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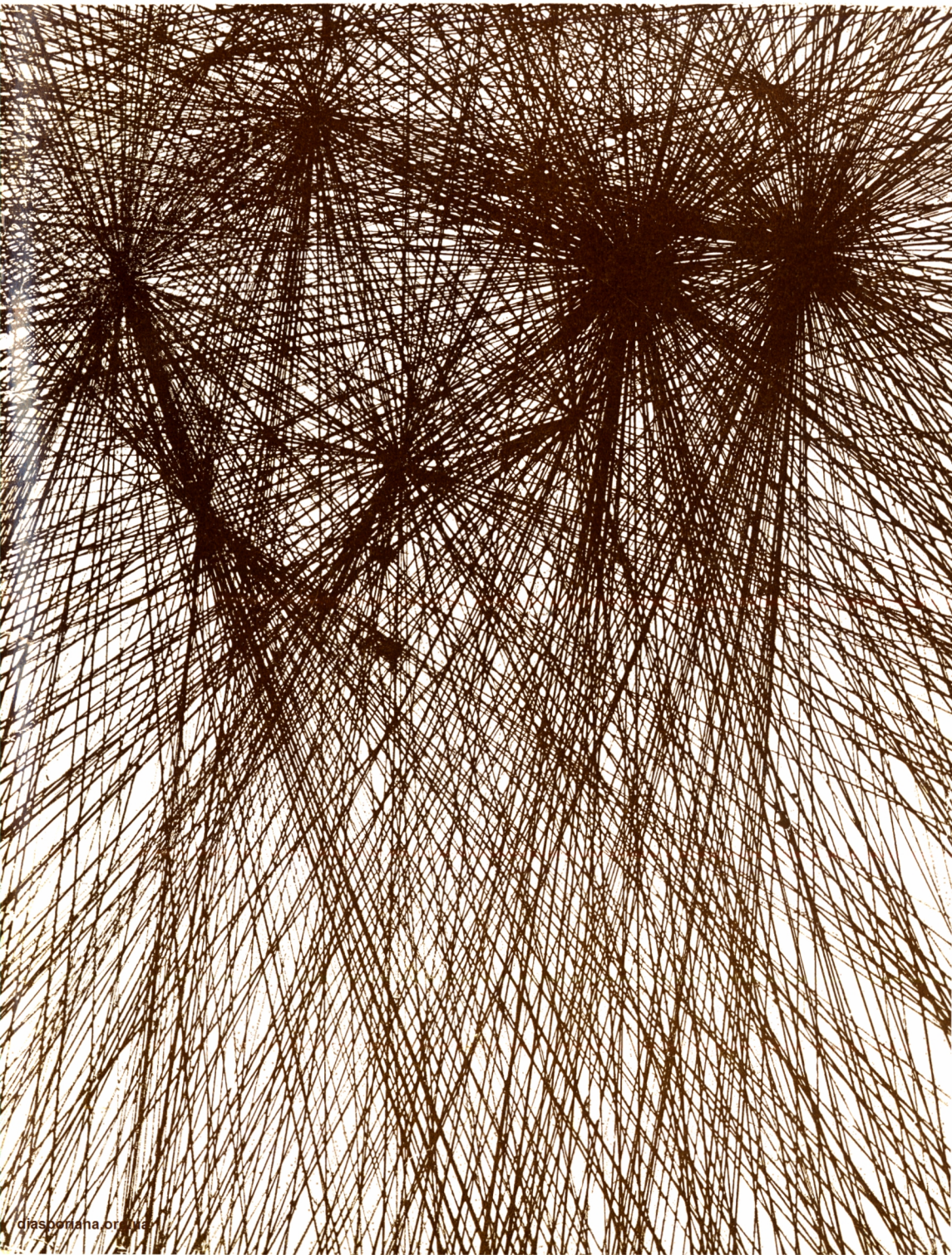

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UKRAINIAN STUDENTS' REVIEW

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WHERE WORLD FAME RESIDES!

This year Ukrainians are celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the death of one of our greatest poets — Ivan Franko. Yet we are alone in this celebration for the world does not know of this great poet. Some would say that if he were really great somehow he would become known. This answer is too naive, too simple an analysis of this complex problem of what constitutes greatness on a world scale. It is not enough to be a genius *per se* to become recognized as one. There are a number of other requirements that must coincide and intercross at the right time, in the right place to compose a suitable milieu for the genius to take root and develop to the fullest extent. The most important factor is nationality. If one happens to be born in a country that plays a leading role in world politics or one that has a long and outstanding tradition of recognition in the development of culture, he can achieve world fame. As a country becomes more important in the eyes of the other countries, as for instance Russia, it attracts attention not only in diplomatic circles but people from all walks of life begin to take interest in all the different aspects which make a people in this one country.

Following the above given example and looking back, we will see that it was not so long ago that Russia was an obscure land of mystery but today the names of Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy are world famous. Pasternak has his place among literature readers and Yevtushenko is gaining in popularity as more and more people crave to understand this world power. Today no one would dare to question the greatness of Tolstoy, but would anybody know his name if he were born in some small country as Belorussia or someplace in Manchuria? If nobody is very much interested in the country as a whole with all its inhabitants how much chance does one writer or poet have to become known? An important country has foreign dignitaries with their staff who involuntarily become aware of the cultural aspects of the country they reside in, there is a more extensive press coverage, more people are interested in becoming experts on the country they reside in, there is a greater demand for translations as the interest and demand grows larger and so the chance that a poet will become widely read and recognized is greater. No one is interested in studying about a country that does not hold a wide public interest because it does not pay either financially or prestige wise. If for instance a publisher will readily publish a translation of a Russian novel, he will have his doubts about a novel by an Armenian novelist. The publisher

knows people will be more interested in anything that comes out of Russia than something that comes out from some forsaken country. As a result the translator, if he wants to publish, is wise to translate Russian authors. The same thing happens with newspaper coverage.

Does not one become famous when more people have read one's works, more critics argued over one's works, more students studied them in their classes? One way to break this vicious circle of organized neglect, apathy and disinterest is to break away from one nation, gain acceptance and fame within the framework of a greater nation, and then to underline one's original nationality.

A different case is when a nation such as France has the tradition of excellence behind her and in certain fields she is looked to for direction and inspiration. Her every movement is noticed, imitated and eventually modified to suit the national character of each author or poet.

Therefore, who can say that Franko was not as great as Zola, during his naturalistic period? Foreign literary critics have not bothered to read and evaluate his work! The Austro-Hungarians certainly were not interested in sponsoring Franko into world fame. After naturalism, Franko passed through ethnographic realism and then turned to psychological novels with an inclination to impressionism and modernism. In this he employed completely modernistic devices and symbolism but at the same time kept the Realistic manner (for example *Perekhresni stezhky, Soichyne krylo, Velykyl shum).* Perhaps if read, he would not be of smaller stature than Henry James or William Faulkner. His novel *Boa constrictor,* describing the cruel exploitation of the workers of the oil industry of Boryslav is as good or better than Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle.* Franko wrote in a variety of genres employing various techniques, thus providing the literary critic, the literary connoiseur, the student of literature, or just an interested reader with literary wealth unlimited. In a nation of 45 million Franko is among the three top writers not only of the nineteenth century but in the history of Ukrainian literature, so he must have some merit. Yet he is doomed to obscurity through a quirk of fate which made him a son of the Ukraine instead of the U.S. or France. He had no opportunity or desire to leave his country and become well known in foreign literature as was the case with Conrad, who was of Polish descent, yet every college student in the U.S. reads his *Lord Jim.*

Fate can be cruel. But more cruel still is human obstinacy which refuses to look for treasure in any other place than in a mine that has been dug and exploited till the point of exhaustion. Yet instead of searching for new and fresh veins the human miner, blinded with the memory of the past riches of the mine, keeps digging feverishly even

when the mine refuses to yield any more. Goaded on by expectation he treasures every hard found speck of glitter and exaggerates its worth.

A very recent example of this type of blind conscious injustice practiced by the world happened a short time ago. Two Russian writers, Daniel and Sinyavsky, were sentenced for their disagreement with the Soviet regime. Everyone was shocked and angry. Radio broadcasts spread the news in all its aspects for several days. Everyone who listened to his radio in the U.S. that week heard about the fate of these two Soviet writers and extended his sympathy. But at the very same time in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, two Ukrainian literary critics, Dziuba and Svitlychnyi — of no lesser literary merit — were sentenced for the same reasons to long terms of hard labor. Not one radio announcer mentioned this, not one big newspaper carried this in its headlines. No one was concerned, moved, angry, or sympathetic to the plight of the two Ukrainians.

60,000 books were destroyed by a Communist fanatic when he set fire to the seventh floor (the Ukrainian section) of the library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev. A Ukrainian collection of publications dated before 1917 was destroyed by the flames, priceless rare publications recording all aspects of Ukrainian culture and national growth were burned. Yet this piece of news never got farther than a few short sentences in an Associated Press story datelined in Kiev. Had this happened in Russia or in the U.S. it would have been the subject of Senate hearings, the burning ambers would be viewed on television from all angles and all possible witnesses would be cross-examined to the point of boredom.

Should not humanity be moved by the injustice of omission, silence and ignorance? Should not humanity want to possess and be aware of all the treasures that the human mind contributes to world civilization and culture, regardless of whether the contributor is from a great or a small country? Perhaps with the ever increasing popularity of the studies in Comparative Literature more and more literature will be included and both students and critics will search out hidden writers and poets to complete the intricate pattern of world literature. Then the chance of world fame will reside in every country of the world and Franko will take his place among other great writers of the world.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

October 21, 1965

Mr. L. Matyciw
1310 N. Lockwood
Chicago, Illinois 60651

Dear Mr. Matyciw:

Thank you for sending me a copy of HORIZONS UKRAINIAN STUDENTS' REVIEW.

The articles are interesting and I especially enjoyed the poetry.

Sincerely yours,

DANIEL K. INOUYE
United States Senator

DKI:co

The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye, from Hawaii, was one of several U.S. Senators who responded warmly to the last issue of *Horizons*.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF PRESIDENTS WILSON AND COOLIDGE IN EASTERN EUROPE

by
George Kulchycky

[*George Kulchycky received his B.A. in 1961 at Kent State University and his M.A. at John Carroll University. Mr. Kulchycky has been active in the Ukrainian student movement since 1960, holding various positions in the Cleveland Student Organization. From 1962 to 1964 he was President of the Ukrainian Student Club at Kent University, and presently he is the Chairman of the Board of Appeals of SUSTA.*]

I. Introduction

The purpose of this paper, as implied by the title, is to express the views that were held by Wilson and Coolidge in relation to the question of Eastern Europe. In order to better understand the policies of the above mentioned presidents, it is almost impossible to avoid a more precise discussion of the state of affairs in Eastern Europe. Due to the state of affairs in this area, however, I have chosen a case study of one country in Eastern Europe, which is a good if not the best representative of Eastern European developments.

The country that I have chosen to be a representative of the other countries is Ukraine. I have chosen this country because it had: 1) a National Government, 2) an army, 3) retained its independence longer than any other of the revolting nationalities of the former Russian Empire, 4) was economically self-sufficient, 5) could carry on the war, 6) a population of 35 million people, and 7) the largest territorial area of all the seceding nations.

Such a case study is necessary, I feel, in order to facilitate a better examination of Wilson's 14 points and the principle of self-determination as applied to Eastern Europe. Furthermore, it is very effective in illustrating the U.S. attitude about the much propagated idea of "indivisibility of Russia".

II. The U.S. Provisional Government and the Nationalities

The world conflict that exploded after the tragedy at Sarajevo left the United States relatively oblivious to the developments in Europe. The United States government tenaciously clung to the diplomatic path

charted by George Washington. As late as 1916 the United States cared little about the war and this was clearly expressed in Mr. Wilson's statement that:

> "With the objects and causes of the war we are not concerned. The obscure foundation from which its stupendous flood has burst forth we are not interested to search for or explore."[1]

Soon after, however, the United States realized that the war was not a war of the Europeans but that it was a conflict which the Americans could not and should not avoid. They realized that they, also, were affected. However, past experiences had not prepared the United States for the task which it took upon itself. As hard as it tried, it could not live up to its espoused ideals of "self-determination for all nations" and "making the world safe for democracy." The United States did, however, become the arsenal of the world.

In the world at large there still existed the spirit of the Congress of Vienna. One nation would aid another against liberalism and the maintenance of the status quo. The idea that the simpler the state in its component parts the more durable the peace would be prevailed. At the outset of the war, no one dreamt of breaking up the Austrian or Russian Empires. Most large nations adhered to the principle of status quo and were for preserving the Empires because they were best for administrative purposes. Soon it became evident, however, that a sound peace could not be realized if all nations were not included in the family of nations.

In the United States, Wilson had to deal with the mood of the people. He became aware that in a heterogenious nation like ours there would be "split loyalties"[2] in this war. He, therefore, outlined two principles as a basis for negotiations: "First that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live . . . Second that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that the great and powerful nations expect and insist on."[3]

By this message Wilson hoped to align most of the minorities in the United States, with the views and war efforts of the United States. Many of the people from Eastern Europe were in a dilemma. They found themselves on the side of the United States and the Entente, who were then allies of the Russian autocracy. They were hardly in the mood, therefore, to help the Russians who were controlling their homelands. The First Congress of the Submerged People, meeting in the United States, composed of Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia drafted a

resolution requesting that the principle of self-determination be applied to these and other enslaved Eastern European Nations. For a while, this evoked the sympathy of the American people. The United States published scholarly articles about these nations, and the American public became aware of the fact that these nationalities were not Russian.

This state of affairs did not last long and American enthusiasm for these nations subsided due chiefly to the March Revolution in Russia. President Wilson saw in the Revolution the removal of the last moral reservation which had prevented the U.S. from entering the war on the side of the Entente. It was now a war of autocracy against democracy, a war of kings against the people. Wilson at this stage optimistically declared:

> "Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia?"[4]

Now the cries of the national minorities were muzzled. Russia was no longer an autocracy but a democracy. The cries that were already beginning to be heard from the oppressed nationalities were passed by with the explanation that these people were just asking for the democratic rights that were up until now denied them. The great fallacy in this was that these nations were not asking for reforms but for cultural and political autonomy and later independence. Suffering from internal strife, Russia now considered leaving the war. Wilson, to prevent this, sent a mission to Russia to offset the Soviet (council) appeal for peace. This mission, headed by Elihu Root was designed to make the Russian people realize the blessings of democracy and to awaken in them a new enthusiasm for the war. Root, however, could not understand the Russian radical scene which the Provisional Government made to look like it had the situation well in hand. Without realizing that a few of the nationalities had already proclaimed their autonomy, he concluded that America's best policy was to support the Provisional Government.[5]

Soon the United States unwittingly became an instrument and the mouthpiece of the one and indivisible Russia. The nations that were attempting to free themselves from "democratic Russia" were now identified as "agents of Germany and their Bolshevik cohorts." There were a few nations that were not treated in this manner but these people commanded the sentiments of the American people. They had behind them a tradition of Kosciusko and Pulaski as well as a powerful voting block. They managed to receive, upon the request of American states-

men, the assurance that Poland would no longer be considered a part of Russia. This assurance was made in spite of the fact that Polish Legions were fighting on the Austrian side against "democratic Russia." All other nations wishing to secede from Russia were, according to Samuel N. Harper, a personal advisor of Ambassador Francis in Petrograd, "stabbing Russia in the back." "Again," he continues "it is clear that German agents are at work in Finland."[6]

American consul in Georgia, Willoughby Smith, was perhaps one of the few people that understood the Russian situation and the need of gaining the support of the seceding nations in the war effort, wrote:

> "there is a lack of patriotism and every effort of the Provisionary Government to meet this situation tends to aggravate it" he continued that; "the creation of such a republic (Transcaucasian Federation) by the several races composing it would give that love of country which at present is totally lacking."[7]

Ambassador Francis, however could not think in these terms. He thought only in terms of "German agents," "Bolsheviks," and "Monarchists," and failed to even file reports to the Secretary of State.

Miliukof, one of the chief officials of the Provisional Government, identified the war aims of Russia as being the union of Polish, Ukrainian and Armenian lands. Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia, and others were called "Pro German reactionaries and disciples of Prussianism." Bolsheviks were recognized as the main enemy of the Russian Democracy and not far behind them were the Finns, Georgians, Ukrainians, Latvians, etc. who "place their own regional welfare above that of all Russia."[8]

Until the fall of the Provisional Government, the United States supported it. Even five years after the fall of the Provisional Government, Bakmeteff, the Russian ambassador was recognized as the only true representative of the Russian people.[9] The Allies naively drew their information exclusively from the side which they wanted to see win. They allowed the Provisional Government to sell Russian war bonds in the U.S. to the amount of $80,000,000 and extended the Kerensky Government $186,000,000 in loans.

III. The U.S., Bolsheviks, and the Nationalities.

On November 7, 1917 the Bolsheviks overthrew the Provisional Government. At this time the total number of Bolsheviks in Russia was approximately 40,000. The American statesmen, unfortunately, were

unable to re-orient their view to that of the Bolsheviks. They continued regarding Russia as "one and indivisible," and went about in preserving the integrity of Russia just as the British protected the integrity of the "sick man of Europe" (Turkey). America refused to touch the "sacred cow" and was reluctant to apply the concept of self-determination to Eastern Europe.

While Root and Wilson divided the world into autocratic and democratic, the Soviets divided it into socialist and capitalist camps. Root believed that the best antidote for dissention sown by the Germans is strong military and moral support.[10]

Wilson went further. He assured the Russians that America advocated self-determination in its political rather than national forms.[11] He believed that Lenin's cry for peace was a propaganda device to get the support of the people and that he, Lenin, would continue the war. On January 8, 1918, therefore, Wilson made his 14 points speech before Congress. This speech had a very disruptive influence on Ukrainian-American relations at a time when the Rada Government was still prepared to assume a share of the Entente war effort. The sixth point of the speech in effect denied the non-Russian peoples of the former Empire the right to self-determination.[12] By this point Wilson reassured the Bolsheviks that they need not deprive themselves the heritage of the Czars. He felt that the Bolshevik's use of self determination was not a political weapon but that German influence compelled them to endorse it.[13] He wanted to show them that America did not want the dismemberment of Russia. As the Allied diplomacy pushed the Ukrainians and other nationalities into the camp of the Central Powers, the Secretary of State of the Ukraine, Alexander Shulhin, made an attempt to cooperate with the Allies. In his note of December 12, 1917, he stated that:

> "We will receive with great satisfaction all the suggestions and advice which our allies will give us for the defense of the common interest."[14]

Francis was now ready to have America recognize Ukraine as the legal government. In reply to his communique, Secretary of State Lansing, wrote the following:

> "This government is not disposed as yet to recognize any independent governments until the will of the Russian people has been more definitely expressed on this general subject."[15]

The Rada Government then sent envoys, to Jassy, Rumania, to once more beg aid and recognition by the U.S. Once more on January

21, 1918, the Undersecretary of State of Ukraine, Halip informed the Entente of Ukraine's difficulties and requested the following: 1) Recognition of Ukraine and exchange of diplomats, 2) Financial support of the Ukrainian Government, 3) Facilities on the part of the Entente for supplying Ukraine with manufactured goods.'[16]

Since no tangible agreements took place, Ukraine was now forced to deal with the Central Powers. The Bolsheviks were now attacking Ukraine because the Ukrainian government would not allow Bolshevik troops to pass through Ukraine and disarm their units. Now since the West did not recognize Ukraine's and other captive nationalities plea for aid and recognition, the attitude of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" prevailed.

