# UKRAINE
# A CONCISE ENCYCLOPÆDIA

# UKRAINE: A CONCISE ENCYCLOPAEDIA

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## A Concise Encyclopaedia

*Prepared by*

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VOLODYMYR KUBIJOVYČ

*Foreword by*

ERNEST J. SIMMONS

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# FOREWORD

Several years ago the publication of the first volume of *Ukraine: a Concise Encyclopaedia* was uniformly acclaimed in numerous reviews. An "outstanding reference book," wrote one reviewer, "a monumental compendium of information about Ukraine, its land, people, history, and culture," declared another, and a third described it as "the most complete reference book on Ukraine available in English." Some reviewers stressed the special features and authoritativeness: the more than sixty scholars, many of them of international reputation, who had contributed articles; the carefully selected and often extensive bibliographical surveys attached to each contribution; the more than six hundred illustrations and maps in a text of 1097 double-column pages; and the highly particularized table of contents which, combined with an exhaustive index at the end, enabled the user to locate any of a multitude of entries with complete ease. Still other reviewers emphasized that the work would attract an audience wider than the purely academic one because of its "broadly viewed analyses of Ukrainian problems" which were "treated with great lucidity and drive, clarifying much that has too often been obscure or ignored"; and that only "objective scientific methods" were employed in articles dealing with the present Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. This impartial approach, one reviewer pointedly declares, may serve to correct Western historians who write about Ukraine and its people, about their past and present aspirations, without ever going further than "the material provided for them by Russian historical literature, which has rather a strong imperialistic bias and does not show respect for facts."

One may anticipate that such enthusiastic praise will be echoed in the critical reception of the present second and concluding volume of this ambitious project which has been so handsomely published by the University of Toronto Press. The same meticulous care and scholarly probity are reflected in the prodigious effort involved in this final volume, with its 1262 pages of text, plus xliii preliminary pages and 132 Index pages, 727 illustrations, 22 black and white and 8 color plates, as well as 6 color maps in envelope at back, and in the treatment of its thirteen major thematic divisions: The Law; The Ukrainian Church; Scholarship; Education and Schools; Libraries, Archives, Museums; Book Publishing and the Press; The Arts; Music and Choreography; Theater and Cinema; The National Economy; Health and Medical Services and Physical Culture; The Armed Forces; and Ukrainians Abroad.

These major thematic divisions complement completely those in the first volume, several of which, like history and literature, run to book length. In fact, the combined twenty-one subject areas, with their numerous subheadings, offer a vast comprehensive coverage, in about three million words, of every aspect of Ukraine from its origins to the present. Here is God's plenty

for scholars, teachers, students, or interested readers. The important place of the second largest body of Slavic peoples in history and culture has at last been fully chronicled and evaluated for the edification of the English-speaking world.

If utility is one of the principal aims of every serious reference book, then currency is a vital factor in achieving it. That is, an encyclopaedia can never afford to be anything less than "up to date." This becomes doubly true of a reference work in which one considerable area concerns the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, where things change so swiftly. Moreover, here truth is constantly challenged by suppressed or doctored facts and information by misinformation. But the challenge of current knowledge about the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, such as recent nationalistic developments, to take only one example, must be promptly met with the same scholarly honesty and factual correctness as has been used in the treatment of such material in the present volumes. In fulfilling this obligation to readers of maintaining a steady flow of current information of historical significance, perhaps one may be allowed to hope that the editor of *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia* has already planned the preparation of periodical supplements of such material for distribution to subscribers until such time as a new edition of the *Encyclopaedia* seems warranted.

Inspired by the magnificent contribution of the *Encyclopaedia*, I mentioned in my "Foreword" to the first volume the need to strengthen advanced education on Ukraine in our centers of Slavic study. In particular, I suggested that chairs of Ukrainian studies should be established, library resources built up, "and in the major disciplines of the field more textbooks and reference works, suitable to the special needs of English-speaking students, should be produced." The first and most essential reference work, *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, has now been provided. Some of the other *desiderata* I indicated have since been gloriously realized through what seems a miracle of collective human effort in planning and fund-raising by the Ukrainian communities of the United States and Canada, with organized students playing a prominent part, namely the establishment at Harvard University of a projected Center of Ukrainian Studies with eventually three chairs in history, language, and literature, which will offer undergraduate and graduate courses leading to the A.M. and Ph.D. In addition, the Center will provide for a Ukrainian Research Institute; the publication of a Harvard Series of Ukrainian Studies; and an expansion of the University Library's holdings of Ukrainian books and serials, for which the voluminous bibliographical listings in the *Encyclopaedia* could serve as a valuable initial guide to essential acquisitions.

This comprehensive program is already well underway. Courses in Ukrainian literature are being offered by a distinguished visiting professor in the field, and in Ukrainian language and history by regular Harvard faculty members of these departments who are prepared to teach such disciplines. Study for advanced degrees in the three disciplines is under special committees of the departments involved. Further, a Summer Program in Ukrainian

Studies is designed to provide opportunities for students of other colleges and universities to receive such instruction if it is not available to them in their own institutions. A five-year publication plan also has been adopted for the Harvard Series of Ukrainian Studies which include: bibliographical works, textbooks, source studies, original monographs, and reprints and first editions of complete or selected classic works in Ukrainian humanities. In addition, a Selected Union Catalog of Ukrainian Subjects is in the process of consideration. Finally, a full-time expert to supervise the Ukrainian collection in the Widener Library is to be appointed. With such a carefully planned and vigorously supported over-all program, one can confidently assert that the preparation of a new generation of young students in the field has begun, and the hope is that they will eventually make their own scholarly contributions to the subject and by their teaching stimulate the growth of Ukrainian studies in other Slavic centers of learning in the midwest, the far west, and in Canada.

To mention, however briefly, in this "Foreword" so large a development of high promise as the Harvard Center of Ukrainian studies is perhaps illuminating, for the project can hardly fail to be regarded as a logical continuation, on another level, of the educational zeal and momentum that went into the conception and achievement of *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia.* Both were animated by the same spiritual heritage among like-minded people—a loving memory of a distant motherland, unforgotten and unforgettable. Only some such emotion could have kept alive the unswerving faith of members of the Shevchenko Society, the Ukrainian National Association, and their numerous co-workers as they struggled for years with a multitude of problems in organization, selection, scholarship, writing, proofreading, editing, and financing that are inevitably connected with the publishing of so huge an undertaking as the *Encyclopaedia.* Though aware that Ukraine is now controlled by a government that bases its information releases on expediency, they have never lost the conviction that scholarship's primary justification is the indefatigable search for truth. And it is the search for truth about the past and present of their motherland to which they have dedicated these magnificent volumes of learning in the fervent hope that one day the truth will set free the Ukrainian nation and peoples.

ERNEST J. SIMMONS

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# INTRODUCTION

Like Volume I of *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, published in 1963 by the University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian National Association, this second volume is also the result of a cooperative effort by many authors, editors, and their associates, as well as translators, reviewers, and consultants. As in the first volume, which contains eight sections (general information, physical geography and natural history, population, ethnography, language, history, culture, and literature), the information in the second volume is based on the material compiled in the *Entsyklopediia ukraïnoznavstva*, published in Ukrainian by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in 1949–52. The editorial work on the second volume was made considerably easier by the experience gained in preparing the first volume and by suggestions offered by those who reviewed it. Most of the chapters in Volume II were thoroughly checked, supplemented, and updated (essentially until 1969, in some cases until 1970). Some were completely revised and supplemented with new material on the state of research in various fields of Ukrainian studies and culture. Such chapters as National Economy, Health and Medical Services, and Ukrainians Abroad constitute original contributions by knowledgeable specialists in each of the respective fields. All chapters are richly illustrated and supplemented with maps, diagrams, and color and black-and-white plates (The Arts). Extensive bibliographies are appended to each chapter.

The second volume embraces the following fields: law and government; the churches; scholarship; schools and education; libraries, archives and museums; the press and book publishing; the arts; music and dance; theater and cinema; national economy; health, medical services, and physical culture; armed forces; and Ukrainians abroad—a total of thirteen chapters containing articles written by 87 authors.

Each chapter offers a general survey of its respective area, both in the past and in modern times, with emphasis on major developments and essential facts rather than interpretation. In some cases (e.g., the chapter on National Economy) illustrations have been chosen independently of the text to amplify the material. Six color maps of Ukraine (physical, administrative, two ethnographic, geological, and soils) constitute a valuable addition to the volume. As in the first volume, the alphabetical index of names, places, and organizations will assist the reader in finding the desired information.

## Explanatory Notes

### *I. Transliteration of Ukrainian and Russian*

*A.* In the text and the bibliographies a modified Library of Congress system of transliteration is followed but without diacritical marks and

ligatures. The principal departure from the accepted pattern is: the letters є, й, ю, я when initial letters of words are transliterated as *ye, y, yu, ya* (not *ie, i, iu, ia*).

*B.* In the articles on language and on some maps in Volume I a system of international transliteration commonly used in Slavic linguistics has been followed.

TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

| | *A* | | *B* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| а | a | | a | |
| б | b | | b | |
| в | v | | v | |
| г | h | | h | |
| ґ | g | | g | |
| д | d | | d | |
| е | e | | e | |
| є | ye | initially, otherwise -ie (e.g., *yednist'*, but *obiednannia*) | je | |
| ж | zh | | ž | |
| з | z | | z | |
| и | y | | y | |
| й | y | initially, otherwise -i (e.g., *yoho*, but Stryi) | j | |
| і | i | | i | |
| ї | ï | | ji | |
| к | k | | k | |
| л | l | | l | |
| м | m | | m | |
| н | n | | n | |
| о | o | | o | |
| п | p | | p | |
| р | r | | r | |
| с | s | | s | |
| т | t | | t | |
| у | u | | u | |
| ф | f | | f | |
| х | kh | | x | (or ch on maps) |
| ц | ts | | c | |
| ч | ch | | č | |
| ш | sh | | š | |
| щ | shch | | šč | |
| ю | yu | initially, otherwise iu (e.g., Yurii, but Petliura) | ju | |
| я | ya | initially, otherwise ia (e.g., Yaroslav, but Kolomyia) | ja | |
| ь | omitted (in titles of works and in bibliographies -') | | ' | |

| Russian | г | g |
|---|---|---|
| | е | e (je) |
| | и | i |
| | й | i (j) |
| | ы | y |
| | э | e |

## *II. Names of Persons*

As a rule Ukrainian and Russian family names are transliterated according to the Table of Transliteration. However, Ukrainian family names ending with -ський (and Russian names ending with -ский) are transliterated as -sky; those with the endings -цький/-цкий/ are transliterated as -tsky. Polish family names are given in their original form.

For general ease in reading, Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish given names in the main text have been anglicized, except where the spelling of a Slavic name has been popularly accepted in English usage (e.g., Ivan, not John) or where no English equivalent of a Slavic name exists (e.g., Yaroslav). However, in order to facilitate cross-references in the index the anglicized form of the name is followed there by the Ukrainian name in parentheses, spelled out according to the Table of Transliteration, e.g., Hrushevsky, Michael (Mykhailo), Doroshenko, Peter (Petro), Khvylovyi, Nicholas (Mykola).

## *III. Geographical Names*

In general geographical names in the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as well as of the adjacent lands predominantly inhabited by the Ukrainians, appear in the Ukrainian form according to the Table of Transliteration. Doubling of consonants in the endings is omitted, e.g., Podilia, Polisia, Zaporizhia.

Some well-known geographical names retain the form generally accepted in English usage, although they differ from the original form. Among these are the following:

Belorussia (on some maps Byelorussia or White Ruthenia)
Brest-Litovsk (on historical maps, Berestie; in the text, Berestia)
Bucharest (Rumanian: Bucuresti)
Bukovina (Ukrainian: Bukovyna)
Cracow (Polish: Krakow)
Crimea (Ukrainian: Krym)
Dnieper (Ukrainian: Dnipro)
Dniester (Ukrainian: Dnister)
Galicia (Ukrainian: Halychyna)
Kiev (Ukrainian: Kyïv)
Lithuania (on historical maps: Grand Duchy of Lithuania)
Moscow (Russian: Moskva)
Muscovy (on historical maps)
Odessa (Ukrainian: Odesa)
Podlachia (Ukrainian: Pidlashshia; Polish: Podlasie)
Prague (Czech: Praha)
Sea of Azov (Ukrainian: Oziv)
Vistula (Polish: Wisła)
Volhynia (Ukrainian: Volyn')
Warsaw (Polish: Warszawa)

Russian geographical names are used within the mixed Ukrainian-Russian territory (eastern Kuban region, the northern Chernihiv region—in the Russian SFSR). Double names, Ukrainian and Polish, are used within the formerly Ukrainian ethnic territory now under Poland: Buh (Bug), Kholm (Chełm). In cases of changes in geographical names, those in present use are given first, followed, in parentheses, by the older name (or names), e.g. Donetske (Stalino, Yuzivka). For technical reasons it has not been possible to maintain uniformity in the transliteration of geographical names on the maps.

In order to avoid possible confusion in the identification of geographical names, the different spellings of the same place will be given in the index—both those resulting from the use of two systems of transliteration and other non-Ukrainian forms of geographical names of major Ukrainian localities and areas, e.g., Chernihiv (Russian: Chernigov), Kharkiv (Kharkov); Lviv (Polish: Lwów; Russian: Lvov; German: Lemberg); Chernivtsi (Rumanian: Cernauti); Uzhhorod (Czech: Užhorod; Hungarian: Ungvar; Russian: Uzhgorod).

## *IV. A Note on Bibliographies*

Selected but comprehensive bibliographies appear at the ends of chapters or sections. Relevant sources (books, monographs, articles) in many languages are cited in the accepted bibliographical manner. Initials are used instead of the full given names of authors, which frequently appear in the transliteration of the language of the source (Grushevsky, M., when in Russian) or their otherwise common usages (Tschizevskij, Chyzhevsky as well as Čiževsky; Borschak as well as Borshchak).

## V. *List of Abbreviations*

This is a composite list of abbreviations used both in the text and in the bibliographies. The abbreviations are given in the original language with explanations in English translation. For additional abbreviations used in bibliographies, the original is given in parentheses.

| | |
|---|---|
| ABIA | —Academy of Building and Architecture |
| ABN | —Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations |
| ANUM | —Association of Independent Ukrainian Artists |
| AN URSR | —Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR |
| APMU | —Association of Proletarian Musicians of Ukraine |
| ARKU | —Association of Revolutionary Composers of Ukraine |
| ARLUS | —Rumanian Association for Liaison with the Soviet Union |
| ARMU | —Association of the Revolutionary Art of Ukraine |
| ASM | —Association of Contemporary Musicians |
| ASSR | —Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic |
| Budbank | —State Bank for Capital Construction |

| | |
|---|---|
| CACEED | —Conference of Americans of Central and East European Descent |
| CC | —Central Committee |
| ChSR | —Czechoslovakia |
| ChSVV | —Basilian Order |
| Comecon | —Council of Mutual Economic Assistance |
| CPSU | —Communist Party of the Soviet Union |
| CPU | —Communist Party of Ukraine |
| CSR | —Czechoslovakia |
| CSSR | —Redemptorist Order |
| Derzhbank | —State Bank |
| Derzhstrakh | —State Insurance Administration |
| Derzhtekhvydav | —State Publishing House of Technical Literature |
| Ditvydav | —Children's Publishing House |
| Dniprosoiuz | —Union of Cooperatives Dnipro |
| DONTVU | —State Union of Scientific and Technical Publishing Houses of Ukraine |
| DOBRUS | —Democratic Association of Ukrainians Formerly Oppressed in the USSR |
| DOSAAF | —All-Union Voluntary Society for Assistance to the Army, Air Force, and the Navy of the USSR |
| DP | —Displaced Persons |
| DVOU | —State Publishing Union of Ukraine |
| DVU | —State Publishing House |
| FZU | —Factory and Plant Training |
| Glavlit | —Main Administration of Literature |
| GOELRO | —State Commission for Electrification |
| HDUM | —Group of Activists of Ukrainian Art |
| Holovarkh | —Main Administration of Archives |
| Holovlit | —Main Administration of Literature |
| HPO | —Ready for Labor and Defense |
| INO | —Institute of People's Education |
| IRO | —International Refugee Organization |
| KGB | —State Security Committee |
| Khliboprodukt | —Grain Products |
| KhT URSR | —Choral Association of the Ukrainian SSR |
| KLK | —Carpathian Ski Club |
| Knyhospilka | —Book Co-ops Association |
| KODUS | —Commission of Assistance to Ukrainian Students |
| Kolhosp,Kolkhoz | —Collective Farm |
| Kooptsentr | —Ukrainian Central Cooperative Committee |
| KP(b)U | —Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks) of Ukraine |
| KPZU | —Communist Party of Western Ukraine |
| KPRS | —Communist Party of the Soviet Union |
| KPU | —Communist Party of Ukraine |
| KSUT | —Cultural Association of Ukrainian Workingmen |
| KSt | —Kievan Antiquity (*Kievskaia Starina*) |

| | |
|---|---|
| KUK | –Ukrainian Canadian Committee |
| KVOM | –Clubs of Educational Camps for Youth |
| Lenfilm | –Leningrad Film Industries |
| Liknep | –Commission for the Elimination of Illiteracy |
| LiM | –Literature and Art |
| LKS | –Volleyball Sports Club |
| LNV | –Literary Scientific Herald (*Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk*) |
| Maslosoiuz | –Dairy Co-ops Association |
| Medsantrud | –Medical-Sanitary Trade Union |
| Mosfilm | –Moscow Film Industries |
| MTS | –Machine and Tractor Station |
| MUR | –Ukrainian Artistic Movement |
| MVD | –Department of Internal Affairs |
| MVO | –Department of Internal Guards |
| NASUS | –National Union of Ukrainian Students |
| NEP | –New Economic Policy |
| NDIP | –Scientific-Research Institute of Education |
| NTSh | –Shevchenko Scientific Society |
| NKVD/NKVS | –People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs |
| NYL-NA | –Ukrainian Youth League of North America |
| ODUM | –Ukrainian Democratic Youth Association |
| ODVU | –Organization for Rebirth of Ukraine |
| OFM | –Franciscan Fathers |
| OMMU | –Union of Young Artists of Ukraine |
| OMUA | –Ukrainian Artists Association in America |
| OSB | –Benedictine Order |
| OSBM | –Basilian Order |
| OSMU | –Association of Contemporary Artists of Ukraine |
| OUF | –Union of Ukrainians in France |
| OUMUF | –Organization of Ukrainian Youth in France |
| OUN | –Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists |
| OURF | –Union of Ukrainian Workers in France |
| Partvydav | –Party Publishing House |
| POW | –Prisoners of War |
| PPATs | –Orthodox Polish Autocephalous Church |
| Radhosp | –State Farm |
| Radnarkom | –Council of People's Commissars |
| Robfak | –Worker Faculty |
| RSFSR | –Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic |
| RSUK | –Audit Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives |
| RUP | –Revolutionary Ukrainian Party |
| SA | –Franciscan Fathers of the Atonement |
| SA URSR | –Union of Architects of the Ukrainian SSR |
| Sel'bank | –Agricultural Bank |
| Sil'hospvydav | –Agricultural Publications |

| | |
|---|---|
| SKh URSR | —Union of Artists of the Ukrainian SSR |
| SKU | —Union of Composers of Ukraine |
| Soiuzbank | —Co-ops Bank |
| Soiuzdruk | —Union Printing Administration |
| Sovkhoz | —Soviet Collective Farm |
| Sovnarkom | —Council of People's Commissars |
| SPKU | —Union of Cinematography Workers of Ukraine |
| SUB | —Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain |
| SUB | —Unions of Ukrainians in Belgium |
| SUHUF | —Soviet Union Citizens in France |
| SUM | —Ukrainian Youth Association |
| SUMA | —Ukrainian Youth Association in America |
| SUOA | —Federation of Ukrainian Associations in Australia |
| SShA | —United States of America |
| SSR | —Soviet Socialist Republic |
| SSSR | —Union of Soviet Socialist Republics |
| SURB | —Union of Ukrainian Workers in Belgium |
| Strakhsoiuz | —Insurance Administration |
| SVU | —Union for the Liberation of Ukraine/Association for the Liberation of Ukraine |
| SZhU | —Union of Journalists of Ukraine |
| Trudoden' | —Labor Day |
| Trudsoiuz | —Association of Manufacturing Co-ops |
| TsK | —Central Committee |
| Tsentral | —Central Cooperatives Association |
| Tsentrosoiuz | —Central Association of Economic and Trade Societies |
| TsUNHO | —Central Administration of National Economy and Statistics |
| UAN | —Ukrainian Academy of Sciences |
| UAPTs | —Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church |
| UASHN | —Ukrainian Academy of Agricultural Sciences |
| UCC | —Ukrainian Canadian Committee |
| UCCA | —Ukrainian Congress Committee of America |
| UD UNA | —Ukrainian Division of Ukrainian National Army |
| UDK | —Ukrainian Relief Committee |
| UdSSR | —Union of Soviet Socialist Republics |
| UFU | —Ukrainian Free University |
| UHA | —Ukrainian Galician Army |
| UHA | —Ukrainian Husbandry Academy |
| UHPTs | —Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada |
| UHVR | —Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council |
| UKO | —Ukrainian Catholic Union |
| Ukoopspilka | —Ukrainian Co-ops Association |
| Ukraïnbank | —Ukrainian Co-ops Bank |
| Ukraïnfilm | —Ukrainian Film Industry |
| Ukrderzhlis | —Ukrainian State Forests |

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| Ukrderzhtorh | —Ukrainian State Trade |
| Ukrholovlit | —Chief Administration of Literary Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR |
| Ukrknyha | —Ukrainian Bookselling |
| Ukrknyhokul'ttorh | —Ukrainian Cultural Book Market |
| Ukrknyhotorh | —Ukrainian Bookselling |
| Ukrknyhotorhivlia | —Ukrainian Book Trade |
| Ukrknyhotsentr | —Ukrainian Book Center |
| Ukropolihraftrest | —Ukrainian Polygraphic Trust |
| Ukrpovitrshliakh | —Ukrainian Air Lines |
| Ukrtekhimport | —Ukrainian Technical Import |
| Ukrtorhimport | —Ukrainian Commercial Import |
| Ukrtsentrarkhiv | —Central Archival Administration |
| Ukrzovntorh | —Ukrainian Foreign Trade |
| UNR | —Ukrainian National Republic |
| UNA | —Ukrainian National Army |
| UNA | —Ukrainian National Association |
| UNDO | —Ukrainian National Democratic Union |
| UNDS | —Ukrainian National State League |
| UNIK | —Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Bibliology |
| UNO | —Ukrainian National Union |
| UNOT | —Ukrainian Scientific Educational Society |
| UNRA | —Ukrainian National Revolutionary Army |
| UNRRA | —United Nation Relief and Rehabilitation Administration |
| UNS | —Ukrainian National Union in France/in USA |
| UNT | —Ukrainian Scientific Society in Kiev |
| UNT | —Ukrainian People's Society in Presov |
| UNWLA | —Ukrainian National Women's League of America |
| UPA | —Ukrainian Insurgent Army |
| URDP | —Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party |
| URRPS | —Ukrainian Republic Council of Trade Unions |
| URSR | —Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic |
| USKhS | —Ukrainian Sanitary-Charitable Service |
| USKT | —Ukrainian Social Cultural Society |
| USMA | —United States Military Academy |
| USOM | —Union of Ukrainian Artists |
| USRR | —Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic |
| USS | —Ukrainian Sich Riflemen |
| USSK | —Ukrainian Student Sports Club |
| USSR | —Union of Soviet Socialist Republics |
| UTHI | —Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute |
| UTT | —Ukrainian Theatrical Association |
| UUARC | —United Ukrainian American Relief Committee |
| UVAN | —Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences |
| UVO | —Ukrainian Military Organization |
| UVU | —Ukrainian Free University |

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| UWI | —Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin |
| UZE | —Ukrainian General Encyclopaedia (*Ukrains'ka Zahal'na Entsyklopedia*) |
| VAK | —All Union Accreditation Commission |
| VEA | —Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance |
| VOA | —Voice of America |
| Vsevydav | —All-Ukrainian Publishing House |
| VTsIK | —All-Union Central Executive Committee |
| VUAMLIN | —All-Ukrainian Association of Marxist-Leninist Institutes |
| VUAN | —All Ukrainian Academy of Sciences |
| VUFKU | —All-Ukrainian Photo-Cinema Administration |
| VUK | —All-Ukrainian Trade Union Committee |
| Vukoopspilka | —All-Ukrainian Cooperative Union |
| VUKOPSM | —All-Ukrainian Committee for the Preservation of Antiquity and Art |
| VURPS | —All-Ukrainian Council of Trade Unions |
| VUTORM | —All-Ukrainian Society of Revolutionary Musicians |
| VUTsVK | —All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee |
| WFUWO | —World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations |
| YCL | —Young Communist League (Komsomol) |
| ZDA | —United States of America |
| ZIFV-UAN | —Memoirs of the Historical-Philological Department of Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (*Zapysky Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Viddilu Ukraïns'koï Akademiï Nauk*) |
| ZMNP | —Journal of the Department for People's Education (*Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshchenia*) |
| ZNTSh | —Memoirs of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (*Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*) |
| ZOUNR | —Western Province of the Ukrainian National Republic |
| ZP UHVR | —Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council |
| ZUNR | —Western Ukrainian National Republic |

UKRAINE: A CONCISE ENCYCLOPAEDIA

# I. The Law

The scope and treatment of the material in this chapter are largely determined by the fact that Ukraine has enjoyed full political independence only for certain periods in her history; at other times she was under foreign domination [Vol. I, pp. 581ff.]. Consequently, Ukrainian law, as the creation of a national legislature, rooted in national traditions, based on moral principles and a sense of justice, and motivated by the needs of the Ukrainian people, could develop only during these periods of independence. Such Ukrainian law, in the strict sense, will be treated most extensively; however, the editors deem it proper not to restrict this section solely to the treatment of this law.

The historical presentation of material is based on periods usually accepted in Ukrainian historiography. It starts with the Princely era, which is followed by the period of Lithuanian and Polish domination, the period of independence in the Hetman state, the period under Russian and Austrian domination prior to World War I, the time of independence after World War I, another period of alien domination between the two world wars, and the present status within the USSR.

Within each period, the material is basically divided into sources of law, government (state law), civil law, criminal law, and the judiciary, except, perhaps in the presentation of the present status under the Soviet rule, which requires broader treatment because of its peculiar social, political, and legal structure.

Because Ukraine's independence was only too often interrupted by periods of foreign domination, additional problems arise in the presentation of the material. Thus, for example, it is difficult to delineate the scope of the science of law in Ukraine, because Ukrainian legal writers were often compelled to publish their works in other languages, particularly in the language of the occupying power (predominantly Russian), if they wanted to engage in scholarly research, and many were compelled to teach in non-Ukrainian schools. On the other hand, foreign scholars did research and wrote about Ukrainian law (e.g. that of the Princely era) presenting it as Russian law.

Ukrainian legal terminology could not fully and freely develop under such conditions. Especially at this time, though formally legislation is being passed by the Ukrainian SSR, its terminology undergoes the process of imposed Russification, as in all other spheres of life, conducted by the Soviet regime [Vol. I, pp. 504ff.].

## 1. THE HISTORY OF JURISPRUDENCE

### UNTIL THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

With the consolidation of Kievan *Rus'* a period of marked development of customary and statutory law began. However, the idea of jurisprudence as a separate academic discipline was not as yet in existence. The first Slavic attempt to codify laws, the *Ruskaia Pravda* (*Rus'* Law), resulted from the practical need for a written and ordered code. Although the authors of *Ruskaia Pravda* remain unknown, it is evident from the text that

a group of jurists were active in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries compiling the laws of the realm. The three editions of the Lithuanian Statute also testify to the activity of notable jurists and compilers.

During the period of the Kozak-Hetman state, the traditions of legal study and writing were carried on to a large extent by the scholars at the Kievan Mohyla Academy. Among the more important legal experts educated at the Academy were: Basil Stefanovych (1697–1773), who, during the rule of Hetman Daniel Apostol, worked on the Komisiia Knyh Pravnykh (Commission on Legal Registers) preparing a code of Ukrainian law entitled *Prava po kotorym suditsia malorossiiskii narod* (Laws by which the Little Russian People are Judged), and Theodore Chuikevych (d. 1759) who in 1750 produced a textbook on court procedures, *Sud i rozprava* (Court and Litigation). The Academy also produced a number of legal scholars who continued their studies at West European universities. Lacking sufficient opportunities in Ukraine, many jurists continued their work in St. Petersburg or Moscow, often attaining prominent positions among Russian legal scholars.

The principal figure among these legal experts was Theophan Prokopovych (1681–1736) who, summoned by Peter the Great, went to St. Petersburg and there produced a number of treatises dealing with the legal and political principles of absolute monarchy.

## FROM THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO 1917

### In Central and Eastern lands

Modern trends in the development of legal studies in the Russian empire during the latter half of the eighteenth century were first evident in the area of the philosophy of law. During the eighteenth century, ideas of the natural law philosophy penetrated Russia. The first proponents of this philosophy in the empire were foreign scholars, principally Germans. The first eastern European to produce an independent treatise on natural law on the Russian territory was Volodymyr Zolotnytsky, a Ukrainian born in 1791 in the Kiev region. His work was entitled *Sokrashchenie estestvennogo prava* (A Concise Analysis of Natural Law, 1764). The first professor of Moscow University born within the borders of the Russian empire (Nizhyn) was a Ukrainian, Semen Desnytsky, who obtained his doctorate in law at the University of Glasgow. Having been influenced by western European thought, he theorized on the necessity of limiting monarchical power and of establishing an independent judiciary.

Two Ukrainians from Transcarpathia, Basil Kukolnyk (1765–1821) and Michael Baluhiansky (Baludiansky, 1769–1847), gained prominence in Russia when, after completing studies at European universities, they were invited to work in St. Petersburg. Kukolnyk lectured in Roman and Russian civil law at the University and left several printed works on these subjects. Baluhiansky succeeded Michael Speransky (1772–1839) as head of the commission on the codification of laws.

Early in the nineteenth century, the centers for legal studies in Ukraine were the universities of Kharkiv, Kiev, and Odessa. In 1840 a department of jurisprudence was established at the Nizhyn Lycee. Studies in canon law were conducted at the Kiev Theological Academy. During this period, the study of philosophy was discontinued at the universities of the Russian empire, and in its place the so-called "encyclopedic study" of law was substituted. A Ukrainian jurist, Paul Degai (d. 1849), a graduate of the University of Kharkiv, produced the first text on the encyclopedic study of law to appear on Russian territory: *Posobie i pravila izucheniia rossiiskikh zakonov i materialy k entsiklopedii, metodologii i istorii rossiiskogo prava* (An Aid to and Rules of the Study of Russian Law and Materials on the Encyclopedia,

Methodology, and History of Russian Law, 1831). The principles of Hegelian thought were espoused by Nicholas Piliankevych (1819–56), an alumnus of, and later professor at, the University of Kiev where he lectured on the encyclopedic study of law. His principal published work is the *Istoriia filosofii prava* (History on the Philosophy of Law, 1849).

As part of the tsarist regime's Russification policy the principal academic positions in the law departments of the universities of Ukraine were given to Russian scholars. Nevertheless, many Ukrainian specialists contributed to the development of jurisprudence at that time, including Leonid Bilohryts-Kotliarevsky (1855–1908, criminal law), Alexis Huliaiev (1863–1923, civil law), Volodymyr Karpeka (civil and financial law), Alexander Fedotov-Chekhovsky (1806–92, civil and Roman law), and Peter Lashkariov (1833–99, canon law). Important contributions to the establishment of a department of law at the University of Kiev were made by the criminologist Sava Bohorodsky (1804–57). His work was continued by his pupil, Alexander Kistiakovsky (1833–85), who later became a noted authority on criminal law and litigation. His chief work was *Elementarnyi uchebnik obshchego ugolovnogo prava* (A Basic Handbook of General Criminal Law). Kistiakovsky was also a staunch advocate of instituting trial by jury in Russia. Among other Ukrainian legal scholars lecturing at the University of Kiev were Basil Nezabytovsky, a jurist holding Kantian views and a supporter of a strict separation of the rights and powers of the populace and the government, and Bohdan Kistiakovsky (son of Alexander), an authority on the philosophy of law and outstanding proponent of Kantian philosophy. In contrast to Russia, Kantian ideas were strongly rooted in Ukraine.

Notable figures among Ukrainian professors at the University of Kharkiv were: Dmytro Kachenovsky (1827–72), a specialist in international law, who in the course of a conference in London (1862) raised the question of codifying international law; Volodymyr Gordon (1871–1926), an expert in the matters of civil law and litigation and author of a large number of works in his field; Michael Chubynsky (1871–?), one of the finest criminologists in the Russian empire and author of *Ocherki ugolovnoi politiki* (Outlines of Criminal Policies, 1905) and *Kurs ugolovnoi politiki* (Textbook on Criminal Policies, 1912); Vsevolod Danevsky (1852–98), a specialist in civil law; and Andrew Stoianov (1830–1907), an expert on international law and the history of law.

Although law studies at the Nizhyn Lycee were more devoted to the practical application of law, the theoretical works of Pius Danevsky (1820–92) deserve mention; these include *O istochnikakh mestnykh zakonov nekotorykh gubernii i oblastei Rossii* (On the Sources of Local Laws of Several *Guberniyas* and Regions of Russia, 1857) and *Istoriia sozdaniia Gosudarstvennogo Sovieta v Rossii* (The History of the Creation of the Government Council in Russia, 1859).

Among leading jurists at the University of Odessa were Peter Kazansky (international and administrative law), L. O. Borovykovsky (1844–1905, civil law), and A. Pryhara (1836–74, constitutional law).

A number of legal scholars of Ukrainian descent lectured at other universities in the Russian empire. Among them were Nosenko, an expert on civil and commercial law, Isachenko and Semchenko, specialists in civil law, and V. Oleksandrenko, a professor of international law at the University of Warsaw.

Much research work was done on the laws of earlier periods in Ukrainian history. At first the venue of historians, a number of specialized legal works appeared in the latter half of the nineteenth century. These volumes concentrated on

the problems of Old-*Rus'*, Western-*Rus'*, Southwestern-*Rus'*, and "Little-Russian" law. Polish scholars (Tadeusz Czacki, Ignaciusz Daniłowicz and, in the twentieth century, Stanisław Kutrzeba) contributed to research in the law of these periods, treating it as regional law of the Polish republic. On the other hand, Russian scholars studied the laws of Kievan *Rus'* and of the Hetman state as part of imperial Russian law. This practice reflected the contemporary official historical method. Among the Russian legal researchers were Basil Sergeevich, Constantine Nevolin, Boris Chicherin, Michael Diakonov, Paul Silvansky, and Michael Vladimirsky-Budanov. An outstanding Ukrainian scholar, Theodore Leontovych (1833–1911), professor of *Rus'* law at the University of Odessa, produced several basic works in his field. Other valuable works on Old-*Rus'* and Lithuanian-Ruthenian law were contributed by Nicholas Ivanyshev, Nicholas Vasylenko, Basil Nezabytovsky, Yoanykii Malynovsky, Nicholas Maksymeiko, Ivan Bielaiev, Ivan Lappo, Michael Slabchenko, and Alexandra and Peter Yefymenko.

With the national revival in the nineteenth century, there was growing interest in the legal and governmental structures of the Hetman state. In the latter half of the century the Istoricheskoie Obshchestvo Nestora Letopistsa (Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler) was established. The Society, at first independent and later (1874) attached to the University of Kiev, engaged in a thorough study of Ukrainian history, including legal questions. The Society sponsored lectures which were later printed in its publication *Chteniia* (Readings), as well as the periodicals *Kievskaia Starina* (Kievan Antiquity) and *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (Archives of Southwestern Russia). Separate monographs were also published by the Society, the most significant being A. Kistiakovsky's *Prava po kotorym suditsia malorossiiskii narod. Ocherk svedenii o svode zakonov, deistvovavshikh v Malorossii* (Laws by which the Little Russian People are Judged—a Survey of Information on the Code of Laws Operating in Little Russia), a work which survived to

FIGURE 1. NICHOLAS MAKSYMEIKO

FIGURE 2. STANYSLAV DNISTRIANSKY

encourage further research. Historical source material, such as the *General'ne sledstvie o maetnostiakh gadiachskogo polka* (General Investigation of the Hadiach *Polk* Estates, 1893) and similar documentations concerning the Pereiaslav (1896), Kiev (1892), Pryluky (1896), Nizhyn (1901), and Chernihiv (1908) *polks*, were also published.

**In Western Lands**

The centers of legal scholarship in Ukraine's western lands were the law departments at the Universities of Lviv (estab. 1784) and Chernivtsi (estab. 1875). Because of prevailing social and political conditions, a large majority of legal scholars at these institutions were non-Ukrainians, mostly Poles, many of them outstanding teachers. Among the few Ukrainian professors at the University of Lviv were Stanyslav Dnistriansky (1870–1935), Alexander Ohonovsky (1848–91, private law), and Peter Stebelsky (1857–1927, criminal law).

Attempts were made to organize centers of legal scholarship independent of the universities. Substantial efforts towards this end were made by S. Dnistriansky, outstanding legal theorist and expert on civil law (his principal work,

*Zahal'na nauka prava i polityky* [General Study of Law and Politics, 1923]). In an attempt to popularize legal studies, he edited the periodical *Chasopys' pravnycha i ekonomichna* (Journal of Law and Economics). Dnistriansky also served as editor for a series of legal monographs, entitled *Pravnycha Biblioteka* (Law Library, four volumes) published in Lviv. A society of lawyers was organized which published the quarterly *Pravnychyi Vistnyk* (Law Herald, 1910–13) containing articles of both practical and scholarly interest.

## FROM 1917 TO 1940

### In Central and Eastern Lands

The situation created by the war of liberation (1917–20) did not permit further development of legal scholarship, although the state universities in Kiev and Kamianets Podilsky, the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and the Ukrainian Society of Jurists were established during this period.

With the Communist takeover of Ukraine, the two principal centers of legal studies became, on the one hand, Ukraïns'ka Akademiia Nauk (Ukrainian Academy of Sciences), and on the other, the law departments of the universities.

The study of Ukrainian historical law developed primarily at the Academy of Sciences in Kiev. The center of this research work was the commission for the study of western Ruthenian and Ukrainian law, which was part of the Socio-Economic Department of the Academy. The commission, established in 1919, was headed by Nicholas Vasylenko (from 1920). Its work consisted mainly of the study of archival material in Kiev, Moscow, and other cities, and research on specific topics and questions. It published seven volumes of *Pratsi*, recording the results of the scholars' research. Aside from these publications, *Materiialy do istorii ukraïns'koho prava* (Materials on the History of Ukrainian Law) also appeared. Significantly, all these works were printed in the Ukrainian language.

FIGURE 3. NICHOLAS VASYLENKO

FIGURE 4. ROSTYSLAV LASHCHENKO

The unfinished work of R. Lashchenko, *Lektsiï po istoriï ukraïns'koho prava* (Lectures on the History of Ukrainian Law), which appeared in Prague in 1923, influenced the commission to create a separate branch of legal studies on the history of Ukrainian law. The plan of work and study of this section was worked out by I. Malynovsky, who based it on the following premises: that during the Princely period in *Rus'*, the government had its own code of laws; that the Lithuanian Statute fundamentally incorporated existing old *Rus'* law; that the Hetman state created its own code of laws; and that only after the destruction of the autonomous Hetman state did the period of independent Ukrainian lawmaking end. Legal studies at the Academy became centered around the work of three commissions: one, planning the program and schedule of work on a course in the history of law of the Ukrainian people; a second, the Commission for the Study of the Customary Law of Ukraine; and a third, the Commission on Legal Terminology. The following important works resulted from the activity of these commissions: Nicholas Vasylenko's *Zbirka materiialiv do istoriï Livoberezhnoï Ukraïny ta ukraïns'koho prava XVII–XVIII st.* (Collected Materials on the History of Left-Bank Ukraine and

Ukrainian Law in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries), *Yak skasovano Lytovs'ki Statuty* (How the Lithuanian Statutes were Abolished), and *Pochatky rozroblennia Zakhidno-Rus'koho prava* (Beginnings of the Development of west-*Rus'* Law); N. Maksymeiko's *Pro smerdiv Rus'koï Pravdy* (On *Smerds* in the *Rus'* Law); *Hromads'kyi (kopnyi) sud na Ukraïni* (The Community (*kopnyi*) Court in Ukraine, two vols.) by I. Cherkavsky; and L. Okinshevych's *Tsentral'ni ustanovy Ukraïny-Het'manshchyny* (Central Institutions of Hetman-Ukraine: Vol. 1, the Central Council; Vol. 2, the Council of Officers). Source materials, such as the *General'ne slidstvo pro maietnosti Starodubs'koho polku* (General Investigation of the Starodub *Polk* Estates, 1929) and a similar study on the Lubny *polk* (1931), were published. When the repression of Ukrainian cultural life began in early 1930, the activity of these commissions and scholars came to an end.

Legal studies at Soviet Ukraine's institutions of higher learning other than the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev showed strong Marxist influences. Jurisprudence as taught in university law departments and similar departments at the institutes of national economy concentrated primarily on the practical application of law to further the needs of Soviet economy.

In the 1920's two contrasting trends in jurisprudence became evident, conservative and revolutionary. The conservative school was mostly represented by pre-Revolutionary jurists, who approached the study of law according to the traditional, dogmatic methods, and regarded the law as the determinator of the rules governing social and economic life. These scholars produced works dealing principally with constitutional, administrative, criminal, civil, and family law (Y. Paliienko, O. Yevtykhiiev, V. Kobalevsky, H. Volkov, S. Landkof, O. Malytsky). Prominent among these jurists was a Transcarpathian, V. Hrabar, an outstanding expert on international law and a prolific author (164 works).

In contrast to the conservatives, the revolutionary scholars attempted to arrive at new interpretations of law which would correspond to the idea of "socialist reconstruction." Towards the end of the 1920's, this tendency led to the rejection of every law as "bourgeois" (legal nihilism). As a result of these trends, law departments at the universities of Ukraine were closed. In the mid-1930's, however, the ideas of "socialist law" came to the fore, with A. Vyshinsky as chief spokesman. "Socialist law" imbued with new meaning the traditional concepts ("legal person," "legal capacity," "ownership," "cooperatives," etc.). New branches of law, such as *kolkhoz* (collective farm) law, were also created.

FIGURE 5. VOLODYMYR HRABAR

FIGURE 6. ANDREW YAKOVLIV

Kharkiv, then the capital of the Ukrainian SSR, became the principal center of legal research and discussion. There, the Ukrainian Juridical Society together with the People's Commissariat of Justice of the Ukrainian SSR published, from 1922, the Russian-language *Vestnik sovietskoi iustitsii na Ukraine* (Herald of Soviet Justice in Ukraine). In 1929 the Herald began to be printed in Ukrainian, and its title was changed to *Visnyk radians'koï iustytsiï* (Herald of Soviet Justice). In the period 1926–31, the journal *Chervone Pravo* (Red Law) also appeared in Kharkiv. The two publica-

tions served as a base for the creation of a new journal, *Revoliutsiine Pravo* (Revolutionary Law) in 1931. This periodical, published until 1941, appeared semi-monthly, first in Kharkiv and later in Kiev.

The characteristic feature of the time was the control of law research by Party theorists at universities and scholarly institutes.

**In Western Ukraine and Abroad**

The post–World War I center of law studies in Galicia was the legal commission of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, headed by Volodymyr Verhanovsky (1875–1946). A number of articles dealing with problems of jurisprudence appeared in the organ of publication of the Association of Ukrainian Lawyers and the Society of Ukrainian Jurists, the journal *Zhyttia i Pravo* (Life and Law, 1928–39), edited by Constantine Levytsky. Among the outstanding jurists of the time were Stephen Baran, Volodymyr Starosolsky, Lev Hankevych, George Paneiko, and Stephen Shukhevych. Important works on the history of law appearing at that time were *Pro pravne stanovyshche tserkvy v kozats'kii derzhavi* (On the Legal Status of the Church in the Kozak-Hetman State, 1927) by Nicholas Chubaty, and Ivan Krypiakevych's *Studii nad derzhavoiu Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho* (Studies on the Ukrainian State under Bohdan Khmelnytsky, 1926).

Ukrainian jurists who were forced by circumstances to emigrate continued their scholarly and pedagogical activity principally at the law department of the Ukrainian Free University in Prague. Among these were such prominent scholars as Otto Eichelman (constitutional and international law), Michael Lozynsky (international law), and V. Starosolsky (constitutional law). Works on the history of Ukrainian law were written by R. Lashchenko, Andrew Yakovliv (*Do istorii kodyfikatsii ukrains'koho prava XVIII st.* [On the History of Codification of the Eighteenth Century Ukrainian Law, Prague, 1937]), and Alexander Lototsky (*Avtokefaliia* [The Autocephaly, two vols., 1938]).

## AFTER 1945

**In the Ukrainian SSR**

With the growing appreciation of law in the socialist political and economic systems, legal studies began developing anew after World War II. Socialist legal doctrines were imbued with more concrete meaning—a process to which many Ukrainian jurists (among them legal theorist Peter Nedbailo) contributed significantly. Among others who gained prominence during this time were: Volodymyr Koretsky, outstanding expert and author of more than fifty works on international law; Vadym Diadychenko, an authority on the history of Ukrainian law; as well as Peter Mykhailenko, Margaret Orydoroha, Eugenia Melnyk, Borys Babii, Ivan Pakhomov, Basil Yanchuk, and Anatole Taranov. Many non-Ukrainian scholars, for the most part Russians, have been working at the universities of Ukraine. In like manner, a number of Ukrainian jurists work at Soviet universities outside of the Ukrainian SSR. Among them is Serhii Bratus, who for almost thirty years has held important positions in the scholarly institutions of Moscow. He is considered a co-author of the existing Soviet civil law.

After World War II, the only center of activity in the field of jurisprudence, other than pedagogical activity, was the section on government and law of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev. It was not until 1958 that the Ukrainian-language journal *Radians'ke Pravo* (Soviet Law) began to appear (at first semi-monthly, from 1965, monthly). This publication serves as the official organ of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR, the Public Prose-

cutors of the Ukrainian SSR, the juridical commission of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, and the section on government and law of the Academy of Sciences. The journal avoids theoretical questions, concentrating principally on practical problems. Jurisprudence continues to adhere strictly to the official Communist Party line, and serves the needs of the Soviet socialist economic order.

### Abroad

The main center of law studies in the emigration is the department of law and socio-economic studies at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich where textbooks on many branches of law are produced in manuscript form. Other institutions engaged to some degree in legal studies include the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Ukrainian Lawyers Association in the United States. The principal topics of study among the émigré jurists are: history of old Ukrainian law (Basil Hryshko, Leo Okinshevych, Jaroslaw Padoch, Andrew Yakovliv); history of Ukrainian constitutional law (Matthew Stachiw, Sokrat Ivanytsky, Volodymyr Lysyi); international law (Bohdan Halaichuk, Vasyl Markus, Roman Yakemchuk, George Fedynsky); and critical analysis of Soviet law (Alexander Yurchenko, Jurij Starosolsky, Andrew Bilinsky). Research in canon law is conducted by the Rev. Meletius Wojnar, OSBM.

*J. Starosolsky, A. Bilinsky*

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# 2. THE PRINCELY ERA

The Princely era [Vol. I, pp. 581ff.], which lasted for half a millennium (eighth through the thirteenth centuries) is the earliest period of Ukraine which offers historical proof of the existence of a legal order. The basic areas of law developed during this period (constitutional, civil, and criminal law and procedures) from primitive forms to highly developed systems which were acknowledged in the history of medieval Europe.

## SOURCES OF LAW

The monuments of Ukrainian law during the Princely era are divided into the following groups as to form: symbolic, oral and manuscript. The principles of

popular customary law have survived in the form of oral tradition (legends, antiquities, rules of conduct). Surviving manuscripts contain records of legislative and judicial acts of state and judicial authorities.

As to content, the monuments of Ukrainian law are divided into official and unofficial compendia of laws, state acts, and judicial decisions of all kinds in a number of collections, administrative acts of state and local authorities, and so on. Records of statutory and international agreements were also preserved in manuscript form.

**Customary Law**

Customary law was the only source of legal norms during the pre-state period, and it is also the major source of law during the early period of statehood of the Ukrainian people.

FIGURE 7. INITIAL PAGE OF *Ruskaia Pravda* (THIRTEENTH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPT)

The earliest and most important monument of the old norms of customary law is *Pravda Ruskaia*, rendered in the scientifically acceptable form of *Ruskaia Pravda* (*Rus'* Law). The original of *Rus'* Law did not survive. There are some 300 copies of the *Rus'* Law, the earliest being the Synodal of the thirteenth century, the Pushkin of the fourteenth century, the Academic of the fifteenth century, the Trinity, and Karamzin. The copies are divided as to size into short (approximately 40 sections), medium (up to 60 sections), and broad (100 to 125 sections). Researchers divide the copies into three basic editions as to content: brief, broad, and medium.

The brief edition of the *Rus'* Law with 43 sections is the earliest. It consists of two parts: the first (sections 1 to 17) originated in the eleventh century; the second contains the remaining sections and was compiled during the reign of the sons of Yaroslav the Wise. The material of the first part is organized in an orderly fashion, and section 1 contains the earliest norm of the prehistoric period dealing with the rules of blood vengeance. The later, second part, supplementing the first, is unorganized, being merely set in a chronological order. It contains later norms of customary criminal law and procedure and the Princely decrees of Yaroslav and his sons. In formulating and organizing the collected material the author displayed great legal erudition. He expounds the norms of customary law and decrees in a generalized manner, foregoing casuistry.

The broad edition is also composed of two parts: the first of the early and the second of the late twelfth century. Like the brief edition, the first part is systematic according to subject matter and contains the entire brief edition as well as the Princely decrees of Yaroslav's sons. The second part is a supplement of the first, organized in a chronological order.

The medium edition originating in the fourteenth century is an abbreviation of the broad edition and has no significance of its own. It was compiled for use by ecclesiastical courts.

The *Rus'* Law is the most complete and most important monument of customary law of the Ukrainian people. In addition to customary law it contains

Princely decrees. The latter, however, are by their content, form, and mode of expression more akin to customary law than to written codes, because they were promulgated according to need, in supplement, amendment, or development of customary law. It can be assumed that these decrees first appeared in oral form. Hence, the *Rus'* Law can be considered a general compendium of customary law.

The norms compiled in *Rus'* Law indicate that it had been collected for the practical purpose of giving the judges an opportunity to render just decisions on the basis of binding laws, and to give the parties to litigation equal opportunity to present their cases in court. The large number of copies of the *Rus'* Law indicates that it was used in the courts and not merely as a written record of Ukrainian law handed down to future generations. The manner of composition of the *Rus'* Law in its various editions and the supplementary amendments of the original text indicate clearly that when the brief edition was used in practice, it was found to contain gaps and an insufficiency of rules which were gradually supplemented in the later editions in the course of perhaps two to three centuries as in the case of the Lithuanian Statute of 1529.

**Legislative Records**

Monuments containing rules of law occupy a secondary position in the history of sources of the early period. The legislative activities of the state authorities were insignificant and dominated by customary law.

"PRINCELY DECREES" AND "INSTRUCTIONS" were the product of legislative activities of princes within the state. The purpose of the Princely decrees was to supplement or amend customary law. Most of these decrees found their way into the *Rus'* Law. The "instructions" were decisions of princes pertaining to finances, such as levies and taxes accruing to princes, and judicial fees.

PRINCELY AGREEMENTS (or treaties) were of greater legal significance. Most were in written form and belong to the group of earliest legal monuments. The surviving texts can be divided into three groups: international treaties, pacts between princes, and agreements between princes and their people.

Four texts of treaties between *Rus'* and Byzantium have survived. The first is the text of an agreement of Prince Oleh of Kiev, dated 907 A.D. This oral agreement appears to be a preamble to a written treaty concluded by the same prince in 911 [Vol. I, p. 585a]. It was a supplement of the first, and contained provisions of public and private international law. The third agreement, also in writing, was concluded by Prince Ihor and the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in 945. The treaty of 911 had been broken by an unsuccessful attack of *Rus'* on Byzantium and hence the new treaty was unfavorable to *Rus'*. The fourth treaty was concluded between Prince Sviatoslav and Emperor John I Tzimisces. This was merely an armistice agreement and contained no other provision. The treaties of 911 and 945 were in Greek and Slavonic and contained provisions of Byzantine and Ukrainian public and private law.

CHURCH DECREES were legislative acts of princes determining the legal position of the church within the state, organizing ecclesiastical courts, and providing for the support of the church (tithing). Church decrees whose texts have been preserved were issued by Prince Volodymyr the Great and Yaroslav the Wise in copies of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, respectively.

**Reception of Byzantine Law**

As a result of the reception of a number of provisions of Byzantine law in Ukraine, the following compilations of Byzantine law became binding upon ecclesiastical courts and exerted an influence on Ukrainian law: *Nomocanon*, a collection of ecclesiastical law, including the teachings of the Apostles and

FIGURE 8. YAROSLAV I, THE WISE (THIRTEENTH-CENTURY FRESCO)

resolutions of ecumenical synods, as well as numerous decrees of emperors in ecclesiastical matters. Collections of lay Byzantine law reached Ukraine together with the *Nomocanon*, for example, *Ecloga* (Judicial Law for the People), *Prochiron*, and *Knyhy zakonnyia* (Books of Laws), the latter a compilation of Byzantine laws collected in *Rus'*. The reception of Byzantine law and with it of Roman law enriched Ukrainian law with new legal concepts, terms, and provisions.

*A. Yakovliv* et al.

## STATE LAW

### General Characteristics

The report of a chronicler on ninth- and tenth-century *Rus'*-Ukraine leads to the assumption that by this time the tribal states of the Ukrainian territories had reached a degree of unification which subsequently led to the formation of the Ukrainian nation [Vol. I, p. 578].

There is little information about the organization of tribal states. It is certain, however, that they were headed by chieftains of local tribal origin. The social stratification showed a distinct class of elders (old people, city elders) from which came the class of warriors and elite which aided the prince in governing his domain.

As in the history of other nations, the role of the former tribal states in Ukraine was taken over by territorial organizations composed of different tribes. The tenth and eleventh centuries represent a period of new emerging states which were called *zemlias* (lands). These were the lands of Kiev, Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, Volhynia, Halych, and Turiv-Pynsk. The very names indicate that the principal city of each land was of paramount importance; hence the land usually derived its name from such a city. These lands did not become completely submerged in the broader state organizations of the Varangian princes of the Rurik dynasty, particularly Volodymyr the Great and Yaroslav the Wise. Later, with the process of fragmentation of the state organization, which corresponded to the feudal fragmentation of authority in medieval Europe, the land became the basic component of the unified state. Even later (twelfth and thirteenth centuries), when the process of emergence of small vassal states became far more prevalent, traces of the old division into land-states still remained discernible.

### State Territory

The state of Volodymyr the Great included vast territories inhabited by Ukrainian tribes, as well as those which gave rise to the Russian and Belorussian nations. During the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, the Kievan Realm lost the main part of its Belorussian lands (Polotsk).

Subsequently, in connection with the fragmentation of the national territory among the numerous heirs of the Rurik

dynasty, the Ukrainian state organization became in many respects similar to the feudal structure of Europe of that period. Whereas the territory of *Rus'*-Ukraine remained basically unchanged, there were fundamental changes within its structure. The monolithic state of Volodymyr and Yaroslav was split into a number of lesser states which became increasingly independent of each other and of the Grand Prince of Kiev, until in the thirteenth century the authority of the latter became merely nominal, although the tradition never died out that this was a single nation. The Kievan prince became much less powerful than many European kings of the time. Under these circumstances the Ukrainian-*Rus'* state of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries became a conglomerate of states, where each smaller unit (*zemlia, volost'*) was in the nature of a state, even maintaining territorial integrity. These were conditions of feudal dependence of the smaller princes on the stronger rulers, a pyramid headed by the nominal ruler of *Rus'*-Ukraine—the Grand Prince of Kiev.

**Population**

The population of *Rus'*-Ukraine [Vol. I, pp. 612–15] was divided into separate groups which differed from each other not only in social and economic position but also in legal status. The groups were numerous and varied and the legal differences among them were not clearly defined. These groups formed the core of the later estates.

In the society of *Rus'*-Ukraine the difference between the ruler (prince) and the citizen of the upper class (boyar) was not very marked. In some respects the princes were just like the upper classes of society, and on the other hand, the boyars had certain privileges of princes, such as the right to maintain their own troops.

In the earlier period (tenth and first half of the eleventh centuries) there was a division of the boyars into landed boyars (of the older, local origin), and the *druzhyna* (princely retinue) consisting of warriors and knights born elsewhere, mostly Varangian in origin. The differences between them subsequently disappeared, but there appeared groups widely different in social position. The first were the boyars, the princes' men, *ohnyshchany*, comprising the highest group. Then came the *otroks*, *hrudi*, *dits'ki*, who belonged to the lower groups, corresponding to the so-called ministerials of western Europe. During the early period, the boyars of *Rus'*-Ukraine were mostly knights dedicated to military service. In time, however, they acquired land and turned into landowners. This was particularly evident in the principality of Halych in the thirteenth century. The *Rus'* Law noted a number of legal privileges of the boyars, particularly in the law of inheritance.

THE URBAN POPULATION of *Rus'*-Ukraine, called *hrazhdany* (townspeople, burghers), also consisted of numerous and unequal groups. The highest ranking were *hosti* (guests) and *kuptsi* (merchants engaged in foreign trade). The next rank was *chorni liudy* (the black people). The cities of the time did not have any local government and the urban population did not constitute a closed estate group.

THE RURAL POPULATION consisted of two groups. The first were the *smerds*, actually free people who were called to join military expeditions. The first indications of the future limitation of freedom of this group were manifested on the estates of the princes, as the *smerds* became legally inferior in a number of matters, particularly inheritances. The *zakupy* (bonded persons) were a separate rural group. They were people who voluntarily assumed bondage under a landlord until they would work off their indebtedness. During the period of bondage they were deprived of most legal rights, being equal in status to slaves. The group of slaves or serfs was at the bottom of the social ladder. They had no rights of any kind. They were not sub-

jects of the law, but merely its objects. The status of slave was the result of birth, capture in war, punishment for crime, indebtedness beyond the hope of redemption, voluntary sale into slavery (children sold by parents), and marriage to an alien slave.

**The State Structure**

The state structure of *Rus'*-Ukraine in this period was a form of monarchy, with the prince as the ruler. With feudal fragmentation, each subdivision of territory was headed by a ruling prince (see above) who recognized the supremacy of a higher prince and through the latter ultimately the Grand Prince of Kiev.

The order of inheritance of princely thrones was governed by the principle of partial seniority, according to which all members of the Rurik dynasty had the right to inherit the major princely thrones, depending on their respective position within the dynasty. Under this principle the death of a prince resulted in a shift of all minor and junior princes from one fief to another, depending on individual seniority, and the importance of the fief. Other principles tended to offset this method of inheritance: restriction of a throne to members of a family of princes which was closely associated with a particular land (the principle of *otchyna* [fatherland]), election of a prince by a town meeting of the elders of the capital city (this method repeatedly violated the principle of seniority), and the capture of a throne by force of arms.

The privileges of a prince as ruler of a land or fief consisted of the right of legislation (princely decrees and instructions), judicial functions, appointment of the local administration and its control, and foreign policy. The prince was the commander-in-chief of the armed forces of a land or principality. However, the institution of clear separation of powers was unknown, and as a result, different branches of government competed with each other. There were cases of duplication, the council of boyars and sometimes the town meeting having rights almost identical with those of the prince. In different parts of the state of the Rurik dynasty there was a preponderance of one or another branch of government. Whereas the prince dominated as monarch in the Russian lands, in the lands of Novgorod and Pskov as well as in Belorussia the town meeting was more powerful. In Ukraine the council of boyars played the most important role as the seat of power. The position of the council of boyars was particularly strong in the principality of Galicia (Halych), whereas in Chernihiv the other centers of power were predominant (inheritance by seniority was most widely practiced in Chernihiv, being rather the exception in other principalities).

The *viche* (town meeting) was an organ of direct government by the people. It functioned as an assembly of the citizens of the capital city, and considered matters and passed resolutions pertaining to the entire principality. In Ukraine, meetings convened at irregular intervals, whereas in Novgorod and Pskov they met regularly. Participation was by full-fledged citizens of the capital city, as well as citizens of lesser cities if they were present in the capital. The meeting convened in the palace of the prince, in the marketplace, or in a churchyard. The prince usually presided at the meeting, but sometimes this function was performed by a bishop or *tysiats'kyi*. There were no regular agendas for consideration by a *viche*. Voting was unanimous in principle, with the majority trying to sway the minority to its point of view. The scope of competences of a meeting usually coincided with that of a prince or council of boyars. Mention should be made of many instances of the election of a prince by a meeting, thus making him an elective monarch. A meeting would also conclude a pact (so-called *riad*) with the prince, which became the nucleus of a constitutional system of government.

THE COUNCIL OF BOYARS competed with other organs of central government. It was a meeting of boyars who, together with the prince, decided on state matters of the land or principality. The council of boyars was an institution which under normal historical development could have evolved into an organ of representative parliamentary government. At that time, neither Ukraine nor any other state had a representative type of government.

The question has long been debated whether the council of boyars was a legal institution, or simply "the prince talking things over with his boyars," without any obligation on his part (the Russian legal historian, V. Sergeevich). Whereas in Russian Suzdal and Vladimir the council of boyars was undoubtedly only an advisory body, the case was entirely different in Ukraine, where the prince held regular meetings with his council of boyars. There is a great deal of evidence showing that the council's advice was binding upon the prince. The council of boyars, particularly in the principality of Galicia, often compelled the prince to change his plans and decisions.

SNEMY (CONVENTIONS OF PRINCES) were bodies meeting for special purposes in matters concerning the entire union of princely states. They were attended by princes accompanied by their chief advisers (members of the council of boyars) to consider matters pertaining to all principalities which recognized the supremacy of the Grand Prince of Kiev. Since the real power of the latter was relatively insignificant, these conventions reflected the weakness of the ties binding the union of states. They did not meet regularly or often, and they did not develop any clear form of organization. In most European countries, kings' councils developed into representative parliamentary institutions. This did not take place in Ukraine because of the decline of the Ukrainian state organization in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Local administration was of a dual nature. On the one hand, there were remnants of the old local government going back to the pre-Rurik period: the decimal system of representatives of 10 (*desiats'kyi*), 100 (*sots'kyi*), and 1,000 (*tysiats'kyi*) households. They gradually came under the rule of princes who began to appoint persons to these offices. Simultaneously, the princes developed a new system of administrative offices entirely subservient to themselves, *posadnyks* and *tyvuns*. Whenever they were in charge of territorial subdivisions, the authority of these offices corresponded to that of princes. However, some *tyvuns* had only limited jurisdiction (as court bailiffs, tax collectors, and highway supervisors).

The social and legal organization of the principality of Galicia [Vol. I, p. 604] produced a new governmental structure, similar to that of western Europe, particularly as regards the relationship between the monarch and his nobles. This was caused by the fact that the princely dynasty had not branched out so widely as in the eastern territories, where the impoverished princes (as in Chernihiv) were themselves reduced to the status of nobles. The attempts of the Galician princes to ascend to the status of kings (equal in rank to the neighboring rulers of Poland and Hungary) can also be attributed to western European influences.

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## CIVIL LAW

The rules of civil law effective in Ukraine during the first period of statehood were not codified into a separate collection of legal records, but were dispersed among the rules of constitutional, administrative, and even ecclesiastical law (the same situation prevailed in other nations during this period).

### The Institution of Property and Possession

The rules of civil law of this period

do not clearly define either the subject or the object of the law of property within the modern meaning of the term. The dominion of a person over a "thing" was realized only over chattels by the fact of possession. The concept of the right of property disconnected with actual possession came to be realized by the people of Kievan *Rus'*-Ukraine only gradually. The *Rus'* Law contained some indications on property rights of the princes, boyars, and churches such as bees' nests, metes of lands, obliteration of brands on bees' nests, purchase and sale, real and chattel mortgages. Other monuments mention lands of peasants (*smerds*) and their horses. Subjects of the law of property or possession included physical persons and legal persons (bishoprics, monasteries, clans, and communities), combining both individual and community law of property. However, the term "property" must always be used in relation to the feudal order of the time, which had its own rules separating the different elements of property law within society, and particularly the right to alienate real property. There are many problems as regards the juridical nature of land holdings of the peasants.

Provisions of the *Rus'* Law indicate that possession of bees' nests gave the owner also certain rights to lands which were called "honey lands." Metes were also designated as "honey land metes." The home and courtyard were also designated as the property of the possessor. As regards chattels, which were defined by the terms arms, clothes, ornaments, cattle, grain, manufactured goods (hides and pelts, honey, wax), they were all the object of private property. Even the slaves, serfs, and bonded workers were considered to be the property of the master. The children of slaves, just as the offspring of cattle, were the property of the owner. Anything acquired by a slave belonged to the master, except what he had on his person.

The provisions of the *Rus'* Law on bees' nests, beaver dams, and *perevisy* are indicative of the primitive methods of acquiring ownership: all creatures not under the domination of any person became the property of the person capturing them and exercising dominion over them. The *Rus'* Law does not contain any rules establishing the acquisition of property rights by prescription. The possessor of a chattel could use it and dispose of it, and this right was guaranteed by law, the owner having the right to pursue his property in trover.

**Obligations**

According to the *Rus'* Law, civil obligations could arise only between persons unrestricted in their legal capacity, either as a result of a contract or tort connected with material damage. Contracts mentioned are purchase and sale, loan, lease and mortgage.

Both real and personal property could be alienated by purchase and sale. The *Rus'* Law provided that not only money could be loaned, but also grain, cattle, honey, wax, furs, and so on. Loans could be made subject to payment of interest or free of interest. If the value of a loan was in excess of three pieces of silver, the loan agreement had to be concluded in the presence of witnesses. Interest could be charged monthly or annually. Loan agreements among merchants did not have to be witnessed. The debtor had to make any statement in court under oath. If a debtor was unable to pay his debts through his own fault, he could be sold into bondage by the creditor. The debtor was usually sold in the market place and the money obtained was divided among creditors in the following order: foreign creditors first, then the prince, and finally local creditors.

The *Rus'* Law specifically mentions leases of personal services which could lead to slavery, unless the contract specified that slavery was excluded in the concrete instance. Practice also recognized leases of specific services, such as man and horse or man, horse, and plow.

Lands were also subject to leases. Mortgage is an institution known to all primitive codes of laws which evolved from chattel mortgages.

**Family Law**

**Marriage law.** The basic institution of family law is marriage, which in the pre-Christian period was performed by stealing the bride, purchase, or home-bringing. The essence of the latter form of marriage consisted in bringing the bride to the house of the groom, where he paid for her, and she brought along a dowry. The institution of dowry was known during the Christian period of *Rus'* and survived much longer. The *Rus'* Law provided that marriage contracts should be a free expression of the will of the parties, hence the age of the parties was an important part of the contract. There was a minimum age requirement for the groom and a different one for the bride.

Although the Church required the introduction of monogamy, in practice there were many instances of polygamy, even during the reign of Volodymyr and Yaroslav. Byzantine practice considered marriage a regular contract which could be either in writing or symbolic, but the Church regarded it a sacrament. The efforts of the Church remained largely ignored for a long time. There were many reasons for voiding a marriage during this period: communicable disease, sterility, prolonged absence of one of the spouses, taking monastic vows, incompatibility, and adultery.

Divorce took the form of a decree by an ecclesiastical or lay court, or a bill of divorcement served upon the wife by the husband.

The *Rus'* Law does not contain any special provisions on family law, except the first section, which mentions parents as being bound by the rules of blood vengeance. It makes a distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children, defining the latter to be the offspring of a slave-concubine. After the death of the husband, the wife assumed full control of the family estate if the children were minors, or, if any children were of age, she would be treated as an equal of the sons, or receive a part of the estate according to the will of the husband or by operation of the law. If a criminal was convicted to suffer "seizure and banishment as an outlaw," the wife and children had to share his fate.

**Tutelage.** The institution of tutelage was fairly clearly defined in the *Rus'* Law. In the absence of a father and mother, minor children would remain under the tutelage of the closest relative until they reached majority. A widowed mother, as well as a step-father, were charged with the duties of guardians. The guardians were bound by law to accept the property of the minors and to restore it fully when they reached the legal age. Guardians were either appointed by the authorities, or by the father in his lifetime.

**Inheritance law.** According to the *Rus'* Law the estate of a deceased person was called *zadnytsia* (remainder) or *statok* (estate). Some scholars believe that only real property comprised the estate, and that chattels and claims were excluded. Rights and obligations were excluded, according to Vladimirsky-Budanov and Hrushevsky. Since there are no clear indications in the *Rus'* Law that land could be included in an estate, some researchers believe that only chattels could be included. Inasmuch as the *Rus'* Law included the house and yard in the estate, one may assume that land could also be included.

Only family members were entitled to the estate, both by testament and by operation of the law. In the absence of next of kin, the estate would devolve upon the prince. The testator was believed to express not so much his own will as that of the family in dividing his estate among the next of kin. Testaments were usually in oral form, written wills being rare. A father and mother had the right to will property in favor of children, and the husband could leave a "separate part" in favor of his widow.

In addition to children, the Church could also be mentioned in a will, for the "repose of the soul" of the deceased. The order of inheritance was different for boyars and *smerds*. The estate of a *smerd* was divided only among his sons, unmarried daughters being entitled only to a dowry. In the absence of sons, the estate of a *smerd* went to the prince. The estate of a boyar went to his daughters if there were no sons, and not to the prince. There was a widow's share of the estate if she was living with the children. Illegitimate children (offspring of slaves) were not entitled to any inheritance. The mother had the right to divide her part among the children or leave it to one son, or even a daughter. Children of the blood inherited equally, children of different fathers, from the mother. Disputes about dividing estates were within the competence of ecclesiastical courts, although there were exceptions to the rule when it came to dividing the estate of a prince among his children.

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## CRIMINAL LAW

Ukrainian criminal law in this historical era underwent constant changes, with dominating periods of vengeance, ransom, compositions, and state levies. The first two periods were periods of private criminal law, when trial and judgment were placed in the hands of the aggrieved party. Only a free person came under the jurisdiction of criminal law.

### Crime

A crime was called an *obyda* (insult), indicating the ancient origin, when a crime was considered a private damage inflicted upon a person or property. Gradually, however, it came to be considered a breach of the peace, and hence the perpetrator, in addition to being liable to the aggrieved person, was also subject to punishment by the state. Crimes against persons were divided into intentional and unintentional. Intentional crimes differentiated between murder with malice and murder without malice. Crimes against the body were divided into maiming crimes and bodily injury. At one time maiming was treated identically with murder. Subsequently, only permanent crippling was punished equally with murder. Crimes against honor and liberty were very severely punished: for example, for hitting a man with a sheathed sword the fine was 12 pieces of silver, but for hitting a man with a bared sword it was only 3 pieces of silver. Crimes against property included larceny, robbery, keeping found objects or keeping a fugitive slave, illegal use of the property of another, and malicious destruction of the property of another, including violation of boundaries, arson, and fraud. The highest punishments were meted out for arson and professional larceny (horse-thieves), the penalty being "seizure and banishment as an outlaw."

Crimes against the public interest were divided into crimes against the interests of the community and crimes against the state. Among the former, crimes against religion were dealt with according to provisions of ecclesiastical law. The most prevalent were crimes of witchcraft, *volkhvuvannia* (sorcery), and robbing of graves and objects of cult. Among crimes against the family, we must mention general crimes, such as murder, theft, bigamy, incest, adultery, and abandonment. Crimes against morals included rape and sodomy. Under existing circumstances there were hardly any crimes against the state: neither lese majesty, nor high treason. However, there was a defined concept of treason of the people (conspiring with the enemy).

### Punishment

Punishment was called penalty and vengeance. The earliest punishment was vengeance, which was subsequently replaced by ransom and finally by public fines.

Vengeance did not merely mean repayment for the damage, because even in the earliest times it was an institution

for preserving the peace, which was considered to have been breached by commission of a crime. In historical times vengeance was limited and controlled by the state, and by the middle of the eleventh century, it was entirely abolished.

Cash ransom was for a long time in existence along with vengeance and its application was at the election of the aggrieved party. The amount of ransom was governed by the extent of the damage.

Public punishments were divided into three categories: seizure and banishment as an outlaw, *vyra* (payment), and sale for fine.

Seizure and banishment as an outlaw meant deprivation of personal and property rights. The punished person was placed beyond the pale of the law, he was banished, and sometimes, if the property was not sufficient to pay for the damage, he was sold into slavery. The seized property was used to cover the damage, and what was left went into the state treasury. This was the punishment for the most heinous crimes: arson, professional horse-thieving, and robbery.

*Vyra* was the severest money punishment for homicide and mortal injury. Under certain circumstances the community helped the criminal to pay his fine. Sometimes the fine would be cut in half. *Prodazha* (sale for fine) was the punishment for minor crimes. It was in the range of one to 12 pieces of silver. The money went to the treasury of the prince (if any damages had been assessed they went to the aggrieved party).

The death penalty was introduced by Volodymyr the Great under the influence of the Byzantine clergy. It was soon replaced, however, by fines.

## THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

The prince presided over the Princely court as the chief judge, or delegated this function to subordinate officials. Judicial power was among the chief prerogatives of the prince, and the duty to dispense justice was the principal duty of the ruler. Officials acted on behalf of the prince only on his authority and only within the limits of such authorization. The most important officials with judicial authority were the *tyvun* and the bailiff. Other officials included guardians and scribes. Trials were held in the capital at the court of the prince, or in other locations where the prince was temporarily in residence. In addition to the capital and assize courts, there were permanent Princely courts in the provinces administered by mayors or deputies of the prince. The entire population was subject to Princely courts, with some exception as to persons (clerics) and matters.

