were fighting not only against Communism but also against Russian colonialism."

RESOLUTION ON RUSSIAN COLONIALISM

PASSED BY THE 9th CONFERENCE OF APACL

Witnessing the process of the decolonization of the world, the collapse of old empires and the victory of the national freedom idea in all continents;

Realising that the Russian colonial imperium threatens the freedom and independence of the peoples of the entire world above all the peoples of Africa and Asia recently liberated from colonialism;

I. This 9th Conference of APACL reaffirms the resolution of the 8th Conference that advocates the disintegration of the Soviet Russian colonial imperium into national, independent democratic states of all subjugated peoples;

Supports the revolutionary liberation fight of the peoples in Europe, Asia and Cuba, subjugated by Soviet Russian colonialism and Communism, for the restoration of their national independence and for the destruction of the Communist system;

Requests the United Nations to put the problem of Soviet Russian colonialism in Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Czechia, Cossackia, Estonia, East Germany, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia, Turkestan (Uzbekistan, Tadzhikistan, Kirghizistan, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan), North Caucasia and other countries subjugated by Communism and Soviet Russian imperialism, on the agenda of its General Assembly, to condemn said colonialism, to exclude all Communist governments from the UN, and in their stead to admit the authorized representatives of the peoples subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism and Communism.

Exhorts the free world to give wholehearted, active support, including military support, to the national liberation revolutions of the peoples subjugated behind the Iron Curtain, as a possible alternative to an atomic war;

Corroborates the solidarity of the APACL with the US Congress resolution on "Captive Nations Week," in which said Congress advocates the liberation and freedom of Hungary, Ukraine, Lithuania, Poland, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Rumania, Byelorussia, Estonia, Bulgaria, Latvia, East Germany, Czechia, Slovakia, mainland of China, northern part of the Republic of Korea, Idel-Ural, Albania, North Vietnam, Cossackia, and others;

II. The 9th Conference of APACL warns against the demobilization of the free world by means of the campaign of the so-called positive neutralism, in particular in the countries of Africa and Latin America, which is being pursued in the interests of Moscow by Yugoslavia, whose Communist regime has subjugated the Croats and other peoples who yearn for their national independence.

III. The 9th Conference of APACL warns against the growth of Communist influences in Latin-America.

It declares its solidarity with the fight for freedom of the Cuban people against a Communist despotic regime supported by Moscow, and appeals to the anti-Communist countries of the American continents to help the Cuban people to obtain its liberation from Communist slavery.

IV. The 9th Conference of APACL expresses its sincere wishes to ABN on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of its founding (in November 1943) behind the Iron Curtain for success in its fight for the liberation of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism and for the restoration of the independent national democratic states of those peoples.

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE U.S.A. AND UKRAINE AND BYELORUSSIA INTRODUCED BY REPRESENTATIVE FARBSTEIN

Washington, D.C. — On May 15, 1963, the Hon. Leonard Farbstein of New York, introduced a new resolution, H. J. Res. 428, in the House of Representatives calling for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States on the one hand, and Ukraine and Byelorussia, on the other. The text of the resolution reads as follows:

Whereas in the words set forth recently in the papal encyclical, *Pacem in Terris*, "the social progress, order, security, and peace of each country are necessarily connected with the social progress, order, security, and peace of all other countries"; and

Whereas in the interest of world peace it is clearly necessary to further our understanding of and relations with all aspiring peoples and nations, which includes the forty-five million Ukrainian nation and the ten million Byelorussian nation; and

Whereas the Government of the United States extends *de facto* recognition in the United Nation by recognizing the delegations selected to represent the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic as accepted nations of the United Nations; and

Whereas respecting the sovereignty of these two non-Russian nations the Government of the Soviet Union strongly insisted upon the inclusion of these nations as original charter members of the United Nations; and

Whereas the sovereignty of the peoples of these two national Republics is expressed in the constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics which provides: "The right freely to secede from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is reserved to every Union Republic"; and