At the time that Ukraine entered into negotiations with the Central Powers at Brest Litovsk the Bolsheviks were already expressing their willingness to talk of peace with Germany. Ukraine, therefore, could not let the Bolsheviks sign a peace with the Central Powers in the name of all the nationalities. And she could not continue a war on two fronts. (Russia and Germany).

Regarding the Peace Treaty of Brest Litovsk and Ukraine, the *Independent* made the following comment:

> "It is unfortunate that in this crisis the (Ukrainian) People's Republic is receiving recognition and aid from the Central Powers while the Allies, pledged to champion the oppressed nationalities, must stand aloof and averse."[17]

By the Treaty of Brest Litovsk signed by Ukraine, Russia and the Central Powers, Russia lost Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, parts of White Russia, Ukraine, Bessarabia, and parts of Transcaucasia. By this treaty the Germans were willing to prove that they do believe in self-determination of nations without reservations.

Ukraine was forced, of necessity, to sign the treaty of Brest Litovsk. The Bolsheviks were pressing deep into Ukrainian territory. The Whites were also harassing the efforts of the Ukrainian Government to subdue the Bolsheviks. Denikin supported by the Allies instead of Marching against the Bolsheviks marched against the Ukrainian Government with the idea of reuniting the lost "province" to the new Russia which he hoped to build.

For the Bolsheviks, the treaty of Brest Litovsk was a humiliating peace. They were forced to recognize the independence of all their former colonies and to cease hostile operations against them. But Russia was hostile to both the Central powers and the Entente and refused to

shed blood in favor of one side or the other. On March 16, 1918 the Congress of Soviets ratified the treaty of Brest Litovsk and at the same time answered Wilson's note which read "the happy time is not far distant when the laboring masses of all countries will throw off the yoke of capitalism."[18] At this time Ziniviev boasted: "We slapped the President of the United States in the face."[19]

Three years of fighting in the Ukraine left the people in a state of exhaustion. The Whites were constantly harassing the Ukrainian efforts to create a strong democratic republic while the Reds were incessantly agitating and creating hurdles in the path of the Ukrainian Government. Ukraine seeing no other alternative invited the Germans to assist them in their fight against the Bolsheviks.

Many Americans now began identifying the Ukrainian Government with an Austro-German intrigue, the purpose of which was to weaken Russia by setting up a rival nationalist movement."[20] That this is not true is borne out by Count Czernin, the leader of the delegation at the

Dr. Dobriansky at the Greater Buffalo International Airport (right to left) Dr. Dobriansky, Lubomyr M. Zobniw, President of the Ukrainian-American Student Association at University of Buffalo; Bohdan Bejger, Cultural Affairs Chairman and Chairman of the Lecture Committee.

peace talks at Brest Litovsk who felt that peace would be more difficult to negotiate with Kiev than with Petrograd:

> "Nowhere do Austrian troops oppose those of the St. Petersburg Government . . . (while) Ukrainian troops do oppose us."[21]

As negotiations continued his fears were realized. In his memoirs Czernin wrote: "The Ukrainians are no longer discussing peace, they are dictating it."[22]

In Wilson's 14 points, Ukraine began to seem merely a tool by which she was to be reduced to a former colony of Holy Mother Russia. Wilson on May 18, 1918 reiterated his faith in Russia implying that the "Bolsheviks were the legitimate, although misunderstood, guardians of democracy in East Central Europe."[23] The Allies remembered the sacrifices of the Russian people in the common war effort yet they failed to recognize how many of these were really not Russians.

The victory of the Bolsheviks, therefore, could be attributed to the following reasons: 1) indecision of the opposition, 2) the American, French and the British wavering between the independent republics, which had liberated themselves from Russia and White Russians, that had facilitated the downfall of these lands."[24]

Stalin later said that:

> "the hostile policy of the Bolsheviks toward the non-Russian nations gained the support of the anti-Bolshevik leaders, (Denikin, Wrangel, Kolchak) and secured a Bolshevik victory for Russia."[25]

Lenin at the 12th Congress of Russian Communist Bolshevik Party on April, 1923 also attributed Bolshevik victory to the Entente supported Whites. He asserted that:

> "These Generals (Denikin, Wrangel, Kolchak, Yudenich) depended on the Cossack colonizing elements, they held out to the oppressed peoples the prospect of further oppression, and the oppressed peoples were therefore pushed into our arms."[26]

IV. Intervention

To many allied statesmen the Bolshevik Revolution was the work of German propaganda. During a discussion of the Interallied Conference at Paris, Clemenceau, the French minister, urged the Japanese

Government to send an expeditionary force to Russia.[27] Such an intervention he hoped would tend to rally the loyal anti-Bolshevik troops against the Petrograd Government.

Colonel House, on the other hand, felt that such a move was unnecessary and that the fighting spirit of the Russians had burned out. He began to see that the Bolsheviks succeeded not because of German gold but because the Provisional Government was unable to satisfy the broad masses of Russia. Instead of Intervention, House urged President Wilson to declare friendliness and provide all the help that Russia may need. Such an intervention he felt would arouse all Slavs throughout Europe because of race.[28] This conclusion was erroneous, however, in that it assumed that all the peoples of the former empire were Slavs and that all Slavs stood firmly behind the "big brother" (Russia).

President Wilson, as is to be expected, was also opposed to intervention. On July 8, 1918 he admitted to Colonel House his indecision on the Russian question in the following statement:

"I have been sweating blood over the question what is

Dr. Dobriansky answers additional questions presented by University of Buffalo students. Dr. Butler, MC of the events, stands to the right of Dr. Dobriansky. Topic: "Communism, Captive Nations, and Viet Nam."

right and feasible to do in Russia. It goes to pieces under my touch. . ."[29]

Wilson was soon convinced by the Allies that if the war was to be successful intervention was not a question of debate but a question of fast action. Since March 23, France suffered reverses on the Western front. The British and French estimated that their reserves of troops would soon be exhausted and the U.S. would not be able to supply fresh American troops fast enough[30] Wilson conceded to the Allied pressure and at the end of July, 1918 agreed to intervention. The American reasons for intervention were distinct from that of the Allies. While Britain and France felt that intervention was necessary to divert German troops from the Western front by opening a new Eastern front, the Americans apologized their participation and made it appear that American motives were above that of the French and British. Their primary reasons were to save the Czechoslovakian Legion and to keep Japan from extending her sphere of influence into Eastern Siberia and Northern Manchuria. They were, in effect, still subscribing to the archaic Open Door policy of the 19th century.

The intervention forces in Northern Russia had as their specific tasks: 1) to protect Entente ships moving from Archangel and Murmansk. 2) protect the tremendous military stores which were given the Czarist and Kerensky Governments on credit, 3) protection of Murmansk from Germany. The Entente forces in the Eastern theater of operations, on the other hand, hoped to: 1) protect the Trans-Siberian Railroad and 2) help the Czechoslovak Legion leave Russia. The French and British had conceived a plan by which both of the areas would be united by Allied action and which would facilitate penetration into Russia. This plan, however, was not subscribed to by the U.S. and the "Russian Enigma" remained.

By the end of 1918 the Entente powers were sincerely worried about the Bolshevik menace and their agitation. By 1919, the communists established regimes in Bavaria and Hungary. Also at this time, the U.S. underwent what is sometimes called the "Red scare." In spite of this, any large scale operation in Russia was anathema to the United States. Marshall Foch and Churchill were for sending an army to Russia to put down the Bolsheviks.[32] Wilson, however, was for leaving them alone.

The French and British in a secret Convention of December 1918 divided the former non-Russian areas into spheres of action and hoped that the U.S. would come to the conclusion that intervention in the former Russian Empire is necessary. France extended its interests to Ukraine, Bessarabia and the Crimea. Britain, on the other hand, inter-

vened in Transcaucasia. The inaction of the U.S. and their hesitation to act against the Bolshevik menace shortly led both France and Britain to abandon these areas.

Bullitt who was sent to Russia to observe the developments came back somewhat disillusioned with Wilson's policies. He blamed Wilson for surrendering his ideals and then resigned from his post. He reproached Wilson for "having so little faith in millions of men like myself in every nation who had faith in you." When journalists asked Bullitt what he was going to do, he replied that he was going down to the Riviera, "lie down in the sand and watch the world go to hell."[33]

V. Self-Determination and the United States

Looking back upon our diplomatic relations during World War I, one can justly say that perhaps unwittingly we have served the enemy's purpose. The American government and the American public opinion labored under the adage of "one and indivisible". Even five years after Kerensky's overthrow, when all hope of this government regaining power had disappeared, the American Government welcomed the advice of Bekmeteff, the ambassador of the former government.

Wilson believed that:

> "the degree of popular government must correspond to the stage of a people's development."[34]

He distrusted revolution as a practical solution to a people's woes. While freely using the word self-determination, Wilson thought in terms of state with its political manifestations rather than in terms of nationality with its cultural, linguistic and religious manifestations.[35] Nationality in the United States is economic and political in scope while in Europe, it is traditional. His state view, therefore, was reflected in his actions towards the Provisional Government as the legitimate successors of the Czarist regime. He discredited the term "self-determination" when he entrusted the Provisional Government and its successors with the task of assuring all the peoples of the former Russian Empire with the right to political self-determination.[36] (i.e. This could be compared to entrusting a loaf of bread to a starving man.)

The sixth point of Wilson's Fourteen Points conflicted with the principle which runs throughout the whole program . . . "It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another whether they be strong or weak".[37]

The thirteenth point of Wilson's program was contrived in such a

way as to save the Bolsheviks from the concept of self-determination. Discussing the Bolshevik Peace with the British ambassador, Sir Cecil Spring Rice, Wilson said:

> "In point of pure logic, this principle (self-determination) which was good in itself would lead to the complete independence of various small nationalities now forming parts of various Empires. Pushed to its extreme the principle would mean disruption of existing governments to an undefinable extent".[38]

In spite of what one may believe, Wilson and the American Government nourished the hope of getting Austria-Hungary out of the war and at the same time maintaining the territorial integrity of that Empire.[39] However, once the pressure at home became too strong, Wilson yielded to the idea of establishing several states in this area. (Poland and Czechoslovakia)

Had the principle of "self-determination" been realized, it could have been used as a political weapon against the Communists. It would express the moral foundation of American Political tradition and it would mobilize powerful emotional forces of identification and loyalty of the nationalities against Communism.[40]

It was chiefly because of the principle of self-determination that the Bolsheviks were able to recapture the seceding areas. In November, 1917, the Soviets issued "The Declaration of the Rights of the People's of Russia" to self-determination. They hoped that by exposing the right to political independence the non-Russian nationalities would ask to be admitted into the then Russian Soviet Federated Republic. Stalin, the Commisar of Nationalities stated:

> "Nobody has the right forcibly to interfere in the internal life of nations and to "correct" their errors by force. Nations are sovereign in their internal affairs and have the right to arrange their lives as they wish."[41]

By exposing self-determination and the right of secession, the Bolsheviks thought that the nationalities would now request to be admitted into the Soviet "family of nations". This was not the case however. Most of the nations chose independence. The Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia did have its effect. It neutralized the armies of these nations which up to now firmly opposed Communism. The Bolsheviks exploited this situation and started an offensive against these nationalities. They used the very effective device of puppet Soviet National Governments to overthrow the existing democratic governments. This action on

the part of Lenin neutralized the activities of the Russian emigrees who were now content that after all the unity of Russia will be preserved.

Ignoring all these developments, Wilson made a special appeal to Russia bearing no reproaches for withdrawal from the war.[42] It became evident, therefore, that Russia Red or White was more of an element for world progress than was the establishment of a series of independent democratic states within the old Russian Empire.[43] And it also became evident that the principles to which the United States adheres are only recognized when they do not conflict with their strategic, political, military and economic interests.[44] The West believed that the existence of a state is a result of the free will of the inhabitants. As a result, a fallacious conclusion was drawn from this, that because Ukraine and Turkestan were not as successful in their struggle for freedom as the Baltic States and Finland the desire for liberty was weak. One has to take many contingencies into consideration before making such an assumption. (Poland, Whites, Bolsheviks, etc.)

While ardently supporting and advocating the idea of "Russia one and indivisible" Wilson had no qualms about extending a mandate over Armenia, an area occupied by Turkey.[45] His personal friendship with Professor Masaryk led him to advocate a Czechoslovak state, which as was pointed out by events in World War II, was unable to survive as a political entity. Wilson also did not mind sharing in the mad dream of a new Poland with the boundaries of 1772. The building of these states ignored the populations from which these entities were to arise. We were interested only in creating states that would become a bulwark of defense against Germany. At the same time while trying to contain the Germans we overlooked the new danger that was challenging the West. Although outwardly committed to the principle of self-determination, we refused to grant the Baltic states recognition until 1922 and thus deprived them of the moral support that they sought in their struggle against Communism. We refused to recognize the Rumanian claim to Bessarabia because at one time it was part of the Russian Empire. That our policy was to fight any "separatist" tendencies of the non-Russian nations is evident from the statement made by Secretary of State Lansing to the Ukrainian delegate Mr. Margolin at the Paris Peace Conference:

> "Mr. Lansing brusquely declared that Austria and Hungary were our enemies in the war, whereas Russia was our ally. He added that he recognized only a single indissoluble Russian nation and that this nation ought to be federated along the lines of the United States.[46]

One thing that Lansing could not understand, however, was that

Russia was no longer our "ally" and that Russia now regarded Wilson as "the prophet of imperialism".[47]

VI. Coolidge and the Question of Recognition of Russia

Although preventing the allies from interfering in the internal affairs of Russia, the United States refused to recognize the Bolshevik regime. Colby, Wilson's Secretary of State, explained that Wilson did not recognize the Bolsheviks because they had "subverted popular government".[48] Colby was wrong in calling the Provisional Government the popular government. The word provisional means what it implies, that is; the Provisional Government is in power until a Constituent Assembly declares its will. The Provisional Government was, therefore, a temporary government and by no means popular.

Though not recognizing Bolshevik Russia the United States maintained unofficial back door channels through Mr. David R. Francis and Raymond Robbins head of the American Red Cross Commission in Russia. Robbins in many cases came out as an apologist for the Bolshevik government, however, he did leave behind many materials that vividly portray the real Russian attitude. After the Germans resumed their offensive against Russia in February, a discussion took place in the Central Committee in regard to accepting food and aid from the Allies. At this time the members of the Central Committee asked what Lenin thought of this. Lenin answered:

> "I request that my vote be added in favor of the acceptance of potatoes and arms from the bandits of Anglo-French imperialism."[49]

This was but one manifestation of Bolshevik hostility towards the West. Soon the Allies in official Soviet statements were called "plunderers", "pillagers", "oppressors" and "criminals".[50] The Third International, a Communist organization, closely associated with the Soviet Union had engaged in the spread of propaganda designed to undermine the governmnets of so-called capitalist countries including the United States. In 1922 many Communist resolutions were passed which stressed that the Communists will not let their actions be hampered by any obligations, that it is the deadly enemy of bourgeoisie society and "that it is the historical mission of the Communist International to be the gravedigger of bourgeoisie society".[51]

In spite of such declarations which were signed by the Bolshevik leaders, Trotsky, Bukharin, Lenin and Radek, Lenin hoped that the

United States would recognize the Bolsheviks, extend credits and carry on trade with Russia. He assumed that the United States and the Allies would accept this because:

> "You are slaves of your own Capitalist appetites, because when profit is involved, you have no pride, no principles, no honor."[52]

Coolidge made a declaration to the effect that he was in favor of recognizing Russia. A few days later Secretary of State Hughes, with the consent of the President, changed this declaration to that of non-recognition.[53] The United States refused to recognize Russia because of the unwillingness of the Bolsheviks to assume the Tzarist and Provisional government debts and because of the propaganda that the Bolsheviks were disseminating against the Allies and the United States.

This does not imply that we had no indirect relations with Russia. We signed the Kellog-Briand Pact in 1922 to which Russia adhered. We reminded Russia of her obligation under this pact through the French Foreign Office. We also took part in various International Conferences in which Russia participated (i.e. Disarmament Conference and the London Conference of 1933.)

Under Coolidge the United States was undergoing great prosperity. His leadership incarnated economy. His slogan "America's business is business" gave the Europeans a new view of America. The United States was no longer called "Uncle Sam" but "Uncle Shylock". Money dominated our foreign policy. In regard to the recognition of Russia, Coolidge wrote:

> "Russia must pay the debts of the Czarist and Kerensky governments to America before we do any considerable moral and economic rescuing. I don't propose to make merchandise out of American principles but while the favor of America is not for sale, I am willing to make large concessions for a chance to do a little profitable and moral rescuing."[54]

When the United States did recognize the Bolshevik Regime it was not on moral grounds but because the rest of Europe had also defaulted on her debts. Russia was having internal problems to occupy herself (a self-imposed famine which hoped to break the back of Ukrainian resistance), and the Japanese were extending their designs in the East. Our recognition, however, came at the wrong time. It came at a time when the New Economic Policy was discarded and at a time when the

Soviets were guilty of genocide. Our recognition in effect gave them the moral support which they had sought.

VII. Conclusion

In reflecting on our foreign policy of the past it is also important to glance at our foreign policy today and if necessary to learn from our past mistakes. It is sad to point out that we have learned very little from our past blunders. The errors that we have committed in 1918 are still made in 1966. The prevalent tendency in our politics is to copy ideas and utterances of previous diplomats. The ideas of "me too" and "it was good enough for President Wilson and it's good enough for me" seem to dominate the diplomatic stage.