The town meeting court (*vichovyi sud*) at first had general jurisdiction, but its scope was later limited to matters of special importance.

The community or people's court functioned during the earliest time as the only judicial body, later becoming an adjunct of the Princely courts. The basic unit was the village court, consisting of "men of justice" presided over by an elective elder. These courts considered all matters and also took part in preliminary investigations.

Private courts or courts of the nobles, also called dominial, were conducted by landlords with jurisdiction over slaves and commercial matters.

Ecclesiastical courts functioned in the dioceses of bishops and were under the supervision of the latter. Their jurisdiction included clerical persons and their families, as well as church servants; also ecclesiastical matters, such as crimes against the faith and against the sanctity of marriage, marital disputes, and inheritances. These courts were based on the authority of the *Nomocanon* and ecclesiastical decrees of princes.

## PROCEDURE

Ukrainian legal procedure, as that of

other countries, developed from self-help and private procedure in early times to public trials and rules of procedure. Process usually began on the demand of the aggrieved party, but there were also the beginnings of public indictment. The trial was a contest of the parties before the court which constituted the third party. The court only supervised the order of trial and determined its outcome. Trials were held publicly, with active participation of the citizenry (peers). Process was oral, in the presence of the parties and witnesses.

Suit was brought either by agreement between the parties submitting the case to the court, or by summons issued to the adversary for a specified day in court. The defendant's failure to appear could result in a judgment by default. In criminal matters, when it was necessary to establish the indemnity of the criminal or to find a lost object, trial was preceded by an investigation.

The *svod* (summary) was originally the trial itself, leading to judgment and execution. Subsequently, it became the means to restore lost property and discover the criminal. It was preceded by a public announcement of loss. Return of property within three days went unpunished, and holding it after that was punishable, unless the possessor disclosed from whom he had lawfully acquired it.

*Honennia slidom* (following the trail) was used in cases of homicide and larceny when the person of the criminal was unknown. The owner of the lost property "followed the trail" in the presence of citizens, and if it led to a house the owner was considered the thief unless he was able to divert the trail elsewhere. If tracks led to a village, the citizens were duty-bound to trace them further. The latter procedures required the observance of all old solemn forms.

At one time the trial ended in direct combat–duel. Later, verbal combat ("word against word") was substituted, the parties corroborating their statements with proof. The court conducted probative procedure which was the essence of the trial and announced the judgment which was the automatic outcome of the proof. Proof consisted of: witnesses (only free people, and there is doubt whether women could testify) under oath; divine judgment (ordeal), such as trial by water, fire, or duel, and casting lots. Later, real evidence was used, such as bruises on the body, wounds, the corpse, tracks, stolen goods, and so on.

The court announced the judgment orally. The court did not execute civil judgments; that was up to the party. Criminal judgments were carried out by the prince or his appointed officials. The state aided the aggrieved party, who could compensate his loss out of the property of the debtor, or put him in slavery, if the property was insufficient.

*J. Padoch*

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# 3. THE LITHUANIAN-RUTHENIAN PERIOD

Following the decline of the Princely state organization [Vol. I, pp. 610ff., pp. 618ff.], Ukrainian territories came under the rule of Lithuania in the fifteenth century, and subsequently under Poland. This caused serious political, social, and legal changes in these territories. However, old Ukrainian legal institutions remained in effect for a long time, and exerted a considerable influence on the systems of the occupying powers, particularly Lithuania.

## SOURCES OF LAW

Numerous legal records have survived from the Lithuanian-*Rus'* period in written form, and from the latter part even in printed form. Most were written in the official *Rus'* language (a mixture of Church Slavonic, Ukrainian, and Belorussian). As an exception to the rule, some records are in Latin and German.

### Customary Law

After the decline of the Kievan Realm, customary law again became the only source of law in Ukrainian territories which had endured the Tatar invasion. It remained in force also in the Galician-Volhynian state, even following its annexation by Poland, until the end of the fifteenth century (the period of the *Rus'* Law). The Ukrainian territories brought their own customary law (their antiquity) into the Lithuanian state. The Grand Dukes of Lithuania proclaimed the principle "don't touch the old, don't introduce the new," and thus affirmed customary law in Ukraine and contributed to its further development. Soon it became binding throughout the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state.

### Legislative Records

Many records of legislative activity have survived from the Lithuanian-Ruthenian period, nearly all in written form, including the third edition of the Lithuanian Statute which was printed in 1588. By content, these records can be divided into international pacts, writs of privilege, land writs, and legal codes.

### International Agreements

First among these are agreements and pacts between the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state and Poland which determined the different forms of union between these states and caused changes in the status of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state. These are: the Union of Krevo of 1385, which introduced a personal union; the Vilna Agreement of 1401, which provided for a union of mutual assistance and security; the Union of Horodlo of 1413, reaffirming the personal union; and the Union of Lublin of 1569, which instituted a real union between Poland and Lithuania and contributed to the spread of Polish influence and Polish law. Pursuant to the Union of Lublin, most of the Ukrainian lands which were part of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state were annexed by Poland. However, both the Lithuanian Statute and the official *Rus'* language were recognized.

Certain commercial and economic treaties which contained norms of public law are also among pacts of an international character.

**Writs of Privilege**

Under this title, the Grand Dukes of Lithuania issued numerous juridical acts, different in form and content. They were divided into privileges for nobles and particular privileges. The latter included exceptions to general laws, or individual laws in favor of groups, institutions, or persons. This group also included privileges granted to villages, cities, and their owners affirming their right to be governed by the Magdeburg Law, and writs of security to cities and lands protecting them from breaches of local laws and misdeeds of the local administration.

**Land Writs**

Land writs are the most important monuments of legislation of the pre-statute period. Unlike privileges, which introduced new rules, the land writs kept the old laws in force. They were issued to all people of a certain territory in confirmation of the old rights of the entire land, to determine its relation to the state and to the general laws. Eight such writs for Ukrainian lands (*zemlias*) have survived: for Galicia (1456); for Dorohychyn (1516); for Lutsk (1424); two for Volhynia (1501 and 1509); two for Kiev (1507 and 1529), and one for the county of Bilsk in Podlachia. These writs contain a large amount of legal material in civil and criminal law and procedure for the early period, as well as rules for the dominial courts of the nobles.

**Official Compilations of Laws**

Along with the process of consolidation of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state, a need arose by the middle of the fifteenth century to unify binding laws in official compilations for the use of courts. To fill this need, codification of effective customary and written law was undertaken which resulted in two codes of binding laws: *Sudebnyk Kazymyra* (Judgment Book of Casimir) and the Lithuanian Statute.

The draft of the *Sudebnyk Kazymyra* of 1468 was compiled in the administrative chancery on order of the Grand Duke Casimir and ratified by the *Sejm* (*Soim*, parliament) in Vilna in 1468. It

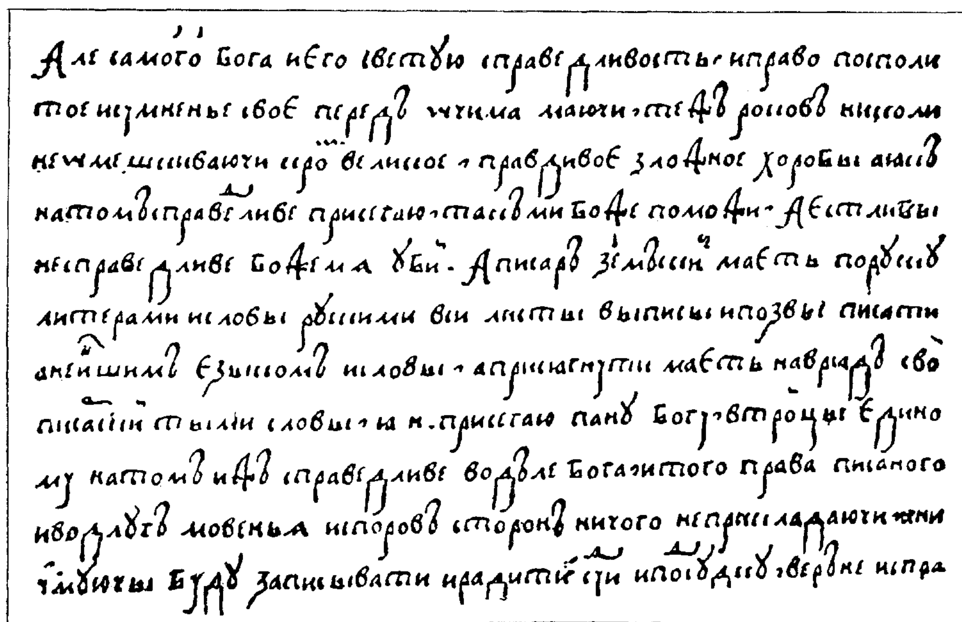

FIGURE 9. EXCERPT FROM THE MANUSCRIPT OF THE LITHUANIAN STATUTE

contains 28 sections, dealing mostly with criminal law and procedure. Also included are old provisions of customary law.

The Judgment Book of Casimir was not a complete compilation of laws of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state, however, and there was a growing need for a complete code. The nobles in particular insisted on a codification of their privileges, and on the determination in a general law of the various rights of nobles, both of the magnates as well as the lesser nobility. The code was confirmed in 1529 under the title "STATUTE OF THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA" and it was made public in written form. After it had been in effect for twenty years, work was started on a new edition. The second edition was approved in 1566, but not in all sections.

Since by the Union of Lublin the status of Lithuania changed and new administrative and judicial organs made their appearance, the need arose to revise, amend, and supplement the text of the second edition of the Statute, to make it fit the changed circumstances. The new text, considerably expanded and better organized than the first edition, was approved by the *Soim* of 1588, and simultaneously printed by the Mamonicz brothers in Vilna, becoming effective in the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state, as well as in Ukrainian territories annexed by Poland, in 1589. The Statute was translated into Polish in 1588, with an addition of excerpts from Polish laws, and it was printed in Vilna in 1614. The Statute of 1588 was the culmination of the process of unification of the separate legal systems of the lands of *Rus'* and of Lithuania. Instead of a multitude of local laws and decrees, there was now a general law, common to all and binding upon all people of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state. The social trend of the Statute reflected the privileged position of the estate of nobles. The edition of 1588 made the Statute a superior work to many European codes of that period. The Statute was effective as an official code of laws also in the Hetman state, where it was recognized as "the old fundamental law."

FIGURE 10. THIRD LITHUANIAN STATUTE PUBLISHED IN 1588

### The Reception of German Law

The reception of German law came about indirectly, through Poland. Elements of German law became to be recognized in the Lithuanian-*Rus'* state in the form of particular law, which was granted by the Grand Dukes of Lithuania as writs of privilege directly to the cities, permitting such cities to use the Magdeburg Law.

*A. Yakovliv*

## STATE LAW

### General Characteristics

During the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries, Ukrainian state law survived in the northern part of Ukraine (Chernihiv, parts of Polisia and Volhy-

nia), which had not been ruined by the Tatar invasions and where some small duchies maintained their independence even after the Tatar invasions. In the second half of the fourteenth century, these small principalities became vassals of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, but until the second half of the fifteenth century they preserved their identity. Hence, these principalities also preserved norms of Ukrainian law which had been effective in their territories in the pre-Lithuanian period. During the second half of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth centuries, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was actually a union of states in which a number of Ukrainian and Belorussian vassal duchies were grouped around the Duchy of Vilna. By the mid-1400's, there was a gradual process of decline of statehood in the lands and duchies comprising the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and by the early sixteenth century there was an almost complete territorial division into *voievodstvos* (provinces) and *starostvos* (counties), and state officials were substituted for vassal princes [Vol. I, pp. 623–4]. The process of liquidating fragmentation and consolidating the state organization of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was not complete, however, when by the middle of the sixteenth century a large portion of the Ukrainian lands of the Grand Duchy was annexed by Poland.

**Population**

The population of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania [Vol. I, pp. 624–6] was socially stratified into groups, more or less following the pattern of the previous period. The highest group, with the greatest privileges, were the *paniata* (lords), including the former *kniazhata* (princes) who had lost the status of territorial rulers. They were direct vassals of the Grand Duke and were bound to supply him with their own troops in wartime. Their holdings were inhabited by subvassals, the nobles who occupied their lands.

However, a majority of the nobles held their own lands, comprising the upper middle class which replaced the former boyars and corresponded to the class of knighthood of medieval Europe. The *shliakhta* (nobles) enjoyed a number of privileges granted to them in writs of privilege and subsequently made permanent in the Lithuanian Statute. The 1588 edition of the Statute indicates that the nobles had by this time become a separate social class, having absorbed the small princes from above and the boyars and servants from below.

The boyars and servants (*sluhy*) were the lowest group of the higher social class. They were midway between the nobles and free peasants (yeomen). Like the nobles, they owned land and for this they were bound to military service, but they had no peasants as their dependents.

The land ownership of the higher classes, and particularly of the nobles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, corresponded to the western European fief, but it came to resemble outright ownership at a faster rate than in the rest of Europe.

The rural population (peasants) was also divided into several social strata which were unequal in their legal status. The greatest differences were between the group which had freedom of movement (*liudy pokhozhi*) and those who were bound to the land (*liudy nepokhozhi*) and to their master, the first step leading to serfdom.

**The Central Government**

The central government of the Grand Duchy [Vol. I, pp. 623–4] consisted of three organs which at times competed with each other. The Grand Duchy was headed by the Grand Duke, a monarch who acceded to the throne by a combination of inheritance and election (the election was among the sons of the previous Grand Duke). He held the supreme executive, legislative, and judicial power. He maintained diplomatic rela-

tions with other nations, declared war and concluded peace, appointed state officials, and controlled their activities. He also exercised the function of dividing lands according to the rules of feudal holding.

Another organ in the central government was the Council of Nobility (so-called *pany-rada*). At first, this was a meeting of the most influential among the vassals of the Grand Duke, but gradually it was joined by high-placed state officials who eventually gained greater power and relegated the princelings and the lords to a minor role. The council also included the Catholic bishops. The competence of the council coincided and competed with the power of the Grand Duke. The legal status of the council was clearly defined in 1492 and 1506 when the Grand Duke promised to share his power with the council. The council grew in importance because of frequent and long absences of the monarch in Poland, of which he was simultaneously the king. During these absences the country was actually governed by the council. With the development of assemblies of nobles, the council of lords became an upper legislative chamber, frequently able to overrule the monarch.

The development of *Soims* (Polish *Sejms* [parliaments, assemblies]) in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania occurred in the late fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth centuries. It was a representative institution of the parliamentary type. The latter feature, however, became clearly defined much later. Even in the early sixteenth century, assemblies were attended by local deputy administrators, each with a handful of nobles whom they had "elected" from among the nobles of their county. Gradually it became customary for the nobles to elect deputies from among their own number. In 1564 a precise order of representation of nobles in assemblies was adopted. According to this set of rules, two nobles were to be elected as deputies for every county at a specially convened meeting. In addition to electing deputies, the county assembly (*soimyk*) issued a written instruction to its deputies which was binding upon them in voting in the *Soim* of the Grand Duchy.

The *Soim* was similar to other European parliamentary institutions of the time. These organs were composed of representatives of the social estates. The unusual feature which characterized the assembly of Lithuanian-*Rus'* was the fact that its deputies represented only one social class—the nobility. This feature was instituted under Polish influence.

In certain respects the competence of the *Soim* coincided with that of the Grand Duke and of the Council of Nobility. It is particularly important to emphasize its right to levy taxes, and especially of increased taxes for wartime expenses. It was here that the idea of a state budget took its origin. Resolutions of the *Soim* were either affirmed or vetoed by the Grand Duke in the form of "replies."

**Administration**

As a result of the slow process of creating a single unified state from a conglomerate of vassal principalities, a central state administration was also emerging very slowly. The offices of a central administration were established during the fifteenth century. They developed from offices of dignitaries and officials, which were grouped around the Duke of Vilna. Hence, their competence was initially limited to the Duchy of Vilna and spread to the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at a very slow rate.

The most important office was that of the marshal. The marshal of the land was the person of first rank in all ceremonies of the court of the Duchy, and in the absence of the Grand Duke he presided at meetings of the lords. The marshal of the court was his assistant and deputy. The chancellor and his deputy headed

the chancery of the Grand Duchy. The treasurer of the land and treasurer of the court were in charge of financial matters of the country (the latter as deputy). The land hetman (later called grand hetman) and the hetman of the court were the military commanders during military expeditions. Subsequently the hetman of the court (later called field hetman) was the commander of mercenary troops.

**Local Administration**

Local administration, which was under the Grand Duke, appeared after the abolition of the local administration of princes. The position of the latter was now assumed by deputies (*namisnyky-derzhavtsi*) of the Grand Duke (in smaller communities—*tyvuns*). The country was later divided into provinces (*voievodstvos*) and counties (*starostvos*), the former headed by governors (*voievodas*) and their deputies (*kashtelians*), the latter by *starostas*.

## CIVIL LAW

**Property Law**

The records of law of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian period are more explicit than those of the Princely state in their definition of the person who is subject of the law, such person being endowed with broader rights in civil law. They are also clearer in determining the legal capacity of the different categories of people, which is particularly evident in the different social classes, with a set of civil rights peculiar to each class. The Lithuanian Statute recognized third parties in civil proceedings: servants, subjects, and apprentices had the right to sue for damages in the name of their master. Objects under the rule of civil law were also more clearly defined, particularly land.

As regards property law in the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state, the position of the Ukrainian territories, historically bound with the fate of Lithuania and subsequently Poland, was different. Here, there was only a gradual acceptance of the nobles' property inheritance rights. The dominant form was land holding under a contract or grant. The possessor had a limited right over the property which he held, because he did not have the right of alienation. The actual users of land, the peasants who did not belong to the ascribed class, tilled their own land and enjoyed full property rights. However, the reform of 1557 placed the right of property of peasants in serious jeopardy, and the Lithuanian Statute of the third edition ultimately deprived the peasants of property rights to land, but not to chattels.

The Lithuanian Statute recognized the property rights of the state (king's lands), the church, and townspeople within city limits, as well as those of the nobles and magnates.

The institution of pledge is a characteristic of the Ukrainian law of real property. In addition to the present form of mortgage, historically there is also the fiduciary and "pignus" form of pledge. Under the fiduciary form, the creditor took not only possession and use of the pledged object, but enjoyed full ownership until the moment of redemption by the debtor. The development of juridical ideas progressed in the direction of making the position of the debtor easier, the result of which was the "pignus" form of pledge, under which the debtor remained the owner of the pledged object, the creditor merely having its use and possession. This form of pledge was widespread in Ukraine even in the Lithuanian-Polish period, but with the following modification: the development of Ukrainian mortgage law went even further in protecting the rights of the debtor, by permitting him to retain his property right not only for the duration of the term of the mortgage, but several such terms until the redemption by the debtor's heirs (regardless of the number of generations). Thus the creditor's right of mortgage never changed

into the right of property (like the American "once a mortgage, always a mortgage") unlike Russian law and some western European laws. This peculiar form reflected the old idea of non-alienation of real property rights. As an exception, there was a permissible form of mortgage with forfeiture, which had to be stipulated in the original agreement with clear mention of the term after which there would be a forfeiture. The Lithuanian Statute also permitted chattel mortgages, particularly of cattle and horses. Chattel mortgage agreements could also be oral.

The rule of prescription played a much more important role in the Lithuanian-Polish period than before, in both forms, that is, limitation of the right to sue and acquisition of property rights by length of time of holding. This legal rule played the part of a stabilizing factor in civil law relations. According to sources of urban (Magdeburg) Law, the rule differed from the statute of limitations binding upon the nobles not only in terms of duration, but also in content. Lawful possession in good faith was considered a clear requirement of Magdeburg Law, and without it acquisition of property rights by prescription was impossible, whereas the Lithuanian Statute did not clearly define these requirements.

**Obligations**

**Purchase and sale.** This contract was closely associated with the development of individual property rights during this period. Contracts of purchase and sale could be entered into by people of all social classes.

Real property of the landed gentry, purchased or acquired otherwise than by inheritance of family estates, could be freely alienated, as could lands of the free peasants (yeomen) until the middle of the sixteenth century. The 1588 edition of the Lithuanian Statute enjoined the peasants from alienating lands tilled by them without the consent of their masters. During the Kievan *Rus'* period, the act of purchase and sale was symbolic; now, however, the Lithuanian Statute prescribed strict forms ("If any alienation forever be not according to the Statute, it shall be void and no one shall acquire the thing therein described"). The sale of one's own person (or of a wife or children) into slavery was still considered lawful, except during the time of famine. Whenever such a sale was void, the seller only had the duty to return the purchase price or render services for same.

Along with purchases and sales, there was a widespread practice of exchange or barter which was fully approved by legislation.

**Loans.** Borrowing became somewhat altered: the old complex rules about interest, which characterized the early period, were abolished. Lending agreements for sums of money in excess of 600 coins had to be in writing under penalty of non-recovery of the loaned amount. Loans of sums in excess of 12,000 coins were very closely scrutinized by the authorities; if notes for such loans were lost, an immediate "protestation" had to be submitted to the government, under oath of witnesses who were aware of the contents of such document. In the event of the death of the creditor, the debtor was obliged to repay the loan to his heirs according to the law of inheritance, and there was no statute of limitations on loans.

**Leases.** The *Rus'* Law rules governing leases of personal services were modified in the direction of a greater freedom of the person leasing his services. Such leases could no longer end in slavery. The dominant rule of the Lithuanian Statute was that no free person could be put in everlasting slavery for any act or crime. A term of service became a substitute for slavery. Property, houses, locations, animals, grain, and land could also be leased.

**Surety agreements, guarantees, and gifts.** These terms were known to the law

of this period, as well as joint and several obligations, indicating that civil law was rapidly developing. In addition to agreements which gave rise to rights and duties, there were also obligations arising under the operation of law or as a result of breaking a law. This is primarily the area of tort law, which the Lithuanian Statute determined according to the social status of the tortfeasor. The growth of trade and commerce also gave rise to rights and duties of groups. In comparison with the period of *Rus'* Law, the Lithuanian Statute provided broader individual rights with the emancipation of persons from the onerous family and tribal ties.

### Family Law

**Marriage Law.** Family law made considerable progress during this period. Marriage acquired the significance of a contract in addition to being a sacrament. Monogamy finally replaced polygamy. The rule of law now was: "If any person have a wife living and take unto himself another—he shall be punished on the throat." The same rule applied to women. Nevertheless, there were still instances of polygamy. The Lithuanian Statute contained prohibitions against marriages between relatives up to the fourth degree inclusive. Such marriages were void, children were declared illegitimate, and part of the property of the guilty parties was turned over to the state. The Lithuanian Statute raised the age of permissible marriages for men to 18, but for women it remained at 13, as before. The increase of the age limit indicates a trend toward greater responsibility of the parties entering into marriage. Free expression of the intent to marry became a prerequisite, and since a girl could marry at 13, the consent of her parents was indispensable. Violation of this rule by a woman produced dire consequences: loss of right to a dowry and inheritance forever.

**Divorces and annulments.** Divorces and annulments were within the competence of ecclesiastical courts. During this period not only children of concubine slaves, but any children born out of wedlock were considered illegitimate. Because of the rigid structure of society, a noble widow marrying a commoner lost all her parental property. The provisions of marriage law determined in great detail all personal and property relations both of the married couple and of parents and children.

**Custody.** Jurisprudence of that period widely described the institution of custody, which was considerably affected by Magdeburg Law.

The law of inheritance was fairly rigid. The following provisions of inheritance law were changed in relation to the period of the *Rus'* Law: the testator was free to select a beneficiary from outside the circle of heirs at law, as regards chattels and real property acquired by the testator himself. However, property inherited from a father or mother could not be freely bequeathed. A will could be made only by a person enjoying full civil rights. From making wills the law excluded minors, persons under monastic vows, sons living in one household with their father as regards parental property, captives and slaves, servants of the household, insane persons, outlaws, and dishonored persons. A testator could change his will several times, although there was a requirement of good memory and sound mind. Strangers could also be beneficiaries. A testator could disinherit his own children if they were guilty of misdeeds against him. It was necessary to enjoy full rights in order to be entitled to bequests. Servants and peasants bound to the land could only bequeath one-third of their chattels at will, the remaining two-thirds going to the children. In the absence of children, the two-thirds went to the landowner. Free peasants could dispose of all their chattels.

Daughters inherited only one-fourth of their fathers' estates. The dowry was included in this part. Sons had no priority

as against daughters in inheriting the estates of their mothers.

## CRIMINAL LAW

### General Remarks

The moral basis of criminal law of this period became entwined with social inequalities of the time. Criminal law became noticeably softer toward crimes committed by nobles and harsher toward other social classes. Penal law became more strict. Accepting the doctrine of deterrence, both general, as well as special, it followed the pattern of western European law. The old principle of vengeance became obsolete. Respect for the dignity and honor of the person was limited to the nobility. Full criminal liability was reached at the age of 14, later raised to 16. All persons were under the protection of the law, except outlaws, who could be killed without criminal liability. Officials of the Grand Dukes were under special protection of the law, and other persons could also be granted letters of protection.

To invoke criminal liability there had to be a breach of law and guilt of the defendant. Guilt was established if the defendant was aware of the illegality of his act and had intent to commit such an act. There were higher penalties for repeated offenses and habitual criminals. The desire to establish a causal relationship between the act of the criminal and its result indicated considerable progress in the development of criminal law. Crimes committed in actual self-defense went unpunished. Attempted crimes were treated the same way as crimes actually committed, preparatory acts sometimes being also included. There was a clear distinction between principals and accessories to a crime, the latter being further divided into helpers and abettors.

### Crime

A crime was regarded primarily as violation of the legally protected sphere of the private interests of the aggrieved party, an act of violence, disregard of the law, and breach of peace. The earlier view that crime was within the scope of private law gradually gave way to the view that crime was a breach of public peace.

Among CRIMES AGAINST THE PUBLIC WEAL, the most important was lese majesty, heretofore unknown in Ukrainian law. The most heinous form of this crime was conspiracy against the ruler, his life and health, and attempts to remove him from the throne, or occupy same after his death. Criticism of decrees and judgments of the Grand Duke and unbecoming conduct at his court were also among the crimes of lese majesty.

The list of CRIMES AGAINST THE STATE was brief. The most typical were: treason, escape to the enemy, insurrection with intent to breach the peace of the land, surrender of a fortress to the enemy, attempts on the lives of officials, especially judges, release of prisoners. Included in this group were also military and wartime crimes: desertion from the battlefield, breach of peace during a military expedition, sale and delivery out of the country of arms, metal, farm tools, and so on, and crimes committed while in service. Crimes against the commonweal included forgery of public documents, forgery and use of seals of the duke and public offices, and forging currency. The latter crimes were considered dangerous to the safety and economy of the state, and were punishable by death ("on the throat or by fire"). Crimes against religion included heresy, converting Christians to other religions, and keeping of Christian concubines by non-Christians. It is interesting to note that the law of this period did not list the crime of witchcraft or blasphemy. Crimes against the family were: bigamy, incest (knowing), adultery, bride stealing. On the demand of the church most of these crimes were punishable by death. Among crimes against morals, the most conspicuous was seduc-

tion, which was punished by cutting off the nose, ears or lips, and repeated offenders were punished by death; also rape, prostitution, and extramarital relations were all punishable by death.

CRIMES AGAINST PRIVATE PERSONS, particularly those against the life of persons, were called homicides and were classified as intentional (and then it could be either heavy or light), unintentional (e.g., through negligence), and accidental (completely free of any punishment, just as was homicide in self-defense). The case method of classification of crimes against the body divided assault into intentional, unintentional, and accidental, also unprovoked and provoked, open and secret. Injury inflicted in a duel was very severely punished, since duels were prohibited. Use of a dangerous weapon made the crime more severely punishable. Crimes against honor reflected the spirit of division of society into classes. Whereas common crimes provided equal treatment for all, defense of honor was the exclusive privilege of the nobility. The most serious were the questioning of someone's noble birth and a charge of illegitimacy. Since the person of every nobleman was inviolate, any attempt on a nobleman's liberty was severely punished. Crimes against domestic tranquility were treated the same as breaches of the peace. An invasion of one's home or yard was qualified as breach of the peace of the land. Punishment for these crimes increased with the consequences of the crime. Crimes against property included robbery, larceny, and petty theft, the value of the object qualifying the degree of punishment. There were also sale and concealment of stolen property, embezzlement, obliteration of metes and boundaries, violation of quiet enjoyment, deceit, and arson.

### Punishments

Punishments in this period were a combination of a system of composition (ransom) and public penalties. Private penalties are the most controversial subject of criminal law of this period. Some scholars consider them to be merely payment of damages, but others treat them as punitive in nature. There is evidence in the records of the period that they were a combination of damages and penalty. Most important among these was payment for the head of the person killed, and another was payment for pain and suffering of an injured person, also for insult to his honor and restriction of liberty.

PUBLIC PENALTIES included in the first place the death penalty, which was applied in many forms and became more and more widespread. Forms of execution ranged from chopping off the head, to quartering and impaling. Corporal punishments, although less frequent, were applied in the form of cutting off limbs, ears, nose, lips, and beating with whips. Deprivation of liberty was first used as a preventive measure of holding the defendant for trial, in the case of convicted persons for execution, and in the case of debtors as an enforcement of payment. Subsequently, imprisonment as such turned into a form of punishment and was divided into heavy and light. The former was in a dungeon, the latter in above-ground premises of the jail. Terms of imprisonment ranged from three weeks to one year and six weeks (any term had to be divisible by three). Dishonor was a punishment applicable to nobles, and corporal punishments only to commoners. Only the ruler could pronounce judgment of dishonor.

## THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

The judicial system in the Ukrainian territories within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania passed through four phases, the significant years being 1386, 1566, and 1569. Prior to 1386, the old law was in force in Ukrainian territories and old judicial institutions remained unchanged. The only innovation was the judicial

power of the Grand Duke over the feudal princes.

After 1386 (Union of Krevo), Lithuania and the Ukrainian territories came under the influence of western European and Polish law. The judicial system was based on several types of courts. State courts were divided into central and provincial courts and they were controlled by the Grand Duke and his officials. The provincial courts first included courts of state governors and later also county courts and courts of landowners holding under the name of the Grand Duke. These courts were presided over by one judge and tried cases of free people and persons subject to the private rule of the Grand Duke as landlord. After 1529, two noblemen assessors were added to each court. In 1542, provincial courts were turned into courts of the second instance. The next instance were the courts of the local diet. The central courts consisted of the household, commissioners', and assessors' courts and the court of the council of lords. These courts were mostly concerned with appellate matters, and if the Grand Duke did not personally participate (as he did in some), they acted on his authority and were under his supervision. He also reviewed all their judgments and could affirm, change, or set aside any judgment. In this period the courts had the following auxiliary personnel: guardians, messengers, bailiffs, scribes, and vergers.

City courts operated in privileged cities. They were jury courts consisting of an elected panel of jurors. The usual jury consisted of 12 men and was presided over by the mayor (elder). This court had jurisdiction over civil and criminal matters of the townspeople. Some cities were divided into ethnic jurisdictions with separate courts for each nationality.

Community courts, also called *kopni* (courts of three-score) were an institution of the old customary law of prehistoric times. They were non-periodic courts of large communities, where people assembled in groups. The courts met at the call of the aggrieved party, the local elders, or the landowner; sometimes they were called by a defendant who wished to exonerate himself. These *kopni* courts retained their classless character, persons of all classes appearing before them and in all matters except the most heinous crimes. Appeals from these courts went to the city courts. The system was recognized by the state and was made part of the state judiciary.

Dominial courts first had jurisdiction over matters of landlords against serfs and bonded persons, but subsequently also over matters of free people living on property of the landed gentry.

The judicial system entered into its third stage of development with the second edition of the Lithuanian Statute. The central courts were left virtually unchanged (only the courts of the council of lords were abolished), and the provincial courts were replaced with land, castle, and chancery courts.

The fourth phase in the development of the judicial system began with the Union of Lublin of 1569 (see "Ukraine under Polish Domination").

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# 4. THE HETMAN STATE (1638-1781)

## SOURCES OF LAW

The most important source in this period was customary law which had come into existence over a period of centuries. Its influence is clearly evident in the general system of the Hetman state: the election of the hetman, the election and introduction of regimental and company administration, the judicial system, and the substantive criminal and civil law.

### Treaties with Muscovy

Treaty provisions concluded between the government of Muscovy and the Kozak officers corps on the occasion of the installation of a new hetman were an important source of law. They set forth general principles of the administrative and legal structure of the Ukrainian state and its legal position relative to the Russian state. Although these provisions ostensibly affirmed the autonomous position of the Ukrainian state, they introduced certain changes which gradually narrowed this autonomy while broadening the power of Muscovy. The most significant was the Treaty of 1654 (the Pereiaslav Treaty, see below, also Vol. I, p. 640). The universals of the hetmans were the basic form of current decrees of the hetman administrations. They were issued in the name of the hetman and were kept in standard form. They promulgated the rules governing land inheritances and other property, military obligations, and the duties of Kozaks, townspeople, and peasants toward the administration of the officer corps. The universals can be divided into several groups according to content. The general universals referred to the entire country or the entire population. Special universals, also called "instructions," dwelt upon individual institutions, estates, or groups. Land universals concerned land grants and confirmed the property rights to land by purchase, inheritance, and so on.

Protective and immunity universals were issued to individuals to protect their property and persons.

### Collections of Laws

The most important among these were the codes of law of the preceding period, and particularly the Lithuanian Statute

of 1588 which remained a handbook of Ukrainian courts until 1840.

Along with the Lithuanian Statute, the courts used the Magdeburg Law and its variant, the so-called Chelmno Law.

Since these collections were written in foreign languages (Latin and Polish), a decision was made in 1728 to organize a commission of Ukrainian lawyers which was to translate these (and other) codes into Russian, compile a new code, and submit it "for approval" to the tsar. This work was completed in 1743. The translations submitted for approval were shelved by the Senate until 1759, when they were sent to Hetman Cyril Rozumovsky for review, revision, and amendment to conform with the then existing situation. This project failed to win approval because it was opposed by the Ukrainian officer corps. Nevertheless, it is an important monument of the laws in effect at the time. The commission gave it the title "Laws by Which the Little Russian People are Judged," but this designation did not correspond to its contents, since it was actually a collection of laws of the Zaporozhian Sich. It contains a preamble on the scope of the code as to territory and persons, as well as provisions of constitutional, administrative, civil, and criminal law, the judicial system, and the judiciary. In compiling the code the commission used the following sources: the Lithuanian Statute of 1588, the law books of Magdeburg Law, the hetmans' universals, and some Russian laws. The commission itself composed many rules and definitions of law, making combinations of different foreign sources and adapting them to Ukrainian customary law and the practice of the Kozak courts. The draft of the code was very popular in Ukraine. Professor Alexander Kistiakovsky published its full text in Kiev in 1879.

*A. Yakovliv*

## STATE LAW

### General Characteristics

In the aftermath of the successful uprising, in 1648, of the Kozak armies, led by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky [Vol. I, pp. 634ff.], the Kozaks held power over the Ukrainian territory along the Dnieper River. Thus Ukrainian national statehood was reborn.

Since it was the Kozak estate which was victorious in pursuing the national goals, its organs of government assumed control of the central government after 1648. The hetman became the holder of all power, and the colonels and captains became his local administrators (over the entire population). The state itself retained the name of the Kozak armed forces, the ZAPOROZHIAN SICH. A distinction must be made as to the dual meaning of this term: (1) the Ukrainian Kozak armed forces; (2) the Ukrainian state created by the Kozaks.

In 1654 the Ukrainian state entered into a union with Russia. The legal nature of the Treaty of Pereiaslav has long been debated. Some researchers regard this treaty as a military alliance, some as an act of personal union, some as a real union, and some, finally, as providing that Ukraine become a protectorate of Russia (noting, however, that during the time of Hetman Khmelnytsky this dependence was purely nominal, and only later, in the process of a weakening of the Ukrainian position, did it become real). The latter view seems to be most prevalent. Also, it should be noted that with the election of each hetman, new agreements were concluded with Russia, modifying somewhat the legal relations between the parties, without, however, changing the fundamental principle that Ukraine was a separate political entity [Vol. I, p. 640].

In 1662–3, Ukraine was split into two state organizations, the Left Bank (in association with Muscovy) and the Right Bank (in association with Poland, and later Turkey). This cleavage became even more complete as a result of the Peace Treaty of Andrusiv of 1667 [Vol. I, p. 645]. The Right-Bank Ukrainian state ceased to exist in 1676 and no subsequent attempts to renew it proved successful.

As a result of the defeat at Poltava in

1709 the Left-Bank state came under stricter control by Russia, which from then on began to interfere actively in the domestic affairs of the Hetman state.

**State Territory**

The territory of the Ukrainian Hetman state did not include all ethnographic Ukrainian lands. Excluded from it in the west were Galicia, Kholm, and western Volhynia, and in the east *Slobids'ka Ukraïna*. In the south, uninhabited lands remained outside the borders of the Ukrainian state. On the other hand, in the northern parts of the provinces of Chernihiv and Starodub, the Hetman state included some Belorussian lands. After the fall of the Right-Bank Hetman state, Left-Bank Ukraine was limited to the provinces of Chernihiv and Poltava. The territory was divided into administrative districts, *polks*, and the latter into *sotnias*; this method of division also applied to military and judicial districts. There were 10 *polks* in Left-Bank Ukraine. Its capital was successively Hadiach, Baturyn, and, following the defeat of Hetman Mazepa, Hlukhiv. The capital of the state headed by Hetman Khmelnytsky was Chyhyryn and it remained the capital of Right-Bank Ukraine until 1676.

**Population**

The legal position of the different groups of population was characterized by the fact that after 1648 the country renewed for some time the division of the population into social estates, corresponding to the stage of social development of the Ukrainian people, and placing Ukraine in an analogous position to that of other class societies of Europe of that period.

The Ukrainian nobility partially supported the liberation struggle of Khmelnytsky and served the people by organizing the administrative and military apparatus. However, in the subsequent course of developments, although the nobility attempted to retain its position of an upper social stratum, it lacked sufficient numbers and power to do so. Hence the upper stratum of the Ukrainian state was formed out of the Kozak leadership, which slowly absorbed the surviving Ukrainian nobility. Thus, the "eminent military society," *Znachne viis'kove tovarystvo*, became the leading social class.

The Kozak officer corps within the Ukrainian state assumed forms peculiar to a service aristocracy, its members serving in a military as well as in a civilian capacity. Their legal position was determined by a system of privileges: the right to own landed property, exemption from the jurisdiction of local courts, participation in a Ukrainian parliamentary body—conventions of Councils of Officers—tax privileges, and so on. Their legal duty consisted of military service in the name of the landed estate, still, even in the seventeenth century, according to the feudal principle. In the eighteenth century the estates became the unrestricted property of members of the officer corps. In 1785 a majority of the Ukrainian upper stratum was granted the rights of the Russian nobility.

The peasant class was at the other end of the social scale. Most of the Ukrainian peasants who participated in the revolution of Hetman Khmelnytsky became liberated from their landlords for a certain period. However, even during the time of Khmelnytsky, this liberation was not complete and did not include the peasants settled on properties of the Orthodox monasteries. At that time many peasants joined the ranks of the Kozaks and thus retained their status of free peasants (yeomen). In the Hetman state, however, the process of organization of the civil and military administration proceeded along the lines of rewarding persons of merit (eminent comrades-in-arms) with landed estates. Gradually, the residents of such estates promised to help the owner "by obedience." Thus serfdom returned, and transference from one estate to another was made more difficult. The process of placing all peasants of

Ukraine in servitude was not complete, however, until 1783 when Left-Bank Ukraine was annexed by Russia.

The Kozaks remained a separate social class, with a set of different legal rights and duties. They did not become elevated to a higher class after Khmelnytsky, because, by absorption of numerous peasant elements, the Kozaks became too numerous. Hence, in Hetman Ukraine, the Kozak was essentially a free farmer, tilling his own land, sometimes with several families of neighbors, who were not, however, his serfs.

The mode of life of the Kozaks was similar to that of the peasants. However, just as the members of the officer corps, the Kozaks were obligated to military service in time of war. Representing an intermediate social class, the Kozaks were under the jurisdiction of particular laws (instructions of the hetmans) which regulated the transition of peasants to the Kozak class (prohibited entirely in the eighteenth century) and vice versa (although this was legally prohibited, it did exist in practice). The burden of military service on persons who did not enjoy the aid of serf labor and the inclusion of the Kozaks in the ranks of those forced to labor by the Russian government in the eighteenth century (construction of canals, fortresses, etc.), caused the Kozaks to abandon their class voluntarily and join the lower class of peasants.

The townspeople basically retained their former legal status in the Hetman state, with most of the large cities operating under the privileges of the Magdeburg Law.

The clergy constituted a special social class, and persons of clerical ancestry who did not continue in the profession of their parents were included in the class of the officer corps.

**Government**

During this period the government of Ukraine was headed by the hetman. The position of hetman contained the seeds of a struggle of two forms of government, republic and monarchy. The latter principle predominated during the terms of office of B. Khmelnytsky, I. Samoilovych, and I. Mazepa, whose terms were the longest. During their terms, the hetman was in the category of an elected monarch for life. The former principle predominated during the terms of office of most of the remaining hetmans.

The hetman was elected by the General Council. The hetman-elect could refuse the office (by placing the mace on a table and thanking the army for the honor). The hetman was the commander-in-chief, chief administrator, and chief magistrate. He was responsible for foreign policy, accepted envoys, and enacted legislation (by issuing universals); an important function of the hetman was granting lands for service, to the officer corps and troops.

The General Council (*Heneral'na Rada*) was a convention of the Kozak armed forces to decide matters of state. As such, the General Council was an organ of direct government by the people, with the provision, however, that the government was in the hands of a single social class—the Kozaks. In the eighteenth century, the General Council lost its previous importance, retaining merely an ornamental nature: according to old custom it confirmed the election of a hetman from among candidates selected by the Russian government.

The competences of the General Council included the election of the hetman, acceptance of his resignation, ratification of new constitutional and international documents such as treaties with Russia and in some instances matters of international policy, and election of the highest officials and judges.

The Council of Officers (*Rada Starshyn*) was a body which gradually reduced the influence of the General Council and, during the terms of Samoilovych and Mazepa, replaced it completely. The Council of Officers, which convened at regular intervals, usually

following major holidays, in the hetman's capital, consisted of the Kozak officer corps (usually fully represented), the eminent military society (usually through elected delegates), and representatives of the townspeople. The Council of Officers can be regarded as a form of estate parliament of the hetman period in Ukraine. The most detailed description of the activities and organization of this parliament is contained in the so-called Constitution of Hetman Philip Orlyk issued in Bendery in 1710.

The higher officials of the Ukrainian Hetman state were for the most part of military rank. They were all primarily members of the Council of Officers and executors of directives of the hetman and the Council. The highest rank was that of quartermaster-general (*heneral'nyi oboznyi* [chief of artillery]), followed by two general judges, the treasurer-general (in charge of financial matters), the secretary-general (actually chancellor), two general aides-de-camp (*heneral'ni osauly*), the sergeant-at-arms general (*heneral'nyi khorunzhyi*) and the adjutant-general (*heneral'nyi bunchuzhnyi*). The four last-named officers had no specially defined duties and appeared to be assistants and aides to the hetman.

Each regiment was headed by a colonel (*polkovnyk*), who functioned as a local military commander, administrator, and judge. He had assistants corresponding to those of the hetman. There was also a regimental council (*polkova rada*) which in a number of instances had a voice in the election of a colonel and decided important matters of the given regiment. In the eighteenth century, it was frequently replaced by the regimental officers' council. Regimental chanceries were organized in the eighteenth century as permanent administrative bodies, acting with an advisory council.

Each company was headed by a captain (*sotnyk*) who performed the same functions as a colonel, but within the limited territory of a captaincy. The captain also had aides of the same designation as the hetman and colonel. A company (*sotnia*) Kozak council elected the captain and considered important matters of the company in the seventeenth century.

ZAPORIZHIA [Vol. I, pp. 662ff.] occupied a separate position within the Hetman state after the 1670's. It grew into a *sui generis* state body, dependent upon Hetman Ukraine in the form of a vassal state. The territory of Zaporizhia comprised an area settled by Kozaks along the lower reaches of the Dnieper. In the eighteenth century peasants settled there alongside the Kozaks. Its center was the Sich. The population of Zaporizhia was not graded into as many classes as the Hetmanate; there were no townspeople, and the peasants made their appearance only in the eighteenth century.

At first the Kozaks constituted the bulk of the population. Gradually a division of the monolithic Kozak stratum into a junior and senior grade began, the senior developing into a leading (noble) class. This process was never completed, however, and in the eighteenth century there were only two basic social classes, the Kozaks and peasants. The legal capacity of the former was much broader. Only the Kozaks participated in the government of the country, and popular rule was therefore limited. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Kozaks of Zaporizhia observed celibacy, but in the eighteenth century a majority of the Kozaks were married, keeping their families on ranches without the right to visit Sich. At first the Kozaks engaged in community farming, platoon units acting as producers and consumers. Large-scale farming developed in the eighteenth century and along with it, Kozak landed estates.

The Kozaks as a social class were bound to bear arms. The peasants of Zaporizhia, however, were a free class, obligated only to pay taxes to the Kozak military. Peasants sometimes lived on the Kozak ranches as their semi-dependent

neighbors, and this was the first step toward serfdom.

The SICH COUNCIL was the fundamental governmental body in Zaporizhia. It met at frequent and regular intervals (election of the quartermaster was held annually, allotment of lands among platoons twice a year, etc.). This was a general meeting of the Zaporozhian Kozaks which convened on the parade grounds. Matters could not be properly debated or considered by such a large body, there was no tally of votes, and matters were decided in favor of what appeared a majority to the eye. The competence of the meeting was: legislation for the Sich, administration and justice, international relations, matters of war and peace, and election of the *otaman* (chief) and Sich officer corps.

The OTAMAN, who headed the executive branch, was elected for a short term of one year and was always at the call of the Council. Therefore his power was of a republican type. He was the military commander of the Kozaks (in wartime his powers were considerably greater), administrator, and chief judge. He was aided by the Sich officer corps: judge, secretary, and aide-de-camp. A council of Sich officers met frequently to consider matters within the competence of the *otaman*.

In the eighteenth century there developed the ZAPOROZHIAN PALANKA, a lower administrative unit headed by a colonel. It had jurisdiction over the population of a corresponding area of the free lands of Zaporizhia. The lowest unit in the administrative division of Zaporizhia, the platoon (*kuren'*) was not tied to a certain territorial unit of the Zaporozhian lands. The platoon, of which there were 38 to 40, was a military unit of the Sich Kozaks, as well as the administrative unit in peacetime into which Zaporizhia was divided. The term *kuren'* denoted a common building or barracks in the Sich housing the Kozaks. The term also denoted an economic organization which conducted a common enterprise (production of honey and wax, fishing, hunting, wine-making, cattle raising, etc.), whose products were consumed by the unit (platoon). The platoon was headed by a *kurinnyi otaman* elected from among the Kozak members of the unit.

The Zaporozhian lands were incorporated by Russia and the Zaporozhian state was liquidated in 1775.

**Traces of the Ukrainian Political Order under Russia**

Some traces of the Ukrainian state structure were discernible within the territory of the Russian governorships which had constituted the Hetman state (the *guberniyas* of Chernihiv and Poltava) as late as the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centures. Thus, until 1842, these territories were governed by the Lithuanian Statute, and the Magdeburg Laws were binding in the cities until 1835. The additional social class of Kozaks still existed. The Kozaks lost their status of a military service class, but retained their personal freedom and did not merge with the class of serfs. The general court was reestablished for a certain period during the reign of Paul I. Following the abolition of the Lithuanian Statute, the law of the *guberniyas* of Chernihiv and Poltava still retained some of its provisions, particularly concerning the law of inheritance. These provisions remained in force until 1920.

The Zaporozhian Kozaks, migrating to the territories of Kuban [Vol. I, p. 790] established a Black Sea (since 1864—"Kuban") Kozak organization. The organization of its grass-roots administration indicated a continuation of the basic principles of popular government of the Kozak class continuing into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

*L. Okinshevych*

## CIVIL LAW

**Property and Possession**

The nobility, the former upper class which supported the new Ukrainian

Hetman power, maintained its property rights to land, including the right to alienate and bequeath it. The Kozaks, the most influential class in the Hetman state, solidified their land holdings during the insurrections and retained perpetual property rights with unlimited right of alienation.

The new upper class of Kozak officers gained access to large land holdings as a result of rewarded military service as well as contracts, with the right to bequeath such properties to heirs, not under the laws of inheritance but only on "merits of military service" and the ability to carry out administrative duties. During the term of Hetman Daniel Apostol, the land privileges of the nobility and Kozak officer corps, were formally unified, and a tolerant attitude was assumed toward the laws of inheritance. "The General Investigation of Properties" elevated this private possession of land to a property right and actually made it permanent. The new grants by the next hetman, Cyril Rozumovsky, discern only one property title: "to have and to hold forever and to his heirs."

The peasants were in a different position. Those living on lands of the monasteries and nobles were placed under the Lithuanian Statute soon after 1648. Although according to the Statute they were to be considered only tenants, they actually retained the right to alienate the land. This met with immediate resistance on the part of the monasteries and nobles. The peasants of the Kozak landholdings enjoyed the right of free disposal of real property much longer; their lands had mostly been acquired by "occupation," and the peasants managed to retain their rights throughout the second half of the seventeenth century, until the Kozaks took these lands as their own. The peasants of the "free military estates," that is, of the state land fund, had numerous duties to perform for the state, and hence they enjoyed the right to dispose of property to the fullest extent and for the longest time.

**Family and Inheritance Law**

The Hetman state adopted nearly all provisions of the Lithuanian Statute and the Magdeburg Law, some right after 1648 and some later. That during the period of the existence of the Hetman state some provisions of civil law, and particularly family and inheritance law, were modified, can be clearly noted from the draft of the Code of 1743. Among these were: stricter financial liability of the guilty party in actions for breach of promise and pre-nuptial contracts; granting to illegitimate children some inheritance rights to property acquired by the natural father, and the right to support and education from the natural father. The 1743 Code clearly defined the role played by customary law in the interpretation of the intent of the law, giving leave, in the absence of provisions of law, to judge "according to good custom."

**Ukrainian Civil Law under Russia**

Following the abolition of the Lithuanian Statute and the Magdeburg Law on the territory of the Hetman state, some provisions of active local civil law were nevertheless incorporated in the *Svod Zakonov* (Digest of Laws) of the Russian empire, and remained in force in the *guberniyas* of Chernihiv and Poltava until 1920. Among these provisions were the following: a creditor could hold mortgaged property only for three years from the date of its sale to a third party by the debtor, after which he had to seek satisfaction directly from the debtor (Vol. X, Section 1459, part 1); all actions for damage to real property were governed by a three-year statute of limitations (this term originated in Chapter 11, Section 52 of the Lithuanian Statute; in Russia these terms were ten years); if there were surviving sons, the daughters were not entitled to the estate, only to a dowry, which could not exceed one-fourth of the estate for all daughters; a mother's estate was inherited equally by sons and daughters; a sister could sue her brothers for dowry within ten years

of her marriage (for heirs of the daughter the limitation ran from the time of her becoming of age).

A provisional division of property, conducted according to the Lithuanian Statute, became final ten years after a minor reached majority. As regards laws of inheritance, the Russian code was compelled to tolerate inheritance among Ukrainian peasants according to the age-old customary law which was quite the opposite of Russian law.

*V. Hryshko*

## CRIMINAL LAW

### General Characteristics

The law of this period shows a deeper understanding of law and justice, a better system, and a more comprehensive definition of individual crimes. There was a continuation of the dual principles of public and private law. Free persons as well as slaves were protected by the law. Slaves were treated as persons under criminal law, and with the exception of "private crimes" for which they could be prosecuted by their master on the principle of dominial power, their criminal acts came under the jurisdiction and punishment of public courts. All persons were objects of crimes, without regard to class or nationality. In time, persons from the higher estates enjoyed greater legal protection.

Depending on criminal intent, crimes were divided into intentional and unintentional. The law also recognized accidents where the perpetrator went unpunished, but was liable to pay damages. Liability was mitigated by: provocation, extreme poverty, hunger, unthinking acts of minors, acting under duress, and so on. Acts of self-defense went unpunished; retaliation mitigated the punishment of the attacker. Attempted crimes were also punishable. The law distinguished principals and accessories, the latter being often less severely punished.

### Crime

Crimes were classified approximately according to the same system as in the preceding period.

CRIMES AGAINST THE PUBLIC INTEREST were divided into crimes of lese majesty, against the state, and against society. Crimes of lese majesty were identical as in the previous period. CRIMES AGAINST THE STATE, such as treason, divulging state secrets, surrender of a city or fortress to the enemy, and exporting arms and strategic materials, were all punished by the severest penalties. Particular punishments were applied to certain crimes: forgery of coins was punished by pouring molten lead into the felon's throat. CRIMES AGAINST SOCIETY included crimes against religion, morals, and the family. Crimes against religion were punished very severely: overt crimes, such as blasphemy, abandonment of faith, witchcraft, and sorcery, were punished by "direct death," usually burning at the stake, and in lighter cases by "political death" – deprivation of rights, exile, and corporal punishment. CRIMES AGAINST MORALS included deceit for gain, rape, unnatural acts with minors regardless of sex, kidnapping of women, and extramarital relations. Punishments for these crimes ranged from death to flogging in public. CRIMES AGAINST THE FAMILY included: adultery committed by either spouse, deliberate bigamy, incest, abortion, and homicide or abandonment of an illegitimate child. These crimes were punished with the greatest severity, usually by beheading. A husband could kill a man with impunity if he caught him in the act of adultery with his wife.

CRIMES AGAINST PRIVATE INTERESTS were divided into crimes against life, body, honor, liberty, and property. CRIMES AGAINST LIFE, that is, homicides, were divided into intentional and unintentional, and intentional into heavy and light. The severity of the crime was affected by the social position of the criminal in relation to the victim, the relationship between them, force used, weapons used, day or night, and so on. Intent and malice were presumed in the case of patricide. Habitual criminals

were punished more severely. Intentional homicide was punished by death. For unintentional homicide, the punishment was also usually death, but the execution was "mild," that is, by beheading. CRIMES AGAINST THE BODY were divided into maiming, wounding, and beating. CRIMES AGAINST HONOR AND LIBERTY developed particularly widely during the second half of this period, with the formation of a class society. CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY, formulated under the system of law of the Lithuanian Statute, were differentiated according to the element of violence and classified as robbery, theft, or misappropriation. Theft (larceny) could be grand or petty, depending on the value of the stolen object (the demarcation line was 20 rubles) and the circumstances of the crime. In principle there was only one form of punishment for larceny, hanging, although lighter punishment was meted out in practice.

**Punishments**

The death penalty was the most frequent among PUBLIC PUNISHMENTS. It was used not only for crimes against the state and society, religion and morals, but also in a large number of instances for crimes against private interests. Common forms of the death penalty were beheading and hanging, the latter being considered the most shameful. Special forms of the death penalty were quartering, burning at the stake, burying alive up to the neck, pouring molten lead down the throat. In addition to these forms, the courts were at liberty to choose even more painful death penalties than provided by law. This was usually a combination of torture followed by the death penalty. The death penalty was also combined with dishonor of the criminal after death. Corporal punishments were either beating or maiming, and from the moral aspect they were divided into regular and shameful. Beatings were carried out in public at a stake. The penalty of deprivation of liberty became one of the most widespread forms during this period. Imprisonment could be either jail or arrest. Arrest was often used as a preventive measure or compulsion. Persons in military service were held in "army" prisons. Penalties of deprivation of honor and rights could be imposed by all courts.

Additional punishments could be imposed along with the main penalties: exile from the community, church penance, recantation of slander, public begging for forgiveness, and others. Exile from the community severed a person's ties with it, without depriving the person of his general rights of citizen. It was usually applied in cases of public flogging. Church penance was a form of correction of the criminal. It was imposed in cases of crimes against the family and humanity. Church penance had to be repeated four times a year during solemn holy days. The criminal stood in the church door and publicly admitted his guilt.

PRIVATE PUNISHMENTS were intended to correct a wrong and punish the offender at the same time. These were money fines, some going to the aggrieved party, some to the state, and frequently equally divided between the two. Among the principal fines was the head fine, a private penalty for homicide. The fine differed according to the social class of the victim, and fluctuated between 24 and 120 rubles. This fine was often doubled, as, for example for women or officials. Fines for slander were imposed according to the social status of the aggrieved party. These fines were set forth in a tariff, ranging from 4 to 64 rubles, sometimes imposed in double amounts.

*J. Padoch*

## THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM

The judicial system of the Hetman state is divided into two periods: the period of Kozak courts (1648–1763), and that of the so-called Statute courts (1763–83).

During the period of Kozak courts the judicial system consisted of state (Kozak),

city, community, dominial, ecclesiastical, and some special courts.

THE KOZAK STATE COURTS comprised a four-stage organization, divided into provincial and central courts.

THE PROVINCIAL COURTS, which were subordinate to Kozak State courts, consisted of a network of courts of subservient status: village,* *sotnia*, and *polk*. The village courts decided small civil and criminal matters of local and non-resident Kozaks. These courts were collegial. The next stage was the courts of the *sotnias;* they were also collegial, presided over by the captain (*sotnyk*), and they considered civil and criminal matters of the Kozaks from the area of the *sotnia*. Matters between Kozaks and townspeople were subject to joint courts of Kozaks and townspeople. Courts of the *polks* were established in the seats of *polk* districts. They acted as courts of the first instance for Kozak officers, and as appellate courts for appeals for *sotnia* courts in civil and criminal cases. The court was presided over by the colonel (*polkovnyk*). The regimental chancery also acquired some judicial privileges in the eighteenth century.

The CENTRAL COURTS (subordinate to Kozak state courts) comprised the General Military Court, the General Military Chancery, and the Hetman's Court. The General Military Court functioned in the residence of the hetman. At first it was the highest tribunal of the land, but subsequently its decisions could be appealed to the General Military Chancery. This court consisted of the judge-general and other members of the corps of chief officers and eminent Kozaks. It acted as the court of the first instance in matters concerning the corps of generals, colonels, aides-de-camp, and persons "under the protection of the hetman," and as a court of appeals for decisions of the higher courts. The Court of the General Military Chancery appeared only in the eighteenth century under Russian pressure. This Chancery had appellate jurisdiction, and unnecessarily increased the number of appellate instances. The Hetman's Court based its jurisdiction on the judicial power of the hetman as chief magistrate. Its competence was theoretically unlimited. The hetman could take any matter under advisement, either in the first instance, or after judgment of the lower courts. His decision was final.

The system of CITY COURTS (equivalent to Kozak state courts) comprised city hall and magistrate courts, which basically continued the organization of the previous period.

COMMUNITY VILLAGE COURTS decided small matters of the peasants in civil and criminal cases. The widespread CIVIC (*kopni*) COURTS of the previous period did not thrive in the hetman period, although they survived into the eighteenth century. Popular participation, which was afforded earlier by the *kopni* courts, was extended during the hetman period to almost all courts on the principle of collegiality, that is, representatives of the people sitting in on all proceedings.

The DOMINIAL COURTS continued in local matters. They declined after 1648, but subsequently with the new division into a class society they were revived, although in a much milder form than before.

ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS maintained their separate status from the previous period. The state did not interfere in the ecclesiastical judicial system, but considerably narrowed its jurisdiction. Clerics were now subject to lay courts in all criminal and important civil matters.

During the period of the so-called STATUTE COURTS, introduced during the years 1760–3 by the great judicial reform of Hetman Rozumovsky on the pattern of the judicial system of the Lithuanian Statute, the basic units of the judicial system of the Hetman state, the Kozak courts, were replaced by land, city (*polk*), and chamberlain courts, headed by a reformed General Military Court. The re-

*There were *two* types of "village courts"—those within the system of Kozak state courts and those defined as "community courts."

form did not touch any other courts. The main advantage of the reform was that it limited the number of appellate instances to two and separated judicial power from the administrative.

The judicial system of the Zaporozhian Sich deserves special mention. It was based on the general administrative organization, because there was no separation of the administrative and judicial power of Sich. The lower courts in Sich consisted of the courts of platoon *otamans* and colonels, while the higher were the courts of the military judge, the *otaman* of Sich, and the Sich Council. The military judge conducted trials independently. His decision could be appealed to the Sich *otaman* or Sich Council. The Sich *otaman* was considered the chief magistrate, and his decisions were final. However, in peacetime his decisions could be appealed to the Sich Council. He had the right to condemn to death and to pardon the sentenced. The court of the Sich Council was held with the participation of all Kozaks present in Sich. Only very important matters were placed before the Council.

**Court Proceedings**

The sources of procedural law during this period were the same as those of the earlier period. However, procedural law was undergoing considerable changes, particularly as a result of the reform of the judicial system in the eighteenth century under the influence of the formalistic Russian procedure. The negative features of this process are the merging of judicial and administrative power in the hands of the Kozak officer corps, and the endless number of appellate instances which caused delays in the administration of justice. Court proceedings began with the filing of a complaint which the plaintiff submitted to the court secretary. The case was then called and the court ordered the plaintiff to explain his case. This was followed by the defendant's answer, which was first limited to formal objections and then material denials. The plaintiff had the right to reject the defendant's objections "to the face." If the defendant so desired, he could make a reply, which was called justification of the defendant. Then the court conducted the trial, taking evidence, and, completing the case, gave judgment in closed session. The judgment was issued after "comradely consultation" (with members of the bench) and "taking the law into account." Decisions of the courts could be appealed in regular course, by suing the judge, or by permission to sue anew. The appellate court considered the case on the basis of the pleadings and minutes and could either change the judgment or affirm it.

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## 5. UKRAINE UNDER POLISH DOMINATION IN THE FOURTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Two historical events, nearly two hundred years apart in time, brought Ukrainian lands under Polish domination: Galicia (with the Kholm region) was annexed by Polish kings under their dynastic claims in 1387 [Vol. I, pp. 610ff.], and the bulk of the remaining Ukrainian territory was incorporated as a result of the Union of Lublin in 1569 [Vol. I, pp. 623ff]. The subsequent constitutional, legal, and judiciary development of these two parts of Ukraine took place separately and under different conditions and, therefore, require separate treatment.

### GALICIA

#### Sources of Law

After the death of George II in 1340, the last Ukrainian prince of the (distaff) line of the House of Roman, the kings of Hungary and Poland advanced their claims to Galicia while the local Ukrainian boyars (noblemen) tried to preserve the country's independence. A military and political struggle followed that lasted for nearly half a century. During that period Galicia was for some time under a sort of oligarchic government of the Galician boyars (Dmytro Dedko), then was occupied by the Polish king Casimir the Great, and later enjoyed a measure of autonomy under a Hungarian royal governor. The final annexation by Poland was completed when in 1387 the Hungarian princess Jadwiga became the queen of Poland.

The period that followed the annexation was called the "time of the *Rus'* law in Galicia" (*tempus iuris Ruthenicalis*), because the laws of the former Ukrainian Galician-Volhynian state remained in force, and contemporary Ukrainian was still the official language of the documents of that time. However, Polish officials and judges more and more often applied Polish laws, and Latin, the official language of Poland, rapidly replaced the Ukrainian language. In addition, Polish settlers brought their laws into the country. Even more significant were German laws granted to towns and cities (Magdeburg Law) and especially to the large groups of immigrant German settlers.

The reform of 1434 (Privilege of Jedlnia) finally introduced Polish laws to Galicia. However, certain customary laws remained in force within the Ukrainian population and "communities under *Rus'* laws" (along with those under German and Armenian laws) continued.

Customary laws were still in use in Poland and, as such, became in part a source of law in Galicia. More important were statutory laws codified in the "Statutes of Casimir the Great" in 1347, which were in part translated into the Ukrainian language. The king granted privileges and issued edicts, decrees, and ordinances which had the force of law. Provincial assemblies passed legal norms called *laudum*. Somewhat later, parliamentary (*Soim, Sejm*) legislations (*constitutiones*) became a basic source of law.

**Government**

Before the annexation by Poland, Galicia consisted of the principalities of Halych, Peremyshl, Zvenyhorod (later Lviv), and Belz. According to the Polish system, this territory was now divided into three provinces (*voievodstvos*): Lviv with the lands (*zemlias*) of Lviv, Halych, Peremyshl, Sianik, and the counties of Sambir and Zhydachiv; Belz; and Podilia. They were called the Ruthenian *voievodstvos*. Each land was divided into territories called *ambitus* which, in turn, consisted of village communities.

The annexation made Galicia a mere province of the kingdom of Poland. As such it remained until the partition of Poland in 1772. For a few decades the traditional Ukrainian administrative setup was retained: *voievodas* were, as before, at the head of the provinces as administrators and judges; but the royal Polish officers, the *starosta* with the *starosta* general in Lviv, were placed above them. Lower officers, such as the *sots'kyi, desiatnyk*, or *tyvun*, also remained in office though gradually losing their importance.

In 1434, Polish administration was introduced in Galicia. The Ukrainian *voievodas* were replaced by Polish *wojewodas*, the highest land officers. A castellan was put in charge in each land of the Ruthenian *voievodstvo*; finally the *starostas*, king's representatives, with administrative and some judicial powers, were appointed in each county of the land. From then on, this system of the *starostas* became a basic form of administration in Galicia.

**Civil Law**

The main body of the civil law that went into effect in Galicia was the General Land Law (*ius commune terrestre*). Special laws, such as the German Law, Canon Law, Jewish Laws, etc., were limited in scope and significance as regards the Ukrainian population. Polish civil law was almost entirely customary, based on medieval sources and ideas, and it remained so until the partition of Poland. It was largely determined by two factors: blood relationship and soil. It paid relatively little attention to foreigners; chattels and transactions with them were also of little concern. Property rights were mostly concerned with land and its ownership by members of the family. The absolute and hereditary right of nobility to their land (*allodium*) was recognized. The Ukrainian peasant, who under the old law was an owner of his land, now became only its user, while the nobleman became its owner; the peasant was attached to the land. But many norms of the old customary law rooted in the *Rus'* Law (*Ruskaia Pravda*), especially those regulating family and related relations, remained in effect in Ukrainian communities in Galicia for a long time.

**Criminal Law**

Polish criminal law, which was extended to Galicia after its annexation, was partly codified in Casimir's Statutes and partly in later separate statutes or constitutions (e.g., that of 1726). How-

ever, customary law remained an important supplementary source of criminal law. Traditional concepts of crime and punishment incorporated in the *Rus'* Law and later in the Lithuanian Statute persisted in the Ukrainian communities in Galicia for centuries. Polish criminal law had a religious character. Misfortunes of the state were related to God's anger; a criminal was considered a sinner against God's will and, since the king was the supreme judge, also a violator of the king's will. Crimes were basically divided into public (against the state and the ruler, against the financial interests of the state, against state authorities, heresy) and private (against bodily security, honor, property rights, etc.). Punishment was regarded as vengeance of the ruler or of the law (*vindicta iuris*). But public vengeance (*vindicta publica*) was the dominant Polish concept of punishment. The idea of general deterrence as the object of punishment became evident quite early.

**Procedure**

After the codification of Casimir's Statutes, the unity of civil and criminal procedure was generally preserved until later (circa fifteenth century) peculiarities of criminal procedure in cases of public crimes developed. The procedure was accusatory: "there shall be no trial without a plaintiff" was the principle recorded in the Statutes. The trial was oral and public. The principle of disposition, which made it possible for the parties to agree on the rules of procedure, developed early; it helped overcome trial formalities and speed up procedure. Appeals of court rulings could be taken to one higher instance, except from decisions of private courts of landholders (original dominial courts).

**Courts**

During the first decades following the annexation of Galicia, the courts which had jurisdiction over the Ukrainian population remained basically unchanged. Somewhat later, the *starosta* (*capitaneus*), the king's officer, was given judicial power. The *starosta* courts were collegial, with some noblemen and a "judge" versed in the law which governed the parties participating as assessors. These courts applied Polish rules of procedure as well as the old Ukrainian substantive law with respect to local Ukrainian population. Appeals from the decisions of these courts could be taken to the court of the *starosta* general in Lviv.

The reform of 1434 introduced the Polish judicial system with a clear class character. CITY (*grodzki*) COURTS as state courts were presided over by the *starosta*, with a city judge as his assistant. The court had jurisdiction over all inhabitants of the district in more serious criminal cases (and over the king's peasants in all matters). LAND (*ziemski*) COURTS became autonomous courts of the nobility with a land judge presiding and assessors from among the noblemen participating in the trial. These land courts later (seventeenth century) lost their significance in favor of the city courts. The courts of *viche* (Polish *wiec* [assembly] of the noblemen acted as appellate courts for both the city and the land courts until they disappeared in the fifteenth century.

By far the greatest part of the Ukrainian population of Galicia was subject to the jurisdiction of the COMMUNITY COURTS in cities and villages. City courts functioned mostly under the German (Magdeburg) laws granted to the city. They had jurisdiction over all townspeople in civil and criminal cases, but burghers ruled by other than German laws (e.g. Jews, Armenians) were tried by mixed courts with assessors from their own groups. Village courts retained most of their Ukrainian character; they remained basically unchanged in their composition and procedure and applied old Ukrainian law as before. They tried all civil and minor criminal cases.

There were also new DOMINIAL COURTS introduced in Galicia. Originally, in

Poland, they were private courts of landed gentry for trying their peasant serfs. In Galicia, however, they changed into collegial courts with assessors from among the peasants. Unlike their Polish counterparts, they functioned under law and were to apply those legal provisions which pertained to the parties in court. In certain cases, the peasants could appeal from their decisions to public courts. However, the magnate, acting as judge, was actually not bound by the law. In addition, not only did his court serve as the appellate court for village community courts, but he was entitled to take over from those courts more important cases for his decision. Other courts, such as the king's court, replaced in the sixteenth century by crown tribunals, courts of the *Sejm*, ecclesiastical courts, and so on, had little bearing on the Ukrainian population in Galicia.

King Casimir the Great, who first occupied Galicia in 1340, intended to make Ukrainian Galicia a Polish province. His successors continued the policy and made courts and laws its instruments. Polish settlers brought their laws into the country even before the Polish law was officially introduced in Galicia. More important, German colonists in cities and towns under the Magdeburg Law, were granted a privileged position which allowed them to run city governments while Ukrainian burghers were deprived of this opportunity. As presiding judges in their courts, Polish *starostas* played a role in this policy of colonizing Galicia, and the dominial courts contributed greatly to the decline of the village courts with their old Ukrainian legal traditions.

## CENTRAL UKRAINIAN PROVINCES

### Sources of Law

In 1569 the Kingdom of Poland and the Principality of Lithuania signed the Union of Lublin by which these two countries, until then joined in a personal union through a common monarch, entered into a real union. Lithuania was compelled to cede to Poland the Ukrainian provinces which had belonged to her since the fourteenth century [Vol. I, pp. 618ff.]. These provinces now became a part of the Polish Kingdom, with the Polish constitutional law as the basic source of their political and social structure.

The most important source of law (civil and criminal) was the Lithuanian Statute (see *supra*, pp. 23 ff.). Before the incorporation of the Ukrainian provinces, two editions of the Statute were published. The second edition of 1566 remained in force in these provinces until the third (and final) edition was published in 1588. It was an enlarged edition (488 sections) and incorporated all the changes that were deemed necessary under the influence of the Polish legal concepts. Nevertheless, it remained basically the old Statute. It remained in force in the Ukrainian provinces under Poland until the end of the Polish rule and long afterwards. In Poland, the Lithuanian Statute had the force of a supplementary source since no uniform code of laws was available in that country. The Statute was written in the Ukrainian language and a Polish translation was later made of the third edition. It included provisions of public law, privileges of the nobility, judicial system and procedure, civil law (family, obligations, property), and criminal law.

The so-called Lithuanian Matrix (princely archives of legal documents) was an important collection of laws. For the Ukrainian provinces under the Lithuanian Statute a similar official collection was established in Warsaw, called the Volhynian Matrix. Court records should also be mentioned as an important source of legal material.

### Government

The Ukrainian provinces incorporated as a result of the Union of Lublin were organized in three *voievodstvos* on the Polish pattern: Kiev, Volhynia, and Bratslav (later also Chernihiv). The *voie-*

*vodas* and the *starostas*, officials under the Polish law, were their chief administrators (see *supra*, "Galicia"). An elected king was at the head of the state; but his powers were greatly curtailed by the Polish gentry and nobility, who formed the diet and the senate and were the only class entitled to participate in the government. Since according to the provisions of the Union of Lublin Ukrainian nobility was granted equal rights with their Polish counterparts, it was technically the only Ukrainian group with some influence on the affairs of the state. However, the policy of discrimination against non-Catholics and of assimilation of the upper classes of society gradually deprived the Ukrainian people of its leading class—the nobility. At the same time, Ukrainian social structure was changing on the Polish pattern. Poland was at that time a monarchy based on the estates with a clearly defined differentiation according to privileges granted to each of them. The ruling estate in Poland was the nobility (*szlachta*). Within Ukrainian society, this process brought about a clear-cut division into separate social classes. The former classification of nobility, free citizens and peasants, semi-dependents and slaves, was replaced by two chief estates: the nobility, which included former princes, lords, and boyars, and which had full rights to own landed property, and the peasant class which was losing the right to personal freedom and became attached to the land owned by the nobility. Somewhere between the two classes were the burghers. Because of the privileged position of the German and Polish settlers in the cities under the Magdeburg Law, this Ukrainian class had little opportunity to play a significant role.