Whereas said Union of Soviet Socialist Republics constitution specified that each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states and to conclude agreements and exchange representatives with them; and

Whereas said constitution legally reflects further the sovereign wills of these two non-Russian nations by providing that each Republic has the right to determine "the manner of organizing the Republic's military formations"; and

Whereas the distinctive national flags, anthems, and emblems of state maintained by the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic are evidenced to manifest symbolically the sovereignty and independence of these states; and

Whereas the Moscow Government in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic continually claims that these two non-Russian Republics are independent and sovereign to develop their national statehood and foreign relations; and

Whereas the people of the United States indirectly recognize the sovereignty of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian nations, which is in harmony with the ideas set forth in the Declaration of Independence of the United States, and, therefore, we stand ready to render to these nations and other peoples in the Soviet Union any assistance for the strengthening of bonds of friendship and good will; and

Whereas it is plainly incongruous from every viewpoint to rightly maintain recognition by this Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic in the United Nations without realizing the peace-strengthening opportunity to establish direct diplomatic concourse with their respective capitals of Kiev and Minsk: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That it is the sense of the Congress that the Government of the United States in support of its policy of peace and understanding among nations should proceed to establish direct diplomatic relations with the Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, and in the creation of posts of representation in the capitals of Kiev and Minsk, respectively, consistent with diplomatic procedure in such matters.

OUR COMMENTARY:

In our opinion, the Government of the USA, as is rightly demanded by Senator Goldwater, ought to get the USSR and its satellite governments expelled from the UN, to break off any relations with the USSR and its satellites, to introduce an economic blockade etc. Instead of the puppet governments, the revolutionary liberation centres or national liberation organizations of the enslaved peoples should be recognized as lawful spokesmen for the nations subjugated by Russia. It is not the puppet government in Kyiv that should be regarded as the lawful spokesman of the Ukrainian Nation, but that sovereign Ukrainian revolutionary liberation force which organises the struggle of the Ukrainian Nation against the Russian colonial domination for the separation of Ukraine from Russia and the restoration of an independent national Ukrainian State.

UKRAINIAN STUDENT CONGRESS IN EUROPE

From April 19-21, the old "Mission Catholique Espagnole" at 51 Rue de Pompe, in Paris was a host to 35 delegates representing various Ukrainian student organizations in France, Belgium, Germany, Austria and Switzerland.

Young people with a most serious task: to establish a federation of all Ukrainian student affiliations in Europe into one organization, Association of Ukrainian Students in Europe (SUSE), to coordinate and direct their activity, to stress the importance of and encourage Ukrainian youth to pursue higher education and to cooperate with fellow Ukrainians in their political and cultural aspirations.

Young, but not without vigour and sense of direction!

On Friday, April 19, promptly at 10 a.m. a chairman, co-chairman and two secretaries were chosen to direct the procedure and activities of the Congress following which nomination, resolution and constitution (to draw a constitution) committees were set up. The day was consumed by discussions and exchange of ideas on various Ukrainian student activities and interests and about conditions under which their Ukrainian contemporaries live and struggle in their enslaved land.

Saturday, April 20, saw the committees in full activity. Before the day was up, the constitution was put in final shape, adopted, and the officers for the coming year were elected.

On Sunday after church the Congress officially met at the grave of Otaman Symon Petlura, to pay the deepest respects to a great fellow Ukrainian whose burdens and tasks this youth took upon itself to carry and to realize.

At 4 p.m. the delegates again assembled at "Mission Catholique Espagnole" where a meeting with delegates of various Ukrainian religious, political and cultural organizations was held. Following the greetings, the Rector of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, Professor Kultschytzkyj, informed the Congressional delegates about the academic endeavours of that University. In conclusion the resolutions were read, discussed, voted upon and unanimously accepted.

We take it upon ourselves to cooperate with all fellow Ukrainians in our common political and cultural goals: to inform the western world about our

enslaved nation; to activate and organize Ukrainian fellow students and to keep in close contact with our society.