Secretary of State Lansing, as we have already pointed out, was clearly against the break up of the Russian Empire and the formation of new democratic states. His idea was and still is supported by George F. Kennan who was the director of the Policy Planning Staff of the State Department, ambassador to Russia, and is today known as the "Dean of American Diplomacy". Kennan maintains that:

> "The Ukraine, again, deserves full recognition for the peculiar genius and abilities of its people and for the requirements and possibilities of its development as a linguistic and cultural entity; but the Ukraine is as much a part of Russia as Pennsylvania is a part of the United States."[55]

Kennan, however, fails to acknowledge the fact that it is not Ukraine that needs Russia to survive but vice versa. Dean Rusk, the present Secretary of State goes a little further by maintaining that Ukraine, Byelorussia, Armenia, Georgia and the Baltic States are "traditional parts of the Soviet Union" when even the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. makes the above mentioned states separate Republics of the U.S.S.R. and where Ukraine and Byelorussia are chartered members of the United Nations.[56]

Recently, $20,000 was appropriated to a special committee which was charged with examining Soviet colonialism. The chairman of this committee, Walter Mills, came out with the conclusion that the free world benefits enormously from the Soviet enslavement of Eastern Europe. He, therefore, makes it unmistakably clear that he favors world order over freedom.

Many people throughout the world compare the Russian Empire to a big tree in which the roots are Moscovite, the stump is Russian and the bark is Communist. The United States while fighting the bark has

a tendency to strengthen the roots and the stump by its Foreign policy in regard to Eastern Europe. Although Kennan is one of the supporters of an indivisible Russia, he is correct when he says:

> "A nation which excuses its own failures by the sacred untouchableness of its own habits can excuse itself into complete disaster."[57]

NOTES

[1]George F. Kennan, *American Diplomacy* 1900-1950. New York: American Library of World Literature Inc., 1951. p. 57

[2]Albert Shaw, ed., *The Messages and Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, New York: Review of Reviews Co., I p. 126.

[3]*Ibid.*, p. 127.

[4]John T. Zubal, *Ukraine in American Policy and Opinions* 1917-1920, Masters Thesis, John Carroll University, 1962, p. 58.

[5]George F. Kennan, *Russia and the West*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1961. p. 25.

[6]Paul V. Harper, ed., *The Russia I Believe In*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. 107.

[7]U. S. Department of State, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States: Russia* 1918, Washingon: United States Printing Office, 1931, I. p. 75.

[8]Anon., "Plain Words for Russia," *Literary Digest*, LV., (Oct. 6, 1917), p. 18.

[9]Mykola Wolynskyj, "Washington-Moscva," *Wyzwolnyj Schlach*, IV (March. 1957) p. 280.

[10]Elihu Root, *et.al. Messages to the Russian People*, Boston[2] Marshall Jones Co., 1918, p. 116.

[11]Zubal *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[12]Svoboda, January 15, 1918. 2:2.

[13]Victor S. Mamatey, *The United States and East Central Europe*, 1914-1918, Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1957. p. 17f.

[14]Michael S. Pap. "Ukraine's Sruggle for Sovereignty," *Papers-Dopowidi No.* 17, New York: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1961 p. 7.

[15]U. S. Department of State; *op.cit.*, vol. II, p. 657.

[16]Pap, *op.cit.*, p. 17.

[17]Anon., "The Ukraine's People's Republic," *Independent*, XCIII (March 2, 1918), p. 336.

[18]Charles Seymour, *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House: Into the World War*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 19p8. p. 400.

[19]*Ibid.*, p. 400.

[20]Anon., "The Ukrainian National Movement," *Current History*, VII (19.8), pp. 397-9.

[21]Ottokar von Czernin, "Count Czernin's Reply On Behalf of Austria-Hungary," *Current History*. VII (1918) pp. 397-9.

[22]Pap *op.cit.*, p. 19.

[23]Albert Shaw, ed., *The Messages and Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, 2 Vols. New York: The Review of Reviems Corp., 1924, II, p. 487.

[24]Clarence A. Manning, *Twentieth Century Ukraine*, New York: Bookman Associates, 1951. p. 80.

[25]Pap, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[26]*Ibid.*, p. 29.
[27]Seymour. *op. cit.*, p. 387.
[28]*Ibid.*, p. 391.
[29]*Ibid.*, p. 386.
[30]*Ibid.*, p. 410.
[31]Kennan, *Russia and The West* op.cit., p. 72.
[32]Sobert H. Ferrel, *American Diplomacy*, New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1959, p 304.
[33]Kennan, *Russia and The West*, op. cit., p. 10.
[34]Zubal, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[35]*Ibid.*, p. 11.
[36]*Ibid.*, p. 13.
[37]Arthur Bernan Tourtellot, ed., *Woodrow Wilsons Selections for Today*. New York: Duell Sloan and Pearce. 1945, p. 161.
[38]Stephen Gwynn, ed., *The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring Rice: A Record*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929. II. pp. 423-424.
[39]Ferrel *op. cit.*, p. 295.
[40]Kurt Glaser, "Liberation and Self Determination," *Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. X, p. 267.
[41]Pap *op. cit.*, p. 389.
[42]Seymour *op. cit.*, p. 389.
[43]Manning *op. cit.*, p. 146.
[44]Wasyl Kosarenko-Kosarewych, *Moscowskyj Sphinx*, New York: R. Krypka and A. Bilan. 1957, p. 400.
[45]Woodrow Wilson, *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, Vol. II. New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers. 1927. p. 487.
[46]Volodymyr Stovko, "The Principles of Self-Determination in Eastern Europe and Our Foreign Policy", *Horizons*, Vol. II. (1957) p. 12.
[47]Seymour, *op. cit., p.* CRT.
[48]Ferrel, *op. cit.*, p. 305.
[49]Kennan, *Russia and the West, op. cit.*, p. 55.
[50]*Ibid.*, p. 185.
[51]*Ibid.*, p. 185.
[52]*Ibid.*, p. 184.
[53]William Allen White. *A Puritan In Babylon*: New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938, p. 262.
[54]*Ibid.*, p. 324.
[55]Kennan, *"American Diplomacy" op. cit.*, p. 116.
[56]"U.S. State Department Should Change Its Views", *A.B.N. Correspondence*, Vol. XIII (1962) p. 27.
[57]Kennan. *American Diplomacy, op. cit.*, p. 31.

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PROFESSOR N. POLONS'KA-VASYLENKO.

by Dr. W. Omelchenko

[*Dr. William Omelchenko received his Master of Science Degree in Library Science from Columbia University in* 1961 *after he finished his Ph.D. in East European history at the Ukrainian Free University in* 1958. *He is a member of The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., Inc. and in* 1957 *was* the Secretary of its Historical Section. Dr. Omelchenko has published several articles in his field and is presently working on a monograph: *Hryhorii Andrievych Poletyka,* 1723-1784: *His Life and Works. Dr. Omelchenko's present position at Hunter College Library is that of Assistant Professor.*]

The position of Professor Nataliia Polons'ka-Vasylenko as one of the distinguished contemporary Ukrainian historians is difficult to express in a short article. I want to call attention to the significant aspect of her life and to her historical research and pedagogical activities.

Although Dr. Nataliia Dmytrivna Polons'ka-Vasylenko was born in Kharkiv on January 31, 1884. her entire life, from 1889 until her emigration in 1944, was centered in Kiev. There, in 1901, she completed her studies at the Fundukliivs'ka secondary school and in the historical-philological faculty at the Institut for Women's Graduate Studies. In 1913, she received a diploma of the first degree from the University of St. Volodymyr in Kiev. During the years 1912 to 1915 she was assistant at the chair of Russian history and of historical methodology at the Kievan Institut of Women's Graduate Studies. At the same time, beginning in 1910, she lectured in history at several Kievan women's secondary schools. In 1916, a year after taking her master's examinations, she became an assistant professor in archeology at the University of St. Volodymyr, as well as director of the University's archeological museum. From 1917-1920 she was professor of Kiev Women's College, Institut of Geography and Institut of Archeology.

In 1920 the Bolsheviks initiated a campaign to reform schools of higher learning in the Ukraine. Many universities and institutes were liquidated, among them the Institute of Women's Graduate Studies and the Geographical Institute. Only the Archeological Institut remained, but it was removed from the state budget and transferred to a self-creditory status. This meant that it was to support itself financially by fees received for the hearing of lectures. The Institute did not meet the requirements of The National Commissariat of Education, which after shifting it from place to place, finally attached it to the research chair of art history. Despite material difficulties, the Institute was an important

establishment where courses were given which were not included in the curriculum of the Institutes of Higher Learning. Many researchers in the field of art, archeology, and ethnography emerged from it. Professor Polons'ka-Vasylenko lectured in archeology at this Institute.

In 1920, she declined the proposed chair of archeology at Perm University, and in 1922, that of art history at the Azerbaijan University in Baku because she desired to remain and work in Ukraine. From 1927 to 1931, she was a professor at the Kievan Art Institute. It was not until 1940 that Professor Polons'ka-Vasylenko received the opportunity to renew her professorial activity at the Kievan State University. While in emigration, she was professor at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague (from 1944) and in Munich (from 1945), where she lectured in Ukrainian history. In 1946 she held the chair of Ukrainian Church history as professor at the Ukrainian Orthodox Theological Academy in Munich.

Besides teaching, Professor Polons'ka-Vasylenko was active in academic research. The year 1909 marked the beginning of her scholarly research work. At this time, she did research in the patrimonial archives of Princes Kurakin and P. S. Chicherin, temporarily located in Kiev. In that same year, her first articles were printed in a collection edited by Professor M. V. Dovnar-Zapols'kiy: *Russian History in Outlines and Articles* (in Russian). Volume one appeared at the beginning of 1910 in Moscow. In it were printed the following three articles by Professor Polons'ka-Vasylenko: *The Sources, Origin and Structure of the 'Rus' Pravda', The Village and City Population of Ancient Rus'*, and *The Steppe People.*

In 1909 she also worked in the Kiev Museum and took part in the excavations in Bilhorod (near Kiev) led by a prominent Ukrainian archeologist, V. Khvoika. Her article, *"Archeological Excavations in Bilhorod"* (in Russian), which was printed in the Works of the XV Archeological Congress in Novgorod, is dedicated to this excavation. In 1916 she worked in Moscow under the direction of the prominent archeologist, V. Gorodtzov.

Her *Cultural-Historical Atlas of Russian History* appeared during the years 1913 to 1914. Compiled by Professor Polons'ka-Vasylenko and edited by Prof. M. V. Dovnar-Zapols'kii, the Atlas was designed for students of secondary schools. Its 120 folio plates contained over 1000 photographs of memorials of antiquity, from the paleolithic age to the middle of the 19th century. The plates were accompanied by comments. In each of the three issues, a considerable section was allotted to Ukrainian culture. But the Russian Ministry of Education did not approve of the Ukrainian orientation of the Atlas. Although not admitted into

school libraries, it nevertheless became widely distributed even beyond the borders of Ukraine.

From 1913 on, research in Ukrainian history occupied an established place in Professor Polons'ka-Vasylenko's work. Early in 1914, she worked in the archives of Ukraine and Russia where she collected material for her monumental work, *The Settlement of Southern Ukraine in the Eighteenth Century.*

From 1924 to 1943, with the exclusion of the years 1934 to 1937 (when almost all the humanistic institutions of the Ukrainian Academy were liquidated and she and her scholarly colleagues dismissed) Professor Polons'ka-Vasylenko was an elder scholarly member at the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kiev. At first she was an assistant with a separate assignment at the chair of the academician D. I. Bahalii. Then she became the secretary of the Commission of Socio-Economic History of the Ukraine from the XVII to the XIX centuries, headed by Bahalii. Later, she taught at the Institute of Ukrainian History. At the Academy of Sciences she did research on the history of southern Ukraine and Zaporizhia.

Not only did Professor Polons'ka-Vasylenko work in the archives of Kiev, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav (Dnipropetrovsk), Odessa, and Moscow, but also in places where Ukrainian researchers had not been yet, such as the Crimea (Simferopil and Theodosia). Some of these archives were lost during the revolution and the Second World War. Consequently, Professor Polons'ka-Vasylenko's works, which are based on these materials, are very valuable. As a result of this research, she wrote a two-volume monograph. The first volume was printed in English by the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.A. in its Annals, vol. IV-V. (1955) under the title of *The Settlement of the Southern Ukraine (1750-1775).* The second volume, covering the period following the ruin of the Sitch, was removed in 1941 during the evacuation of the Academy of Sciences of the UkSSR (Ukrainian SSR) to Ufa. Its fate is unknown. Also unknown is the fate of a documented collection of three volumes of material on the settlement of southern Ukraine.

Professor Polons'ka-Vasylenko's works regarding the history of Zaporizhia are especially meaningful. Aside from *The Wealth of the Zaporizhyan Officers as a Source of Knowledge About the Socio-Economic History of Zaporizhja,* her other works include a series of studies in the history of Zaporizhja and southern Ukraine. Especially noteworthy among these are the articles: *Southern Ukraine in 1787* and *The Manifesto of 1775 Regarding the Abolition of the Zaporizhyan Sitch in the Light of the Ideas of the Time* (in Ukrainian). These were printed

in publications of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in the 1920's and the beginning of the 1930's.

In 1940, Professor Polons'ka-Vasylenko, after defending her dissertation — *The Settlement of Southern Ukraine in the Middle of the XVIII Century* — at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Moscow, received the degree of doctor of historical sciences.

While in emigration, Dr. Polons'ka-Vasylenko returned to the subject of southern Ukraine and Zaporizhja. She published such articles as *Concerning the History of the Uprising in Zaporizhja in 1768,* printed by the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the USA, and *Concerning the History of the First District of New Russia, 1764-1774,* printed by the Ukrainian Free University in Munich. The basic idea of these works was that, from early times, southern Ukraine was part of Ukraine and remained so during the 18th century despite all the measures by the Russian government to settle it with foreigners. These works stressed the fact that the Ukrainian population had always predominated in that area which continued to be "Ukraine" regardless of the official name of "New Russia."

Deprived in emigration of the opportunity to use the archives of the Ukraine, Professor Polons'ka-Vasylenko had to change somewhat the subject of her research. She turned to the problem of reciprocity between the Ukraine of the period of princes and in 1944, in Prague, she released a book entitled *Kiev in Times of Volodymyr and Yaroslav.* In 1964, in London, her work: *Ukraine-Rus' and Western Europe in the 10th-13th Centuries* was published by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain. Special mention should be made of her work in the history of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, two volumes of which were published in 1955-1958.

An important problem upon which Professor Polons'ka-Vasylenko worked during emigration was the history of the Ukrainian Church. In 1949, her shortened course, *The History of the Ukrainian Church,* appeared at the Orthodox Theological Academy in Munich, as well as a series of articles on the history of the Ukrainian Church. In 1964, in Munich and Rome, there was published a monograph, *The History of the Foundations of Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church* (in Ukrainian).

In 1964, in Munich, another of her works, *Two Conceptions of History of Ukraine and Russia,* was published by the Ukrainian Free University.

Her major work, *The History of Ukraine* upon which she has worked for several years, is now in print. A separate place among her

works belongs to her memoirs which are mostly devoted to the last fifty years. Among the prominent figures in her memoirs are: M. Hrushevskii, A. Kryms'kij, M. Vasylenko, S. Yefremov, L. Starytska-Cherniakhivska, M. Slabchenko, M. Zerov, and V. Kozlovs'kii as well as S. Tomashivs'kii and D. I. Doroshenko. Professor Polons'ka-Vasylenko has proven herself to be a first-class writer of memoirs.

Despite the difficult conditions under which her scholarly work has proceeded, Professor Polons'ka-Vasylenko has published over 200 scholarly works, which are a valuable contribution to Ukrainian historical knowledge. She was a member of the Kiev Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler (1912); the Tavris Scholarly Archival Commission (1916) the Church-Archeographical Commission (Lviv, 1944, Munich, 1946); the Ukrainian-Philological Society in Prague (1944); the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences (1948); the Shevchenko Scientific Society (1947); the Academie Internationale Libre des Sciences et des Lettres (Paris, 1953), and of other scholarly institutions and societies.

Her poor health and hardships of emigrant life did not stop her scholarly activity. This is evident in her great and fruitful work at the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the Historical Section; at the Shevchenko Scientific Society, especially for *Ukraine: a Concise Encyclopaedia,* v. 1, Toronto, 1964; for the Church-Archeographical Commission where in 1952 her work, *Moscow's Theory of the Third Rome in the XVII-XIX Centuries,* appeared; at the Ukrainian Free University; and at the Orthodox Theological Academy.

Eighty-two years of life and fifty-seven years of scholarly work have not dulled the many-faceted intellect of Professor Polons'ka-Vasylenko, who has done research on full range of important aspects of the history of the socio-economic, political and cultural life of the Ukrainian people. She has brought into the scholarly world a large number of new facts, directly acquired from archival sources, and has subjected them to severe scientific criticism and evaluation. Her contribution to the history of the Ukraine is indeed great.

Arts and Letters

Ivan Franko

[*Poet, writer, critic, Ivan Franko* (1856–1916) *today stands as one of Ukraine's great men of letters. It is in commemoration of the centennial celebration of his birth that we publish excerpts from the translations of his poetry. The "Prologue" is from his long narrative poem "Moses". "Thine Eyes", "Destiny" and "Noon" are from his lyrical collection* WITHERED LEAVES.]

PROLOGUE FROM "MOSES"

My people, tortured, overpowered,
And like that beggar at the cross-roads
With human scorn, as if with scabs, all covered!
Your future frightens me and my soul renders:
From shame, which will incense next generations,
I cannot sleep — my bed is one of cinders.
It is inscribed on some gigantic metal tables
For you to be the muck of all your neighbors,
The teams for pulling them all dressed in sables?
Are you forever destined with this vial
Of hidden anger, meekness, resignation
To those who have betrayed you in your trial,
Who swore you into treacherous alliance?
Are you not fated with that precious moment:
The day of your unmeasured might's defiance?
Have all those many hearts in vain been burning
for you with love, the noblest they could offer —
That sacrifice from which there's no returning?
Have heroes shed their blood just to be praised in story?
Will not your prairies bloom with health and beauty,
And everlasting freedom shine in glory?
Are all your sayings to be thought as sterile,
When power, mellowness, and wit is present
And all which any soul needs to be virile?
And are your songs which ring with laughter, sorrow,
To be forgotten with their loves' misgivings
And hopes and rays of a happy gay tomorrow?

Oh, no! You are not doomed just to be dejection
And tears! I still believe in will, its power,
In your uprising day and resurrection!
If one could but create a moment's fraction,
And then a word which would in such a moment
Inflame the people into life and action!
Or just a song with fire and living passion
Which would grip millions and lend them wings
For action leading them to self-expression!
Yes. If! . . . But we on whom all worries settle.
And torn apart with doubt, with shame inflicted.
We are not fit to lead you into battle!
But the time will come, once obstacles are hurdled.
When you will shine among the greatest nations:
Will shake the Cauca's[1] while with Beskid[2] girdled.
Black Sea will echo with your liberation
And you'll behold, once being your own master,
A home of joy and fields of consolation.
Therefore accept this song, which, although cheerless,
Is full of faith — and frank although not pleasant:
A debt to your great future, though not tearless.
To your great genius this is my humble present.