In addition to these classes, another Ukrainian estate emerged in the fifteenth century and developed into a powerful organization: the Kozaks [Vol. I, pp. 629ff.]. The origin of the Kozak organization can be traced to the migration of people from the central Ukrainian regions to the free lands of the Ukrainian steppe region. As an important paramilitary organization, the Kozaks enjoyed special rights and were subject to special laws. In the sixteenth century the Kozaks were enrolled in an official Polish register which gave them a special status. Their organization consisted of territorial units called *sotnias* (hundreds) and *polks* (regiments) with *sotnyk* and *polkovnyk* as their leaders. They were assisted by councils of officers. The central government was headed by a hetman elected by military councils (*Radas*) in a democratic way. The *Rada* had also authority to depose a hetman. The general staff served as the hetman's council. All these officers and the governing bodies were recognized as organs of the (Polish) government and were given a relatively broad autonomy. The Kozaks developed their own norms of civil and criminal law and procedure, rather informal and based on customs.

The Kozaks who lived beyond the Dnieper rapids formed a special organization called Zaporizhia. The Zaporozhian Kozaks recognized that fact that they were subjects of the king of Poland. But with the Polish administration unable to control their territory, they had little if any respect for Polish laws.

### Civil and Criminal Laws

These laws were based on the Lithuanian Statute (3rd edition). Insofar as they departed from the old norms of the Statute, they were similar to those prevailing in Galicia.

### Courts

Courts in the Ukrainian *voievodstvos* (after the Union of Lublin) were reorganized according to the Polish system (see *supra*). For a decade (1579–89), the tribunal at Lutsk (Volhynia) was recognized as their higher court. But this Ukrainian (Ruthenian) tribunal was abolished and the general tribunal at the Polish city of Lublin took over the former's appellate functions. An autonomous court system for the Kozaks

emerged at this time and was officially recognized by the end of the sixteenth century. It gave the hetman the authority to try the cases of the Kozaks.

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# 6. IN THE RUSSIAN AND AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRES FROM THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TO THE OUTBREAK OF WORLD WAR I

As a result of the three partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, and 1795), the Russo-Turkish War (1769–91), the Napoleonic Wars, and the Congress of Vienna (1815), the Ukrainian territories came under the domain of two vast empires—the Russian and the Austro-Hungarian.

All Ukrainian territories which had been formerly part of Poland (with the exception of Galicia) were annexed by Russia and joined with the Ukrainian territories already in Russia's possession [Vol. I, pp. 667ff.]. The western Ukrainian territories, that is, Galicia and Bukovina, fell under Austria. Transcarpathia had already been part of Hungary for centuries.

This new partition of Ukrainian territories brought about fundamental changes in the constitutional and legal conditions.

## THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

### Introductory Remarks

During the latter half of the eighteenth century, Russia had eradicated all legal foundations of national home rule on the Ukrainian territories [Vol. I, pp. 656ff.]. Regular central Russian administration was introduced, but basic Ukrainian laws continued to be in effect for a long time. The Lithuanian Statute was in force until 1840 when the Russian *Svod zakonov rossiiskoi imperii* (Digest of Laws of the Russian Empire) of 1835 was introduced in Ukraine. However, some norms of the Lithuanian Statute (particularly in the field of inheritance) were incorporated into the Russian Digest of Civil Laws and remained in effect in the Ukrainian *guberniyas* of Chernihiv and Poltava until 1920. In the cities, the Magdeburg Law was replaced in 1835 by the Russian *Gorodovoe polozhenie* (city law). In all other fields of administration, laws and decrees of the Russian government were put into effect in Ukraine.

The system of government in the Ukrainian territories during this period was based on the constitutions of 1832 and 1906.

### The Central Government*

Russia's absolute monarchy had been in a state of development since the

*For details see Vol. I, pp. 689–96.

eighteenth century and this condition prevailed until the introduction of the constitution of 1906. The central government was headed by the tsar-emperor, who was vested with absolute power and authority (Law of 1721, Constitution of 1832). The constitution of 1906 was supposed to bring about a constitutional monarchy, but it still endowed the tsar with "supreme autocratic power" (Art. 4), and stated explicitly that "the central administrative power [was] to rest exclusively in the hands of the tsar" (Art. 10). In spite of reforms, the tsar retained the character of an absolute monarch until the fall of the empire in 1917. In the administration of the state, the tsar was aided by the following organs of government: the Senate, appointed by the tsar, which was originally an executive, legislative, and judicial body, but subsequently retained only the function of the supreme tribunal of cassation; the State Council as an advisory organ in legislative matters which, following the reforms of 1906, became the high legislative chamber; the Cabinet of Ministers; and the Holy Synod, the latter being the highest administrative organ of the Orthodox Church which was also headed by the tsar.

**Legislation**

At the beginning of this period, in line with the old Russian tradition, the will of the tsar was the sole source of law. The constitution of 1832 affirmed this, although it required a certain formal expression of the tsar's will (law, decree, etc.) to acquire a binding force. The reforms of 1906 introduced basic changes into legislation. The constitution provided for an elected State Duma as the legislative body, but the tsar introduced a bi-cameral system, decreeing that the State Council was a higher chamber and endowed it with greater power than the Duma. The Council's membership was as follows: one-half appointed by the tsar and one-half elected according to estate rosters, which allocated many votes to the clergy and nobility—estates which were traditionally in favor of the monarchy. The tsar convened the Duma and had the power to dissolve it. In addition, he had the power to issue emergency laws without the concurrence of the Duma. Thus, the legislative power of the Duma, an elected body, was very restricted.

**Territorial Administration**

During the reign of Catherine II, Russia, and later Ukraine, were divided into *guberniyas* (provinces) and these into counties or *uezds.* Ukraine was divided into ten *guberniyas* and these constituted three general-governorships, headed by general governors appointed by the tsar and responsible to the tsar only.

**Home Rule**

*Polozheniie o gubernskikh i uezdnikh uchrezhdeniiakh* (Law on Provincial and County Institutions) of 1864, introduced elective *zemstvos* (land institutions) in both *guberniyas* and counties as organs of local home rule. In Ukraine they were introduced between 1865 and 1870, except for the Right-Bank territories where they did not come into existence until 1911. Assemblies acted within the provinces and counties as advisory organs, and the *zemstvo* executive boards as executive organs of home rule. The *zemstvos* were under the supervision of governors and the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

**Civil Law and Procedure**

The Civil Code (*Svod zakonov*) of 1832 was a compilation of Russian laws of the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries and as such it was basically different from western European codes. It showed very little influence of the Roman law. The fundamental concepts and definitions were later borrowed from the French law. There were considerable lacunae in the code; it lacked guiding lines and was strictly casuistic without any system. The code was re-edited several times with supplements

(the last edition came out in 1914). It consisted of four parts: family law; law of property; obligations; and inheritance law.

Marriages and divorces were within the jurisdiction of the Church, but obligations of marriage were of a lay nature.

In the law of property, there is a confusion of the terms "possession" and "property." The law did not provide a clear definition of the meaning of property nor did it protect the bona fide purchaser, being guided by the principle of strict forfeiture.

The law of obligations was very incomplete. Many types of contracts were not even considered. Legal majority was achieved at the age of 21, with legal capacity for certain acts at the ages of 14 and 17. There was no specific form required of legal acts, except that the sale of real property required notarial acknowledgment and witnesses.

Intestate inheritances were governed by the degree of blood relationship. If there were sons, the daughter received a lesser portion. The position of spouses, daughters, and parents was inferior. In the absence of direct descendants, lateral relations took precedence over parents. Contracts of inheritance were unknown.

The Commercial Code of 1832 was based on Russian customary law with strong additions of the French Code de Commerce. The code provided for the following forms of commercial ventures: open partnership, undisclosed partnership, corporation, and cooperative.

The Code of Civil Procedure of 1864 was patterned on the French code and it was based on the principles of controversy, orality, public hearing, and unhindered evaluation of evidence. The court considered only evidence submitted by the parties.

**Criminal Law and Procedure**

Russian criminal law introduced into Ukraine was codified in 1832. It was based on Russian tradition of casuistry. The punishments showed lack of systematization in the law. There were nine types of punishment: death, corporal punishment of many cruel forms, exile with labor, deportation, compulsory settlement in Siberia, settlement in remote localities, military service, prison and arrest, fines, church contrition, and disciplinary penalties.

The severity of the punishment did not necessarily fit the crime. A new criminal code went into effect in 1845 with discernible features of Bavarian and French law. It was amended in 1864 and 1885, but retained Russian traditions. Also, some new institutions were introduced. In particular, the law retained its casuistic nature (2,224 sections). Exile and corporal punishment were retained. Death penalty was provided only for political crimes. Even intent was punishable in the case of political crimes.

Parts of a new criminal code went into effect in 1903. Its general principles were strongly influenced by the criminal codes of Germany, Belgium, and France. Crimes were divided into three groups: felonies, minor crimes, and petty offenses. Felonies were punishable only if committed with intent. The system of punishments was modernized. The main penalty and additional penalty replaced the numerous previous types of punishments. Nevertheless, the system of punishments remained reactionary: death penalty (only for crimes against the state), exile with forced labor (for life or 15 years), deportation for settlement, heavy imprisonment, fortress prison, arrest, and fine. The code had no provision for suspended sentences. The detailed part was as casuistic as the old.

**Judicial System**

Prior to the judicial reform of 1864 the courts were part of the administration. The administrative organs could give orders to judges and even remove them from office. The judicial system operated along the division into estates (separate courts for the nobility, clergy, townspeople, and peasants) in line with the Russian tradition. There was no equality under law. The judges had no adequate

legal training, and judges with a college education were scarce.

The Judicial System Law of 1864 followed the French and British pattern. Judges were made independent and could not be removed from office during good behavior. They were governed by law and could be removed from office only pursuant to a final criminal judgment (after 1885, also as a disciplinary measure). The law proclaimed that all men were equal under the law. Estate courts were abolished except for the village and ecclesiastical courts. Two new types of courts were established: courts of general jurisdiction and justices of the peace. Courts of general jurisdiction had two instances: district courts and courts of appeal. Judges were appointed by the tsar on the recommendation of the minister of justice from among candidates suggested by the courts. District courts also supervised trials by jury, the latter being entitled to vote only on the guilt or innocence of the defendant (12 jurors). The court of appeals was the appellate instance, with one court for several *guberniyas.* The Senate was the Court of Cassation. Justices of the peace had jurisdiction over minor matters. They were locally elected. The code of procedure provided for a simplified procedure before justices of the peace, and appeal from this instance was to a council of the peace consisting of three justices of the peace.

The minister of justice was the attorney general (chief prosecutor) with a *prokuratura* organized under him in the courts of all instances. According to the French pattern, the prosecutor was not only the accuser in criminal cases and responsible for the investigation, but also had supervision of "legality," that is, the observance of laws and directives on the part of officials and institutions.

After 1864, the Bar was organized into a professional association in accordance with western standards. Admission to the Bar was conditioned upon completion of studies of law and a five-year apprenticeship.

All notaries were government employees and their main functions were official authentication of documents and taking depositions.

*A. Bilinsky*

## AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE

### Introductory Remarks

When Galicia was incorporated in Austria from Poland (1772) and Bukovina from Turkey (1774), the Austrian monarchy was going through the period of Enlightened Absolutism and, simultaneously, a centralization of its administration. Hence, Galicia was immediately annexed as an integral part of Austria. Bukovina, first a military district, became a district of Galicia in 1787. Attempts to annex Hungary and Transcarpathia and make them an integral part of Austria failed. The Ukrainian part of Galicia, together with the western Polish part, was given the name of the (Austrian) "Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria."

On February 26, 1861, the emperor promulgated the constitutional law (The February Patent) which provided for a home-rule status for the "lands," including Galicia and Bukovina. Thus Bukovina was also given the status of a "land." The amended Patent and four additional fundamental laws, all dated December 21, 1867, became the new constitution of Austria, which thus embarked upon the road of constitutional government. The empire now became a dual monarchy under the name of Austria-Hungary. Galicia and Bukovina became autonomous lands, while Transcarpathia remained a Hungarian province. Galicia and Bukovina were governed by Austrian laws, and Transcarpathia—by Hungarian.

### The Central Government*

The executive power was vested in the emperor. He exercised it through his imperial and royal ministers, appointed

*See also Vol. I, pp. 718–24.

by him and responsible to him. This government was applicable to Galicia and Bukovina completely, and to Transcarpathia to the extent that the treaty with Hungary establishing the dual monarchy transferred some powers to Austria (foreign affairs, the royal household, defense, and the treasury).

The central legislative branch of Austria and her lands was a bicameral parliament (*Reichsrat*) which, in accordance with the February Patent of 1861, represented the kingdoms and lands of the Austrian monarchy. The parliament consisted of a chamber of lords and a chamber of deputies. The chamber of lords consisted of all male adults of the ruling dynasty, hereditary representatives of the noble families, the higher clergy, and other representatives appointed for life by the emperor. The Greek Catholic metropolitan was a permanent representative of the Ukrainians.

The Austrian chamber of deputies was at first composed of delegates of the land assemblies. The election law of February 2, 1873, introduced direct voting to the Austrian chamber of deputies, who were elected for a term of six years in four classes (*curias*) of voters: big landowners, chambers of commerce and industry, cities, and rural communities. The *curia* electoral system was abolished only in 1907 with the introduction of general equal, direct, and secret voting (with the exclusion of women).

Law No. 142, one of the fundamental laws of 1867, introduced equality among all nationalities of Austria with a guarantee of the right of national development and the use of their own language in schools, public institutions, and courts. Personal rights of citizens were also guaranteed.

### The Central Administration in Galicia and Bukovina

Administratively, Austria was divided into 14 lands, including Galicia and Bukovina. The larger lands (e.g., Galicia) were governed in the name of the imperial government by governors; and the smaller (e.g., Bukovina), by land presidents. The lands were divided into counties headed by county commissioners. The larger cities such as Lviv and Chernivtsi had their own charters and were governed by city councils.

### The Autonomous Administration of the Lands

According to the Land Statutes of 1861, Galicia and Bukovina had their own autonomous land administrations. Legislative functions were performed by the land diets, and the administrative by an elective land executive board and its subordinate territorial administrative bodies. Such organs in Galicia were county councils and county executive boards, and the local organs were directly subordinate to the land diet and the land executive board.

The land diet was unicameral. It consisted of elected and ex officio members. The latter included archbishops and bishops of the three Catholic rites and the rectors of the universities of Lviv and Cracow. The presiding officers (speakers) were appointed by the emperor for each session.

### Civil Law and Procedure

At the time when Galicia and Bukovina were being annexed by Austria, new civil legislation was in the formative stage. The new civil code was made public in 1811, and became effective January 1, 1812, for all of Austria, including Galicia and Bukovina, except for the regions of Chortkiv and Ternopil where it was introduced in 1816. In its provisions, the code was clearly influenced by the "law of nature" (Roman law of property) and by Kantian philosophy. It was a modern code with progressive ideas although it did preserve some institutions of the feudal period (e.g., form of split estates). It was supplemented by the Commercial Law of 1862. The Code of Civil Procedure was introduced on August 1, 1895. It was based on the principles of orality and open court, and provided for three instances

with appeals to a second instance and revision to the Supreme Court.

**Criminal Law and Procedure**

During the early years of Austrian occupation of Galicia and Bukovina, criminal law and procedure were governed by the so-called *Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana* of an ecclesiastical nature. The Law of 1789, which amended it, was more secular but it was only the Law of 1803, effective as of January 1, 1804, which can be considered a modern code. Finally, the Imperial Patent of May 27, 1852, introduced a new criminal code which remained almost unchanged until the fall of the monarchy. Criminal law became emancipated from feudal influences, introducing the period of the so-called "Classical School". The code subscribed to the principle of *nullum crimen, nulla poena sine lege*, which was considered a guarantee of justice (formal concept of crime). Punishment was considered a just retribution also designed as a deterrent and rendering the criminal harmless. The Code of Criminal Procedure came out on May 23, 1873. It was based on a combination of principles of the process of inquiry (during the investigating stage) and accusation (during the trial stage) with proper guarantees of the defendant's rights. The functions of indictment and trial were separated; the trial was oral, public, and direct, with the search for material truth and weighing of all evidence brought forth at the trial.

THE PROSECUTING ORGAN (procurator, state attorney), representing the state, had the duties to prosecute criminal acts, indict before criminal courts, and supervise execution of criminal sentences. There was a prosecutor attached to every criminal court. In his function he was independent, except for supervision by a higher ranking prosecutor.

THE BAR in Austria was a profession of counselors and attorneys licensed to represent their clients before the courts and other public institutions. The Bar association verified the professional qualifications of candidates, licensed them to practice, and supervised their professional conduct.

NOTARIES were qualified lawyers licensed to verify signatures, acknowledge instruments, draw up contracts, etc. They were organized in Notarial Chambers which supervised their professional conduct.

**The Judicial System**

The fundamental law on judicial power of 1867 proclaimed the principle of independent courts and judges, and empowered administrative tribunals to examine the validity of administrative orders and directives. The judicial system was separated from the administration at all levels. County and district courts (criminal and civil) were general courts of the first instance; higher land courts were courts of the second instance (appeal). There was a land court for Galicia in Lviv, which also had jurisdiction over Bukovina. The Supreme Court and the Court of Cassation in Vienna were courts of the third instance.

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# 7. UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD 1917-20

The Russian Revolution and the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy after World War I gave the Ukrainians the opportunity to restore their independence in their own national state organizations. The conditions thus created, political and otherwise, were different in both parts of Ukraine, as was the process of their constitutional and legal development. These differences, and the main political developments which created them, are reflected in the presentation of the material in this chapter.

## CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE

In the short period of its independence, the Ukrainian nation was not able to create a complete body of laws which usually constitute the legal system of a state. Many of the old laws, Russian and Austrian, such as civil and penal laws, rules of procedure, and so on, remained in force pending future amendments. However, several fundamental legislative acts of a constitutional nature were passed. On their basis the law of the new Ukrainian state developed. They manifest certain traits characteristic of the concepts and the form of government they created. Most significant are the following:

1. SOURCES OF THE RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE. As the authors of the American Declaration of Independence of 1776, showing "a decent respect for the opinion of mankind," explained the causes of their separation by the laws of nature and the truths they believed in, the authors of the constituent declarations of the revived Ukrainian state called upon the two basic sources of the right to independence: the tradition of Ukrainian statehood and the indomitable will of the people to restore it, and the natural right of national self-determination which had gained recognition in the western world and was incorporated in the 14 points of President Wilson (see the Acts of the Ukrainian Central Rada of January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian National Rada of October 18, 1918, etc.).

2. NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. The four Universals of the Ukrainian Central Rada express the rapid development from the original (tactical) ideas of a federation with the new Russian republic (First Universal of April 10, 1917) to the declaration of full state sovereignty (Fourth Universal of January 22, 1918). Western Ukraine declared its full independence and sovereignty by the resolution of the Ukrainian National Rada of October 18, 1918.

3. IDEA OF THE UNIFICATION OF ALL UKRAINIAN LANDS. By its Act of January 22, 1919, the Ukrainian National Republic realized the natural desire of the Ukrainian people, who had lived under Russia and Austria, to unite into one unified state.

4. REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY. In spite of the difficulties created by the war, the first government of the restored Ukrainian state was already based on the broadest possible democratic representative foundation. The Ukrainian Central Rada was elected by the delegates of all major Ukrainian political, cultural, and civic organizations; the Ukrainian National Rada in Galicia was convened in Lviv at the invitation of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation in the Austro-Hungarian Parliament and the representatives of Ukrainian political parties.

5. CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT. From the very beginning of the drive for independence, the striving for a constitutional form of government under the rule of law was manifested. The Ukrai-

nian Central Rada, as a legislative body, adopted the first constitution of the Ukrainian National Republic on April 29, 1918, earlier by far than any other successor-state of Russia or Austria. The Ukrainian National Rada of Western Ukraine, on November 13, 1918, just 13 days after the declaration of independence, passed the Provisional Fundamental Law which became the constitutional basis of the state.

6. Republican form of government. Although the traditional form of the last Ukrainian independent state was based on monarchical rather than republican principles, and the two empires under which Ukrainians had lived afterwards were autocratic monarchies, the Ukrainians accepted a republican form of government for their revived state in 1917. An attempt to introduce a monarchical form under the hetman did not gain broad popular support and after seven months of existence had to yield to a republican form.

7. Liberalism and civil rights. The fundamental constitutional acts of the restored Ukrainian state show distinct liberal trends, striving for social reforms and providing for a wide range of civil liberties based on the equality of all before the law. National minorities—Russians, Jews, Poles—were not only assured of cultural autonomy but were granted by law the right to representation in the government.

## THE PERIOD OF THE CENTRAL RADA

### Organization and Legal Character

After the outbreak of revolution in Russia and the proclamation of the right of self-determination of peoples by the Provisional Government, representatives of Ukrainian political, cultural, and civic organizations in Kiev founded, on March 17, 1917, the Ukrainian Central *Rada* (Council) and vested it with authority to be the official representative of the Ukrainian provinces which until then had belonged to the Russian empire [Vol. I, pp. 727ff.]. For its final and formal sanction, the Central *Rada* was to convene an All-Ukrainian National Congress of delegates of all Ukrainian political parties, cultural and professional organizations, as well as territorial units. The Congress took place in Kiev on April 19–21 with the participation of 900 delegates. It reappointed the *Rada* as the representative government of Ukraine. Its 150 members were elected according to a prearranged system: two-thirds were representatives of territorial units (*guberniyas*, cities) and one-third represented political parties and other organizations, including representatives of national minorities. In this manner, a democratic, representative form of government was instituted in Ukraine.

The Central Rada expressly referred to the fact that it derived its powers from the representatives of the people (e.g., in its First and Third Universals). According to the intent of the electors, the Rada was the legislative body of Ukraine. However, since war was still in progress at that time and the full assembly of the Rada could not continue in session or be called on short notice, a "Little Rada" was elected from among its members with legislative authority between the full sessions and with the task of preparing legislation for approval by the plenary session. It was also authorized to appoint an executive body, the so-called General Secretariat, which was responsible to it. The President of the Central Rada, elected by the Congress in a secret ballot (Michael Hrushevsky), was to perform the functions of the President of the Republic.

### Four Universals of the Central Rada—the Road to Sovereignty

The All-Ukrainian National Congress, invoking the right of self-determination of peoples, passed a resolution calling for the national, territorial autonomy of Ukraine "within the new Russian state" under the condition that the latter would

be transformed into a federal democratic republic. This resolution expressed the views of the majority of political leaders of the older generation who deemed it impossible to establish a sovereign state immediately and directly.

The Russian Provisional Government rejected the demand of the All-Ukrainian National Congress to recognize the autonomy of Ukraine. Consequently, the Central Rada, invoking the authority bestowed upon it by the people, announced the autonomy of Ukraine by its First Universal of June 23, 1917.

This Universal was the first independent act of the Ukrainian Government elected by the people. At the same time, it was a revolutionary act, as it was executed without the consent and against the will of the Russian Provisional Government which, technically, was still regarded as the supreme legal authority in Ukraine.

The following were the main constitutional provisions of the First Universal: the Ukrainian Central Rada was recognized as the legal government of Ukraine, elected by the will of the people in order "to guard the rights and privileges of the Ukrainian nation"; it was stated that the All-Ukrainian National Congress expressed the will of the people that "Ukraine be free," an autonomous state in federation with the Russian Republic, and that the laws which were to establish a new order in Ukraine were to be legislated only by a Ukrainian parliament, elected in a democratic manner; it announced that, in accordance with the above, and because the Russian Government did not agree to the autonomy, from then on "Ukraine would herself build her life" as an autonomous state. Pursuant to the resolution of the All-Ukrainian National Congress, this autonomy was to be as extensive as to grant Ukraine the status of a subject under international law (it demanded that Ukraine be given the right of independent participation in the Peace Conference).

Presently, the Provisional Government was compelled to accept Ukraine's autonomy as a fact and was ready to recognize it formally under the condition that the Central Rada be supplemented by representatives of national minority groups. Accepting this demand (and acting in the spirit of the resolutions of the All-Ukrainian Congress) the Rada, on July 16, 1917, issued its Second Universal in which it announced that the Central Rada would be "supplemented on a just basis by representatives of other nationalities which live in Ukraine" and that, together with them, it would prepare the laws establishing an autonomous system. Thus, the Second Universal was a step toward Ukraine's autonomy with the proviso that the Central Rada formally become a representative body of the entire population of the country, including national minorities.

### Statute of the Higher Government of Ukraine

Moving towards autonomy, the Central Rada, on July 29, 1917, drafted the Statute of the Higher Government of Ukraine which may be regarded as the first constitutional act of the restored Ukrainian state with respect to its internal structure. The Statute provided (Art. 1) that the General Secretariat should be "the highest state organ of government" in Ukraine; it would be formed by the Central Rada and be accountable to it. However, the Provisional Government would have authority to approve the Secretariat. It would be composed of 14 secretaries. The rights of national minorities would be insured by three posts of deputies to the Secretary of National Affairs, reserved for one Russian, one Pole, and one Jew (Art. 4). All organs of government would be supervised by the General Secretariat (Art. 6). The Statute further provided that a State Secretary for Ukrainian Affairs would be appointed as a member of the Provisional Government "to guard the interests of Ukraine in the work of the Provisional Govern-

ment" (Art. 9). He would be appointed with the consent of the Central Rada. All legislative proposals of the Rada, as a legislative body, would have to be sanctioned by the Provisional Government. Thus the autonomy, as designed by the Central Rada, would be rather broad, with the Russian Provisional Government having merely the right of sanction. The Russian Government had its own project, a "Provisional instruction concerning the General Secretariat of the Provisional Government in Ukraine." According to it, the General Secretariat was to be an organ of the Provisional Government rather than of the Central Rada, although the latter had to propose its members. It was intended to be a limited local autonomy of some (not all) Ukrainian *guberniyas* with full control of the Provisional Government over all more important matters. The Central Rada refused to accept such a proposal.

**Third Universal of November 20, 1917**

By its Law of November 20, 1917, called the Third Universal, the Central Rada declared that from that day on, Ukraine was to become the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR). While formerly Ukraine was only to be "free," with national territorial autonomy, she now became an independent state with a republican form of government. A Constituent Assembly of Ukraine (which was to meet within a month) was to decide upon a possible federation of the Ukrainian National Republic with the Russian Republic, if the latter would become a "federation of free and equal nations." Until such time as the Constituent Assembly could convene, the Central Rada remained as a legislative and the General Secretariat as the executive authority without any control by the Provisional Russian Government.

The Universal established the territory of the UNR with the proviso that the borders in territories with mixed nationalities would be decided upon by a plebiscite. The courts in the UNR were to be "just" and act "in accordance with popular sense of justice." Civil rights such as freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly, unions, strikes, and the inviolability of person and home were guaranteed; an eight-hour working day was established; capital punishment was abolished; personal freedom and the rights of national minorities were also guaranteed. Yielding to the demands of the time, the law announced the nationalization of large landed properties which were to be allotted to farmers.

From the viewpoint of constitutional law, the Third Universal was a constitutional act which established an independent and sovereign state. Only by its own will could Ukraine join the Russian Republic in a federation as an equal and free federal republic. Until that time the UNR was to function as a sovereign state and could enter into international relations (declaration of the General Secretariat of December 24, 1917).

**Fourth Universal of January 22, 1918**

War and political developments made practically any kind of federation with Russia impossible [Vol. I, p. 740ff.], and it was evident that popular sentiment in Ukraine was against it. For this reason, on January 22, 1918, the Central Rada passed another constitutional law, the Fourth Universal, by which it announced that the Ukrainian National Republic had become "an independent, free, and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people." Thus the sovereignty of the UNR was formally established by the representative body of the Ukrainian people. The new state became a subject under international law, and it acted as such when it entered into negotiations with the Central Powers and signed the peace treaty at Brest-Litovsk on February 9, 1918. The Law of January 22, 1918, retained the main provisions of the Law of November 20, 1917.

**Legislation of the UNR**

The main legislative acts of the Ukrainian National Republic in the period of the Central Rada pertained to the realization of the provisions of the Third and Fourth Universals which laid the foundations for the new order. On November 29, 1917, the Central Rada enacted the electoral law which provided for a general, direct, equal, proportional, and secret vote. The law of December 17, 1917, established the Supreme (called "General") Court in Ukraine. The agrarian reform law of January 31, 1918, carried out the resolutions of the Third Universal concerning the nationalization of large landed properties. The laws on the citizenship of UNR, on the state emblem, credit notes, monetary system, and so on were further results of the legislative activity of the Central Rada during this initial period of restored Ukrainian statehood.

**Constitution of the Ukrainian National Republic**

The constitution of the UNR of April 29, 1918, marked the climax of the legislative activity of the Central Rada. It showed the determination of the Rada to provide the new state, as soon as possible, with a constitutional basis (this constitution came years ahead of the constitutions of other new states which were established after World War I), and to insure the rule of law in the country (Art. 22). On the other hand, the constitution offered modern constitutional principles to the UNR, as its creators obviously made a thorough study of modern constitutional achievements in the field of state law.

The constitution consisted of eight chapters and a total of 83 articles. The general provisions stated that Ukraine was a "sovereign, independent, and free" state. Its form was republican and representative-democratic: the sovereign power in the Republic was vested in the people, who realized it through the All-Ukrainian National Congress (Arts. 2–3). The latter was a unicameral parliament elected for a term of three years in a general, equal, direct, secret, and proportional election (Art. 27). The chairman of the Congress was to perform the functions of the President of the State. Legislative activity was the primary task of the Congress. It also appointed, at its chairman's proposition, the supreme executive authority—the Council of People's Ministers, which was accountable to it. The Congress also appointed the judges of the General (Supreme) Court for a term of five years. The courts had exclusive jurisdiction over all civil, criminal, and administrative matters. The trial was to be oral and public. The constitution guaranteed broad civil rights (Chap. II), such as the equality of all under law regardless of origin, religion, nationality, education, or property; arrest was permitted only on the order of the court; capital punishment was abolished, and corporal punishment and other penalties violating human dignity were forbidden; the inviolability of home and mail was guaranteed as was the freedom of speech, press, conscience, and assembly. Article 6 of the constitution granted full national and cultural autonomy to minority groups in Ukraine. For its realization, the constitution introduced (Chap. VII) the institution of Nationalities Unions, a feature not known to other systems at that time. The Unions were to see to it that the "rights to freely form their national life" (Art. 69) by such national minorities in Ukraine as Russian, Jewish, and Polish were implemented. Other nationalities could be granted such privileges by the General Court upon a petition signed by at least 10,000 citizens. The Unions of Nationalities had legislative authority in matters under their jurisdiction and were to represent the interests of their national groups before state and civic organizations. The Unions of Nationalities were to be elected by their national groups

and their organs were to become state organs.

Political developments, particularly the coup which brought the hetman to power, did not allow this constitution to become effective.

## THE PERIOD OF THE HETMAN STATE

### The Organization of the Hetman Government

On April 29, 1918, Paul Skoropadsky, a direct descendant of the family of the former Hetman Ivan Skoropadsky (1708–22), staged a successful coup d'état in Ukraine. Assisted by German forces, he removed the Ukrainian Central Rada and issued a *Hramota* (Manifesto) directed to the population, in which he proclaimed himself "Hetman of All Ukraine" [Vol. I, p. 746]. On the same day, he issued a Law on a Provisional Government in Ukraine.

Neither the manifesto nor the law outlined the precise form of government in specific terms. The manifesto only expressed the intent to once again establish order in "the resurrected Ukrainian state," an order which the "previous administration was unable to accomplish." For the time being, this action was to constitute a "change in government," and a parliament which was to convene had the task of further determining the exact form of government. There is little doubt, however, that the Hetman's intention was to introduce a monarchical government into Ukraine. The manifesto and law dispensed with the official title "Ukrainian National Republic" in which the concept of a democratic, republican form of government was implicit. Instead, the title "Ukrainian State" or "Ukraine" was substituted. The manifesto asserted that the Hetman himself would temporarily assume "full authority."

In accordance with the law of April 29, 1918, the supreme power of the state rested exclusively with him until such time as the diet would convene (Art. 1). The Hetman had final power to either accept or reject laws proposed by the Council of Ministers, without the participation of any legislative body. His authority extended to appointing the chairman (*otaman*) of the Council of Ministers, and to confirming as well as dismissing its members (Art. 3). Likewise, he could appoint and dismiss justices of the General (Supreme) Court. Finally, he was commander-in-chief of the standing army and navy. Nevertheless, this was to be a state under the rule of law, insofar as it was to rest "on a strict basis of laws promulgated in a prescribed way" (Art. 23), and the General Court would be "the supreme guardian and protector of the law" (Art. 42). The law introduced two classes of persons, Kozaks and Citizens, and even though their definition was not given, the Kozaks in accordance with old traditions were to be the privileged class [Vol. I, p. 658]. The law's important measure was the repealing of land reforms introduced by the Central Rada and the reestablishment of the right of private property. In practice, this resolution vested power in the hands of the large landowners on whom the Hetman relied. The majority of them were non-Ukrainians, for the most part hostile to Ukrainian statehood. This factor, and the immediate opposition from the broad strata of population against the new agrarian policy, placed the hetman in a very precarious position.

### Other Laws of the Hetman

Following the laws, Hetman Skoropadsky issued a series of decrees which reorganized the governmental system largely after the old, tsarist pattern. The district militia was reorganized into the National Guard and placed under the Ministry of Internal Affairs (law of August 9, 1918). City and provincial self-government was abolished and in-

stead the old organs of Duma were reestablished. New electoral laws for provincial and city organs were based on old census regulations (law of November 5 and 23, 1918). In the field of agriculture, the law of June 14, 1918, allowed free selling and buying of land, but with the requirement that permission be secured for the sale or purchase of over 25 desiatynas (i.e., over 67.5 acres). Another law established the National Land Bank for facilitating the liquidation of large landholdings, which once again became private property and for which the government also compensated the owners. In the cultural field, the Hetman issued a series of decrees which strongly advanced the development of education, science, and art. The series of decrees also included the reshaping of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, while the law of July 24, 1918, introduced universal military conscription.

**Manifesto on Federation with Russia**

The manifesto of November 14, 1918, in which the Hetman proclaimed a union between Ukraine and the future Russian federation was perhaps the most significant document of the Hetman regime. The manifesto was signed only by Hetman Skoropadsky, without the required counter-signature of the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and without the indication of the Hetman's title. The manifesto on the federation explained that the states of the Entente insisted on Russia's reconstruction, and that the national independence of the Ukrainian people could only be ensured in such a federation.

On the day following the proclamation of the Manifesto, a revolt broke out against the Hetman. This revolt was organized by the Ukrainian National Alliance in which all the Ukrainian democratic parties were united.

On December 14, 1918, Hetman Skoropadsky announced his resignation as head of State and subsequently left Ukraine. The Chairman and several members of the Council of Ministers surrendered to the Directory. Thus, the Directory assumed power in Ukraine.

## THE PERIOD OF THE DIRECTORY

**Organization of the Directory**

The Directory was organized by the Ukrainian National Alliance (Ukraïns'kyi Natsional'nyi Soiuz) which consisted of nearly all Ukrainian political parties in opposition to the Hetman, as well as representatives from trade unions and military organizations. For this reason, the Ukrainian National Alliance constituted a broad representative body of the Ukrainian population and regarded itself as the heir of authority which first belonged to the Central Rada.

The Directory consisted of five members. Its immediate task was to restore the former democratic government in Ukraine and to summon Ukraine's constituent assembly. Until this time, the Directory was to exist only as a temporary "supreme power of the Ukrainian National Republic" with vast judicial and executive authority.

With its first laws the Directory abolished the Hetman's laws, primarily those dealing with agrarian reforms and labor. Thus, it restored the legal conditions prevailing during the period of the Central Rada [Vol. I, p. 754], as it had stated in its insurgent declaration of November 15, 1918. However, in its declaration of December 29, 1918, the Directory retreated for a brief period of time from the concept of a representative democracy, confining popular representation within the government to "the working people": peasants, laborers, and the working intelligentsia. "The non-working classes, who exploit, live and prosper at the expense of the working classes" were to be excluded from participation in the representation.

A month later the Labor (Trudovyi) Congress, although convoked by the representatives of the working population only, reestablished the constitutional principles of universal representation.

**Constitutional Resolutions of the Labor Congress (January 22–28, 1919)**

On the directive of the Ukrainian National Alliance the Directory, on January 22, 1919, convoked the Labor Congress [Vol. I, p. 755]. Its members represented the working classes of the population in the proportion of 377 from the peasants, 118 from the workers, and 33 from the working intelligentsia, as well as 65 representatives from the Western Ukrainian National Republic.

Events in the spring of 1919 and the proximity of the war front did not permit the Congress to adopt a full constitution, but on January 28, 1919, it accepted a "law on the provisional government of the UNR." Its primary constitutional provisions were as follows: the law rejected the principle of a labor dictatorship and reinstated the idea of a representative democratic government; to implement this principle a "national parliament of the Great Sovereign Ukrainian republic" was to be elected by popular vote (Art. 5).

The law separated legislative power from the executive, but for the transitional period of the war the Directory was to act as the supreme authority in the UNR. It was authorized to adopt laws which were essential for the national defense, but to submit them for approval to the next Congress in session. Executive power was to be vested in the Council of Ministers appointed by the Directory. The organs of local administration were to be determined by general election.

The Congress and its laws of January 28, 1919, did not create a new governmental system. It had a temporary character, dictated by the difficult war circumstances of the time. The Congress adjourned as a general assembly, but not before it had appointed individual members to prepare legislative proposals for a future, full meeting. As a result, the Directory retained supreme authority within the government, although its legislative powers were restricted.

The All-Ukrainian National Rada in Kamianets approved on May 13, 1920, a proposed "basic law on the constitution of the Ukrainian State." Although the resolution could not become law under the circumstances, it illustrates the underlying political thinking of the Ukrainian leaders. The proposed law established the Ukrainian National Republic as a sovereign state with a democratic-republican parliamentary system. The individual provinces (lands) were to be united on a federative basis. The first section of the law enumerated broad civil rights and freedoms for all citizens (without special privileges for the working people) and guaranteed "national and cultural development" for the national minorities.

The separation of power was observed strictly: legislation would be in the hands of the *Soim* and state Rada. The head of state, elected by the state Rada, would be vested with executive powers and share them with the Council of Ministers. The courts were independent. Broad territorial self-government was ensured. The latter resolution was incompatible with the existing situation, which required that the Directory retain legal power for the duration of the enemy occupation of Ukraine. For this reason, the Directory issued two laws on November 12, 1920: "on provisional supreme power and the legislative procedure in the UNR" and "on a national state council of the UNR."

The first law declared that "until the time when a complete constitution, accepted by a popular representative body, became effective in the UNR," supreme power would be divided among the Directory, the National State Council, and the Council of Ministers. The head of the Directory was to perform the usual duties of the president of the UNR.

The National State Council, according to the second law, would consist of "representatives of the population and political, civic, scientific, professional, and cooperative organizations." This Council was a legislative body. The chairman of the Council of Ministers were to have executive powers. In the case of the head of the Directory being incapacitated, his reponsibilities were to be assumed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

It soon became apparent that because of political circumstances (the Directory already resided outside of the Ukrainian territory in Poland) the National State Council could not be elected in accordance with these laws. Thus, with the Directory's final laws, approved on January 9, 1921, a new provisional legislative organ was created to act outside of the Ukrainian territory. This organ was the Council (Rada) of the Ukrainian National Republic. The Council was to be composed of representatives from Ukrainian political parties and civic organizations and was to be vested with the legislative authority required for the proper functioning of the government. Yet the law clearly stated that such matters as "the system of government and permanent constitution, change in the labor and agrarian legislation, and the rights of national minorities were to be under the sole jurisdiction of a new legitimate organ of popular representation which would be convened on the Ukrainian National Republic's territory" (Art. 2). Thus ended the legislative activity of the UNR in the period of the Directory.

## WESTERN UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC

### Political Representation of the Western Ukrainian Territory

Because of more liberal conditions in the Ukrainian territories under Austria-Hungary (Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia), the Ukrainian population had the opportunity to elect their own political representatives [Vol. I, p. 718ff.], even under rather restricted electoral laws. There were Ukrainian delegates in the Austrian Parliament in Vienna, in the House of Lords, and in land diets in Galicia and Bukovina. Furthermore, in the second half of the nineteenth century, various Ukrainian political parties existed in these lands legally. Finally, in accordance with historical tradition, the bishops of the Greek Catholic Church, to which practically the entire Ukrainian population of these territories belonged, were not only spiritual leaders but also acknowledged political figures. Thus, when the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was in the process of disintegration at the end of World War I, the Ukrainian population of Galicia and Bukovina was assured of good political leadership. This leadership began to act swiftly when it became apparent that Austria had lost the war.

On October 18, 1918, at the invitation of Ukrainian representatives of both Austrian Houses of Parliament, a meeting took place in Lviv in which Ukrainian delegates from the land diets of Galicia and Bukovina, bishops from the Ukrainian Catholic dioceses, as well as three representatives from each of the Ukrainian political parties participated. This representative body of the Ukrainian people (which at that time constituted about 74 per cent of the total population of these territories) established itself as the formal representative government of the Ukrainian territories under Austro-Hungarian rule. It was called the Ukrainian National Rada.

### Constitutional Resolution of October 18, 1918

On the day of its establishment, the Ukrainian National Rada issued its first constitutional resolution. Invoking the right of national self-determination and the will of the Ukrainian people, the Rada resolved that the Ukrainian national territory under Austria-Hungary

was from then on a Ukrainian state. The October 18, 1918, resolution did not mention the secession of this new Ukrainian state from Austria, which then was trying to reorganize itself on a federative basis. The question was still left open whether to include the Ukrainian state in this federation. Nevertheless, the resolution of October 18, 1918, clearly designated the new Ukrainian state as a subject of international law. It denied the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs the right to speak in its name and demanded the right to participate independently in the Paris Peace Conference. Furthermore, the resolution emphasized the unity and integrity of all Ukrainian lands under Austria-Hungary, particularly of eastern Galicia with the Lemkian region, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia (Sec. I). The Rada proclaimed itself a representative authority for the entire Western Ukrainian population (including non-Ukrainian minorities), and guaranteed to national minorities the right of representative participation within its ranks.

The resolution of the Ukrainian National Rada laid down a provisional constitutional foundation and announced that it would prepare the final constitution later. Already at that time the Rada made it known that the future constitution would provide for a popular representative body elected by a general, equal, secret, and direct ballot, with proportional representation and the right of national cultural autonomy of minorities ensured.

**Proclamation of the Ukrainian National Rada of November 1, 1918**

In order to carry out the constitutional organization of the new state, the Ukrainian National Rada demanded that the Austrian governor of Galicia and Bukovina surrender his authority. Upon his refusal, the Rada decided to take over the power by revolutionary means. On the night of November 1, 1918, it accomplished a coup with the help of Ukrainian military units in the Austrian Army [Vol. I, p. 771]. In this manner the government of Western Ukraine was transferred to the Ukrainian National Rada. Also on the same day, the Rada issued a proclamation informing the population that the Ukrainian state which had been legally established on October 18, 1918, would, from that day on, be sovereign, with the Rada as "the supreme authority of the state." The proclamation restated the provisions of the resolution of October 18, 1918, concerning the equality of all inhabitants, regardless of nationality or religion, participation of minority representatives in the government, and the convocation of the constituent assembly. With the exception of the constitution, all other Austrian laws would remain in force until they could be replaced by new ones.

**Fundamental Provisional Law of November 13, 1918**

Soon after the proclamation of Galicia's Ukrainian statehood, the Poles attacked its territory and battles raged near Lviv, the capital city. The Ukrainian National Rada, having appointed the first government (the Provisional State Secretariat), proceeded to work on the legal foundations of the new state. Acting as a legislative body, the Rada passed the Provisional Fundamental Law of the Western Ukrainian National Republic on November 13, 1918. This provisional constitution had five articles: it established the new name of the state, the Western Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR [Art. 1]), designated its territory (Art. 2), and stated its sovereignty (Art. 3). The people were to participate in the government through their representatives elected by general, equal, direct, secret, and proportional voting (Art. 4). Until the time when the constituent assembly could be duly elected, the Ukrainian National Rada and the State Secretariat would retain full power. As the "supreme authority," the Rada had primarily legislative functions. The executive branch,

the State Secretariat, was to be appointed by the Rada and was accountable to it.

Later, by the law of January 4, 1919, the organization of the Ukrainian National Rada was more specifically delineated. The office of the presidium of the Rada was established, as well as an executive committee consisting of ten members under the chairmanship of the Head of the Ukrainian National Rada. This committee (*vydil*) was authorized to appoint the secretariat and the heads of departments, grant amnesty, approve and announce laws, and perform collectively other functions of the head of state. There was no provision for the office of the president, but the Head of the Ukrainian National Rada was regarded as president.

The administrative system, provisionally regulated by the law of November 16, 1918, was largely based on the Austrian system. Other laws (criminal, civil, etc.) remained in force as far as they did not contradict the new system. The law of November 21, 1918, established an independent judiciary with the Supreme Court at the top of the system. Other important laws of that time were: on education (February 13, 1919), on the official language (February 21, 1919), on the citizenship of ZUNR (April 18, 1919), and on parliamentary elections (April 15, 1919).

The Rada also began to carry out social reforms, but it was not able to execute laws to this effect. The agrarian reform was announced by the law of April 14, 1919. It provided for the expropriation of large landed properties whose owners did not personally cultivate them, and dividing them among the landless small farmers.

From the constitutional aspect, the most important law of the Ukrainian National Rada was the resolution of January 3, 1919, on the union of ZUNR with the Ukrainian National Republic. As early as November 10, 1918, the Ukrainian National Rada had instructed the State Secretariat "to take the necessary steps for the unification of all Ukrainian lands into one state." The State Secretariat accordingly concluded a preliminary treaty with the Directory of the UNR on December 1, 1918, at Khvastiv. By its law of January 3, 1919, the Ukrainian National Rada ratified this treaty and announced the "union of ZUNR and UNR into one, sovereign National Republic." The Directory also ratified the treaty, and on January 22, 1919, the "Universal on the all-Ukrainian Union" was proclaimed during the session of the Labor Congress in Kiev and approved by it.

**The Constitutional Effect of the Act of Union**

This proclamation incorporated the provisions of the preliminary agreement of December 1, 1918, and of the ratifying laws of ZUNR and the Directory. Consequently, the Western Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR) became a part of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) and the UNR accepted ZUNR as its part (Arts. 1–2 of the treaty). Thus, technically speaking, the UNR's territory increased by the territory of the ZUNR and the latter ceased to exist as a separate state and its territory was called the Western Province (*Oblast*) of the UNR (ZOUNR). This province was granted territorial autonomy.

Details of the union and the scope of the autonomy were to be worked out by special committees and ratified by the two governments. After that, a constitutional assembly of the unified state was to amend the constitution in consideration of the unity. Until the time of the meeting of the constituent assembly, the legislative power in the territory of the former ZUNR was to remain in the hands of the Ukrainian National Rada, and the executive power in the hands of the State Secretariat.

Because of war hostilities [Vol. I, pp. 772ff.], the constituent assembly could not meet in session, and the Ukrainian National Rada and the State Secretariat

continued to function as a sovereign government of the Western Province of the UNR. This fact created frequent difficulties in their relationship with the Directory [Vol. I, p. 762].

**Dictatorship in the Western Province of the UNR**

War events hindered the proper functioning of the Executive Committee of the Rada and the State Secretariat. For this reason, by the decree of June 9, 1919, the presidium of the Rada Executive Committee and the State Secretariat vested in the "authorized dictator" the authority to exercise all military and civilian powers which until then had been exercised by the Executive Committee and the State Secretariat. Thus, although the Ukrainian National Rada retained its legislative power, all the executive power was vested in a single person. The dictator was limited to executive functions (those of the President and the Cabinet) and he was accountable to the Rada. Under the circumstances, however, these limitations and his accountability remained a fiction.

Because of the international political situation [Vol. I, p. 774], the dictatorship aimed at the restoration of Galicia's independence and prepared a project of a constitution of the Galician state on a democratic basis. But the territory of ZOUNR was already occupied by Poles and, in the south, by Rumanians. The Ukrainian National Rada and the dictator were forced to leave [Vol. I, p. 778]. Subsequent activity of the dictator was limited to diplomatic efforts abroad.

*J. Starosolsky*

## INTERNATIONAL LEGAL STATUS OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE

The modern Ukrainian state proclaimed by the Third Universal of the Central Rada in November, 1917, was the result of a revolutionary movement animated by the ideas of freedom and the principle of national self-determination. Although the constitutive document of the Ukrainian National Republic stated the intention of Ukrainians to remain within the Russian democratic federation and although the Ukrainian leaders attempted to form a federal government, this idea never materialized because of the Bolshevik seizure of power and the ensuing chaos in the rest of Russia. Ukraine had now become a *de facto* sovereign state which resulted from the dissolution of the former Russian empire. The only Russian government in control of the major part of the country, namely the government of the Soviets, had recognized this act of Ukrainian self-determination. However, the Soviets were never recognized by Ukraine as the federal government of the whole of former Russia.

The Ukrainian National Republic, viewed as a continuation of the Ukrainian historical statehood (Kievan *Rus'*, the Kozak state), legally was a new political entity. It seceded from the Russian state and as such acquired in international law, along with other newly formed non-Russian border states, the status of a successor state.

The recognition granted to Ukraine by Soviet Russia in December, 1917, and shortly thereafter by France and Great Britain and antedating the declaration of definitive independence on January 22, 1918, was the first declaratory act of the Ukrainian personality in international law. This in turn was strengthened by the peace treaty with the Central Powers in Brest-Litovsk in February of 1918.

During the ensuing years, the Ukrainian national state under three different regimes (Central Rada, Hetmanate, Directory) exercised effective control and jurisdiction over a sizable portion of the national territory. Its constitutional powers were properly organized, the armed forces operated in defense of national independence, law was promulgated and enforced, and the population was accorded Ukrainian citizenship.

Despite the fact that between March and November, 1918, Ukraine was politically and militarily dependent on the German Reich and Austria-Hungary, her existence as a state was effective in the light of the fundamental attributes of a sovereign state: territorial supremacy, treaty-making powers, the right of legation, and the power to wage war and make peace. The status of independence existed until the government and its military forces left the Ukrainian territory at the end of 1920. As a government-in-exile in Poland, the Ukrainian government enjoyed a brief period of limited international status (immunities of state were recognized) until Poland signed a peace treaty with Russia and Soviet Ukraine in Riga in March, 1921.

BOUNDARIES. The Ukrainian National Republic had internationally recognized boundaries in the southwest (Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty) and in the north (peace treaty between the Central Powers and Soviet Russia of March 3, 1918). The northern boundaries with Russia were confirmed in the preliminary peace treaty between Ukraine and the Russian SFSR of June 12, 1918. The definitive settlement of the boundaries was left to the Russo-Ukrainian peace conference in Kiev which, however, failed to produce a peace treaty.

Boundaries with the newly established Don Cossack Republic were also provisionally delineated by the Ukrainian-Don Cossack agreement of August 7, 1918. No boundary settlement took place in the Rumanian sector. Ukraine upheld her claims to Bessarabia in the southwest (occupied by Rumanians) and in the south to the Crimean peninsula which did not come under Ukrainian jurisdiction until 1954.

RECOGNITION. The recognitions granted to Ukraine were numerically and qualitatively sufficient to consider her a full-fledged subject of international law. Between 1917 and 1921, 25 states accorded recognition to Ukraine. Nineteen of them extended full recognition (*de jure*), four a tentative one (*de facto*), and in two cases the nature of the recognition was controversial (between *de facto* and *de jure*) and subsequently withdrawn (Britain and France before the Brest-Litovsk Treaty).

*De jure* recognition was granted to Ukraine under the government of the Central Rada by the following states: Soviet Russia (diplomatic notes, Brest-Litovsk Treaty, and preliminary peace treaty with Ukraine); Central Powers—German Reich, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Ottoman Empire (peace treaty); under the Hetman government the Ukrainian state was recognized by Rumania, the Don Cossack Republic, Kuban (commercial and other agreements, establishment of diplomatic relations), and Poland (exchange of representatives); under the Directory, Ukraine acquired additional recognition from Georgia, Azerbaidzhan, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland, the Holy See (exchange of diplomatic representatives), and Argentina (decree of Argentinian government of February, 1921, when the Ukrainian government was already in exile).

TREATY-MAKING POWERS. The Ukrainian state under three constitutional regimes (Central Rada, Hetmanate, Directory) concluded a series of international treaties, thus enjoying and exercising full treaty-making powers. Among those agreements the most important one

FIGURE 11. DELEGATION OF THE UNR AT THE BREST-LITOVSK PEACE CONFERENCE

was the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty which Ukraine signed with the Central Powers on February 9, 1918. A series of economic and trade accords with Germany and Austria-Hungary followed. Ukraine also negotiated a commercial agreement with Rumania and trade and transportation accords with the Don Cossack Republic, Kuban, and Georgia.

The preliminary peace agreement with Soviet Russia signed in Kiev on June 12, 1918, and the accords on the resumption of transportation as well as on the consular relations were aimed at the normalization of relations with Russia. By denouncing the Brest-Litovsk Treaty and by initiating hostilities against Ukraine at the end of 1918, Russia also abrogated these agreements unilaterally. On April 21, 1920, the Directory concluded a political and military alliance with Poland known as the Warsaw Treaty. In addition, the Ukrainian trade missions abroad negotiated a number of technical transactions, relating to commerce.

International Organizations. As an independent state Ukraine joined the following international organizations and agencies: the International Commission of Maritime Navigation on the Black Sea in 1918; the Universal Postal Union in 1919; the International Telegraph Union; and the International Radio-Telegraph Union. In 1920, the Ukrainian government applied for membership in the League of Nations. The Council postponed its decision for a year and then took no action because the Ukrainian National Republic did not have effective control over the territory.

Institutions of International Relations. In December, 1917, the Central Rada established a separate secretariat for foreign affairs (formerly nationality affairs) and appointed a delegation to the peace conference in Brest-Litovsk. In January of 1918, the secretariat became the ministry of foreign affairs. At the same time it gave accreditation to the first foreign diplomatic representatives in Ukraine: John Picton Bagge (Representative of Great Britain) and General Tabouis (Commissaire de la République Française auprès du Gouvernement de la République Ukrainienne). After the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty the Ukrainian government proceeded to exchange diplomatic missions with the Central Powers. During the Hetmanate, Ukraine was represented in 10 foreign countries, and the government accredited 11 foreign missions in Kiev. In September, 1918, Hetman Paul Skoropadsky made the first and only state visit of a Ukrainian head of state to a foreign country when he visited Germany and met with Wilhelm II. In the summer and fall of 1918, Kiev was also the site of a peace conference between Ukraine and Soviet Russia.

Under the Directory, Ukraine maintained 11 legations abroad which had official status. The names of Ukrainian diplomats were included in official diplomatic lists and they enjoyed diplomatic immunity. In a number of other countries Ukraine had unofficial missions which developed informal relations with local authorities. The heads of Ukrainian missions abroad met in a series of nonperiodic conferences.

The Ukrainian state maintained consular relations with other countries, particularily in 1918. In addition to those countries which had their diplomatic representatives in Kiev, the following states maintained consulates in Ukraine: Belorussia, Denmark, Estonia, Greece, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Persia, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland. The Ukrainian government opened consulates mainly on the territories of the successor states of former Russia. In Soviet Russia alone there were more than 30 consulates and consular agencies in addition to two consulates-general in Moscow and Petrograd. Beyond the territory of the former Russian empire, Ukrainian consular offices were opened in Poland, Germany, Sweden, and Switzerland. In other countries with which Ukraine

maintained working relations, all consular affairs were handled by diplomatic missions.

UKRAINE AS A BELLIGERENT POWER. The Ukrainian Republic enjoyed another fundamental power of a sovereign state —the right to wage war and to conclude peace. Being a successor state to Russia, she was a belligerent nation on the side of the Allies (Entente). As such Ukraine concluded the peace treaty with the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk. Having rejected an ultimatum of the Petrograd People's Commissariat in December, 1917, Ukraine became a belligerent in the first Russo-Ukrainian war started in January, 1919, after negotiations between the two sides failed to settle their differences. Following Russian invasion of the Ukrainian territory, the government of Ukraine formally declared war on Soviet Russia. The second war, however, did not terminate by any legal act between the belligerents. Ukraine was *de facto* conquered in 1921 (*debellatio*).

As for other belligerent factions in the former Russian empire which operated on the Ukrainian territory (White armies of General Denikin), Ukraine, although in an actual conflict with them, was not in a formal state of war. The armed conflict with Poland from November, 1918, until July, 1919, was technically a war waged by the Western Ukrainian National Republic.

THE WESTERN UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC (ZUNR). As a result of the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the Ukrainians of eastern Galicia, northern Bukovina, and Carpatho-Ukraine established their state within the Ukrainian ethnic boundaries. This political entity did not gain full recognition from other powers. However, it entered into *de facto* economic and diplomatic relations with some of the neighboring states. The Paris Peace Conference treated ZUNR as a separate political-legal entity and refused to recognize its incorporation by Poland for eight months. Although the international community made unsuccessful attempts to mediate between the belligerents, the war ended with the Polish occupation of the territory which was forcibly incorporated into the Polish Republic. The conquest of Ukrainian territory by Poles was not internationally sanctioned. The Supreme Council of the Paris Conference authorized the Poles merely to occupy the territory and to introduce a provisional administration, retaining for itself sovereignty over that territory in the name of the Allied Powers. Its mandate over the Western Ukrainian territory was later given to the League of Nations. It was only in March, 1923, that the Council of Ambassadors, acting on behalf of the League, finally incorporated eastern Galicia into Poland.

While in exile, the government of the Western Ukrainian National Republic made diplomatic efforts to defend the separate status of the occupied land. It dissociated itself from the government of the Ukrainian National Republic which negotiated a settlement with the Poles to the detriment of Western Ukraine. The union between the two Ukrainian states proclaimed on January 22, 1919, could not be fully realized because of the war [Vol. I, p. 773]. Despite the temporary cooperation between the two governments, Western Ukraine legally preserved its separate statehood. It kept its own diplomatic representations which enjoyed official status in several states [Vol. I, p. 774]. Also, a separate delegation was sent to the Paris Peace Conference.

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# 8. WESTERN UKRAINIAN TERRITORIES BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

## GALICIA AND THE NORTH-WESTERN TERRITORIES

### Western Ukraine under Polish Occupation

In the aftermath of World War I, Western Ukraine was partitioned among Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia. As a result of the Ukrainian-Polish (1918–19) and the Soviet-Polish (1919–21) wars, the territories of western and northwestern Ukraine (western Volhynia, western Polisia, Kholm, and Podlachia) came under Polish domination [Vol. I, p. 833].

On March 15, 1923, the Conference of Ambassadors of the Allied Powers formally assigned the territory of Galicia to Poland (which had held this territory by force of arms), in accordance with Section 87 of the Treaty of Versailles. The annexation of the northwestern Ukrainian territories by Poland was ratified under international law by the Treaty of Riga, concluded on March 18, 1921, between the Russian SFSR, the Ukrainian SSR, and Poland.

The legal status of Ukrainians in northwestern territories was somewhat different from that of the Galicians. Whereas by the Treaty of Riga, Poland agreed to respect the cultural and religious rights of the Ukrainian population without a legal formulation of these guarantees, the decision of the Conference of Ambassadors guaranteed autonomous rights for Galicia. As early as September 26, 1922, the Polish Sejm passed a law on home rule for the *voievodstvos* (provinces) of Lviv, Stanyslaviv, and Ternopil. However, the Poles used this law merely as a tactical maneuver, and after Galicia was awarded to Poland, the law was never implemented.

### Legal and Actual Status of the Ukrainian Population under Poland

The Ukrainian population in Poland was fully entitled to the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles on national minorities concluded between the Allies and Poland on June 28, 1919. Poland had agreed to respect the rights of the Ukrainian national minority. The League of Nations assumed the responsibility of implementing these provisions. The guarantees were included in Sections 108 and 109 of the Polish Constitution of March 21, 1921 [Vol. I, p. 834]. Legislative and administrative policy, however, imposed gradual restrictions on the rights of national minorities until finally, on September 13, 1934, the Polish government issued a unilateral declaration rejecting the treaty on national minorities.

The Polish constitution of March 21, 1921, was founded on democratic republican principles. It proclaimed the people to be the sole source of power and authority. In legislative matters the people were represented by a diet and a senate. The executive power was

vested in the president and the council of ministers. Independent courts were given judicial power. The constitution was characterized by the supremacy of the legislature and limited powers of the head of state. The government appointed by the head of state was responsible to, and controlled by, the legislature. Under the constitution, elections were to be general, equal, secret, direct, and proportional. To counterbalance the central state bureaucracy, the constitution provided for a three-level territorial home rule (communities, counties, and provinces). The constitution enumerated a long list of rights and freedoms of citizens, typical of all democratic systems. Independent courts were to guarantee these freedoms.

The constitution was interpreted in the direction of limiting the role of the legislature and increasing that of the government and the presidency. Important amendments were added to the constitution following the coup of Marshal Piłsudski in May 1926. The president was empowered to issue decrees with the force of laws, upon *ex post facto* ratification by the legislature. Ukrainians in Poland participated in all elections, with the exception of that of 1922, when Ukrainians in Galicia boycotted the election because the legal status of Galicia had not been guaranteed. With few exceptions, the elected Ukrainian representatives (1922–20, 1928–48, 1930–27) and senators (5, 11, and 5, respectively) were members of the opposition. The last election was held under conditions of terror [Vol. I, p. 843]. A new constitution was adopted in 1935 in clear violation of the constitutional process. It rejected the principle of the will of the people, making the state the sovereign, as the "common weal of all citizens" (Art. 10). The people lost their sovereign rights, and citizens were rated according to the "value of effort and merit for the common good" (Art. 7). According to the new constitution, the state was headed by the president, with the diet, the senate, and other state organs being "under the supremacy of the president." All power was vested in the presidency, thus formally abrogating the principle of separation of powers and the parliamentary system.

The new election law of July 8, 1935, introduced the so-called two-mandate election districts. Candidates for deputies were nominated by special colleges thus removing the principle of general and proportional elections. The importance of the senate grew; one-third of its members were appointed by the president, the rest were elected by an "elite" (educational qualification, persons of merit and trust). The elections of 1935 and 1938 returned 14 Ukrainian deputies and 5 senators, but this was not so much a reflection of the voting as direct negotiations between Ukrainian representatives and the Polish government [Vol. I, p. 846].

Home rule was limited by the law of March 23, 1933, which introduced two levels of territorial home rule. The lower level consisted of (*a*) rural communities headed by a chief and a board and (*b*) urban communities made up of city councils headed by mayors (city presidents). The higher level consisted of counties with councils and boards. The county boards were supervisory organs over city and community boards, and the provincial governor (directly or through county commissioners) exercised control over the county boards and city councils. Professional men were usually elected to the posts of community chiefs or city presidents. They had to be confirmed by the provincial governor. This peculiar election system with its methods of candidate selection gave the administration an opportunity to reduce and eventually eliminate the importance of national minority groups.

Administrative and political practice discriminated against national minorities, particularly the Ukrainians. They were deemed a "destructive element." Polish citizens of Ukrainian nationality had

little chance of securing appointments to state and local office. With few exceptions, there were no state schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, and some departments of universities were closed to Ukrainians. The law of agrarian reform was widely utilized to colonize Ukrainian territories with Polish settlers. The number of Ukrainian deputies and senators was far below the ratio for the Ukrainian population, and they exercised little influence on legislation [Vol. I, pp. 841–50].

### Law and Courts

The Polish government preserved the laws inherited from the former occupational powers. Pre-revolutionary Russian law was in effect in the northwestern Ukrainian territories, and Austrian law in Galicia. The law of 1926 was designed to remove the resulting conflicts. A uniform system of laws for the entire territory of the Polish state evolved gradually in a few areas of law.

A new judicial system and a new organization of prosecuting organs were introduced by the law of February 6, 1928. City and district courts (justices of the peace in former Russian territories) were the courts of the first instance; courts of appeal constituted the second instance (in Ukrainian territories there were courts of appeal in Lviv and Lublin), and the Supreme Court was the third and final instance. Trial by jury was abolished in 1938. The minister of justice was simultaneously the chief prosecutor, supervising the attorneys acting in courts of all instances. The law of March 19, 1928, unified the criminal procedure. Civil procedure was unified in 1930 and criminal law in 1932. The latter was patterned on modern western European principles. The law of obligations and commercial law were unified in 1933. Other fields of law remained unchanged.

The presidential decree of August 26, 1932, on courts martial, was made applicable to major crimes, especially those of political nature. This decree severely limited the rights of defense, as well as other guaranteed freedoms. The court martial procedure was applied mainly to members of the Ukrainian underground. In addition, by the presidential decree of June 18, 1934, a concentration camp was set up in Bereza Kartuzka which was filled mostly with Ukrainians suspected of revolutionary activity.

### Soviet Occupation in 1939

On September 17, 1939, following the outbreak of war between Poland and Germany, the Soviet Red Army occupied the western Ukrainian territories of Poland. Provisional and local organs of government (soviets) were established while military occupation lasted, and a national assembly was convened in Lviv, October 26–27, 1939. It proclaimed the unification of Western Ukraine with the Ukrainian SSR. On November 1, 1939, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed the law on the incorporation of Western Ukraine in the Soviet Union as part of the Ukrainian SSR. The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, by its law of November 15, 1939, confirmed the incorporation. Constitutions of the USSR and of the Ukrainian SSR, as well as all laws, were put into effect in the incorporated territories.

### German Occupation (Generalgouvernement)

During the German occupation, Western Ukraine (Galicia and the northwestern areas which had formerly belonged to Poland) were included in the *Generalgouvernement* on August 1, 1941, instituted by the decree of October 12, 1939. The decree of October 26, 1939, on "the organization and administration of the occupied Polish territory," which provided that former Polish law should remain in force insofar as it did not interfere with the occupation and administration of the German authorities, was extended to the western Ukrainian territories. Thus former Polish civil law,

criminal law, procedure, and the court system (without the Supreme Court) were in effect again. The return of the Soviet regime in 1944 reinstated the Soviet legal system in western Ukraine.

*A. Bilinsky*

## BUKOVINA AND BESSARABIA

### Under Rumanian Occupation

Ukrainian territories under Rumania comprised two former lands—Bukovina, which was part of Austria until 1918, and Bessarabia, which was formerly part of the Russian empire [Vol. I, pp. 856ff.]. The annexation of Bukovina by Rumania was recognized under international law by the Treaties of Saint-Germain (September 10, 1919) and Sèvres (August 10, 1920), and of Bessarabia by the Treaty of Paris of October 28, 1920. The latter was never recognized by the Soviet Union. By a separate Treaty of Paris concluded with the Allied and the Associated Powers on December 9, 1919, Rumania guaranteed its minorities (including the Ukrainians) equal treatment regardless of race, religion, or mother tongue; the rights to use their languages in private and public life, including courts; and the teaching of their mother tongue in elementary schools. These obligations on the part of Rumania were placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. By the law of December 19, 1919 (concerning Bukovina) and the law of October 9, 1919, the Ukrainian provinces were granted a kind of limited home rule: the traditional laws and the court system were to be preserved; two representatives of each of the two provinces were to become members of the Council of Ministers, and one of them was to be the chief administrator in the province. However, by the law of April 4, 1919, Rumania placed these provinces completely under the control of the central government. The administration and the judiciary were ultimately unified by the laws of June 14 and 26, 1924.

### System of Government

Rumania received a new constitution on March 29, 1923 (which replaced that of 1866). According to the new constitution Rumania was a constitutional monarchy. The judiciary was granted considerable power in that it passed judgment on the constitutionality of the laws and executive acts. A bicameral parliamentary system was approved. However, the election law of 1925 stipulated that in order to be entitled to a candidate on the ballot, the political party had to poll at least five per cent of the national vote. Consequently, Ukrainians had to enter into agreements with other parties and nationality groups to place candidates on the ballot. The position of Ukrainians deteriorated considerably with the introduction of the new constitution of February 27, 1938, which gave the king broad dictatorial powers, and replaced the parliamentary system by a "corporate state." The number of deputies and senators was reduced and their terms of office were extended (one half of them were appointed by the king). Pursuant to the new constitution, the king abolished all political parties, including the Ukrainian National Party, and permitted only a single party, National Rebirth.

### Civil Law and Courts

The civil law of 1811 was at first in force in Bukovina, and the Russian law of 1832 (with amendments) was in force in Bessarabia. The Rumanian civil law of 1864, which was patterned on the French Civil Code, was extended to Bessarabia, part in 1919 and the rest in 1928, and to Bukovina in 1938, with the exception of certain provisions concerning domestic relations. A new unified code was enacted in 1939, although it was never implemented.

Also, in the field of criminal law, the old laws were at first in force in Bukovina and Bessarabia: the Austrian codes of 1852 and 1872 in the former and the Russian code of 1885 and 1903 in the

latter. The Rumanian criminal code of 1864, which closely followed the French code of 1812, was introduced in Bessarabia as early as June 1, 1919. The new Rumanian criminal code of March 18, 1936, went into effect throughout Rumania (on January 1, 1937), including Bukovina and Bessarabia.

The court system was composed of justice courts or city courts in the regions, tribunals in the counties, appellate courts, and the Supreme Court of Cassation and Justice. Decisions of the justice courts could be appealed to a tribunal; decisions of a tribunal of the first instance could be appealed to the courts of appeals and, if the tribunals acted on an appellate instance, to the Supreme Court of Cassation. Decisions of the court of appeals could be contested in the Supreme Court of Cassation.

To justify the policy of Rumanization a theory was invented that the Bukovinian Ukrainians were allegedly "Ukrainianized Rumanians" and hence no minority rights accrued to them as Rumanians. Instead all efforts were made to "return them to the motherland." In order to facilitate the implementation of this policy under the guise of state security, a state of emergency was proclaimed in the border areas of Bukovina and Bessarabia inhabited mostly by Ukrainians. With short interruptions, this state continued until 1940. Police terror and courts martial prevailed. Ukrainian cultural and civic associations were dissolved and Ukrainian primary and secondary schools were turned into Rumanian schools (law on public education of July 1924).

The Rumanian pressure on the Ukrainians increased after the introduction of the new constitution of 1938 and the 1938 law on military zones, which permitted removal of undesired persons from the border areas. This made it possible to deport Ukrainians from these territories and to replace them with Rumanians [Vol. I, pp. 857–9].

**Soviet Occupation in 1940**

In June 1940, the government of the USSR "suggested" to the Rumanian government that it should cede northern Bukovina and Bessarabia to the Soviet Union. On June 28, 1940, the Rumanian government agreed to the ultimatum, and on the same day, Soviet troops occupied the ceded territory. On August 2, 1940, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR passed a law on the incorporation of Bukovina into the Ukrainian SSR. Bessarabia was included in the Moldavian Autonomous Republic (until then a part of the Ukrainian SSR) and the Moldavian SSR, the thirteenth constituent republic of the USSR, was formed. The constitution of the USSR of 1936, the republic constitutions, and all pertinent laws were immediately put into effect in the annexed territories.

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## TRANSCARPATHIA (CARPATHO-UKRAINE)

**End of 1918 and Beginning of 1919**

After the fall of Austria-Hungary in November, 1918, [Vol. I, pp. 787ff.], the Hungarian Republic endeavored to hold at least some of the nationalities by offering them autonomous status. The government had promulgated law No. X, of December 21, 1918, regarding the autonomous Ruska Kraïna (Ruthenian Land) according to which a provincial *soim* was to be created, together with the office of a governor, regional administration, and a separate Ruthenian ministry in Budapest. Self-government would be limited to domestic administration, the judicial system, and economic and cultural affairs.

In March, 1919, the *soim* was elected, a body which was to meet for two brief sessions. The Hungarian Soviet Republic reasserted the autonomy of Ruska Kraïna with the exception of the governorship, which was replaced by a People's Commissariat. In practice, the autonomy was

short-lived, and only in the central part of Carpatho-Ukraine at that, the western part being occupied by the Czechs, the eastern by the Rumanians. Hungarian control over Carpatho-Ukraine ended with the retreat of the Hungarian Red Army from the area, at the end of April, 1919.

While theoretically the rule of the Western Ukrainian National Republic was being extended to the area, in practice, however, no Ukrainian administration was introduced, except for a few villages in the eastern part, the so-called Hutsul republic.

**Under Czechoslovakia, 1919–38**

As a result of activities conducted by the Carpatho-Ukrainian immigrants in the United States, and in the wake of political changes occurring in the region in 1919, as well as the decisions of the Peace Conference (Saint-Germain Treaty, September 10, 1919), Carpatho-Ukraine was incorporated into the newly created Czechoslovak Republic. Incorporation included a proviso for broad autonomy in cultural and administrative affairs [Vol. I, pp. 788–9]. Legal bases of the autonomous status were to be the provisions of the above-mentioned treaty and the Czechoslovak constitution of February 29, 1920.

The legislative and administrative autonomy "compatible with the unity of the Czechoslovak State" was to be extended to affairs of culture, that is, education, language, religion, and local self-government. The region was to have its own legislative body (*soim*), an executive (governor), and adequate representation in the national parliament.

Until 1938, the guaranteed autonomy was not fully realized. The self-governing status of the region was determined by the Prague government which paid little attention to the international and constitutional obligations. In November, 1919, the Czechoslovak government passed temporary "General Statutes for the Organization and Administration of Subcarpathian Ruthenia," by which an autonomous directory was created, consisting of five members with advisory powers, and a regional administration headed by an administrator. Dissatisfaction led to the resignation of the directory. On April 4, 1920, Prague introduced some changes in the general statutes providing for the offices of a temporary governor, a vice-governor (the chief of the civil administration), and a gubernatorial council (a surrogate of the *soim*) with advisory prerogatives. The appointed governor was limited to representative functions, since the vice-governor, a Czech, held the real power. Because of Prague's delaying permanently the resolution of the question of autonomy, the governor resigned in protest in 1921. However, the new governor nominated in 1923 was content with his figurehead functions.