We extend our warm greetings to the hierarchy of both Ukrainian churches, our enslaved brethren, all Ukrainian students and student societies, all Ukrainian social, cultural and scientific institutions, all fellow Ukrainians in the free world, and very special warm greetings to our Metropolitan Archbishop Joseph Slipyj in whose recent release we all rejoice.

The Ukrainian National Anthem was sung and the Congress adjourned. A friendly squeeze of hand and a sparkling eye which better than words expressed: We part to study and to work, to strive and win our country's independence, we part to meet again, so help us God.

20th ANNIVERSARY OF A. B. N. MEETING IN BOLTON, LANCS.

A meeting of about 1000 Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Croats and their English friends, was organized to celebrate the 20th Anniversary of A.B.N. in the Bolton City Hall, on December 15th, 1963. It was opened by Mr. A. Pommers (Latvian) and presided by Mr. R. Vanston, Chairman of the Bolton Branch of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society.

The meeting was addressed by the guest from the Central Committee of A.B.N., President of the A.B.N. Mr. J. Stetzko, and Mrs. Slava Stetzko.

Dr. A. Ilić (Croat) delivered a speech on behalf of A.B.N. in Great Britain. In the second part of the meeting, the audience enjoyed the singing by the Ukrainian "Homin" choir, Lithuanian mixed choir and female quartet, Latvian choir and piano playing by Dr. A. Ilić.

At the end Mr. Tatley, Secretary of Conservative Party in Bolton, expressed his solidarity with the ideas of A.B.N., and Mr. R. Vanston proposed a resolution, which was accepted by applause. It reads:

RESOLUTION

Realising that the Russian colonial imperium threatens the freedom and independence of the peoples of the entire world, the assembled Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians and Croats at the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the ABN, in Bolton, on 15th December, 1963,

request the United Nations to put the problem of Russian colonialism in Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Czechia, Cossackia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia, Turkestan, North Caucasia and other countries subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism, on the agenda of its General Assembly, *to condemn* said colonialism, *to exclude* all Communist governments from the UN, and in their stead *to admit* the authorized representatives of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism;

warn the free world against the demobilization of the free world by means of the campaign of the so-called positive neutralism in the interests of Moscow by Yugoslavia, whose Communist regime has subjugated the Croats and other peoples who yearn for their national independence;

warn the governments of the free world against the policy of the so-called coexistence which aims at the recognition by the free world of the status quo of Russian and Communist conquests as basis for the subversive action in the free world, and for the further expansion;

appeal to the free world to give wholehearted, active support for the revolutionary fight of the peoples in Europe, Asia and Cuba, subjugated by Russia and Communism, for the restoration of their freedom and national independence and for the destruction of the Communist system.

Behind the Iron Curtain

DISTURBANCES IN KRYVYJ RIH

It was recently stated in diplomatic circles in Vienna that fierce clashes between soldiers of the Soviet Army and members of the local militia occurred in Kryvyj Rih (Krivoy Rog), the big iron-ore mining centre in south Ukraine, in June 1963. There were 8 casualties.

According to the information received by Western diplomats in Vienna, a soldier and militiaman started quarrelling whilst travelling in the same bus. During the argument which ensued, the militiaman pulled out his revolver and shot his opponent.

When the soldiers of the Soviet Army stationed in Kryvyj Rih heard of the murder of their comrade they resorted to reprisals and shot seven militiamen.

These incidents caused considerable tension among the Ukrainian population of the entire district, and the Russian occupants were therefore obliged to declare a state of war, which lasted until the end of June.

Certain German papers published news of these incidents in Kryvyj Rih. The "Hannoversche Presse," in particular, in its edition of July 18, 1963, reported in detail on the unrest in Kryvyj Rih.

The well-known Danish daily paper "Berlingske Tidende" in its edition of July 18, 1963, also commented in detail on the incidents in Kryvyj Rih and stressed that there was no doubt about the truth of the reports which had come from there.