[1]Caucasus Mountains.
[2]Mount Beskid of the Carpathian Mountains.

FROM "WITHERED LEAVES"

THINE EYES

Thine eyes are like the deep, deep sea,
    Calm and peaceful, shining bright:
In their depths my old-time sorrow,
    Like a speck, sinks out of sight.
Thine eyes are like a deep, deep well,
    The bottom crystal clear;
And like a star in heaven's depths
    Hope is shining there, my dear.

DESTINY

Ah, destiny! I utter no complaint.
My steps with loving wisdom thou dost lead;
For if the earth a harvest shall bring forth,
The plow must slay the flower with the weed.
The share relentless grinds through the sod,
And what a sight, the flower breathes out its life.
The heart breaks, and with lips in silence pursed,
The soul swoons stricken in the mortal strife.
But thou dost follow and dost calmly cast
Into the broken clods and seeming death
New seeds to germinate within the soil
And blow upon them thy life-giving breath.

NOON

Noon again.
The far-spreading unpeopled plain—
Wherever I turn, all around,
Not a sound!
Of man not a trace do I see,
Only grass like a billowy sea,
Pricked with flowers, deep green, changing shades,
And grasshoppers flit through its blades.
Without cease,
'Cross the river, a mirror of peace,
Up to the mountains' blue haze
Goes my gaze
Move on till it sinks in the calm.
Perfumes drug my senses like balm,
The warmth lulls my soul in repose
Till I doze.
But listen!
Can that be a weeping I hear?
Yet rather a sigh it resembles,
It trembles.
Perhaps it is but my own pain,
My sick heart that's throbbing again.
Ah, no! From somewhere on the air

The notes of a pipe reach my ear.
And then
In sweet music my heart joined once more,
It wept quiet tears while the pipe bore
It along.
Thee, my bright star, it brought back once more;
And to the pipe which played an old air,
Deep in my heart, sweet, debonaire,
Came my song.

Literary circle under the direction of Jurij Myskiw which often holds poetry readings at SUSTA Conferences (left to right) Uliana Liskewycz, Jurij Myskiw, Roman Zavadowycz, Jr.

UKRAINIAN ART IN THE MIDWEST

Tania Wiwcharenko

[*Tania Wiwcharenko, received her B.A. in Mathematics from the University of Illinois in 1965. She was the President of both Urbana and Chicago Branches of SUSTA, and is now Special Assignments Vice-President of the Federation of Ukrainian student Organizations.*]

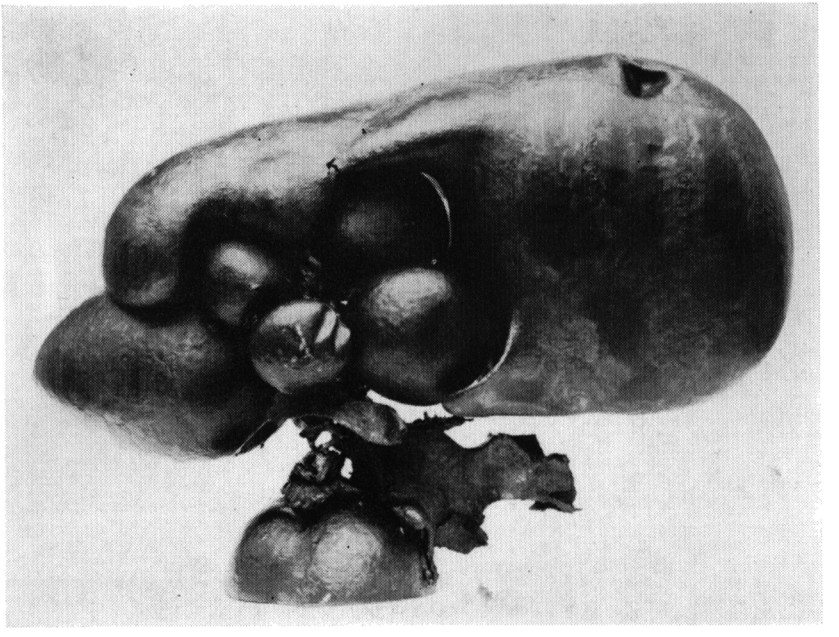
Eleven years ago a group of young Ukrainian artists, among them Mychajlo Urban, Konstantin Milonadis, Jaroslava Gerulak, Anatol Kolomayets, Oksana Lobachewska, and Bohdan Bocurkiw, presented an exhibition of their work — the first show of its kind in the history of the Ukrainian community in Chicago. The success of the show was accompanied by the realization that, not withstanding the good will and general admiration of the community, the artists would have to depend mainly on each other for any real support in organizing future activities. Making up in enthusiasm what they lacked in experience they formed the group "Monolit", whose purpose was to familiarize the public with modernistic trends in Ukrainian-American art.

"Monolit's" original purpose was soon overshadowed by its growth into a gathering of students interested in all forms of contemporary creativity. Besides organizing a number of exhibitions and giving moral support to young artists and writers "Monolit", in its ten years of existence, created the appropriate atmosphere for a more serious consideration of trends in Ukrainian-American art and literature.

This new atmosphere and the influx of new talent indicated that the time had come for some basic changes. The formation of a group narrower in scope professionallly and geographically wider became both desirable and feasible. The artists of "Monolit" joined with art students of Chicago, Cleveland, and other cities in the Midwest to form the group "Vasah".

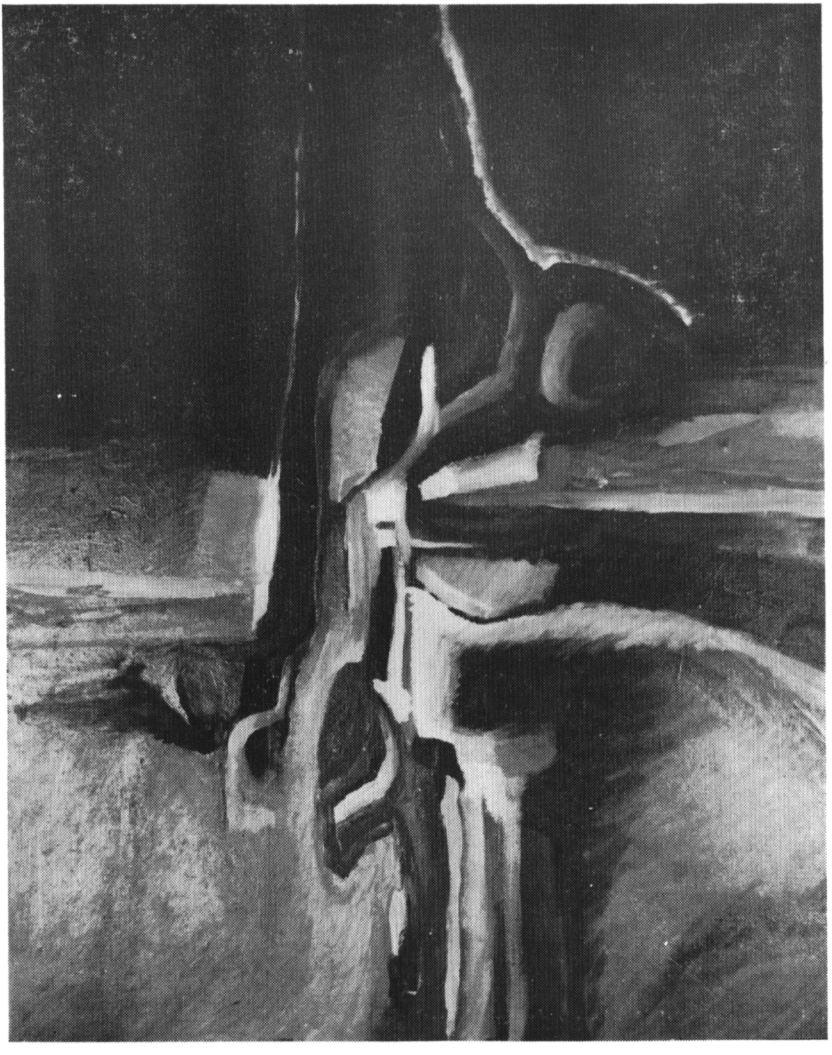
"Vasah" is now in its second year of existence. Its membership includes artists well-known to the general public and younger artists — students and recent graduates — some of whose work is presented on the following pages.

The Arm by Volodymyr Svyrydenko.

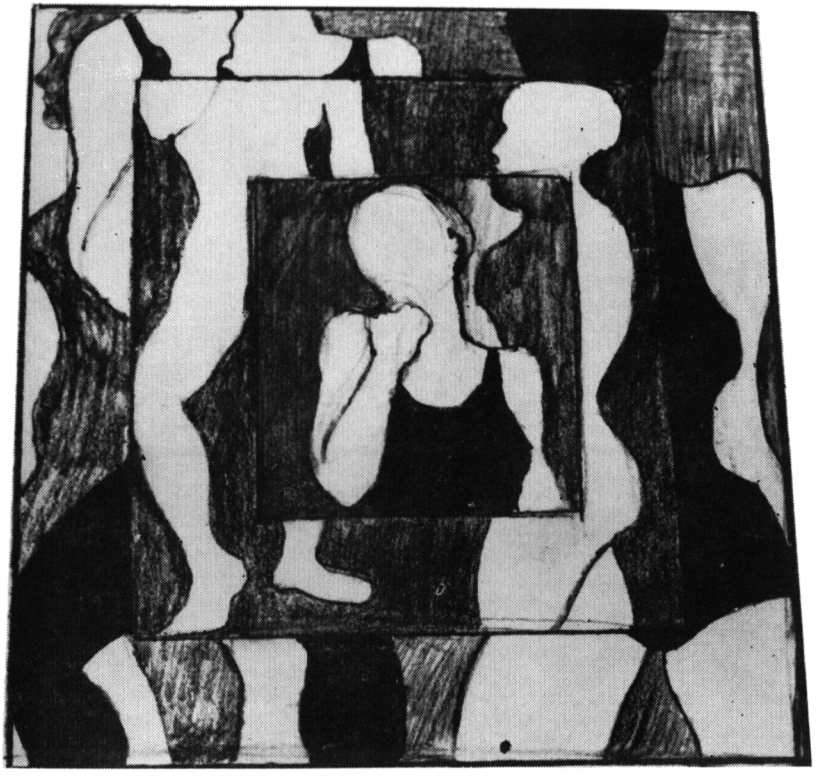


Konenza by Alexander Hunenko.

Figure 26 by Roman Rakowskyj.



Buffalo Hunt by Lida Petruniak.



Narcissus by Oksana Skrobach.

A VISIT TO DELTA

by Olena Hikawyj-Saciuk

[*Olena Hikawyj-Saciuk holds the degrees of B.A. in Teaching of Spanish* (1963) *and M.A. in Spanish-American Literature* (1966) *from the University of Illinois. She has published many articles in Ukrainian newspapers and magazines, and last year her tale "Mini i Bryn'" was awarded the first prize in a competition sponsored by the Ukrainian Union of Writers of Literature for Children. Olena has been the editor of vols. VI and VII of* Horizons, *and is currently working on a Ph.D. in Comparative Literature at the University of Illinois, having received a National Defense Education Act Fellowship.*]

Dr. Bohdan Staruch's shop *Delta Import-Export*, located at 2242 W. Chicago Ave. in Chicago, is well known to Ukrainians of the Chicago area and to many Americans, especially those who had the chance to see some of the articles at various cultural exhibitions and fairs of national arts in the Chicago area and at the University of Illinois.

Dr. Staruch, the holder of a degree in Economics, is not a sculptor

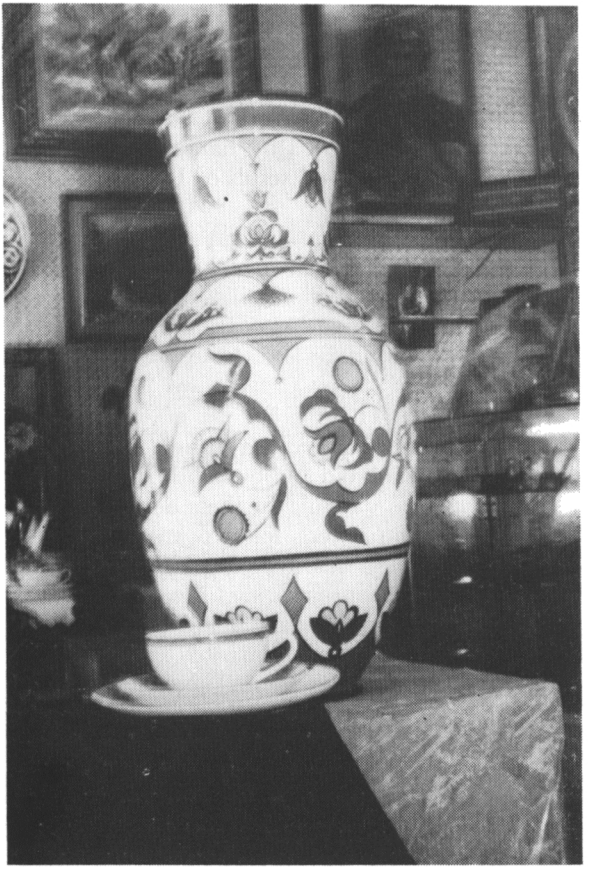
Trypilian ceramics photographed at *Delta*.

nor craftsman but a collector, connoisseur and dealer of Ukrainian *objects d'art*. We pay him tribute in recognition for his role in the popularization of Ukrainian artistry available to so many people, and for his selfless and professional help in the setting up of cultural exhibitions with the articles from his shop.

Delta carries two types of ceramics, the Trypilian and the Hutsul. The Trypilian ceramics are replicas of the pottery of the Neolithic period (2500 - 2000 B.C.) in Ukraine. They have a brownish red or white background with modernistic looking designs of black curving lines. The Hutsul ceramics (Hutsuls are mountaineers who live in the Carpathian mountains in Western Ukraine) have a combination of three types of motifs: the geometric, of the straight, broken and wavy lines closely following the shape of the vessel; the plant decoration of leaves of the grape, the oak, the sunflower, ears of grain, berries; the animal decoration of birds (the rooster, the dove, the peacock) and animals (the fly, the frog, the horse, the deer, the fish) all painted on a white background. For both types of ceramics, Dr. Staruch buys ready made forms from various companies which are very close to those used originally in Ukraine and at times tries new forms. Tastes change and some forms are more popular and it is their appeal to today's tastes that is at times the deciding factor in the choice of forms. For some forms Dr. Staruch orders original molds to be made for him specifically so as to have the exact shape of the vessel as made in Ukraine. A good example of this is the big Hutsul vase shown below, whose exact measurements Dr. Staruch imitated from a vase which is to be found in the Museum of Ukrainian Art in Kiev, as shown in the 1963 issue of the magazine *Ukrains'ka Narodna Tvorchist'* (Ukrainian Folk Creativity). In choosing the designs for his Trypilian ceramics Dr. Staruch uses as reference the work of Dr. Jaroslav Pasternak *Arkheolohiia Ukrainy* (Archeology of Ukraine), Toronto, 1961.

The manufacture of porcelain and *faience* (decorative tableware) developed in Ukraine at the end of the 17th century. By the second half of that century technically well-equipped factories were established and flourished to the beginning of the nineteenth century. This manufacture was not pure folk art but the creativity of the peasant craftsmen. The demands of the market dictated stylistic changes. The products depicted portraits of Ukrainian poets, architectural monuments, local landscapes, scenes from everyday life which were Ukrainian in form and content but the style reflected the tastes of the period, the Rococo and the Empire.[1]

[1]Volodymyr Kubijovych. *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia* (Toronto, 1963), v. I, pp. 405-6.



A tall Hutsul vase from *Delta*.

Following this tradition Dr. Staruch, using standard pre-manufactured forms, embellishes his porcelain and *faience* with Ukrainian content, namely Ukrainian embroidery. Many critics point out that this is not authentic folk art or proper use of decoration for embroidery was used only for decorating materials and not for other purposes. But since Ukrainian embroidery today is thought to be such a typical expression of the Ukrainian artistic soul it is no wonder that it has become so popular in its application to porcelain. Since porcelain in the beginning was not a folk art but the product of craftsmen, perhaps this modern adaptation of embroidery to a new medium can be justified on the

grounds that it is popular, in demand and answers today's tastes in style as did Rococo in the eighteenth century. Dr. Staruch is to be complimented on his resourcefulness in finding different patterns and new color combinations with which to embellish his porcelain and *faience*. The ceramics and porcelain are painted by hand, glazed and baked in the back of the shop. They are the end result of Dr. Staruch's creativity and research.

All the other artifacts at *Delta* are imported or bought from various craftsmen. At Easter 200 dozen intricately decorated Easter Eggs are sold. There are embroidered doilies, pillows, blouses, dresses for ladies who would like to have them, but do not have the time which embroidery requires. Some of the embroidery is done by women from the Chicago area, others are imported from Canada or Western Europe, where Ukrainian craftsmen live. There are dolls of various sizes, dressed in Ukrainian national costumes. There are printed tablecloths which from afar look as if they were embroidered by hand. Imported *kylyms* (tapestry) and woodcarvings are dazzling in their design and colors. Jewelry cases, picture frames, album covers, letter openers and other objects are of two types of woodcarvings. One type is with the design cut or burned into the wood and colored appropriately. The other type is the Hutsul woodcarving. The Hutsul carvings are inlaid with colored beads, wood placed at different angles to the grain, treated straws which may be used in various combinations to form a design. These and many other products that are related, as for instance embroidery threads or beads for the national costumes, can be admired and purchased at *Delta*.

Dr. Staruch has done a great service to the Ukrainian community notwithstanding the shortcomings in stylistic authenticity of his products. for he has produced Ukrainian folk art and handicraft in large quantities so that families unable to continue this tradition by themselves in their homes can enjoy its beauty and can proudly show their children their Ukrainian heritage. Also this has given Ukrainians an opportunity to show their American friends this side of Ukrainian culture through exhibitions or eventual gifts. The Ukrainian Student Organizations of the Chicago area (Ukrainian Student Association of the University of Illinois (Urbana), Ukrainian Student Club of the Chicago Circle Campus of the University of Illinois, and the Ukrainian Student Hromada of Chicago) never hesitate to come to *Delta* when they need beautiful examples of Ukrainian folk art for exhibitions and displays.