In 1927–8, the territorial administration of Czechoslovakia was reorganized and, consequently, Carpatho-Ukraine was put on an equal basis with three other regions (Bohemia, Moravia-Silesia, and Slovakia). As a result the Podkarpats'ka *Rus'* (Subcarpathian *Rus'*) had the following governmental structure: a regional president, regional representation (a consultative assembly of members, two-thirds of whom were popularly elected and one-third nominated by the central government), and an office of regional administration. The administrative seat was in Uzhhorod, capital of the region. The office of the governor with his honorary functions remained the only vestige of the guaranteed territorial autonomy. As late as 1926, local self-government was also reorganized. The traditional system of counties (*zhupy*) was abolished. The new districts, *okruhas*, were subordinated to the regional administration, which now became the second administrative level, and the ministries in Prague served as the third instance.

Under pressure of autonomist elements in the 1930's, the government at Prague agreed to put into effect the guaranteed autonomy "by stages." Law 172 of June 26, 1937, renewed the gubernatorial council, and the functions of the governor were somewhat extended, but no definite election was set for the *soim*.

In Carpatho-Ukraine, as well as in Slovakia, under the Czechoslovak regime after 1919, the court system of the Hungarian Kingdom as established by the law of 1877 continued. Proceedings were regulated by the Hungarian code of 1896, and the Hungarian criminal and civil law codes also remained in effect. There were three levels of courts: district, regional (one for several districts, in all, three in Podkarpats'ka *Rus'*), and the superior court.

For Carpatho-Ukraine there existed a separate chamber in the superior court of Košice. Judges of lower courts were appointed by decree of the governor.

**Autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine, 1938–9**

It was not until the autumn of 1938 that a serious move to effectuate the autonomy began to take place under the pressure of foreign and domestic developments in Czechoslovakia. The autonomous government was not structured according to the provisions of the constitution, but pragmatically, as the new situation required. On October 8, 1938, Prague had nominated the first autonomous cabinet (government) of Carpatho-Ukraine, consisting of four ministers and two under-secretaries. The new constitutional status of Carpatho-Ukraine was contained in law No. 328 of November 22, 1938, which was passed by both houses of the Czechoslovak parliament. The law stated that the legislative power of the autonomous province (now called "state") was vested in the *soim*, and the executive power would be exercised by a cabinet consisting of three members nominated by the President of the Republic. Excluded from the competence of the autonomous government were foreign policy, national defense, citizenship, customs, currency, postal and communication services, railways, and legislation regarding criminal, civil, and commercial law. Between October, 1938, and March, 1939 (after a short period of Andrew Brody's premiership), the autonomous cabinet was headed by Prime Minister Monsignor Augustine Voloshyn. The *soim*, consisting of 32 representatives chosen in the general election of February 12, 1939, held just one session on March 15, 1939. Because of a sequence of international events (occupation of Bohemia by Germany, Slovakia's declaration of its independence), the *soim* proclaimed an independent Carpatho-Ukrainian Republic. After a few days of existence, the Hungarian occupation put an end to the Republic [Vol. I, pp. 853–6].

Some authors tend to qualify the status of Czechoslovakia between October, 1938, and March, 1939, as a federal state. However, analysis of constitutional acts and the organs of power attest to the lack of typical federal institutions in this system. It was a particular system (*sui generis*) of a composite state, in which either a trend toward normal federal institutions or a pattern of loose association was possible as a future development.

**Under Hungary, 1939–44**

From the point of view of international law, the Hungarian occupation of Carpatho-Ukraine in the second half of March, 1939, was a typical debellation, whereby the military action was not terminated by any international act. Also, annexation of the region was not sanctioned even by a plebiscite. The new status of Carpatho-Ukraine was defined in a decree of the Hungarian government (No. 6200 of July 1939). The region was named the Subcarpathian Territory and it was granted somewhat more extensive self-government than that of the Hungarian counties. Chief administrator of the region was a high-

placed official, the High Commissioner of the Regent (a Hungarian), aided by a principal counsellor who was nominated from among prominent local leaders. These two officials governed the territory (local administration, cultural and social affairs) within the framework of the general laws and directives set up by the Budapest government. No elections were held in Carpatho-Ukraine to local, regional, or central state organs. Ten representatives from the region were appointed by the chief of state to the Hungarian Lower House and three to the Upper House.

**The Transitory Period, 1944–5**

The Soviet occupation of Carpatho-Ukraine in October, 1944 put an end to Hungarian domination over the region. According to several international acts, Czechoslovak sovereignty was to be re-established here. However, the Communist Party, with the support of the Soviet army and political agents, created its own apparatus of local administration, based on the so-called people's committees. A provincial congress of the committees' delegates convened on November 26, 1944, in Mukachiv, and passed a resolution incorporating Carpatho-Ukraine into the Ukrainian SSR. The Czechoslovak government was put under pressure to cede the region to the USSR and this was formalized by the Soviet-Czechoslovak Treaty of June 29, 1945. The region in the meantime was administered by a 17-member People's Council of Transcarpathian Ukraine, elected by the provincial congress. The people's council was both a legislative and an executive body. By means of decrees, the council introduced a series of measures typical of sovietization during the "people's democracy" stage, such as nationalization of industry, agrarian reforms, and anti-Church measures. On January 22, 1946, the *oblast* organs of administration were formally created in the Transcarpathian *oblast* of the Ukrainian SSR, and on January 25, 1946, the Soviet legal system was introduced.

Basically, the same court system as under Czechoslovakia was in effect under the new Hungarian rule of 1939–44. In December, 1944, people's courts in the districts, and the Supreme People's Court of Transcarpathian Ukraine in Uzhhorod, were created. Also, a special court for political crimes was set up. The latter was inspired by the "revolutionary legality."

*V. Markus*

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# 9. LAW AND GOVERNMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

## SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

**Basic Principles of Political Organization of the Ukrainian SSR**

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Ukrainian SSR) is one of 15 constituent members of the Soviet federation—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). For this reason, its political, social, and economic structure is determined by and derived from the basic principles of the political, social,

and economic structure of the USSR. These formal principles, which are enumerated in the constitutions of the Ukrainian SSR and USSR and elaborated in Soviet official pronouncements and legal writings, can be summarized as follows:

1. The Ukrainian SSR is a socialist state of workers and peasants.
2. The socio-economic foundation of the Ukrainian SSR is the socialist economic system, in which all property (state and cooperative) and all means of production and distribution are "in socialist ownership," that is, they are nationalized by the state.
3. The economic life of the Ukrainian SSR is determined and directed by the comprehensive national economic plan, which is an integral part of the over-all national economic plan of the USSR.
4. The political foundation of the Ukrainian SSR is the "soviets of working people's deputies," who represent the people and the power that is vested in them.
5. The Ukrainian SSR entered the USSR "voluntarily" and has reserved for itself "the right to secede."
6. The Ukrainian SSR is a "sovereign" and "independent" state, whose "sovereignty" and "independence" are limited only by corresponding provisions (Art. 14) of the USSR Constitution.
7. The Ukrainian SSR is organized and operates in accordance with the Soviet state operational principle of "democratic centralism."

## Constitutional Evolution

**The Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR (1919).** The first constitution of the Ukrainian SSR was adopted on March 10, 1919, during a politically and militarily fluid situation in Ukraine, when the Bolsheviks, with the aid of Soviet Russia's Red Army, had established, for the second time, Soviet Ukrainian government in Kharkiv and were waging a war of aggression against the Ukrainian National Republic [Vol. I, pp. 794–9]. Both the constitution of the Ukrainian SSR (1919) and the government for which it provided were closely patterned on the constitution of the Russian SFSR (1918) and its government. The central government consisted of: (*a*) All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Deputies as the supreme legislative body of the Ukrainian SSR; (*b*) All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (Vseukraïns'kyi Tsentral'nyi Vykonavchyi Komitet [VUTsVK]) as the legislative-executive body serving during the period between the sessions of the All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets; and (*c*) the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR as the administrative organ (cabinet) of the government. A number of People's Commissariats (ministries) were established for the purpose of administering various branches of state operation.

The present status of the Ukrainian SSR as a constituent member of the USSR was originally derived from the signing of the "Declaration and the Treaty (Articles) of Union" on December 30, 1922, by the terms of which the Ukrainian SSR formally entered into a federal union with three other Soviet republics—the RSFSR, the Belorussian SSR, and the Transcaucasian Federation (ZSFSR)—to form the USSR. This formal act consummated the long process of military and political re-conquest by Bolshevik Russia of the bordering non-Russian republics, incorporating them into a new state formation called the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" [Vol. I, pp. 740–6, 756–70, 799–809].

**The Constitution of the USSR (1924).** The first Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR was promulgated as the law of the land on January 31, 1924. It established the basic state structure for the USSR, which in its broad outlines exists until the present day. While incorporating the "Declaration and the Treaty (Articles) of Union," the new constitution of the USSR was based on

the constitutional practice and the well-tried principles that had for years (1918–22) governed relations within the RSFSR, which, being itself a federation, served as a model for the authors of the USSR. The central institutions of the RSFSR were converted with no change in substance into central institutions of the USSR. The sovereign authority was thus transferred to the new All-Union Congress of Soviets—the residual institution of the previous congresses of Soviets of the RSFSR—forming the nominal parliament of the USSR. The effective parliament of the USSR was the All-Union Central Executive Committee (VTsIK), which, unlike its predecessor in the RSFSR, consisted of two chambers: the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities. The former consisted of members elected by the All-Union Congress of Soviets from representatives of the Union Republics in proportion to the population of each; the latter, the federal chamber, was composed of five delegates from each Union Republic and Autonomous Republic, and one from each Autonomous Region elected by executive committees (legislatures) of the member republics and regions. The Presidium of the All-Union Central Executive Committee acted between the sessions of the latter as both the legislative and executive organ. The executive-administrative power was vested in the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom) of the USSR. The tripartite division of the RSFSR People's Commissariats (ministries) was adopted, with only a slight alteration of terminology, for the USSR commissariat system: All-Union Commissariats operated only at the federal level with no counterpart in the republics; Joint Commissariats were of indirect centralist type, in which the principle of dual subordination was applied whereby the commissariat was responsible to both the Union Republic's Sovnarkom and the head office of the same commissariat in Moscow. The third category, Republic Commissariats, existed only at the Union Republic level and had no Union (central) counterpart. The third branch of government was the Supreme Court of the USSR, which had a unique right of passing on the constitutionality of legislation of Union Republics (see below, p. 117).

Each Union Republic was reserved "the right to secede" from the USSR by Article 4 of the constitution, which, unlike any other article in the constitution, could not be amended without the unanimous consent of all Union Republics (Art. 6). (See also below, p. 88.)

In keeping with Article 5 of the USSR constitution (1924), which provided that the constitutions of all Union Republics had to conform to that of the USSR, the constitution of the Ukrainian SSR (1919) was amended accordingly on May 10, 1925. In the meantime, a new constitution for the Ukrainian SSR was being drafted.

**The Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR (1929).** The second Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Ukrainian SSR was adopted by the Eleventh All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets on May 15, 1929, and it was a close copy of the constitutions of the USSR (1924) and the RSFSR (1925). The central government of the Ukrainian SSR was closely patterned on that of the USSR. There was the All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets as the supreme legislative body; a unicameral All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee as the legislative-executive body serving during the period between the sessions of the All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets; Council of People's Commissars as the administrative organ (cabinet) of the government; and the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR (see below, p. 116 ff.). The Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR consisted of two types of commissariats (ministries): Republican Commissariats and Joint Commissariats. In addition, the All-Union (central) Commissariats could appoint their delegates to sit on the Council of People's

Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR (and other Union Republics) to ensure that its work conformed to central policies in Moscow—an arrangement which in practice transformed the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR into a local executive organ of the central (Union) government in Moscow. The constitution enumerated the functions of each of the organs of the central government.

The Ukrainian SSR reserved to itself the "right to secede" from the USSR. The competence of the Ukrainian SSR was circumscribed by appropriate provisions of the constitution of the USSR (1924). Within the confines of the Ukrainian SSR there was formed the Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic with its own constitution, and with its government organs subordinate to those of the Ukrainian SSR on autonomous principles (Art. 18).

**The Constitution of the USSR (1936).** In keeping with the Soviet constitutional theory on the role of constitution in the Soviet state, that is, that it should reflect the changes in the socio-economic and class structure of the Soviet state which had taken place since the adoption of the first constitution of the USSR (1924), the Soviet government promulgated on December 5, 1936, a new Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the USSR or popularly known as the "Stalin constitution." This constitution (as amended to date) is in operation in the Soviet Union at the present time.

The new USSR constitution retained all the essential forms of the federal structure of the USSR as it was established in 1924, although it also introduced some important modifications. First of all, it established one legislative body, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which replaced the old All-Union Central Executive Committee and the All-Union Congress of Soviets. The Supreme Soviet is a bicameral legislature, consisting of the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities. The Council of the Union consists of deputies elected directly from electoral districts (one deputy per 300,000 population). The Council of Nationalities—the federal chamber—consists of a fixed number of delegates from the various national state formations comprising the USSR. Union Republics, the constituent members of the federation, have 32 deputies each (until 1966, they had 25 each). Other national units of lower political status in the hierarchy of Soviet statehood were given a graduated scale of representation: Autonomous Republics, 11; Autonomous Regions, 5; National Areas, one each. Compared with the representation under the 1924 constitution, this arrangement recognizes the juridical position of Union Republics vis-à-vis other autonomous formations. This system, however, still gives overwhelming preponderance in representation in the federal chamber to the RSFSR, which alone has 251 seats (32 of its own plus a total of 219 for its autonomous units) as compared to only 32 seats each for most other non-Russian Union Republics. In practice, however, numerical representation is meaningless in the Soviet Union, since there is no free inter-play of political forces, and all decisions in the Supreme Soviet are taken, as a rule, unanimously.

In the interim between sessions of the Supreme Soviet, there is a Presidium, which has a dual role: while it is vested with legislative powers of substantial importance, it also serves as the Soviet Union's chief-of-state, a type of "collegial president." It consists of 33 members, 15 of whom are at the same time chiefs-of-state of their respective Union Republics. Traditionally, however, the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet has performed the functions of the chief-of-state (Arts. 48 and 49).

The administrative machinery under the constitution of the USSR (1936) was basically a carry-over from that established by the 1924 constitution. The Council of Ministers (prior to 1946 called

Sovnarkom or Council of People's Commissars) comprises the executive branch of government (cabinet). For the purpose of administering the various branches of national economy within the framework of the Soviet federal system, the three-level division of ministries (formerly commissariats) was retained from the 1924 constitution. These levels are: All-Union; Union-Republic (joint); and Republic (Arts. 64–78) (see above, p. 79).

The judicial branch of government consists of the Supreme Court of the USSR, which under the present constitution is vested with supervising the judicial activities of all the judicial organs of the USSR and those of the Union Republics (Art. 104). It does not have the power to decide on the constitutionality of the All-Union laws, or, unlike its predecessor of 1924, of the laws of the Union Republics. The power to interpret the All-Union laws (and presumably the constitution of the USSR) has been vested in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, whom the Supreme Court only advises. As far as it is known, however, this power of constitutional review has never been exercised. (See also "The Judicial System").

**The Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR (1937).** The present Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Ukrainian SSR was adopted on January 30, 1937, at the Extraordinary XIV All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets. In keeping with Article 16 of the constitution of the USSR (1936), which provided that each Union Republic's constitution "is drawn up in full conformity with the constitution of the USSR," the constitution of the Ukrainian SSR (like those of other Union Republics) is practically a copy of the USSR constitution in both form and substance. This constitution (as amended to date) governs the operations of the Ukrainian SSR at the present time. With the adoption of the new constitution, the name of the Ukrainian SSR was changed from "Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic" to "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic."

The constitution of the Ukrainian SSR (1937) contains 127 articles grouped into 11 chapters. Chapter I (12 articles) deals with the social structure of the Ukrainian SSR. Chapter II (seven articles) deals with the state organization of the Ukrainian SSR, and forms the political foundation of the Soviet Ukrainian statehood. Chapters III–VII outline the structure, functions, and procedures for the formation of the central and local governmental systems of the Ukrainian SSR, their competence, powers, and jurisdiction. Chapter VIII (16 articles) enumerates the rights and duties of citizens of the Ukrainian SSR. Chapter IX (10 articles) provides for the electoral system. Chapter X (three articles) describes the state emblem (coat of arms), flag, and capital of the Ukrainian SSR. And chapter XI (one article) provides the procedure for amending the constitution.

**The amendments of 1944.** On February 1, 1944, apparently in preparation for postwar diplomacy vis-à-vis the western powers, the constitutions of the USSR and of each Union Republic were amended to read that "each Union Republic has the right to enter into direct relations with foreign states, to conclude agreements, and to exchange diplomatic and consular representatives with them" (Art. 18a), and that "each Union Republic has its own Republic military formations" (Art. 18b). Accordingly, the People's Commissariats (Ministries) for Foreign Affairs and Defense were reorganized from the All-Union type to Union-Republic (shared) commissariats, and the Ukrainian SSR government established in Kiev its own Commissariats for Foreign Affairs and Defense [Vol. I, pp. 885, 895–8].

These amendments were closely patterned after the rejected proposals of Ukrainian Communist leaders (Skrypnyk and Rakovsky) in 1923, at the time of the adoption of the first constitution of the USSR (1924). Constitutionally speak-

ing, the amendments were a restoration of juridical powers and prerogatives which the Ukrainian SSR possessed prior to the formation of the USSR. They also constituted a radical departure from the traditional practice, both Soviet and non-Soviet, of centralization of control of foreign affairs and defense. Although in actual practice the amendments have had very limited application in the case of foreign affairs, and no practical application in the case of defense and military formations, they have raised many controversial issues in terms of international law and practical politics for both the Soviet Union and the western world [Vol. I, pp. 895–8].

**The Central Government of the Ukrainian SSR**

The central government of the Ukrainian SSR (like that of other Union Republics) is fashioned along the same structural and functional lines as the central government of the USSR, with some exceptions, primarily those relating to the federal structure of the USSR. It is divided into three coordinate branches of government—the legislative, executive, and judicial. But the principle of separation of powers between these branches, as it is known in western democracies, is conspicuously absent and has been denied by Soviet constitutional lawyers. Rather, the Soviet Ukrainian state (like the entire USSR) is organized on the principle of fusion of powers, and the distinction between formal state functions and their respective branches is based primarily on the need for division of labor in the government. In addition to these traditional three state functions, there have developed in the course of time (especially since the 1930's) two other state functions, planning and control, which, because of the totalitarian nature of the Soviet state, have evolved into specific powers of government and are discharged by special planning and control organs (Gosplan and Peoples' Control Organs). (See also National Economy.)

The operation of the Soviet Ukrainian state (like that of the USSR) is based on the principle of "democratic centralism" both within the Republic and vis-à-vis the federal center (USSR). Originally developed by Lenin for application in the Communist Party's organization and operations, the rules have been modified to suit the governmental and administrative structure of the Soviet state. They include: (*a*) election of all organs of state power from below; (*b*) responsibility and accountability of lower state organs to the higher ones; (*c*) absolutely binding nature of the directives of higher organs for the lower ones; (*d*) absolute subordination of the minority to the final decisions of the majority; (*e*) control of the activity of state organs, officials, and deputies; (*f*) full conformity of the acts issued by lower state organs to those issued by the higher ones; (*g*) application of the system of dual subordination in the work of executive and administrative state organs. In brief, "democratic centralism" is a rationalization for the traditional Soviet practice of centralization, conformity, and regimentation in state and administrative operations.

**The legislative branch.** The highest legislative organ of the Ukrainian SSR is the Supreme Soviet. Unlike previous constitutions, under which there were several bodies with legislative function, the 1937 constitution of the Ukrainian SSR reposits all legislative power in one organ, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, although other state organs still exercise this function to some degree.

The Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR is a unicameral legislature consisting of deputies elected directly by a universal suffrage for a period of four years from electoral districts of 100,000 population each. It is required to meet twice a year, although extraordinary sessions may be summoned by its Presidium. The

sessions of the Supreme Soviet usually last only a few days, and the "debates" consist of speeches expressing approbation of the legislation on hand or of the Soviet government's domestic or foreign policy. In the past, all questions put before the Supreme Soviet have been, without exception, adopted by unanimous vote. It follows, therefore, that this body, lacking sufficient time to deliberate and any evidence of dissent, is little more than a rubber stamp of the Communist Party and the Soviet government organs.

The Supreme Soviet elects a Presidium to serve as the interim body between the sessions. The Presidium has a dual function—executive and legislative (see below, p. 84). In the exercise of its legislative function, the Presidium issues decrees, many of which, though not all, have to be passed on by the Supreme Soviet when it convenes. These decrees, however, take effect immediately, and have the force of law at times as far in advance as six months prior to the next session of the Supreme Soviet at which they are considered and, as has been the past practice, always approved. Other legislative functions of the Presidium include: convening the Supreme Soviet; conduct of national referendum (never held in the past); setting aside decisions and orders of the Council of Ministers and *oblast* councils if these are in conflict with the law; authoritative interpretation of the law.

The legislative competence of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR extends to areas which are not otherwise covered by Article 14 of the USSR constitution (Arts. 13 and 19, Ukrainian SSR constitution). The list in Article 14 is rather extensive and embraces practically every field of any political and economic significance, leaving to the Ukrainian SSR (and other Union Republics) a very limited number of legislative areas of secondary importance. In addition, in areas in which the USSR does not exercise legislative jurisdiction, it can and does "determine the principles of legislation" for all the Union Republics.

The legislative authority of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet can be measured by its budgeting powers and its role in the fiscal field. The All-Union government is vested with exclusive authority not only to approve the unified state budget of the USSR but also to determine the taxes and revenues which go into the Union Republic's and local budgets. After the central government in Moscow sets the expenditures and revenues of the Ukrainian SSR, the latter's Supreme Soviet has to adopt it as a matter of formality, for it cannot modify it in any considerable way. It can increase it only if it finds new sources of income within the Republic. Taxes, however, cannot constitute such new source of revenue, since the Union Republic has no right to establish taxes on its own initiative. Soviet taxation is the exclusive domain of the Union, and the Union Republic serves solely as tax collector for the central government. Such vast concentration of financial power at the center by definition implies great concentration of political power as well.

Considering the brevity of sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, there is a number of standing commissions (whose number and activity have recently increased), which review legislative proposals in advance of the sessions of the Supreme Soviet. While much of the operation of these commissions is obscured from the public eye, it seems that legislative proposals receive a more detailed consideration there than they do in the Supreme Soviet. The deliberations of the commissions, however, are closely guided by their Party contingent.

The Supreme Soviet originates very little, if any, legislation on its own initiative. The bulk of its laws are initially issued as decrees of the Presidium or decisions and orders of the Council of

Ministers, some of which may be submitted before the Supreme Soviet for ratification. Since the constitution does not specify which decrees and decisions have to be ratified, many of these acts remain in force as law without even a nominal approbation by the Supreme Soviet. Sessions of the Supreme Soviet are frequently preceded by plenary meetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party at which major policy decisions are made and the legislative program for the current session is formulated. These, in turn, are issued either in the form of joint resolutions of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, which may be submitted for ratification to the Supreme Soviet, or as formal legislative proposals of the government (Council of Ministers) to the Supreme Soviet.

**The executive branch.** The executive functions in the Soviet Ukrainian state (as in the USSR as a whole) are performed by two distinct and separate institutions: the chief-of-state, or the president, and the head of government, or the premier.

The chief-of-state of the Ukrainian SSR is the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR (see above, p. 83). It consists of the chairman, two vice-chairmen, the secretary, and 15 members. It is a type of "collegial president," although most of the state functions, as a rule, are performed by the chairman of the Presidium, who has popularly been regarded as "the President." As in many other states, the Soviet chief-of-state is of much ceremonial importance and very limited political power. The constitution of the Ukrainian SSR (Art. 30) enumerates 11 formal powers, seven of which fall into the category of executive functions: it appoints and removes ministers (usually at the initiative of the chairman of the Council of Ministers); exercises the right of pardon of citizens sentenced in courts of the Ukrainian SSR; grants citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR. Perhaps the least important but most frequently exercised function is the purely formal one of awarding decorations and titular honors. Two other functions would be politically significant if they were ever exercised in practice: to appoint and recall diplomatic envoys of the Ukrainian SSR to foreign states; and receive credentials of and recall diplomatic representatives accredited to the Ukrainian SSR by foreign states. In the absence of diplomatic relations between the Ukrainian SSR and other states, these powers have never been exercised since the constitution was amended in February 1, 1944 (see above, pp. 81 ff.).

The executive power for the purpose of administering the state is formally vested in the Council of Ministers, which until 1946 was known as the Council of People's Commissars (Radnarkom). The Council and its chairman constitute the equivalent of cabinet and prime minister respectively, that is, they are the Government of the Ukrainian SSR. They are appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, and are formally responsible to it, and between the sessions to its Presidium. The size of the Council of Ministers varies with the changes in the number of ministries at any given time. It consists of the chairman (premier), first vice-chairman, vice-chairmen, ministers, chairmen of the State Planning Commission (Derzhplan), the State Security Committee—*KGB* (Secret Police), and various other state committees.

The functions of the Council of Ministers fall into two broad categories, executive and administrative, and they include (Art. 43): coordinating and directing the work of various ministries and state administrative agencies; ensuring the fulfillment of the national economic plan and state budget of the Ukrainian SSR; ensuring the maintenance of public order; guiding the work of the *oblast* executive committees; providing guidance in the sphere of foreign relations

and defense of the Ukrainian SSR. The last two powers are on paper only (see above, pp. 81 ff.).

In the performance of these functions, the Council of Ministers is the principal source (in terms of numbers) of Soviet legislation in the form of its decisions and ordinances, and bills introduced in the Supreme Soviet. Although decisions and ordinances are not laws in the juridical sense and do not require affirmation by the Supreme Soviet, they often have the force of law in practice. Those bills that are introduced in the Supreme Soviet have always and without exception been adopted by a unanimous vote.

In terms of real political and economic power, the Council of Ministers is the most important organ of the three formal branches of government of the Ukrainian SSR. It is the apex of administrative and executive control over the resources of the country, and the center from which the economy is planned and directed. It is significant that its members are at the same time top Party officials—members of the Politburo and the Central Committee of both the CPU and CPSU. In relation to the Council of Ministers of the USSR (in Moscow), however, the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR (in Kiev) plays a subordinate and secondary role. It is responsible primarily for the function of operational direction—that is, carrying out the plan and policies centrally conceived and formulated in Moscow—and does very little, if any, planning and policy formulating on its own. Even in local affairs, any initiative must be coordinated with the over-all policy objectives of the government and the Party in Moscow.

It is significant that the constitution does not mention the power which traditionally belongs to the executive branch of government, namely, policy determination and organization. This is explained by the peculiarly Soviet arrangement whereby the function of policy formulation is in practice delegated to the Party Congress and its Central Committee in Moscow (see below, pp. 90 ff.).

**Administration.** For the purpose of administering various aspects of national life, there are two types of ministries represented in the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR: Union-Republic and Republic.

The UNION-REPUBLIC MINISTRIES reflect the federal structure of the USSR, and the Ukrainian SSR's membership therein. They operate in the field of concurrent jurisdiction, that is, fields in which both the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR have direct interest. They are found on both levels, in Kiev and in Moscow, and they operate according to the Soviet principle of dual subordination: the Union-Republic ministry in the Ukrainian SSR is subordinated to both the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR and to the corresponding Union-Republic ministry of the USSR in Moscow. While the Union-Republic ministries (on the Union level), as a rule, are not supposed to engage in direct administration in the Republic and should be only guiding the work of their counterparts on the Republic level, in practice, however, the Union-Republic ministries on the Republic level act only as agencies of their counterparts in Moscow and have little, if any, autonomy themselves. In addition, Union-Republic ministries in Moscow can administer directly a number of establishments within the Republic according to a list approved by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (Art. 76, USSR constitution).

The second type, the REPUBLIC MINISTRIES operate on the Republic level only, and they are subordinated and responsible only to the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR. These ministries have no counterpart on the All-Union level. They operate in the field of residual jurisdiction, that is, fields which are of local character and devoid of any signifi-

cant economic or political power (e.g., communal economy, social insurance, local industries and transportation). While the number of Union-Republic ministries has always remained high (with the exception of a short period during Khrushchev's decentralization experiment, 1957–64), the number of Republic ministries has always been low, ranging from four to eight.

The past Soviet practice has been to shift functions from one level to another and abolish old and create new ministries at any level (All-Union, Union-Republic or Republic) whenever it was deemed politically or economically expedient, with little or no regard for the Union Republic's interest or for the federal principle of the USSR, and at times even in contradiction to specific provisions of the constitutions of the USSR and the Union Republics. This has been especially true in the so-called socio-cultural sphere (education, culture, public health, social insurance), in which the Union Republics have been vested with residual jurisdiction (Art. 19, the constitution of the Ukrainian SSR), and the Union has only the prerogative "to determine basic principles" of activity in this sphere. In obvious disregard for these constitutional provisions, the Soviet government in Moscow has recently centralized the administration of culture, public health, and higher and secondary education by transforming previously Republic ministries into Union-Republic or shared and by establishing counterpart ministries in Moscow. Such practice can be explained only by the absence in Soviet practice of appropriate review of the constitutionality of the acts of the Soviet government and also by the apparent political impotence of the Union Republics vis-à-vis the central government in Moscow.

Since ministries are listed in the constitution of both the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR, every such change in the ministry or shift in function has required a constitutional amendment for either constitution or both. This in one way accounts for the Soviet simplicity of the amending process.

**The judicial branch.** The judicial branch of the Ukrainian SSR consists of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR, which is the highest judicial body in the Republic. The chief function of the Supreme Court is the supervision of the judicial activities of all judicial organs of the Ukrainian SSR. It does not have the power to decide on the constitutionality of the laws of the Republic. The power to interpret the laws of the Republic (and presumably the constitution of the Ukrainian SSR) has been vested in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, whom the Supreme Court only advises. As far as it is known, this power has never been exercised in the Ukrainian SSR. The Supreme Court consists of five members, elected by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR for a term of five years. The chairman of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR (like those of other Union Republics) is, by virtue of his office, also a member of the USSR Supreme Court (Arts. 84–87). (See also The Judiciary.)

### The Legal Nature of the Soviet Federation

The USSR is, in the formal sense, a federation of 15 Union Republics of which the Ukrainian SSR is the second largest in terms of population. Both Soviet and non-Soviet legal writers admit that the Soviet federal system is *sui generis* unclassifiable except on Soviet terms and one to which it is difficult to apply conventional criteria of federations developed in the West. The two most important characteristics of the Soviet federation are: (1) it is based on the national-territorial principle as distinguished from most other non-Soviet federations, which are based on the administrative-territorial principle; (2) each constituent member of the federation, that is, the Union Republics, has the

right to secede from the Union (Art. 17, USSR constitution; see below, p. 88).

The Bolsheviks, like their predecessors the classical Marxists, were initially, in both theory and practice, opposed to federation as an organizational principle for a socialist state. They adopted federalism only after the October Revolution as an expedient and an integrative force for achieving political unity among the various non-Russian nations in the aftermath of the defunct Russian tsarist empire. Their declarative purpose, therefore, was "to solve the national question" within the forcefully integrated Soviet multi-national state. In pursuit of this objective, Soviet political strategists have devised an elaborate and complex system of national-territorial state formations meticulously reflecting the multinational nature of the Soviet federation and affording every nation and every major nationality juridical recognition in one of several forms of "Soviet national statehood." In this way they have tried (1) to cater to national feelings of the non-Russian nationalities by skillfully manipulating the classical concepts of "national sovereignty," "national statehood," "national autonomy"; (2) to create a political-psychological safety system for the pent-up nationalism; and (3) to enlist the loyalties of the member-nationalities.

Juridically speaking, only Union Republics are subjects of the Soviet federation (the USSR). Other national-autonomies (i.e., Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions, and National Areas), although they are represented in the federal chamber—the USSR Council of Nationalities—by Soviet criteria have not qualified for "full national statehood" in the form of Union Republic. They are, therefore, subordinate members of the Union Republic in which they are located. Most of them are located in the RSFSR, the largest of the 15 Union Republics and a federation in its own right based on these national autonomous units.

Under the present constitution of the USSR (1936), representation is graduated in favor of Union Republics: Union Republic—32; Autonomous Republic—11; Autonomous Region—5; National Area—one each (see above, p. 80).

In the USSR, as in other federations, competence is formally divided between two levels of government—the Union and its members, the Union Republics—represented by a three-tier organization of ministries (see above, pp. 79, 81). However, the supremacy of the Union is assured by the following: (1) *Kompetenz-Kompetenz* in the Soviet federation resides in the Union, that is, the Union has the right to enlarge its own competence by amending the constitution; (2) All-Union (federal) laws are supreme in the land, and the Union can disallow any conflicting legal act of a Union Republic; (3) all Union Republic constitutions must conform to the All-Union constitution.

Federation, in Soviet legal theory and political consideration, has always been viewed as a necessary and useful transitional stage to the Marxist-preferred centralized, unitary, and integrated state prior to its ultimate "withering away." While retaining the formal paraphernalia of a federal state, the Soviet federation has in practice operated over the past decades as a unitary and centralized state *par excellence*, in which the administrative machinery of the central government has had dominance over other branches—legislative and judiciary. Aside from the policy predilections of the central government, there are within the system of Soviet federation a number of institutions which, themselves being organized and operated on a centralized and unitary principle, have acted as centralizing forces on the operation of Soviet federalism, cutting across the established federal lines. The most important of these are: the Communist Party, whose role in particular is crucial for the operation of the Soviet federation (see below, pp. 89 ff.); Centralized Economic Plan-

ning; and the Procuracy Service (see p. 117).

### The Legal Status of the Ukrainian SSR within the USSR

**The competence of the Ukrainian SSR.** The USSR constitution (Art. 15) and the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR (Art. 13) declare that the Ukrainian SSR is a "sovereign" and "independent" state, whose sovereignty and independence are limited only by the provisions of Article 14 of the USSR constitution. Article 14, however, encompasses every field of any significance either by granting the Union exclusive jurisdiction or by reserving to it fields in which it has the prerogative to "determine basic principles" and "determine the principles of legislation," which upon closer examination leaves not a single major activity to the Ukrainian SSR beyond the scope of Union's authority (see above, pp. 83 ff.).

**The sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR.** The question of "sovereignty" within a federation has been recognized by most constitutional lawyers as a complex and a difficult one. Soviet constitutional lawyers subscribe to the theory of "dual sovereignty," that is, that both the Union and its constituent members, the Union Republics, are sovereign. The Soviet claim of "sovereignty" for the Ukrainian SSR (and other Union Republics) is based on three main premises: (1) the Ukrainian SSR entered into union with other Soviet Republics "voluntarily," and likewise "voluntarily" surrendered some of its prerogatives of statehood and part of its sovereignty; (2) the Ukrainian SSR has the right to "freely secede" from the USSR (Art. 14, Ukrainian SSR constitution); (3) the territory of the Ukrainian SSR may not be altered without its consent (Art. 15, Ukrainian SSR constitution).

The claim to "voluntary union" has little historical basis. The four-year armed struggle (1917–21) between the Ukrainian National Republic and Soviet Russia bears witness to the forceful incorporation of Ukraine into the Soviet Russian empire, which in 1924 adopted the name "USSR" [Vol. 1, pp. 725–70].

The right to secede, while being a unique prerogative of a member-state among the existing federations, is a mere paper right without any practical meaning in the face of the overwhelming coercive power in the hands of the Party, police, and the military of the USSR. Even in terms of juridical provisions, neither the constitution of the Ukrainian SSR nor that of the USSR provide any formal procedure for the institutional exercise of this right. Furthermore, this right to secede can be abrogated by the central government in Moscow at any time by a simple amendment to the USSR constitution. For unlike its predecessor of 1924, the present USSR constitution does not provide any safeguards or restriction against amending or repealing Article 17, covering the right to secession (see above, p. 79).

Soviet past practice has blemished the official Soviet claim that the territory of a Union Republic may not be changed without its consent (Art. 18 of the USSR constitution), as some examples from recent history illustrate: part of the ethnic Ukrainian territory was ceded to Poland in 1945 without the participation of representatives of the Ukrainian Soviet government either in the negotiations or signing of the treaty between Poland and the USSR; in 1956, the Karelo-Finnish SSR was abolished as a Union Republic and its territory was annexed to the RSFSR and granted the lower status of an Autonomous Republic (Karelian ASSR), thus losing its right to secede and all the other rights that go with the status of a Union Republic.

The Soviet theory of "dual sovereignty" maintains also that each Union Republic can redeem portions of its sovereignty which it had surrendered earlier to the Union. This is based on the Soviet theory that the nation or people is the true repository of sovereignty as expressed in the nation's will. A nation can surrender

parts of its state sovereignty to another state (e.g., the USSR), but it retains for itself the sovereign right to retrieve them. It can be said, therefore, that the nation or people possesses "potential" but inalienable sovereignty. As an example, Soviet jurists cite the recovery by Union Republics of their original sovereign right to separate foreign relations by amendment of the USSR constitution on February 1, 1944 (see above, pp. 81 ff.). An extreme example of the exercise of this sovereignty would be a complete secession from the Soviet Union.

### The Communist Party of Ukraine

**The party organization.** The Ukrainian SSR, as other Union Republics and the whole USSR, is a one-party political system. The sole political party is the "Communist Party of Ukraine" (CPU). [For historical background, see Vol. I, pp. 794–831.]

The CPU is not a separate national party organization, but rather a branch of the All-Union organization—the "Communist Party of the Soviet Union" (CPSU)—and is subject to central (Moscow) control and direction. The original idea of separate, autonomous national Communist parties organized along federal lines, as proposed at numerous Party congresses prior to the October Revolution, was never adopted, and the CPSU has remained a highly centralized, disciplined political organization with branches in the Union Republics, Autonomous Republics, and other political and administrative subdivisions of the USSR.

The organizational structure of the CPU is modeled on the CPSU and parallels the political-administrative structure of the Republic. The Party is organized along the "production principle," that is, its basic units are formed in places of work in order to permit the Party to fulfill one of its chief functions of guiding and controlling economic activities in every sector of the national economy. At the bottom of the pyramid are primary Party organizations (once called "cells") on collective and state farms, factories and industrial establishments, educational institutions, administrative offices, and military formations. Above primary organizations come rural and city *raion* organizations, *oblast* organizations, and the Republic organization.

Intra-party elections are indirect, from bottom upward. Candidates are usually selected or at least approved by the higher Party officials, although on occasion disagreements are known to have taken place at various Party levels on the question of candidates. Each primary organization elects annually a secretary and a directing bureau, and every two years delegates to the *raion* conference. In each *raion*, a conference of delegates of primary Party organizations elects a committee which in turn elects a *raion* bureau and three secretaries. The *raion* conference also elects delegates to the next-higher level, the *oblast*, who elect the *oblast* committee; the committee elects a bureau and secretaries. The *oblast* conference elects delegates to the Union Republic Party congress. The Republic congress elects the Central Committee, which, in turn, elects its Presidium and the Secretariat. At each level, the First Secretary is always in command. Approximately every four years, large city *raions*, *oblasts*, and the Union Republic congresses elect delegates to the All-Union Party Congress. The latter, again, elects its Central Committee, which, in turn, elects its Politbureau, the Secretariat, and the Committee of Party Control. The Union Republic congresses always precede the All-Union Party congresses.

Both elections and appointments in the Party organization are controlled by the Party Apparat (Apparatus), consisting of full-time paid Party officials known as *apparatchiki*, who occupy all the important power positions inside the Communist Party.

The Party is organized and operates in accordance with Lenin's ubiquitous

concept of "democratic centralism" which is the "guiding principle" for the Party. It provides for: (*a*) election of leading Party bodies from the lowest to the highest; (*b*) periodic accountability of Party bodies by their respective Party organizations; (*c*) absolute Party discipline and absolute subordination of the minority to the majority; (*d*) absolute binding character of the decisions of the higher bodies upon the lower bodies. In practice, this concept provides a useful rationalization for the most strict intra-Party discipline for individual members and Party organizations.

**The role of the party in the Ukrainian SSR.** The operation of the Soviet state, economy, and society in general cannot be properly understood without the appreciation of the role played by the Communist Party at every level of the state pyramid.

Prior to 1936, there was no mention in the USSR constitution (1924) of the role of the Communist Party in the Soviet state, although Soviet legal writers were then outspoken about it (e.g., G. S. Gurvich, S. I. Raevich, and others). Article 126 of the USSR constitution (1936) juridically defines the role of the Party as being an organization of "the most active and politically conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class, working peasants and working intelligentsia," which constitutes "the core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state." While the Communist Party is neither a state nor a government institution, it is in both theory and practice the prime mover of every important action, and it imparts its own system of norms on the political process within the Soviet state.

From the organizational aspect, the Party's outward and formal organizational hierarchy closely coincides with the Soviet federal and administrative-territorial state structure reaching down to the lowest village and the smallest factory. Informally, the Party machinery is closely interwoven with that of the state, especially in the administrative sector of the executive branch of government, through the so-called principle of "interlocking directorship," whereby high state officials at both All-Union and Republic levels are at the same time high Party functionaries. For a long period, even the office of the USSR Premier was occupied by the First Secretary of the CPSU (e.g., Stalin and Khrushchev). Such a system provides the institutional base for the Party dictatorship in the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR as a whole.

The Party plays an important role in the Soviet legislative process. All important legislation adopted by the Supreme Soviet is originally formulated or at least approved by the Party. In addition, the Party (through its Central Committee) acts as legislator by issuing its own "directives" and "theses," or "joint decisions" of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers, which are legally binding on state administrative organs in keeping with the Soviet theory of strict subordination of the state apparatus to Party guidance and control. The Party, therefore, has a choice of making its will known to various segments of the Soviet society: it can seek compliance with its decisions either from outside the constitutional framework by the use of Party organization at each level of state administration or it can use the formal state channel and wrap its directives in a cloak of legitimacy in the form of a law passed by the Supreme Soviet or a decree issued by its Presidium.

The Party plays an especially significant role in the sphere of planning and control at all levels. It is no accident that the constitutions of the USSR and the UkrSSR do not grant to their respective *de jure* governments (the Council of Ministers) the prerogative of policy formulation, because it traditionally has been exercised by the Party (see Art. 33c of "The Party Rules"). This in fact makes the Party's Politbureau the *de facto* government of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR. The Party exercises control in

the following ways: (1) by its unrestricted control over the enforcement powers of the state; (2) by maintaining a monopoly on the nomination of candidates for elections at all levels; and (3) significantly, by controlling the *nomenkliatura*, that is, a Union-wide selection of personnel (a form of gigantic patronage system). The *nomenkliatura* system works across federal lines without regard to Republic frontiers or their jurisdiction. Frequent interchange of personnel—from Moscow to various Republics and between different Republics—takes place under the guise of "exchange of cadres" without regard to nationality or the preferences of the persons involved. Strict intra-Party discipline makes this horizontal mobility possible even under most difficult circumstances. One of the harsh consequences of this system has been "Russification," that is, subjection of non-Russian Party workers and their families to the process of denationalization or complete Russification, and, conversely, injection of large numbers of Party workers of Russian nationality into the national fabric of the non-Russian Union Republics.

Since the Communist Party of Ukraine is only a branch of the CPSU, and is strictly subordinated to the latter organizationally and operationally, it serves as a "transmission belt" for passing policy decisions of the central Party organs in Moscow to the government of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev, thus reducing the autonomy of the Soviet Ukrainian government on any important matter to choosing the best means of carrying out these decisions. It is true that high Party officials of the CPU (who are at the same time high government officials of the Ukrainian SSR) are also members of the CPSU Central Committee and, in a few instances, even of its Politbureau, and in this way they are at least in the position to influence the broad Party policy decisions in their formulating stage as concerns the Ukrainian SSR. To what extent this is actually being done is not known because of the secrecy that surrounds high-level Party deliberations. What is known, however, is that whatever autonomy does exist in the Ukrainian SSR, it can only exist within the framework of the control exercised by the highly centralized Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Party also plays a significant role on the local level. Local Party committees (in the cities, factories, farms, schools, etc.) perform important administrative and control functions by way of exercising their prerogative to appoint or approve candidates for all public office as well as managerial and administrative positions, verifying the production levels and schedules of plan fulfillment, determining the allocation of scarce consumer goods within their area of jurisdiction, controlling and supervising cultural and social activities of the local population, and so on. Virtually no activity of any importance escapes the watchful eye and the guiding hand of the Party organization on the local level.

**Local Government in the Ukrainian SSR**

**Administrative-territorial division.** The Ukrainian SSR is divided into 25 administrative *oblasts*. Each *oblast* is in turn subdivided into *raions*. There are two types of *raions*: urban, found in large cities, and rural, which consist of a number of *sil'radas* (village councils) with the seat located in a small town or a large village. As of July 1, 1967, there were 475 *raions* and 8,550 *sil'radas* in the Ukrainian SSR. The cities are under the Republic, *oblast*, or *raion* jurisdiction. There are also settlements of urban type [Vol. I, p. 153].

**Local government organization.** Each of the above-named administrative subdivisions has a soviet or council (*rada*) of "working people's deputies" elected from single-member electoral *raions* for a two-year term. Elections are from single-candidate nominations prepared or at least approved by the local Party

organization. The deputies' councils, in turn, elect an executive committee at *oblast*, city, and *raion* levels, and an executive body of three officers (chairman, vice-chairman, secretary) at the village level. In large cities, the executive committee elects a presidium which runs the administration between the sessions of the executive committee. The constitution of the Ukrainian SSR prescribes in detail the minimum required frequency of sessions by the councils at various levels (Arts. 61–3). The deputies, in addition to sitting in council, also serve on the committees or sections into which the councils on the city and *oblast* levels are divided. For the purpose of more effectively administering the various sectors of municipal or *oblast* economy, the councils at those levels create, as part of the executive committees, special divisions or administrative departments with the approval of the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet (Art. 69). In addition (and this is very significant for proper evaluation of Soviet local government), at the *oblast* level, there are attached to the regional deputies' councils ("as conditions require") special departments representing the All-Union (USSR) ministries, the Ministry of Communications of the Ukrainian SSR, and the Committee for State Security (Secret Police) (Art. 70).

The Soviet principle of "dual subordination" applies also to local administration: the executive organs at each level are directly accountable both to the councils that elected them and to their respective executive organs on the next higher level. Similarly, the councils and executive organs at each level can abrogate decisions of their respective councils and executive organs immediately below them.

**The role of local government.** The role of local government under Soviet conditions is unlike that known in the western world. First of all, the organs of local administration are officially described as agencies of the central government (Art. 54)—a role that is assured by the application of the principle of "democratic centralism," by the omnipresent influence of the Party, and especially by their financial dependence on the central government. Unlike their western counterparts, Soviet local government bodies have no financial autonomy. Their budget is initially determined, together with the budget of the Union Republic, by the All-Union government in Moscow and subsequently sub-allocated without any significant modification by the Union Republic government. They do not have the right to tax or any significant source of income other than the centrally assigned budget. (see also National Economy). The popularly elected councils at all levels are, as a rule, weak, and the real seat of power resides in the executive committees and their presidiums which in practice act as agents of the Party. Aside from the traditional problems of administration, the local organs are active in some aspects of control and management of the economic activity in their administrative areas, and especially in helping to secure the fulfillment of assigned economic plans. The councils also serve as a safety valve by providing the ventilation of grievances against local officials, and they help create the semblance of widespread popular participation in local government.

### Citizenship of the Ukrainian SSR

The Ukrainian SSR (like all other Union Republics) has its own citizenship and the right to admit to citizenship of the Republic (Arts. 17 and 19u, Ukrainian SSR constitution). Since the Ukrainian SSR is a constituent member of the USSR, this raises the problem of "dual citizenship." Article 17 provides that each citizen of the Ukrainian SSR is automatically a citizen of the USSR, and that each citizen of any other Union Republic enjoys on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR the same rights as the citizens of the Ukrainian SSR. This pro-

vision puts in question the practical meaning of the "Republic citizenship" since every USSR citizen can enjoy the same rights and privileges on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR without even becoming a citizen of the Ukrainian SSR and irrespective of the time and duration of his residence.

According to constitutional provisions, only Union Republics have the right to admit aliens to citizenship (Republic and simultaneously USSR) and the Union only provides legislation concerning Union citizenship and the rights of foreigners (Art. 19u, Ukrainian SSR constitution; Art. 14v, USSR constitution). By the law of 1938, however, the USSR Supreme Soviet authorized the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet to admit aliens to Soviet citizenship, thereby limiting the right of the Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet to admit to citizenship only those persons residing on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR. In practice, however, citizenship, as a rule, has been granted to aliens by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and it is the USSR (not the Republic) citizenship that has been accorded international recognition.

The constitution of the Ukrainian SSR (and the USSR) has an elaborate list of "fundamental rights and duties of citizens" of the Ukrainian SSR. It is ironic that the adoption of this portion of the constitution was made at the height of the Great Purges (in 1937), when fundamental human freedoms and civil rights of millions of Soviet citizens were being violated daily without the opportunity for redress or constitutional protection.

Articles 99–102 establish the so-called economic rights, which include the right to employment and leisure, the right to social security and education, and equality of rights for women. In practice, however, the observance of these economic rights by Soviet authorities has been made dependent on economic requirements and political considerations of the regime in power (see also National Economy).

Articles 103–9 enumerate basic freedoms and civil rights. As in the case of the economic rights, these "guarantees" have been made by past Soviet practice only declaratory in nature. "Freedom of conscience" has been consistently violated in respect to individuals and whole religious groups; instead, its corollary, "freedom of anti-religious propaganda," has been intensified under official sponsorship. "Freedom of speech, press, assembly and demonstrations" has been permitted only if it is "in accordance with the interests of the toilers" (Art. 106), which in practice means whenever the Party, which interprets "the interests of the toilers," will so permit. Recent arrests, trials, and sentencing of writers and intellectuals underscore the hollowness of these constitutional provisions. Soviet history abounds in violations of these rights—searches and seizures without warrants, illegal arrests and deportations or executions without trial—all attesting to the fact that constitutional rights of the individual in the Soviet Union are not covered by a guarantee when questions of policy of the regime in power is involved.

Article 103 of the Ukrainian SSR constitution (and Art. 123 of the USSR constitution) guarantee complete equality of nations and races and prohibit discrimination in any form because of national origin or race. The Soviet practice, however, has not lived up to either the letter or the spirit of this constitutional provision. Soviet history is replete with examples of national discrimination and inequality practiced against individuals, groups, or whole nations. The hegemony of the Great Russian nation over the non-Russian nations, established in the 1930's in the political, cultural, and socio-economic spheres, has never been officially renounced and is being perpetuated to the present day. Russification has remained at the heart of the nationality policy of the Communist Party of the

Soviet Union, albeit formally couched in such terms as "rapprochement (*sblizhenie*) of nations" or "fusion (*slianie*) of nations" of the USSR, which in reality mean the ultimate absorption of non-Russian nations of the USSR by the Great Russian nation. Any overt opposition to the process of Russification has been usually branded as "bourgeois nationalism" or "nationalist chauvinism," and has been equated with subversion and made punishable under loosely interpreted articles of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

On the other hand, the system of government of the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR has not provided an effective channel through which persons or groups may seek legal redress of grievances stemming from allegations of national discrimination. In fact, such interpellations are implicitly discouraged by the Soviet regime's broad application of its police powers. There is no official body (agency or commission) which could investigate alleged violations of national rights, and oversee, control, and report on the application of the constitutional provisions and related laws in the sphere of national rights.

Corollary to the enumerated freedoms and rights of citizenship, the constitution (Arts. 110–13) also lists the duties that go along with Soviet citizenship (i.e., the duty to work, serve in the armed forces, observe laws, maintain labor discipline, safeguard socialist property, and defend the country).

Under the USSR constitution of 1924, each Union Republic had the exclusive right to determine the rights and duties of its citizens. The present constitution (1936) transferred this prerogative to the All-Union government.

### The Territory of the Ukrainian SSR

The present territory of the Ukrainian SSR (232,046 sq.mi.) was formed in the aftermath of World War II, and it includes most of the historic ethnic lands of Ukraine inhabited by a majority of Ukrainian population.

The territory of the Ukrainian SSR was originally designated by the Treaty of Riga (March 18, 1921), whereby the territory of the Ukrainian National Republic was partitioned between Soviet Russia and Poland, and Soviet rule was finally instituted in central and eastern Ukraine. One-third of the Ukrainian ethnic territory was still outside the boundaries of the Ukrainian SSR and formed parts of Poland (Galicia, Volhynia, the Kholm region, Podlachia, and western Polisia), Rumania (Bukovina and Bessarabia), and Czechoslovakia (Carpatho-Ukraine). Sections of the Ukrainian ethnic territory were also incorporated in the Russian SFSR (Kuban, parts of Donbas, Stavropol *krai*, Black Sea *guberniyas*, northern counties of the Chernihiv *guberniya*, southern parts of the Kursk and Voronezh *guberniyas*, etc.) [Vol. I, pp. 24ff.]. Additional Ukrainian territory (the Tahanrih district) was transferred to the Russian SFSR in 1924. The Putyvl county of the Kursk *guberniya* was added to the Ukrainian SSR.

The borders of the Ukrainian SSR, as established in 1921 (and modified in 1924), remained unchanged until 1939 when as a result of the Soviet-German partition of Poland, Western Ukraine (Galicia and Volhynia) was annexed to the USSR and became part of the Ukrainian SSR. Subsequently, parts of Bukovina and Bessarabia, ceded by Rumania in 1940, were also incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR. At the same time, on August 2, 1940, the former Moldavian ASSR was promoted to the status of a Union Republic and was therefore excluded from the Ukrainian SSR. In 1945, Carpatho-Ukraine was formally ceded by Czechoslovakia and made part of the Ukrainian SSR as the Transcarpathian *oblast*. In 1954, the Crimea was added to the Ukrainian SSR.

Article 15 of the Ukrainian SSR constitution guarantees the territorial integrity of the Ukrainian SSR by providing that

its territory may not be altered without its consent. At the same time, Article 6 of the USSR constitution vests absolute ownership of the land and the natural resources in the USSR. This obvious constitutional inconsistency and the problem of "dual ownership" has never been satisfactorily resolved in the Soviet constitutional law.

[For Coat of Arms, Flag, Capital of the Ukrainian SSR, see Vol. I, pp. 31ff.]

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## SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

### General Remarks

The Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR (Art. 106) provides that citizens have the right to unite in social (mass) organizations "in order to develop organizational initiative and political activity." Social organizations are defined in Soviet literature as being "voluntary associations of the working people" and they may consist of the following types: trade unions, youth organizations, cultural associations, and scientific and technical societies. This constitutional right can be exercised by Soviet citizens only "in conformity with the interests of the working class" (Art. 106), which in practice means that social organizations are closely and unequivocally controlled by the state. In order to form a new organization, association, sports club, or cultural society—from the center down to the lowest level—a license must be obtained from the state authorities for the area from which membership is to be drawn. Existing model charters must be followed; in the absence of a model, the law requires the authorization of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR for each new organization.

All legal social organizations in the Ukrainian SSR (and the USSR as a

whole) are made to serve the purposes of the state and the Party in organizing the masses. By Soviet definition, social organizations, together with the organs of state power and state government, constitute a political organization of the Soviet society under the leadership of the Communist Party, which itself is considered to be "the highest form of socio-political organization of the working people." Social organizations constitute "non-party blocs" (i.e., organizations outside the framework of Communist Party), whose officers are nominally selected by popular elections; in practice, however, the Party nominates or at least sanctions candidates for elective offices. Each social organization contains within its fold functional cells of the Party apparatus, which constitute the nucleus of that organization.

Social organizations serve many purposes within the Soviet state: (1) they assure effective supervision and leadership over the people of all social classes; (2) they involve them in "Communist education" (political indoctrination) appropriate to the particular intellectual level, profession, or age; (3) each organization is an instrument of Communist power and control in its own particular sphere; (4) each organization serves as a transmission belt for making the will and policies of the Communist Party known to various segments of Soviet society. Almost every individual in the population is involved in a social organization of one type or another. Soviet authorities, as a rule, distrust the unorganized, that is, the uncommitted, unsupervised, or apathetic. By mobilizing the population through personal involvement, the Soviet regime attempts to secure from the individual personal commitment to the Soviet system.

Structurally, many social organizations follow the organizational pattern of the Communist Party in that they are organized on Union-wide basis with separate branches set up in each Union Republic, territory, region, and district. These branches are hierarchically subordinated to the central headquarters in Moscow on the principle of "democratic centralism."

**Trade Unions**

The broadest-based social organizations in the Ukrainian SSR are the trade unions. The Ukrainian trade union movement enjoyed an independent existence during the period of the Ukrainian National Republic (1918–20). The All-Ukrainian Trade Union Congress, held in Kiev on May 21–7, 1918, created the Ukrainian Central Council of Trade Unions (*Utsentroprof*). Its fate, however, was closely bound with the fate of the Ukrainian national state, and the subsequent Bolshevik take-over of Ukraine meant also Bolshevik reorganization of the Ukrainian trade unions and their incorporation into the All-Russian (later All-Union) Trade Union Council in spite of the fact that, until 1923, the All-Russian Trade Union Council in Ukraine was controlled by the Mensheviks. The Trade Union Congress, held in Kharkiv, November 3–8 1924, reorganized the trade unions in Ukraine and created the All-Ukrainian Trade Union Committee (VUPK) and the All-Ukrainian Council of Trade Unions (VURPS). These bodies were later liquidated at the height of the Great Purges (1937), and the trade union movement suffered a serious blow and subsequent decline. After World War II, a reorganization and revival of trade unions in Ukraine took place when the first Republican Trade Union Conference elected, in 1948, a new Ukrainian Republic Council of Trade Unions (URRPS), which exists to date.

Trade Unions of the Ukrainian SSR (as in the entire USSR) are organized on an industrial rather than craft basis and they include all workers, manual and white collar, within a given branch or segment of the economy. Each branch trade union is organized vertically for the whole of the USSR, corresponding to the terri-

torial-administrative subdivisions of the country. Each Union is headed by a committee at each level—factory, city or *raion*, *oblast*, and Union Republic—and by a central committee on the All-Union level in Moscow. In addition to the vertical structure, trade unions are also organized horizontally on inter-union basis from the *oblast* up: trade union councils on the *oblast*, Republic, and All-Union levels provide a common leadership to all branch trade unions on each corresponding level. The highest governing body of the trade unions of the Ukrainian SSR is the Republic Trade Union Congress, and in the intervals between congresses the work is directed by the Ukrainian Republic Council of Trade Unions. The trade unions of the Ukrainian SSR are an integral part of the trade union organization of the USSR.

Membership in the trade union is nominally voluntary, but in practice almost obligatory for all paid workers (manual and office) in public enterprises. In 1965, there were in the Ukrainian SSR over 20 branch trade unions and 99,675 organizations with a total membership of 13,617,029 or 95.6 per cent of all workers and civil service employees in the Republic.

The new program of the Communist Party (1961) outlined three basic tasks for trade unions in the USSR: (1) political—to serve as an instrument of Party policy and an organ of Communist education; (2) production—to serve as an auxiliary organ of the state apparatus for maintaining labor discipline, raising productivity of workers, and ensuring fulfillment and over-fulfillment of production plans; (3) to serve as a reservoir from which to recruit part of the administrative and economic bureaucracy.

Soviet trade unions have been given supervision over the operation of state social insurance budget (pensions, grants, funding of health resorts, sanitoriums, etc.). They keep check on industry; supervise operations of labor supply agencies; and act as an intermediary or transmission mechanism between the Party and the working masses. In practice, Soviet trade unions are identified more with the Party and the state than with workers (for additional information, see National Economy).

**The Young Communist League**

One of the striking characteristics of modern totalitarianism is the attention paid to the organization and indoctrination of youth. This is especially true of the Soviet Union whose government from its inception has made an extraordinary effort to win the support of the maturing generations and mold their behavior, thoughts, and aspirations.

The Leninist Young Communist League (YCL) of the Ukrainian SSR (*Komsomol*) is the largest youth organization and the second most important of the mass organizations in the Ukrainian SSR. It is organized along the same lines as the Communist Party (see above, pp. 89 ff.), with its major subdivisions following a hierarchical order: primary organizations on the local level (school, factory, collective farm, army unit, etc.); city or *raion* organization; *oblast* organization; Republic organization; and finally, the All-Union organization. YCL organizations on each level of the pyramid are controlled and supervised by the corresponding Party organ as well as by the next higher YCL organ. The highest body of the YCL is the Congress, which must meet at least every two years. It elects the Central Committee, which directs the work of YCL in the intervals between congresses, and the Central Auditing Commission. The Central Committee, in turn, elects its own Bureau and Secretariat. Members of the Bureau and Secretariat usually are at the same time high-ranking Party members, and frequently also members of the CPU Central Committee. Similarly, the first secretary of the YCL committee at each level of the pyramid is also a member of the corresponding Party committee at that level. The Komsomol of the Ukrai-

nian SSR is only a branch of the All-Union Komsomol organization.

Any person between the ages of fourteen and twenty-eight who has been recommended by either two Komsomol members or one Party member may become a member of the Komsomol. Membership in the Komsomol is made attractive and pressures to join are strong. Komsomol is considered, in the Soviet official view, the vanguard of youth, ready to volunteer for the most strenuous and disagreeable tasks, guardians of morals, manners, and political fidelity, exemplary wherever they find themselves, outstanding workers, models of discipline, a stimulus to their associates, and a constant help to their superiors.

Komsomol serves as "the active assistant of the Party" and a reservoir from which the Party recruits its new members. It is a school for "upbringing young people in the spirit of Communism" (Party Statutes, Art. 60) and an instrument through which the Party indoctrinates and controls the youth. It assists the Party in putting its directives and policies into effect. Formally, however, it is not a party organization. Its members, unless they were actually admitted into the CPSU, are considered "partyless." It prepares the youth for military service through a program of paramilitary training (DOSAAF). It plays an active role in the maintenance of public order through Komsomol patrols (people's guards), which are vested with auxiliary police power in relation to youth in the streets and places of amusement. It is a reservoir of agitators and propagandists of the Communist cause. Komsomol has also been entrusted by the Party with the task of supervising the day-to-day operations and activities of Pioneers (an organization for school-age children), where indoctrination of Soviet youth begins.

On January 1, 1965, the Komsomol of the Ukrainian SSR had a membership of 3,835,539. Its publications include 11 newspapers and six journals. Of these, two newspapers are on the Republic level: *Molod' Ukraïny* (Youth of Ukraine, in Ukrainian) and *Komsomol'skoe Znamia* (The Komsomol Banner, in Russian); the most important journals are: *Dnipro, Zmina* (Change), and *Znannia ta Pratsia* (Knowledge and Work). Its publishing house *Molod'* publishes books for the youth.

**Cultural Associations of the Ukrainian SSR**

The Soviet regime has always viewed literature and the arts in utilitarian rather than aesthetic terms, as instruments in shaping the new society (Stalin once said that writers are "engineers of the human spirit"). Like other sectors of social endeavor, literature and the arts are mobilized for the building of Communism. To this end, Party-sponsored unitary cultural associations were established in the 1930's, replacing the hitherto heterogeneous groups of cultural organizations. Through these associations, the Party has been able to exercise control and censorship over the creative efforts of the literati and the artists, to enlist the masses in the struggle for Communism, to establish a monopoly over the principal means of artistic expression, and to enforce one official form of Soviet literature and art—"Socialist Realism."

**Union of Writers of Ukraine (SPU):** founded in 1934, it replaced several autonomous Ukrainian writers' associations, many of whose members were liquidated or exiled [Vol. I, pp. 1043–59]. Its members are Ukrainian poets, writers, playwrights, literary critics, translators, and also those non-Ukrainian men of letters who live and work in Ukraine. Its publications are: newspapers: *Literaturna Ukraïna* (Literary Ukraine); journals: *Vitchyzna* (Fatherland), *Prapor* (Banner), *Zhovten'* (October), *Vsesvit* (Universe), *Raduga* (Rainbow), *Radians'ke Literaturoznavstvo* (Soviet Literary Study); publishing house: *Radians'kyi Pys'mennyk* (Soviet

Writer). As of January 1, 1965, the Union had 723 members.

**Union of Artists of the Ukrainian SSR (SKh URSR)**: founded in 1932, after a number (about 10) of independent organizations of Ukrainian artists were abolished. Its first organizational congress, however, did not take place until 1938, after many Ukrainian artists were liquidated. It unites artists and art critics of the Ukrainian SSR, and has 11 regional branches. Its publication is *Mystetstvo* (The Arts). As of January 1, 1965, the Union had 1,380 members and alternate members.

**Union of Composers of Ukraine (SKU)**: founded in 1932, after a number of independent Ukrainian composers' associations were abolished. Its first organizational congress was held in 1939. Its members are composers and music critics of Ukraine. From 1933 to 1941, it published a journal, *Radians'ka Muzyka* (Soviet Music). At present it does not have an organ of its own, and only co-sponsors the journal, *Mystetstvo* (see above). As of January 1, 1965, the Union had 148 members.

**Union of Journalists of Ukraine (SZhU)**: founded in 1959. Its members are professional journalists actively engaged in the press, radio, television, press services, and publishing houses, and also those active rural and workers' correspondents who have mastered the art of journalism. As of January 1, 1965, the Union had 4,713 members.

**Union of Cinematography Workers of Ukraine (SPKU)**: founded in 1957. Its first organizational congress was held in 1963. Its members are motion picture actors, directors, script-writers, critics, editors, and engineering and technical personnel. It co-sponsors the journal *Mystetstvo*, and, since 1961, publishes a supplement called *Novyny Kinoteatru* (Cinema News). As of January 1, 1965, the Union had 306 members.

**Ukrainian Theatrical Association (UTT)**: founded in 1944 for the purpose of promoting Ukrainian theater. Its members are theatrical art workers of Ukraine. As of January 1, 1965, the Association had 3,477 members.

**Choral Association of the Ukrainian SSR (KhT URSR)**: founded in 1959 for the purpose of promoting the development of choral and other types of musical art, its members are individual professional and amateur musicians, and professional and amateur choral, musical, and choreographic organizations. As of January 1, 1965, the Association had 150,000 members.

**Union of Architects of the Ukrainian SSR (SA URSR)**: founded in 1933. Its members are architects and other specialists who work in the field of architecture. The Union publishes, together with the State Committee for Construction of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, the official journal *Stroitel'stvo i Arkhitektura* (Construction and Architecture, in Russian). As of January 1, 1965, the Union had 1,503 members.

**Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments:** founded in 1966 for the purpose of discovering, studying, and preserving monuments of antiquity in Ukraine. In 1968, the Society had over 90,000 members.

**Pedagogical Association of the Ukrainian SSR**: founded in 1960. Its members are school teachers, educators, and scholars. As of January 1, 1965, the Association had 28,000 members.

### Scientific and Technical Organizations

There is a number of scientific-technical organizations whose purpose is to promote productivity, research, national defense, and health and well-being. As a rule, they are either local branches of central (Moscow) organizations or Republic counterparts of the All-Union organizations to which they are subordinated. They provide the Party with an additional channel of control over the educated elite in the country. The following are some of the more important organizations: Ukrainian Botanical Society; Ukrainian Microbiological Society;

Ukrainian Entomological Society; Ukrainian Republic Society of Parasitologists; Ukrainian (Pavlov) Physiological Society; Ukrainian Biochemical Society; Ukrainian Hydrobiological Society; Geographic Society of the Ukrainian SSR; the Ukrainian Branch of the All-Union (Mendeleev) Chemical Society; Ukrainian Society for the Preservation of Nature and the Promotion of the Development of Natural Resources.

**Other Mass Organizations**

**Comrades' courts.** Comrades' courts, originally established during the period of War Communism (initial phase of Communist rule, 1918–21), were revived after 1959 as an arm of the state to help preserve public order. Their role is conceived to be persuasive rather than coercive: they aim to "educate" Soviet people by organized social pressure of neighbors and colleagues, although one of the means is punishment.

Comrades' courts consist of members elected for a two-year term at a general meeting called by factory or local trade union committees, collective farm boards, or executive committees of local soviets. The meetings of the court are informal and are usually held after working hours at a factory, apartment house, neighborhood, or collective farm. Cases are heard in public, and conventional legal language and procedural guarantees applied in regular courts are waived. The decisions of the court are final, although some may be subject to review by the people's courts. The type of cases they consider are primarily those involving minor infractions against public order (hooliganism, petty speculation, or theft of social or state property, drunkenness in public places, violation of labor discipline, etc.). The courts' jurisdiction has been broadened recently to include cases under the "anti-parasitic laws," whereby a comrades' court may recommend that a person who leads a "parasitic mode of life" be sentenced to two to five years of exile with compulsory labor at a specified location. While this sentence must be confirmed by the executive committee of the local soviet, the accused is not protected by the normal rules of evidence and proof in spite of the severity of the sentence. He has neither the right to defense nor the right to appeal. This constitutes a powerful weapon in the hands of a social group at the service of the state and operating outside the regular machinery of administration of justice.

In 1964, there were over 37,000 comrades' courts in operation in the Ukrainian SSR with a total membership of over 170,000.

**People's guards.** People's guards is a voluntary organization of citizens formed in the Ukrainian SSR in 1961 to help protect public order. Their main aim is crime-prevention. They are detailed to apartment buildings, factories, collective farms, public places, recreational areas, city streets, state frontiers, and so on. They work on a part-time unpaid basis, patrolling areas where anti-social acts (drunkenness, rowdiness, hooliganism, blackmarketeering, etc.) are likely to occur. Their activities include offering guidance and advice on proper behavior and respect for law, issuing warnings in minor cases, apprehending offenders, and generally assisting the regular as well as secret police. A people's guard unit is headed by a commander. Units within a city or district are coordinated and led by a city or district command. Local Party agencies are charged with organizing and supervising people's guards, who serve as the eyes and ears of the Party and of the security agencies within the community. In 1965, there were in the Ukrainian SSR 32,300 people's guard units with a total membership of 1,700,000.

**Ukrainian Republic Organization of DOSAAF.** The Ukrainian Republic Organization of the All-Union Voluntary Society for Assistance to the Army, Air

Force, and the Navy of the USSR (DOSAAF) was established in 1953 as a mass organization with the primary aim of preparing the youth for military service by providing military and paramilitary training on a part-time basis (at school, after working hours, weekends). The training includes military science, familiarization with weapons and military equipment, physical training, and various aspects of civil defense. In addition to preparing the youth for military service, DOSAAF serves as a training ground for home defense reserves as well as another channel for political indocrination of the citizenry, and especially the youth.

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## CIVIL LAW

The civil law as set forth in this chapter follows the traditional continental concept in that it is a statutory regulation of legal relations between autonomous, legally equal persons, and legal entities in such principal areas as property, obligations (contracts, torts), family law, and inheritance. The Soviet Ukrainian civil code, however, though its form is based on the continental system, departs from the system in scope.

Soviet jurisprudence and, consequently, the civil codes of the Union Republics, define civil law as the body of rules which regulates property rights and related non-property relations (Sec. 1 of the Ukrainian Civil Code). Originally, the Marxist doctrine regarded this law as "bourgeois," because it was based on the concept of private ownership destined to wither away in a true Communist system, in which all means of production would be nationalized (there would be no private property, no commodities, and no money). An attempt to introduce such a system in the years of War Communism (1918–21) failed completely. In 1921, the Soviet government adopted the New Economic Policy (NEP), a market system with a partial recognition of private property and initiative; state enterprises were to participate in legal transactions with funds assigned to them by the state. After the introduction of the Five-Year Plans (in 1928), these state enterprises became mere executors of state planning.

### Sources of Civil Law of the Ukrainian SSR

During the first years of Soviet rule in Ukraine, decrees on nationalization of various branches of industry were introduced. In fact, however, they were merely implementing the nationalization laws of the central government in Moscow. The nationalized industries did not become the property of the Ukrainian SSR, but rather a part of the general funds of the Russian SFSR. On July 26, 1922, a decree on property rights was passed in the Ukrainian SSR. These rights were to be protected by the laws of the Republic and its courts. The first Civil Code of the Ukrainian SSR was enacted on December 16, 1922, and went into effect on February 1, 1923. Although passed by the Ukrainian legislature, the Code was not the latter's creation but a copy of the Russian code.

The new Soviet constitution of 1924 gave the Union legislature the exclusive power to enact "fundamentals" of civil legislation for all the constituent republics. Since no "fundamentals" were passed at that time, the Ukrainian Republic retained the power to legislate in respect

to the entire civil law. It lost that power under the Union constitution of 1936, which made all civil legislation the exclusive prerogative of the Union. However, the decree of February 11, 1957, reversed that provision and again limited the Union jurisdiction to the "fundamentals." Pursuant to this decree, on December 8, 1961, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted the "fundamentals of Civil legislation." The present Civil Code of the Ukrainian SSR, virtually incorporating the "fundamentals," was adopted by the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian SSR on July 18, 1963, and became effective on January 1, 1964. It has eight chapters which cover general provisions, law of property, obligations, copyright, law of discovery, law of invention, inheritance law, and provisions of private international law.

**Personal Law**

The Civil Code regulates relations of persons and legal entities. All citizens of the Ukrainian SSR and other Union Republics are equally capable of enjoying civil rights and equally subject to certain obligations (legal capacity). Having completed 18 years of age, they also have the right to engage in legal transactions (legal competency). Because of the Soviet social and economic systems, the code deals extensively with legal entities. These are primarily state organizations. As a rule, the state as such does not enter into relations covered by civil law, but acts through state enterprises and other organizations, namely those which receive from the state some fixed and working assets in "operative management" with the obligation to work according to approved economic plans; those which are financed by the state budget and have separate estimates; and those financed by other sources and having also separate estimates. Other legal entities are collective farms (*kolhosps*) and other cooperative and mass organizations. Their legal capacity is determined by law and by their charters in accordance with the established objectives of their activity. With their autonomy thus restricted, they are similar to state organizations. Especially in the case of the collective farms and similar types of cooperatives, this limitation of legal capacity and competency results in their exercising their property rights as little more than "operative managements" of state organizations. Although they own their property, they do not have subjective rights in their relations with the state. The state may order a merger of collective farms or liquidate them, but a collective farm cannot decide upon its own dissolution.