Scandinavian tourists who visited Ukraine recently said that the militiamen and their hirelings, the so-called "Druzhynnyky," were greatly disliked by the Ukrainian inhabitants, who were frequently punished by them.

A Ukrainian who lives in Sweden and has become naturalized recently summoned up courage to visit his native country Ukraine at long last.

He spent some time in the region of Khmelnytsky. He also emphasized the fact that the Ukrainian farmers hate the militiamen, who co-operate with the members of the secret police, most of whom are Russians. He added that it was not to be wondered at if the Ukrainian population, goaded by the provocations of the militiamen, frequently attacked the latter and sometimes murdered them.

A Ukrainian woman living in Denmark, who visited the West Ukrainian town of Ternopil, also emphasized the fact that conditions in Ukraine were unbearable. From the moment she arrived in Ukraine she was shadowed by militiamen day and night. When she went to visit her brother, who lived in neighbouring village, without having previously obtained the permission of the local authorities, militiamen suddenly appeared at her brother's house and ordered her to leave at once. But even during the short time that she was at her brother's house she learnt that the militiamen torture Ukrainians whom they arrest; they first subject them to a merciless beating and then interrogate them.

A Danish paper which gave an account of the incidents in Kryvyj Rih stated that NKVD troops surrounded the town and prevented the inhabitants from leaving. Thus the hostile attitude of the Ukrainian population towards the militiamen, who represent the power of the Russian occupants, is perfectly understandable.

In the light of the above facts it is obvious why Moscow declared a state of siege in the important town of Kryvyj Rih, and it is also clearly evident that the fight waged by the Ukrainians against the Russian Bolshevist intruder in Ukraine continues unabated.

Book Review

Nicholas L. Fr. Chirovsky: OLD UKRAINE. ITS SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY PRIOR TO 1781. The Florham Park Press Inc., Box 225, Madison, New Jersey, 1963. 432 pp.

In this book the author, who is a professor of economics at Seton Hall University, deals with Ukraine from the social economic aspect during the past 1000 years, from the time when the Ukrainian (in those days known as the Ruthenians, Russychi) appeared in the international political arena (about the middle of the 9th century), to the incorporation in 1781 of the Ukrainian territory by its Russian (Muscovite) neighbours, whose power was increasing, and also the period from the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine in 1917-1918 until the present day.

Throughout his book the author stresses that Ukraine in the course of the past centuries strove to pursue its own course independent of Russia in spite of the subjugation of the Ukrainians by the Russian occupant, and that Ukraine's economic potential was always adequate enough for it to lead its own independent state existence. In the author's opinion it is all the more important to stress this point since the Russian attitude to life is more or less collectivist (the Mir system), whereas the Ukrainians are orientated to the West and paid for their individualistic attitude with thousands of sacrifices during the years 1921-22 and 1932-33, when Moscow starved millions of Ukrainian

farmers to death by creating a famine. Unfortunately, the Western world has failed to realize all these facts, since it always had a false conception of a "single and indivisible Russia" in East Europe.

It is only thanks to its amazing vitality that the Ukrainian people has been able to save itself so far from ruin and decay. In spite of the fact that Ukraine's economy has been forcibly assimilated in the economic system of the Red Russian Communist imperium, there is still every indication that Ukraine's economy continues to endeavour to stand on its own feet, and, of course, to orientate itself to Western economy. Ukraine's economy is, however, by no means bound to the Russian North, even though Moscow constantly seeks to merge Ukrainian with Russian economy.

Parallel with the development of its economy, Ukraine also developed its own political, cultural and social life, although this life is ruthlessly suppressed by the Russians.

By means of the social economic facts which he quotes, the author proves that Ukrainian cultural, political, and social economic life will in the near future follow its own independent course regardless of all obstacles.

V. O.

"SPIRIT OF FLAME," A Collection of the Works of Lesya Ukrainka. Translated by Percival Cundy. Foreword by Clarence A. Manning. Bookman Associates, New York, 1950. 357 pp. Price: \$5.00.