Jurij Jackiw

[*Jurij Jackiw is working on his degree in English Literature at Loyola University, Chicago.*]

DRESSED FOR MOURNING

That peculiar smell of death had now reached his nostrils and slowly saturated his lungs and belly with nausea. It even reeked from the dank grass and he felt that with each breath his own flesh was decaying until he would transform into the living dead — with burning eyes swollen and bulbous. As he became aware of the motionless presence of the empty carcass in the coffin, the right side of his face began to itch. But he didn't scratch it. The skin may already have rotted exposing the raw, putrid flesh that veiled his cheekbones. The others were beyond hope. They were gaunt specters — faces deathly white, clothes black, eyes burning red — staring at the mucky hole.

The ritual had already finished but the incantations of the priest resounded again as a chorus of mourners began to moan almost inaudibly. Black birds, sensing the commotion, flew overhead and occasionally screeched, their distant wails, lonely cries sweeping over the endless plains toward the hushed dark sky. Some of them swooped low and he could almost see the feathers of their wildly flailing wings, the raging inferno within their parted beaks, the claws poised for ravaging the dead. Others, silently perched on a barren tree, pecked at their black breasts with bloated heads. A thin veil of rain enveloped them in a mystical mist.

The hysterical scene at the graveside had concluded, but the mourners still kept the tone, though much softer and less desolate, of the mother's howls as she had thrown herself upon the casket and desperately tried to claw her way inside to kiss again the departing body of her daughter. Her Nancy who had forsaken this world and now in all her radiant beauty had joined her celestial sisters, the seraphim and cherubim. Her Nancy, resplendently pure and innocent, whom the world had destroyed in a rage of jealousy and fear. Lovely, lovely Nancy. His Nancy who . . .

After her society parties during the hot summer nights, he used to

take her to the beach where, while she cried, he launched his beer cans and his sorrows in the swelling waters. His wet suit clinging to his body, he would fall face down and vomit all the ludicrous memories, all his respectability into the sand. The moon and the burning apartments glistening in the ripples evoked a sadness in his heart, a sadness for sweet Nancy, who trembled and sobbed, for Nancy with the simple heart, who only wanted them to be happy.

In early winter the waters were furiously spraying the countless dead fish on the cold sands. Their silver bellies were turned upwards towards the sombre skies as if in prayer for mercy. She had said that they had perished by a cruel death.

Or her letter which he fingered in his pocket . . . Her plan of separation wasn't going to work out. The sun was shining outside but not in her heart. But he shouldn't look at the past. Things were going to be different as soon as she got back. They could talk things over. It was so senseless without him. She even couldn't enjoy herself anymore. Mamma kept bickering that no one did *those* kind of things to her daughter, that she could find someone nice and responsible who wouldn't break her heart, that there were hundreds of gentlemen who would give their right hand to court her. Mamma never understood and Dad was too busy. Poor Nancy burned in her own private hell.

The coffin was being lowered into the grave. He stood close enough to see its shadow darkening the moist, chunky clay at the bottom. The casket, despite its stellar brilliance and metal hulk, seemed to be a prey to gigantic rodents, who would burrow tortuous tunnels toward her grave and then hollow the corroded barrier, exposing her body to cohorts of devouring insects. Yet they wept for this disgusting body. . .

He remembered a dream she had once told him. She had found herself on a cold, wet beach. She arose and began to feel uneasy; the moist sand stuck to the flesh that was exposed. Cold had bitten every part of her body. Then hail started to needle her chapped face. She began to run, with great difficulty, to lessen the pain. But the slightest movement demanded an immense amount of energy— like a fly caught on a glutinous strip of paper, writhing spasmodically to escape. She convoluted to tear off from the sticky strip of beach. Her feet stuck to the sand! Instinct turned her to the titanic pool of water where it would be easier to run. Panting, saliva dripping from her mouth, she stumbled toward the sea. The waves hit her with the ferocity of fire. Her legs

were burning. She tried to scream but only a faint croak passed her lips. She had forgotten! A plumed serpent arose from the furious sea, looked at the red blazing hole in the sky, and swallowed her.

He laughed.

A plumed serpent. From the sea.

He laughed.

A plumed serpent. From the sea.

Black birds hovered over the mourning congregation and made mocking sounds. Then they undulated into the darkness of the forest.

An ugly woman dressed for mourning whispered, "She was a good girl, wasn't she. Wasn't she."

The black congregation wept as they covered her with dirt. . . She was a good girl.

Fortune telling by Marijka Schwec at Andriivskyi vechir (St. Andrew's Eve) on December 11, 1965 organized by USH in Buffalo.

SUSTA PARTICIPATION IN XVIII USNSA CONGRESS

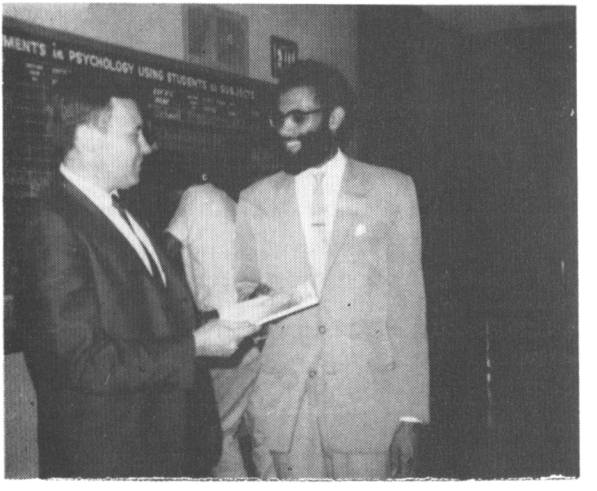
by Bohdan Saciuk

[*Bohdan Saciuk received his M.A. degree in Spanish linguistics in the summer of 1966 at the University of Illinois where he is continuing in the same field with his doctoral studies as a recipient of an NDEA Fellowship. He is active in Plast and has been President of Ukrainian Student Hromadas at the University of Illinois both in Chicago and Urbana. The last three years he has been on the SUSTA Executive Board first as the Cultural and now as Organizational Vice-President.*]

A majority of Universities and Colleges of the United States sent their student leaders as delegates to participate in the XVIII USNSA (United States National Student Association) Congress which was held from August 21 to September 2, 1965 in Madison, Wisconsin at the University of Wisconsin. This year's Congress which, convened with Vice-President Humphrey's speech hosted 700 delegates and 400 representatives and observers representing student organization of over 40 different countries. Among these was the representative from SUSTA, Bohdan Saciuk. Annually SUSTA actively participates in these Student Congresses using this opportunity to inform large groups of students about Ukraine and Ukrainian students. At this Congress SUSTA's representative, B. Saciuk, took part in the meetings of the European Subcommittee and in the Seminar on Foreign Affairs. He made many personal contacts with numerous American students, established organizational contacts with some of the many foreign representatives through exchange of addresses and presentation of SUSTA's publication, *Horizons*.

The Seminar on Foreign Affairs dealt with the various problems related to student movements in the world, world cooperation of student associations, the USNSA participation in the various student world congresses, the role foreign students play at U.S. universities and colleges, etc. Speakers for this seminar were several Deans of the University of Wisconsin and representatives from such organizations as the Peace Corps and World University Service, among others.

The Subcommittee on European Affairs consisted of 15 delegates and 10 guest observers. The function of this subcommittee was to prepare resolutions for presentation at the plenary session concerning the current state of the student movements in Europe as well as the possibilities of a student exchange with the various European countries. Our representative's participation as an active observer with the privilege of



Ukrainian Students' Representative from SUSTA Bohdan Saciuk hands a complimentary copy of *Horizons* to Ethiopian Representative Ephraim Isaak from the Ethiopian Students Association at the XVIII Congress of USNSA.

voicing his opinions during discussions of this subcommittee proved to be very useful and effective as will be later seen from the subcommittee's resolutions.

Several of the members of the subcommittee on European Affairs, in the proposed resolutions intended to condemn the governments of Greece, Portugal, and Spain for their persecution of students and repression of academic freedom. The subcommittee also wanted to bring to attention the discrimination against African students studying in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR and the constant presence of anti-semitism in the USSR. Bohdan Saciuk from SUSTA and Ruta Priedkalns from the World Association of Latvian Students with their participation in the discussions and presentation of appropriate materials taken from Ukrainian, Latvian, American and other foreign sources to document their arguments were successful in convincing the subcommittee of the necessity to condemn the SSSR as the main repressor of academic freedom and persecutor of students who dare to step outside of designated party lines in their search for learning and national dignity. The resolutions proposed by the subcommittee on European Affairs at the plenary session on August 30, 1965 of the XVIII USNSA Congress were unanimously accepted. They stated:

"Eastern Europe. FACT: In recent years Eastern and Western European governments have increased their participation in the world community and have extended the range of freedoms of their own citizens. Nevertheless, racial, religious, ethnic, and ideological discrimination still exists in various forms:

1. Racial discrimination has been manifested against Sudanese students in Bulgaria and Kenyan students in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union;
2. Ideological discrimination is known to be a consideration in the process of admission for higher education in several Eastern European countries and in the Soviet Union;
3. Ethnic discrimination is directed against minorities in various countries and is evidenced in the discriminatory system of national quotas applied in selecting candidates for admission to Soviet institutions of higher education;
4. Religious discrimination is exemplified by anti-semitism in the Soviet Union although there are some recent indications of improved conditions.

DECLARATION: USNSA opposes and condemns all forms of discrimination in Eastern Europe — racial, ideological, ethnic, or religious — because such policies:

1. Violate civil liberties;
2. Reduce the equity and efficacy of educational systems;
3. Raise barriers to international cooperation and mutual understanding.

Just as USNSA has vigorously opposed discrimination in its own country so it now offers its moral support to the students of Eastern Europe in their opposition to discrimination. USNSA is encouraged by recent indications of improvement in certain nations in Eastern Europe. and would hope for further advancement in regard to decreasing racial. ideological, ethnic, and religious discrimination.

The same European resolution also condemns the violation of student rights by the governments of Greece, Spain, and Portugal. The section on Eastern Europe, which was extensively debated on the floor of the subcommittee on European Affairs, was included in the resolutions due to the active and close cooperation of Ruta Priedkalns and B. Saciuk.

At last year's Congress the representatives of SUSTA were successful in convincing the subcommittee of the existence of religious and ideological persecutions of students in the USSR, but this year's resolutions are the strongest yet in their condemnation of the USSR.

The measure of success achieved in convincing the subcommittee on European Affairs was due to the hundreds of pamphlets distributed to the delegates by B. Saciuk. Two of these compiled by SUSTA contained statistical data which clearly showed the efforts of the government of the USSR to curb any free academic expression. This information was based on Soviet sources. On hand were reprints of U.S. Congressional minutes about Communist aggression in the Ukraine as well as in other enslaved countries. Included was an extensive bibliography about Ukraine and other non-Russian countries of the USSR as presented on the floor of the Senate by Sen. Dirksen from Illinois in 1962. Another influential brochure was the six page concise history of the Ukraine from the fifth century to 1960 with a map of today's boundaries of the Ukraine.

Besides the above mentioned materials B. Saciuk handed out 25 copies of the latest issue of *Horizons,* the organ of SUSTA, to outstanding student leaders, both Americans and visiting foreign representatives. During his personal contacts with representatives of various American organizations and governmental agencies, that were numerous at the Congress, he had a chance to talk about Ukraine and the plight of the Ukrainian students in the Soviet Union.

Besides the representative from SUSTA and The World Association of Latvian Students the Association of Hungarian Students had sent its representative, Mr. Bela Bogner, for a short stay, which was very fortunate as all three worked closely together in the subcommittee on European Affairs.

Another success to come out of the Congress was achieved in beginning or tightening an already existing organizational intercommunication between SUSTA and other foreign student organizations. These student organizations were very glad that such contact was made and were eager for more information about the Ukrainian student movement in the U.S. and about Ukraine. Of the organizations which pledged to continue communications with SUSTA were the Confederation of Mexican Students, Association of Ethiopian Students, Association of German Students, National Association of Australian University Students, National Council of the Students of India and the Federation of the University Students of Costa Rica.

USNSA is the largest association of students in the free world whose opinions and resolutions not only American statesmen but also foreigners observe alertly as it is a barometer of organized student opinion in the U.S. Therefore, SUSTA's participation in the USNSA Congresses, as the representative of Ukrainian students, in all the above mentioned aspects, is very important in the efforts of Ukrainians to spread the truth about Ukraine.

STUDENT CHRONICLE

by Ihor Chuma

[*Ihor Chuma received a B.S. degree in Metallurgical Engineering from Philadelphia's Drexel Institute of Technology in* 1962. *A member of several professional and cultural organizations (American Welding Society and American Society for Metals among them), he is a Development Engineer at the Curtis Wrights Corporation and expects to obtain a Master of Science degree in Industrial Management from the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute in* 1967. *Ihor Chuma has been on the SUSTA Executive Board since* 1961, *becoming President in* 1965.]

All information about the USH-Buffalo was taken from *"Student Chronicle" of the Ukrainian-American Student Association at State University of New York at Buffalo, N.Y., Academic Year 1965-66.*

July 10/11, 1965 — The Federation of Ukrainian Student Organizations of America (SUSTA) held its Seventh Biennial Congress at the Drexel Institute of Technology in Philadelphia. In addition to electing a new slate of executive officers the Congress issued a three-part set of formal resolutions and decided, among other things, to meet in similar assembly every year. Resolutions, issued by the Congress concerned, in addition to matters of organizational nature, several statements in regard to the position of SUSTA with respect to cultural and other exchanges with official representatives of the USSR and the Ukrainian Community in the United States. By stating that, according to the SUSTA constitution, such contacts are neither acknowledgeable nor permissible, the Organization fully backs the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and its stand on the matter. Furthermore, the Congress called on all students to "support the UCCA efforts to influence a change in the U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union to one which is more favorable toward captive nations, especially Ukraine."

Formal greetings by the Congress were sent to: President L. B. Johnson, His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Slipyj, the ecclesiastical leaders of the Ukrainian Community in the free world, the Ukrainian people "who constantly fight against the Bolshevik occupation," the national student organizations SUSTE, SUSK, SAUS, and the World Ukrainian Student Organization, CESUS, and others. The Academic year 1965-66 was designated as the Ukrainian Studies Chair Year.

Professor Volodymyr Stoyko, of the History Department of Manhattan College in New York City and Ihor Chuma were keynote speakers at the Congress.

Ihor Chuma was elected president for a one-year term. Other officers are: Ala Neprel, Recording Secretary; Irena Postoluk, Financial Secretary; Zenon Cybyk, Organizational Affairs Vice-President (East); Bohdan Saciuk, Organizational Affairs Vice-President (West); Stefa Mycak, International Affairs Vice-President; Tania Wiwcharenko, Special Affairs Vice-President; Nestor Tomycz, Pre-Collegiate Affairs Vice-President; Maria Chemych, Ukrainian Studies Chair Vice-President.

July 11 — The first SUSTA Executive Board meeting was held in Philadelphia.

July 28 — Members of SUSTA Executive Board discussed major student and civic issues at a meeting with Mr. Joseph Lesawyer, Supreme President of the Ukrainian National Ass'n. and Mr. Zenon Snylyk,

SUSTA External Relations Panel (right to left) M. Pochtar, Z. Kravetz, S. Mycak, B. Myskiw, during the Organizational Conference of November, 1965.

editor of the *Ukrainian Weekly*. SUSTA Executive Board members who were present included: Mr. Ihor Chuma, SUSTA president, Mr. Zenon Cybyk, Vice-President for Organizational Affairs, and Mr. Andy Szul, Vice-President for Cultural Affairs.

August 21/22 — The second and third SUSTA Executive Board meetings were held in Glen Spey, N.Y.

August 21, September 1 — Bohdan Saciuk, Vice-President of Organizational Affairs (West) was the official SUSTA representative at the Seventeenth Annual United States National Student Association (USNSA) Congress at Madison, Wisconsin. Through close cooperation with representatives of the Latvian Student World Ass'n., and the Hungarian Student Federation, Mr. Saciuk submitted a resolution, accepted by the Congress. which condemned the lack of academic freedom in the Soviet Union.

September 1 — Andrew Vytvyskyj was elected president of the Columbia University Ukrainian Student Club.

Mykola Duplak, president of the Syracuse Student Hromada held an interview with the editors of the Syracuse *Post Standard*. His views on the scandalous burning of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Library in Kiev by the Moscow chauvinists were published in the newspaper.

October — The Ukrainian Student Club at Rutgers University of New Brunswick started a series of lectures on Ukraine. Participating lecturers included Dr. Guido C. Weigand, Dr. Edwin Yamanche, Dr. Peter Charanis, Dr. Nicholas Chubaty, Dr. Taras Hunczak and Dr. Ivan Rudnytsky.

October 2 — Orest Hrynewych was elected president of the Ukrainian Student Hromada* of Illinois University in Urbana. Borys Antonowych became Vice-President, Ulana Balukh, Secretary, and Fred Theyer, Treasurer.

*hromada *is a Ukrainian word meaning 'society or community'. Since with the rise of the Ukrainian national movement in the* 1860*'s in many Ukrainian cities* hromada*'s were formed, which were interested in the history, literature, language, and ethnology of Ukraine, and since most of the Ukrainian student organizations of the* 19*th and the first half of the* 20*th century were called student* hromada*'s, the same name was kept in most Ukrainian student associations of the United States and Canada. USH means 'Ukrainian Student Hromada'.*

October 10 — Andrij Chornodolskyj was elected President of the Ukrainian Student Hromada of Baltimore; Orest Polishchuk, Vice-President; Marijka Chmilewska, Secretary; and Irene Kalynowska, Treasurer.

October 16 — The Ukrainian Student Hromada of Chicago held its Annual Inaugural Ball *(Inavguratsiinyi Vechir)* at Como Inn in Chicago. Main speaker at the banquet was Dr. Stephen Sambirsky, who reported on his summer tour of Western Germany's leading language institutes.

October 23 — The Fourth SUSTA Executive Board meeting was held in New York City.

A "Masked Ball" was sponsored by the Ukrainian Student Hromada of Baltimore.

October 24 — The annual General Membership Meeting was held by the Philadelphia Student Hromada. The meeting was addressed by SUSTA President, Ihor Chuma. Following the address, Mark Carynnyk was elected President of the Hromada. Mark is a young Ukrainian poet of great promise.

October 30 — SUSTA contingent marched in a Fifth Avenue parade, supporting America's efforts in Viet Nam.

A conference on the "Problems of National Upbringing of Our Youth," sponsored by the SUSTA Commission for Pre-Collegiate Affairs, was held in Troy, New York, at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. Speakers included Dr. B. Romanenchuk and Dr. N. Procyk. Mr. M. Swiderski was the moderator of a panel discussion.

November 1 — SUSTA became a member of the Ukrainian Institute in New York.