**Law of Property**

The Ukrainian Civil Code (like the constitution of the Ukrainian SSR), defines four types of property: state property, cooperative property, property of mass organizations, and personal property. The first three types form the so-called socialist property. Their common characteristic is that they do not constitute private property, but a special type of property with assigned functions in the planned economy.

**State property.** The nature and attributes of state property are described in both the constitution and the Civil Code. Land, natural resources, water, and forests are in the exclusive ownership of the state. They can be assigned to cooperatives, mass organizations, or private persons for perpetual use only. Also designated as state property are industrial plants, mines, electric power stations, means of transportation and communication, banks, state-organized enterprises, and housing facilities in the towns and urban-type settlements. They constitute fixed assets and as such can be transferred to cooperatives, collective farms, and mass organizations under special regulations. But they cannot be alienated to private persons with the exception of certain types of property the sale of which is permitted to citizens by special legislation of the Union or of

the Ukrainian SSR. On the other hand, working assets, such as raw material, money, and so on, which are used in one production cycle, can, when owned by the state, be transferred from one state organization to another, to cooperatives, mass organizations, and private persons on an exchange basis and according to their purpose and the approved planning.

**Cooperative property.** Among types of cooperative property, the collective farm is most important. It may consist of the means of production (fixed assets) and working assets. Under the law, the cooperatives may dispose of their property in accordance with the provisions of their charters. In collective farms, however, these charters are uniform and imposed by the state. Moreover, their right to dispose of their property is limited by state regulations which have the force of statutes, and by the state's "recommendations," which, as a rule, are approved by the collective farm members and become binding. Consequently, the collective farms cannot exercise their right of ownership freely, in accordance with the will of their members.

**Property of mass organizations.** Property of mass organizations, such as labor unions, is regulated by provisions essentially similar to those concerned with cooperative property.

**Personal property.** The constitution and the Civil Code recognize private property of citizens. However, their right to exercise ownership is limited. It is considered as "derivative" from socialist property, since its basic source is the work of citizens in state and cooperative organizations. Only property which "serves to satisfy their material and cultural needs" can be owned by citizens. Personal property must not be used for purposes of exploitation of other people's work or for acquiring profits. Private property may consist of earnings from work, savings, dwelling house, and other objects of personal need and comfort. But the Code limits personal ownership to one house or apartment and to a living area of up to 60 sq. meters per family.

**Law of Obligations**

Legal relations between creditors and debtors can arise from transactions and circumstances such as contracts, administrative acts, and torts. Such relations between private persons do not differ in kind or consequence from those known to non-socialist countries. But the Soviet law limits the freedom of parties to enter such relations: for example, a private person may not conclude contracts to buy, rent or lease more than one dwelling house or an apartment that exceeds the living area allowed by law. On the other hand, legal relations between socialist organizations (state enterprises, collective farms) show the characteristics of the Soviet economic system. They arise from acts of economic planning. In some instances, administrative acts implementing the planning directly impose certain obligations on the organizations. In most instances, however, the acts of economic planning merely obligate these organizations to conclude pertinent contracts. Within the economic planning, it is the plan rather than the will of the contracting parties that decides on the essentials of its contents. Thus the contract becomes a legal means by which the government carries out the economic plan. The "autonomy" of the enterprises is restricted to secondary details of the contracts. In the case of non-performance or improper performance of the obligation, the debtor must pay the creditor a penalty if such is stipulated, or compensate him for the damages. Considering that all property of state enterprises is owned by the state, the above provision would mean that the state imposes penalties on itself and obligates itself to compensate for damages. A state enterprise is, on the one hand, a state agency, and on the other, it represents collective interests of the members. Improper performance of a contract lowers the chance of premiums for the

members and, therefore, directly affects their interest. As a rule, disputes between members of particular enterprises (parties to a contract) are decided by state arbitration. In cases of obligations arising from torts, the code, following the Principles of 1961, technically improved the position of private citizens as it introduced the principle of compensation for damages caused by irregular acts of state officials (Sec. 442 of the Ukrainian Civil Code) and even "in particular cases and within limits especially provided by law" by acts of criminal investigation, prosecutors, and courts (Sec. 443). However, the Supreme Court of the USSR (on October 23, 1963) narrowed the number of state functionaries liable for damages, and no law has been passed setting forth the particular "cases and limits" of tort liability of criminal investigators, prosecutors, and courts.

The Code also provides for the protection of the rights of authors, discoverers, and inventors. But the state (the Ukrainian SSR or the USSR) may determine the author's fees and have the right to utilize the invention for which a patent had been issued.

The provisions of the Code concerning inheritance supersede the special Union decree of March 14, 1945, but, with few exceptions, does not depart from it. Although the Union decree recognized three groups of heirs at law, the Ukrainian civil code established two groups: children, spouse, and parents; and brothers and sisters of the deceased. Within each group, the heirs at law inherit in equal shares. Citizens can bequeath their property by will to any other citizen whether or not included in the group of heirs-at-law, as well as to the state, cooperative, or other public institutions. But minor or incapacitated children, incapacitated spouse or parents, or other dependents of the deceased retain the right, regardless of the will, to at least two-thirds of the share to which they would be entitled in case of intestate succession. Illegitimate children inherit only from their mother.

**Family Law**

Family relations are regulated by the Code of Laws of May 31, 1926, concerning Family, Guardianship, Marriage, and Civil Registrar's Office of the Ukrainian SSR, and by the Principles of Legislation of the USSR and the Union Republics on Marriage and the Family passed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on June 27, 1968, effective as of October 1, 1968. Until the Principles are incorporated in a future Ukrainian code, the provisions of the 1926 Code remain applicable but only insofar as they do not contradict the Principles (decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of September 20, 1968).

The 1926 Code was an independent act of the Ukrainian legislature which differed in system and contents from the analogous Russian Code, especially in regard to marriage. While the Russian jurists recognized *de facto* common law marriages in the first codification in 1919, the Ukrainian legislature refused to recognize them as valid unless duly registered with the civil registrar's office. It was under the pressure of the Russian legislators that the Ukrainian Code permitted the legalization of *de facto* marriages by subsequent registration. Later, the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet of July 8, 1944, established the rule that only marriages "duly registered give rise to marriage rights and obligations."

The Principles of June 27, 1968, established uniformity of the basic provisions concerning family relations in all Union Republic codes. Unlike the Ukrainian Code of 1926, the Principles stress the role of the family in the Communist society. The preamble states that the promotion of the welfare of the Soviet family "in which social and personal interests are harmoniously combined" is one of the most important tasks of the Soviet state. It adds that "the Communist upbringing of the growing generation . . . is the obligation of the family." Section I declares the task of the legislation to be "further strengthening of the Soviet

family based on the principles of Communist morality," and the preparation of children for active participation in the "building of the Communist society." One of the fundamental duties of the parents is to rear their children "in the spirit of the moral code of a builder of Communism . . ." (Sec. 18). Parents may be deprived of their rights if they fail to fulfill their child-rearing obligations (Sec. 19).

The registration of the marriage by the civil registrar's office is the only recognized form of a valid marriage and the source of personal and property rights of the spouses (Sec. 9). Full equality of these rights is assured to both spouses (Sec. 3). A marriage can be terminated by annulment when conditions of a valid marriage are violated, or by divorce upon request of one or both spouses when "continued cohabitation of the spouses and preservation of the family have become impossible." In both cases it is the People's Court that makes the decision pursuant to a regular court proceeding. Divorce by a mere registration of the will of the spouses at the civil registrar's office is not permitted by the Principles. The marriage age is set by the Code at 16 years for women and 18 years for men.

Mutual rights and obligations of parents and children are based on the paternity duly recorded by the civil registrar's office (Sec. 16). The parentage of children born to unmarried parents is established by the joint application of the parents to the civil registrar's office. If no joint application is submitted, the paternity can be established by the court, but only in respect to children born after the effective date of the Principles that is, October 1, 1968. Thus two different categories of children born to unmarried parents are established: those born before the effective date of the Principles who are deprived of the privilege of having their paternity established by a court and those born afterwards who do have that privilege. Another characteristic of this law is that the court bases its decisions concerning paternity not on the biological criterion of descent but on the "cohabitation and maintenance of a common household by the child's mother and the respondent before the child's birth, or the joint rearing or support of the child" as well as on the proof that the respondent had recognized his fatherhood. Medical proof of fatherhood (blood test, etc.) with respect to a man who did not maintain a common household with the child's mother, did not support the child, and did not admit his fatherhood is inadmissible. Children whose paternity is established by joint parental application or by a court decision enjoy rights and obligations equal to those of children born to married parents.

The Code permits adoption and contains provisions to regulate guardianship, changes of name, and declarations that a missing person has died.

**Land Law**

The land law regulates relations based on state ownership of the land and its use according to the interest of the state. The Soviet Russian decree on land of November 8, 1917, laid the basis for the nationalization of all land and the formation of one all-Union Land Fund with the title to it held by the state. The effect of the decree was later extended to all countries conquered by the Bolsheviks, including Ukraine. Since then, all important laws and normative acts passed by the Ukrainian SSR concerning land relations have merely implemented the directives of the central Soviet government in Moscow. The first constitution of the Ukrainian SSR (1919) did not include any provision concerning the ownership of the land, because all pertinent nationalization laws were adopted by the Soviet central government. Contrary to the traditional concept that the incorporation of a territory does not automatically change the status of land ownership within this territory, the Soviet theory and official position is that

after the incorporation of a territory into the USSR, it is automatically included in the all-Union Land Fund and becomes the property of the USSR. Thus the incorporation of western Ukrainian territory by the USSR made the former a direct property of the USSR.

In Ukraine, the Land Code of November 29, 1922, is technically the basic source of law regulating land relations. It was patterned after the Russian code. Its effect is rather limited in view of many Union laws and regulations. On December 15, 1928, the Union law (general principles of land use and management in the USSR) was issued for the purpose of becoming a framework of pertinent Republic regulations. Several other laws and decrees, most of them issued by the Union government, supplement the land regulations. One of them, the decree of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, established a uniform system of land registry under the Union Ministry of Agriculture. In the Ukrainian SSR, it is administered through the Ukrainian Ministry of Agriculture. *Oblast* and city executive committees are in charge of special state registers in which all users of the land in the given territory are duly recorded.

The Land Code restates the principle of the constitution (Sec. 6) that the land, its mineral wealth, waters, and forests, are state property. The state, however, exercises the right of ownership through its various agencies and other organizations (e.g., collective farms) to which the use of the land is allocated. The law regulates the rights and duties of the users and legal relations arising in this connection. The concept of "socialist use" of the land means the possession and utilization of the allocated land according to the purpose designated for it by state planning. The state issues regulations which determine the nature of the "use." Thus the right to use becomes, in relation to the state, identical with the duties.

According to its economic purpose, the land is divided into several categories, each administered by a proper authority. Lands with agricultural assignment, managed by the Ministry of Agriculture of the Ukrainian SSR, constitute the bulk of the land fund. Others are: lands of special designation (for plants, military installations, resorts, schools, etc.) city lands, forests, waters, and lands of state reserve.

**Collective Farm Legislation**

Although the system of collective farms has become the basic form of Soviet agriculture, there is no one single code of laws to regulate all legal aspects of the relationship concerning the organization and activity of the farms, their management by the state, and their relations with the members. These relations are regulated by many Union and Ukrainian Republic laws, of which the most important is the "Model Charter of Agricultural Cooperatives" approved by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR on February 17, 1935, and the charters of particular Ukrainian collective farms based on the Model Charter. Since the legislation usually embraces other types of agricultural land users (such as the state farms [*radhosps*] or even small individual farms), the title of "agricultural legislation" is suggested by some legal writers as more appropriate.

Technically, collective farms are cooperatives. In reality, however, they represent a special form of state management of agriculture. This management is now supervised by the Union-Republic Ministry of Agriculture and its organs.

The collective farm land is state property allocated to it in perpetuity and free. On the other hand, all means of production, buildings, cattle, machinery, money, and so on, are owned by the *kolhosp*. All products are also property of the collective farm, but they have a "socialist" character in that they must serve the whole population and not only

the members of the collective farm. The state unilaterally fixes the prices and determines the quantity to be delivered according to the plan. The leadership of a collective farm is elected by its members. But its chairman, elected upon nomination by a Party or government agency and most often a Party member, is the actual responsible manager.

The unit of piecework, called *trudoden'* (labor day), is still largely accepted as the basis for the computation of the wages for collective farm members. However, small plots of land may be assigned to every household in a collective farm. Householders enjoy the yield of such plots in addition to the basic income derived from the work in the collective farm.

Plots may also be allotted from the collective farm land to non-members, workers, and employees residing in the area. Such workers thus become individual users of the state-owned land.

State farms (*radhosps*) are another type of land users covered by the collective farm legislation. Their land, buildings, cattle, and products are state property. Their legal status is similar to that of the state industrial enterprises.

**Labor Law**

Section 12 of the constitution of the Ukrainian SSR states (as does the constitution of the USSR) that "work in the Ukrainian SSR is a duty and a matter of honor for every able-bodied citizen, according to the principle 'he who does not work, neither shall he eat'." While this duty was at first mostly of a moral character, the nationalization of the basic means of production and the introduction of total economic planning made it a vital necessity and a duty strictly enforced. The production and distribution monopoly of the state now determines the legal and factual status of the worker. The code of labor laws of the Ukrainian SSR of December 2, 1922, regulates the relations arising from this situation. A series of additional union laws and regulations supplement this old law. The law bases the employer-employee relations on a contractual method of hiring. The contract is described as an agreement of two or more persons, on the basis of which one party (the worker) performs some work for the other party (the employer) for a remuneration. It is interpreted that by such agreement the worker is included in the collective of a socialist enterprise, an organization, or a government agency and becomes subject to its internal regulations. The duty to work begins at the age of 15 (12 years for a farmer). The work relationship cannot be shaped according to the will of the parties to the work agreement. It depends upon the tasks of the socialist economic system in general and is determined by the government together with trade unions. The law forbids any discrimination in the employment of workers. However, the law sets forth employment provisions which make it possible for the government to carry out policies in regard to national, ethnic, social, and other groups of the population. Thus young experts who graduate from professional schools are obliged to serve for three years in areas assigned to them according to plans designed by government agencies and trade unions (Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR of 1928). Every year, young experts from non-Russian areas, including Ukraine, are sent to Siberia, Kazakhstan, and other remote areas, away from their home country, as a measure of denationalization. The labor law also makes it possible to resettle whole groups of inhabitants in sparsely populated areas. Although the individual or group contracts are termed voluntary, the pressure of the Communist Party and other channels is usually applied. The management of such resettlements is carried out by the Council of Ministers and the State Planning Commission of the USSR, acting through the Republic Council of Ministers and special committees of the

local councils. "The right to work," according to Soviet interpretation, does not mean the right to "choose the place of employment at one's own discretion without taking into consideration the needs and interests of the state."

Labor discipline is strictly enforced by the labor law, by several special decrees, and by the criminal law. The decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of June 26, 1940, imposed strict penalties for various labor offenses such as tardiness, willful absence from work, and willful dereliction. The Standard Rules of Internal Labor Order of January 12, 1957, mitigated but still upheld the concept and penalties of these labor offenses. The Union decree of January 31, 1957, incorporated into the Ukrainian labor code established special committees for the settlement of labor conflicts. These committees are composed of representatives of the enterprises and the work unions. The worker may appeal from a committee decision to a people's court which then tries the case under the provisions of civil law.

Trade unions are professional associations of workers. They are headed by the Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR and have corresponding Republic, *oblast*, and local organs. Their branches also exist in all enterprises and institutions. They are regarded as "social" organizations (provision in the constitution). In reality, they are managed by Party functionaries and constitute a part of the planned economy. All normative acts concerning the problem of work are issued by or with the cooperation of the trade union organs, especially the Central Council of Trade Unions.

**Civil Procedure**

All disputes between state enterprises or socialist organizations are heard and determined by the state arbitration (see "Court System," below). Civil courts have jurisdiction only over cases in which at least one party is a natural person or a collective farm. There are some disputes, however, which may be settled by administrative organs. Civil courts may adjudicate cases in which no controversy is present. Civil matters of lesser importance may also be settled by so-called comrades' courts (see "Court System," below).

The first Code of Civil Procedure of the Ukrainian SSR was put into effect on October 31, 1924, and the second on December 1, 1926. Both were more or less copies of the analogous Soviet Russian codes. On the basis of the principles of civil procedure of the Soviet Union and the Union Republics, on December 15, 1961, the third Code of Civil Procedure of the Ukrainian SSR was enacted on July 18, 1963. It became effective on January 1, 1964. The Code regulates court procedure in cases arising from civil, family, labor, or collective farm relations (with the exception of those under the jurisdiction of administrative organs). It consists of six chapters (general provisions, parties to the law suit, procedure in the court of the first instance, procedure in the courts of cassation and supervision, execution of court decisions, international procedural questions.) Some procedural norms are also contained in the law on the court system (Ukrainian SSR, June 30, 1960), in the family code, and in the Union "Principles of Civil Procedure." Civil procedure before the comrades' court is regulated by the provisions of the law on comrades' courts of the Ukrainian SSR, of August 15, 1961.

The Ukrainian Code of Civil Procedure (just as those of the other Union Republics) differs from the laws of nonsocialist countries. The violation of individual rights is not only a violation of private rights but also a violation of the interest of the state. Therefore, the principle that the plaintiff has the "dispositive right" to submit a civil case to court, support it or withdraw at his will, has a different meaning in the socialist states. Along with the parties to a civil court trial, the prosecutor has the right, as in

criminal matters, to submit a case to the court if he feels that the interest of the state requires it; he may intervene at any stage of the trial and appeal to a higher court without the consent of the parties. He has even the right to "protest" against a final judgment, thus reopening the case. Also, the court has the right to adjudicate independently of the claims of the parties; its duty is to consider not only the evidence submitted by the parties but also that which it deems necessary to establish material facts. It also has the right to adjudicate in excess of the plaintiff's claim where it is necessary to protect state and public interests. In certain cases provided by law, organs of state administration, trade unions, and other public or social organizations may also take court action to protect the rights of citizens regardless of their wish. Thus, in many respects, the civil procedure resembles the criminal one, except that a pre-trial investigation is not provided.

The new Code of Civil Procedure abolished the former and complicated jurisdictional system by providing that the People's Court exercise general original jurisdiction. Yet higher courts have the right to take over the proceedings in every case. Unless otherwise provided, the trials should be direct, oral, speedy, and public. The language of the court should be Ukrainian, but persons of non-Ukrainian nationality may use their own language.

The decisions of the court may be protested or appealed to the court of higher instance. The higher court, by an action called cassation, may annul, reverse, or modify the decision of the inferior court.

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## CRIMINAL LAW AND PROCEDURE

### Substantive Criminal Law

**Sources.** The present criminal code of the Ukrainian SSR is the third such code enacted since the establishment of the Republic. Before the first code was adopted, several pertinent decrees of the Soviet Russian government were made directly applicable to Ukraine immediately after the defeat of the Ukrainian National Republic. The first criminal code of the Ukrainian SSR was enacted by the Central Executive Committee in 1922, but it was no more than a translation of the Russian code then in force. One year after the formation of the

Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (1923) the Union enacted its "Basic Principles of Criminal Law." The 1924 legislation became the basis for the second criminal code of the Ukrainian SSR promulgated by the Ukrainian legislature in 1927.

On December 25, 1958, with the enactment of "Principles of Criminal Legislation of the USSR and its Constituent Republics," "The Law Concerning Responsibility for Crimes against the State," and the "Law on Military Crimes," the Supreme Soviet of the USSR laid the foundation for new criminal legislation in the Union Republics. On December 28, 1960, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR enacted the present criminal code which became effective on April 1, 1961. Although it is technically a law of the Ukrainian Republic passed by its own legislature, it includes essential portions of the criminal laws enacted by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on December 25, 1958.

The code's "General Provisions," based largely on the USSR's 1958 "Principles of Criminal Legislation," deal with such matters as the concepts of crime, criminal responsibility, criminal sanctions, and the like. Within that framework, which had been already laid out for them, the Ukrainian legislators were free to make such adjustments as establishing additional aggravating or mitigating circumstances and providing minimum terms for detention in prisons, labor camps, or exile.

The Ukrainian criminal code is applicable to all persons who commit crimes on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR as well as to Soviet Ukrainian citizens who commit crimes abroad. In addition, "in consideration of the international solidarity of workers," the code also applies to all persons who commit "especially dangerous crimes" against any socialist state.

**The objectives of criminal law.** The first section of the code states that its primary objective is "to protect the Soviet social and political order, social property, persons and rights of citizens, and the entire socialist legal order from criminal attacks." In this respect, the code follows the long-established tradition of Soviet criminal enactments. As early as 1919, the "Guiding Principles of Criminal Law of the Russian SFSR" defined the criminal law as a "system of legal norms and other legal measures designed to protect, by way of repression, the system of social relation of the given class society against violation" of legal norms. This basic philosophy was further developed in the statements of purpose contained in the criminal code of 1922, in the "Principles" of 1924, and all subsequent codes. The 1927 Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR stated that its objective was ". . . to ensure judicial and legal protection of the Soviet state and its legal order against socially dangerous acts (crimes). . . ." In this manner, the class character of the criminal law was officially established as a tool of the ruling class in its struggle against its enemies. It made the socialist system—and not the individual—the principal object of legal protection. This philosophy became the cornerstone of Soviet criminal policy and a guiding principle of judicial practice.

The new Soviet criminal legislation of December 25, 1958, and, consequently, the Ukrainian criminal code of 1960, extended the object of protection for the first time to "persons and rights of citizens." While this concession (as well as the abolition of the principle of analogy—see below) was considered necessary to "strengthen socialist legality," there is no indication that the basic philosophy has been changed. "The basic Leninist principles concerning the organization and work of Soviet courts remain unchanged . . . ," according to the Supreme Soviet. Consequently, expediency and political considerations continue to dominate the administration of criminal justice and often lead to discrepancies between the written law and court prac-

tice. This is particularly apparent in the court's interpretation of the concept of crime and criminal responsibility (see below).

**Concept of crime.** Soviet jurisprudence and legislation, including that of the Ukrainian SSR, have always professed the so-called "material concept of crime." The Guiding Principles of 1919 originated this concept and all subsequent legislation followed suit. It was also faithfully supported by Soviet jurisprudence.

The material concept of crime rests on the notion that every act or omission which threatens the Soviet system is "socially dangerous" and hence criminal. It is not essential that such an act be specified by statute as a crime. In the 1930's, a reform movement (Krylenko's draft) attempted to eliminate that part of the code which enumerated and defined all the individual crimes. It was assumed at that time that a general provision of the statute to the effect that every socially dangerous act constituted a crime and called for sanctions made such special enumeration unnecessary and, in fact, inconvenient. This attempt was not successful. But another logical expression of the material concept of crime—the so-called "principle of analogy"—was introduced early into the Soviet legislation. Whenever an act considered by the judge as "socially dangerous" was not directly included in the criminal statute, it should be judged by analogy with those provisions of the statute which define an act most similar in kind and importance. The perpetrator was to be sentenced accordingly.

This "analogy" provision constituted a break with the principle of *nullum crimen sine lege* (no crime without law) which was recognized by western jurisprudence as a basis for justice and as a safeguard of individual liberties. But Soviet jurisprudence hailed the principle of analogy as the highest achievement of "socialist justice."

It survived for nearly forty years. It became apparent, however, that this principle created an uncertainty in the administration of justice. The reform of December 25, 1958, led to the abolition of the principle of analogy.

Thus the old "bourgeois" principle of *nullum crimen sine lege* was restored in the Ukrainian Criminal Code, which defines the crime (Sec. 7) as a "socially dangerous act, specified by a statute, which attacks the Soviet social and political order." Yet the Code and jurisprudence still recognize the material concept of crime as one of the basic principles of criminal legislation, and "social danger" as its criterion. Consequently the Code provides that the absence of social danger deprives an act of its criminal character even though it is specified as a crime in a statute (Sec. 50 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code). On the other hand, it is a long-established practice that the assumed "social danger," especially in persons allegedly hostile to the regime, subjects them to criminal prosecution regardless of their "guilt" in accordance with the meaning of the law.

**Criminal responsibility.** Under the present legislation in Ukraine, criminal responsibility is based on guilt—intentional guilt or guilt by negligence. The essence of Soviet philosophy behind the concept of criminal responsibility does not rest on guilt in this formal meaning. Just as the "socially dangerous" character of an act makes it materially criminal, so the "social danger" of a person justifies repression. This philosophy can be detected throughout Soviet legislation, jurisprudence, and court practice, although criminal intent and negligence, state of emergency, and self-defense were recognized as criteria of that danger on the part of the perpetrator. Soviet legislation of the 1920's (Ukrainian Criminal Code, 1927, Sec. 5) went so far as to state that "measures of social defense" (punishment) should be applied to persons who are socially dangerous because of their connection with criminal environment or because of their past activity. Neither was there a requirement of guilt in the

provision that in the case of a serviceman escaping abroad, all adult members of his family who lived with him or were supported by him before his escape should be punished regardless of their knowledge or assistance in the escape.

The present Code (1960) introduces for the first time the term "guilt," but it does not abolish the concept of social danger. Section 50 provides that when an act committed by an offender has "lost its socially dangerous character or the offender ceases to be socially dangerous" he should be relieved from criminal responsibility. Social danger is also a factor in determining criminal responsibility of minors under 18 years of age: "measures of educational nature which do not constitute punishment" may be applied to such persons if the court finds that the crime they committed does not represent great social danger.

In general, only minors who have reached the age of 16 are criminally responsible. But in the case of murder, larceny, rape, and other serious offenses, minors over 14 years of age are regarded as criminally responsible.

**Criminal sanctions.** The terminology of criminal sanctions in Soviet legislation underwent a rather dramatic development before it reached its present form. The traditional term "punishment" was used in the early years. The criminal legislation of 1922, however, omitted mention of "punishments" altogether and retained only "measures of social defense." It even went so far as to make a blunt statement that these measures "are not intended as retribution or punishment." Yet, while these codes were still in force, the term "punishment" found its way back to later statutes and court practice. Finally, the Union legislation of 1958, and consequently the Ukrainian Code of 1960, accepted the term "punishment" as the only form of criminal sanction. Now, "measures of social defense" have become—as far as the terminology is concerned—a thing of the past.

This terminological development, however, did not change the basic Soviet concept of criminal sanction. In 1919, Lenin and the Russian Communist Party were in agreement that justice was an organ of proletarian dictatorship, an instrument of coercion and teaching of discipline. Lenin told the legislators that criminal law ". . . ought not abolish terror, [because] to promise that would be to deceive ourselves or the people; rather it should substantiate and legalize the terror in principle, clearly, without hypocrisy or adornment" (letter to Commissar D. Kursky). All criminal legislation in the Soviet Union basically subscribed to this purely expedient task. Punishment as a moral issue (just retribution for a wrong done) has been rejected as a "bourgeois" idea. It is now merely said to express a negative appraisal of the perpetrator and his deed on the part of the Soviet state. According to the present code, the purpose of penalties is not only to punish but also to reform and reeducate the convicted person as well as to discourage him and other persons from committing crimes.

In sentencing, the judge should be guided by what the code calls "socialist consciousness of the law." This vague criterion of judgment implies the knowledge and realization of actual political issues, including Communist Party directives, which determine Soviet criminal policy at a given time. It is supposed to help the judge determine the degree of acual "social danger" inherent in the act, a question that should be his primary consideration.

Confinement is the most widely applied penalty and can be served either in a prison or in "correctional labor camps," from three months to ten years (15 for more serious crimes).

Capital punishment (by shooting, customarily in the back of the head) is accepted by the code (Sec. 24) as an "exceptional" measure (it was previously called "supreme measure"). The code as well as Soviet jurisprudence stress the

exceptional and temporary character of capital punishment. Three times in the past (1917, 1920, and 1947), the death penalty was suspended formally to show the "genuine socialist humanism" (as stated in the decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet on May 26, 1947). Yet following each suspension it was introduced again after a short period of time, as a necessary measure to combat serious crime. According to the "Principles" of December 1958, incorporated in the Ukrainian code, the death penalty is applicable in nine cases of crimes against the state. However, soon after the criminal code became effective, several special decrees of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR extended the death penalty to many other crimes such as stealing state property, currency speculation, counterfeiting, and bribery. Thus, in reality, capital punishment has always been a common and widely used penalty in the USSR, including the Ukrainian SSR.

The list of penalties also includes exile with forced residence in specified localities (as a rule in remote parts of the USSR); expulsion from the place of residence; forced labor without confinement; deprivation of certain rights; fine; public reprimand. Certain traditional penalties are now abolished: for example, "declaration as an enemy of the people with deprivation of Soviet citizenship and expulsion from the Soviet Union forever," a measure that proved to be more appealing than punitive.

The "Special Part" of the Ukrainian Criminal Code (Arts. 56 to 263) lists all punishable individual crimes. It does not recognize the traditional European tripartite division of punishable acts (French—crimes, délits, contraventions) or the Anglo-Saxon division (felony, misdemeanor) depending upon their gravity. Instead, they are all called crimes. In accordance with the idea of "social danger" crimes against the state dominate the list. They number 26 (treason, espionage, terrorism, subversive activities, sabotage, etc.). This group, along with military crimes, was contained in the all-Union legislation of December 25, 1958, and included in its entirety in the Ukrainian Criminal Code. Since socialist ownership and economy are regarded as the basis of the Soviet socialist system, "crimes against socialist property," which come next, also hold a prominent place in the code, as attested to by the strictness of penalties, including the death penalty.

**Criminal Procedure**

**Sources.** The procedure in criminal cases is regulated by the Ukrainian Code of Criminal Procedure of December 28, 1960, effective as of April 1, 1961, which superseded the code of 1927. Its general provisions incorporate the Soviet Union's "Principles of Criminal Procedure" of December 25, 1958. Within the framework of rules for apprehending, charging, and prosecuting suspected offenders, for appealing from court decisions, and for post-conviction procedures, the Code departs in many respects from the traditional European principles.

The Code establishes the principle that the court should be the only agency entrusted with the administration of criminal justice (Sec. 15). Allegedly, the punitive powers of the state security organs or the Special Board in the Ministry of the Interior have been suspended. However, some instances of extra-judicial criminal justice survived the reform of 1958, and social organizations were later granted criminal trial powers in certain cases (see below, "Court System"). Trial by jury is not known, but "people's assessors" sit with the judge.

The preliminary investigation consists of regular police investigation (by "militia," agencies of state security, and other specialized agencies) and of the pretrial investigation required in certain cases and conducted by special "investigators" of the prosecutor or state security. The prosecutor is the only official in control of the investigation and appeals

against his decisions go to the higher ranking prosecutor. The court is excluded from this part of the proceedings.

The law guarantees certain rights to the person on trial, but some essential ones cannot be taken at their face value. Both, the constitution (Secs. 90, 81) and the Code of Criminal Procedure provide that the court proceedings in Ukraine be conducted in the Ukrainian language (with translators provided for those who do not know that language), that (with few specified exceptions) the trial be held in an open court, and that the defendant have the right to defense. However, it is common practice for the agencies of criminal justice to use the Russian language. Moreover, unless the state agencies decide that a public trial is expedient, the majority of political cases are tried in secret sessions.

The defendant also has the right to be informed of the charges, to submit evidence, to appeal the decisions. But he is allowed a defense counsel only after the pre-trial investigation is completed. Thus he has no legal assistance during this stage of pre-trial proceeding which, in Soviet practice, is most crucial and too often produces "confessions" and other admissions of alleged facts. Neither the typical Anglo-American institution of *habeas corpus* nor any other legal measure to obtain prompt relief from illegal detention is provided by the code. A preliminary arrest by order of the prosecutor alone may be extended up to nine months (Sec. 156).

The Code provides that "the burden of proof should not be shifted onto the defendant" and that judgment and conviction should be rendered only when the guilt of the defendant has been proven in the course of the court trial.

In political cases, however, the criminal judge can—and often does—accept at his discretion the evidence produced by the prosecutor as sufficient to prove the guilt of the defendant while rejecting the evidence submitted by the latter.

The western principle that the defendant is presumed innocent until proven guilty is not accepted in the law of the Ukrainian SSR nor in the law of the Union. The legislative drafting committee "vigorously rejected attempts to introduce such principle" as an "obsolete dogma of bourgeois law" which is "in deep conflict with the essence of Soviet socialist law."

A traditional characteristic of the criminal procedure is the domineering position of the public prosecutor (see also Court System). He is a state official and an executor of the government's and Party's policies in the realm of criminal justice. In practice, his influence on the conduct of the trial and the court's decisions is considerable. However, his role is especially evident in the pre-trial proceedings where he is the sole master. The "investigator" is an officer of the prosecutor and under his orders. The appeals against the investigator's decisions go to, and are decided by, the same prosecutor. He approves searches, seizures, and arrests.

Cassation appeals or protests may be lodged against court judgments to one higher appellate court.

The present Ukrainian Code of Criminal Procedure has been rewritten to include provisions and terminology patterned on the western principles which were formerly rejected. Yet it is not so much the wording of the statute, but rather the traditional court and police practice as well as the Party policy that determines the course of Soviet criminal justice. This is the way of political expediency and "expediency is one of the principles of Soviet criminal legislation."

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## JUDICIAL SYSTEM

### Sources of Law

While the struggle of the Bolshevik forces against those of the Ukrainian National Republic was still in progress, the Provisional Decree on People's Courts and Revolutionary Tribunals was issued by the Ukrainian SSR government on February 19, 1919. It was followed by the implementing instruction of the Ukrainian People's Commissariat of Justice of May 12, 1919 (on the courts). By that time, the Russian SFSR had already set the pattern by its three decrees on courts (the first on November 22, 1917). The government of the Ukrainian SSR, being subject to the central Communist Party control in Moscow, had to follow that pattern in its basic ideas. Thus people's courts were established, consisting of elected judges and people's assessors who, unlike jurors in the western systems, were to participate actively in the trial. Revolutionary tribunals were also established in Ukraine on the Russian model to try acts "especially dangerous to the proletarian revolution." However, the Ukrainian decree rejected the provision of the Russian decree allowing a short form of trial, especially one without formal indictment and defense. In 1921, the tribunals were abolished. A new decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR (October 26, 1920) was issued, especially designed to bring the decree of February 19, 1919, into closer conformity with the Russian decrees on courts. It made several amendments, such as the requirement that the judges demonstrate their political qualifications by their "work in such proletarian organizations as the party, labor unions, and worker's cooperatives." During the NEP period, the organization of the judiciary was somewhat less centralized. This fact was expressed in the decree on the court system of the Ukrainian SSR of October 23, 1925. However, in the 1930's, a strict centralization of the judiciary took place: it was climaxed by the Union Law on the Judiciary of August 16, 1938. Nine years later, the law of February 11, 1947, again transferred the right to legislate on the judiciary to the constituent Republics, with the provision that the Republic laws be based on the principles to be enacted by the Union legislature. The Principles of Legislation concerning the Judiciary of the USSR and the Constituent and Autonomous Republics was enacted on December 25, 1958. Based on these principles and incorporating them, the Law on the Judiciary was passed by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR on June 30, 1960.

### Main Characteristics of the Court System

Lenin's reminder that "it would be sinful for a Marxist to forget that the court is an organ of the government" has never been forgotten by Soviet legislators or the Soviet jurisprudence. It is an accepted and widely practiced concept. The idea of separation of powers is rejected by Soviet jurisprudence as a survival of the capitalist way of thinking. "The action of courts must be coordinated with the activities of the government and of the Communist Party" and "the judge's decisions should agree with the policies of the Party and the government." The Ukrainian law restates the provision of the all-Union "Principles" of December 25, 1958, that the courts should in all their activities "educate the citizens . . . in the spirit of devotion to their country and to Communism . . . of careful attitude toward

socialist property, observance of labor discipline, and respect for the rules of socialist community relations."

Both the constitution (Sec. 92) and the law state that "judges are independent and subject only to law." This does not mean that they are "independent of the socialist state." In reaching their decisions, the judges should be guided by the "socialist consciousness of law" which is based on their knowledge of government and party policies at any given time. A decision of the Supreme Court of the USSR (of April 19, 1959) directly instructs them to follow the directions of the 21st Congress of the Communist Party. Being elected (for five years), they are also dependent upon their constituents to whom they are responsible for their work and by whom they may be recalled before the expiration of their terms. Since their nomination as well as the motion to recall them originates in the Communist Party organizations, the independence of the judges is a fiction.

A rather broad and active participation of the people in the administration of justice is another characteristic of the court system in the Ukrainian SSR. Not only do elected people's assessors actively participate in court trials along with a judge, but also representatives of social organizations may take part in criminal and even civil trials as accusers or defenders, along with the parties, the public prosecutor, or the official defender. In addition, the so-called comrades' courts (see pp. 118 ff.), elected by the people, have the right to try certain matters and impose punitive measures outside of court.

**Courts on the Ukrainian Republic Level**

Section 1 of the Law on the Judiciary provides that the court system in the Ukrainian SSR consists of *raion* people's courts, *oblast* courts, and the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR. The *raion* people's court (municipal if established in a city) constitutes the lowest and basic court instance in the system. It has original jurisdiction in most civil and criminal cases. The cases are tried by benches consisting of a judge and two people's assessors. Judges are elected by the inhabitants of the *raion* or the city, respectively, for a period of five years. The right to nominate candidates rests with the Communist Party organizations, trade unions, youth organizations, and so on. People's assessors are elected at general meetings of workers and employees at their places of work for a period of two years. Both the judges and people's assessors must systematically report to their constituents on their work. They can be recalled before the expiration of their terms on the initiative of the organizations entitled to place the nominations.

The *oblast* courts have original jurisdiction in more important cases assigned to them by law: in civil cases this jurisdiction is limited usually to divorce cases; in criminal matters, the jurisdiction extends to cases of high treason and other crimes against the state, premeditated murder with aggravating circumstances, and so on. The *oblast* courts also act as courts of appeal against decisions of the *raion* courts. In addition, they have supervisory power over the *raion* courts.

Judges of the *oblast* courts are elected by regional councils of people's deputies for a period of five years. They have to report to these councils on their work and can be recalled before the expiration of their terms. The benches in cases of original jurisdiction are composed of a judge and two people's assessors. In cases of cassation, the bench consists of three judges.

The Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR is the highest court of the Republic. It supervises the entire court system in the land. It acts primarily as a court of appeal against decisions of the *oblast* courts in civil or criminal matters. But it has also original jurisdiction in excep-

tionally important civil or criminal cases assigned to it by law or accepted for trial by its own decision, or in criminal cases transferred to it by the decision of the prosecutor (procurator) of the Republic.

The Supreme Court consists of a president, deputy presidents, judges, and people's assessors. It sits as a civil trial division, as a criminal trial division, or as a plenary session. The latter, in which the prosecutor participates, in addition to supervisory functions has the right of legislative initiative in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

The judges of the Supreme Court are appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR for a period of five years. They have to report on their activities to the Supreme Soviet, and may be dismissed if their activities are not in line with government or Party policies.

**The Supreme Court of the USSR**

As the highest all-Union court authority, the Supreme Court of the USSR has the supervisory power to review the decisions of the Ukrainian Supreme Court (as well as of all other Republic supreme courts) presented to it by way of "protests" made by its president or the prosecutor general of the USSR in case of violation of all-Union laws or infringement of the interests of other Union Republics.

The Supreme Court of the USSR also has original jurisdiction over citizens of the Ukrainian SSR in especially important cases, both civil and criminal, provided by law.

Another Union court with jurisdiction over citizens of the Ukrainian SSR is the court martial (Military Tribunal) established by the Union law of December 25, 1958. The courts martial are established in units of the armed forces, garrisons, and military districts. Their jurisdiction extends over criminal cases of all military personnel and of any civilians involved in a case with at least one member of the military, as well as over all cases of espionage, regardless of the status of the accused.

**Supervisory Powers of the Prosecutor General of the USSR**

The agency which supervises the "legality and uniformity" of the decisions of the Ukrainian SSR's courts is an institution of the USSR. It exercises its powers on behalf of the central government which means on behalf of the Communist Party. This agency is the prosecutor (procurator) general of the USSR. The Soviet Ukrainian Constitution (Sec. 93) provides that the prosecutor general of the USSR shall have the highest supervisory power over all ministries and other organs of administration of the Ukrainian SSR with respect to their strict observance of law. The decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR sets forth the supervisory powers of the prosecutor in the USSR. This law provides (Sec. 5) that "the organs of the prosecutor of the USSR form one centralized system, headed by the prosecutor general of the USSR, with the lower-level prosecutors being subordinate to the higher-level ones." Consequently, the prosecutor general of the USSR appoints (for a period of five years) the prosecutor of the Ukrainian SSR, as well as *oblast* prosecutors, and approves the nomination of the *raion* prosecutors submitted to him by the prosecutor of the Ukrainian SSR. The orders and directives of the prosecutor general are binding on all his subordinate prosecutors. These orders and instructions can be repealed only by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, if they are contrary to the law. The prosecutor general is appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to which he is responsible. Because of his position and powers, the prosecutor general of the USSR, both directly and indirectly, exerts a significant influence on the judiciary in the

Ukrainian SSR as the representative of the central government and the Communist Party. He "acts under the leadership of the Party and follows its directions." His influence is felt especially in criminal matters (see Criminal Procedure) but he can also enter a civil trial and act independently of the parties directly concerned (see Civil Procedure). He can "protest" against all decisions of the Republic courts and have the case reopened if he feels that the interest of the state warrants it. The prosecutor takes part in court sessions and can submit his conclusions. His participation in plenary sessions of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR (as well as of the USSR) is obligatory under law.

**Legal Assistance**

The constitution of the Ukrainian SSR (Sec. 91) guarantees the accused the right of defense. In accordance with this provision, the Law on the Judiciary of June 30, 1960 establishes (in Sec. 17) a college of lawyers for the purpose of "conducting the defense in court, as well as affording other legal aid to citizens, enterprises, and organizations." These colleges are voluntary associations of persons engaged in the practice of law. Members of the colleges practice law in offices called "juridical consultations." Acting as a defense counselor in criminal cases is perhaps the most important function of the lawyer. In certain cases his assistance is required by law (see Criminal Procedure). Legal writers agree that the lawyers cooperate with the court in reaching a correct decision and, consequently, are "agencies of the administration of justice." They differ, however, in their opinion as to whether he is merely an "assistant to the court" or whether his status in court is based on his legal relationship to his client. The lawyer is bound by professional secrecy. However, the question is raised as to whether he is obliged to reveal to the authorities his knowledge of a crime against the state, planned or committed, about which he learned from his client in confidence.

**Administration of Justice outside of Regular Courts**

The principle that justice in the Ukrainian SSR (as well as in the entire USSR) should be administered only by courts is proclaimed by the constitution, the all-Union Principles on the Judiciary, the Ukrainian Law on the Judiciary, and other laws. There are instances, however, when trials in civil and criminal cases are conducted and decisions are made by organs other than regular courts.

The State Arbitration Board is an agency established by the Union decree of 1931, to which "all controversies arising between economic agencies concerning the execution of contracts" have to be submitted for settlement. The decision of such an arbitration board is compulsory, with exceptions provided by law.

Comrades' courts in various forms have existed in the Soviet Union since 1919, when the Russian SFSR introduced such "disciplinary courts" for the purpose of deciding on cases of violation of internal regulations in an enterprise and of work and labor union discipline. Later, the jurisdiction of these and similar courts was extended to include small thefts and all forms of violation of the "rules of socialist intercourse." The comrades' courts are based on the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, issued on August 15, 1961. The courts are a form of people's participation in the administration of justice, greatly encouraged in the Soviet Union, especially since the 21st Congress of the Communist Party. Comrades' courts are "elective people's agencies designed to promote actively the education of the citizens in the spirit of Communist attitude to work, to socialist property, etc." (Sec. 1). The courts are

established in enterprises, organizations, secondary and higher institutions of learning, collective farms, and so on with no less than fifty members. The chairman, his deputy, and the secretary are elected by an open ballot. The appearance before the court is obligatory. It can apply measures of reprimand, censure, and fine. It may also forward the files of the case to regular courts for criminal action. Its decisions are final.

*J. Starosolsky*

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# II. The Ukrainian Church

## 1. UKRAINIAN CHURCH HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THEOLOGY

### CHURCH HISTORIOGRAPHY

**Before the Nineteenth Century**

The beginnings of Ukrainian church historiography date back to the Princely period. The very first works of historical nature—chronicles, biographies (lives) of prominent church leaders, accounts of the construction of churches and monasteries—contain both factual material on the history of the Church in *Rus'*-Ukraine and distinct historical conceptions, largely associated with particular events or persons. Such are the "lives" of the saints of the eleventh century (particularly Princes Borys and Hlib), and stories of the builders of the Kievan Cave Monastery. Even in this early period, the historians of the time showed an interest in specific problems of church history, particularly the origin of Christianity in *Rus'*-Ukraine. Only a few of these historical and hagiographic works have been preserved; some fragments survived in *Povist' vremennykh lit* (Tale of Bygone Years), the Kievan and Galician-Volhynian chronicles, and other writings of the period. They still remain the principal source of Ukrainian church historiography. Later editions and compilations of these works during the Lithuanian-Polish period were merely a continuation of the old church-historical tradition.

Research into church history intensified in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. There were chronicles and collections of chronicles, and various writings associated with church activity, for example, numerous reports of synods, diaries of churches and monasteries, indicating that Ukrainian church historiography was flourishing at the time. Historical works describing the religious struggle in Ukraine following the Union of Berestia in 1596 constitute a separate group. The opposing parties frequently resorted to church history, taking, for the most part, an uncritical approach in defense of their respective positions, which was reflected in the nature, content, and even style of these works.

A broad interest in church history began to emerge in Ukraine in the first half of the seventeenth century. This was caused, on the one hand, by the Orthodox-Catholic rivalry in the search for a renewal of church unity, and on the other hand, by the extensive church-cultural activities of Metropolitan Peter Mohyla and his *Atheneum* in Kiev. The past of the Ukrainian church now became the subject of a series of treatises and other publications by Ukrainian church leaders. Along with church and monastery chronicles, new attempts at a scholarly interpretation of events, institutions, and persons made their appearance. All these works were still on the border of theology and hagiography, on the one hand, and church history, on the other, with an overwhelming preponderance of the former. This can be observed in the Hustyn Chronicle, in the diaries of Peter Mohyla, the *Patericon* of Sylvester Kosiv, and in the later works of the Uniate bishop of Kholm, Jacob Susha.

A purely scholarly approach to the problems of church history did not begin

to appear until the eighteenth century. But even then, the works of Orthodox scholars associated with the Kiev Academy, and those of Greek-Catholic authors, mostly Basilian monks, were clearly tendentious in the defense of their respective church-political interests and sectarianism. The following works belong in this category: Archbishop George Konysky's treatises, the monograph of Nicholas Bantysh-Kamensky, *Istoricheskoie izvestiie o voznikshei v Pol'shi unii* (Historical Report on the Union Appearing in Poland, 1795), and the works of the Uniate metropolitan Leo Kyshka and other Catholic authors of the period. The work of the Basilian monk Ignatius Kulchynsky, *Specimen Ecclesiae Ruthenicae ab origine susceptae fidei ad nostra usque tempora* was of a more comprehensive nature; it appeared in 1733 and contained a history of the Ukrainian Church from the Catholic standpoint.

Special and local problems of Ukrainian church history were treated in the works of Ivan Oleshevsky (on the history of the Basilian Order and its monasteries in the seventeenth century), Clement Khodykevych, Cornelius Srochynsky, and Ioanikii Bazylovych.

**The Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries in Central and Eastern Ukraine**

A scholarly treatment of the history of the Ukrainian Church was initiated in the nineteenth century. The origins of these studies can be traced to the activities of the Kiev Mohyla Academy and they are associated with the names of Metropolitan Samuel Myslavsky and his associates, Bishops Theophan Shyianov-Cherniavsky and Ireneus Falkovsky. Attention was focused on the history of the church monuments of Kiev. It was only when the academy was reorganized on the pattern of a higher educational institution of theology in 1819 that studies of church history became more systematic. The metropolitan of Kiev, Eugene Bolkhovitinov, was the initiator of this trend, writing works on the history of the main religious centers of Kiev—the Cathedral of Saint Sophia and the Cave Monastery, as well as the history of the metropolitanate of Kiev. Metropolitan Eugene also established the Yevheniie-Rumiantsev prize to encourage talented students of the academy to research Kievan church history. The following prominent church historians of Ukraine and Russia were either graduates or faculty members of the Kiev Theological Academy: Makarii Bulgakov, rector of the academy and, later, metropolitan of Moscow, author of the monumental *Istoriia russkoi tserkvi* (History of the Russian Church, Vols. I–XII, 1857–83) and Orthodox bishops of Ukraine: Philaret Humylevsky, Gabriel Rozanov (author of a treatise on the Zaporozhian Monastery on the river Samara, 1838), and Archbishop Feodosii of Katerynoslav (author of the history of the eparchy of Katerynoslav, 1890).

The Kiev school of church history with its leading center, the Kiev Theological Academy, came into existence in the second half of the nineteenth century. This school was characterized by monographic research of various periods of Ukrainian church history (primarily the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries), its main centers, and leading figures. Other scholarly institutions of Kiev took part in this research, particularly the Archaeographic Commission, the Nestor-Chronicler Historical Society, the *Kievskaia Starina* (Kievan Antiquity) group, and later the Ukrainian Scientific Society. The work of these institutions exerted an influence on scholarly centers outside of Kiev, for example, the university chairs of church history in Kharkiv and Odessa, the Odessa Society of History and Antiquity, the Kharkiv Historical-Philological Society, the provincial societies of church archaeology, archive commissions, museums, etc., chiefly in Volhynia and Podilia. The influence of the Kiev school was felt far beyond the borders of Ukraine, evoking an interest in Ukrainian church history among Russian, Polish, and for-

eign historians. Monographs on the history of the Ukrainian church of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries constituted an important contribution to Ukrainian church history, particularly the works of Philip Ternovsky (*Ocherki iz istorii Kievskoi eparkhii* [Outline of History of the Kiev Eparchy, 1879]); Serhii Ternovsky (*O podchinenii Kievskoi metropolii Moskovskomu patriarkhatu* [On the Subordination of the Kiev Metropolitanate to the Moscow Patriarchate, 1872]); Ivan Malyshevsky (*Kievskie tserkovnye sobory* [Kiev Church Synods]; *Variagi v nachal'noi istorii khristiianstva v Kieve* [The Varangians in the Early History of Christianity in Kiev]; *Zapadnaia Rus' v bor'be za veru i narodnost'* [Western *Rus'* in the Struggle for Faith and Nationality, Vols. I–II, 1895–7]); Nicholas Petrov (works on the history of the Basilian Order, the Kiev Academy, church monuments of Kiev, research of historical sources, etc.); Stephan Golubiev's monumental *Piotr Mogila i ego spodvizhniki* (Peter Mohyla and His Champions, I–II, 1883–98) in addition to numerous treatises; Theodore Titov (*Russkaia pravoslavnaia tserkov v pol'sko-litovskom gosudarstve v 17–18 vv, 1654–1795* [The Russian Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian State in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries], I–III, 1905–16), *Istoriia Kievo-Pecherskoi Lavry* [History of the Kievan Cave Monastery], vols. I–II, Kiev, 1880). Their numerous disciples published a number of monographs (in *Trudy* [Transactions] of the Academy and as separate books) on Ukrainian church leaders of the eighteenth century, particularly the metropolitans and the state of the metropolitanate of Kiev under their care (the works of I. Rybolovsky, I. Hraievsky, M. Shpachynsky, F. Rozhdestvensky, A. Bilhorodsky, and V. Chekhivsky); authors such as A. Osynsky, S. Kurhanovych, V. Ivanytsky, H. Bulashev, to mention a few, wrote about other church leaders. The researchers of this school published studies about clergy of the Hetman State of the latter half of the eighteenth century (A. Diianyn on the history of churches and monasteries, M. Mukhyn and A. Krylovsky on church-community organizations, theological education, church art, etc.).

The works of Kievan historians are also associated with the Kiev school of church history, e.g., Peter Lebedyntsev (on Kievan church monuments, the Cathedral of St. Sophia, Cave Monastery, and the gold-domed Mykhailivsky Monastery), his brother Theophan Lebedyntsev (a monograph on Melchisedec Znachko-Yavorsky); Nicholas Ohloblyn, Sr.; S. Kryzhanivsky; Peter Orlovsky; Lev Matsiievych; the Kharkiv historians, Amfiian Lebediv (on the Bilhorod eparchy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) and I. Stelletsky; the Volhynian historians, Nicholas Teodorovych, Andrew Khoinatsky, and O. Fotynsky; the Podilia historian, Yukhym Sitsinsky (*Istoricheskie svedeniia o prykhodakh i tserkvakh podolskoi eparkhii* [Historical Survey of the Parishes and Churches of the Podilian Eparchy, vols. I–VIII, 1895–1911]), and other collections; the Chernihiv historians, Peter Dobrovolsky, Peter Doroshenko, and Arkadii Verzilov; the Poltava historians, Lev Padalka, Matthew Astriab, and Ivan Pavlovsky.

The leading nineteenth and twentieth century historians of Ukraine also concentrated on problems of church history, particularly Michael Maksymovych (treatises on church lore of the Kiev and Pereiaslav areas); Nicholas Ivanyshev (*Svedeniia o nachale unii* [Survey of the Beginnings of the Union, 1859]), Nicholas Kostomarov (*O prichinakh i kharaktere unii v zapadnoi Rossii* [On the Causes and Nature of the Union in Western Russia, 1842]); Volodymyr Antonovych (*Ocherk' sostoianiia pravoslavnoi tserkvi v yugo-zapadnoi Rossii s poloviny XVII do kontsa XVIII v.* [Outline of the State of the Orthodox Church in South-Western Russia from the Middle of the Seventeenth to the End of the Eighteenth Century, 1871]); Orest Levytsky (*Vnutrennee sostoianie zapadno-*

*russkoi tserkvi v Pol'sko-Litovskom gosudarstve v kontse XVI st. i uniia* [The Internal Structure of the Western Russian Church in the Polish-Lithuanian State at the End of the Sixteenth Century and the Union, 1884], *Yuzhno-russkiie arkhierei v XVI–XVII v.* [South Russian Hierarchs in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries], *Tserkovni spravy na Zaporozhu* [Church Matters in Zaporizhia]); Alexander Lazarevsky (on the clergy in the Hetman State); Nicholas Vasylenko; and Michael Hrushevsky (chiefly in his *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy* [History of Ukraine-*Rus'*]). An important contribution was also made by the publication of archive material on the history of the Ukrainian Church in *Arkhivy yugo-zapadnoi Rossii* (Archives of Southwestern Russia, part I, Vols. 1–12, 1859–1914), *Pamiatniki* (Monuments) of the Kiev Archaeographic Commission (Vols. I–IV, 1845–59); in publications of various academic institutions and scholarly societies, particularly in *Chteniia* (Readings) of the Nestor-Chronicler Historical Society, and *Zapiski* (Notes) of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquity; regional study societies and archive commissions; journals (such as *Kievskaia Starina*), *Trudy* (Transactions) of archaeological congresses and eparchial reports.

Church historians, Ukrainian and Belorussian, who worked on the history of the Ukrainian Church while living outside Ukraine, were closely associated with church archaeographic activities in Ukraine. The following deserve mention: Hilarion Chystovych (*Ocherki istorii zapadno-russkoi tserkvi* [Outline of History of the Western Russian Church, vols. I–II, 1882–4] and the monograph *Feofan Prokopovich i yego vremia* [Theophan Prokopovych and his Times, 1868]); Platon Zhukovych, author of the monumental study *Seimovaia bor'ba pravoslavnogo zapadno-russkogo dvorianstva s tserkovnoi uniei*, 1602–32 (The Parliamentary Struggle of the West Russian Nobility Against Church Union, 1602–32, Vols. I–VI, 1901–12); Constantine Kharlampovych (the monograph *Malorossiiskoe vliianie na velikorusskuiu tserkovnuiu zhizn'* [Little Russian Influence on Great Russian Church Life], Vol. I, 1914).

A number of new researchers interested in the broader aspects of Ukrainian church history, especially in the origins of Christianity and church in Ukraine, appeared in the early twentieth century. Among them were: Volodymyr Parkhomenko, author of the monograph *Ocherk istorii pereiaslavsko-borispol'skoi eparkhii (1733–85) v sviazi s obshchim khodom malorossiiskoi zhizni togo vremeni* (Outline of History of the Eparchy of Pereiaslav-Boryspol [1733–85] in Connection with the Contemporary General Course of Life in Little Russia, 1910) who then turned to ancient history research, particularly in his works *Drevne-russkaia kniaginia Ol'ga* [*Vopros o kreshchenii eia*] (The Ancient *Rus'* Princess Olha [the Question of her Baptism], 1911) and *Nachalo Khristiianstva na Rusi, Ocherki iz istorii Rusi IX–X v.* (The Beginnings of Christianity in *Rus'*. Outline of History of *Rus'* of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries, 1913). Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko wrote the treatise *K voprosu o khristiianstve na Rusi do Vladimira* (On the Problem of Christianity in *Rus'* before Volodymyr, 1917). During this period the future historians of the Ukrainian Church, Alexander Lototsky and Basil Bidnov published their early works (p. 126). On the other hand, Ukrainian historians paid close attention to the history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church (pp. 124, 126–8), and showed an increasing interest in the history of the Protestant movement in Ukraine (Viacheslav Lypynsky).

### The Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries in Western Ukraine and Abroad

Galicia, and particularly Lviv, was the second important center of research on the Ukrainian church history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Monographs and source studies prevailed. Be-

cause of specific historical conditions, the conception of a Ukrainian Church was crystallized here at an earlier date than in eastern Ukraine, at least that of the church's Catholic branch, and this had some effect on the formation of a Ukrainian church historiography in eastern Ukraine. The problems of church history in Galicia and Transcarpathia were studied by Ukrainian as well as by several Polish historians.

During the nineteenth century, individual (mostly local) problems of church history were studied by: Michael Harasevych, author of the massive *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae*, published in 1862; Denis Zubrytsky, with his publication of sources on the history of the Ukrainian rural clergy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; T. Zakhariiasevych, Jacob Holovatsky, Michael Malynovsky, Anthony Dobriansky, and particularly Anthony Petrushevych and Isidore Sharanevych. In his *Svodnaia galitsko-russkaia letopis'* (Summary of Galician-*Rus'* Chronicles, Vols. I–II, 1872–89), A. Petrushevych paid particular attention to various events in the church history of Galicia; he also wrote a number of monographs on the church in Galicia and Bukovina.

The works of I. Sharanevych were of a more scholarly nature, particularly his *Patryarchat Wschodni wobec Kościoła Ruskiego i Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (Eastern Patriarchate in Relation to the Ruthenian Church and the Polish Commonwealth, 1879), *Stavropigiiskaia tserkov Uspeniia vo L'vove* (The Stavropygian Church of the Assumption in Lviv, 1896); *Cherty iz istorii tserkovnykh benefitsii i mirskogo dukhovenstva v Galitskoi Rusi* (Outline of History of Church Benefices and the Lay Clergy in Galician *Rus'*, 1902).

The first to attempt a synthetic history of the Ukrainian Church was Julian Pelesh, bishop of Peremyshl, who wrote *Geschichte der Union der Ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom* (History of the Union of the Ruthenian Church with Rome, Vols. I—II, 1881—2), which contains an outline of the history of the entire Ukrainian Church prior to the Union of Berestia, and of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Major scholarly treatises on the history of the Ukrainian Church in Western Ukraine and of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in particular began in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and are associated with the activities of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, the Lviv Stavropygian Brotherhood and finally the Basilian Order. These were works by Alexander Sushko on the period preceding the Berestia Union; Bohdan Buchynsky on the history of the Union; Theodore Sribnyi on the history of the Lviv Stavropygia from the beginning of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century published in *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka* (Memoirs of the Shevchenko Scientific Society); *Z dziejów Synodu Brzeskiego, 1596* (History of the Brest Synod 1596) by Ivan Franko (1895); *Prychynky do istorii unii* (Notes on the History of the Union, 1895) by Cyril Studynsky and other researchers on the Berestia Union; the documentary *Monumenta Confraternitatis Stauropigianae Leopoliensis* (Vols. I–II, 1895–8); and other publications, particularly those associated with the tercentenary of the Union.

The number of works on the history of the church in Transcarpathia was much smaller. The researchers and authors were: Michael Luchkai; Alexander Dukhnovych (*Istoriia priashevskoi eparkhii* [*v Ugorskoi Rusi*] History of the Priashiv Eparchy in Hungarian *Rus'* [Russian translation of 1877]); Ivan Dulyshkovych; and George Zhatkovych.

Polish and Russian historiographers of the nineteenth century also showed interest in Ukrainian church history and treated it as part of general church history either in the Russian empire or the Polish Commonwealth. Russian historians, particularly M. Karamzin, S. Soloviov, and V. Kluchevsky dealt with these problems in both general and special

treatises on the history of Russia. Russian church historians of the nineteenth century, beginning with Archbishop Ambrose Ornatsky, author of *Istoriia rossiiskoi ierarkhii* (History of the Russian Hierarchy, Vols. I–VI, 1807–15) and ending with Eugene Golubinsky, author of the monumental *Istoriia Russkoi Tserkvi* (History of the Russian Church, Vols. I–II, each in two books, 1880–1917) paid even closer attention to these problems. Hennadii Karpov, Vitalii Einhorn, Ivan Shliapkin, and particularly Michael Priselkov in *Ocherki po tserkovno-politicheskoi istorii Kievskoi Rusi X–XII vv.* (Outlines of Church-Political History of Kievan *Rus'* of the Tenth through the Twelfth Centuries, 1913), wrote monographs on this same subject.

Polish historians referred in their works primarily to the history of the church in Ukrainian territories of the Polish Commonwealth, particularly to the Greek-Catholic and Roman Catholic Church. Special attention was given to these problems by Bishop Edward Likowski in the monograph *Unja Brzeska* (The Berestia Union, 1896) and the extensive work *Dzieje kosciola unickiego na Litwie i Rusi* (History of the Uniate Church in Lithuania and *Rus'*, Vols. I–II, 1906); Antoni Prochazka, Władysław Czermak, Jozef Tretiak, Anatoli Lewicki, Józef Fiałek, Władysław Abraham, and Kazimierz Stadnicki.

Among the few west European researchers of church history in Ukraine, the most noteworthy are: Karl Goetz, author of *Das Kiever Hoehlenkloster* (The Kievan Cave Monastery, 1904); Joseph Fiedler, author of works on the history of the Union; and P. Pierling, a researcher of Vatican archives and author of the work *La Russie et le Saint-Siège* (1896).

**1917–67**

Following the restoration of national and church life in Ukrainian territories in 1917, Ukrainian church-historical scholarship encountered serious and, often insurmountable, difficulties. Rich as it was, the heritage of historiography from the previous period did not treat the history of the Ukrainian Church separately; it was integrated into either the general history of the Russian Church or the history of the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic churches within the entire Polish Commonwealth. The conception of the Ukrainian Church as a separate entity had not yet evolved, nor was it recognized in the scholarly research of eastern Europe.

On the other hand, the course of events after 1917, particularly in central and eastern Ukraine, produced conditions that hindered a further development of church historical scholarship. The anti-religious policy of the Soviet regime virtually precluded any scholarly research into Ukrainian church history. The liquidation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and, later, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (1946), coupled with the closing down of all ecclesiastic scholarly institutions (starting with the Kiev Theological Academy in 1920) and societies, and an outright prohibition of any kind of research in this area—literally drove church historical scholarship abroad, having wholly isolated it from sources in Ukraine. With the exception of research in the field of church archaeology, art, and, to some extent, history of church land tenure and economics, nearly all other publications of the Ukrainian SSR could be classed as atheistic propaganda, with little relation to genuine scholarship. Problems of church history, particularly of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, could only be developed by Ukrainian historians abroad and to some extent in Western Ukraine.

The centers for study of the history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the 1920's and the 1930's were the following: the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw (A. Lototsky), the Orthodox Theological Faculty of Warsaw University (B. Bidnov, Dmytro Doroshenko, Viacheslav Zaikyn, and Ivan Ohiienko),

and the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Kremianets.

The works of A. Lototsky dealt with the clergy, ecclesiastical law, and church structure in Ukraine. Even before 1917, Lototsky had published several treatises on these subjects in *Zapysky NTSh*. As an émigré, Lototsky concentrated his attention on broader problems of the Ukrainian Church: in addition to special treatises on the ecclesiastical decrees of Volodymyr the Great and Yaroslav the Wise, he published the monographs *Ukraïns'ki dzherela tserkovnoho prava* (Ukrainian Sources of Ecclesiastical Law, 1931) and *Avtokefaliia* (Autocephaly, Vols. I–II, 1935–8).

The author, B. Bidnov, of the monograph *Pravoslavnaiia tserkov' v Pol'she i Litve* (The Orthodox Church in Poland and Lithuania, 1908) and *Materialy po istorii tserkovnogo ustroistva na Zaporozhe* (Materials on the History of Church Structure in Zaporizhia, 1907), also published abroad several treatises on church history, particularly on the last archimandrite of the Zaporozhian Sich, Volodymyr Sokalsky, on the life and work of the theologian Adam Zernikav, and the historiographic study *Doslidzhennia tserkovnoï istoriï v pravoslavnykh kraïnakh* (Research on Church History in Orthodox Countries, 1931).

D. Doroshenko, who focused his attention primarily on church history in his general works on Ukrainian history as well as in his *Ohliad ukraïns'koï istoriohrafiï* (Survey of Ukrainian Historiography), while living abroad, published a series of articles in addition to his broad treatise *Pravoslavna tserkva v mynulomu i suchasnomu zhytti ukraïns'koho narodu* (The Orthodox Church in the Past and Present of the Ukrainian People, 1940).

The present metropolitan Hilarion, I. Ohiienko, devoted many of his works to the history of the Ukrainian Church in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He published the following monographs: *Ukraïns'ka Tserkva. Narysy z istoriï Ukraïns'koï Tserkvy* (The Ukrainian Church. Sketches from the History of the Ukrainian Church, Vol. I–II, 1942) and after the war—in Canada—*Ukraïns'ka tserkva za Bohdana Khmelnyts'koho* (The Ukrainian Church under Bohdan Khmelnytsky, 1955), *Ukraïns'ka tserkva za chas ruïny* (The Ukrainian Church during the Time of the Ruin, 1956), and a history of the monastery of Pochaïv (1961). He also recorded the lives of Dmytro Tuptalo (1960) and Arsenii Matsiievych (1964), and the canonization of saints in the Ukrainian Church (1965).

V. Zaïkyn wrote about the beginnings of Christianity in *Rus'*-Ukraine and the participation of the laity in church administration; his works include the study *Z suchasnoï ukraïns'koï tserkovnoï istoriohrafiï* (On Modern Ukrainian Church Historiography, 1927).

In 1934 E. Sakovych published treatises on the Orthodox Church in Poland from 1788 to 1792, and in 1936 on the synod of Pinsk, 1791.

Ukrainian Catholic church historiography developed quite freely outside the Ukrainian SSR until 1939 (in Galicia, Transcarpathia, and, after the war, chiefly in Rome), having at its disposal appropriate archive material. The main centers of research were: the Ukrainian Theological Academy and the Ukrainian Scientific Theological Society in Lviv, headed by Rev. Josyf Slipyj (*Pratsi* [Transactions] and the quarterly *Bohosloviia* [Theology] 1923–39); and the Order of Saint Basil the Great (*Zapysky Chynu Sv. Vasyliia Velykoho* [Proceedings of the Order of St. Basil the Great], Zhovkva 1924–39, edited by Rev. Josaphat Skruten); and, to some extent, the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

Among the noteworthy lay church historians are: Stephen Tomashivsky, author of the treatise *Petro, pershyi uniiats'kyi mytropolyt Ukraïny-Rusy* (Peter, the First Uniate Metropolitan of Ukraine-*Rus'*, 1928) and *Vstup do istoriï tserkvy na Ukraïni* (Introduction to the History of the Church in Ukraine, 1932); and Nicholas Chubaty, author of the monograph *Zakhidnia Ukraïna i Rym v XIII*

*v. v ii zmahanniakh do tserkovnoï unïi* (Western Ukraine and Rome in the Thirteenth Century in its Struggle for Church Union, 1917), the treatise *Pravne polozhenia tserkvy v kozats'kii derzhavi XVII-XVIII* st. (The Legal Position of the Church in the Kozak State of the Seventeenth-Eighteenth Centuries, 1925), the lectures *Istoriia uniinykh zmahan' v ukraïns'kii tserkvi* (History of Union Attempts in the Ukrainian Church, Vols. I-II, 1935), and the monumental work *Istoriia khrystiianstva na Rusi-Ukraïni* (History of Christianity in *Rus'*-Ukraine, 1965).

Individual problems of church history were developed by Nicholas Andrusiak, author of several treatises on church history of the seventeenth century, Ivan Krypiakevych, Melaniia Bordun, and Omeljan Pritsak. Volodymyr Sichynsky, Volodymyr Zalozetsky, Nicholas Holubets, Hilarion Svientsitsky, and Michael Dragan all conducted research into the history of church architecture and art. The historiosophic work of V. Lypynsky, *Relihiia i tserkva v istorii Ukraïny* (Religion and Church in the History of Ukraine, 1925), occupies a special place of distinction.

Historian-clerics worthy of mention are: J. Skruten (source studies on the biography of St. Josaphat Kuntsevych, church historiography, and history of the Basilian Order); Theophil Kostruba (*Narysy z tserkovnoï istorii Ukraïny X-XIII st.* [Outline of Church History of Ukraine of the Tenth through the Thirteenth Centuries, 1939]); Roman-Stephen Lukan (history of Basilian monasteries in Galicia and Transcarpathia); and Andrew Ishchak (studies on the union and autocephalic struggle in Ukraine in the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries). Individual problems of church history were also developed by Theodosius Halushchynsky, Cyril Korolevsky (study of sources), Makarii Karovets, Peter Tybynsky, and Bishop Gregory Lakota.

The history of the church in Transcarpathia was the subject of works by Anthony Hodynka, Oleksii Petrov, Eugene Perfetsky, Basil Hadzhega, and Hlib Kinakh.

After World War II, the main center for research on the history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was at first the Theological Academy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Munich (N. Polonska-Vasylenko on church history, Alexander Ohloblyn on church historiography, Basil Hryshko and Leo Okinshevych on ecclesiastical law history), and later the Scientific-Theological Institute which subsequently moved to the United States, and the Ukrainian Scientific Orthodox Theological Society in Canada under Metropolitan Hilarion Ohiienko. Simultaneously, research on modern Orthodox Church history in Ukraine was conducted by the Institute for the Study of the USSR in Munich (N. Teodorovych and others), and by individual scholars in the U.S., Canada, and Europe (Leonid Sonevytsky, Paul Hrytsak, Ivan Korowytsky, Bohdan Bociurkiw, I. Levkovych, and A. Zhukovsky). In addition to the numerous published works of Metropolitan Hilarion, works which merit mention are: *Narysy z istorii ukraïns'koï pravoslavnoï tserkvy* (Outline of History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Vols. I-IV, 1955–66) by Ivan Vlasovsky; the monograph of L. Sonevytsky, *Ukraïns'kyi yepyskopat Peremys'koï eparkhiï v XV-XVI st.* (The Ukrainian Episcopate of the Peremyshl Diocese in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries, 1955); and *Istorychni pidvalyny UAPTs* (Historical Foundations of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, 1954) by N. Polonska-Vasylenko. History of church art was the subject of studies by Peter Kurinnyi and Alexander Povstenko.

Ukrainian Catholic Church historiography was strongly developed in the postwar period. Its main center was Rome, where the Basilian Order not only revived the publication of *Analecta OSBM* in 1949 (six volumes were published by 1967), but expanded the publication to include monographs (23

volumes published by 1967) and developed broad archaeographic and publishing activity on the basis of archive materials in the Vatican. The history of the Ukrainian Church was the main object of this research, particularly that of the Greek-Catholic Church (42 volumes of documents were published between 1952 and 1967). This work was initiated and supervised by the protoarchimandrite of the Order of St. Basil, Athanasius Welykyj, with the participation of Ireneus Nazarko, Michael Wawryk, Isidore Patrylo, and G. Harastei.

The activity of the research center in Rome expanded in the 1960's with the renewal of the Ukrainian Theological Society, and the establishment of Pope St. Clement Ukrainian Catholic University in 1963 on the initiative of Joseph Cardinal Slipyi, which, within a short period, was able to publish a series of monographs on the history of the Ukrainian Church, by N. Chubaty, I. Nahayevsky, and Basil Lencyk. It also began the publication of Vatican archive materials on the history of the Ukrainian Church, collected at one time through the efforts of Metropolitan Sheptytsky (*Monumenta Ucrainae Historica*, Vols. I–III, 1964–6).

Among the works published by Ukrainian Catholic historians during the 1940's and 1960's, the following are worthy of mention: the monograph of Bishop Ivan Prashko in 1944 (*De Ecclesia Ruthena Catholica sede Metropolitane Vacante 1655–65*); those of the priests I. Nahayevsky, I. Nazarko, Myron Stasiv, I. Patrylo, B. Lentsyk, Athanasius Pekar; and the numerous treatises of A. Welykyj, M. Wawryk (history of the Basilian monasteries), Myroslav Marusyn, Alexander Baran (history of the Church in Transcarpathia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), Meletius Wojnar (history of ecclesiastical law), Meletius Solowij (history of the Kiev Uniate metropolitanate under Alexander I), Ivan Chomyn, Rodion Holovatsky, Ivan Bilanych, Stephen Vivcharuk, Bohdan Kurylas, and Peter Isaiw.

Gregory Luzhnytsky's *Ukraïns'ka Tserkva mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom* (The Ukrainian Church between East and West), 1954, is a synthesis. Materials on the history of the church and religious life in Ukraine are contained in the symposium *Relihiia v zhytti ukraïns'koho narodu* (Religion in the Life of the Ukrainian People, edited by Volodymyr Janiv, *ZNTSh*, vol. 18, 1966).