This volume is the first large collection of translations into English of the poems of Lesya Ukrainka and represents a praiseworthy attempt to make the English-speaking world acquainted with a poetess who is already famous in world literature.

Attempts of this kind must be carried out with particular care and selection, all the more so since the reader who does not know the original language of the works in question

can only form a picture of them from what is offered him in the translated version. There are obviously bound to be certain difficulties. Quite apart from the language of the translation, the selection of poems to be translated and compiled must be made with great discernment.

The choice of poems in the volume under review is an excellent one. To help the reader to gain a better and clearer understanding of Lesya

Ukrainka's works, the editor has grouped the poems of the selection according to leitmotifs.

The selection consists of lyrical and dramatic works, the latter occupying the major part of the volume. (30 pages are devoted to lyrics, 245 pages to dramatic poems and dramas.)

The leitmotifs of the lyrics are the following:

a) Love (6 poems: My Burning Heart, Delusive Spring, Hebrew Melody, A Summer Night's Dream, A Forgotten Shadow (Dante's Wife), Love.

This selection reflects the change which Lesya's emotional attitude towards this leitmotif underwent: from extreme despair in "Hebrew Melody" to triumphant sublimation in "Dante's Wife."

b) Nature (Spring's Victory, Sing, O My Song, Autumn and To the Stars). It is significant that this leitmotif is accorded second place in this selection, for Nature plays an important part in Lesya Ukrainka's works. This short selection shows the alternating hope and despair which is reflected in Lesya's changing attitude towards Nature and gives us some indication of the wide range of her feelings.

c) Personal Experiences. This group is again introduced with a poem on Spring, which reflects the emotions of the poetess who is doomed to invalidism and periods of immobility in bed.

The other poems in this group are "The Weapon of the World," "Contra Spem Spero" and "Do You Remember." Here again this is an excellent selection, since it reveals the transition from despair to hoping against hope and the will to live, and from this emotional state to one of calm serenity:

*"I would not that my death should
wound a soul
So much as life itself has wounded
me."*

d) The next group of poems is devoted to the poetic calling and includes such characteristic poems as: Moods, The Avenging Angel and The Power of Song. Here, too, we gain an insight into the personality of the

poetess, and the reason why she regards it as her calling to write poetry becomes evident. She writes because she hopes that her poems may perhaps relieve some soul's bitter woe; at the same time, however, she is filled with doubts as to the power of her words and the value of her work, and in her heart the dark and bloody spirit of midnight and the smiling angel of daylight are in conflict, but in the end her belief in the power of her song is victorious, for her poetry is born of a deep yearning.

e) Love of country, that is of Ukraine. Since this motif is undoubtedly the most important one in Lesya Ukrainka's work, the selection of poems in this group is more varied than in the previous groups. Even so, however, not all the aspects of this motif in her work have been included, but this fact need not necessarily be regarded as an error, since otherwise the harmony of this group would have been disturbed.

At this point it seems appropriate to comment on the selection of "Nature motifs." In view of their importance in Lesya Ukrainka's works, too little significance seems to have been attached to them in this collection, and it is disappointing to find that there is not a single poem which reveals her wonderful pictorial artistry, for example when she describes the sea. In the case of the group featuring the love of country motif, however, an appropriate measure of variety has been introduced in the selection of poems.

f) The last group of poems deals with the "social motif." This group is very rightly the largest one, but it might perhaps have been more appropriate to accord it a place earlier in the volume, since the motif in question plays an extremely important part in Lesya Ukrainka's works. This group, however, in the English collection of her poems bears the very apt title: Social Justice and Humanitarian Rights.

Here the selection includes some of the most famous of her poems, and we are reminded of the selection in group c), for the themes of the poems

in the last group are closely connected with the personal experiences of the poetess. And this fact no doubt justifies the place of this last group at the end of the collection of poems.

The second part of the anthology consists of selections from her dramatic poems and dramas. Space does not allow us to discuss these works in detail. An enumeration of the works selected must therefore suffice. Here, too, the choice is a happy one, and

the translations are as excellent in quality as those of the lyrics.