November 3 — Darian Diachock was elected President of the Ukrainian Student Hromada of Washington.

November 6 — The Ukrainian Student Hromada of Philadelphia, along with the ideological student organizations TUSM, Zarevo, Obnova, and the Ukrainian Engineers Society inaugurated the new academic year with a concert and a dance. The festivities were held in the Drexel Institute of Technology.

November 14 — Under the auspices of the local UCCA branch, the Ukrainian-American Student Association of the University of Buffalo presented a panel on the topic "What American Youth of Ukrainian Descent Desires from Their Elders." The panelists Andrew Jacubowsky and Lumomyr Zobniw were moderated by Dr. Myroslaw Hreshchyshyn, academic advisor of the Ass'n.

November 19 — The Ukrainian-American Student Association at the University of Buffalo held its annual general meeting, electing Lubomyr Zobniw, former Vice-President, as its new President. Other officers: Hryhorij Pikas, Vice-President; Chrystyna Dziuba and Olha Shepelavey, Secretaries; Jaroslaw Saikewych, Treasurer.

SUSTA Organizational Conference held at Soyuzivka on the 20th and 21st of November, 1965. Panel on Cultural Affairs (right to left) T. Onuferko, K. Sawczuk, A. Shul, S. Lutzka.

November 20/21 — An Organizational Conference sponsored by the SUSTA Executive Board was held at Soyuziwka, the Ukrainian National Association estate in Kerhonkson, New York. Seminars were held covering various areas of interest, including the cultural,

organizational, foreign relations and press aspects of our organization. The two day seminar-conference was attended by 100 Ukrainian student leaders.

December 8 — Outlines of SUSTA activities in cultural, organizational, international, and press and information affairs, were sent to all Ukrainian student clubs and hromadas. A request was made to study and discuss these outlines at the local student meetings.

December 10/11 — The Ukrainian Student Association of the University of Illinois at Urbana took part in the International Fair of the University of Illinois. The Ukrainian exhibit, which occupied a spacious room, was praised by many of the 6,000 visitors as the best exhibit. Members of the *hromada* sang Ukrainian songs and the Plast Dancers from Chicago performed several Ukrainian folk dances during the art shows.

December 9 — The Ukrainian-American Student Association at U of Buffalo co-sponsored the second Youth Panel under the auspices of the local UCCA branch. Topic: "Ukrainian Student Activities on the University Campus and the Community Forum."

December 11 — The Ukrainian-American Student Association at University of Buffalo sponsored a traditional "Andrijivsky Wechir". Mr. Tadey Tarnawsky was bestowed the honorary title of "God-father of the Student Association" for his exemplary service.

December 24 — The Ukrainian Student Hromada of Baltimore presented a Christmas radio program on WBAL-NBC. The hour long program included Ukrainian carols, and observations on the Ukrainian Christmas traditions.

December 25, 1965 and January 7, 1966 — Many of the SUSTA members participated in the annual caroling programs. The most colorful caroling groups were those of the Ukrainian Student Hromadas of Newark and Buffalo. Both groups prepared elaborated impersonations of the nativity scene in Ukrainian national costumes.

January 15/February 21 — An exhibit of Ukrainian Arts in commemoration of the 350th Anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Kievan Academy was held on the ground floor of the main library of the University of Illinois in Urbana (the third largest university

library in the U.S.). The exhibit, containing books on Ukrainian art, architecture, and folk arts, also showed valuable editions of several ancient Ukrainian manuscripts. The exhibit was prepared by Professor Dmytro Shtohryn, faculty advisor of the Ukrainian Student Association of the University of Illinois.

January 18 — A memo was issued to all SUSTA members to support the efforts of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. to publish the works of Professor A. Ohloblyn. A fund raising campaign was initiated.

January 20 — Students of the Newark Hromada presented a check for $206.00 to Mayor Hugh Addonizio of Newark for the U.S.O. In an accompanying news release, the students stated that: ". . . we firmly believe and uphold the policies of the U.S. Government in Viet Nam . . . we fully appreciate the meaning of democracy that many of our fellow Americans have begun to take for granted." This program was initiated by Myron Leskiw.

January 20 — A lecture by Dr. Lev Dobriansky, President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee. was given at the University of Buffalo, entitled "Communism, Captive Nations and Viet Nam." This program was sponsored by the Ukrainian-American Student Association of Buffalo in conjunction with a local chapter of the Young Americans for Freedom. The event was well prepared and widely advertised by the members of both groups. Dr. Dobriansky held a news conference at the airport, covered by three major television stations as well as all the newspapers of the greater Buffalo area. In the lecture, Dr. Dobriansky emphasized that the U.S. must attack Moscow's greatest "basic weakness," namely her imperialism. He also suggested that "the U.S. turn to the unfinished war of . . . liberty on Soviet territory" and that it is time for the country to "rededicate itself . . . to freedom and . . . national self determination . . ."

January 21 — The fifth SUSTA Executive Board meeting was held in New York.

January 22 — Ivan Machowsky, a member of the American Architectural Exhibit in Moscow, which was sponsored by the American Information Agency, gave a talk on his experiences and observa-

tions in the Soviet Union. The event was presented by the Ukrainian Student Hromada of Baltimore.

January 29 — Ukrainian students throughout the free world commemorated the 48th Anniversary of the Battle of Kruty.

On January 29, 1918 three hundred young Ukrainian students laid down their lives in an uneven fight with the Russian aggressor in the small town of Kruty, near Kiev. Some of the more significant commemorative events for this unforgettable deed of courage were presented by the following SUSTA members:

The Ukrainian Student Hromada of Newark, N.J. staged a play called "The Battle of Kruty". The play was written by M. Leskiw and R. Postoluk, members of the Newark Hromada. The production was exceptionally well prepared and was favorably received by a capacity audience. The Ukrainian Student Hromada of Baltimore presented a concert, which included a commemorative address, a piano solo and a recital of a poem titled "The Battle of Kruty." Andrij Chornodolsky, president of the Baltimore Hromada, gave the opening address.

The Kruty anniversary was observed by a concent presented jointly by all the Ukrainian youth and student organizations of New York City. Andrew Szul, SUSTA Vice-President for Cultural Affairs, and a member of the New York Hromada, was the main speaker. Over six hundred persons attended the concert.

The Ukrainian Student Hromada of Syracuse had the Mayor of Syracuse proclaim January 29 as "Ukrainian Student Day."

Almost all other student hromadas and clubs observed the memorable Kruty anniversary in a significant manner.

January 30 — The Ukrainian Student Clubs of Columbia University and Hunter College sponsored "An Evening with Mykola Ponedilok," a well known Ukrainian writer and comedian. This event took place in the New York International House.

February 4 — The Ukrainian Student Hromada of New York held its annual general meeting. George Kuzma was elected President. A working relationship was established between the Ukrainian student clubs of Hunter, Columbia, City College, and the New York City Hromada.

February 19 — The SUSTA executive Board sponsored an organizational conference entitled "SUSTA in Chicago", held in the Plast build-

ing. Bohdan Saciuk, SUSTA Vice-President for Organizational Affairs (West) spoke about the history and organizational structure of SUSTA, while Olena Hikawyj-Saciuk, Editor of *Horizons,* vols. VI and VII, discussed the cultural and publishing activities of the Federation. The conference also included a literary evening, during which members of the Ukrainian Plast Literary Circle from Chicago recited poems of the younger generation of Ukrainian poets living both in Ukraine and in the free world.

February 19 — The Cultural Affairs Commission of SUSTA organized a conference dealing with the problems and perspectives of the contemporary Ukrainian music and art. The conference was held at the Ukrainian Institute in New York. The guest speakers included Professor A. Maluca, Professor D. Karanowych, Professor D. Horniatkewych, and Professor I. Zadorizhnyj. SUSTA vice-president Andrew Szul was program coordinator. Following the conference, several young Ukrainian-American artists participated in a variety concert.

February 20 — The Ukrainian Student Hromada of Chicago sponsored a lecture by Borys Berest of New York, author of *Istoriia Ukrains'koho Kina (History of Ukrainian Cinematography),* on "Oleksander Dovzhenko — Tragedy of a Man and an Artist." After the lecture one of the older films of Dovzhenko *(Ukraine in Flames),* foremost Ukrainian film director and script writer, was shown.

February 26 — The Ukrainian-American Student Association at the University of Buffalo published its first *Student Newsletter,* an official publication of the hromada. The purpose of this publication is to acquaint and to encourage further interest in the hromada's activities. Miss Renata Wolynec was Editor-in-Chief.

February 26 — Ihor Chuma, SUSTA President, visited the Ukrainian Student Hromada of Baltimore and held a meeting with the members of that hromada and its Executive Board.

March 2 — The color film *The Treasures of the Ukraine* was shown in the Norton Conference Theater at University of Buffalo as part of the Buffalo Ukrainian-American Student Ass'n. cultural program.

March 9 — On the invitation of the Rutgers University Ukrainian

Student Club, SUSTA President, Ihor Chuma, addressed their membership meeting.

March 12 — The Ukrainian Student Hromada of Syracuse took part in the Annual International Festival at the University of Syracuse. The performance as well as the display of Ukrainian art, both prepared by members of the hromada, were outstanding features of the Festival.

March 12 — The sixth SUSTA Executive Board meeting was held in New York.

March 16/April 16 — The Ukrainian-American Student Association at the University of Buffalo presented a Ukrainian Art Display at the Main Display Case at Norton Union on U.B. campus. The display featured Ukrainian art, embroidery, books, records, and wood craft.

Performers at the SUSTA sponsored "Concert of Young Artists" (left to right) Dorian Rudnytsky, violincellist; Martha Cybyk, pianist; Eugenia Wolz, accompanist to George Woshakiwsky, violinist; Natalka Chuda, alto; Thomas Murray, her accompanist; Mychajlo Shkwarko, tenor; Nancy Yelenik, his accompanist.

March 26 — The Executive Board of SUSTA and the Ukrainian Student Club of New York presented a concert, "An Evening with

Young Artists." The performers, all outstanding young Ukrainian-American instrumentalists and vocalists included: Martha Cybyk, pianist; Natalia Chuda, alto; George Woshakiwsky, violinist; Dorian Rudnytsky, violincellist; Raphael Wenke, violinist; and Mychajlo Shkwarko, tenor. The concert was acknowledged by all the critics to be on a very high professional level.

The proceeds from the concert went towards the administrative costs of the Ukrainian Studies Chair Fund and the publication of *Horizons.*

March 29 — The USH-Buffalo published the second issue of its *Student Newsletter.*

April 3/6 — USH-Buffalo presented a daily demonstration of the art of decorating the Ukrainian Easter Eggs at the Norton Craft Shop.

Singing Ukrainian songs at the Easter meal given by the USH at the University of Illinois in Urbana during their Ukrainian week (May 3-6) (left to right) Orest Hrynewych (president), Arturo Grecco (an Italian who sings in Ukrainian) and Ihor Kutynsky.

April 3 — USH-Urbana (University of Illinois) held its annual Ukrainian Supper at the University YMCA on the campus, as the first

event of the Ukrainian Week at the U. of I. "The Ukrainian Easter Meal" acquainted the 200 students and faculty members assisting to this event with the traditional Ukrainian Easter foods and customs. Besides a display of Easter baskets and Easter cards the audience was entertained with Ukrainian songs and dances.

April 4 — A memorandum from the SUSTA Executive Board was sent to all members of SUSTA asking them to solicit support from their Senators and Congressmen for the issuance of a "Champion of Liberty Stamp" in honor of the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko.

April 6 — As the second event in the Ukrainian Week held on the campus of the University of Illinois in Urbana, the local hromada sponsored a public lecture by Dr. Stephen M. Horak, Professor of Modern European and Russian History at Eastern Illinois University, on the topic "Hrushevsky: Historian of Eastern Europe."

April 11/15 — The Ukrainian Student's Club of Rutgers University (New Brunswick) sponsored a "Ukrainian Week," at the University. The highlights of this included: a display of Ukrainian Folk Art in the "Ledge" (one of the buildings of the University), a lecture entitled "Ukrainian Poetry Outside of Ukraine" presented by the young poet Bohdan Boychuk, and a concert. The concert, held on April 15, was a most fitting conclusion to this cultural event for it gave the large audience present at the occasion a fine glimpse of Ukrainian folk songs, dances, traditional costumes and fashion as well as contemporary light entertainment. Paul Magoczi, the president of the club, was coordinator of this week long program.

April 16 — The month of May was designated by SUSTA Executive Board as a month of an intensive fund raising campaign for the establishment of the First Permanent Ukrainian Studies Chair in one of the American universities. Over 2000 letters were sent to present and former SUSTA members soliciting their help in achieving the campaign goal.

April 23/May 13 — The Ukrainian Club of the Chicago Circle Campus of the University of Illinois in Chicago held a magnificent display of the works of "12 Ukrainian-American Artists," at the Art Gallery of the new and extremely modern Chicago Circle Center. The artists whose works were exhibited were: Alexander Archi-

penko, Nicholas Britsky, James Gaboda, Jaroslava Gerulak, Jacques Hnizdovsky, Alexander Hunenko, Luboslav Hutsaliuk, Anatole Kolomayets, Konstantin Milonadis, Arkadia Olenska-Petryshyn, Jurij Solovij, and Mychajlo Urban.

April 23 — Ukrainian Students at the University of Buffalo performed Ukrainian folk dances during the International Club's "Fiesta," During the event a special Ukrainian Art Display was prepared and Ukrainian foods were served.

The preparation of the Taras Shevchenko float by USH students during the University of Buffalo Spring Festival. Shown Orysia Mochnacz, Maria Schwec.

April 29 — The Ukrainian-American Student Ass'n. at the University of Buffalo submitted a "Taras Shevchenko" float in the annual Spring Festival at the University of Buffalo.

April 30 — USH-Buffalo sponsored the Graduation Dance for the Scholarship Fund.

June 18/19 — The Executive Board of SUSTA in coordination with the hromadas of Chicago and Urbana held a seminar-like conference on "Ivan Franko Through the Eyes of Students of 1966".

Ukrainian Club at University of Illinois, Chicago Circle by the Art Exhibit of Ukrainian artists, which the club sponsored.

Ukrainian dancers (left to right) Jaroslaw Benz, Zoriana Jacysyn, Orysia Mochnacz, Vladimir Ostapowycz performing during the International Fiesta at the University of Buffalo.

The conference with the guest speakers Oleh Kowerko (University of Chicago), Ronald Edwards, Olena Hikawyj-Saciuk, and Lida Sawaryn (all three from the U of I - Urbana), took place on the newly built campus of the University of Illinois in Chicago. It also included a literary evening with the reading of some works of I. Franko performed by the Plast Literary Circle of Chicago (under the direction of Jurij Myskiw).

(Left to right) The Representative of the Association of Hungarian Students, Bela Bognar, Ruta Priedkalns from the Latvian World Association and the Ukrainian Representative from SUSTA Bohdan Saciuk at the XVIII Congress of USNSA.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Origin of Russia, by Henryk Paszkiewicz, London, G. Allen & Unwin, 1954, Pp. XII, 556, maps 2. — *The Making of the Russian Nation,* by Henryk Paszkiewicz. London, Darton, Longman & Todd. 1963, Pp. 509.

Reviewed by N. Andrusiak

[*Prof. Nicholas Andrusiak received his doctorate in History in Poland but is now Professor of Modern Languages at Vincennes University. Since 1932 Prof. Andrusiak has been an active member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and is a member of the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and Eastern European Languages. He has published very extensively in Ukrainian, English, French and German. Some of his works are: "The Ukrainian Movement in Galicia"* (The Slavonic & E.E. Review, *London*), *"Ruthene Eglise, dite plus correctement aujourd' hiu Eglise Ukrainienne"* (Distionnaire de Theologie Catholique), *"Der west-ukrainische Stamm der Lemken"* (Ludostforschungen, *Munchen*), *"Genesis of development of East Slavic Nations"* (East European Problems, *New York, v.* 1) *and many others.*]

I

In the preface to *The Origin of Russia*, the author justly states that the term "Rus'" is "always used in reliable East European Sources in connection not only with the early historical period but also with the later times. He tells us that the name, "Russia", which entered the vernacular during the eighteenth century and which was used especially in relation to Muscovy, has an entirely different connotation from that of the old "Rus'". Unfortunately, "Russia" in English, "Russie" in French, and "Russland" in German, are used indiscriminately to designate the Kievan State from the tenth to the seventeenth century, and the Empire of Peter the Great, and his successors, from the eighteenth to the twentieth century. The author contends that this misuse of terminology "has led to many misconceptions in historical literature and to a great confusion of ideas" (p. 8).

After this just and commendable statement, however, Paszkiewicz has no right to state: "I . . . had to overcome considerable difficulties in this respect. As the term "Rus'" is not generally known, I had to employ in the title of this work the inaccurate term, "Russia". Also, "Russian" has been used as an adjective to "Rus'". In the review of

Paszkiewicz's book by V. Kosarenko-Kosarevytch ("Free World Review", New York, 1956, vol. II, No. 2, p. 38), it is shown that the term "Rus' " should be translated into English as "Ruthenia" (Ruthenian", "Ruthenians") or, alternatively, the form "Rus' " should be kept in translation.

Later, in 1957, Dr. Roman Smal-Stocki, Director of the Slavic Institute, at Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, proposed in his "Terminological Problems of Eastern European History" to reintroduce into English terminology the old excellent term of Geoffrey Chaucer "Ruce", which is very near in its sound to the original native word (the "u" should be pronounced as in "put"; the "ce (s)" is palatalized, soft.) Recently, however, the Polish historian, Miss Karolina Lanckoronska, used in her "Studies on the Roman-Slavonic Rite in Poland" (Rome, 1961) the terms "Rus'ian" as translation from Polish "Rusin" (noun) and "ruski" (adjective), and "Rus'ians" (Rusini) in plural. The terms "Rus'ian" and "Rus'kyi", the adjective in Ukrainian, are related in nearly the same way as the ones "Russian" and "Russkii" in Russian. Therefore, in my opinion the terms "Rus' ", "Rus'ian", and "Rus'ians" are most accurate to designate the Kievan State and her citizens whose posterities called themselves "Ukrainians".

Paszkiewicz refers to the oldest Rus'ian chronicle, "Tale of Bygone Years", as an authoritative source to substantiate his statement that the tribes who formed the Polish state in the twelfth century had knowledge of their Polish community as early as the second half of the tenth century. He stated that Nestor, author of "Tale of Bygone Years", showed that the "Polish" tribes had accurate political and national concepts as early as the tenth century. However, Nestor did not live in the tenth century. He began to gather his data at the beginning of the twelfth century, and, at that time, he utilized the writings of his predecessors.