Treatises and materials on the history of the Ukrainian Church were also published in the Canadian Ukrainian Catholic journal *Logos*.

As a result of the work of the apostolic visitatorship (created in Munich in 1946) in its Church-Archaeographic Commission, a number of studies were published on the Moscow theory of the church-historical aspect of the "Third Rome" by A. Ohloblyn, N. Polonska-Vasylenko, B. Krupnytsky, B. Hryshko, Ivan Mirchuk, and Hans Koch, in the period from 1951 to 1954.

Foreign historians, particularly Polish, German and Russian émigrés, were also interested in the history of the church in Ukraine. Polish historians working on Ukrainian church history include K. Lewicki, *Ksiażę Konstanty Ostrogski a Unja Brzeska 1956 r.* (Prince Constantine Ostrozky and the Berestia Union of 1596 [1933]), Kazimierz Chodyniecki, Janusz Wolinski, Aleksander Łapinski, Józef Umiński, Aleksander Deruga, and Teofil Długosz; and in the postwar period Oskar Halecki (the monograph *From Florence to Brest 1439–1596* [1958]), and Walerian Mejsztowicz.

German historians concentrating on the history of the Church in Ukraine were: Hans Koch (*Byzanz, Ochrid und Kiew*, 1938); Edward Winter (*Byzanz und Rom in Kampf um die Ukraine, 955–1939* [Byzantium and Rome in the Struggle for Ukraine, 955–1939, 1942], *Russland und Papsttum* [Russia and the Papacy, 1960]), A. Ziegler (*Gregor VII und der Kiewer Grossfürst Izjaslav* [Gregory VII and the Kiev Grand Duke Iziaslav, 1947]).

Russian émigré historians paid considerable attention to Ukrainian church

history, particularly Eugene Shmurlo; Michael Taube (*Rom und Russland im X bis XII Jhd.*, 1947); Nikolai Baumgarten (*Chronologie ecclésiastique des terres russes du X au XII siècle* [Ecclesiastical Chronology of Russian Lands from the Tenth to the Thirteenth Century, 1930]; *Saint Vladimir et la conversion de la Russie* [Saint Volodymyr and the Conversion of Russia, 1932]), Vladimir Moshin; G. Ostrogorsky; George Vernadsky; Anthony Kartashev (*Ocherki po istorii russkoi tserkvi* [Outline of History of the Russian Church, I–II, 1959]); G. Fedotov (*The Russian Religious Mind, Kievan Christianity*, 1946).

Vatican church historians devoted considerable attention to the church history of Ukraine in their general and specialized works. Among these were: A. Amman (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Kultur und des religioesen Lebens bei den Ostslawen* [Investigation of the History of Church Culture and Religious Life of the Eastern Slavs, 1955]), G. Hoffmann; and Michael Lacko (history of the church in Transcarpathia). There was less interest in Ukrainian church history among French and Anglo-American historians (but note should be made of B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XIe siècle* [Rome, Kiev, and Byzantium at the End of the Eleventh Century, 1924], and the American historian of Czech descent Frantisek Dvornik). Such Rumanian historians as P. Panaitescu, T. Ionesco, and E. Turdeanu showed an interest in Peter Mohyla and Gregory Tsamblak.

Soviet Russian historical science has lately displayed an increasing interest in church history, especially Ukrainian (for example, the works of Jacob Shchapov).

There has been very little research on the history of Protestantism in Ukraine. Protestant trends and organizations in Ukraine were mainly described by Orest Levytsky, author of the source study "Sotsyniianstvo v Polshe i yugo-zapadnoi Rusi" (Socinianism in Poland and Southwestern *Rus'*) published in *Kievskaia Starina*, 1882; English edition, with an introduction by D. Čiževsky, "Socinianism in Poland and South-West *Rus'*, *Annals* of the Academy of Ukrainian Arts and Sciences in the U.S., 1953; M. Hrushevsky, particularly in Vol. 6 of *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy* and in the treatise *Z istorii relihiinoï dumky na Ukraïni* (On the History of Religious Thought in Ukraine, 1925]), V. Lypynsky, who wrote the treatise "Ariians'kyi soimyk v Kyselyni na Volyni v maiu 1638 r." (The Arian Assembly in Kyselin in Volhynia in May 1638, *ZNTSh*, vol. 96); and Domet Olianchyn. There are also publications on the history of modern Protestantism in Ukraine whose authors are representatives and leaders of contemporary Protestant trends in Ukraine (Basil Kuziv *et al.*).

Polish and, to some extent, German historians devoted more attention to Protestantism in the lands of the former Commonwealth of Poland, particularly Ukraine. Apart from earlier publications by W. Zakrzewski, I. Szujski, I. Bukowski, Szczęsny Morawski, and the Russian-Polish historian Nicholas Liubovich, there are the following: Kazimierz Chodynicki, *Reformacja w Polsce* (The Reformation in Poland, 1922), and particularly Stanisław Kot, the author of a number of works on Protestantism, especially the monograph *Socinianism in Poland* (1957).

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There is no general outline of Ukrainian church historiography. Some relevant material, mostly of a bibliographical nature, is contained in general and special works on the history of Ukrainian churches as well as those dealing with the history of Ukraine and Ukrainian historiography, particularly in Prymitky (Notes) to Vols. 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8 of *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy* by M. Hrushevsky and in the English-language "Ukrainian Historiography" by D. Doroshenko and A. Ohloblyn in the *Annals* of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. (Vols. V–VI, Nos. 4 [18], 1, 2, 19–20, New York, 1957).

Other works containing relevant material are: V. Zaïkyn, "Z suchasnoï ukraïns'koï tserkovnoï istoriohrafiï" (Modern Ukrainian Church Historiography) in *Zapysky Chyna Sv. Vasyliia Velykoho* (Transactions of the Order of Saint

Basil the Great, II, 3–4, Zhovkva), 1927; L. Okinshevych, "Nauka tserkovnoho prava na Ukraïni" (Science of Ecclesiastical Law in Ukraine) in *Biuleten' bohoslovs'ko-pedahohichnoï akademiï UAPTs* (Bulletin of the Theological and Pedagogical Academy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church), No. 2, Munich, 1946; I. Vlasovsky, *Narys istoriï Ukraïns'koï Pravoslavnoï Tserkvy* (Outline of History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church), Vol. 3, Chapter V, New York and Bound Brook, N.J., 1957; Michael Wawryk, OSBM, "Bibliohrafichnyi ohliad Vasyliians'koho Chyna za 1935–1950 rr." (Bibliographical Survey of the Basilian Order from 1935 to 1950) in *Zapysky Chyna Sv. Vasyliia Velykoho*, Series II, Vol. III (IX), Nos. 1–2, Rome, 1958.

## THEOLOGY

### Before the Seventeenth Century

The beginnings of theology can be traced back to the efforts of Yaroslav the Wise (religious schools, monasteries, transcription and translation, particularly of religious book), Volodymyr Monomakh, and the works of Metropolitans Hilarion, Nicephorus, St. Theodosius of the Caves, Clement Smoliatych, Cyril Turivsky, and other leaders of the Princely period. This was the period of translation and distribution of the works of Saint Basil the Great (*Shestodnev*), John Chrysostom (*Zlatostrui, Zlatoust*), Symposia of lesser works, parables, adages (*Zlataia Tsep, Izmarahd, Pchela*), etc. C. Smoliatych was in favor of a philosophical education for the clergy, particularly the utilization of excerpts from the then little-known works of ancient authors, and of a symbolic method of interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. Work in canon law manifested itself from the very beginning of the Kievan church in the compilation of manuscript codes, which were called "Nomocanons" and "Kormchi knyhy" and which culminated in the publication of *Nomocanon* in Kiev in 1620. The Florentine Union led to lively activity in religious scholarship (1439) and resulted in the publication of *Poslannia Mysaila* (The Pastoral Letter of Mysail) in 1476. The sixteenth century saw the beginning of a struggle between the adherents of the West and Byzantium in Ukraine which produced particularly sharp polemics around the subject of the Berestia Union (1596) with the participation of its adherents: P. Skarga, *Opysannia i oborona soboru rus'koho beresteis'koho* (Description and Defense of the *Rus'* Synod in Berestia); I. Potii, *Uniia, Harmoniia, Antirrisis*, etc.; and its opponents — S. Zyzanii, *Kazania*, etc.; Christopher Filaret, *Apocrisis; Ektesis* by an anonymous author; Klyryk Ostrozky; H. Smotrytsky, *Kliuch tsarstva nebesnoho* (Key to the Kingdom of Heaven); George Rohatynets, *Perestoroha* (Warning); and Ivan Vyshensky, who wrote on many western religious and socio-religious problems, criticizing contemporary philosophy and theology.

In the second half of the sixteenth century there was an active group in Ukraine and Belorussia translating and commenting on the Holy Scriptures (Gregory, Prior of the Peresopnytsia Monastery, Valentine Nehalevsky, and Basil Tiapynsky), and authors of the "teaching gospels," that is, expounders of the texts of the Gospel for the broad masses of the faithful. Acting at the same time was the Ostrih group of theologians (H. Smotrytsky, V. Surazky, M. Bronevsky, C. Ostrozsky, and M. Smotrytsky). The adherents to the Western theology based their writings on the Greeks, but took their method and some theological theses from the Latin West.

### The Seventeenth Century

Work on the dogma of the Eastern Church was particularly important. In Kiev, following the publication of two catechisms in 1595 and 1627, the *Ispovidannia viry* (Confession of Faith), compiled under Metropolitan Peter Mohyla, was approved by the synod of 1640, and became a major book for the entire Orthodox East. The *Traktaty pravoslavni bohoslovs'ki pro pokhodzhennia Sv. Dukha* (Orthodox Theological Treatises on the Origin of the Holy Ghost)

by Adam Zernikav (1682) constituted an important contribution to theology at that time.

Liturgical literature, particularly in the seventeenth century, was also the subject of special studies, culminating in the publication in 1629, of *Sluzhebnyk* (Book of Services) and in 1646 of *Trebnyk* (Missal).

Works on homiletics were characterized by the book *Nauka abo sposib skladania kazania* (Art or Method of Sermon Composition) by Yoannikii Galiatovsky (1659), which was exceptional for its time.

Intensive collections of patrological material resulted in the publication of patericons (lives of saints), particularly the *Pechers'kyi Paterícon*, which came out in 1635, although its origin dates back to the thirteenth century.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, the religious polemics became more refined. Authors on the Orthodox side were: Zachariah Kopystensky (*Palinodiia*); Meletius Smotrytsky (until 1627); Leontii Karpovych (*Propovidi* [Sermons]); Cyril Stavrovetsky (until 1625, *Zertsalo bohosloviia* [Mirror of Theology, 1618]); Andrew Muzhylovsky (*Antidotum*); and later P. Mohyla (*Litos, Antologion*); Innocent Gizel; J. Galiatovsky; and Lazar Baranovych. On the Catholic side were I. Potii; Peter Arkudii; Joseph Veliamin Rutsky; M. Smotrytsky (*Apologia*); Leo Krevza (*Oborona yednosti tserkovnoi* [Defense of Church Unity]); Ivan Dubovych; and Anastasius Seliava.

From both standpoints, one can speak of the Kiev School of Theology. By the second half of the seventeenth century its influence spread to Muscovy (Epiphanii Slavynetsky [d. 1675] and Simeon Polotsky [d. 1680]), which caused a reaction against "Kievan teaching" in Moscow. Peter I took advantage of the works of Ukrainian theologians for his own reformist purposes, among them T. Prokopovych, who favored Protestantism (d. 1736); Stephen Yavorsky, an adherent of Catholic principles and scholastic method (d. 1722), author of *Kamen' very* (Rock of Faith); and Dmytro Tuptalo (d. 1709), author of a number of theological treatises.

**The Eighteenth Century**

In the first half of the eighteenth century, regular courses of theology were read by professors and rectors of the Kiev Mohyla Academy: I. Krokovsky, I. Popovsky, Kh. Charnutsky, O. Volchansky, I. Levytsky, S. Kuliabko, V. Liashchevsky, S. Liaskoronsky, and many others; and in Muscovy, F. Lopatynsky (*Sviashchennoie uchenie* [Sacred Teaching, 1706–10]). In the second half of the eighteenth century Kiev theology reverted to the system of T. Prokopovych, who at one time had read the entire course of theology (*Vstup do bohosloviia* [Introduction to Theology, published in Koenigsberg, Breslau, and Moscow]). He was followed by such theologians as S. Myslavsky (d. 1796), author of *Dogmaty pravoslavnyia very* [Dogmas of Orthodox Faith, 1760]), and Ireneus Falkovsky (d. 1827).

With Prokopovych, Protestant influence displaced the Latin-scholastic elements of the "Kiev school" at the same time as the pressures of Russification were being felt. Among Ukrainian Catholic theological works of the eighteenth century, the following are worthy of mention: *Bohosloviia nravouchytel'naia* (Theology Teaching Good Habits, 1751); *Narodovishchanie* (People's Knowledge, 1756); *O sviatom sakramente evkharystii* (On the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist) by Andrew Zavadovsky; an introduction to theology by Theodore Basarabsky (1771); and numerous sermons for parish priests and teachings for parishioners by Dobrylovsky, and others.

**The Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries**

By the nineteenth century Ukraine was taken over by Russian synodal theology, directed against Ukrainian theological thought and method. All traces of

"Uniate" theology were eradicated by ecclesiastical and administrative methods. The Ukrainians became a force of "passive resistance" against "synodal theology" with such authors as: Sylvester Malevansky (d. 1908) in dogma; M. Olesnytsky, and N. Stelletsky in moral theology; V. Pevnytsky in homiletics; and P. Malytsky and many others in church history. The Kiev Theological Academy remained the main center of theological thought throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with *Trudy Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii* (Transactions of the Kiev Theological Academy) publishing many theological works, including important material on the history of the Ukrainian church. Soviet rule put a stop to any development of theology in Ukraine.

Ukrainian Catholic theology developed according to Western patterns in the Galician (Lviv and Peremyshl) and Transcarpathian diocesan seminaries, in the Barbareum of Vienna, and in the Greek, subsequently Ukrainian, Collegium in Rome. Among Ukrainian Greek-Catholic theologians, the better known names of the nineteenth century were: I. Snihurovsky, M. Harasevych, M. Malynovsky, G. Yakhymovych, S. Sembratovych, A. Petrushevych, O. Bachynsky. I. Bartoshevsky, J. Pelesh, O. Milnytsky, I. Dolnytsky, and K. Sarnitsky. In the twentieth century, between the two world wars, Lviv, with its Theological Scientific Society, became the center of Greek-Catholic theology. Well known among Greek-Catholic theologians and representatives of related disciplines were: A. Ishchak, B. Laba, J. Slipyi, M. and T. Halushchynsky, A. Hlynka, S. Sampara, S. Rud, B. Lypsky, P. Tabynsky, and P. Rudyk.

Until 1939, Warsaw was the center of Ukrainian Orthodox theology, with an Orthodox chair of theology. Engaged in the study of theology were: B. Bidnov, I. Vlasovsky, I. Ohiienko, Nikanor Abramovych, and A. Lototsky.

At the present time, there is no theological research in Ukraine. Abroad, the attitudes are polemical and apologetic, and only indirectly theological.

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# 2. THE HISTORY OF THE UKRAINIAN CHURCHES

## CHRISTIANITY IN RUS'-UKRAINE PRIOR TO THE OFFICIAL CONVERSION (989)

### Before the Ninth Century

Recent research on the early civilizations of the Black Sea littoral shows that Christianity had already penetrated the coastal regions of Ukraine in the first century A.D. It is clear that the geographical area known in Hellenistic times as Scythia included that portion of Ukraine which adjoins the Sea of Azov (the Kuban area of today) and the environs of the Straits of Kerch. And Christian tradition holds that it was in Scythia that the apostle St. Andrew Pervozvannyi (First Called) preached.

During apostolic times the western portion of Scythia which bordered on the Black Sea belonged to the Roman empire and the eastern portion formed the independent Hellenistic kingdom of the Bosporus. Here, where there was considerable religious freedom, the Jews had formed Congregations of Worshippers of the Supreme God during the time of Christ. At the time of Christ

Jewish colonies already existed in most of the Greek cities of southern Ukraine (western Scythia) and it was in these colonies that the apostles usually began their missionary work. Although the Roman administration included Christians — legionnaires or administrative officers — the authorities were generally hostile to the Jewish and Christian communities in the Roman portion of the Black Sea littoral, mainly because adherence to the Roman gods was a test of loyalty to the state. Consequently, the Jews and Christians were persecuted here as in other parts of the empire. Indeed the Black Sea area became a place of exile for many Christians from other parts of the empire. The fourth pope, St. Clement I (*ca.* 88–97), was banished with several hundred Christians to Khersones (Kherson) in the Crimea. Here, however, St. Clement's missionary activity was so successful that he "converted the entire local populace to his faith." As a result, Trajan ordered that he be put to death and his body cast into the Black Sea. However, the Christians recovered his body and interred it. Later in 860 the Slavic apostle, St. Cyril, exhumed the relics of St. Clement and moved them to Rome. In 989 the head of St. Clement was sent by Pope John XV to Volodymyr the Great (989) on the occasion of Volodymyr's baptism and marriage. This relic was preserved in Kiev as a sacred national treasure until the end of the twelfth century. (Pope St. Martin I (649–55), who was sent to Khersones in the seventh century by the heretic Byzantine emperor, Constantine II, also died there as a martyr.) Despite the active Christian communities in Roman Crimea, Christianity developed to a greater extent within the territories of the Bosporan kingdom in the first three centuries. Thus Cadm, the archbishop of Bosporus, was present at the First Council of Nicaea, but not the bishop of Khersones.

It is likely that Christianity spread from the cities on the Black Sea to the tribes living in the area of present-day Ukraine. Certainly by the beginning of the second century Christianity had established a foothold among them, especially those living in the Roman province of Dacia, which bordered on present-day Bukovina. Christian merchants and artisans, who came into Ukraine from the Roman empire, left significant traces on the religious outlook of these tribes (who later came to be called the Antes). Procopius of Caesarea noted that the Antes believed in a single god of lightning and thunder, although their monotheistic creed was combined with a belief in the forces of nature (demons, water nymphs, and other minor deities).

During the last half of the third century, the Germanic Goths [Vol. I, p. 576a] entered southern Ukraine from the Baltic area and destroyed the Greek colonies on the Black Sea littoral and with them the local Christian communities. (In one of his works, Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions that in the tenth century there were ruined cities of stone with churches along the Black Sea.) Before long, however, the Goths themselves began to adopt Christianity: the western Goths (Visigoths) accepted Arianism and the eastern ones (Ostrogoths) orthodox Christianity. Although most of the Goths were driven from Ukraine by the Huns at the end of the fourth century, Gothic Christian communities remained in northern Crimea and their metropolitanate in the city of Dorus became the center for the organization of the newly converted peoples of the area about the Azov Sea. The earliest Christian eparchy (diocese) created on Ukrainian soil was that founded in Tmutorokan on the Taman peninsula; it belonged at first to the metropolitanate of Dorus.

**The Spread of Christianity in Rus' in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries**

The Tmutorokan *Rus'* attack on Constantinople in 860 [Vol. I, p. 583a]

threatened to destroy the capital and, according to legend, only the guardianship of the Virgin Mary saved the imperial city: a stormy sea destroyed the *Rus'* fleet. Still the frequent *Rus'* attacks on Byzantium compelled the emperor to seek a reconciliation with *Rus'*. Having prepared the ground by negotiations and gifts, Byzantium decided that the interests of the empire dictated the conversion of *Rus'* to Christianity, in order, as Patriarch Photius said, "to transform the people of *Rus'* from enemies into friends and subjects of the Roman empire." This kind of ecclesiastical imperialism, formulated in the ninth century by Photius, the leading ideologist of Byzantinism, became the doctrine of the empire and seriously influenced the future course of relations between *Rus'* and Byzantium.

Christian missionary activity among the people of *Rus'* began around 867 with the despatch of a missionary bishop. A miracle (a gospel thrown into the fire did not burn) is alleged to have convinced the *Rus'* of the veracity of the Christian faith. There was a political coup in Byzantium in 867 but it did not affect this missionary work. The new patriarch, Ignatius, and the new emperor, Basil of Macedon, continued to support Christian missionary activity among the people of *Rus'*, work which was crowned with the creation of a diocese for *Rus'*, probably Tmutorokan. At first, this diocese belonged to the Gothic metropolitanate, but later became an independent archdiocese and so remained even when Tmutorokan *Rus'* became part of the Realm of *Rus'* in the tenth century, fifty years before the baptism of Volodymyr. Christianity was also spreading among the *Rus'* people along the Dnieper River. The Kievan princes, Askold and Dir, were already Christians.

While Tmutorokan *Rus'* was being drawn into the sphere of Byzantine Christianity, the western Ukrainian lands found themselves within the orbit of Slavic Christianity, which had begun to spread from Greater Moravia in the 870's, as a result of the activity of the Slavic apostles, SS. Cyril and Methodius, and their disciples. Upon the invitation of the Greater Moravian Prince Rostyslav (863), Cyril and Methodius arrived in Greater Moravia and began to preach the Christian faith in the Slavic language, with a separate Slavic rite which occupied an intermediate position between the Latin and the Byzantine rites. They translated liturgical books into the Slavic language and their work was supported by Pope Adrian II and his successors. From here the Slavic rite spread to the east, to the province of White Croatia, the eastern borders of which extended at that time to the upper Buh, the Bystrytsia, and the Tysa rivers. On the eve of the destruction of the Greater Moravian state by the Magyars, Pope John IX (899) reorganized the hierarchy of the Greater Moravian Church, appointing a metropolitan and three bishops, two of them for the White Croats. One of these bishops settled in Cracow in Poland, the other in Peremyshl on Ukrainian territory. (The existence of a cathedral in Peremyshl at the beginning of the tenth century was confirmed by archaeological excavations conducted in 1960.)

Thus, one hundred years before the official conversion of *Rus'*-Ukraine, both Tmutorokan *Rus'* in the east and the Peremyshl area in the west were already Christianized and had their own hierarchies, although the two areas followed different rites. The diocese of Tmutorokan at first used the Byzantine rite and Greek liturgical language, but at some point, presumably when the Tmutorokan area came under the influence of Kievan *Rus'*, the Slavic liturgical language came there from Bulgaria, gradually displacing the Greek. However, certain Slavists (Volodymyr Lamansky and Nicholas Nikolsky) think the Slavic liturgical language and Cyril-Methodian rite gradually spread east from the Peremyshl

region not only into Western Ukraine but also into the Dnieper region.

The turning point in the political and the religious life of *Rus'*-Ukraine and, indeed, in all of eastern Europe was the invasion of Kiev by the Varangians under the leadership of Oleh from Novgorod and the establishment of Kiev as the capital of a great eastern European empire in the years 879–82 [Vol. I, pp. 583–5]. The establishment of relations between Kiev and other Christian countries contributed to the expansion of Christianity not only among the *Rus'* people but also among the Varangians. At the time of the second treaty between *Rus'* and the Greeks in the year 944 [Vol. I, p. 586], half of the *Rus'* delegation was Christian. In Kiev the Christians had already built the Church of St. Elias.

In the middle of the tenth century, the Kievan state was governed by Princess Olha (945–64) [Vol. I, pp. 586–7]. She adopted Christianity and had planned to Christianize her realm according to the Byzantine rite, but after unsuccessful negotiations with Byzantium in 957, she turned to the German emperor, Otto I, and asked him to send Latin missionaries. (At the time the difference between the rites was not significant.) However, the mission of Bishop Adalbert to *Rus'* proved unsuccessful. A rather strong pagan reaction prevented Princess Olha from carrying out her plan, after her son, Sviatoslav the Conqueror, began governing the state (964) [Vol. I, p. 587]. Nevertheless, she brought up two of her grandsons, Yaropolk and Oleh, as Christians. A third grandson, Volodymyr, was raised by his uncle, Dobrynia, in a pagan Varangian environment. Princess Olha died in 969, and was later glorified by the Kievan Church as the first saint of *Rus'*-Ukraine.

Sviatoslav's successor in Kiev, Yaropolk, wanted to realize his grandmother's plan of Christianizing the realm. The tragic death of his father Sviatoslav, who perished in 972 as a result of a Greco-Pecheneg plot, forced Yaropolk to turn to the enemies of the Byzantine emperor—the Holy Roman emperor, Otto I, and the pope. In 973 Yaropolk's envoys appeared at the Diet of Quedlinburg. In connection with this, Pope Benedict VII sent a mission to Kiev.

## CHRISTIANITY IN RUS'-UKRAINE FROM THE ELEVENTH CENTURY TO THE MID-FOURTEENTH CENTURY

### The Conversion of Volodymyr and the Christianization of Rus'-Ukraine

In 977 a war erupted between Yaropolk and his half-brother, Volodymyr, who was reigning in Novgorod [Vol. I, p. 590]. Yaropolk died in 980 and Kiev found itself in the hands of a pagan faction led by Volodymyr. Having become the sole master of the realm, Volodymyr sought to establish a single state religion, bringing together the common and tribal gods into one pantheon, with Perun at the head. In 980 the *Povist' vremennykh lit* (Chronicle of Bygone Years) listed such gods as Khors, Dazhboh, Stryboh, Symarhl, and Mokosh; statues of them were set up by Volodymyr on the hill facing his palace in Berestiv. The treaties of the earlier princes—Oleh, Ihor, Sviatoslav—also mentioned Veles (Volos), presumably the *druzhyna*'s (prince's retinue) god of prosperity and trade. But before long Volodymyr himself turned to Christianity, which had continued to spread throughout *Rus'*-Ukraine. The Kievan Realm's annexation of the Cherven cities in 981 with their episcopal see of Peremyshl also contributed to the strengthening of Christianity in the realm.

Volodymyr was baptized, probably in Vasyliv (Vasylkiv) in 986 or 987, although there were already various views on this matter when the Chronicle of Bygone Years was written. Records of Volodymyr's conversion can be found in both contemporary Kievan sources—

Chronicle of Bygone Years, the writings of the monk Jacob, *Pamiat' i pokhvala kn. Volodymeru* (In Memory and Praise of Prince Volodymyr), *Zhytiie Volodymyra* (The Life of Volodymyr)—and foreign sources—Yakhia of Antioch, Zonares, Kedren, Dietmar of Merseburg, Peter Damianus, and others. After the marriage of Volodymyr to Empress Anna (989) in Khersones, which had been conquered by *Rus'* forces, Volodymyr returned to Kiev and declared *Rus'* a Christian country [Vol. I, p. 591].

FIGURE 12. BAPTISM OF *Rus'* (MINIATURE FROM THE CHRONICLE OF CONSTANTINE MANASIIA)

Little is known about the beginning of the church hierarchy in *Rus'*-Ukraine. The arrival of Greek metropolitans from Byzantium in 1037 and the ensuing dependence of the Kievan Church on the Byzantine patriarch suggested to the first historians of the *Rus'* Church that Volodymyr might have brought a metropolitan and bishops with him from Byzantium on his return from Khersones. Further research did not support this view, however. The Chronicle of Bygone Years—a work written by a cleric—does not mention a Kievan metropolitan prior to 1037, and no Greek source records that Volodymyr brought the first members of the hierarchy from Byzantium.

This evidence led the historians of the Church, beginning with Eugene Golubinsky, to assume that the *Rus'* Church during the time of Volodymyr was self-governing and independent of the Byzantine patriarch. In their search for the first head of the *Rus'* Church some scholars accepted the view that he came from Byzantium, a view rejected today by the majority of east European historians but one which is still maintained in the West; others (primarily western Catholic historians) supposed that he came from Rome. The Russian historian, Michael Priselkov, advanced the view that the church hierarchy in Kiev came from the patriarchate of the Bulgarian Church in Okhrida, a theory now widely held. Modern research, particularly on Taman *Rus'* (George Vernadsky, Michael Miller, and others) and on the church history of White Croatia, suggests that it was not necessary for Volodymyr to bring in a hierarchy from Byzantium or Bulgaria because dioceses already existed in Tmutorokan and Peremyshl, and that he probably obtained the consent of the Byzantine patriarch for self-government in the *Rus'* Church. New bishoprics were then established at Volodymyr Volynsky, Greater Novgorod, Polotsk, Chernihiv, Kiev, and probably Turiv. The first archbishop of the *Rus'* Church was probably called Leontius, and the second, Ivan.

The economic administration of the *Rus'* Church rested in the hands of a clergyman brought from Khersones—Nastas Korsunianyn—and was based on tithes which Volodymyr gave to the Church in 996 upon the completion of the first Kievan cathedral—the Church of the Virgin Mary or the Desiatynna (Tithes) Church. Volodymyr secured the legal and material position of the Church of *Rus'* with a church statute. The Church was made independent of the government, and its organization was constructed on the principle of harmony between state and church.

The Church of *Rus'* and Volodymyr's government also maintained normal relations with the pope and the Roman emperor. There is evidence that the Kievan Realm was drawn into plans of Emperor Otto III for the creation of a universal Christian league of nations.

After his conversion to Christianity, Volodymyr became a model Christian

ruler. As a result, he came to be revered in *Rus'* as a saint shortly after his death (1015), even though for about two centuries the Byzantine Church refused to recognize saints of *Rus'* extraction, especially Princess Olha and Volodymyr the Great.

While the Kievan Church preserved its administrative independence of the Byzantine patriarch, Greek clergy, architects, and artists had already come to *Rus'*-Ukraine with Volodymyr's Greek wife. They established schools and built churches decorated after the Greek model. The custom of *Rus'* pilgrims visiting Greece, especially Mount Athos, to acquaint themselves with Christian monastic life developed during Volodymyr's time, one of the first of these pilgrims being St. Antonius of the Kievan Cave Monastery. Also well known for their knowledge of the Greek language and theological literature were the future Kievan metropolitan, Hilarion (Ilarion), the Novgorod bishop, Luke Zhydiata, and others.

The death of Volodymyr the Great dealt a severe blow to the development of the *Rus'* Church. The four-year struggle for the Kievan throne [Vol. I, pp. 592–3] put an end to the further development of ecclesiastical and missionary organizations. The loss of the Cherven cities, and with them the Peremyshl see, brought great harm to the young Church. The struggle for power among the sons of Volodymyr led to a partition, the lands on the left bank of the Dnieper River coming under the rule of Mstyslav, while those on the right bank were under Yaroslav.

At the time of this struggle, the *Rus'* Church produced its first two martyr-saints, Borys and Hlib, two princes of *Rus'* extraction who were murdered on the order of Sviatopolk the Damned. They were canonized by Archbishop Ivan (probably in 1026), and were later revered not only in the Kievan Church but also in the churches of other Slavic peoples.

**The Rus' Church as a Metropolitanate of the Byzantine Patriarchate**

It is not known how long Archbishop Ivan lived. After his death some complications presumably led Yaroslav the Wise to agree (*ca.* 1036) to place the Kievan Church under the jurisdiction of the Byzantine patriarch. The first metropolitan, Theopemptos, who was a Greek, arrived in Kiev in 1037. Little is known about his activities; it appears, however, that he remained in Kiev for six years (1037–43). The Chronicle of Bygone Years records only one ecclesiastical event in which he took part—the consecration of the rebuilt Tithes Church, although much is known about Yaroslav's work for the Church at that time: the construction of the foundations under the Cathedral of St. Sophia, the erection of the Golden Gate, and the establishment of a book-copying institution at St. Sophia's, for example. An ecclesiastical nationalist opposition to the Greek metropolitan emerged in Kiev with the aim of restoring the former autonomy of the Kievan Church. It was led by Hilarion, the prince's confessor and a gifted theologian and ascetic.

The maltreatment of *Rus'* merchants in Constantinople in 1043 led to a conflict between Kiev and Byzantium which developed into a three-year war. About that time Theopemptos' duties as metropolitan ended. The break in political and ecclesiastical relations between *Rus'* and Byzantium gave Hilarion an opportunity to advance the basic ideas of Kievan Christianity. He did this solemnly in the presence of Yaroslav in a sermon delivered at the tomb of St. Volodymyr in the Tithes Church: this message was embodied in his well-known theological work, *Slovo o zakoni i o blahodati i pokhvala kahanu nashemu Volodymeru* (Sermon on the Law and Grace and an Eulogy to our *Kahan* Volodymyr [Vol. I, p. 978]). In them Hilarion developed his Christian Ukrainian philosophy of history. Before God, in the words of Hilarion, all nations stand equal, but

God's grace called some to their duty sooner, others later. The Lord called *Rus'* at the end, but this had no bearing on the superiority or the inferiority of *Rus'* in relation to other nations. Though the *Rus'* people were called last of all, their land soon shone with glory to all the ends of the earth. The instrument of God's grace in *Rus'* became our sovereign (respectfully called *kahan*) Volodymyr. It was God's grace alone which converted him to Christianity; and he, out of pagan darkness, began to shine with the light of Christianity, was baptized, and baptized his people out of purely idealistic motives. The ideals of Christ's gospel became the basis of life in *Rus'* and they must remain such forever. It was natural that Volodymyr, inspired by God's grace, should have accepted Christianity for himself and for his entire people; he should, accordingly, be counted among the saints. It is noteworthy that Hilarion did not mention the participation of the Byzantines in the conversion of *Rus'* to Christianity.

The war with Byzantium came to an end in 1046, but there was no return to the dependence of the Kievan Church upon the Byzantine patriarch. On the contrary, in 1051, Yaroslav assembled the bishops and installed Hilarion as metropolitan, without the assent or knowledge of the Byzantine patriarch.

Within a year of Hilarion's accession the Chronicle relates the establishment of the Kievan Cave Monastery (Pechers'kyi manastyr) which became and remained for many centuries a holy place and the center of Christian life in Ukraine. The founder of the Monastery was St. Antonius, a monk from *Rus'* who had been ordained at Mount Athos about 1030. His successor was Varlaam. The third abbot, St. Theodosius, carried out a reform of the monastic rule. He replaced the eremitic way of life of the monks with a collective one based on the rules of St. Theodore Studite. In addition to pursuing an ascetic way of life, the monks were required to labor

FIGURE 13. ST. ANTONIUS PECHERSKY (PAINTING BY N. AZOVSKY)

FIGURE 14. ST. THEODOSIUS PECHERSKY (DETAIL OF THE ICON, THIRTEENTH CENTURY)

physically and mentally. The Cave Monastery soon became the center of learning and a model for all the monasteries within the Church of *Rus'*. St. Theodosius preached that not only private life but also political life must be based on the principles of an evangelical love for one's neighbor and social justice [Vol. I, p. 978a].

It is not known how long Metropolitan Hilarion remained at the head of the Kievan see. About the time of the first banishment of the Great Prince Iziaslav (*ca.* 1069) from Kiev, a Greek metropolitan, George, appeared in the city. Disliked by the *Rus'* people for his doubts concerning the sanctity of SS. Borys and Hlib, he returned to Greece about 1073. The metropolitan's throne remained vacant for some years. After the death of Iziaslav (1078), a new metropolitan came to Kiev about 1080; this man was Ivan II, an erudite and tactful Greek. His successor, Ivan III, another Greek, occupied the throne for only one year. Then, from 1090 to 1097, Kiev was again without a metropolitan. His duties were carried out by Bishop Ephrem of Pereiaslav, sometimes called the metropolitan of Pereiaslav. A descendant of a Kievan boyar family, he was one of the first monks of the Cave Monastery (ordained by St. Antonius) and had spent a long time in one of the monasteries in Constantinople. Called by Prince Vsevolod to the see of Pereiaslav, which was established shortly after the

death of Yaroslav, he greatly aided the development of that diocese. During his administration, the feast of the transference of the relics of St. Nicholas of Myra was introduced into the *Rus'* Church, an act which attests to the bishop's benevolent attitude toward Western Christianity. It appears that his successor, Metropolitan Nicholas, was also a native of *Rus'* (1097–1101).

The times of Yaroslav the Wise and his heirs were periods of intensive development in the Church's organization and the further Christianization of the realm. During the reign of Yaroslav, two new bishoprics were established in Yuriïv and Bilhorod near Kiev; they served as auxiliaries to the metropolitan see, especially when the latter was unoccupied. During the last half of the eleventh century missionary work was conducted in the northern regions, in particular in the Rostov-Suzdal lands, and a bishopric was established in Rostov. This mission was conducted by Leontius and Isaiah, monks of the Cave Monastery. Both died a martyr's death there.

Until the second decade of the twelfth century, Byzantine influences could not penetrate deeply into the Kievan Church. The road was opened by the Kievan Grand Prince Volodymyr Monomakh, son of a Greek princess. During the first half of the twelfth century (1103–45), three Greek metropolitans of Kiev, Nicephorus, Nicetas, and Michael, pursued a deliberate policy of imbuing the Church of *Rus'* with Byzantine ecclesiastical ideals and a more hostile attitude towards the Catholic West. This development is attested by the biting anti-Catholic polemical literature which appeared under Nicephorus and other Greek clerics. The most intolerant was the *Slovo o viri khrestianskoi i latyn'skoi* (Sermon on the Christian and Latin Creed) by Theodosius, a Greek who was forced upon the Cave Monastery as abbot by Nicephorus. With the aid of Volodymyr Monomakh, Metropolitan Nicephorus thus succeeded in destroying for fifty years the leading role which the Cave Monastery had played in the ecclesiastical and national life of *Rus'*-Ukraine. The Greek metropolitans strove to place their kinsmen in the Cave Monastery and tried to fill the episcopal sees with Greeks. In *Rus'*-Ukraine, these attempts were, as a rule, frustrated by the opposition of the native princes and boyars; in the northern lands of the Kievan state, however, the policy met with greater success.

The forty-year-long direction of the Kievan Church by Greek metropolitans led, in 1145, to a sharp conflict between Metropolitan Michael and the Kievan Grand Prince Vsevolod. Michael was forced to leave Kiev, having first obtained a written pledge from his adherents in the northern sees, led by the Bishop of Novgorod, Niphont, that they would not participate in the services of St. Sophia's during his absence. A strong national and ecclesiastical reaction followed. In 1147, the grandson of Volodymyr Monomakh, Iziaslav Mstyslavych, acceded to the Kievan throne. He summoned a council of bishops of the Church of *Rus'* which was presided over by Onufrius, bishop of Chernihiv. At this council Clement Smoliatych, a monk of the Zarub Monastery, was elected metropolitan of Kiev, by a majority of five or six bishops to two. All the bishops of *Rus'*-Ukraine voted for the election of Smoliatych; those opposed were bishops from the non-Ukrainian north—Novgorod and Smolensk; the bishop of Suzdal-Vladimir in the north did not participate in the council. Immediately after his election, the bishops installed Clement as metropolitan, despite the protest of Bishop Niphont. Bishop Onufrius argued that the bishops of the Church of *Rus'* had the right to elect their own metropolitan, having blessed him with the relics of St. Clement which were preserved in the Tithes Church.

Metropolitan Smoliatych was one of the very best representatives of Kievan Christianity. An erudite ascetic, he was

an expert not only in Greco-Byzantine literature, but also in classical Greek literature. The chronicler wrote that "up until now there has never been such a scholar in the *Rus'* land and never will be after him." In his few works which have been preserved [Vol. I, p. 986], he proclaimed the necessity of Christian love towards the lower classes. Deeply patriotic and a venerator of the saints of *Rus'*, he was also a firm believer in universal Christianity. In a work attributed to him, the saints of *Rus'*-Ukraine occupy a separate place, but there is also a section on popes who were saints. He boldly reproached all transgressors of Christian morality, including princes, princesses, boyars, and the common people.

The next twenty years were dominated by a struggle between the older Kievan Monomakhovychi (Mstyslavychi) and the younger Suzdalian branch (Yuriievychi) [Vol. I, p. 603]. Kiev fell victim to this struggle in 1169 when it was devastated by the Prince of Suzdal-Vladimir, Andrew Bogoliubsky. In church matters either the national or the Byzantine party took the upper hand depending upon who controlled Kiev – the Mstyslavychi or the Yuriievychi. Metropolitan Smoliatych probably died before the devastation of Kiev. Greek metropolitans continued to hold the see of Kiev after the destruction of the capital until the Tatar invasion in 1240. At that time, however, the princes of both Suzdal-Vladimir and Novgorod, who had long resented the Church's subordination to Greek influence, demanded the establishment of separate metropolitan sees, over the objections of the Kievan metropolitan. Two metropolitans of the last quarter of the twelfth century, Michael II and Nicephorus 11 (1182–97), in particular, enjoyed support in *Rus'*-Ukrainian circles.

As a consequence of the nationalist ecclesiastical movement in the middle of the twelfth century and the election of Clement Smoliatych as metropolitan of Kiev without the sanction of the Byzantine patriarch, the influence of the Cave Monastery revived under the direction of Archimandrite Polycarp, an ardent supporter of Metropolitan Smoliatych and a close friend of the devout Kievan prince, Rostyslav Mstyslavych, brother of Iziaslav. Literary activity was resumed in the Cave Monastery, the fruit of which was the *Patericon* [Vol. I, p. 983]. It was probably at this time that the Ukrainian legend of St. Andrew was born in Kiev. In the domain of the Byzantine patriarchate, it was thought that St. Andrew was the founder of the Byzantine Church which was thus equal to the Church of Rome. According to the Ukrainian legend, St. Andrew was on his way from Sinope to Rome by way of the Dnieper River. He spent the night on the spot where Kiev stands and, arising early, blessed the Dnieper hills on which the city was later to be built. From there St. Andrew went north to Novgorod where he was amazed at the barbaric customs of the natives. Then he crossed the Baltic Sea on his way to Rome. This legend had the patriotic aim of proving that the site of the capital of *Rus'*-Ukraine, Kiev, had been blessed by St. Andrew.

A characteristic feature of the Church of *Rus'* in the Princely era was its tolerant attitude towards Roman Catholicism. Even after the separation of the churches in the year 1054, relations were maintained between the state and church of *Rus'*-Ukraine and the Church of Rome. Close ties existed between Kiev and Rome during the reign of Iziaslav Yaroslavych, to whom Pope Gregory VII granted the title of king. Iziaslav sent a pallium for the tomb of the missionary of Catholicism in Poland, St. Wojciech-Adalbert. The Kievan princely dynasty had numerous ties through marriage with the Catholic rules of western Europe. Catholic monks often visited Kiev where they received generous assistance from the princes and boyars. The churches of SS. Jacob and Gertrude in Regensburg were built with assistance from Kiev in the first half of the twelfth century. Western Catholic saints, who were not

recognized by the Byzantine Church, were revered in *Rus'*-Ukraine (Magnus, Canute, Olaf, Beowulf and such Czech saints as Vitus, Viacheslav, and Ludmila). The Ukrainian Church also celebrated the day of the transference of the relics of St. Nicholas from Myra in Lycia to Bari in Italy, even though this event had been extremely annoying for the Byzantine Church. The influence of Catholic ecclesiastical law was noticeable in Ukraine. Generally speaking, all the people of *Rus'*-Ukraine displayed a great tolerance and esteem for Western Christianity and its Church.

In time this situation changed drastically. Relations between the two churches, already strained since the schism of 1054, deteriorated, particularly after 1204. In that year Latin crusaders attacked Constantinople and, after plundering Byzantium, established a Latin empire (in existence until 1261) and installed a Latin patriarch there. The Byzantine emperor and patriarch found safety in Nicaea. During this period, Greek metropolitans often came to Kiev from Nicaea, and, finding sympathy in *Rus'*-Ukraine, they were able to disseminate anti-Latin sentiments. Also at this time, the Dominican and Franciscan monks extended their missions to the east. Reaching Kiev, they urged the people to accept the Latin rite which gave rise to anti-Catholic feelings in Ukraine. In 1291, Prince Vsevolod finally expelled the Dominican mission from the capital and forbade it to return. In this atmosphere, the efforts of Pope Innocent to bring the Church of Galicia-Volhynia into union with Rome (the first attempt was made in 1207 and the second in 1214) were doomed to fail.

**The Tatar Invasion: Attempts at Collaboration between the Rus' Church and the West**

Two prominent princes remained in Ukraine after the Tatar invasion: the Chernihiv prince, Michael, and the Galician prince, Daniel Romanovych [Vol. I, p. 607]. Taking advantage of Kiev's weakness, Michael took possession of the capital and had a new metropolitan, Peter Akerovych, installed there (*ca.* 1242). When the news reached Kiev that Pope Innocent IV had summoned an ecumenical council in Lyon for the year 1245 to consider the question of the Christian world's defense against the Tatars, Prince Michael dispatched Metropolitan Peter to attend. Peter aroused general curiosity there, since he was the first living witness of the Tatar invasion to appear in western Europe, and to provide important information on the Tatars.

Using that information, the Pope dispatched one of his envoys, Plano Carpini, to the main Tatar headquarters in Mongolia. On the return trip, the Pope's mission visited Prince Daniel in 1247 and held talks with him which led to the conclusion of the union of the Ukrainian-*Rus'* Church with Rome. In 1253 Daniel received a royal crown from the Pope and a promise of aid from the Christian West against the Tatars. But this aid did not materialize; instead, the ties with the Pope brought upon Daniel's realm a new Tatar attack, and he was forced to break off his relations with the Pope [Vol. I, pp. 603–8].

Having appointed Cyril to the Kievan metropolitan see, Daniel sent him to the Byzantine patriarch in Nicaea for consecration. The patriarch installed Cyril II as metropolitan of Kiev but only after Cyril had accepted two conditions: first, that he would not settle in the territory of the Galician-Volhynian state (in view of Daniel's relations with Pope Innocent) but would reside either in Kiev or in the north, in the Suzdal-Vladimir land; and secondly, that he would enter into friendly relations with the Tatars, a condition demanded by the Nicaean Greek emperor and the patriarch, enemies of the Latin empire in Constantinople.

Metropolitan Cyril II (1251–81) faithfully carried out these requests. He resided either in Kiev or in Pereiaslav and Vladimir-on-the-Kliazma, that is, in Suzdal-Vladimir territory, which at the time

was partitioned into small principalities. In 1247 Cyril summoned a council of several bishops to Vladimir-on-the-Kliazma from the territory controlled by the Tatars. A number of ecclesiastic reforms were adopted at the council.

Soon after his move to the north, Metropolitan Cyril made a journey to the Golden Horde and acquired important privileges for the Church (ecclesiastical *yarlyk*). He even received permission to establish a Christian bishopric (Sarai-Pereiaslav) in the Tatar capital of Sarai. On his deathbed in northern Pereiaslav, Metropolitan Cyril directed that his remains be transferred to Kiev and interred in St. Sophia's Cathedral.

**The Disintegration of the Kievan Metropolitanate: The Galician Metropolitanate**

The transfer of the seat of the Kievan metropolitanate to the north in 1299 by Maxim, the Greek who succeeded Cyril II, evoked a strong reaction on the part of the Galician-Volhynian government which demanded that the Byzantine patriarch establish a separate metropolitanate in Halych for the Church of the Galician-Volhynian state. Fearing that the union with Rome might be restored, the emperor and the patriarch met this demand. The Galician metropolitanate was created by the decree of Emperor Andronikos and Patriarch Athanasius (1302–3), with Niphont (1302–5) as the first Galician metropolitan. Byzantium took this step with misgivings and continually sought to liquidate the Galician metropolitanate. When Metropolitan Niphont died in 1305, the Galician Grand Prince George (Yurii) Lvovych sent his own candidate, Abbot Peter from Ratna, to Constantinople for consecration. That same year the Kievan metropolitan, Maxim, died in the north. Patriarch Athanasius took advantage of this circumstance to detain Metropolitan Peter in Byzantium and make him metropolitan of Kiev, rejecting the candidate proposed by the Prince of Tver, at that time the most powerful among the princes of the Suzdal-Vladimir land. As he had done earlier with Metropolitan Cyril II, the Patriarch apparently obtained from Metropolitan Peter pledges that he would not settle in the territory of the Galician-Volhynian state and that he would live only in the north as was the custom with his predecessors. When Metropolitan Peter arrived in the territory of the Prince of Tver, the latter refused to accept him. Metropolitan Peter had to submit to the guardianship of the Muscovite prince, Ivan Kalita, a protégé of the Tatars; as a result he was favored by the Tatars and upheld the pro-Tatar policy of Ivan Kalita. Peter was buried in Moscow, thus giving an ecclesiastical precedence to the hitherto insignificant city. For this the Muscovite Church recognized Metropolitan Peter as a saint. The disillusionment which the Galician-Volhynian prince experienced with Peter, his own candidate for the Galician metropolitanate, presumably led George Lvovych to restore ties with Rome. He probably received the royal crown from Pope Clement. Nevertheless, this did not lead to a prolonged church union.

FIGURE 15. KIEVAN METROPOLITAN PETER

The efforts of the patriarch to transfer the seat of the Kievan metropolitanate to the north led to its disintegration. Not only did the patriarch have to appoint a separate metropolitan to Halych (Gabriel, Theodore), he also had to appoint one to Lithuania (1317). It is true that the successor to Metropolitan Peter, Theognost (1328–53), a Greek, made constant attempts to liquidate the new metropolitan sees and tried to bind Kiev, the ancient metropolitan see, closely to

Moscow, but for a long time his efforts were futile. The Galician metropolitan, Theodore, acquired some power over dioceses in the Kiev region and even in that of Chernihiv (Briansk). These attempts at church consolidation were upheld by the shrewd Kievan prince, Theodore, who maneuvered between the Tatars and Lithuania and united the Ukrainian lands on both sides of the Dnieper.

*N. Chubaty*

## THE UKRAINIAN CHURCH IN THE LITHUANIAN-POLISH REALM AND THE KOZAK HETMAN STATE

### From the Middle of the Fourteenth Century to the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century

The fall of the Galician-Volhynian realm brought in 1347 an end to the separate church organization and thus to the Galician metropolitanate. With the accession of Theognost's successor, Alexis, to the metropolitan see at Moscow in 1353, the Kievan see virtually ceased to exist. While the Moscow metropolitan still carried the canonical title of metropolitan of Kiev, his jurisdiction was in fact confined to the Grand Duchy of Moscow. At the same time, a new attempt was made in Kiev to install its own metropolitan in the person of Theodorit, a Ukrainian who was blessed by the Bulgarian metropolitan in Trnovo. Though the Archibishop of Novgorod was inclined to acknowledge the Kievan metropolitan, Theodorit was unable to maintain his position in Kiev.

When nearly all Ukrainian and Belorussian lands, including Kiev, found themselves under the rule of Lithuania after 1362, the Lithuanian prince proposed candidates for the Kievan see. As early as 1353, two candidates for the Kievan see had appeared before the Byzantine patriarch: Alexis, the choice of the Muscovite tsar, and Roman, the candidate of Olgerd, the Grand Prince of Lithuania. Roman enjoyed the support of the Prince of Tver because he was related to Olgerd through the Tver princes. The patriarch had no alternative but to consecrate both candidates and, at the same time, to acknowledge the partition of the Kievan metropolitanate. Alexis received the title of metropolitan of "Kiev and all *Rus'*," and Roman (1353–61) that of metropolitan of "Lithuania and Volhynia." Alexis strove to advance his rights to Kiev and actually came to the city once; Olgerd ordered him arrested and released him only upon the request of the patriarch. The death of Roman (1361) improved Metropolitan Alexis' prospects for a short time, but Grand Prince Olgerd did not give up his position and continued to demand a separate metropolitan for Lithuania and "Little *Rus'*," that is, the dioceses of the old Galician metropolitanate.

FIGURE 16. KIEVAN METROPOLITAN ALEXIS

Whatever the patriarch was prepared to do for Olgerd, he also had to do for the Polish king, Casimir. Metropolitan Alexis completely neglected the territory of Galicia and Kholm, which was occupied by Casimir, although it contained three dioceses: Galicia, Peremyshl, and Kholm. Within these lands only the Galician bishop, Antonius, was still living. Presumably under pressure from the Galician boyars, Casimir sent a sharp letter to the patriarch of Constantinople, demanding the re-establishment of the Galician metropolitanate which had been officially abolished by the patriarch in 1347. In the event of a refusal, Casimir threatened to order the conversion of *Rus'* to Catholicism. With this letter Casimir sent Antonius as a candidate for metropolitan (1371). The patriarch was forced to concede and Antonius was

consecrated as metropolitan of the three western Ukrainian dioceses.

Casimir's success encouraged Olgerd to begin an offensive against the patriarch and the Muscovite metropolitan, Alexis, whom he accused of actively supporting Muscovy's policy of encroachment against the Principality of Tver. In 1373, the patriarch sent to the territory of the metropolitanate his plenipotentiary, hieromonach Cyprian, who conducted the investigation against Alexis in such a manner that before long (1375) he was himself installed by the patriarch as metropolitan of "Kiev and All *Rus'*," while Alexis was still alive. This development evoked protests from Moscow, the more so since Cyprian began to extend his jurisdiction even to the northern dioceses, which were hostile to Moscow. But after the deaths of Metropolitan Alexis (1378) and Grand Prince Olgerd, Cyprian was able to pursue his personal ecclesiastical and political ambitions to become the sole metropolitan of "Kiev and All *Rus'*," with a seat in Moscow. This was realized in 1390.

After Metropolitan Cyprian (1375–1406) acceded to the see in Moscow he maintained friendly relations with the Muscovite prince. Through skillful actions he united the Lithuanian and Galician sees with the Muscovite metropolitanate. The Galician metropolitan, Antonius, died about 1392, and King Jagiello wanted to appoint as his successor the bishop of Lutsk, Ivan, who had occupied the Halych see for several years and presumably performed the duties of the metropolitan. But Metropolitan Cyprian, with his influence in Constantinople, was able to frustrate Jagiello's plans and succeeded in having the Galician metropolitanate abolished in 1401. The liquidation of the Galician metropolitanate had very detrimental consequences for the Orthodox Church under Poland. As early as 1375 a Roman Catholic see was established in Halych to be a center for the organization of the Latin dioceses in the western Ukrainian lands. In 1406 the Orthodox bishopric of Halych ceased to exist and was not revived for 130 years. Only a vicar of the Kievan metropolitan remained in Galicia to administer the Galician diocese and its possessions. This office was even given to laymen, who subsequently came to be appointed by the Roman Catholic archbishop of Halych-Lviv. The Galician Latin archbishopric also became the metropolitan see for the new Latin missionary dioceses in the Ukrainian lands – Peremyshl, Kholm, Volodymyr Volynsky, Lutsk. The vicar of the Kievan metropolitan managed the properties of the Galician diocese in such a manner that the major part of them was transferred to the Latin eparchy of Lviv.

After the death of Metropolitan Cyprian the Muscovite and the Lithuanian portions of the Kievan metropolitanate again expressed a desire for separate primates. But the patriarch of Constantinople consecrated a single metropolitan, Photius, a Greek, who settled in Moscow. The Lithuanian Prince Vytovt at first accepted Photius, but in time liquidated his powers over the dioceses within his state. Accusing Photius of extortion in the Lithuanian dioceses, Vytovt assembled a council in Novhorodok in 1414, for the purpose of electing a new metropolitan. Cyprian's nephew, the Bulgarian Gregory Tsamblak, was elected (1415–19/20). When the patriarch refused to consecrate him, the bishops of Polotsk, Smolensk, Lutsk, Chernihiv, Volodymyr Volynsky, Turiv, Peremyshl, and Kholm assembled at a council the following year, and, in the presence of princes and boyars, consecrated Gregory as metropolitan, invoking as precedent the installation of Clement Smoliatych (1147) without the consent of the Byzantine patriarch. Metropolitan Photius and the patriarch retaliated by excommunicating Tsamblak (1416).

### The Florentine Union

The Lithuanian metropolitanate continued to draw nearer the West. In 1418 Gregory Tsamblak attended the ecumen-

ical council in Constance which considered the matter of Huss. There Tsamblak expressed a desire for the unification of the churches, but his action had no tangible consequences. After Metropolitan Photius' death (1431), the Lithuanian Grand Prince Svidrigailo was successful in having his protégé, Herasym (1431–5), ordained in Constantinople rather than the Muscovite candidate – Jonas. In 1435, during Svidrigailo's struggle with Poland [Vol. I, p. 620], Herasym was accused of high treason and executed. In 1436, having again rejected the candidacy of Jonas, the patriarch appointed, as metropolitan of "All *Rus'*," Isidore (1436–58), a Greek who was one of the most enlightened men of his time. In 1438 Isidore participated in the councils at Ferrara and Florence, which considered the question of the union of the churches – a cause that was energetically championed by Isidore. In July, 1439, the Act of the Florentine Union was signed, which settled not only the controversial dogmatic issues dividing East and West, but also the differences in ecclesiastical practices and administration on the basis of full equality of the churches of both rites under the leadership of the pope.

FIGURE 17. KIEVAN METROPOLITAN AND CARDINAL ISIDORE

Isidore understood the Union in the widest sense of the word, a sense for which neither the Orthodox nor the Latin Catholics in eastern Europe were spiritually prepared. (The Orthodox did not attend the Roman Catholic churches when he conducted services there, for example.) The Roman Catholic clergy in Poland and Lithuania did not recognize the Union because it was proclaimed by the council under the direction of Pope Eugene IV at a time when Poland recognized the Basel anti-pope, Felix V, as the true head of its Church. Moreover, the Roman Catholics of Poland and Lithuania did not want a unification of churches, but a Latinization of the Orthodox Church. Metropolitan Isidore did not meet with any opposition in Ukraine. The Kievan prince, Olelko (Alexander), and the boyars took a positive attitude towards his action. But it did meet with hostility in Moscow. When Isidore arrived there in 1441, he was imprisoned, but he escaped to Lithuania and from there to Rome.

After Isidore's escape, the Muscovite prince made efforts to have him condemned in Constantinople, but he was unsuccessful, since the patriarch backed the Union. Accordingly, Moscow proceeded, without the consent of the patriarch, to appoint her own metropolitan, Jonas, who became the first Muscovite metropolitan independent of Constantinople, thus beginning the autocephaly of the Muscovite church (1448). Although the metropolitan in Moscow continued to use the title of "metropolitan of all *Rus'*," after 1460 he was only the metropolitan of Moscow and not of Kiev. This had beneficial consequences for church life in Ukraine and Belorussia since the jurisdiction of the Kievan metropolitanate now extended only over the non-Muscovite lands of ancient *Rus'*-Ukraine, Belorussia, and Greater Novgorod.

The idea of an ecclesiastical union between the Orthodox and Catholic churches evoked strong opposition from the Roman Catholic clergy, since by making the two churches equal, the reason for the penetration of the Polish-Latin mission into Ukraine and Belorussia was removed. The open resistance of the Latin clergy within the Polish-Lithuanian state to the Florentine Union and to Metropolitan Isidore was headed by a Latin archbishop, Matthew of Vilna. Cardinal Zbigniew Olesnicki, the real power in Poland, outwardly vacillated between Rome and Basel but secretly supported this struggle against the Union. Lithuania and Poland came to an agreement with Moscow which for-

mally deprived Metropolitan Isidore of authority over the Ukrainian-Belorussian Church (1449) and transferred it to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Orthodox Metropolitan Jonas.

Rome condemned the anti-Union action of the Polish-Lithuanian government and continued to recognize Isidore as the metropolitan of Kiev, although he did not return again to his see. (Having been named a cardinal, Isidore died in Rome in 1463.) It was not until 1458 that the patriarch of Constantinople, Gregory IV Mammas, who supported the Union and was then living in exile in Rome, appointed as the metropolitan of Kiev, Gregory Bolharynovych, a pupil of Isidore and an adherent of the Union. But his jurisdiction was to extend only over that portion of the Kievan see which was outside the boundaries of the Muscovite state, the ten dioceses of Kiev, Volodymyr, Lutsk, Halych, Peremyshl, Kholm, Turiv-Pynsk, Polotsk, Chernihiv, and Smolensk. Thus the Catholic side of the Union also affirmed the separation of the Muscovite church from Kiev. The Kievan metropolitans transferred their seat to Novhorodok and later to Vilna.

### The Last Half of the Fifteenth Century and the Sixteenth Century

In 1453 the Turks conquered Constantinople, the seat of the Byzantine patriarch, the ecclesiastical superior of Ukraine at that time. This event was of enormous significance for church life in Ukraine. The cultural élite of Byzantium, who had participated in the Florentine Union, for the most part emigrated to Italy, strengthening the new cultural trend in western Europe – the Renaissance. The Orthodox Church of the former Byzantine empire was forced to break with Rome in line with the political interests of Turkey. After the Union of Krevo in 1385, and especially after the Union of Horodlo in 1413, the legal position of the Orthodox Church in the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state deteriorated. Its members were denied the right to occupy governmental posts, and its metropolitan and the bishops could not participate in the diets or in the Council of Nobility. Even more difficult was the position of the Orthodox Ukrainians under Poland – the provinces of Galicia and Kholm. Throughout the entire fifteenth century and until 1539, the see of Halych remained vacant and the Ukrainian Orthodox population of the capital city of Galicia, Lviv, was discriminated against and even persecuted by the Catholic Polish-German municipal authorities.

The Kievan metropolitan, Gregory Bolharynovych (1458–75), and his successors maintained their ties with Rome until the end of the fifteenth century, although they encountered frequent difficulties in doing so. From the mid-fifteenth century on the popes took little interest in the matter of the Kievan metropolitanate but turned all their attention, after the fall of Constantinople, to the organization of an anti-Turkish league. As a consequence, the ties between the Kievan metropolitanate and Rome grew weaker. After the death of Metropolitan Joseph Bolharynovych (1498–1501), the Kievan see fell to Jonas II (1501–7), the Muscovite confessor to the Lithuanian Grand Princess Helen, the daughter of the Muscovite Grand Prince Ivan III. Neither he nor his successors maintained any ties with Rome.

Metropolitan Joseph Soltan (1507–21) was one of the outstanding Kievan metropolitans. His reforms (the Council of Vilna in 1509) were the last bright moments in the history of the medieval Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Nevertheless, they could not be maintained during the sixteenth century because the right of patronage was appropriated by the king. Successors to Metropolitan Joseph were appointed by the king contrary to the canons of the Orthodox Church and without the blessing of the patriarch– e.g., the appointments of Sylvester (Stephen) Belkevych, an aide and treasurer to the Lithuanian Grand Prince, in

1556, and of Elias Kucha, a courtier, in 1557. The metropolitan's authority was bypassed in the appointment of bishops, and episcopal sees were often filled with laymen who had earned the favor of influential protectors. Such appointees did not change their way of life. They engaged in wars, hunts, and feasts and regarded their dioceses primarily as a source of income that could be bought, sold, or pawned. The priests, badly educated and impoverished, were no better than the bishops.

During the middle of the sixteenth century Protestantism in various forms—Lutheranism, Antitrinitarianism (Socinianism), and Calvinism—began to spread rapidly in Ukraine, penetrating the upper strata of society in particular. While Protestantism was mainly hostile towards Catholicism, in essence it was also directed against the Orthodox Church. It helped to develop education: Protestant schools were built (Hoshcha, Kyselyn, Liakhovtsi in Volhynia); the gospel was translated into a language closer to popular Ukrainian (Simon Budny, the *Peresopnyts'ke Yevanheliie* [The Peresopnytsia Gospel], the Krekhiv *Apostol*, and others). Protestantism also contributed to the Polonization of the higher strata of the population, however, because of its increasing use of Polish in sermons and church services. To lead the struggle against Protestantism in Poland and Lithuania, the Jesuits arrived in 1568 and established a network of their schools, some even in Ukrainian territories.

Some Ukrainian magnates, who remained adherents of the Orthodox faith, and the burghers rose in defense of the Orthodox Church against the dual pressure of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. Church brotherhoods began to appear in Ukraine (see also p. 225). At first, they concerned themselves only with the physical needs of the churches and the acquisition of wine and candles for services; they also introduced order and discipline into the churches and supported orphans and the elderly. Subsequently, their role expanded. They began to use their influence to have better people selected as clergy and bishops and founded brotherhood schools which began to compete with the Protestant and Catholic ones. The first brotherhood (of the Assumption Church in Lviv) had been founded in the mid 1400's, but it was during the 1580's that the brotherhoods became a significant factor in the church life of Ukraine. They were begun in many Ukrainian towns in Galicia, Volhynia, Podilia, and the Kiev region. The brotherhoods interfered with the competence of the bishops in striving to control the morals of the clergy, however, and this created friction between them and the higher clergy. In particular, hostile relations developed between the Lviv bishop, Gedeon Balaban (1569–1607), and the Assumption Brotherhood in Lviv. When the eastern patriarchs visited Ukraine—Joachim of Antioch in 1586, and Jeremiah of Constantinople in 1589—they paid great attention to the brotherhoods and praised the piety and zeal of their members. In 1586 Jeremiah conferred upon the Assumption Brotherhood the right of stauropegion, which exempted it from the authority of the local bishop and placed it under the patriarch. In time the right of stauropegion was granted to the brotherhoods in Kiev and

FIGURE 18. CONSTANTINE KORNIAKT, HEAD OF THE LVIV BROTHERHOOD

FIGURE 19. GEDEON BALABAN

Lutsk. Such an attitude on the part of the patriarchs evoked even more displeasure from the bishops and served as one of the impulses towards a church union with Rome.

**The Union of Berestia (1595–6)**

It was in such circumstances that the idea of a union of the Orthodox and Catholic churches, projected nearly 160 years earlier at the council in Florence, was reborn in Ukraine. It was expected that such a union would raise the Ukrainian clergy out of its state of decay and check the advance of Polish Roman Catholicism into Ukraine. This idea was conceived in the circle of a Ukrainian magnate, Prince Constantine Ostrozky (1527–1608), a protector of the Orthodox Church. Prince Ostrozky founded an academy in Ostrih (*ca.* 1580) with a printing shop in order to provide for the Orthodox an education comparable to that offered by the Polish Jesuit colleges. The rector of the academy was Herasym Smotrytsky. In 1581 in Ostrih, the complete New Testament was printed for the first time in Church Slavonic. The translation, based on a thorough study of the Greek and Hebrew texts, was done by a group of scholars affiliated with the Ostrih Academy. This text was spread among all the Slavic churches.

Searching for ways to improve the position of the Orthodox Church, Prince Ostrozky, began talks on union in 1583 with the pope's legate, Antonio Possevino, who had just returned from an appointment in Moscow. Ostrozky also conferred with the papal nuncio, Balonetto. He was supported by Adam Potii, a Brest castellan whom Ostrozky persuaded to become the bishop of Volodymyr under the name of Hypatius (Ipatii). Ostrozky's notion of a union with Rome envisaged the retention of the Greek rite and all the rights of the old Kievan metropolitanate. He wanted to establish the union with the consent of the patriarch at an ecumenical council. The occasion for beginning direct negotiations regarding union was provided by the visit of Patriarch Jeremiah of Constantinople to Ukraine in 1589. Jeremiah's lack of familiarity with local church practices had led him to issue a number of inconsistent decrees which had created further chaos in the Ukrainian Church. For example, he had deposed Metropolitan Onysyphor Divochka (1579–89), who was twice married before his ordination, although such a violation of church canon was prevalent among the clergy. In his place the patriarch had installed Michael Rohoza (1589–99), but because he did not trust him completely, the patriarch then appointed the bishop of Lutsk, Cyril Terletsky, as the patriarchal exarch. This tactlessness evoked the displeasure of the hierarchy who were outraged by the patriarch's policy, exactions, and greed for money.

FIGURE 20. HYPATIUS POTII

FIGURE 21. CYRIL TERLETSKY

Personal grievances and ambition were not, however, the only factors which contributed to the cause of the union. Many people hoped that in a union with Rome it would be possible to increase the Ukrainian Church's independence of the Polish government and to safeguard the church from Latinization on the one hand and from the influence of the Moscow patriarch (a patriarchate was created in Moscow in 1589) on the other.

In 1590 Gedeon Balaban first began secret discussions concerning union with Jan Solikowski, Catholic archbishop of Lviv. For this plan Balaban won over

the bishop of Lutsk, Cyril Terletsky, and the bishop of Volodymyr, Hypatius Potii. The secretive methods of the clerical supporters of union and their failure to inform Prince Ostrozky of their negotiations evoked sharp opposition on his part. He now applied all his energies to a struggle against a union. He and his adherents advanced demands for a universal union of churches and not merely one of the churches of Ukraine and Belorussia. Proclamations against a union were printed in Ostrih and disseminated among the populace. The brotherhoods worked with the Prince. Prince Ostrozky tried to get King Sigismund III to assemble a council to decide the question of a union, but the king declined. Under the influence of Prince Ostrozky, Bishop Balaban and Michael Kopystensky, bishop of Peremyshl, repudiated the idea of union.

In spite of Prince Ostrozky's opposition, Bishops Potii and Terletsky left for Rome in the fall of 1595 as representatives of the episcopate. There, Pope Clement VIII formally accepted the Ukrainian-Belorussian Church into the body of the Catholic Church. The terms of the Union provided for the retention of the Eastern rite and all former rights of the Kievan metropolitanate, and the royal privileges granted to the Orthodox Church were confirmed. On the questions of dogma the decisions of the Council of Florence (1439) were accepted as binding. This agreement was to be announced at a council of the Ukrainian-Belorussian Church.

In October 1596 a council assembled in Berestia (Brest) for the proclamation of the Union with Rome. Attending the council were representatives of the pope, envoys of the king, Metropolitan Rohoza, all the bishops except Balaban and Kopystensky, and many representatives of the clergy. Also present were a number of Jesuit leaders, including Peter Skarga. At the same time, at the Brest residence of the Ostrozkys, Prince Ostrozky and his son, Bishops Balaban and Kopystensky, the *protosynkel* of the patriarch of Constantinople, Nicephorus, the archimandrite of the Cave Monastery, both monastic and secular clergy, and delegates from the nobility and burghers—about 200 persons in all—assembled. Both councils declared the other illegal and appealed to the King. Sigismund III supported the Union and did not heed the protests of the Orthodox. He promised the Uniate Church his guardianship, equality of status with the Latin clergy for the Uniate clergy, Senate seats for the bishops, and so forth.

The Ukrainian-Belorussian Church then split. The majority of the hierarchs, some of the clergy, and some of the nobility and townsmen backed the Union. Bishops Balaban and Kopystensky, Prince Ostrozky, and a considerable number of the nobility, the burghers, and the peasants, as well as the brotherhoods, opposed the Union. A struggle began between the two camps. The Polish government did not fulfill its promises to give the Uniate clergy equal status with the Roman Catholic clergy because Polish Catholics, with the exception of the king, did not sympathize with the Union which hindered the Latinization and therefore the Polonization of the Ukrainian people. These broken promises gave the opponents of the Union arguments against it.

While he failed to grant equality to the Uniates vis-à-vis the Roman Catholics, Sigismund III favored the former in other ways: Orthodox churches and ecclesiastical lands were transferred to the Uniates, for example. The struggle led to the publication of much polemical literature, with both sides participating in the debate. Ivan Vyshensky, Philaret Christopher (presumably Martin Broniovsky), Meletius Smotrytsky, and others spoke in support of the Orthodox cause. The cause of the Union was argued by many including Skarga, Potii, and, after his conversion to the Union, Smotrytsky.

FIGURE 22. CAVES OF ST. ANTONIUS AND ST. THEODOSIUS (FROM THE BOOK *Besidy sv. Ivana Zolotoustoho*)

**The Religious Struggle in Ukraine**

Searching for allies, the Orthodox formed a bloc with the Protestants led by the Radziwill family. In 1599 a general Protestant-Orthodox confederation took place in Vilna, and in 1606 about fifty thousand Orthodox and Protestant nobles gathered for a conference in Sandomierz presided over by Prince Janusz Radziwill, a Calvinist. Protestantism in Poland could not give the Orthodox any greater assistance, however, because the number of Protestants and the significance of Protestantism in Ukraine, and in the Polish Commonwealth in general, declined sharply during the seventeenth century.

During the 1620's, the Kozaks began to play a great role in the religious struggle. In 1620, during the hetmanate of Peter Sahaidachnyi [Vol. I, p. 632], the Orthodox hierarchy was restored in Kiev under the protection of the Kozaks. (After the deaths of Bishops Balaban, in 1607, and Kopystensky, in 1610, only one Orthodox bishop remained in all of Ukraine—Jeremiah Tyssarovsky of Lviv.) Taking advantage of the visit to Kiev of Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem, Hetman Sahaidachnyi succeeded in having him consecrate a metropolitan, Job Boretsky (1620–31), and five bishops: Meletius Smotrytsky (Polotsk), Isaiah Kopynsky (Peremyshl), Ezekiel Kurtsevych (Volodymyr), Isaac Boryskovych (Lutsk), and Paisii Ipolytovych (Kholm). Sigismund did not recognize this hierarchy, and the bishops, under threat of punishment by the state, could only reside in Kiev under the protection of the Kozaks. By the middle of the seventeenth century, Kiev had regained its place as the spiritual capital of Ukraine. In 1615, the Epiphany Brotherhood was established there, with a brotherhood school which attracted prominent scholars. Archimandrite Yelysei Pletenetsky (1599–1624) established a printing shop in the Cave Monastery and began to publish books.

At the same time the Uniate part of the Ukrainian Church had to struggle for existence at the diets and courts and in everyday life throughout the entire tenure of Metropolitan Hypatius Potii (1600–13), the successor to Michael Rohoza. The new metropolitan, Joseph Veliamin Rutsky (1613–37) turned his

attention to the internal organization of his church. He carried out a thorough reorganization of monastic life and devised the rules for the Basilian Order. He strengthened the discipline among the clergy and saw to the establishment of a general seminary in Minsk for the

FIGURE 23.
YELYSEI PLETENETSKY

FIGURE 24.
VELIAMIN RUTSKY

education of the clergy. He fought against the conversion of the Uniates to the Latin rite. In 1624 Pope Urban VIII issued a decree which, under church penalties, prohibited transfers from the Uniate to the Latin rite—a decree which was sabotaged, however, by the king and the Polish clergy.