In this second part of the volume we find selections from: *On the Ruins*, *Babylonian Captivity*, *The Noblewoman*, *Forest Song* and *Martianus the Advocate*. It can be seen from this enumeration alone that the selection represents a characteristic section of the works of Lesya Ukrainka.

Ihor Kamenetsky: "SECRET NAZI PLANS FOR EASTERN EUROPE. A STUDY OF LEBENSRAUM POLICIES." Bookman Associates, New York, 1961. 263 pp.

This book sheds an interesting light on the German "lebensraum" policies in Eastern Europe during World War II. Indeed, it represents a valuable study of the history of the struggle of the Slav neighbours of Germany against their liquidation as peoples.

Ukraine was the Garden of Eden for Hitler; that was why it was to be divided among the German settlers, and the Ukrainians, if not liquidated, were mostly to be expelled from their native country (see pp. 72-81).

Kamenetsky states that "Hitler ruled that such nationalities as Ukrainians, Great Russians, Byelorussians, Czechs, and Lithuanians should be considered for Germanization on the basis of individual investigation. If they should be found fit for Germanization, they should be put into Class IV of the Volksliste and granted provisional citizenship, which might be cancelled at any time..." (p. 94).

Summarizing the Nazi "lebensraum"

concept in its ideology, organization and action, the author draws the following conclusions:

1) "Because the Nazi program was based on a large-scale territorial expansion, involving countries which Germany could claim neither on the ground of irredenta nor on the basis of her historical rights, no possibility of a peaceful adjustment would be likely in the long run.

2) The Nazi lebensraum policy reveals a pattern of a new totalitarian imperialism, which the leading Nazi ideologist Alfred Rosenberg preferred to call 'Völkischer Imperialismus' (folk imperialism).

3) The Nazi totalitarian imperialism reveals a new concept of relations towards other peoples. This concept is expressed in terms of organic allies and organic enemies of the German people" (pp. 177-180).

The author has added several appendices to his book which supplement his statements.

Spectator

A. Dublansky: "UKRAYINŠKI SVYATI" ("Ukrainian Saints"). Published by the Theological-Scientific Institute of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Munich, 1962. 100 pp. Price: DM. 3.00.

In this small book the Very Reverend A. Dublansky presents 170 short biographies of the saints of the Ukrainian Church, together with a list of their feast-days according to the Julian and Gregorian calendars. In spite of the fact that the author quotes practically no sources at all,

this scientific monograph nevertheless represents a valuable contribution to the study of the history of the Ukrainian Church. For this reason we can warmly recommend this book to all readers who are interested in the history of the Church in East Europe, in particular in Ukraine.

Dr. G. P.

John A. Armstrong: "UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM." Second Edition. Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University. New York and London, 1963.

In the revised edition of his book (published in 1955), Dr. Armstrong made various additions and revisions in the original text and added a new chapter dealing with the post-war development of the various nationalist factions. The lapse of time since World War II provides a perspective which enables one to assess some of the political developments in Ukraine, in particular nationalist guerrilla activity against the Soviet Russian regime, more correctly.

The author stresses the fact that since the first appearance of his book a number of works on Ukraine have been published and new and manifold material has become available.

We should above all like to discuss the new chapter added by Dr. Armstrong, which is entitled "After the War." Here he stresses that "the passage of time has enabled one to obtain a somewhat better perspective on the immediate post-war period, which is especially important because of the continued resistance of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (known in the Western world as UPA) to Soviet rule" (p. 291).