The authoritative Polish anthropologist, Jan Czekanowski, stated, during a discussion at the session of the Polish Historical Society in Lviv (Lwow), that the Masovians were an East Slavonic tribe which was later Polonized. Paszkiewicz is silent concerning the Masovian aspirations to their independence from Poland after the death of the first Polish king, Boleslaw I, the Mighty (* 1025). These aspirations were concretized under the leadership of Maslav (Moislav) against the Polish national unification and propagation of the Roman Catholic faith among the Masovians. Another tribe (in Paszkiewicz's opinion: "Polish"), the Vistulians were the Christians of Greek (Byzantine)-Slavonic (in Lanckoronska's wrong opinion: "ROMAN-Slavonic") Rite and subjected by the above mentioned king Boleslaw I, were violently Latinized and Polonized during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, their remnants,

however, in the Lublin province and in the Carpathian Mountains called themselves the Rus'ians.

In proof of his contention that the East Slavonic tribes had no knowledge of their Rus'ian national community, Paszkiewicz cites the revolt of the Derevlians under the tribal prince Mal against the Rus'ian king Ihor in Kiev in 945. This revolt preceded efforts to widen the influence of the Christian faith in the Kievan Rus'ian state. In my essay, "Genesis and Development of East Slavic Nations", (erroneously entitled by General Editor of "East European Problems", Marion E. McEvoy, "Genesis and Development of East Slavic States", in "EEP", vol. I, No. 1, 1956, p. 5), I have shown (p. 8): "The establishment of Christianity by King Volodymyr the Great, in 988, rooted out the Slavic tribal names together with the Slavic pagan religions connected with the cults of individual tribal gods. In this manner, tribal separateness was lost, and the nation of "Rusyny" or "Rusychi" was created. The first to disappear were the tribal names of the Polians, Severians, Derevlians, Dulibians, Tyvertsians, Ulichians, Khorvatians, Slovenes, and, in time, the Drehovichians and Krivichians. Last to disappear was the tribal name of the Viatichians".

Paszkiewicz comes to false conclusions because he is not sensitive in the difference of connotation of the term "Rus' " as used in "Tale of Bygone Years", and as used in the continuation of this chronicle, "Kievan Chronicle", written in the twelfth century. He writes (p. 7): ". . . we can establish the following facts: Halich and Volhynia are not Rus' ". He cites from "Tale of Bygone Years": "1018. After collecting Rus', Varangians and Slavs, Iaroslav marched forth against Boleslav and Sviatopolk, and upon arriving to Volyn', they camped on both sides of the River Bug." In translating "to Volyn' ", Paszkiewicz regards "Volyn' " erroneously as the Volhynian country. Indeed, it was the capital of the territory occupied by the Volhynian tribe (formerly called the Dulibians, then also the Buzhians) near the mouth of the River Huchva (Huczwa) into Bug. The name of that city was later adopted by the tribe as both a tribal and a country name (Volhynian tribe and country of Volhynia). The pertinent text in the "Tale of Bygone Years" should accurately be translated as follows: "Boleslaw with Sviatopolk and Poles ("Liakhy") came against Iaroslav. Iaroslav collected Rus', Varangians and Slavs ("Rus' " means here the prince's retinue, consisting of Varagians and Slavs), marched forth against Boleslaw and Sviatopolk, and came to Volyn' ("k Volyniu"), where both armies camped on both sides of the River Bug". (Letopis po Lavrentievskomu Spisku, Petersburg, 1897, p. 139). Paszkiewicz concludes that "Volhynia is not Rus' " because the Rus'ian retinue marched towards and arrived "to Volyn' ". With parallel

logic, what conclusion should be consequently drawn concerning the Thietmar's relationship, inasmuch as five hundred Hungarians and one thousand Pechenegs went to the support of the Poles there? (Paszkiewicz, OR, p. 88).

Paszkiewicz cites another statement from the same chronicle relating to the same matter: "1097. David went back to Volodymyr (in Volhynia) . . . fortified himself within the city, and expected help from the Poles . . . for they had promised to be his allies if the Rus'ian princes attacked him" (p. 8). Indeed, David was a Rus'ian prince, too. Later citations by Paszkiewicz (pp. 8-1.) of fragments from the "Kievan Chronicle" only reinforce my opinion, expressed in my essay referred to above and printed in "East European Problems" (pp. 8-9), that the Kievan territory is referred to the "Kievan Chronicle" as "the Rus'ian Land" in contrast to other lands over which princes of the Rurik dynasty ruled.

In another place, Paszkiewicz (p. 24) states correctly that "Rus' " has a supratribal meaning, but in his later considerations, he tries to suggest that "Rus' " had a meaning of "faith". (p. 64: "Slavic iazyk (people) profess the faith of Rus' "). Consequently, he writes quite erroneously on page 65 that "the Greeks . . . were also "Rus' ", like the Varangians and Finns. Indeed, according to the "Tale of Bygone Years" the Varangians were primordially "Rus' ". Afterwards, any Finnish tribes belonged to the Rus'ian state. and, therefore, they were "Rus' "; but, they were not of the Rus'ian faith. "Rus' " (the Slavic people, including Slavicized Varangians) received Christianity from the Greeks, and no Rus'ian of the tenth to the twelfth centuries could say that the Greeks were of the Rus'ian faith. On the contrary, in the treaty between Rus' and the Byzantine Empire in 944, the Rus'ian nation is contrasted to the Greek one; moreover, there were mentioned the Christian Rus'ians and the pagan ones. (Letopis' po Lavrentievskomu Spisku, pp. 50-51).

A Belorussian professor, Dr. Ia. Stankevich, followed the Paszkiewicz's view that the nouns "Rus' " and "Rusin", as well as the adjective "ruski" had been used by his countrymen in the meaning of their faith. but farther he must state that their mother tongue was called by themselves the Rus'ian language, not the Belorussian one. ("Bac'kauscyna" (The Fatherland), Munich, 1958, No. 27 (413).

Paszkiewicz needed this obviously false contrivance in order to prove that the Buzhians, mentioned among the Rus'ian tribes in "Tale of Bygone Years", figured only among the tribes professing the faith of Rus'. In his opinion (p. 65): "the adherence of the Buzhians to Rus' in this sense conveys nothing in regard to their ethnical character". However, Paszkiewicz has no proof to support his allegations that the Buzhians

were not Rus'ians in character. To the contrary, the momentary Polish occupations of any regions of the former Buzhian territory between the years of 1018-31 and 1069-80 did not leave any trace of Polish culture there. These occupations only intensified the hatred of the local population to the Poles. Without substantiation, Paszkiewicz writes on page 64: "The original territory of the Buzhians was . . . divided between the Piasts and the Rurikides as a consequence of their political antagonism".

The Buzhians lived near the headwaters of the Bug River, at which place they had their capital, Buzhak (Busk). To the north of them lived other descendants of the former Dulibians: the Volhynians. To the east lived the Luchans. Paszkiewicz tries to prove the tribal adherence of the Buzhians by mentioning the reference in "Tale of Bygone Years" to the expedition of the Rus'ian king Volodymyr the Great in 981 against the Liakhs and his occupation of "their" cities: Peremyshl', Cherven and others (p. 66). He tries to prove that the Peremyshl' mentioned is not the city upon the Sian River know by the same name; he contends that it is only Peremyl' in Volhynia in the Luchans' territory (p. 70). He states that "Tale of Bygone Years" does not number the Dulibians among the East Slavs (p. 70), although this is a direct contradiction of another citation from the chronicle text in another place in his book (p. 53), namely: "And they lived at peace — the Polians, the Derevlians, the Severians, the Radimichians, the Viatichians, the Khorvats, the Dulibians who lived upon the River Bug where the Volhynians live today, the Ulichians, and the Tivertsians who lived upon the River Dniester, extending to the River Danube." (Letopis' po Lavrent. Sp., p. 12). In another place in "Tale of Bygone Years" we read: that "the Slavic language is used in Rus' by the Polians, Derevlians, Novhorodians. Polochians, Severians, and Buzhians, because they settled upon the River Bug, and later by the Volhynians". (Ibid., p. 10).

Paszkiewicz identifies "Lenzeninoi" as mentioned by the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (905-959) with the Liakhs (pp. 68-69, 81), although there is more justfication for identification of the above named "Lenzeninoi" with the Volhynian Luchans. Such an identification would agree with the relationship as described by the Arabian geographist of the first half of the tenth century, Masudy (d. 956), who wrote about the leadership of "Valinana" people among the Slavs. It is possible there the identification of "Lenzeninoi" with the Ulichians (called "Uluchi") who lived between the River Dnieper and Dniester, north of the Black Sea, where, from the fourth to the sixth centuries, existed the state of the Antes. The later connotation of the term "Liakhy" to refer to the Poles does not prove that in the tenth century the name "Liakhy" was synonymous with "Poles". There is mention in the Galician-

Volhynian Chronicle of the thirteenth century of the Liakhs-Ukrainians (Liakhove-Ukrainiane) in the Lublin province between the Vistula and Wieprz rivers. Also, the name of the neighbouring province on the Bug River to the north — "Pidliashia" (Polish: Podlasie, Latin: Podlachia), means the "province under Liakhs". This fact leads to the hypothesis that the Liakhs were a tribe in the Lublin province, whose territory was surrounded by the Dulibians (afterwards: Volhynians) to the east, the Khorvatians to the south, the Vistulians to the west, and the Masovians and the Iatviagians to the north. As there is mention in the Panonian biography of the Slavic apostle, Saint Methodius, of the conversion to the East Christianity of the Vistulians, we can suppose that the Liakhs were, at first (since the tenth century), confessors of the same faith. The Liakhs' Lublin province was occupied by the Rus'ian Galician-Volhynian princes between the years of 1244-47 and 1290-1302. Then the local confessors of East Christianity joined with the Rus'ian Orthodox people. Until the eighteenth century Lublin was a prominent center for the Orthodox Rus'ians. In 1680, there was a colloquy between the deputies of the Orthodox and Uniate Rus'ians under the leadership of Joseph Shumliansky, then the Orthodox bishop of Lviv, Halich and Kamenets-Podolsky, later united with the Roman Pope.

In the Saxonian Chronicle written by the Corbeyan monk, Widukind, the earliest mentioned Polish principality was located in 963 only upon the Warta River with its capital Gniezno near Poznan'. Therefore, this little country — as it was just explained at the session of the Polish Historical Society by Oswald Balzer, prominent connoisseur of state organizations among the original Slavic tribes, author of the Piasts' genealogy, and professor of history of Polish law at the former Polish university in Lviv - - was called "Great Poland" with a meaning of "Old Poland". Analogically, in the East Slavic territory, there were two cities: Great Novhorid (in Russian: Novgorod) upon Ilmen Lake in translation means "Old New City". Little Halich (at the present time, Romanian: Galati, in English: Galatz) on the Danube River was, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a colony and trade-station of Halich on the Dniester River, capital of the Galician principality. The name, "Little Halich", was used to show that the later city was "new" - - an outgrowth of an older and larger city.

An Arabian merchant, Ibrahim Ibn Jacub, between the years of 965-973, made trips to the German emperor, Otto I, in Magdeburg. He had been in Cracow, which, he said, belonged at that time to the Bohemian (Czech) kingdom. The state of the first Polish historical prince, Mieszki I (963-992) extended to the north of Cracow. Rus'ian merchants travelled to that city, but not one Polish merchant went there.

Therefore, the opinion of Polish historians, among them Paszkiewicz, that in 981, Volodymyr the Great occupied Peremyshl' and Cherven, which had belonged to Mieszko's state, is false: the regions upon the rivers Sian and Bug were more distant from Great (Old) Poland than Cracow. The document, "Dagome Iudex", cited by the Polish historians, was written during the last years of Mieszko I, and it stated that Cracow did not belong to him. It also stated that the Rus'-Polish boundary extended from the north-east of Cracow northward as far as Prussia.

Citing the text of the Hungarian-Polish Chronicle of the thirteenth century which contained the names of localities and rivers to the south of the Carpathian Mountains, Paszkiewicz (p. 90) erroneously identifies the place mentioned there, "castrum Salis-Galis", with the city of Halich which is on the Dniester River to the north of the above mentioned mountains. He writes tendentiously that in the tenth and the eleventh centuries Halich belong to Poland. Here, Paszkiewicz ignores the opinion of his countryman, historian Wladyslaw Semkowicz (Geograficzne podstawy Polski Boleslawa Chrobrego, Kwartalnik Historyczny, Lwow, 1925, vol. 39, p. 298), who, agreeing with the findings of various Slovakian and Hungarian research projects on that subject, identifies "Salis-Galis" with Sovar near Priashevo. Right up till the present day, Ukrainian settlements extend into this territory.

Paszkiewicz ignores the survey of another countryman of his, Eugeniusz Kucharski (Element alanski (jaski) w Karpatach Wschodnich, Warszawa, 1938), who states that the tribal name of the Tivertsians was derived from the Alanian name for Dniester River, "Tiver", meaning "rapid". Therefore, Paszkiewicz's (p. 55) contention that a word in the text of "Tale of Bygone Years", namely "tlkovini" (which means translators") should be interpreted as "trkovini" (which would serve to imply that the Tivertsians were of Turkish descent) is false. Also, in this Paszkiewicz's book, the name of locality "Oster" is misspelled as "Osetr" (p. 71).

Paszkiewicz's (p. 278) statement that the Grand Duchy of Moscow arose on purely Finnish territory does not agree with historical reality. First, there was the colonization of the Slavic Krivichians (Rostov) and Viatichians (Riazan'). Later, the Rus'ian princes with their Rus'ian retinues came from Rus'ian Pereiaslav (now: Pereiaslav-Khmel'nytsky in Ukraine). Pereiaslav Zalessky (which means "beyond the woods") was founded in Suzdalia (later Muscovy). Galich was also founded in Suzdalia by the Halich retinue of the Suzdalian princes Olga, the divorced wife of the prominent Galician prince, Iaroslav Osmomysl (1153-87). But the character of Moscovian leadership was formed under the Mongolian influence.

Citing the Ukrainian historian, Myron Korduba, Paszkiewicz (pp. 448-51) writes about Ukraine and the Ukrainian nation. He erroneously connects the genesis of the Ukrainian nation with that time when the name, "Ukraine", was used by the Rus'ian nation instead of 'Rus' ". In "Genesis and Development of East Slavic Nations" (East European Problems, I, 1, pp. 5-21), the genesis of the Ukrainian nation was accurately explained by this writer. Paszkiewicz's explanation of the original meaning of the name "Ukraine" as a "borderland" is false, because "Ukraine" meant originally "country". Inasmuch as we find this same misconception in the "Dictionary of the Polish Language", as well as in "Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia," ed. by Volodymyr Kubiiovych, vol. I, (Published for the Ukrainian National Association by University of Toronto Press, 1963, the writer will treat that problem in a separate essay.

It is Paszkiewicz's tendency to demonstrate the Polish origin of the Buzhians and to show that the Rus'ians were not conscious of their Rus'ian national community. He tries to deduce his first proof from the text of "Tale of Bygone Years". He cites the passage: "There was one Slavonic language for the Slavs, living upon the Danube River, who received the Hungarians, the Moravians, the Czechs, the Liakhs, and the Polians who are today called Rus' " (Letopis' po Lavrentievskomu Spisku, p. 25). He stated that since the Buzhians are not mentional between the Liakhs and the Polians, they are of Polish origin. He, however. is silent on the Masovians and other tribes which later became the Polish people by their Polonization together with widening Roman Catholic faith among them, but which also are not named in this passage. In another portion of the same chronicle (ibid., p. 10) the Buzhians are named among the other Rus'ian tribes. The Rus'ian national consciousness was evident as early as the tenth century, and after 1018, there arose among the Rus'ian people a hatred of the Poles. This hatred was demonstrated most effectively in the tale about the imprisonment of the Rus'ian monk, Blessed Moses Uhryn, in Poland. Moses was captured during the campaign of King Boleslaw I in 1018, as related in his "Life" written by Policarp, a monk from the Kievan Crypt Monastery, lifing around 1230, in collection of Saints' biographies of this monastery "Pechersky Pateryk".

Only with German colonization were Lviv and the regions upon the Wislok River Polonized, because the German colonists there later became Poles (Kurt Lueck: Deutsche Aufbaukraefte in der Entwicklung Polens, Plauen, 1934). Thanks to that German colonization which was protected by Polish kings and nobility (szlachta) the Ukrainians lost the region of Riashiv (in Polish: Rzeszow, in German: Reichshof). There-

fore, I don't agree with the concept of the prominent Ukrainian historian, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, that the Ukrainians were left unchanged in their basic territory despite of the political changes in Eastern Europe, because the state organization has some influence on the formation of a nation and on the designation of its borders.[1]

The Polonization of the German colonists in Poland was recompensed in Silesia, where, under German cultural influence, the Polish princes of the Piast dynasty were Germanized voluntarily together with their subjects. A German medieval poet was from the Silesian Piasts. However, antagonism toward the protection of German colonists in Poland found its expression in the traditions of the Polish commoners who saw the hated German immigrants as devils (K. Lueck: Der Mythos vom Deutschen in der polnischen Volksueberlieferung und Literatur, Posen, 1938).

II.

The Making of the Russian Nation. By Henryk Paszkiewicz. London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1963, Pp. 509.

The second Paszkiewicz's book is a sequel to "The Origin of Russia". He begins with his polemics against the Russian historians Presniakov, Parkhomenko, B. Grekov, B. Rybakov, and G. Vernadsky. The latter has published his studies on the same problem in 1959: "The Origin of Russia" (Oxford) and "Essai sur les origines russes" (Paris). Then Paszkiewicz disputes also with the Ukrainians: G. Shevelov and R. Smal-Stocki. From Miss Karolina Lanckoronska Paszkiewicz accepted the term "Rus'ian" for translation of the Polish noun "Rusin" and adjective "ruski". The author declares that he had found "new sources" to this problem and he "did not know that there existed in this sphere first class material which would allow" him "to advance new arguments and shed new light on the problem" — he has to deal with.

In the second chapter he considers the problem of "Ethnos" in the meaning of people, race, nation (p. 28), and in the meaning of "iazyk" (pp. 28-30). He states that after the Slavonic Poles had accepted the Latin rite they used to be contrasted to "Slavs" (i.e. to the Slavs of the Greek-Slavic rite) e.g. in the Polish chronicle of "Gallus": "Latini et Slavi". In Paszkiewicz's opinion, however, when the terms "Graeci",

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[1] In my above cited essay, East European Problems, I, 1, p. 7, Madam Marion E. McEvoy translated erroneously: "Hrushevsky's . . . concept that the state organization etc., see the Ukrainian text in "Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni", Rome, 1954, vol. II (VIII), fasc. 1-2, p. 243.