Metropolitan Rutsky painstakingly upheld the purity of the Eastern rite and the "Ruthenian" (Ukrainian-Belorussian) character of the Uniate Church. In a letter to his students in Rome, he advised them to study Church Slavonic, the literary language of the time: "Let them know that you are good Ruthenians." The most prominent of Rutsky's assistants was Archbishop Josaphat Kuntsevych of Polotsk (1618–28), a native of Volhynia and a man who was profoundly convinced of the usefulness of the Union to the religious and national well-being of the Ruthenian people. The viability of the Union filled the Vatican with optimism concerning its mission in eastern Europe. Pope Urban VIII (1644) expressed this feeling to Bishop Methodius Terletsky of Kholm: "Through you, my Ruthenians, I hope to convert the East."

But the Kozaks fought against the Uniate Church after 1620. Under their spiritual leaders, Metropolitan I. Kopynsky, Bishop E. Kurtsevych, and Archpriest Andrew Muzhylovsky, they opposed any agreement whatsoever with the Uniates and instead sought support from Orthodox Muscovy.

The Kozaks did not allow either Metropolitan Potii or Metropolitan Rutsky to settle in Kiev. Instead of unification and peace, strife and hostility spread through Ukraine: "*Rus'* is destroying *Rus'*." In 1597 there was an attempt on Metropolitan Rohoza's life and in 1609 on Metropolitan Potii's; in 1623 Archbishop Kuntsevych was murdered in Polotsk; in Kiev the metropolitan's vicar, Anthony Hrekovych, and others, were drowned in the Dnieper. Nearly 100 clergymen were killed.

Similar excesses were committed by the Uniates, who were supported by the Polish government. The diets of nobility (especially in Volhynia), the Orthodox deputies, and the brotherhoods (Vilna, Lviv) complained at the sessions of the Polish diet about the violations of the latter's agreements "regarding the Greek faith," but the diet kept on postponing the investigation of these grievances. Besides, by the "Greek faith," which was given certain guarantees, the government understood the Uniate rite. The Orthodox were losing their churches, property, and buildings; they were deprived of the right to occupy governmental posts and were prohibited from carrying their dead through the streets of towns. The Uniate bishops frequently resorted to terror to convert the Orthodox to the Union. On the other hand, the Uniate Church was not only denied equal rights with the Roman Catholic Church, but the Catholics of Poland also did everything to liquidate the Union and to facilitate the spreading of Latin Catholicism. Some of the Uniates changed to the Latin rite, ignoring the pope's prohibition. At the same time, some of the Orthodox began to side with Moscow.

Such a position evoked among the leading representatives of both churches a desire to put an end to the disunion, to "reconcile *Rus'* with *Rus'*," in the words of Metropolitan Rutsky. The majority of Orthodox hierarchs consecrated in 1620 were also inclined to this course.

**The Project of a Kievan Patriarchate**

The spiritual father of the idea of church unification was Meletius Smotrytsky (*ca.* 1578–1633) who after his journey to the Near East secretly went over to the Catholic camp (1627). He was the author of the project for creating a Kievan patriarchate designed to unify the divided churches of Ukraine and Belorussia. The Kievan patriarchate was to be under the jurisdiction of the pope, but the "Ruthenian" church was to retain complete internal autonomy.

FIGURE 25. ST. JOSAPHAT KUNTSEVYCH

In 1628 a council took place in Kiev, at which the question of unification of the Uniates and the Orthodox was to have been decided. But the council took place under pressure from the Kozaks who threatened with death even Metropolitan Boretsky and Archimandrite Peter Mohyla of the Kievan Cave Monastery as well as Smotrytsky. The following year the council was to assemble in Lviv, where for the second time the representatives of both churches were to come to an agreement on reconciliation and unification. Previous to this meeting two separate councils met for the purpose of electing delegates to Lviv: the Uniates in Volodymyr Volynsky and the Orthodox in Kiev. The Orthodox nobility did not come to the Orthodox council and the Kozaks spoke out against a joint council. Even though it was attended by 500 clerics, the Orthodox council did not consider itself empowered to elect delegates for Lviv without the participation of lay representatives. Only a few participants came to Lviv council and therefore the meeting had no particular significance. The unification of the churches never materialized. After the death of Sigismund III (1632), his son Władysław IV [Vol. I, p. 633] immediately took steps to solve the church question in Ukraine and Belorussia. A new charter, *Punkty Zaspokoiennia obyvateliv hrets'koï viry* (The Articles to Reassure Citizens of the Greek Faith, 1632), permitted the Orthodox to build churches, schools, and presses, to found brotherhoods, to take office, and to elect hierarchs; dioceses, churches, and ecclesiastical property were divided between the two churches. There were to be two metropolitans, one Orthodox and one Uniate. Peter Mohyla was elected Orthodox metropolitan. Although Metropolitan Rutsky and the Polish bishops protested against the royal charter, the king in 1635 reconfirmed this document.

FIGURE 26. MELETIUS SMOTRYTSKY

**The Mohyla Period**

Peter Mohyla (1596–1647; elevated 1632), the son of a Moldavian ruler and a very well educated man, was one of the most prominent Ukrainian church leaders of his time. In his youth he had sympathized with the Union and always favored an agreement between the churches. Mohyla extended the authority of the metropolitan and strengthened the power of the hierarchy over the brotherhoods. He was successful in having many possessions which had found their way into the hands of the Uniates returned to the Orthodox Church. Old monasteries took on a new life and others

were established together with schools, hospitals, and presses. He also did much to encourage education, particularly at the Kievan brotherhood school which

FIGURE 27. KIEVAN METROPOLITAN PETER MOHYLA

became Mohyla Collegium (1632, see p. 307). Mohyla paid great attention to the restoration of ruined ancient shrines of Kiev. Of particular importance were the literary activities of Mohyla and the group of scholars whom he had gathered around Mohyla College. A brilliant preacher, he left behind a considerable number of sermons, as well as the *Uchytel'ne Yevanheliie* (A Gospel for Teaching), and he published a *trebnyk* (missal) which was used for a long time. During Mohyla's time a group of theologians headed by the one-time rector of the Kievan school, Isaiah Trofymovych-Kozlovsky, compiled the *Pravoslavne ispovidannia viry* (Orthodox Profession of Faith) which was adopted at the Kievan council in 1640 and later approved by the Eastern patriarchs. Translated into various languages, this great catechism of the Orthodox faith was disseminated throughout many lands (the first edition appeared in Holland in 1667). The *Kratkyi Katekhysys* (Short Catechism), published by the Cave Monastery in 1645, long remained the only Orthodox Church manual on religion both in Ukraine and abroad.

Mohyla favored the creation of a patriarchate under the guardianship of the pope, a move which was also supported by Metropolitan Rutsky and his successor, Raphael Korsak (1637–40). However, the idea was not accepted by the majority of the Orthodox Ukrainians and did not meet with support from Rome. Thus unification of churches within a Ukrainian patriarchate did not materialize during Mohyla's time.

### The Church in the Kozak-Hetman State during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

With the creation of a Kozak state under the leadership of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the Orthodox Church became the established church in Ukraine. However, relations between the Church and the new state went through a complex period of change. Khmelnytsky's victory created very favorable conditions for the Orthodox Church. In the lands bordering on the Dnieper River, the Union was partially dissolved. The hetman authorities returned to the Orthodox Church the shrines which it had lost as well as monasteries and ecclesiastical domains. In addition, some possessions of the Roman Catholic Church were transferred to the Orthodox. Benefiting from these favors, the Church enlarged its landed properties considerably, acquiring through various means new domains, along with the right to payments and servile labor from the common people. Assisted by various economic privileges given to it by the hetmans, the Church extended its economic activity, especially in trade and industry. The hetmans, especially Ivan Samoilovych and Ivan Mazepa, as well as the whole Kozak officer class, were generous patrons of the Church, building majestic new shrines and monasteries with state and personal funds, and donating many

precious ornaments to them. The freedom which the guardianship and the material aid of the hetman authorities gave the Church had a great influence on the expansion of its educational and charitable activities.

Legal and political relations between the Church and the state were more complex. At the beginning of the Khmelnytsky period, the Church, in the person of Metropolitan Sylvester Kosiv (1647–57), not only attempted to influence the social and cultural life of the country, but also wanted to participate in governing the state. These tendencies, though growing steadily weaker, remained a factor in Church-state relations throughout the last half of the seventeenth century. The Church's desire to participate in internal politics while remaining neutral in external affairs could be partially explained by its socio-economic interests, but was primarily a result of the fact that a large number of the Ukrainian and Belorussian lands, although legally subject to the jurisdiction of the Kievan metropolitanate, were outside the boundaries of the Kozak-Hetman state and under Polish domination. The Church thus wished to maintain a position of neutrality in Ukraine's struggle with Poland and to secure its independence of the Ukrainian secular authorities, even if this policy necessitated aid from Moscow. On its part, the Hetman government consistently pursued a policy which upheld the primacy of the state authority and sought to preserve all its rights and prerogatives with regard to the Church (patronage and investiture, for example), while representing and defending the Church's interests before foreign powers. It was not until the reign of Hetman Mazepa that a degree of harmony was achieved between the Church and the state.

However, the main danger to the Ukrainian Church during the early hetmanate period came from Muscovy. After the Treaty of Pereiaslav in 1654 [Vol. I, p. 640], the Muscovite government strove to subordinate the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to the patriarch of Moscow. Though the agreement of Bohdan Khmelnytsky with Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich did not refer to the dependence of the Ukrainian Church on Moscow, a later version of this treaty which the Moscow government forced upon George Khmelnytsky in 1658 did define this dependence. The aspirations of Moscow met with resolute opposition from the Ukrainian clergy, especially Metropolitan Kosiv. After his death, Bishop Dionysius Balaban of Lutsk (1657–63), a man of anti-Muscovite orientation and a supporter of Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky, was

FIGURE 28. DIONYSIUS BALABAN

FIGURE 29. JOSEPH NELIUBOVYCH-TUKALSKY

elected metropolitan. After Vyhovsky's break with Moscow, Metropolitan Dionysius left Kiev and the Muscovite government ceased to recognize his jurisdiction, a view they continued to hold under his successor, Joseph Neliubovych-Tukalsky (1663–75). Moscow illegally appointed its supporters as "guardians" of the metropolitan see—Archbishop Lazar Baranovych of Chernihiv, Bishop Methodius of Mstyslav, and a former Nizhyn archpriest, Maxim Fylymonovych. Under the terms of the treaty of Andrusiv of 1667 [Vol. I, p. 645], and the "eternal peace" with Poland of 1686 [Vol. I, p. 647], the Ukrainian Church on the left bank of the Dnieper found itself under the authority of Moscow while that on the right bank was under Poland. Metropolitan Tukalsky, Hetman Peter Doroshenko's closest adviser in his struggle for

Ukraine's independence, had only the right bank of the Dnieper under his jurisdiction; the western Ukrainian lands (Galicia, Volhynia, and Podilia) were administered by Metropolitan Antonius Vynnytsky (1663–79), elected bishop during the rule of Hetman Paul Teteria. The Left Bank was governed by the "guardians" of the metropolitanate appointed by Moscow.

After the deaths of Tukalsky and Vynnytsky, Ukraine remained without an Orthodox metropolitan until 1685 when, by order of the tsar, Hetman Samoilovych assembled a council in Kiev for the election of a metropolitan. The bishop of Lutsk, Prince Gedeon Sviatopolk-Chetvertynsky, was elected for a five-year term, and was consecrated as metropolitan in Moscow. The Ukrainian clergy submitted a protest to the patriarch of Constantinople, calling his attention to the small number of clergy who attended the council. However, Patriarch Dionysius — acting under the influence of the Grand Vizar, who was afraid to antagonize Moscow—gave his consent to the transference of the Ukrainian Church to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Moscow, for which he received generous gifts from Moscow. (Shortly thereafter, when the Council of Eastern Patriarchs deprived Dionysius of his patriarchate for uncanonical conduct, one of the accusations against him was his illegal surrender of the Ukrainian Church to Moscow.)

FIGURE 30. METROPOLITAN GEDEON, PRINCE SVIATOPOLK-CHETVERTYNSKY

The Muscovite government and the patriarch issued charters which guaranteed wide autonomy for the Ukrainian Church: the Kievan metropolitan was not subject to the court of the Muscovite patriarch and was to be elected for life by the local council of clergy; the Kievan Mohyla College, which became an academy in 1694 (approved by Tsar Peter I in 1701), retained its academic autonomy; the right of free publication was retained. All these promises were subsequently violated by the Muscovite government. Before long, the Kievan Orthodox metropolitanate lost all its dioceses except the Kievan eparchy itself. The diocese of Chernihiv (by petition of Archbishop Lazar Baranovych) and the see of Mohyliv-Mstyslav (in Belorussia) were brought under the direct jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarchate, while the western Ukrainian dioceses (Lutsk, Lviv, and Peremyshl) in time joined the Union (see below, p. 157). The Kievan Mezhyhirsky monastery (1687), which also served the spiritual needs of the Zaporozhian Sich, and the Kievan Cave Monastery (1688) were granted stauropegion rights by the Muscovite patriarch. Restored in 1700, the Pereiaslav bishopric was soon also subordinated to Moscow. The Church of *Slobids'ka Ukraïna* belonged to the diocese of Bilhorod which was directly subordinate to the Moscow patriarchate, and later to the St. Petersburg synod.

The fortunes of the Ukrainian Church rose again during the rule of Hetman Ivan Mazepa, 1678–1709 [Vol. I, p. 648] when the Kievan metropolitan see was occupied by Varlaam Yasynsky (1690–1707) and Ioasaph Krokovsky (1707). Mazepa collaborated with them, protecting the Church from the centralizing policy of the Moscow patriarchate, and looked after spiritual growth and material prosperity. By recommending Ukrainian candidates for the higher ecclesiastical posts in Russia, Mazepa was able to maintain ecclesiastical and cultural leadership in eastern Europe in the hands of the Ukrainian Church. But Mazepa's defeat in the war against Russia had catastrophic consequences for the Ukrainian Church. Little by little, the latter lost its autonomy. The Ukrainian episcopate was forced to take part

in anathematizing Hetman Mazepa. Suspected of opposition to Peter I, Metropolitan Krokovsky was taken to St. Petersburg. He died unexpectedly on the way (1707), and a successor was not appointed until 1722.

In 1721, Peter I abolished the Moscow patriarchate and replaced it with a collegiate institution—the Holy Synod headed by a procurator as the tsar's representative. The Riazan metropolitan, Stephen Yavorsky, was appointed president of the synod with Archbishop Theodosius Yanovsky of Novgorod and Archbishop Theophan Prokopovych of Pskov as vice-presidents; all three were Ukrainians. Although the relations between the synod and the Ukrainian episcopate were at first conducted through the Hetman government, this did not arrest the decline in the autonomy of the Ukrainian Church. After 1721, contrary to the rights and traditions of the Ukrainian Church, Kievan metropolitans were no longer elected by councils, but were appointed by the tsar from among candidates selected by the synod. The first of them was Archbishop Varlaam Vonatovych (1722–30) who even lost his title of metropolitan. This title was restored only in 1743 when it was given to his successor, Raphael Zaborovsky (1731–47), who was a patron of the Mohyla Academy and responsible for many of the valuable pieces of art in Kiev. Timothy Shcherbatsky was the first metropolitan (1747–57) who was transferred from the Kievan see to the Moscow metropolitanate. Metropolitan Arsenius Mohyliansky (1757–70) was ordered to delete the words "Little Russia" from his old title, Metropolitan of Kiev, Halych, and Little Russia. In 1767, when a commission that was to compile new laws for the Russian empire was being elected, the Ukrainian clergy made unsuccessful efforts to have the old rights restored to the Ukrainian Church. Metropolitan Gabriel Kremianetsky (1770–83) systematically conducted a centralizing policy in the Ukrainian Church. During his tenure, the synod also took over the right to appoint abbots for the Ukrainian monasteries. During the time of Metropolitan Samuel Myslavsky (1783–96), monastic property in Ukraine was secularized; many monasteries were closed and the remainder were now maintained by the state.

FIGURE 31. THEOPHAN PROKOPOVYCH

Russian was introduced as the language of instruction in the Mohyla Academy. Yerofei Malytsky (1796–9) was the last Ukrainian to occupy the metropolitan see of Kiev. His successor, Gabriel Bonulesco-Bodoni (1799–1803), a Moldavian, was the first of a succession of foreign metropolitans. Thus, over a period of 120 years, the Russian government destroyed the distinctive features of the Ukrainian Church and the autonomy which had been promised in the charters of the Muscovite tsar and the patriarch in 1686.

**The Church in Right-Bank Ukraine**

During the last half of the seventeenth century the Uniate Church found itself in a difficult position. The Polish government continued to discriminate against its members (e.g., Uniate archbishops were denied seats in the senate) and the Polish bishops strove to establish control over the Ukrainian-Belorussian Church and constantly promoted its Latinization. After the death of Metropolitan Anthonius Seliava (1640–55), a successor was not confirmed for ten years.

The position of the Uniate Church improved a little at the end of the 1660's, after the Russo-Polish war and the partition of Ukraine by the Treaty of Andrusiv. Kozak influence declined, and in 1668 King Jan Casimir approved all the previous privileges of the Union. In addition, the Ukrainian-Belorussian Church displayed great internal strength,

especially in its metropolitans—Gabriel Kolenda (1655–74), Cyprian Zhokhovsky (1674–93)—certain bishops (Bishop Jacob Susha of Kholm, writer and scholar), and the Basilian Order. The

FIGURE 32.
GABRIEL KOLENDA

FIGURE 33.
JACOB SUSHA

Union also enjoyed considerable support from the Polish king, Jan Sobieski. In 1680, on the initiative of the king and Metropolitan Zhokhovsky, a final attempt, the Lublin Talk, was made to reach an understanding between the Orthodox and the Uniates. However, it had little success, mainly because of the opposition of Prince Gedeon Sviatopolk-Chetvertynsky, the Orthodox bishop of Lutsk, and the Orthodox nobility of his diocese.

At the same time, the Orthodox Church in Right-Bank Ukraine was in a state of decay. This process was caused by several factors: the weakening influence of the Kozaks; the reduction in the number of Orthodox, owing to the mass transfers of population to the left bank of the Dnieper; the separation of Kiev from the center of Ukrainian Orthodoxy by the Polish-Muscovite border; the Polonization and Catholicization of the Ukrainian nobility; and, most of all, the political oppression by Poland. The brotherhoods began to decline. Although the "eternal peace" between Poland and Moscow gave the Orthodox in Poland certain rights and guarantees (the right to have bishops ordained by the Kievan Orthodox metropolitan and to remain under his jurisdiction; the right of intervention by the Russian government in the event of persecution of the Orthodox Church or its faithful), the condition of the Orthodox Church within the Polish commonwealth, in fact, deteriorated still further.

At the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, Galicia began to join the Union: in 1692 the Peremyshl diocese (Bishop Innocent Vynnytsky) and in 1700 the Lviv diocese (Bishop Dionysius Shumliansky). The Lutsk diocese followed in 1702 (Bishop Dionysius Zhabokrytsky) and in 1708 the ancient stronghold of Orthodoxy in Galicia, the Stavropygian Brotherhood. In 1712 the Pochaïv monastery also joined the Union. With the spread of the Union in the western Ukrainian lands, the Kievan Catholic metropolitanate included nine eparchies, seven of them in Ukraine: the Kievan metropolitan see (with no permanent residence, but located in Radomyshl during the middle of the eighteenth century), Pinsk-Turiv, Berestia-Volodymyr, Kholm-Belz, Peremyshl-Sambir-Sianik, Lviv-Halych-Kamianets, and Lutsk-Ostrih. Only one Orthodox diocese was left within the bounds of the Polish commonwealth: the Mohyliv-Mstyslav eparchy in Belorussia. (During the eighteenth century its bishops were Ukrainians—Prince Sylvester Sviatopolk-Chetvertynsky, Arsenius Berlo,

FIGURE 34.
GEORGE KONYSKY

FIGURE 35.
LEO KYSHKA

Joseph and Hieronymus Volchansky, George Konysky, and others.) Orthodox Ukrainians in Poland proper did not have their own bishop. Their parishes and monasteries were subject to the

Kievan metropolitan and later to the bishop of Pereiaslav also, but the actual authority of the latter was not great.

Having lost their last hope of agreement with the Orthodox Church, the Uniate Church went its own way. Before long, Latin innovations began to appear in its rite and canons. In order to introduce uniformity in the Uniate Church, Metropolitan Leo Kyshka (1714–28), after some five years of preparation, convened a synod in Zamostia in 1720 which established the Uniate Church as an independent ecclesiastical unit within the Catholic Church. The Zamostia synod shaped for a long time the rite and the spiritual and cultural features of the Ukrainian-Belorussian Catholic Church. It brought the rite and organization closer to the Latin Church (certain innovations in the rite, low masses, liturgies at the side altars, the neglect of the type of confession used in the Eastern Church, for example), thereby deepening the division from the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

The Zamostia synod also revealed differences dividing the diocesan clergy and the Order of St. Basil the Great. The Basilians had been for a long time the most enlightened of the clergy. During the last half of the seventeenth century, however, many Poles found their way into the Basilian ranks and this led to the Order's estrangement from the Ukrainian secular clergy and the parishioners. Until 1674 metropolitans served simultaneously as protoarchimandrites of the Basilian Order, but at the synod of Zamostia, the Basilians secured a provision that the bishops should be named from among their order; other candidates first had to take monastic vows. Friction developed between the Basilians and the metropolitans over this point.

During the eighteenth century, the Basilians gained further strength because the Zamostia synod had ordered all the Ukrainian-Belorussian Catholic monasteries, which in some eparchies were still governed by the old Eastern rule, to unite and form a single order of Basilians. In 1739 another Basilian province (the Ruthenian Crown Land) was created, with headquarters in Lviv. The Basilian schools had considerable influence on education (see p. 312).

The increased Latinization of the Ukrainian-Belorussian Catholic Church was accompanied by intensified efforts at Polonization. More and more often sermons were given in Polish. As would be expected, the differences deepened between the Polonized higher clergy and the lower distinctly Ukrainian clerics and their flock which now consisted almost exclusively of the peasant serfs. These differences were the causes of the internal weakness of the Uniate Church, a weakness intensified by the constant threat from Russia. The Russian government interfered with church affairs in Poland under the pretext of its "guardianship" of the Orthodox, provided for in the "eternal peace" of 1686. The opportunity to do so was supplied by the increasing intolerance of the Polish nobility towards the "dissidents"—the Orthodox (often called the "disunited") and the Protestants; the growing weakness of Poland also invited such interventions. Under pressure from Russia, the question of the "dissidents" was constantly discussed at the diets, leading the Polish government to acknowledge certain rights for the "dissidents," but this evoked protests from the Polish gentry and the Catholic clergy. Russia's desire to intervene in ecclesiastical matters on the Right Bank was served by the *Koliïvshchyna* in 1768, the Bar Confederation of the same year, and the first partition of Poland in 1772.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, only a few score Orthodox parishes remained in Right-Bank Ukraine. In religious matters they were subject at that time to the bishop of Pereiaslav. In 1753, he appointed Melchisedec Znachko-Yavorsky as the abbot of the Motronynsky monastery in the province of Kiev and entrusted him with the over-all ad-

ministration of the Orthodox monasteries in the province. Under the leadership of Znachko-Yavorsky, the Motronynsky, Medvediv, Lebedyn, and other monasteries became the nucleus of a national religious movement aimed at the Polish landlords (the peasants were promised aid from the Russian tsarina, Catherine II) and Catholics, especially the Uniates. In a short time, entire villages began to return to Orthodoxy.

FIGURE 36. MELCHISEDEC ZNACHKO-YAVORSKY

Polish-Ukrainian relations deteriorated still further as a result of the Bar Confederation [Vol. I, p. 661a) which also opposed the defense of the Orthodox by Russia and the granting of rights to the "dissidents." This confederation contributed to the increase in the persecution of the Orthodox, especially the clergy, by the Catholic Poles. When the Russian army under the command of General Krechetnikov entered Poland to suppress the Bar confederates, the Ukrainians thought that it had arrived to protect them, and the insurrection of the Haidamaks, the *Koliïvshchyna*, erupted in the provinces of Kiev and Bratslav [Vol. I, pp. 661–62]. During this uprising, the Uniates suffered great losses, including the destruction of the Basilian college of Uman. After the suppression of the Bar confederates and the *Koliïvshchyna*, the Russian army remained in Poland and began the arrest of Uniate clergymen whose parishes had been occupied by the Orthodox during the insurrection. The Uniate metropolitan, Philip Volodkovych (1762–78), petitioned Catherine II for protection but had no success.

After the partition of Poland in 1772, the southwestern portion of the Uniate Kievan metropolitanate found itself in Austria (see below, p. 185), the Belorussian archdiocese of Polotsk went to Russia, and the rest remained in Poland, where the metropolitans continued to reside. After the death of Metropolitan Volodkovych, the metropolitan see was occupied in succession by Leo Sheptytsky (1778–9), Jason Smogorzhevsky (1780–8), and Theodosius Rostotsky (1788–1805). The only Orthodox eparchy in Poland, Mohyliv - Mstyslav, went to Russia. The situation of both Ukrainian churches was grave.

FIGURE 37. JASON SMOGORZHEVSKY

In Right-Bank Ukraine after 1772, the Polish administration began to seek out the supporters of the Russian government among the lower Uniate clergy. In Volhynia in particular, the so-called Lutsk tribunals operated, investigating the complaints and denunciations against the Uniates, and scores of Ukrainian Catholic priests were executed. Under Polish pressure a series of Uniate parishes, which had gone over to Orthodoxy during the *Koliïvshchyna* and the Russian occupation, now reverted to the Uniate Church. The banning of the Jesuit Order was also of significance in the internal life of the Ukrainian-Belorussian Church, since the Polish Commission on Education subsequently turned over a number of Jesuit schools and monasteries to the Basilians. In 1781, the Uniate metropolitan was at last seated in the senate.

The Russian synod, to which the Orthodox Church in Poland was subject, transferred the Orthodox who remained in Poland to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Pereiaslav, Victor Sadkovsky (1785), the vicar of the Kievan metropolitanate. Assiduously implementing the policy of the Russian government against the Uniate Church, Sadkovsky contributed to the conversion of many Uniate parishes to Orthodoxy. The position of the Orthodox Church in Poland was

legalized by the Polish Four-Year Diet (1788–92) which carried out fundamental reforms in the country and adopted a new constitution on May 3, 1791; it proclaimed religious freedom for the "dissidents" and decided to create an autocephalous Orthodox Church in Poland. The Orthodox synod of Pinsk in 1791 accepted the government regulations concerning the constitution of the Orthodox Church in Poland: conciliarism (*sobornopravnist'*), electiveness of clergy, and the participation of laymen in the administration of the Church. The hierarchy, consisting of an archbishop and bishops, was to be subordinate to

FIGURE 38. "MIRACLE OF POCHAÏV" (PAINTING BY N. ZUBRYTSKY, 1704)

the patriarch of Constantinople. The resolutions of the Pinsk council were approved by the Polish Diet in 1792, but the further partitions of Poland (1793 and 1795) did not permit their realization, and the Orthodox Ukrainians found themselves under the Russian synod. The Ukrainian Catholics were split into two parts by the boundaries of Russia and the Hapsburg monarchy. Completely different fates awaited these two branches of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

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**To the End of Eighteenth Century**

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## THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN UKRAINE IN THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

### The Orthodox Church in the Ukrainian Lands of the Russian Empire

**The destruction of the autonomy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.** The subordination of the Ukrainian Church to the patriarch of Moscow (after 1686) and subsequently, to the Russian synod (after 1721) opened the road for the gradual destruction of the autonomous ecclesiastical rights of Ukraine and the elimination of the traditional characteristics of Ukrainian religious and social life (see pp. 228–9). But until the mid-eighteenth century, this process of destruction was hindered by the great influence of

Ukraine in the ecclesiastical and cultural life of the Russian empire. Nearly all of the episcopal sees in Russia, including those in the capital, were occupied by hierarchs of Ukrainian extraction and education (mainly graduates of the Kievan Academy). The development of Russian culture and enlightenment was greatly assisted by Ukrainian cultural forces which helped to disseminate Ukrainian customs and traditions in the empire.

Also the existence of the Kozak-Hetman state was a safeguard for the Ukrainian Church in asserting her autonomy and traditional rights vis-à-vis the Russian ecclesiastical authorities. Moreover, the power of the Ukrainian government within the Church was strong. Until the death of Ivan Skoropadsky, the hetmans had rather broad powers of patronage and were even involved in the investiture of the hierarchy, especially the bishops and the abbots of monasteries. The hetmans granted to the hierarchy estates as well as various financial and economic rights and privileges and safeguarded and defended them. The instructions of the Russian synod to the Church's institutions in the Ukraine were sent through the hetman. This dependence upon the hetman's authority occasionally worked to the detriment of the Church, which led it to ask that it be made directly subordinate to the Russian authority, especially in property matters.

The destruction of the Kozak-Hetman state during the last half of the eighteenth century hastened the Russian synod's domination of the Ukrainian Church. The Russian government ignored the Ukrainian clergy's memorandum (Articles Regarding the Rights of the Little Russian Clergy) of 1767–8, in which it declared its right to retain its ancient privileges. A great blow was dealt to the Ukrainian Church by the reform of 1786, which secularized the properties of the monasteries and cathedrals and established the *shtaty*, a system of state support of the clergy (extended in the nineteenth century to all secular clergy). In the reform, a considerable number of monasteries were either closed or deprived of state support (which effectively denied them the material means of existence). Finally, in the 1780's, Russification of the Church and theological education was accelerated. The Kievan Academy and the colleges in Chernihiv, Kharkiv, and Pereiaslav were particularly affected. As a result, the Ukrainian Church was left defenseless and found itself a direct dependent of the Russian synod.

**The Expansion of the Orthodox Church in Right-Bank Ukraine**

The annexation of Right-Bank and southern Ukraine to the Russian empire in 1795 led to a resurgence of the Orthodox Church in these areas which had long been dominated by the Polish Catholic government. In southern Ukraine this change was accomplished in a comparatively peaceful way as part of the colonization and development of new lands, but on the Right Bank expansion proceeded at the price of the destruction (for the most part, violent) of the Uniate Greek-Catholic Church. Begun under Catherine II, the liquidation of this Church continued at a slower pace and with less violence during the reigns of Paul I and Alexander I, reached its apogee during the rule of Nicholas I with the forcible disbanding of the Basilian Order after the Polish uprising in 1830–31 and the "reunion" of the Belorussian and Lithuanian Uniates in 1839, and was concluded under Alexander II with the liquidation of the Union in the Kholm region and Podlachia in 1875 (see p. 184). As a result, the Orthodox Church in these areas found itself dependent on the Russian government and its local administration. Only the spontaneous opposition of a large number of the Ukrainian, especially the rural clergy in Right-Bank

Ukraine helped to preserve many customs and traditions of the Ukrainian Church in this area.

**Structure**

Beginning in the seventeenth century, and especially during the first half of the eighteenth century, the Russian government conducted a policy of decentralization of the Ukrainian Church. Individual dioceses were subordinated directly to the synod and the jurisdiction of the Kievan metropolitan was restricted to his own eparchy. Eventually he was left with only the title and the honors of a metropolitan and a permanent membership in the synod. By the mid-eighteenth century the words "Little Russia" had been eliminated from the metropolitan's title and only the semi-fictitious designation "Kiev and Halych" was retained.

FIGURE 39. RESIDENCE AND CHANCERY OFFICE OF THE METROPOLITAN IN KIEV (EIGHTEENTH CENTURY)

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the Orthodox Church in Ukraine was divided into the following eparchies: Kiev, Volhynia, Katerynoslav, Poltava, Tavriia (created in 1859, with the see in Symferopol), Kharkiv, Kherson (created in 1837, with the see in Odessa), Kholm (created in 1907), and Chernihiv. Each diocese was headed by a ruling bishop or archbishop except that of Kiev where the head was a metropolitan. In some cases these hierarchs were assisted by vicar-bishops. At the beginning, the vicariates existed only in the eparchy of Kiev (the bishops of Chyhyryn and, subsequently, of Uman, of Kaniv, and of Cherkasy); later they were established in other dioceses, particularly in Volhynia (the bishops of Kremianets, Volodymyr Volynsky, and Ostrih), but also in Katerynoslav (the bishop of Pavlohrad), Podilia (the bishops of Balta and of Vinnytsia), Poltava (the bishop of Pryluky), Kharkiv (the bishop of Sumy), Kherson (the bishops of Novyi Myrhorod, Yelysavethrad, and Mykolaïv), and Chernihiv (the bishop of Novhorod Siversky). Altogether there were 10 diocesan and 16 vicarial bishops in Ukraine in 1917.

Most ruling bishops had their sees in the capitals of *guberniyas* and were assisted by ecclesiastical consistories. The ruling bishop appointed the members of the consistory and its affairs were administered by a secretary—a layman who was subordinate to the Oberprocurator of the synod. Vicar-bishops did not exercise administrative authority. The cathedral archpriests (the senior priest of the main church in a county seat) also lacked any administrative functions. Parishes in every district were united into a deanery (*blahochyniia*), the dean (*blahochynnyi*) being elected at the little councils (*soborchyky*) of clergy. The latter—the only survivals of the old self-government—also included sextons and church elders. The jurisdiction of the little councils and the deans was confined strictly to internal affairs such as the settlement of misunderstandings among the parish personnel and decisions on the best ways of executing the orders of the consistory. The consistory appointed the parish priests and the sextons; the parishioners elected only the church elders.

Every diocese had its official publication—the *Yeparkhial'ni Visti* (Eparchial News), the official section of which contained the orders of the church authorities and information concerning pastoral

practice. Each diocese operated a seminary for future priests, ecclesiastical schools (preparatory schools for the seminaries), and eparchial secondary schools for girls—daughters of the clergy.

In view of the Church's official status, the functions of the parish priests resembled in part those of civil servants. They kept parish registers (births, deaths, and marriages) which had legal standing. In addition to their income from private land holdings (usually averaging 36 dessiatines [1 dessiatine = 2.7 acres], sometimes more) and from religious services, the priests received state salaries.

**Metropolitans and Bishops**

Although Ukrainians were sometimes appointed to the episcopal or vicarial sees, all the Kievan metropolitans of this period were of Russian extraction, with the exception of the Moldavian Metropolitan Gabriel Bonulesco-Bodoni (1799–1803). They were as follows: Serapion Aleksandrovsky (1803–22), Eugene Bolkhovitinov (1882–37), Philaret Amfiteatrov (1837–58), Isidore Nikolsky (1858–60), Arsenius Moskvin (1860–76), Philophei Uspensky (1876–82), Platon Gorodetsky (1882–91), Ioanikii Rudnev (1891–1900), Theognost Lebedev (1900–3), Flavian Gorodetsky (1903–15), and Vladimir Bogoiavlensky (1915–18). Some of them were good administrators, some were especially interested in church education and culture (Aleksandrovsky—vice-president of the Russian Biblical Society—and Bolkhovitinov), some were known for their strict ascetism, but virtually all of them displayed mediocre qualities and were entirely uninterested in the life of the Ukrainian Church. The only exception was Metropolitan Bolkhovitinov (1767–1837), a noted scholar and author of numerous works on church history and archeology, the history of literature, and bibliography. A native of the Voronezh region, he even considered himself a Ukrainian and rendered great services to the cultural advancement of Kiev; he founded a center for the scholarly study of Kievan antiquities at the Kievan Theological Academy and fostered research into the ecclesiastical history and archeology of Kiev.

Ukrainians or persons favorably disposed towards Ukrainians could be found among the hierarchies of other

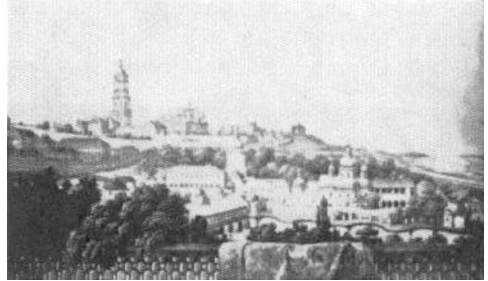

FIGURE 40. KIEVAN CAVE MONASTERY (PAINTING FROM THE MID-1800'S)

Ukrainian cities, the abbots of Ukrainian monasteries, and the rectors of the Kievan Theological Academy which replaced the Mohyla Academy in 1819. Among these men the most notable were the bishops of Chyhyryn, vicars of the Kievan metropolitanate—Theophanes Shyianov-Cherniavsky, Ireneus Falkovsky, a well-known scholar of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and Cyril Kunytsky; Philaret Gumilevsky, the bishop of Kharkiv and later archbishop of Chernihiv, an historian of the Church and of local ecclesiastical antiquities; Archbishop Gabriel Rozanov of Katerynoslav and Bishop Theodosius Makarevsky of Katerynoslav—researchers into the history of the Zaporizhia and southern Ukraine; and the rectors of the Kievan Theological Academy—Innocent Borisov, later bishop of Kharkiv and archbishop of Kherson, and Makarii Bulgakov, an historian of the Kievan Academy, later metropolitan of Moscow and author of a multi-volume history of the Russian Church.

**The Russification of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine**

Members of the hierarchy sympathetic to Ukraine were exceptions to the general trend to Russification and downgrading of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the nineteenth century. Theological education in Ukraine was the first branch of the Church to be subjected to Russification. The Kievan Theological Academy, which became an important center of theological and historico-ecclesiastical learning during the last half of the nineteenth century, and the ten theological seminaries (one in each eparchy) were in effect Russian schools. Russian pronunciation was introduced into the reading of liturgical texts; hitherto the language of the divine services in the Ukrainian Church had been old Church Slavonic with a Ukrainian pronunciation because it was understood by the faithful. Individual texts such as the gospels were also in the vernacular. The same text delivered with a Russian pronunciation was almost incomprehensible to the local population. The Ukrainian language soon ceased to be used even in sermons. Local features of the rite and liturgy were systematically prohibited and orders were given to adhere to the Russian practice. Among the local customs eliminated were the traditional form of oath by the young couple during the marriage ceremony, the affusion of the infants with water during baptism, and keeping the doors of the iconostasis open for the most part during the liturgy. The priests were forced to grow long beards and to wear sacerdotal vestments on the Muscovite model; the active participation of the congregation in the church services and parish life was restricted; the practice of frequent sermons, which was very popular in the old Ukrainian Church, was limited. The church brotherhoods were banned and the election of priests by the parishioners was discontinued.

The aim of these prohibitions was not only to fuse the Ukrainian Church with the Russian, but also to eliminate those customs which the Ukrainian Church held in common with the Orthodox Church in Bukovina and with the Uniate Greek-Catholic Church in Galicia.

The synod took over control of the local church presses and censored their publications, so that they would not contain any differences or "separate dialect." Thus, in the 1720's, after it had published the *Misiatseslov* in 1718, the press of the Kievan Cave Monastery was ordered by the synod to submit the publications to ecclesiastical censorship so that they "would contain no departures from the Russian print." Deviations from this rule were punishable by fines and confiscations, as happened, for example, with the Chernihiv Troïtsky-Illinsky press in 1724.

Local features were removed from church architecture, painting, and sculpture. Buildings in the Ukrainian (Kozak) Baroque or Rococo manner were no longer erected, not only because of the lack of generous patrons, but also because they were of non-Russian style. In 1800 the building of churches in the Ukrainian style (see Architecture, p. 546) was prohibited. Instead, Russian-style churches or even copies of the Russian shrines were built—the new Desiatynna (Tithes) Church in Kiev and the Troïtsky Cathedral in Pochaïv in 1911 (a copy of the Troitsky-Sergeevsky Lavra Cathedral near Moscow). Wooden architecture was attacked, and in place of the typically Ukrainian three- or five-domed churches (usually with a separate bell-tower), the synodal type of rural church was introduced and came to be predominant in the twentieth century. Older types of churches were preserved mostly outside the Russian empire in Galicia, Transcarpathia, and Bukovina. Statues—viewed as a manifestation of Western influence—were removed from the old churches, and the local tradition of icon painting was repressed. In particular,

the activity of the painting school in the Kievan Cave Monastery was discontinued.

FIGURE 41. POCHAÏV MONASTERY

The subordination of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to the Russian authorities and its Russification were not confined to the spheres of spiritual, cultural, and educational life. The Russian government persistently drew the ecclesiastical institutions and clergy of Ukraine into the orbit of its reactionary and anti-Ukrainian policy, a policy which manifested itself particularly at the beginning of the twentieth century in Volhynia and Kiev. Many representatives of both the secular and the monastic clergy and even the hierarchy were active members of Russian political organizations of the extreme right, including the Soiuz Russkogo Naroda (Union of the Russian People). One of the main centers of this movement was the Pochaïv Monastery (Lavra) headed by the archimandrite, Vitalii Maksymenko. Also reactionary and anti-Ukrainian in character was the activity of the archbishop of Volhynia (formerly of Kholm), Evlogii Georgievsky, in Galicia while it was occupied by the Russian army in 1914–15.

### Distinctive Ukrainian Features of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine

Despite all these measures, the Russian tsarist authorities did not succeed in destroying the national features and traditions of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. In general, the people's way of life was bound, through the annual agricultural cycle, to the church, and the populace continued to practice the old rites during these holidays. Among those traditions which continued were the mixtures of ancient pagan and Christian rites surrounding Christmas and Easter. These included the blessing and consumption of special foods (*kutia, paska*), the sprinkling of homes and livestock with consecrated water, the singing of ancient folk songs (*koliadky, shchedrivky*), praying over the graves of the deceased, processions, and the three-day ringing of church bells. The majority of such songs, prayers, and rites were unknown in Russia; they still exist in Ukraine, despite Communist efforts to destroy them.

Nor did the rural clergy submit quietly to Russification. Because of the clergy's close relations with the people and because of hereditary parishes which descended from father to son (or son-in-law), the clergy from Russia did not infiltrate the villages, but remained for the most part in the towns. The rural clergy continued to use the Ukrainian language in their daily life, although the Russian language predominated in sermons and official transactions. Theological seminaries, in which the majority of the students were from the surrounding areas, played a special role in the Ukrainian national renaissance, producing a series of prominent political and cultural leaders. The seminaries in Poltava and Kamianets Podilsky were particularly active in this respect. During the 1880's and 1890's, secret Ukrainian circles already existed in most theological schools. Their subsequent discovery by the police (for example, arrests of students of the Volhynia seminary in 1907) and the dismissal of students from these schools only served to intensify the activity of the seminarians in the political field.

Until the official prohibition of the publication and dissemination of books in Ukrainian, in 1863 and 1876 respectively, there were attempts to publish books with a religious content in the

Ukrainian language—Taras Shevchenko's *Bukvar* (Primer) in 1860, the sermons of Archpriest Basil Hrechulevych in 1849, and the publication of the lives of saints and the sermons of Ivan Babchenko and Stephen Opatovych. The Ukrainian translation of the Bible, begun in the middle of the nineteenth century by Panteleimon Kulish and Ivan Puliui, could not be published in Russia; it appeared in Vienna in 1903 under the imprint of the British Bible Society. It was only after the 1905 revolution that the Gospels in Ukrainian were first published in Russian-held Ukraine (1906–14); this translation was one done by Philip Morachevsky almost fifty years

FIGURE 42. VIEW OF THE VYDUBETSKY MONASTERY NEAR KIEV

earlier. The editor of this text was Bishop Parfeniius Levytsky of Podilia (a native of the Poltava region) who had gathered around himself a group of ecclesiastical (Yukhym Sitsinsky, Cyril Starynkevych) and secular leaders (Serhii Ivanytsky, Nicholas Bychkovsky, and others). He also permitted the clergy to use the Ukrainian language in sermons and even secured temporarily (1907–12) the introduction of Ukrainian in the parish schools in Podilia. However, this permission was repealed shortly after and Bishop Parfeniius was transferred to central Russia. The activities of the Bishop of Kremianets, Ambrose Hudko, who also used Ukrainian in sermons throughout the villages, met with less resistance. The authorities tolerated such sermons—because of political considerations—but only in the western outskirts of the Ukrainian ethnographic territory, the Kholm region. Archbishop Alexis Dorodnytsyn, a Ukrainian by birth, translated prayer books into Ukrainian.

The national consciousness of the clergy grew steadily during the early years of this century. The Ukrainian faction in the Russian duma included several clergymen (A. Hrynevych, K. Volkov, M. Senderko, O. Trehubov among others). The contributions of the clergy to the rebirth of the Ukrainian state in 1917 and in the following years was substantial, and the sons of priests or the graduates of the theological schools occupied many of the highest posts in the new state. Among them were the chief of state, Simon Petliura; the premiers, Viacheslav Prokopovych and Volodymyr Chekhivsky; and the minister of confessions, Alexander Lototsky.

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## THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN UKRAINE SINCE 1917

### The Church and the Ukrainian Revolution

The political rebirth of the Ukrainian state in 1917 catalysed hitherto suppressed Ukrainian aspirations within the Russified church and a national church movement grew up. Early in December 1917 the movement assumed an organized form with the establishment of an

All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council (Vseukraïns'ka Pravoslavna Tserkovna Rada) headed by Alexander Marychiv, an army chaplain, and Alexis Dorodnytsyn, a retired archbishop who resided at the Kievan Cave Monastery. Challenging the authority of the newly restored Moscow patriarchate and the Russian bishops in Ukraine, the council demanded Ukrainization of the Church, complete independence from Moscow (autocephaly), and the restoration of the traditional form of conciliar government (*sobornopravnist'*). In view of the bitter hostility of the local episcopate, the council appealed directly to the patriarch of Moscow, Tikhon, who blessed (approved), with certain conditions, the convocation of the First All-Ukrainian Church Congress (Vseukraïns'kyi Tserkovnyi Sobor) and appointed his delegates to this gathering. The sobor, which convened in Kiev in January, 1918, was interrupted by the Soviet invasion, before any decisions on the future of the Ukrainian Church could be reached. The work of the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council (which dissolved itself with the convocation of the sobor) was carried on by a newly re-formed Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius.

FIGURE 43. ST. SOPHIA CATHEDRAL IN KIEV

By the time the sobor reconvened in June, 1918, under the new Hetman regime, the Russian elements in the Church had significantly strengthened their position, especially with the accession to the see of Kiev of Metropolitan Anthonius Khrapovitsky, a staunch opponent of the Ukrainian movement. A pro-Russian majority at the second session of the sobor, having barred the Rada members from the sessions and expelled its liberal supporters, rejected the principal demands of the Ukrainian church movement. On July 9, 1918, the sobor adopted a Statute for the Provisional Supreme Administration of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. Without waiting for its ratification by the Hetman government, Patriarch Tikhon approved the statute by his letter to Metropolitan Anthonius Khrapovitsky of September 26, 1918.

Although it provided for the election of the bishops at diocesan sobors and of the Kievan metropolitan at an all-Ukrainian sobor, the statute (as amended at the Patriarch's request) left the Patriarch with the authority to "confirm and bless" the metropolitan and the diocesan bishops in Ukraine. It also provided that the "resolutions of the All-Russian Church sobors, as well as decisions and directives of the Holy Patriarch shall have obligatory force for the entire Ukrainian Church." The latter was to be governed by a triennial Ukrainian Church sobor and between such sobors, by a holy sobor of (Ukrainian) bishops and the Supreme Church Council—all three to be headed by the Metropolitan of Kiev and Halych. Theoretically, this statute remains in force at the present time, though in practice the Russian Orthodox Church has ignored it since the 1940's. The statute was rejected by the Ukrainian church movement and, speaking for the Hetman government, the Minister of Confessions, Alexander Lototsky, declared at the fall session of the sobor (November 12, 1918) that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church ought to possess autocephaly.

With the overthrow of the Hetman regime, the new Directory government took action to realize the autocephaly of the Church. In December, 1918, it

FIGURE 44. EPISCOPATE OF THE UKRAINIAN AUTOCEPHALOUS ORTHODOX CHURCH, 1921–6

removed Metropolitan Khrapovitsky from his post, and on January 1, 1919, it issued the Law on the Supreme Authority of the Ukrainian Church which provided for the complete independence of the Ukrainian Church under its own synod. The continuing opposition of the majority of bishops and the second Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine prevented the effective implementation of this decree.

During the second Bolshevik occupation (February-August, 1919) the Ukrainian church movement took advantage of the new Soviet church legislation to "register" a number of Ukrainianized parishes under a reconstituted (Second) All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council. Having been temporarily disbanded during the short-lived occupation of Kiev by the Russian White Army of General Denikin (August-December, 1919), the council resumed and further expanded its activities in the early months of 1920 and was registered by the Soviet authorities as an independent union of Ukrainian Orthodox parishes. Soon afterwards the Kievan Bishop Nazarius suspended all the clergy of Ukrainian parishes; the council replied on May 5, 1920, with a formal proclamation of the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

The three-year-old struggle for control of the Church between the Russian nationalists entrenched in the hierarchy and the higher clergy and the Ukrainian nationalists among the lower clergy and laymen thus culminated in the division of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine into two hostile bodies: the Russian (Patriarchal) Church deriving its strength from its control of the entire hierarchy in an episcopate-centered church, from canonical continuity, and from the habitual allegiance of the conservative majority of believers; and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church embracing the nationally conscious believers attracted by the national language and rites of this church and its message of national independence, religious fundamentalism, and social radicalism. By 1923, a third contestant entered this ecclesiastical

struggle in Ukraine, cutting into the clerical and lay following of the Patriarchal Church. This was the Living Church soon replaced by a more moderate Renovationist (Synodal) Church—an offshoot of the frustrated reform movement in the Russian Church.

**The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church 1920–30**

Having severed its links with the Russian episcopate, the All-Ukrainian Church Council was able at first to secure archpastoral leadership for the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (Ukraïns'ka Avtokefal'na Pravoslavna Tserkva [UAPTs]) in the person of a Ukrainian archbishop, Parfenius Levytsky of Poltava. However, when the sobor of bishops in Kiev decided in February, 1921, to unfrock all the autocephalist clergy and ordered, under threat of anathema, an immediate dissolution of the UAPTs, Archbishop Parfenius broke his connections with it. With no bishop now willing to assume the canonic leadership of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church or to ordain its episcopate, the First All-Ukrainian Sobor of the UAPTs which met from October 14 to 30, 1921, took the fateful decision to create its own episcopate by resorting to the practice of the ancient Alexandrine church. On October 23, Archpriest Basil Lypkivsky (b. 1864), the spiritual leader of the Ukrainian national church movement and one of the organizers of the All-Ukrainian Church Council (in 1919 in Kiev he had celebrated the first liturgy in modern Ukrainian), was ordained Metropolitan of Kiev and All Ukraine through a laying-on of hands by the clerical and lay members of the sobor. Then, jointly with the sobor members, Metropolitan Lypkivsky consecrated Archpriest Nestor Sharaïvsky as another bishop and, late in October, the two hierarchs ordained four other priests as bishops for several Ukrainian dioceses.

This departure from the established Orthodox procedures, as well as a series of canonical reforms adopted by the 1921 sobor, not only alienated some clerical supporters of the movement, but also resulted in a virtual isolation of the UAPTs from other Orthodox churches which refused to recognize the canonic validity of its episcopate. Nevertheless, in the face of violent opposition on the part of the Russian Church, the UAPTs rapidly expanded its following among the Ukrainian peasantry and intelligentsia. By early 1924 it embraced 30 bishops and some 1,500 priests and deacons serving over 1,100 parishes in the Ukrainian SSR, although concentrated primarily in the provinces of Kiev, Podilia, Chernihiv, and Poltava. During the 1920's, the influence of the UAPTs spread beyond the Ukrainian SSR to Ukrainian colonies in central Asia, to émigrés in western Europe, and in particular to the Ukrainian settlers in Canada and the United States where a separate diocese was formed (with some 148 parishes by 1927) under Archbishop John Theodorovich.

FIGURE 45. METROPOLITAN BASIL LYPKIVSKY

After 1922 the Soviet authorities began to impose increasingly severe restrictions upon the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church which they accused of nationalistic tendencies. During the years between 1923 and 1926, they attempted to split the UAPTs by supporting a "progressive" faction—the Diial'no-Khrystova Tserkva (Active Church of Christ)—within its ranks. The latter was allowed to publish a journal, *Tserkovne Zhyttia* (Church Life, two issues in 1925), and some books. But when this faction failed to seize control of the UAPTs, the Soviet police resorted to repressive measures, and in the summer of 1926 arrested Metropolitan Lypkivsky and a number of other autocephalist leaders and ordered the dissolution of the Church's central body—the All-Ukrainian Church Council. At the Second All-Ukrainian Church Sobor in October, 1927, the authorities forced the dismissal of Metropolitan Lypkivsky who was replaced by Metropolitan Nicholas Boretsky. After a brief period of toleration during which the UAPTs was permitted to publish its journal *Tserkva i Zhyttia* (Church and Life, 1927–8) and to issue several religious books, the regime undertook (beginning in 1929) massive repressive measures against the autocephalist episcopate and clergy, closing most of the Ukrainian parishes.

Charging the UAPTs with collaboration with the recently "uncovered" underground Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (Spilka Vyzvolennia Ukraïny) the authorities staged the "extraordinary sobor" in January, 1930, which formally "dissolved" the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Metropolitan Boretsky and a number of other autocephalist leaders, including the Church's principal ideologist, Volodymyr Chekhivsky, were imprisoned or exiled. The remnant of the Church (some 300 parishes) was allowed to reconstitute itself at the end of 1930 as the Ukraïns'ka Pravoslavna Tserkva (Ukrainian Orthodox Church) under Metropolitan Ivan Pavlovsky of Kharkiv.

FIGURE 46. VOLODYMYR CHEKHIVSKY

FIGURE 47. METROPOLITAN IVAN PAVLOVSKY

Closely watched by the regime, this Church was progressively decimated; its last parish was suppressed in 1936. In January, 1938, the NKVD again arrested the retired leader of the UAPTs, Metropolitan Lypkivsky who perished in unknown circumstances. Altogether, according to Ukrainian Orthodox sources, the Bolsheviks killed two metropolitans of the UAPTs, 26 archbishops and bishops, some 1,150 priests, 54 deacons, and approximately 20,000 lay members of the regional and parish councils, as well as an undetermined number of rank-and-file believers.

**The Russian (Patriarchal) Church in Ukraine**

The rise of the UAPTs, while weakening the hold of the Russian Church over the Ukrainian village and virtually depriving it of any following among the Ukrainian intelligentsia, still left the Patriarchal Church as the largest ecclesiastical body in Ukraine. Its principal sources of strength were the conservatism of the clergy and a sizable and strategically placed Russian minority in Ukraine. Weakened by the emigration of most of its diocesan bishops, the Patriarchal Church in Ukraine was administered after August, 1921, by Metropolitan Michael Yermakov—the first of the patriarchal exarchs for Ukraine. The mounting Bolshevik persecution of the Church during the early years of the regime

resulted in the closing of all theological schools and publications and the majority of the Church's monastic institutions. While the establishment of a *modus vivendi* between Patriarch Tikhon and the Soviet government eased the pressure of the exarchate during 1923–4, the expansion of the regime-supported Renovationist (Synodal) Church into Ukraine brought about the defection of some bishops and a large number of clergy to the *obnovlentsi* (Renovationists). In 1925 a group of Patriarchal and Renovationist bishops and clergy, led by Bishop Theophile Buldovsky of Lubny who had left the Patriarchal Church in the fall of 1924, formed still another ecclesiastical organization in Ukraine. Attacking the Church's subservience to Moscow and its failure to Ukrainianize the exarchate, the Lubny group proclaimed itself an autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox Church (known as Soborno-Yepyskops'ka Tserkva). Although it continued until the mid-thirties, the Buldovsky group failed to attract a large following in Ukraine.

With the death of Tikhon in 1925, the Soviet authorities prevented an orderly succession to the patriarchal see and attempted in the ensuing confusion to split the Russian Church further and to transfer its leadership to pro-Soviet elements. In the renewed campaign of arrests and deportations of clergy, Metropolitan Michael and most of the exarchate's bishops were removed from Ukraine and were not allowed to resume their posts until 1927, after they joined with the patriarchal *locum tenens*, Metropolitan Sergei (Stragorodsky), in pledging unconditional loyalty to the Soviet state. During the short-lived "peace" in church-state relations that followed, Metropolitan Michael was able to rebuild the exarchate's organization in part—to fill some vacant episcopal sees, to ordain new clergy, and to recapture much of the Renovationist following. By 1928 the exarchate's strength was semi-officially estimated at some 4,900 parishes.

Exarch Michael died in March, 1929, and was succeeded by Archbishop Constantine Diakov of Kharkiv. The violent anti-religious campaign begun that year against all denominations in the USSR brought a new wave of church closings and the arrest and deportation of bishops and clergy throughout Ukraine. During the early 1930's, all the remaining monasteries and nunneries in Ukraine were suppressed. Exarch Constantine continued to preside over the rapidly shrinking Church until his arrest in 1937. By 1938 the few remaining Patriarchal bishops were imprisoned or deported along with large numbers of clergy. By mid-1941, when the Germans invaded the Soviet Union, not more than five parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church survived in Soviet Ukraine (1938 boundaries).

**The Renovationist (Synodal) Church**

The Renovationist Church (Obnovlens'ka Tserkva) emerged in 1923, out of several radical factions—Zhyva Tserkva (Living Church), Tserkovne Vidrodzennia (Church Regeneration), Soiuz Hromad Staroapostol's'koï Tserky (The Union of Congregations of the Ancient-Apostolic Church)—which had made unsuccessful attempts to seize control of the Russian Patriarchal Church in 1922–3. Supported by the authorities, the Renovationist movement spread into Ukraine taking the form at first of an autonomous and, after 1925, of a nominally autocephalous church officially designated as the Vseukraïns'ka Spilka Relihiinykh Hromad Avtokefal'noï Pravoslavnoï Synodal'noï Tserkvy (All-Ukrainian Union of the Religious Congregations of the Orthodox Autocephalous Synodal Church). Headed by Metropolitan Pimen Pegov of Kharkiv (formerly archbishop of Podilia) and an all-Ukrainian synod, the Ukrainian Renovationist Church pursued a somewhat more

conservative line than its counterpart in the Russian SFSR. It actively wooed its Ukrainian following by claiming an autocephalous status and by allowing some use of the Ukrainian language in its affairs, including the publication (1925–8) of a bilingual journal, *Golos Pravoslavnoi Ukrainy* (The Voice of Orthodox Ukraine), soon renamed *Ukraïns'kyi Pravoslavnyi Blahovisnyk* (Ukrainian Orthodox Evangelist). Because they enjoyed the support of the Soviet authorities until 1927, the Renovationists were able to gain control of a large number of churches (some 4,500 in 1925; but only 2,200 in 1928). They failed, however, to win a following in Ukraine except in the largely Russified urban middle class. During the years from 1926 to 1929, the Renovationist synod was allowed to maintain a small higher theological school in Kiev, the only institution for the training of clergy in Ukraine at the time. With the "normalization" of relations between the patriarchate and the government, the Renovationist Church, having lost its preferential status, rapidly disintegrated, with most of its clergy returning to the Patriarchal Church. Metropolitan Pimen continued in office until his removal in 1936; in 1937 he was arrested by the NKVD and deported from Ukraine together with the remaining Renovationist bishops. By the end of the 1930's, the Renovationist Church in Ukraine had become virtually extinct, unlike its counterpart in Russia where the remnants of this church were permitted to subsist until its "self-dissolution" in 1943.

**Soviet Anti-Religious Measures in Ukraine**

With the consolidation of Soviet rule in Ukraine, the regime's measures against religion in Ukraine have taken several interrelated forms: restrictive legislation on "cults," anti-religious propaganda, and administrative harassment of religious groups culminating at certain periods in police terror. Soviet ecclesiastical legislation in Ukraine, beginning with the Separation Law of January 22, 1919, was closely modelled on that of Soviet Russia: all religious groups were deprived of their rights as legal organizations, and their entire property was transferred to the state; all clergy were denied electoral rights; religious education was banned from schools and restricted to persons over 18 years of age; the only legal form of religious organization recognized by the regime were the local "religious associations" (consisting of fifty laymen; since 1929–twenty) and (smaller) "religious groups," which had to be registered by the local administrative bodies; organized religious practices were brought under minute surveillance by the administrative and police departments through the compulsory registration of all religious associations and groups, and of their statutes and clergy, through contracts for the use of the nationalized churches, and through the licensing of church conferences. These devices enabled the regime to intervene in internal church affairs, to favor some and discriminate against other church factions and denominations, and to arbitrarily suppress legal religious activities by denying "registration" or staging "popular demands" for the closing of churches. In 1929 "religious propaganda" was banned by a constitutional amendment and the tightening of the ecclesiastical code prohibited religious groups from engaging in any activities other than the narrowly conceived "performance of cult." In the same year, atheist indoctrination was made obligatory in the Soviet school system. Such indirect measures as the introduction of a five-day week in 1929–30, "passportization," and collectivization—together with the imposition of discriminatory taxation on local congregations—further served to restrict religious practices and to deprive the believers of both houses of worship and clergy. Since 1929–30 the Soviet police

has increasingly applied direct terrorist measures against the episcopate, clergy, and lay leaders of all denominations, charging them with a variety of political crimes.

While thus attacking the organized forms of religion, the regime has relied on massive anti-religious propaganda to attack the religious beliefs of the masses. In 1927 a separate organization—the Union of the Godless of Ukraine (Spilka Bezvirnykiv Ukraïny)—was formed under the auspices of the Communist party (1,400,000 members in 1932). This organization employed the state's mass media, including the journal *Voiovnychyi Bezvirnyk* (The Militant Godless) 1925–35, to compromise and intimidate ecclesiastical leaders, to ridicule religion, and to incite mass campaigns for church closings (especially in 1929–30 and 1937–8). While the outward success of the anti-religious campaign in Ukraine in the interwar years could be measured by the almost complete suppression of legal religious practices by the end of the 1930's, the growth of a "religious underground" in the Ukrainian SSR and the rapid revival of organized religious life in wartime Ukraine attest to the limited success of the Soviet anti-religious measures.

**1939–41**

With the Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine, the moribund Moscow patriarchate undertook with the regime's support to extend its jurisdiction over the large Orthodox diocese of Volhynia, embracing at that time three bishops and some 800 parishes. Early in 1940, the patriarchical *locum tenens*, Metropolitan Sergei, dispatched to the newly annexed territories a Russian archbishop, Nicholas (Yarushevich), with the title of metropolitan of Lutsk and Volhynia and exarch for the western *oblasts* of Ukraine. Before long, Nicholas succeeded in bringing Archbishop Alexis (Oleksii Hromadsky) of Kremianets and his vicar Simon (Ivanovsky) under Moscow's jurisdiction; the other vicar, Bishop Polycarp (Sikorsky) of Lutsk, while entering into *communicatio in sacro* with Nicholas, declined, however, to sign the required pledge of loyalty to the patriarch.

At the same time, the patriarchate began preparations for the "conversion" of the Ukrainian Catholics in adjacent Galicia. Early in 1941, Metropolitan Nicholas visited Lviv calling for the "reunion of the Uniates," and in March 1941 a Galician Russophile, Panteleimon Rudyk, was ordained in Moscow as Orthodox bishop for the solidly Greek Catholic diocese of Lviv. These preparations for "reunion" were, however, interrupted by the outbreak of German-Soviet hostilities.

Under the first Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine, local church organizations were left largely intact. However, Soviet ecclesiastical legislation was extended to these newly occupied territories: church lands and monastic property were nationalized and steep taxes were imposed upon the parishes and the clergy, depriving the latter of the material base for their subsistence; religion was banned from schools and public life; and the Church was deprived of all facilities for the publication of religious literature. Although there was as yet no mass anti-religious terror, many clergymen were arrested and over forty either executed or deported.

**The Church in German-Occupied Ukraine**

The German occupation of central and eastern Ukraine was followed by a spontaneous revival of church life in these territories. The surviving clergymen celebrated mass baptisms of children and youths and marriages. Local church councils were formed by the believers, which recovered former churches or found new facilities for their parishes.

In these new circumstances the Orthodox Church in Volhynia split into two ecclesiastical entities—the Autonomous and Autocephalous churches—which soon

also developed in central and eastern Ukraine.

The first of the two groups, known after August, 1941, as the Autonomous Orthodox Church (Avtonomna Pravoslavna Tserkva) in Ukraine, reaffirmed its canonical subordination to the Moscow patriarchate but declared this subordination in abeyance so long as the patriarchate was subject to Soviet control. Headed by Archbishop Alexis Hromadsky who soon assumed the title of metropolitan and exarch of Ukraine, the Autonomous Church based its claims to recognition on the 1918 statute granting autonomy to the Ukrainian Church. Embracing the more conservative strata of the Orthodox, as well as Russian-oriented elements among the clergy and faithful, this church soon expanded its hierarchy to sixteen bishops, with Archbishop Panteleimon (Rudyk) installed in Kiev. With two exceptions, all the monasteries and convents in Volhynia adhered to this group. In central and eastern Ukraine, the Autonomous Church soon succeeded in restoring a number of monastic institutions, including the Kievan Cave Monastery.

The second ecclesiastical group which developed early in 1942 under the spiritual authority of Metropolitan Dionysius (Valedinsky) of Warsaw, was the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (Ukraïns'ka Avtokefal'na Pravoslavna Tserkva). It was led by Bishop Polycarp (Sikorsky) who was elevated by Metropolitan Dionysius to the rank of archbishop and appointed administrator of the Autocephalous Church. (Subsequently Polycarp assumed the title of metropolitan.) The Autocephalists, while repudiating the 1921 canonical reforms of the UAPTs, admitted its surviving clergy and faithful into their ranks. In 1942 the Autocephalous Church was joined by Metropolitan Theophile Buldovsky of Kharkiv, who emerged from his forced retirement after the Soviet withdrawal to re-establish his jurisdiction in Left-Bank Ukraine. Eventually expanding to a total of 15 bishops and some 1,500 clergy, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church brought into its ranks the more nationally conscious strata of the Ukrainian Orthodox who welcomed the revival of the Ukrainian language and native religious traditions of the church.

FIGURE 48. METROPOLITANS DIONYSIUS AND POLYCARP

To heal the widening ecclesiastical rift, leaders of the Autocephalous and Autonomous churches met in Pochaïv in October, 1942, and reached a tentative agreement to unite the two groups in a single Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. The union failed to materialize, however, in the face of strong opposition on the part of both the Russian-oriented Autonomous bishops and the German occupation authorities. The relations between the two churches deteriorated further after Metropolitan Alexis Hromadsky was killed in 1943 (probably accidentally) in an ambush set up by Ukrainian partisans. Subsequently the partisans also assassinated the Autonomous bishop, Manuel (Tarnavsky). Since some of the Autocephalist clergy were maintaining contacts with the anti-German Ukrainian partisan movement, many priests were persecuted by the Germans. Churches were often burned with congregations and priests

inside them. At the same time a number of Ukrainian clergymen fell victim to Bolshevik (especially in Polisia) and Polish (in the Kholm region) partisans.

With the German retreat in 1943–4, several Autonomous bishops and all but one (Metropolitan Buldovsky) Autocephalous hierarch sought exile in the west. Their example was followed by a certain number of the clergy. In the territories reoccupied by the Soviet army, representatives of the Moscow patriarchate incorporated the remaining Autonomous bishops and clergy into the Russian Church. Autocephalous parishes were also "reunited" with the patriarchate, with many of the UAPTs priests and lay leaders executed or deported to forced labor camps; some clergymen, including Metropolitan Buldovsky, were stripped of their sacerdotal functions. Since that time the Ukrainian national church exists only outside the boundaries of the USSR.

FIGURE 49. EPISCOPATE OF THE UKRAINIAN AUTOCEPHALOUS ORTHODOX CHURCH IN 1944

### The Ukrainian Exarchate Since 1944

Meanwhile, a significant shift took place in the Soviet regime's attitude towards the Moscow patriarchate. Reciprocating for the latter's support of the Soviet war efforts, the government lifted a number of long-standing restrictions on the activities of the Russian Orthodox Church, permitting the re-opening of the churches, several theological schools, and some monasteries. In the fall of 1943 the regime permitted the election of Metropolitan Sergei to the patriarchical see of Moscow. Following Sergei's death, Metropolitan Alexis (Simansky) was elected patriarch at the local sobor in January, 1945, which adopted a new statute for the Russian Church, incorporating the official concessions received from the regime. To ensure minute political surveillance of the Church's activities, a governmental Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church was established in the fall of 1943.

Under Stalin's new religious policy the Russian Orthodox Church enjoyed privileges denied to some other denominations in the Soviet Union. It was allowed not only to retain the churches and monasteries reopened in Ukraine during the German occupation, but also to establish its jurisdiction over the Orthodox parishes in Bukovina and Transcarpathia and to displace the forcibly dissolved Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine. By the early 1950's the Russian Orthodox Church in the Ukrainian SSR reportedly embraced some 8,500 churches with approximately 6,800 priests, organized in 19 dioceses corresponding to administrative divisions of the Ukrainian SSR. It also maintained three theological seminaries (with nearly 500 students) in Kiev, Odessa, and Lutsk and some 38 monasteries and convents. Thus Ukraine accounted for more than one-half of all the Orthodox churches and monasteries in the Soviet Union, with the highest density of active congregations in the western *oblasts*.

Despite this great concentration of Orthodox parishes in the Ukrainian exarchate, the latter has been denied any semblance of ecclesiastical autonomy, with each diocese, monastery, and theological institution subordinated to Moscow, and the position of exarch of Ukraine reduced to a purely honorary one. From 1944 to 1964 the post of

exarch had been occupied by a Russian, Metropolitan Ioan (Sokolov) of Kiev and Galicia: in 1964, another Russian, Ioasaf (Leliukhin), was appointed to succeed Ioan as metropolitan of Kiev and exarch of Ukraine. After Ioasaf's death in 1966, the post of exarch went to the young (born in 1929) Archbishop Filaret (Denysenko). In recent years a disproportionately large share of episcopal sees in Ukraine have been filled with Russian hierarchs. Except in the western *oblasts*, the Ukrainian language and religious customs have largely been banned from ecclesiastical use in Ukraine, with the Church used as a medium of Russification. The only Ukrainian-language periodical published in Lviv, *Pravoslavnyi Visnyk* (Orthodox Messenger), appearing from 1946 to 1962 (and again from 1968) was largely confined in circulation to the "reunited Uniates" in Western Ukraine.

The political surveillance and administrative control over the Orthodox Church in Ukraine has been entrusted since 1944 to the plenipotentiary of the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church (renamed in 1966 the Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults) attached to the Republic Council of Ministers, and to its *oblast* representatives.

Following the death of Stalin, the position of the Orthodox Church in the USSR progressively deteriorated. A four-month wave of anti-religious violence in mid-1954 was followed by milder forms of atheist propaganda. In the winter of 1958–9 the regime began to impose increasingly severe legal and administrative restrictions upon the Church's activities, gradually withdrawing Stalin's wartime concessions and committing massive resources to an anti-religious campaign. In Ukraine, an anti-religious journal, *Voiovnychyi Ateïst* (The Militant Atheist) was launched in 1960; renamed *Liudyna i Svit* (Man and the World) in 1965; it has a printing of 83,000 copies. The press, radio, and television, along with a large number of professional and volunteer agitators, were committed to the "anti-religious front." Instruction in atheism was introduced throughout the school system of the Ukrainian SSR to supplement a growing network of "museums," "universities," "houses," and "corners" of atheism. In 1963 alone, some 222,000 lectures on atheistic topics were offered to a total audience of thirteen million. At the same time, the regime has made persistent efforts to introduce Communist substitutes for religious holidays and ceremonies.

Under the mounting pressure of the regime, more than half of the churches and four-fifths of the monastic institutions in Ukraine have been closed in recent years. (In 1964 approximately 20 to 25 churches were closed, destroyed, or turned to other uses every month in Ukraine, the majority being in the western *oblasts.*) The authorities also forced the closing of the theological seminaries in Kiev and Lutsk and succeeded in sharply reducing the number of students in the Odessa seminary. Some bishops and priests have been officially accused of political and moral offenses (in particular, "illegal" baptisms of children, the teaching of religion to minors, distribution of religious objects) and subjected to repressive measures. Several diocesan sees have remained vacant for years, with a growing number of congregations deprived of pastoral care. The suppression of a large number of parishes has been driving Orthodox believers into the growing religious "underground" in Ukraine, hitherto largely reserved for the "prohibited" denominations, especially the Ukrainian Greek Catholics. Khrushchev's removal in October 1964 has been followed by a slight moderation in the anti-religious campaign in the Ukrainian SSR.

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## THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN POLAND

### 1919–39

In the eastern lands of the Polish state established after World War I, adherents to the Orthodox Church numbered close to four million. Most of these people were Ukrainians (2.5 million) who lived in Volhynia, Kholm, and Polisia and Belorussians who lived in Polisia and the Vilna region. Russians and Czechs were not numerous, although Russian influence in the Church remained strong owing to the extensive Russification of the local Orthodox Church before World War I when these territories had formed a part of the Russian empire.

In the first years of Polish rule (1919–20) the Church lost a portion of its property when the Polish authorities deprived almost 500 churches (located mostly in the area west of the River Buh) of their lands. Despite wartime destruction in the territories in which the Orthodox lived, local church life gradually returned to normal; it centered around the remaining bishops and institutions established by the clergy and laymen, such as the Volodymyr ecclesiastical administration which was formed in Volhynia in 1919. The desire of the local Orthodox Ukrainian-Belorussian population to terminate their dependence on the ecclesiastical center in Moscow coincided with the policies of the Polish government. For this reason, the Moscow-oriented bishops were not allowed to assume leadership of the Church, and it came to be headed by a metropolitan of Ukrainian origin, George Yaroshevsky, a former rector of St. Petersburg Theological Academy who had come to Warsaw from Italy in 1921 and been given the title of exarch by the Moscow patriarchate. Metropolitan George convoked a sobor of bishops in January, 1922, which adopted the Provisional Rules of Church-State Relations which were made public by the Polish government in 1922. He also strove for the separation of the Church from Moscow and this deepened the differences within the episcopate and brought forth protests from supporters of the Church's continuing ties with Moscow. In the midst of the internal struggle, Metropolitan George was assassinated (1923) by a Russian opponent of his policy. Bishop Dionysius Valedinsky of Kremianets became the new metropolitan. He found himself in a difficult position because the Polish administration, in attempting to assimilate the minorities, had begun to destroy the cultural life of the non-Poles, closing their schools and other educational institutions (see p. 179) and persecuting their churches. The Metropolitan, meeting the authorities halfway, made unsuccessful efforts to preserve the Church's independence in purely ecclesiastical affairs at the price of concessions to the government. Internally the Church was weakened by the national differences among its believers, especially by the clash of Russian and Ukrainian interests.