Referring to the UPA, Dr. Armstrong writes as follows on page 300: "If one takes into account duration, geographical extent, and intensity of activity, the UPA very probably is the most important example of forceful resistance to Communist rule... In the extreme reaches of Central Asia the Turkic Basmachi groups offered sporadic resistance until about 1930. In the European USSR, however, serious forceful resistance to the Soviet regime was not revived even by the extreme popular antipathy aroused by collectivization... there was the independent and widespread rebellion of the Moslem mountaineers in the North Caucasus in the autumn of 1941... To go farther afield, the same limitation of size has applied to other instances of vigorous and sustained rebellion against Communist regimes, such as the Tibetan and Turkestan rebellions against the

Peking Chinese government or the riots in East Germany (1953) and Poland (1956). The Hungarian revolution of 1956 was, of course, far more important, involving to some degree a population of nine million, and, rapidly developing a complex organization. The Hungarian revolution, however, lasted only a few weeks. In contrast, the more or less effective anti-Communist activity of the Ukrainian resistance forces lasted from mid-1944 until 1950..."

The drastic linguistic Russification of the Ukrainian people is stressed by the author on page 305. Naturally, the Ukrainians try to undermine this process by all the means at their disposal.

Dr. Armstrong emphasizes the fact that "...the forced repatriation of many thousand Ukrainians was one of the most tragic episodes marking the end of World War II" (p. 311).

Referring to the formation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), the author writes: "the ABN was formed in Volhynia during the war by representatives of various nationalities in the UPA. It was reconstituted in emigration at an early date; material bearing its imprint appeared at least by the beginning of 1946... In 1951 Jaroslaw Stetzko became chairman of the ABN Central Committee."

On page 320 he rightly affirms that "Jaroslaw Stetzko provided dynamic public leadership...", whilst on page 54 he stresses that "among the entire group, Stetzko (a priest's son) was distinguished by his quick intelligence and ability to generalize his experiences in the form of political prescriptions..."

Cultural and scientific organizations such as the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, the Shevchenko Society in Paris, and the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in New York have, as Dr. Armstrong states on page 320, been particularly successful in gaining public sympathy for the Ukrainian cause.

In concluding his new chapter, Dr. Armstrong expresses the conviction that "the future of Ukrainian independence appears to depend far more on the contingencies of international relations than upon anything which organized Ukrainian nationalism can accomplish. Nevertheless, in an unpredictable international setting it would be unwise to discount the future of a movement which has

showed so much persistence in adversity and such dynamism when faced with opportunity" (p. 321).

This book, though it contains a few errors, is nevertheless an extremely valuable and interesting study of Ukrainian nationalism by one of the most outstanding contemporary authorities on Ukraine.

V. Luzhansky

Anna-Nadja Horbatsch: "BLAUER NOVEMBER" ("Blue November"). Ukrainische Erzähler unseres Jahrhunderts (Ukrainian Short Story-writers of Our Century). Wolfgang Rothe Verlag, Heilderberg, 1959. 375 pp. Price: DM. 19,80.

The Ukrainian literature of our century far surpasses all that is usually classed as popular and national literature, as Anna-Nadja Horbatsch clearly shows us in her anthology "Blue November." She has selected and translated the stories herself and is also responsible for the get-up of this book. The anthology contains stories by fourteen Ukrainian authors, some of whom enjoy international fame, as for instance Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky, Vasyl Stefanyk, Mykhailo Ivchenko, Oleksa Slisarenko,

Mykola Khvylyovy, Oleksander Dovzhenko, Arkadiy Liubchenko, etc.

All these stories breathe a spirit of simple truth, — a human spirit, which reminds the reader that Ukraine was always more closer to the European cultural heritage than to Russia, from which it differs in countless respects. The excellent and carefully chosen selection offered in this anthology gives the reader a clear picture of this great people of East Europe who have suffered a hard and unjust fate in the course of their history.

Arthur de Bruyne: "STEFAN BANDERA." Oranje-Uitgaven, Zulte, 1963.

The little book by a Flemish journalist is dedicated to the memory of Stepan Bandera, the Ukrainian freedom fighter, who a short time after his tragic death already became a legendary figure and symbol of the fight for freedom, not only in Ukraine but also in the Western world. The author gives an account of Stepan Bandera's life of self-sacrifice for his country, Ukraine, from his earliest youth until he was treacherously murdered by a Russian agent, Bohdan Stashynsky, at the orders of the Kremlin, in October 1959 in Munich.