"Rutheni", "Slavi" are taken in exclusively ethnic sense, as usually happens, and coordinated to "iazyk" in the meaning: people, nation – these new sources are deprived of sense (p. 31).

As in "The Origin of Russia" Paszkiewicz passes over the mention on Ihor's treaty with the Greeks in 944 in which the "Christian Rus'ians" and "non-Christian Rus'ians" were mentioned. According to his tendency he attempts to show the religious meaning of the word "iazyk" in the Church Statute of Iaroslav the Wise in the words: "ot nasheho iazyka nekreshchen budet' " i.e. who among our people will be not baptized, consequently Paszkiewicz's assumption of an ecclesiastical-religious sense of "iazyk" (pp. 31-41) is not correct. The subsequent Paszkiewicz's negation of the meaning of "iazykom" as peoples in the "Prayer of Hilarion" (pp. 41-3) is the consequence of his failure to understand the Old Rus'ian language. In the cited words from the "Tacticon of Nikon Chernohorets" (pp. 43-4) we see a mention about the various heresies among the Vandalian people (iazyk).

Paszkiewicz's attempt to prove that the word "iazyk" can only be understood as "faith" or "religious belief" in the citation from the trade agreement of the Smolensk prince Mstyslav with the Hanseatic cities, Riga and Gatland (p. 44) failed. The Rus'ian text of this treaty in 1229: "mezhu Rus'iu i tozhiu latyneskym iazykom" Paszkiewicz interprets that "Rus' " should mean "faith", because the Hanseatic cities, Riga and Gotland of the Roman Catholic faith had been called "Latin iazyk". But in the text "Rus' " is mentioned not "rus'skyi iazyk". Vernadsky and M. Cherniavsky interpreted correctly that the word "Latin" had corresponded there to the West European and had not meant "faith".

"The Tale of the Monk Simeon of Suzdal against the Union of Florence" is addressed to Pope "uchitel latinskago iazyka" — "teacher of the Latin people", indeed the head of the Roman Catholic Church (pp. 47-8). In the "Epistle" of Spiridion-Sabbas (1511-21) the Latin "iazyk" has been interpreted by Paszkiewicz as faith (pp. 48-51). But these two examples can not be used as proofs for the meaning "iazyk" in the "Tale of Bygone Years".

Then Paszkiewicz attempts to identify the conceptions of the Rus'ian "zemlia" with the Rus'ian Christianity citing the poem "Za-donshchina" (Deeds beyond the Don River). Two sons of Algirdas, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, were fighting against the Tatars. Demetrius says to Andrew: "Brother Andrew, we shall not spare our lives for the Rus'ian "zemlia" and the Christian faith" (pp. 51-6). Here we see quite clearly that the Rus'ian "zemlia" and the Christian faith are mentioned separately as two separate entities. The Lithuanian princes had become

princes in Rus' (Rus'ian "zemlia"), and consequently they fought for it. They became Rus'ians, but Paszkiewicz does not want to accept their adherence to the Rus'ian nation. Later, their brother Jagello became the Polish king, and therefore, he and his descendants Jagellons are regarded by Paszkiewicz as the Poles.

After these citations from his so-called "new sources" Paszkiewicz returns to that cited by him in "The Origin of Russia" Old Rus'ian chronicle "Tale of Bygone Years". And again he attempts to prove that the meaning of "iazyk" and "zemlia" in this chronicle corresponds to the meaning "faith". Therefore, the words: "Bi edyn iazyk slovenesk" he interprets in such way: "There was one Slavonic metropolitan province of the Cyrillo-Methodian rite" (p. 64). The mention in the same chronicle: "The Slavonic "iazyk" and the Rus'ian is one" — he interprets again "Rus'ian "iazyk" = faith" (pp. 70-2). This interpretation is correct, if it concerns to the territory of the former Cracovian Slavonic metropolitan province where the Polish Roman Catholic zealots, persecuting in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the believers of the Greek-Slavonic rite, called them the "Rus'ians" and soon their remnants in the Lublin province regarded themselves as the Rus'ian people.

The term "Rus'skaia zemlia" in the "Tale of Bygone Years" is interpreted by Paszkiewicz as the "Rus'ian metropolitan see of Kiev" (p. 72), while this term has meant indeed the Rus'ian state, kingdom Consequently Paszkiewicz's conclusion that the expressions "the Rus'ian iazyk", "the Rus'ian zemlia", "the Rus'ian strana" and "Rus' " so often encountered in the sources of the tenth and eleventh centuries signified the metropolis of Kiev and the believers in the faith upheld by its metropolitans" (p. 109) is quite wrong, because the Rus'ian "iazyk" means the Rus'ian people, nation, as well as the Rus'ian "zemlia" and "strana" and "Rus' " means the Rus'ian state, kingdom, nation. Why Paszkiewicz did not take examples from the former Cracovian Greek-Slavonic metropolitan province when the Greek-Slavonic believers became soon the Rus'ians, although they did not belong to the Kievan metropolitans and Rus'ian kings. Although they were persecuted since the twentieth years of the eleventh century, they resisted to the Latinization and Polonization for centuries. Yet in the second half of the sixteenth century the Polish canon Jan Krasinski wrote that "Roxolania, quae Carpathios montes non longe ab urbe attingit Cracovia". In Lublin the Rus'ian population was strong yet in the second half of the seventeenth century.

In the chapter about the descent of Rus' (pp. 110-75) Paszkiewicz selected citations from sources and literature that had appeared during the years following his work "The Origin of Russia", but only that what

he estimated as useful for his viewpoint. His analysis of sources and polemics with the reviewers of "The Origin of Russia" are tendentious. At the end of this chapter (p. 175) he repeats again his wrong conclusion that "the word "iazyk" has also meaning of an ecclesiastical and religious character. This sense of the word must be applied in "Nestor's passage since it is in complete harmony with the whole text of the chronicle while the other interpretations of the term are glaringly contradicted by the "Tale of Bygone Years" and by other sources, thus, the most important argument in favour of the anti-Normanists' case fails decisively". In my opinion, however, the sense of the word "iazyk" applied by Paszkiewicz is contradictory to the whole text of the "Tale of Bygone Years" and to its mentions in other sources. Moreover, this false interpretation of the word "iazyk" by Paszkiewicz could prove in favour of the anti-Normanists' case decisively, if it would not be wrong.

In the chapter about "Old Rus'ian or East Slavonic Nation" (pp. 176-244) Paszkiewicz mentions that the East Slavic tribes, as Derevlians (p. 177) and others were subjected to the Rus'ian rulers in Kiev, and he states that the Rus'ian nation was a copy of the Byzantine nation, since the Rus'ian state and church were copies of the Byzantine church and state (p. 243). As a proof for this statement he cites the "Outlines of History of the Russian-Byzantine Relations" (1956, p. 498), written by the Soviet historian M. Levchenko who has definited that the Byzantine Empire was an artificial conglomerate of many tribes and peoples. In Paszkiewicz's opinion — "these words likewise define precisely the content and meaning of the concept of Rus' during the epoch under the discussion" (p. 244). Did the Polish state not consist of different tribes at the same time? The Polish princes in Gniezno having accepted the Roman Catholic faith were influenced by the fanatic German Roman Catholic clergymen and persecuted the subjected by them Masovian pagans and the Vistulians who had accepted from St. Methodius the Christianity of the Byzantine-Slavonic rite. The Orthodox remnants of the Vistulians in the Lublin district between the rivers Vistula and Wieprz called soon themselves the Rus'ians, although they had been never subjected by the Rus'ian rulers in Kiev.

In the following chapter Paszkiewicz considers three Rus'ian nations (p. 245). He states the decay of the Old Rus'ian or East Slavic nation, then he considers the Slavic colonization of the Northeastern lands of Kievan Rus' and the genesis of Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian nations (pp. 247-302). He involves a dispute with the Ukrainian reviewers of "The Origin of Russia", namely M. Cherniavsky, P. Hrycak (his name is deformed by Paszkiewicz to Hryčak (Hrychak), and S. Bodnarchuk. Paszkiewicz (p. 322) objects to others that "they cite some facts

and ignore others, correct or disqualify the texts of the period if these clash with their own concepts drawn up without resource to the sources." These objections, however, Paszkiewicz should make to himself.

In Appendix I (pp. 323-35) Paszkiewicz disputes with the reviewers of "The Origin of Russia". In Appendix II he resists against the German historian G. Rhode (Die Ostgrenze Polens, 1955, p. 389), who established the Poland's eastern frontier on the rivers Pilica and the Middle Vistula at the time of Mieszko's I death in accordance with the document "Dagome Iudex" and narration of Ibrahim Ibn Jacub. Paszkiewicz, however, writes that "there was no 'East Slavonic' nation, just as there never was a 'West Slavonic' one" (p. 366). Yes, there was no "East Slavonic" only the Rus'ian nation. Quite incorrectly Paszkiewicz writes that "the call the Buzhians and the Croats of the ninth and tenth centuries Rus'ian tribes is quite misleading and in evident disagreement with the testimonies of the sources" (p. 389), because in the "Tale of Bygone Years" these tribes are named as the Rus'ian ones. Paszkiewicz's interpretation of Ibrahim Ibn Jacub (pp. 370-1) is quite incorrect and tendentious. His statement that "Nestor regarded Buzhians as Lendzens — Liakhs" is not true. Moreover, Paszkiewicz deformed the name "Bug" in the falsified Prague document of 1086 to "Boh" and consequently he writes that the eastern boundaries of Mieszko's I state were upon the rivers Styr and Boh (pp. 390-96).

In this book of history falsified by Paszkiewicz we see his political tendency to prove the Polish "historical rights" to the Western Volhynia, Galicia, Podolia, and . . . Odessa. We can state that no traces of the Polish Roman Catholic churches are to be found in these Western Ukrainian provinces. However, the Rus'ian churches of Byzantine style existed in the tenth and eleventh centuries in Crakow, Wislica, Sandomierz and Lublin. Moreover, Paszkiewicz attempts to deny the existence of the Old Rus'ian nation in the tenth and eleventh centuries, following the Polish politicians of 1918-23, who attempted to deny the existence of the modern Ukrainian and Belorussian nations, the true descendants of the Old Rus'ian nation. Both books of Paszkiewicz have a political tendency to prove that in the period of the Kievan Rus' no Rus'ian nation existed in this state, and moreover, in the Western Ukraine until the rivers Styr and "Boh" the Polish tribes lived there before her annexation by Volodymyr the Great in 981.

A Chinese edition of Paszkiewicz's "The Origin of Russia" in Taipeh, capital of Formosa, in 1956, shows where the Polish politicians look for their allies. It recalls the Polish imperialist Jan Bobrzynski, the editor of the monthly "Nasza Przyszlosc" (Our Future) before the Second World War. In the last number of this magazine in summer 1939 Bobrzynski

write that the Poles should occupy all Ukraine and cross the rivers Don and Volga and give hands to the Japanese soldiers upon the Ural River. Now Mr. Paszkiewicz has little moderate political claims: only to the Western Ukraine up to the rivers Styr and Boh.

KATALOH VYDAN' UKRAINSKOI AKADEMII NAUK 1918-1930

(Catalog of Publications of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences 1918-1930) Prepared and edited by Dmytro M. Shtohryn. Chicago: Association of Librarians of Ukrainian Descent in the United States, 1966. Pages 377. $10.95, cloth; $9.85, paper.

Reviewed by Ihor V. Kutynsky

[*Ihor V. Kutynsky studied history at the University of Illinois, obtaining a B.A. in* 1964 *and a M.A.T. in* 1966. *He was very active in the Ukrainian Student Association of the U. of I. and an officer of the association, becoming recently a member of Phi Alpha Theta the National History Honorary. The author of a lengthy article entitled "The Alliance Between Hetman Iwan Mazepa of Ukraine and King Charles XII of Sweden"* (Feniks, 1965), *I. V. Kutynsky will continue his studies at the University of Rochester in September* 1966, *where as a teaching assistant he will seek a Ph.D. in Eastern European History.*]

On May 24, 1964 a serious blow was dealt to Ukrainian scholarship both behind the Iron Curtain and the free world when an "accidental" fire consumed more than 600,000 priceless and irreplaceable manuscripts and publications contained in the Kievan Public Library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. As it was learned soon thereafter, most of the destroyed material covered the critical period of Ukrainian publications between 1918 and 1930, many of whose authors were either deported to Siberia or simply liquidated by the Russian Communist regime.

Having overcome the initial shock of this fateful event, Ukrainian scholars, chiefly those in the free world, began intensive investigations and inquiries in an attempt to find out exactly what singular material was destroyed or damaged by this vandalic and barbarous act to further stamp out the Ukrainian cultural and literary heritage. Their efforts became frustrated, however, by the grim but revealing fact that Ukrainian scholarship both behind the Iron Curtain and the free world failed to provide researchers and scholars with a single bibliographical compendium of any kind, not mentioning publications, of periodic bibliographical lists as is customarily done in other countries of the world.

It was in order to somehow fill this gap existing within Ukrainian

scholarship, that Professor Dmytro M. Shtohryn, Head of Slavic Cataloging at the University of Illinois Library, set about to publish a description of the monographic, serial and periodical publication of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, which were issued during the first period of the latter's existence, i.e. 1918 to 1930. From this effort, emerged the present *Catalog of Publications of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences 1918-1930,* a truly outstanding work, being not only the first catalog of its kind — which in all probability does not exist in Soviet Ukraine — but also the first complete list in the free world of all the above mentioned publications of the Academy during the crucial years of Ukrainian historiography, 1918-1930. Furthermore, the *Catalog* is a compilation and an offset printing of the most complete catalogs of publication of the Academy and its affiliated institutions. These catalogs were originally issued in Kiev in 1930-1931, but with the drastic change of the trend in the internal policy of Soviet Russia toward Ukraine during the same period, almost all of these publications, as well as their catalogs, were either destroyed or taken to Russia. The only available copies which survived were those sent to the libraries in the free world before the ill-fated 1930's. Then came the fire of 1964 which completed the destruction of the remaining original copies still available in the Kievan Public Library. A comprehensive and concise bibliographical source in the field of Eastern Slavic Studies, the *Catalog* contains 8476 works of 2163 scholars dealing with various aspects of Eastern European historiography in general and Ukrainian in particular. The work itself is conveniently divided into six parts. The first four deal with publications of the various departments within the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences itself (General-Academic, Historical-Philological, Physical-Mathematical, Social-Economic). The fifth part is devoted to publications issued by the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences with its various affiliations and agencies. while the sixth is comprised of various registers containing supplementary publication of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences itself. Also, added at the end of this work, is a handy list of main catalogs and indices embracing most of the entries represented in the *Catalog,* which are to be found in the various libraries and similar institutions scattered around the free world — mainly in the United States, Great Britain, Canada and France.

Published in the series "Slavic Bio-Bibliographical Materials," which was founded to provide scholarship and fundamental material for research in this vital area, Professor Shtohryn's work truly represents a monumental contribution to the area of Slavic Studies in general and Ukrainian bibliography in particular. It is embarrassing, however, that it took so long for Ukrainian scholarship to realize of what signifi-

cance bibliographical data is to a given country's literary heritage. It would be commendable if the present work would induce more scholars to enter this much neglected but vital field of Ukrainian literary scholarship and who in turn would enrich it with their own particular contributions.

AHAPIUS HONCHARENKO AND THE ALASKA HERALD: THE EDITOR'S LIFE AND AN ANALYSIS OF HIS NEWSPAPER

Toronto: Slavic Library, 1963. 120 pp.
Wasyl and Theodore Luciw

Reviewed by Stanley Humenuk

[*After receiving an M.A. in History in Canada, Stanley Humenuk obtained a Masters degree in Library Science from the University of Illinois, in* 1965. *At the present time he is in charge of the Slavic section at the University of Kansas.*]

The two Luciw authors, Wasyl and Theodore, have made a study of a most interesting personality. Their account of the life and impact of Ahapius Honcharenko in the book *Ahapius Honcharenko and the Alaska Herald* is a welcomed contribution to a rather meager bibliography of publications in English on the exploits and deeds of both the early Ukrainian pioneers in America and the voluntary political exiles from a foreign ruled Ukraine in the period before the twentieth century. Both topics are awaiting exploitation by serious scholars. Perhaps the book under review will inspire more interest among scholars in those areas.

It is hoped also that the two Luciw authors will follow the present book with an expanded and a more scholarly work on Honcharenko. They have collected a number of good sources and are in an excellent position to launch a research project aimed at a more comprehensive and at the same time a more definitive study of the man and his endeavors. A trip to Europe to follow Honcharenko's footsteps might lead the authors to some additional important discoveries.

Certainly more time should be devoted to a study of Honcharenko than what appears to have been given him by the Luciw authors. Their haste in writing, compiling and printing their book might be justified in view of the immediate need for a published account of Honcharenko in English to be used in the campaign undertaken to preserve his estate in California. Yet that very haste has left its unfortunate results in the form of a poorly edited composition and a text with a large number of

typographical errors. To cite only one example, Wasyl Luciw repeatedly uses the term "*ancestors* of Ukrainian Zaporogian Cossacks" in reference to some of the "so-called natives" of Alaska, when in fact he means that they were *descendants* of the Cossacks.

Some other interesting diversions from popularly accepted history are found in this book. In the section "Clippings from Newspapers" compiled by Theodore Luciw there appears a paragraph on the meaning and origin of the name "Ukraine." It is taken from an article in the *San Francisco Chronicle* appearing in 1905 and states that the word "Ukraine" translated means "A piece of land given by God to the Scythians." The article continues: "For Honcharenko is not a Russian. but a Scythian, a Cossack, the proud descendant of a race which dates its history from the time Alexander the Great defeated Darius upon the plains of Persia. According to this history, a portion of the Persians settled north of the Black Sea and called the land 'Ukraine.' It is . . . in honor of the home of his own birthplace, Honcharenko has named this his new home."

While the Luciw authors cannot be held responsible for what the *San Francisco Chronicle* wrote, it would have been interesting to learn the source of that information. Did it come from the *Chronicle's* reference library or was this statement made by Honcharenko himself? If Honcharenko believed this, it would be interesting to know what sources influenced him to be so convinced. An analysis of this nature, with respect to some of the sources used in the book under review, with respect to certain statements of conviction attributed to Honcharenko, would be very much appreciated. Of course, such a thorough analysis of Honcharenko could not be made with very limited resources. For this reason, the book falls short of being a scholarly work. Nor does its peculiar style allow it to be a popular book. Its real value lies as a book from which a more scholarly study of Honcharenko could be initiated. Certainly the book raises a number of questions which are left without definitive answers. A pursuit for those answers by the Luciw authors and a future publication of their results would be most welcome by scholars interested in the subject.

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