As a young man Bandera fought against the Polish oppressors, since his native district, Ukrainian East Galicia, after a heroic fight immediately after the first world war was ceded to the newly founded Polish state by the Red Russians and also by the Ambassadors' Conference in March 1923.

After the Russians had retreated before the advancing German troops and Ukraine had proclaimed its independence on June 30, 1941, Bandera and Jaroslaw Stetzko were arrested by Hitler's Gestapo and put in a concentration camp, where they were imprisoned until practically the end of World War II.

When the Russians occupied the whole of Ukraine in 1945, Bandera continued the fight for the freedom of Ukraine even though he was living in exile, and even though the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) had been defeated by the united Polish, Czechoslovakian and Red Russian forces as a result of the latter's superior technical equipment. Bandera continued this fight until he was murdered in Munich at the orders of the Kremlin rulers.

The author describes all the details of the unequal fight waged by

Bandera against the oppressors of the Ukrainian people and also emphasizes the fact that the sentence imposed on Bandera's murderer, Stashynsky, by the Federal High Court of Germany in Karlsruhe was too mild. He deplors the fact that the Western world did not show more interest in the trial of this murderer.

Mr. Bruyne concludes his book by stressing that one should constantly

bear in mind that the Ukrainian people are a Christian people incarcerated behind the Iron Curtain. Throughout his book he reveals his great sympathy and understanding for Bandera and the freedom aims and aspirations of the Ukrainian people.

V. Churkachyk

Guido G. Goldman: "ZIONISM UNDER SOVIET RULE (1917-1928)." Herzl Press, New York, 1960. 135 pp.

The purpose of this monograph is "to shed some light on the development of Zionism which to date has received little critical attention or scholarly study, especially in the English language" (p. 1). But has the author really succeeded in doing so? We are not fully convinced of this fact, since Mr. Goldman makes various erroneous statements with regard chiefly to Ukraine and the Ukrainians. It is indeed regrettable that Jewish authors find it so difficult to write impartially on Jewish-Ukrainian relations.

It is untrue that Petlura's regular forces staged "extremely brutal pogroms in Ukraine," for Petlura himself launched many appeals forbidding such pogroms (p. 33). The author further states that the White Russian General Denikin also organized pogroms in Ukraine. But one must bear in mind that Petlura waged war on Denikin, inter alia in order to protect the Jewish population in Ukraine, and this fact is clearly proved in many publications in Western Europe.

The author should remember that Ukraine, in particular the north-eastern regions of Ukraine, was already invaded by the Russian Communists in 1918. Hence the anti-Jewish policy pursued in Ukraine at that time should be imputed to the Red Russians rather than to the Ukrainians. And thus, almost the whole of Chapter VI, which is devoted to the "Fight against Zionism in

Ukraine in 1919," pertains to the Russians rather than to the Ukrainians. The author himself is forced to admit that "the three principal minorities in Ukraine, the Great Russians, Jews and Poles, were granted national-personal autonomy in the form of independent and sovereign National Assemblies (Rada) on January 9th, 1918." But he adds: "However, this policy proved to be shortlived and was replaced by the pro-German government of the Hetman Skoropadsky on July 8th, 1918..." (p. 44). In this connection we should like to stress that neither was the government of Skoropadsky pro-German, nor were the Jews persecuted during the rule of Skoropadsky.

Mr. Goldman is certainly in error when he affirms that Ukrainian nationalists staged pogroms against the Jews during World War II (p. 44). On the contrary, many patriotic Ukrainians protected the Jews from being liquidated during the war. One such Ukrainian was Count Andreas Sheptytsky, the Ukrainian Metropolitan of Lviv.

The information which Mr. Goldman gives the reader would be more interesting if it were not — unknowingly or knowingly — distorted. But in spite of this fact this book is, in our opinion, a useful contribution to the history of the development of Zionism in East Europe during the past decades.

V. Kapotivsky

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