Metropolitan Dionysius continued his predecessor's efforts to secure autocephaly. He terminated relations with Moscow and turned to the patriarch of Constantinople. In 1924, with the cooperation of civil authorities, the

Orthodox Church in Poland acquired autocephaly through a charter (*tomos*) of the Ecumenical Patriarch, with Dionysius receiving the title of His Beatitude. The *tomos* emphasized that the subordination of the Kievan metropolitanate (which included the lands now under Polish rule) to Moscow in the seventeenth century had been a violation of the canonical rules. Even though a decree had been published by the president of the state (1930) concerning its convocation, the next step in the reordering of the Church, a local sobor, was never realized because of the procrastination of the secular authorities. The pre-sobor conference consisting of 30 clergymen and laymen had not completed its work when the Polish state fell in 1939. But in 1938 the authorities did promulgate the Internal Statute of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church and a presidential decree, On the Relation of the State to the Polish Orthodox Church. These two enactments made the Church dependent on the state by giving the state the power of sanctioning all ecclesiastical appointments from bishops to sextons, by introducing Polish as the official language in the Church, and by other similar regulations.

The metropolitanate was composed of five dioceses: Warsaw-Kholm, Volhynia, Vilnius, Grodno, and Polisia; in some dioceses the ruling bishops were assisted by vicars. There were theological seminaries in the dioceses of Vilnius and Volhynia (Kremianets), and in Warsaw there was a theological lyceum and a theological department at the University (after 1924). But the seminaries were gradually eliminated as the authorities favored the schools in Warsaw which were designed to produce a new type of priest—the Orthodox Pole.

As a consequence of these measures, the number of Orthodox clergy declined. Along with the confiscation and destruction of churches in 1929 and 1930, 111 Orthodox churches were closed, 59 were destroyed, and 150 were converted into Roman Catholic churches in the Kholm and Podlachia regions in the early thirties. In addition, a "revindication" campaign was conducted in all dioceses with the aim of depriving the Orthodox of those churches that had in the past belonged to the Greek Catholic (Uniate) or Roman Catholic churches. The destruction of churches assumed major

FIGURE 50. ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE VILLAGE POKROVKA (KHOLM AREA) DESTROYED IN 1938

proportions in 1938 when, within a few months, almost 150 churches were destroyed in the Kholm area and in Podlachia, among them many ancient shrines dating back to the fifteenth century. Protests made in the Polish parliament, the intervention of Metropolitan Dionysius at the highest levels, the echoes of these events in the world press, a message of protest (confiscated) issued by the metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Church, Andrew Sheptytsky, and the resistance of the local population were all of no avail.

Concurrent with the "revindication" policy, the authorities resorted to various methods to convert the Orthodox to Catholicism. Thus after 1923 the "New Union" (see p. 193) was fostered, but it had no significant success. Simultaneously with the Polonization of the theological seminaries, the "new" (Gregorian) calendar and the Polish liturgical language were introduced in the Church (the Commission for the Translation of Theological Books into Polish, 1934); the most politically submissive students of the theological schools were shown special

favors and were subsequently chosen to fill the highest Church posts (Bishops Timothy Shreter and Matthew who led the Polish Orthodox movement, for example). The campaign of forcible conversion to Catholicism was most intense in the border zone of Volhynia. It was conducted by army units, especially the Corps of Frontier Guards; those peasants whom the authorities considered to be of Polish ancestry but who had no desire to change their religion were driven from their home villages. (Especially grave incidents occurred in the village of Hrynky in 1937). The campaign was unsuccessful, however, since only 4,000 of a projected 350,000 "converts" agreed to change their religion.

Even under these special circumstances, the Orthodox Church in Poland was at this time the only one in the Ukrainian ethnographic territories which had any Ukrainian characteristics. (The Ukrainian church in the USSR was completely destroyed and churches in Bukovina and in Transcarpathia were numerically insignificant.) In 1921 the Volhynian diocesan congress had resolved to allow the use of the Ukrainian language in church services and Bishop Dionysius had blessed the translations of theological texts. Both Dionysius' successor, Archbishop Alexis Hromadsky, and Bishop Polycarp Sikorsky of Lutsk were well disposed to the Ukrainian influences in the Church. There were also many nationalists among the Ukrainian clergy and lay leaders of Volhynia and the Kholm region. The Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw and the Society of Peter Mohyla, founded in 1931 in Lutsk, attracted an influential group of lay church leaders (Alexander Lototsky, Ivan Vlasovsky, Michael Kobryn, Serhii Tymoshenko, and others). They prepared and published translations of theological texts and works on the history and organization of the Church. The number of Ukrainian religious periodicals increased, although individual journals were short-lived, since they were usually suppressed by the Polish administration. The best-known of these periodicals were *Tserkva i Narid* (The Church and the People, 1935–8), *Dukhovnyi Siiach* (The Spiritual Sower, 1927–31), *Za Sobornist'* (For Conciliarism, 1932–5), and *Shliakh* (Pathway, 1937–9). For a long time the Kremianets Theological Seminary was in fact a Ukrainian school, and in the Theological Department of the University of Warsaw many young Ukrainians were educated under the guidance of Ukrainian scholars. Neither the weakening Russophile traditions of the Church's central administration nor the Polonization fostered by the government could arrest the spontaneous Ukrainian movement.

Excessive enthusiasm for this movement frequently contributed to disunity in ecclesiastical life, leading as it did to sharp attacks on the Church's leadership (the 1927 Church congress in Lutsk in which 524 delegates from the parishes took part or the mass demonstrations at the Pochaïv Monastery in 1933). For the most part, the younger priests sympathized with the demands of the nationalist movement for the introduction of the vernacular into the church services, the participation of laymen in church life, and other changes. However, the radical methods of this movement alienated conservative elements in the clergy. This led to the marked polarization of the clergy, which was so detrimental to church life that during World War II the Church in Volhynia, and indeed in most of Ukraine, split into two parallel and competing ecclesiastical organizations (see pp. 174–6).

### In the Generalgouvernement

As a consequence of the war in 1939 and of the frontier changes, a small part of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church (the Warsaw-Kholm diocese and part of the Grodno eparchy) found itself on the territory of the *Generalgouvernement* [Vol. I, p. 874], while the other dioceses remained under Soviet occupa-

tion. Under German pressure, Metropolitan Dionysius of the Polish Orthodox Church resigned in 1939 in favor of the Archbishop of Berlin and Germany, Seraphim Lade (a Russified German).

After the fall of Poland, Ukrainian church life in the Kholm region and Podlachia revived rapidly. Several dozen former Orthodox churches which had been either closed by the Poles or transformed into Roman Catholic churches were reopened; a series of new parishes was organized. An active ecclesiastical center emerged in Kholm—the Ukrainian Church Council—headed by Protopresbyter Ioan Levchuk. Of great significance was the return of the ancient cathedral in Kholm which had been seized by the Poles in 1918; the cathedral was recovered as a result of the intervention with the German authorities by the head of the Ukrainian Central Committee, Volodymyr Kubijovyč [Vol. I, p. 875]. Thanks to his efforts, Metropolitan Dionysius resumed his ecclesiastical leadership in mid-1940 (Archbishop Seraphim returning to Berlin), after pledging loyalty to the German authorities in Cracow, and began to cooperate with the Ukrainian community. Shortly afterwards Professor Ivan Ohiienko (Archbishop and later Metropolitan Hilarion) was ordained bishop of Kholm while Archbishop Palladius (Vydybida-Rudenko) was placed in charge of the small Cracow-Lemkian diocese.

FIGURE 51. METROPOLITAN HILARION (IVAN OHIIENKO)

The Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the *Generalgouvernement* (this was its new name) consisted of three dioceses—Kholm-Podlachia (175 parishes in 1943), Cracow-Lemkian region (35 parishes), and Warsaw (*ca.* 10 parishes)—each with its own consistory. The Church's central institution was the sobor of bishops, headed by Metropolitan Dionysius who also administered the diocese of Warsaw. In 1942, the sobor of bishops adopted an internal statute for the church, based on the internal statute of the Polish Orthodox Church but containing a number of changes. In 1943 the statute was acknowledged by the German authorities. Ukrainian became the official language of the Church, and Church Slavonic with the Ukrainian pronunciation was adopted as the liturgical language in Ukrainian parishes. Clergymen were to be trained in the theological seminaries of Kholm and Warsaw.

The further growth of the Orthodox Church under the *Generalgouvernement* was prevented by the subsequent course of the war and the chaotic circumstances which prevailed at the end of the German occupation [Vol. I, p. 889], in particular the attacks of Polish partisans on the local Orthodox Church in the Kholm region and in Podlachia. In 1944, shortly before the arrival of the Soviet armies, the hierarchs and some of the Orthodox clergy emigrated to the West. Metropolitan Dionysius returned to Warsaw in 1945, but Archbishops Hilarion and Palladius left for America and thus the Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the *Generalgouvernement* ceased to exist. In Poland, the number of Orthodox adherents decreased greatly as most of them were transferred to the USSR under the terms of the Polish-Soviet agreement of 1945. Those who remained were, with few exceptions, deported by the Polish authorities to the new territories annexed by Poland from Germany.

**At Present**

On his return to Warsaw, Metropolitan Dionysius resumed his leadership of the Orthodox Church. There were two other Orthodox bishops in Poland who came out of retirement, one of them being Timothy Shreter. The pro-Russian elements in the Church, which felt stronger in the altered political situation, began a

campaign against Metropolitan Dionysius. They objected to his previous aspirations towards independence from Moscow, which had resulted in the proclamation of autocephaly in 1924, as well as to his services to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in 1942–3 and his loyalty to the Germans. In 1948 a delegation (including the two bishops from Poland) which claimed to speak on behalf of the Polish Autocephalous Orthodox Church was sent to Moscow. The delegation rejected and condemned the autocephaly of 1924 and asked the Moscow patriarchate to confer a "canonical" autocephaly on the Polish Church. This request was granted in 1948 and the church became known as the Pravoslavna Pols'ka Avtokefal'na Tserkva (Orthodox Polish Autocephalous Church) or PPATs. Metropolitan Dionysius was deprived of his position.

For some time, the Polish Orthodox Church had no leader, but in 1951 the patriarchate of Moscow granted the request of the Polish Church and released the Archbishop of Lviv and Ternopil, Makarius (Oksiiuk), to assume the post of metropolitan. After his death Bishop Timothy became metropolitan. He died in 1962 and the metropolitan see remained vacant until 1965. Since 1965 the Church has been under the administration of Metropolitan Stephen Rudyk, the former archbishop of Białystok-Gdańsk.

The metropolitanate is divided into four dioceses: Warsaw-Biała, headed by the metropolitan (95 parishes); Białystok-Gdańsk (50 parishes); Poznań-Łodź (15 parishes); and Wrocław-Szczecin (46 parishes). The few remaining islands of Ukrainians in the Kholm area and in Podlachia—the lands which before 1945 were densely populated by the Orthodox most of whom were exiled to the USSR or westward—fall in the first two of these dioceses. The churches the exiles left behind were ruined by the new Polish settlers, even though some of them were valuable artistic and historical monuments (architecture, icons, old prints, manuscripts). The cemeteries are also being destroyed along with other traces of the past inhabitants.

Today the Polish Orthodox Church has nearly one-quarter of a million adherents, the majority being Ukrainian (though because of the persecution, many Orthodox officially call themselves Polish Catholics). They are served by some 150 priests and 10 deacons. In all, there are 206 parishes, a monastery in Yablochyn in Podlachia, and a nunnery near Simiatychi in the Białystok region. Since 1951 an ecclesiastical seminary has been operating in Warsaw. Candidates for the priesthood may obtain higher theological education in the Section of Orthodox Theology at the Christian Academy in Warsaw. (In 1963 there were 43 students.)

The Ukrainian language has disappeared from the administration and services of the Church and has been replaced by Russian, Polish, and Church Slavonic with the Russian pronunciation. The monthly organ of the Polish Orthodox Church, *Tserkovnyi Vestnik* (Church Herald), is also published in the Russian language.

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## THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH SINCE 1800

### The Destruction of the Uniate Church in the Russian Empire

After the first partition of Poland (1772), Russia acquired the Belorussian Polotsk region including the entire Uniate archdiocese of Polotsk. Although Empress Catherine II guaranteed, in the partition agreements, freedom of religion

to Catholics of both rites (among them over 600,000 Uniates), her attitude towards the Uniate Church was hostile from the start. In contrast, the Latin Church was tolerated, and its bishop (after 1782, the archbishop of Mohyliv, Stanisław Siestrzencewicz-Bohusz) even had the right to convert Uniates to Roman Catholicism. Though it was banned by Pope Clement XIV in 1773, Catherine left the Jesuit Order intact in Russia and allowed it to maintain its own colleges.

Following the new partitions of Poland (1793 and 1795) and the annexation of the Right Bank and Volhynia to Russia, almost 3,300 Ukrainians and Belorussian Uniate parishes, with over three million adherents, found themselves in the Russian empire. Having liquidated the Kozak-Hetman state, the Russian government was consistently destroying all elements of distinctly Ukrainian political, cultural, and religious (see p. 165) life in Left-Bank Ukraine. It would not tolerate the Uniate Church on its territory because the latter's pro-western character could impede the Russification of the Ukrainian population. To be sure, in the Treaty of Grodno in 1793, Catherine once again guaranteed the Uniates religious freedom but by 1795 she had already abolished four Ukrainian Uniate dioceses—the metropolitanate, Lutsk-Ostrih, Volodymyr-Berestia, and Pinsk-Turiv—leaving only the Polotsk archdiocese in Belorussia intact. Orthodox Bishop Victor Sadkovsky received orders to convert the Uniates. The decision of Empress Catherine to destroy the Union, the violent methods of the Russian administration, particularly the removal of those priests who did not wish to embrace Orthodoxy (many were imprisoned and exiled to Siberia) and their replacement with the Orthodox clergy, the national intolerance of Poles towards Ukrainians, the passivity of the rural population—these factors all led to the adoption of Orthodoxy by 9,000 Uniate parishes and the majority of the faithful during the years from 1768 to 1796. One hundred and forty-five Basilian monasteries were closed, the property of bishops was confiscated, and Metropolitan Theodosius Rostotsky was exiled to St. Petersburg.

The death of Catherine II (1796) brought an end to the destruction of the Uniate Church in Ukraine and Belorussia. Her successor, Paul I (1796–1801), was tolerant towards Eastern Catholicism and concluded an agreement with the apostolic nuncio, Lorenzo de Litta, on the basis of which a part of the Uniate hierarchy in Ukraine was restored (decree of April 28, 1798). Those Uniates who had been exiled to Siberia were allowed to return and their confiscated property was restored to them. Bishop Josaphat Bulhak was appointed to the Berestia diocese (excluding the Volodymyr area), and Bishop Stephen Levynsky to the Lutsk diocese. The metropolitan archdiocese and the Pinsk-Turiv eparchy were not restored, however. (Metropolitan Rostotsky continued to reside in St. Petersburg until his death in 1805.)

FIGURE 52. JOSAPHAT BULHAK

FIGURE 53. HERACLES LISOVSKY

In 1806 Tsar Alexander I restored the Uniate Metropolitanate and appointed as metropolitan Bishop Heracles Lisovsky of Polotsk. After his death Gregory Kokhanovych succeeded to the see, with the title of Metropolitan of the Uniate Church in Russia (but not of Kiev). Because the Tsar had autocratically nominated metropolitans and created new dioceses, Rome refused to grant formal

recognition to these acts but rather tolerated them without confirming the appointment of the two metropolitans. Metropolitan Lisovsky was known for his desire to purge the rite of Latin influences which some interpreted as an inclination to Orthodoxy. He also desired to recover those Uniates who had been converted to Roman Catholicism. After the death of Metropolitan Kokhanovych (1814), a successor was not named until 1817 when Tsar Alexander appointed Josaphat Bulhak, the bishop of Berestia, as metropolitan. Rome confirmed this appointment (1918), by conferring on him, as the Delegate of the Apostolic See, all rights except the title of the Kievan metropolitan.

The Uniate Church in Russia was subordinated to the Roman Catholic Ecclesiastical College in St. Petersburg (created in 1801, with Archbishop Siestrzencewicz as its head). In 1804 a separate department for the affairs of the Uniate Church was created within it under Archbishop Lisovsky. A Uniate theological seminary was organized at the University of Vilnius (Wilno).

The new Russian tsar, Nicholas I (1825–55), whose policy was designed to finally destroy Ukraine's distinctive character, resolved to abolish the Eastern Catholic Church in Russia. In 1825 the Uniate Church in Russia still had four dioceses with one metropolitan, two bishops, and three vicar-bishops, close to 1,600 parishes and 2,000 clergy, 37 monasteries and 10 convents, and approximately 1.5 million adherents. Beginning in 1827, Tsar Nicholas restricted the rights of the Basilian Order, the chief source of support for the Uniate Church. On the basis of a plan proposed by the assessor of the Uniate Department, Joseph Semashko (who became a bishop in 1829), Nicholas I issued a decree (1828) whereby the Uniate Department in St. Petersburg was separated from the Latin College, the Lutsk and Berestia dioceses were abolished, and Semashko was charged with the task of purging the Uniate rite of Latinism. The immediate pretext for the liquidation of the Eastern Catholic Church was the participation of some Uniate priests and monks in the Polish insurrection of 1830–1. In 1835 a special committee was created for the "conversion" of the Uniates to Orthodoxy, and in 1837 the Uniate Church was subordinated to the Oberprocurator of the Holy Synod. After the death of Metropolitan Josaphat Bulhak in 1838, Semashko and his vicars, Basil Luzhynsky and Anthonius Zubko, forced the clergy subordinate to them to accept Orthodoxy. On February 12, 1839, in Polotsk, they proclaimed the Union of Brest null and void and announced the accession of the Uniates to the Russian Orthodox Church. Many clergy who refused to adopt Orthodoxy (593 out of a total of 1,898) were exiled to Siberia or the interior of Russia. To commemorate this "voluntary reunion" Tsar Nicholas ordered a medal with the cynical inscription "separated by force—1596, reunited by love—1839." Pope Gregory XVI, in his allocution of November 22, 1839, protested the liquidation of the Union as did the Galician Metropolitan Michael Levytsky. In all, some two million faithful—both Belorussians (the majority) and Ukrainians (mostly in Volhynia)—were thus "converted."

Remnants of the Uniate Church in the Russian empire survived only in the Kholm region and Podlachia because these territories, as parts of the former (up to 1831) autonomous kingdom of Poland, still had a degree of autonomy. The sole Uniate diocese (Kholm) that remained in Russia after 1839 was located in this area. The Latinization and Polonization of the Uniate Church and its clergy in the Kholm region and Podlachia had proceeded quite far. The Kholm diocese had been subordinated during 1807–30 to the Galician metropolitanate and afterwards directly to Rome. In the 1830's the Russian government began to restrict the rights of the Kholm bishop and to propagate Ortho-

doxy and Russification. In a move designed to displace the local clergy loyal to the Catholic Church, the authorities began to bring in Russophile priests from Galicia who helped to spread Orthodoxy.

The last Uniate bishop of Kholm was Michael Kuzemsky from Galicia (1868–71). After his removal under pressure from the Russian government, a Galician priest, Markyl Popel, was appointed administrator of the Kholm diocese; he aided in the ultimate destruction of the Union. In 1875 the Kholm diocese was subordinated to the Orthodox metropolitan of Warsaw and Popel became his vicar with the title of bishop of Lublin. The liquidation of the Union was accompanied by mass repressions of those peasants who did not want to leave the Church, as well as the imprisonment and exile of "recalcitrant" priests (43 by March, 1874). Still, many of the 290,000 Uniates became Orthodox in form only. Thus, in 1905, when the Tsar issued his Toleration Act which permitted a return to the Roman Catholic Church, but not the Eastern Catholic Church, almost 40 per cent of the Orthodox in the Kholm region and Podlachia became Roman Catholics.

FIGURE 54. MICHAEL KUZEMSKY

### The Greek Catholic Church in Galicia under Austrian Rule

In the first partition of Poland (1772), Austria acquired Galicia and its two dioceses—Lviv-Halych and Peremyshl-Sambir-Sianik, as well as parts of the dioceses of Kholm, Belz, and Lutsk. After 1795 all of the Kholm diocese came under Austrian rule and remained so until 1809. For a short time afterwards it belonged to the Duchy of Warsaw but in 1815 it became part of the Russian-controlled Polish kingdom.

Compared with its past status under Polish rule (see pp. 156 ff.), the legal and moral position of the Uniate Church in Galicia changed for the better after it was placed under Austrian rule. The Austrian monarchs, Maria Theresa and Joseph II, made the Eastern Catholic Church an equal of the Roman Catholic. In 1774 the Church's name was changed from Uniate to Greek Catholic. In order to raise the educational level of the Ukrainian clergy, candidates for the priesthood were sent from Galicia and Transcarpathia to the Greek Catholic Theological Seminary in Vienna, which was opened by Maria Theresa in 1775. The seminary, called Barbareum (after the Greek Catholic church of St. Barbara to which it was attached), existed until 1784. In 1783 a Greek Catholic theological seminary, organized on the western model, was opened in Lviv. At first, it was to serve only the Lviv-Halych diocese, but after two years it accepted candidates from outside of Galicia. In 1784 Joseph II also established a university in Lviv but since its language of instruction was Latin and some Ukrainian students who were untutored in Latin could not take advantage of the lectures, a Studium Ruthenum was established for them in 1787 at the university, where the lectures were given in the "popular Church-Ruthenian language." (It lasted until 1809.) Graduates of the Barbareum, the Lviv Theological Seminary, and later of the University of Lviv, supplied the Greek Catholic Church with a cadre of enlightened clergymen and at the same time raised the level of religious and national life in Galicia.

The favorable Austrian attitude towards the Greek Catholic Church was used to advantage by the bishop of Lviv, Leo Sheptytsky (1749–79; after 1778, the metropolitan of Kiev and Halych), in his efforts to gain rights for the Greek Catholic Church equal to those of the Roman Catholic Church. He was also known for his completion of St. George's Cathedral in Lviv. His successor, Peter

Biliansky (1781–98) did much for the development of the elementary school system.

With the partition of the Kievan-Galician metropolitanate between Poland and Austria, and after 1795, between Russia and Austria, the administration of the Lviv, Peremyshl, and Kholm dioceses was difficult; therefore, immediately after the first partition of Poland, the question of creating a metropolitan see in Lviv, to which all the Greek Catholic dioceses on the territory of the Austrian empire would be subordinated, was raised. However, Hungarian opposition postponed the project's realization, and it was only after the third partition of Poland that the Galician bishops requested the Austrian government to re-establish the old Galician metropolitanate which had existed in the fourteenth century (see p. 144). Although the Austrian government sympathized with this cause, the Kievan metropolitan, Rostotsky, was against the re-establishment because he performed—as had his predecessors—the metropolitan's duties throughout the entire Kievan-Galician see. It was only after his death in 1805 that Emperor Francis I approved (1806) and Pope Pius VII sanctioned (1807) the restoration of the see with the Galician metropolitans acquiring rights similar to those of the Kievan metropolitans. The efforts of the Ukrainian Church leader Michael Harasevych and Bishop Anthony Anhelovych of Peremyshl contributed much to the restoration of the metropolitanate. Bishop Anhelovych became the first metropolitan (1807–14). The last steps in the equalization of the Greek Catholic and Roman Catholic Churches were the imperial decrees of 1813 and 1816 instituting consistories (the bishops' advisory bodies for administrative affairs) in both dioceses. (Pope Pius IX ratified both chapters in 1864.) The powers given to the Galician metropolitan by the Holy See in 1807 were restricted by the concordat signed by Austria and the Holy See in 1855, and afterwards by the resolution of 1874, under which the nomination of metropolitans, bishops, and consistory members (*kryloshany*), and the division of dioceses or the creation of new ones were made the prerogative of the Austrian monarch.

Because the Greek Catholic Church was granted equal status with the Roman Catholic Church and because the Ukrainian clergy obtained the same rights as the Polish clergy and thus increased their educational and economic status, the Greek Catholic Church became the national church of the Galician Ukrainians and the Greek Catholic clergy their leaders. For a long time the Church was the representative and defender of the rights of the Ukrainian people before the Austrian administration and in the struggle with the Poles. Although the Greek Catholic Church was confined to the territory of the Habsburg monarchy after 1839, it now experienced a renaissance after centuries of decline. From the end of the eighteenth century on, the Church assumed a particularly important part in the education of both the clergy and the masses. Among those who played important roles in this development were the bishops of Peremyshl, Michael Levytsky (1813–16) and Ivan Snihursky (1817–40), and Ivan Mohylnytsky, a member of the consistory (see p. 334). Bishop Levytsky continued to work in this field in the Lviv diocese after he became metropolitan of Galicia in 1816. (In 1856 he was made a cardinal; he died in 1858.) He arranged for Ukrainians to be appointed to several chairs in the theology department of the University of Lviv.

The Greek Catholic hierarchy and clergy of the time were noted for their conservatism and their devotion to the Church's traditions and rites, and to the Church Slavonic language. They had no sympathy for new cultural and social trends. Although characteristically aristocratic and mainly Polish-speaking in both private and public life, they considered themselves Ukrainian (Ruthenian) and

FIGURE 55. MICHAEL CARDINAL LEVYTSKY

FIGURE 56. GREGORY BARON YAKHYMOVYCH

took an anti-Polish stand in ecclesiastical and political matters. But a younger generation of priests, brought up in the spirit of Romanticism and western liberal democracy, began to emerge in the 1820's and 1830's. They made their first impact in the field of literature (the Rus'ka Triitsia [Ruthenian Trinity] led by Markiian Shashkevych [Vol. I, pp. 698 and 1009]), publishing their works in the language of the people.

The Greek Catholic Church played a dominant role in the political awakening of Galician Ukrainians in 1848; the Supreme Ruthenian Council was led by the energetic Bishop Gregory Yakhymovych (metropolitan, 1860–3), and subsequently by a member of the consistory, Michael Kuzemsky [Vol. I, p. 699]; these clergymen were the initiators and leaders of such organizations as the Congress of Ruthenian (Ukrainian) Scholars (Sobor Ruskykh Uchenykh) and the enlightenment society, the Galician-Ruthenian (Ukrainian) Matytsia (see p. 334).

In the 1850's, and especially in the 1860's when the Austrian government transferred the administration of eastern Galicia to Polish hands, the entire Greek Catholic hierarchy – the *sviatoiurtsi* (named after the metropolitan cathedral of St. George in Lviv)—disappointed at the lack of support from the central Austrian government and frustrated by their own inability to do anything about it, went over to the Russophile movement [Vol. I, pp. 700 ff.]; the latter oriented itself culturally and partly politically towards Russia, stressing at the same time its loyalty to the Austrian monarchy. As in the past, the Russophiles utilized Church Slavonic which now was transformed into *yazychiie* (patois), a mixture of the Church Slavonic, Ukrainian, and Russian languages and etymologic orthography. They continued to show contempt for the vernacular and took a hostile attitude towards the populist movement, which developed in the 1860's under the influence of the democratic currents in Dnieper Ukraine and which stood for a Ukrainian national platform, including the preservation of the vernacular in literature [Vol. I, pp. 701 ff.].

In the ecclesiastical sphere, the *sviatoiurtsi* desired a return to the purity of the Eastern rite, which had fallen under Latin influence over the years. When the Poles attempted to take advantage of their superior strength to convert the Greek Catholics to the Latin rite, Metropolitan Spyrydon Lytvynovych (1863–9) arranged, in 1863, an understanding between the two rites—the Concordia—which under the threat of ecclesiastical penalties prohibited the change from one rite to another without the approval of the Pope. This concordia was ratified by the Pope and the Austrian emperor and was made public by all the bishops of the Eastern Catholic and Latin rites. For some time this agreement was observed but subsequently the Poles began to evade it and in the 1920's and 1930's it was ignored.

Russophilism, which continued to spread, placed the hierarchy of the Greek Catholic Church in a difficult position. It had acquired a political coloring and become increasingly controlled by Russian influences; it contributed more and more to the spread of Orthodoxy. This increased Russophilism manifested itself in such events as the transfer of the entire Uniate diocese of Kholm to Orthodoxy under the direction of several dozen Greek Catholic clergy, the conversion to Orthodoxy of the well-known Galician priest, Ivan Naumovych, and the population of the village of Hnylychky in the

Zbarazh district. These developments led to the resignation of Metropolitan Joseph Sembratovych (1870–82) under pressure from Emperor Franz Joseph. An additional factor in Sembratovych's resignation was the influence of the Polish gentry who resented the metropolitan's campaign against drunkenness among the peasantry, for this deprived the gentry of their revenue from the sale of whiskey, a monopoly of the landowners. After the resignation of Joseph Sembratovych, the *sviatoiurtsi* lost their influence and the new metropolitan, Sylvester Sembratovych (1885–98; created a cardinal in 1895) adopted a Ukrainian national platform. This shift in the metropolitan's orientation was influenced by the populists' clear superiority over the Russophiles at that time [Vol. I, pp. 702–3], and the fact that the majority of the clergy adhered to the populist philosophy. Apart from performing their pastoral duties, the clergy became increasingly active in various spheres of Ukrainian national life and contributed greatly to the national rebirth in Galicia. By then, however, the political leadership in Galicia had already passed into the hands of the lay intelligentsia. The latter, along with the peasant leaders, were also in command of Ukrainian political parties, some of which—for example, the Ukrainian Radical party [Vol. I, p. 703]—had an anticlerical bias (formerly an attribute of a section of the populists). The loss of political influence by the Greek Catholic clergy was also caused by the participation of Metropolitan Sembratovych in the creation of the "new era"—an attempted agreement with the Poles [Vol. I, p. 703], particularly because he continued to adhere to this even after it had failed.

FIGURE 57. SYLVESTER CARDINAL SEMBRATOVYCH

FIGURE 58. JULIAN PELESH

At this time several important events occurred in the internal life of the Greek Catholic Church. The first of these was the reform of the Order of St. Basil the Great, which had declined and lost its former significance (only 50 monks remained). The reform was carried out by the Jesuits on the orders of Pope Leo XIII in 1882. The reform justified itself insofar as it led to the intensification of the work and the elevation of the moral-spiritual level of the monastic clergy, but it was modelled on the Latin order and therefore brought into the Greek Catholic Church Latin elements alien to the Eastern ecclesiastical spirit. After the reform, Basilian activity increased particularly in the missionary field, with the publication of popular religious pamphlets and the monthly *Misionar* (Missionary) published in Zhovkva. Scholarly works by Basilians were also published. The reformed Basilians assisted in the reformation of the women's Basilian order which played an important role in secondary school education (gymnasiums and teachers' colleges). Later the Basilians also directed the Congregation of the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate, founded in 1892 by Father Cyril Siletsky, who devoted themselves to preschool education, bringing up children and youths, and raising religious and educational levels among the masses.

Of great significance was the Lviv synod convoked in the autumn of 1891 by Metropolitan Sembratovych, almost two hundred years after the Zamostia synod of 1720 (see p. 158), to clarify the questions of the rite which almost every clergyman endeavored to solve in his own way: adherents of the Latin rite wished to draw the Greek Catholic

Church still nearer to Roman Catholic rite, while the "Easterners" wanted to purge the rite of Latinisms. At the synod which was presided over by the papal legate, Augustine Chiasca, two trends emerged—conservative and reformist. The reformists supported by Roman circles were unsuccessful in their efforts to introduce celibacy for the clergy. The Lviv synod set down the number of feasts and fasts, and ordered the matters of church discipline, the judiciary, and the divine service. Among the decisions of the synod was a new resolution which made both the secular and the monastic clergy eligible for episcopal office. (The Zamostia synod had granted this right only to the Basilians, but in practice the Austrian government ignored this decision and appointed bishops from among the secular clergy.) The rights of the metropolitan, which had been progressively curtailed, were further limited by the Lviv synod so that the office was confined to a few honors and the right to receive appeals, as has long been the case in the Roman Catholic Church. In general, the Lviv synod brought the Greek Catholic Church closer to the West. Although its resolutions applied only to the province of Galicia, they were also adopted in Transcarpathia and in the United States.

A new bishopric was created in Stanyslaviv in 1885 so that the Galician Greek Catholic province now embraced three dioceses. The first bishop of Stanyslaviv was a learned theologian and Church historian, Julian Pelesh.

A new period in the Greek Catholic Church began with the appointment of Count Andrew Sheptytsky as metropolitan in 1900. A descendant of an old Ukrainian, but Polonized, boyar family which in the eighteenth century had included Metropolitans Athanasius and Leo and Bishops Varlaam and Athanasius Sheptytsky, Andrew Sheptytsky returned to the Eastern rite and joined the Basilian order. In 1899 he became the bishop of Stanyslaviv and in 1900 the Galician

FIGURE 59. METROPOLITAN ANDREW SHEPTYTSKY

metropolitan, a position he retained until his death in 1944. His activities extended into all spheres of life, not only the ecclesiastical, and reached far beyond the boundaries of Galicia. He endeavored to restore the old Eastern tradition and purify the rite, and favored the union of the Eastern Church with the Western. He led the union movement in both the East and the West, and he was the initiator of and participant in the congresses of the ecclesiastical leaders of the various Slavic peoples called to discuss a union of the churches. These congresses met at Velehrad, the capital of the ancient Great Moravian state and the city of the Slavic apostles Cyril and Methodius (since 1907). Metropolitan Sheptytsky was thus a pioneer in the cause of bringing together the churches, anticipating by fifty years the decisions of the Second Vatican Council.

Metropolitan Sheptytsky did much for the development of theology and the education of the clergy. He reorganized

the Greek Catholic Theological Seminary in Lviv and helped to open seminaries in Stanyslaviv (1906) and Peremyshl (1907). He sent the most capable theology students to Rome, Vienna, Innsbruck, and Fribourg (Switzerland) for advanced study. He restored the ancient order of St. Theodore Studite (1904), basing it on the Rule of the Kievan Cave Monastery, thus renewing the Eastern monastic tradition of Ukraine which had lapsed when the Basilians adopted more Western ways. In 1913 he introduced the Congregation of the Most Blessed Savior (Redemptorist Fathers) who had adopted the Eastern rite and who were already active as missionaries among the Ukrainians in Canada. In addition to the reorganization of the Basilian Sisters which he had conducted on behalf of the Order of St. Basil the Great and the Congregation of the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate, Sheptytsky also established such congregations for women as St. Joseph and Myronosytsi (1910), St. Josaphat (1914), and the Studite Sisters (1921). All these orders and congregations pursued active religious and social work.

The efforts of Metropolitan Sheptytsky also led the Holy See to appoint the first Greek Catholic bishop for the Ukrainians in the United States in 1907. In 1910 Sheptytsky visited the American and Canadian Ukrainians and as a result of this visit a bishop for the Ukrainians in Canada was nominated in 1912 (see p. 201).

Metropolitan Sheptytsky was also a generous patron of Ukrainian cultural, educational, humanitarian (orphanages, hospitals), and economic institutions. In particular he patronized the arts and in 1905 founded the National Museum in Lviv (see p. 412).

Metropolitan Sheptytsky encouraged the clergy to participate in community life. Although he did not interfere in the internal political life of his Ukrainian charges, he more than once came out in defense of the political rights of the Ukrainian people, particularly as a member of the Austrian house of lords (Herrenhaus) and the Galician diet: in 1906 he headed the Ukrainian delegation to the Emperor concerning the reform of elections to the Austrian parliament, and his speeches, both in the Herrenhaus concerning the establishment of a Ukrainian university (1910) and (February 2, 1918) the Austro-Hungarian ratification of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Ukraine, and in the Galician diet on the agreement between the Ukrainians and the Poles concerning changes in the Galician constitution and the reform of elections to the diet (1914), were well known.

With the Russian occupation of Galicia in 1914, Metropolitan Sheptytsky was arrested and exiled deep in Russia, where he remained until the revolution in 1917. While returning from exile, Metropolitan Sheptytsky organized the Russian Catholic Church, appointing Father Leonid Fedorov exarch of Russia (1917) by virtue of powers he received from Pope Pius X (1908). At this time Ukrainian Greek Catholic parishes appeared in Kiev, Odessa, Katerynoslav, and other localities.

### The Greek Catholic Church in Western Ukraine

During the existence of the Ukrainian state (1918–20), the Greek Catholic clergy participated actively in political affairs. Metropolitan Sheptytsky and other hierarchs, as well as a considerable number of clergy, were members of the National Rada (Council) of the Western Ukrainian National Republic. Many priests participated in the county radas and became county commissioners or worked in the administration of the country. Fathers Francis Xavier Bonn (representative to the Vatican) and Josaphat J. Jean were in the diplomatic service. Some 80 clergymen served in the Ukrainian Galician Army as chaplains. Over 1,000 clergymen were subsequently arrested by the Polish authori-

ties because of their participation in the building of the Ukrainian state. Of these, five were executed without trial and dozens died in prisons and internment camps.

After World War I and the failure of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, the entire Galician province of the Greek Catholic Church found itself under Polish occupation. Near the end of 1920 Metropolitan Sheptytsky had travelled to Rome and western Europe in order to reestablish connections with the Holy See and Catholic centers in the West which had been disrupted by the war. During this journey, and again at the time of his canonical visit in 1921–3 to the United States, Canada, Brazil, and Argentina, the Metropolitan more than once spoke in favor of the Ukrainian cause. It was for this reason that on his return to his see in the autumn of 1923, he was confined for some time in the Poznań region by the Polish administration; he was freed only after a protest from Pope Pius XI. The Greek Catholic Church in Galicia was protected from Polish interference by the concordat of February 10, 1925, between the Holy See and Poland. Nevertheless, the Poles continued to attack both the clergy (e.g., mass arrests for the "falsification" of birth certificates [Vol. I, p. 847]) and the Ukrainian character of the Greek Catholic Church; the concordat notwithstanding Greek Catholics were required to change over to the Roman Catholic rite in order to obtain positions in state institutions or enterprises, a body of Greek Catholic Poles, mainly a fiction, was created, and so forth. To isolate the Lemkian region from Ukrainian influence, the Polish administration supported the spread of Orthodoxy in this region, which was anti-Ukrainian in character. In 1934, influenced by Poland, Rome carved out of the Peremyshl diocese a separate apostolic administration for the Lemkian region in which Russophile and Polonophile influences prevailed.

Despite Polish pressure, the Greek Catholic Church acquired still more of the characteristics of a Ukrainian national church before World War II. (It was more and more frequently called the Ukrainian Catholic Church.) Its clergy worked in all spheres of Ukrainian national life and the anticlerical sentiments which had formerly been found in part of the Ukrainian community disappeared. Without reservations, Metropolitan Sheptytsky was considered to be the spiritual leader of Galician Ukrainians.

The ecclesiastical policies of the Greek Catholic Church were not uniform. The division between the Byzantine and Western orientations in the Church increased after World War I. The first current (its adherents were called "Easterners"), desirous of preserving Eastern Christian spiritualism, theological thought and rite, and the legal-canonical organization in the Church, strove for a return of the Greek Catholic Church to its original character. The orientation to the traditional Byzantine way was strongest in the Lviv archdiocese, centering around Metropolitan Sheptytsky and his auxiliary bishop, Ivan Buchko (ordained 1929), and around such theological and church journals as the monthly *Nyva* (The Field, 1904), the quarterly *Bohosloviia* (Theology, 1923), the weekly *Meta* (The Goal, 1931), and the monthly *Dzvony* (The Bells, 1931). It was especially cultivated by the Studites. The pro-Western current was centered around Bishops Gregory Khomyshyn (1902–46) and Josaphat Kotsylovsky (1916–47) and the Basilian Order. Among their organs were the weeklies *Nova Zoria* (The New Star, 1926) and *Ukraïns'kyi Beskyd* (The Ukrainian Beskyd, 1928), the learned journal *Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni* (1924), and the quarterly *Dobryi Pastyr* (The Good Shepherd, 1931). Of considerable significance was the institution of compulsory celibacy for the clergy in the Stanyslaviv diocese in 1920 by Bishop Khomyshyn, and in the Peremyshl diocese in 1925 by Bishop Kotsylovsky—in both cases against the wishes

FIGURE 60. GREGORY KHOMYSHYN

FIGURE 61. JOSAPHAT KOTSYLOVSKY

of Ukrainian public opinion. However, compulsory celibacy was not introduced in the Lviv archdiocese by Metropolitan Sheptytsky.

Because of complete Polonization of the University of Lviv (see pp. 377–8), the Greek Catholic Church itself had to take care of the higher education of the new generation of clergy. Accordingly, a theology department (which considered itself a part of the Ukrainian Underground University) was established in 1920 at the Greek Catholic Theological Seminary in Lviv; in 1928 the theology department was reorganized and became the Greek Catholic Theological Academy, with Joseph Slipyi as its rector. In addition, there were theological seminaries in Peremyshl and Stanyslaviv, and the monastic orders ran schools. As in prewar times, the Metropolitan sent the better students abroad for advanced studies, especially to Innsbruck and Rome. Secondary schools—the "minor seminaries" in Lviv and Rohatyn and the schools of the Basilians (Buchach) and Redemptorists (Holosko)—prepared candidates for the theological schools.

Theological scholarship centered around the Greek Catholic Theological Academy which published *Pratsi* (Proceedings) and other works and the Theological Scientific Society in Lviv founded in 1923 which published the quarterly *Bohosloviia* (Theology), *Pratsi* (Proceedings), and other works. (For details, see p. 279.)

In order to include the laymen in the apostolate activity of the Church, branches of the Katolyts'ka Aktsiia (Catholic Action) were established in all dioceses during the 1930's. Organized along the lines of similar groups in the Roman Catholic Church, the ruling body of Catholic Action was the General Institute in Lviv, composed of representatives of Catholic organizations such as the Society of Ukrainian Catholic Students, Obnova (Renewal), the youth organization, Orly (Eagles), and the educational society, Skala (The Rock). In 1931, on the initiative of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, the Ukrainian Catholic Alliance (Ukraïns'kyi Katolyts'kyi Soiuz) was established with the object of assuring the Catholic faith a proper place in public life and of supporting the development of the Ukrainian people in a Christian spirit.

Monastic orders and congregations played a great role in the life of the Greek Catholic Church. The most prominent of these was the Basilians who distinguished themselves in missionary work, in the organization of the Societies of the Virgin Mary (Mariis'ki Druzhyny) and in their publishing activities. They also maintained secondary schools in Buchach and Dobromyl and centers for theological and philosophical studies in Lavriv and Krekhiv. In 1938, the Galician province of the Basilian Order had 123 priests, 103 students, and 151 brothers. The Studites, with Metropolitan Sheptytsky as archimandrite and his brother Clement as abbot, had eight monasteries in 1935 and included 16 priests, 9 deacons, 54 *skhymnyks* (professed monks), 58 monks, and 34 novices —171 members altogether. The center of the order was the Univ-Sviatoioansky Monastery. Attached to the monastery in Lviv was the Studite Scientific Institute (the Studion) and a valuable library containing works on the history of the Eastern Church. The Redemptorists, with their headquarters in Holosko Velyke near Lviv, had five monasteries (one

TABLE I

| Diocese | Parishes | Churches | Priests | Faithful |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lviv | 1,267 | 1,308 | 1,004 | 1,300,000 |
| Peremyshl | 640 | 1,268 | 657 | 1,159,000 |
| Stanyslaviv | 455 | 886 | 495 | 1,000,000 |
| Apostolic administration for the Lemkian region | 129 | 198 | 128 | 128,000 |
| TOTAL | 2,491 | 3,660 | 2,284 | 3,587,000 |

of these was in Kovel in Volhynia), 22 priests, 12 clerical brothers, 27 lay brothers, and 7 novices—68 members in all. The Basilian Sisters had nine religious houses and 260 nuns; the Studites had one religious house and 65 nuns; and the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate, 80 religious houses, 392 nuns, and 46 novices. Other women's orders had smaller memberships.

Table I shows the strength of the individual dioceses of the Galician Greek Catholic province in 1938–9, based on the 1943 *Pontificio annuario.*

The activity of the Greek Catholic Church was confined by the 1925 concordat to the territory of Galicia. Accordingly, the Union activities among the Orthodox Ukrainians and Belorussians in Poland were conducted without any cooperation from the Greek Catholic Church, and Bishop Joseph Botsian, who was ordained in Kiev in 1914 by Metropolitan Sheptytsky as bishop of Lutsk, was not admitted into his diocese by the Polish authorities. A few Uniates were formally organized into "parishes of the Catholic Church of the Eastern Slavonic rite" and were directly subordinated to Roman Catholic bishops. Only in 1931 did Rome assign an apostolic visitator for these neo-Uniates; he was the Ukrainian Bishop Nicholas Charnetsky, a Redemptorist residing in Kovel in Volhynia. The neo-Uniate clergy were Jesuits of the Eastern rite. In church services and the rite, in language and in their vestments, they adhered to the model of the Synodal Russian Orthodox Church. The Union in the Eastern Slavonic rite was never widespread (about 25,000 adherents with 46 priests in all of Poland). In 1931 a theological seminary was founded in Dubno (Volhynia) at which candidates for the neo-Uniate priesthood were trained by the Jesuits.

With their occupation of Western Ukraine in 1939, the Soviets abolished ecclesiastical institutions such as schools and theological seminaries, closed monasteries and presses, and confiscated all Church property. The teaching of religion in schools was prohibited and was replaced by atheistic propaganda. As yet there was no mass persecution of the clergy, although in 1939–41 the Bolsheviks arrested and exiled 27 clergymen and executed seven priests in the Lviv archdiocese. The churches still remained open for services, although heavy taxes were imposed on both churches and clergy. In May, 1940, Metropolitan Sheptytsky convoked a diocesan synod which met for two months. Its task was to deepen the faith of the clergy and faithful, to renew the Christian life in the Church, to defend the faith, and to strengthen endurance under new conditions. By ordaining an Orthodox bishop for Lviv (Panteleimon Rudyk) in March, 1941, the Bolsheviks hoped to undermine the authority of Metropolitan Sheptytsky and to prepare the way for a union of the Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox churches (for details, see p. 174).

By the German-Soviet Treaty of August 23, 1939, the eastern borderlands of Galicia fell in the Soviet and the western in the German sphere of interest. Later the western parts were incorporated into the *Generalgouvernement.* They contained part of the Peremyshl diocese and the entire apostolic administration for the

Lemkian region [Vol. I, pp. 874–5]. The former was administered by Bishop Kotsylovsky's auxiliary bishop, Gregory Lakota, while the Rev. Alexander Malynovsky was placed in charge of the Lemkian apostolic administration after February, 1941. The Greek Catholic Church faced no obstruction from the German authorities. The latter did not interfere with the internal life of the Greek Catholic Church even after the occupation of Galicia in June–July, 1941, and its incorporation into the *Generalgouvernement* [Vol. I, p. 887], but the activity of the Church was restricted by severe wartime circumstances.

Metropolitan Sheptytsky died on November 1, 1944, at the time of the second Soviet occupation of Galicia. His post was filled by Archbishop Josyf Slipyj who had been secretly consecrated on December 22, 1939, as archbishop-coadjutor with the rights of succession. Soon after the death of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, the Bolsheviks resumed the process of the liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church which had been interrupted in 1941. The NKVD began a campaign of mass terror against the clergy which culminated on April 11, 1945, with the imprisonment of Metropolitan Josef Slipyj and Bishops Nicetas Budka and Nicholas Charnetsky in Lviv, and Bishop Gregory Khomyshyn and his auxiliary bishop, Ivan Liatyshevsky, in Stanyslaviv. Arrested later were the apostolic visitator for the Ukrainian Catholics in Germany, Peter Verhun, and on June 25, 1946, the Bishop of Peremyshl, Josaphat Kotsylovsky, and his auxiliary bishop, Gregory Lakota; the latter two were deported to the USSR. Some of the arrested bishops died in prison while others were tried in Kiev in March, 1946. They were accused of various imaginary crimes committed during the years of the German occupation and were all sentenced to long prison terms. Several bishops perished in prison or in exile, and two died soon after they were released. Only Metropolitan Slipyj survived. After almost eighteen years of exile he was released by the Bolsheviks, as a result of the efforts of Pope John XXIII, and arrived in Rome on February 9, 1963.

After the arrest of all the bishops and many of the clergy, the Soviet authorities sponsored the "Initiating Group for the Reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church." It was headed by priests Gabriel Kostelnyk of the Lviv archdiocese, Michael Melnyk of the Peremyshl diocese, and Anthony Pelvetsky of the Stanyslaviv diocese. This group was promptly recognized by the Council of Peoples' Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR as the "sole provisional ecclesiastic-administrative organ" of the Greek Catholic Church. The Initiating Group convened a sobor in Lviv during March 8–10, 1946, which was attended, according to the official report, by 216 clergymen and 19 laymen. This gathering proclaimed the end of the Union of Brest of 1596, a break with the Vatican, and a "reunion" with the Russian Orthodox Church. These resolutions were non-canonical and illegal because the sobor was convened by a non-canonical group (only the hierarchy may convene a sobor). Agencies of the Soviet government hostile to the Church participated in the preparation of this gathering and subjected the clergy and faithful, as well as the sobor delegates, to mass terror. Not a single canonical hierarch of the Greek Catholic Church was present. Moreover, the sobor was prepared and directed by members of the Initiating Group who had already embraced another faith—Orthodoxy (two of them were ordained Orthodox bishops)—and acted on the orders of the Moscow patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Soviet authorities recognized as binding on the Greek Catholics all the decisions of the Lviv sobor and prohibited the activities even of individual Greek Catholic parishes. The regime thus acted in gross violation of the Soviet legislation on religious cults, whereby the church is separated from the state, the decisions of the church

sobors and hierarchy have no public legal force, and the local religious congregations (represented by their *dvadtsiatky* [groups of the twenty lay trustees]) are not bound by any compulsory decisions of their ecclesiastical superiors.

Over 300 clergymen protested this reunion but without effect. The Holy See declared the resolutions of the pseudo-sobor null and void. Pope Pius XII issued two encyclicals, *Orientales Omnes* (December 23, 1946) and *Orientales Ecclesias* (December 15, 1952), in defence of the persecuted Ukrainian Church.

The liquidated Greek Catholic Church was subordinated to the Moscow patriarchate and Orthodox bishops were appointed in Lviv, Stanyslaviv, and Drohobych. (With the abolition of the Drohobych *oblast* in 1959, this diocese was also abolished.) Thus the Galician metropolitanate ceased to exist and the Ukrainian Catholic Church went underground. The many clergy who refused to adopt Orthodoxy were arrested and sentenced to long years of imprisonment or exile. Those who were subsequently freed were not allowed to resume their pastoral duties.

Metropolitan Slipyj who has resided in Rome since 1963, was named archbishop-major in that year, and in 1965 he was honored with the title of cardinal (see p. 203).

*W. Lencyk*

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## THE CHURCH IN TRANSCARPATHIA

### Before 1850

Christianity was probably introduced into Transcarpathia during the last half of the ninth century. It came both from Greater Moravia (see p. 134)—from the Church of SS Cyril and Methodius—and, in the Byzantine form, from Bulgaria. For a long time there was no bishopric in Transcarpathia which belonged traditionally to the Peremyshl diocese. Consequently religious life was centered in the monasteries, particularly those of St. Nicholas on Chernecha Hora near Mukachiv and St. Michael in Hrushiv in the Marmarosh region. The latter received the right of stauropegion from the patriarch of Constantinople in 1391. The first documentary evidence concerning the episcopate in Transcarpathia dates from 1491 when the king of Hungary, Ladislas Ulashlo II, confirmed Ivan I as bishop; the latter lived in the Monastery of St. Nicholas and was subject to the patriarch of Constantinople. Orthodoxy in Transcarpathia (part of Hungary since the eleventh century; [Vol. I, p. 710]), was in the position of a tolerated minority. The lot of the clergy and monasteries depended on the goodwill of the local Hungarian landlords. The bishop and clergy were the natural protectors of the Ukrainian population before the Hungarians; the Transcarpathian Ukrainians preserved their nationality primarily because of their religious distinctiveness.

The partition of Transcarpathia in the seventeenth century into the eastern portion, the Marmarosh region, and the western part, which was subject to the Calvinist princes of Transylvania [Vol. I, p. 710], influenced religious developments in this area. The Orthodox Church

was at that time in a state of decadence; the bishops of Mukachiv were dependent upon the Calvinist magnates who attempted to introduce elements of the Reformation into the Orthodox Church. This caused a movement for the union with Rome. After the unsuccessful attempts initiated by Bishop Athanasius Alexander Krupetsky of Peremyshl in 1614, the Bishop of Mukachiv, Basil Tarasovych, together with 63 clergymen, accepted the Union in 1646 in Uzhhorod. At the synod of 1652, during the episcopal rule of Peter Partenius Petrovych Rostoshynsky, the Union was accepted by all of western Transcarpathia which was under the rule of the Habsburgs. Bishop Joseph de Camelis (1690–1706), a Greek by birth, consolidated the Union. In the Marmarosh region, which belonged to Transylvania until 1720, an Orthodox diocese continued to exist, however; it accepted the Union only in 1710–20.

FIGURE 62.
JOSEPH DE CAMELIS

FIGURE 63.
ANDREW BACHYNSKY

Because of the lack of canonical confirmation of the Union by the Apostolic See, the Hungarian Latin bishops of Eger (Erdily) attempted to subordinate the Mukachiv bishops as their vicars. Consequently, Bishop Manuel Olshavsky (1743–67) began a struggle for the independence of the Mukachiv eparchy. Finally in 1771, at the request of Empress Maria Theresa, Pope Clement XIV made the eparchy independent of Eger (during the episcopate of Ivan Bradach, 1767–72), and subject to the Hungarian metropolitan of Esztergom. The reorganization of the Mukachiv eparchy was conducted by the most outstanding hierarch of Transcarpathia, Bishop Andrew Bachynsky (1773–1809). He transferred the seat of the diocese to Uzhhorod (1775) and strove to unite Transcarpathia and Galicia into one church province under the direction of a metropolitan, but the Hungarians were opposed to this. He looked after the education of the clergy and was instrumental in the establishment of the Barbăreum in Vienna (see p. 185). He opened a theological seminary in Uzhhorod in 1777, organized a network of parochial elementary schools, and was the patron of cultural advancement in Transcarpathia. In 1818, a new diocese was created in Transcarpathia—the Priashiv (Prešov) see, which was also subordinated to the Esztergom metropolitan.

**1850–1918**

After 1848, and especially after the agreement between Austria and Hungary in 1867 [Vol. I, p. 712], the Magyarization of the Greek Catholic Church began. The latter gradually turned into a docile instrument of the Hungarian policy of assimilation, despite the opposition of some of the clergy. The bishops, whose nomination was influenced by the Hungarian government, contributed most to Magyarization. The Bishop of Mukachiv, Stephen Pankovych (1867–74), who transferred the students of theology from Vienna to Budapest, was the first in this series of Magyarophile bishops. In the parochial schools, the Hungarian language was progressively introduced as the language of instruction. In 1875, the Hajdudorog vicariate was created for the purpose of Magyarization. In 1912 it was transformed into a diocese which consisted of the southern part of the Mukachiv diocese and portions of the Priashiv and the Rumanian (Transylvania) dioceses. Within this diocese the Hungarian liturgical language was introduced. The efforts of Pope Leo XIII to subordinate the Transcarpathian eparchies to the

planned patriarchate in Lviv were opposed by Cardinal Simor, primate of Hungary. Educational societies, led by the clergy (the Society of St. Basil the Great and others), and the press, began to decline. Russophilism was spreading among the clergy as a counterweight to Magyarization, and only a few of them were supporters of Ukrainian nationalism (Augustine Voloshyn, Basil Hadzhega, and others). Hungarian pressure increased during World War I. The Latin alphabet was introduced in the parochial schools and the Gregorian calendar was adopted in 1916. (The efforts of the Bishop of Mukachiv, Julian Firtsak, to introduce it in 1911 had not succeeded because of the opposition of the faithful.) The separation of Transcarpathia from Hungary in 1918–19 prevented further Magyarization of the Greek Catholic Church in Transcarpathia.

**1918–44**

After the annexation of Transcarpathia to Czechoslovakia, both Greek Catholic bishops, Anthony Papp of Mukachiv (1912–24) and Stephen Novak of Priashiv (1913–18), abandoned their dioceses and went to Hungary. Their successors, the apostolic administrator of Priashiv, Bishop Dionysius Niaradi of Križevci (replaced in 1927 by Bishop Paul Goidych), and of Uzhhorod, Bishop Peter Gebei (1924–31), supported the national movement. A *modus vivendi* (ratified in 1928) was reached between the two eparchies and the Czechoslovak government. Finally in 1937 Rome separated both eparchies from the Esztergom metropolitanate and subordinated them directly to the Eastern Congregation in Rome. Rome's plans to create a Mukachiv metropolitanate were interrupted by the war. In 1920 the Basilians arrived from Galicia and reformed the Transcarpathian monasteries (which until then had no ties with the Basilian Order); this reform led to a renewal of the religious spirit. The Basilians also contributed to the growth of Ukrainian nationalist tendencies which had spread very slowly among the secular Greek Catholic clergy, who remained for the most part either Russophile or Magyarophile. Bishop Alexander Stoika of Mukachiv (1932–43) also maintained a pro-Hungarian stand.

As a reaction against the Magyarization of the Church, Orthodoxy began to spread in Transcarpathia, winning over nearly one-third of the parishes during the first years of Czechoslovak rule, especially in the Marmarosh region. Membership in the Orthodox Church increased from almost nothing in 1918, to 61,000 in 1921, and to 121,000 by 1930. The Orthodox had two dioceses, in Uzhhorod and Mukachiv, and were subordinated to the Serbian patriarch. The Orthodox clergy were almost entirely Russophile.

During the period of autonomous and independent Carpatho-Ukraine (1938–9), Bishop Stoika remained in the territory occupied by the Hungarians. Accordingly, Rome named Bishop Niaradi as the apostolic visitator for Carpatho-Ukraine; he performed this function (with his residence in Khust) until the Hungarian occupation in March, 1939.

The local Orthodox Church was then headed by a Czech, Archbishop Savatii (Antonin Hrabec) of Prague, who was subordinate to the patriarch of Constantinople by whom he had been consecrated.

**After 1944**

The occupation of Carpatho-Ukraine by the Bolsheviks in 1944–5 brought with it a persecution of the Greek Catholic Church similar to that which had occurred in Galicia. In 1947 Bishop Theodore Romzha, successor to Bishop Stoika, was murdered, and terror was employed against the clergy to force them to embrace Orthodoxy. Subsequently, priest Ireneus Kondratovych proclaimed the abolition of the Union in Mukachiv on August 28, 1949. The Orthodox diocese of Mukachiv-Uzhhorod was also subor-

dinated to the Russian patriarch in Moscow.

After the war, the Priashiv diocese remained within Czechoslovakia, but after the Communist coup in 1948, the Greek Catholic Church was quickly liquidated there also. In 1950, Bishop Paul Goidych (died in prison in 1960) and his vicar, Basil Hopko, were arrested and sentenced to prison. On April 28, 1950, a sobor of "reunion" with the Orthodox Church took place in Priashiv. The former Priashiv diocese was divided into the Priashiv and the Michajlovce (Mykhailivtsi) sees. They belong to the Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia, which in 1951 received its autocephaly from the Moscow patriarchate. The Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople does not recognize this autocephaly and the Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia maintains close ties with Moscow.

FIGURE 64.
THEODORE ROMZHA

Two of the four eparchies of the Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia are in the Priashiv region. Eparchial councils, which conduct their affairs partly in Ukrainian, exist in both dioceses. A Ukrainian-language church monthly *Zapovit sv. Kyryla i Metodiia* (The Testament of SS. Cyril and Methodius) is published in Priashiv. The Priashiv diocese had almost 180,000 faithful and 120 parishes in 1966; and the Michajlovce diocese, 110,000 and over 100 parishes. (The entire Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia numbers 315 parishes.)

Since 1951, the clergy is trained in the Priashiv Department of Theology which in 1959–60 had 68 full-time students and in 1965–6, 30. The majority of priests and bishops of this church are of local extraction. The first bishop of Priashiv was Dorophei (in secular life, Dymytrii Fylyp) who became the metropolitan of the Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia in 1964. His successor in Priashiv is Nicholas Kotsvar. The Michajlovce diocese is headed by Bishop Cyril. All are natives of Transcarpathia (see also Ukrainians Abroad, pp. 1243–4).

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## THE CHURCH IN BUKOVINA

### Before 1774

Christianity spread to Bukovina from Kiev during the princely era, and the area formed part of the Kievan metropolitanate. In the twelfth century, Bukovina belonged to the Galician diocese and during the years from 1303 to 1340 to the Galician metropolitanate with its seat in Lviv. After the occupation of Galicia by Poland, the Orthodox Church in Bukovina lost its ties with Lviv and the Bulgarian archbishop from Okhrida took over the guardianship of the Church (1340–1401). After the annexation of Bukovina by the Moldavian principality [Vol. I, p. 707], the ruler, Alexander Dobry, established an independent Moldavian metropolitanate in 1401, with its seat in Suchava (Suceava). In 1630 the seat was transferred to Jassy (Jasi). The Moldavian metropolitanate embraced the Radivtsi (Rădăuti) eparchy which administered the church life of Bukovina (except for the Suchava district). Prior to the annexation of Bukovina by Austria (1774), there were 31 bishops in Radivtsi. From the sixteenth century, Church

Slavonic predominated in the church and the clergy enjoyed the benefits of the educational, religious, and cultural achievements of Kiev and Lviv (ecclesiastical schools, brotherhoods, books). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, some church leaders (Metropolitan Dosytei) and some monasteries (Putna, Suchava, and Drahomyrna) also had an influence on other Ukrainian lands.

**Under Austrian Rule**

After the Austrian annexation of Bukovina in 1774, the Bishop of Radivtsi, Dosytei (Dosoftei) Khereskul (Herescu), was named Bishop of Bukovina by the Austrian authorities in 1781 and transferred his residence to Chernivtsi in 1782. From 1783 to 1873, the Bukovinian diocese was dependent upon the metropolitan in Karlovats (Slovenia). During the years from 1782 to 1785 the Austrian government nationalized the property of 20 monasteries (mainly forests, 20 per cent of the entire area of Bukovina) and created a religious fund to finance the requirements of the Bukovinian eparchy: the maintenance of the clergy, the schools, and so forth. The Bukovinian diocese experienced its greatest development during the administration of Eugene Hakman (1835–73) who was successful in acquiring autocephaly for the Church in 1873, with the creation of the metropolitanate of Bukovina and Dalmatia. In Chernivtsi, he erected a cathedral (1844–64) and a metropolitan's residence (1864–82)—the most impressive edifices in Bukovina.

The Bukovinian clergy received their education mainly in the clerical school in Putna which was transformed into the Theological Institute of Chernivtsi in 1824 and, with the emergence of the University of Chernivtsi, into the Orthodox Department of Theology (1875–1940). This institution was one of the leading educational and scholarly centers of theology in the Orthodox world. The Bukovinian ecclesiastics had the best education in all of Ukraine. They took an active part in the area's cultural, social, and political life, defending the national rights of the Ukrainians in Bukovina (Fathers Basil Prodan, Isidore and Gregory Vorobkevych, Eugene Semaka, Titus Tyminsky, Theophilus Drachynsky, for example).

In the Bukovinian diocese, rivalry between the Rumanians and the Ukrainians was constant. The Rumanians prevailed for a long time. It was not until 1873 that the Ukrainian language achieved equal rights within the church; the ecclesiastical journal, *Kandelia,* appeared in both Rumanian and in Ukrainian, the Ukrainian section being edited by Isidore Vorobkevych. In 1895 the Ukrainians achieved complete equality with the Rumanians when they received two trustees in the consistory and two chairs with instruction in Ukrainian in the Department of Theology (Denis Yeremiichuk-Yeremiïv and Eugene Kozak). However, the Ukrainians failed to realize their objective—the partition of the metropolitanate into separate Ukrainian and Rumanian dioceses—since the Austrian authorities and the Rumanians were against such division.

Under the Austrians there were nine bishops and a metropolitan in Bukovina. Among the bishops were two Ukrainians, E. Hakman and V. Repta. The third Ukrainian was T. Tyminsky (1917–19), but he was pensioned off after the occupation of Bukovina by Rumania. The great champion of the religious rights of the Ukrainians in Bukovina under Austrian rule was Eugene Pihuliak, a member of parliament.

**After 1918**

During the Rumanian period (1918–40; [Vol. I, pp. 856–9]), the Bukovinian metropolitanate was renamed (1925) the Metropolitanate of Bukovina and Khotyn and annexed to the Rumanian patriarchate in Bucharest. Throughout the entire period of Rumanian occupation, a persistent struggle went on against

the Rumanianization of the Orthodox Church. This struggle was headed by several Ukrainian priests—Eugene Kozak, Theophilus Drachynsky, Semen Smereka, Kasiian Bohatyrets, and Peter Kateryniuk. The Ukrainian bloc of the diocesan assembly (1932–8) which was headed by Alexander Kupchanko and Nicholas Haras spoke in defense of Ukrainian interests. Towards the end of the Rumanian occupation, the Ukrainians lost almost all of their rights in the ecclesiastical-religious field. Under Rumanian rule, the Bukovinian metropolitanate numbered close to 650,000 faithful, with 310 parishes (one-half of which were Ukrainian) and 390 clergymen (including 135 Ukrainians). There were four metropolitans during this time.

During the Soviet period (from 1940) most of the Ukrainian priests left Bukovina and the clergy had to be recruited from among the deacons. After World War II, the diocese of Chernivtsi was created, headed by the bishop of Chernivtsi and Bukovina (from 1961 Bishop Damian Marchuk, a native Volhynian). In southern Bukovina, which belongs to Rumania, a metropolitanate was created in Suchava.

**The Ukrainian Catholic Church.** There were also Greek Catholic Ukrainians in Bukovina who had come from Galicia during Austrian times. The first Greek Catholic parish was established in 1811 in Chernivtsi and the first deanery in 1841; they were subject to the Lviv metropolitan and from 1885 to 1923 formed part of the diocese of Stanyslaviv (now Ivano-Frankivske). In 1911 the Bukovinian part of the diocese embraced two deaneries, 17 parishes, and 28,000 adherents. In 1923 an apostolic administration was created for the local Ukrainian Catholics with its seat in Seret (headed by Father Clement Zlepko). It was subject to the Greek Catholic metropolitan in Blaha (Transylvania). In 1930 the administration was transformed into a general secretariat (Father Michael Symovych) and placed under the Marmarosh diocese in Baia-Mare. Greek Catholic Ukrainians in Bukovina enjoyed greater national cultural freedom than the Orthodox Ukrainians, thanks to Rumania's concordat with the Vatican. After World War II, the Greek Catholics in Bukovina were forcibly converted to Orthodoxy.

*A. Zhukovsky*

## THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH ABROAD

Almost all the Ukrainians who emigrated overseas in the nineteenth century to the United States, and later to Canada and Brazil [Vol. I, p. 196] were Greek Catholics because the emigrants came from Galicia and Transcarpathia. Late in the nineteenth century some Orthodox Ukrainians began emigrating from Bukovina and their numbers were increased by former Greek Catholics who had crossed over to Orthodoxy. From that time on, the Ukrainian community abroad has included the faithful of both churches and in time also members of various Protestant denominations.

The beginnings of the Ukrainian Catholic Church abroad date back to the early eighteenth century when Ukrainians began to settle in Bachka (on the territory of present-day Yugoslavia; see pp. 1248 ff.). Through the efforts of Empress Maria Theresa, a separate diocese was established for them by Pope Pius IV in 1777, with its seat in the town of Križevci in northern Croatia. In the seventeenth century a Ukrainian-Belorussian center was opened in Rome; it became the seat (after 1617) of the procurator of the Order of St. Basil the Great and of the Greek College of St. Athanasius which was attended by a considerable number of Ukrainian and Belorussian students. In 1784 a Greek Catholic parish (the Church of St. Barbara) was established in Vienna—an important center for Ukrainians in the Austrian empire. During the eighteenth cen-

tury other Ukrainian Catholic centers were also founded—the Greek Catholic parishes in Budapest and Cracow and the monastery of the Basilian Fathers in Warsaw.

**North America**

The number of Greek Catholics abroad increased in the latter half of the nineteenth century, with the emigration of Ukrainians overseas [Vol. I, p. 196]. In all the countries of new settlement, the Ukrainians initially had neither their own clergy nor separate parishes. In time the larger concentrations of Ukrainians began to organize parishes and to build churches, but the Greek Catholic clergy were subordinated to the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic bishops, which contributed to their Latinization. The Latinization of the clergy also led some Greek Catholics to embrace Russian Orthodoxy. It was only through the efforts of Metropolitan Sheptytsky that Rome nominated bishops for the Greek Catholics in North America: Soter Ortynsky for the United States (1907) with a see in Philadelphia who did not have full jurisdiction at first but became an autonomous exarch in 1913, and Nicetas Budka for Canada (1912) with a see in Winnipeg who immediately became an autonomous exarch. By 1914, over half a million Greek Catholics lived abroad, of whom over 300,000 were in the United States and nearly 100,000 in Canada. Later some of the Greek Catholics went over to the Ukrainian Orthodox churches in Canada and the United States, and some joined Protestant denominations. In 1924 Rome created two separate church organizations for the Greek Catholics in the United States—one for the Galician Ukrainians and the other for the Transcarpathian Ruthenians —the Pittsburg exarchate—who had had a separate apostolic administration since 1916.

Following World War II, great changes took place in the organization of the Church hierarchy for the Ukrainian Catholics abroad. In 1948 the Ukrainian Catholic exarchate in Canada was divided; in addition to the original one in Winnipeg, new exarchates were set up in Edmonton and Toronto. In 1951 a fourth exarchate was established in Saskatoon. In 1956 a Ukrainian Catholic metropolitanate with its seat in Winnipeg (with Maxim Hermaniuk as the first metropolitan) was established by Pope Pius XII and the existing exarchates were elevated to the status of dioceses. In the United States a new exarchate was created in Stamford in 1956. Two years later a Ukrainian Catholic metropolitanate was created with its seat in Philadelphia (with Constantine Bohachevsky as the first metropolitan) and the exarchate was transformed into a diocese. In 1961 a third diocese was established in Chicago. In 1963 the exarchate for the Transcarpathians was divided into two dioceses—Pittsburgh and Passaic, N.J. (see also Ukrainians Abroad, 2. In U.S.).

New exarchates for Ukrainian Catholics were created in Australia (1958), Argentina (1961), and Brazil (1962; from 1958 to 1962, the local Ukrainian bishop had only limited jurisdiction).

**Europe**

During World War II, many Ukrainians were transported to Germany for forced labor. To meet their spiritual needs a series of pastoral posts was established there, and in 1941 Rome appointed an apostolic visitator for the Ukrainian Catholics in Germany. (The first Ukrainian parish had been established in Berlin in 1927.) In 1940 the first Ukrainian Catholic parish was established in France (Paris). In 1946 the Vatican appointed Bishop Ivan Buchko as a separate apostolic visitator for Ukrainian Catholics in western Europe. Bishop Buchko appointed general vicars for Germany (from 1948), France, Belgium, and Great Britain. Subsequently, Ukrainian bishops were appointed for Ukrainian Catholics in Germany (1959), France (1961), and Great Britain (1963;

during 1961–3 without full jurisdiction) to head exarchates in these countries.

Thus in 1966, outside the borders of the USSR, there were approximately 1,300,000 Ukrainian Catholics including over 300,000 Transcarpathian Ukrainians (Ruthenians). Over 250,000 live in Europe. In Poland, where 150,000 Ukrainian Catholics do not have their own separate Church organization, they are served by some 100 clergymen who, for the most part, are assistants of the Roman Catholic parish priests and have been conducting services in both rites. In the early 1960's the Ukrainian Catholics in Poland were allowed to establish 16 separate parishes. Nearly 40,000 Ukrainian Catholics and over 40 Ukrainian clergymen live in Yugoslavia as part of the Križevci diocese, which has 54,000 faithful and 60 clergymen. Almost 70,000 faithful and 100 clergy live in western Europe (headed by an apostolic visitator in Rome and three bishops). The former Ukrainian Greek Catholic parishes and faithful in Hungary have become completely Magyarized and are outside the sphere of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its hierarchy.

FIGURE 65. ARCHBISHOP IVAN BUCHKO

Most of the monastic orders which operated in Ukraine are active abroad. The largest of these are the Basilians (328 members in 1962 including 159 priests) and the Eastern branch of the Congregation of the Most Blessed Savior —Redemptorists (almost 50 priests); others include the Studites (about 25 priests), the Eastern branch of the Selesian Order (approximately 20 priests), the Oblates, and the Christian Brothers. The largest of the women's congregations are the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate (930), the Basilian Sisters (170), the Missionaries of St. Mary the Protectress, and the Missionaries of Christian Love.

The individual dioceses and orders are —as they were in Ukraine until 1945— immediately subordinate to the Eastern Congregation in Rome. Some degree of communication among the Ukrainian Catholic bishops abroad is provided through metropolitanates, conferences of the episcopate (attended by all bishops), and provincial synods (the first held in Winnipeg in 1962). The decree of the Second Vatican Council (1964) on the Eastern Catholic churches and the confirmation of the powers of the archbishop-major (now with a temporary residence in Rome), which were made

FIGURE 66. UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS AT THE FINAL SESSION OF THE VATICAN COUNCIL II IN ROME

equal to those of a patriarch, resulted in the establishment (1965) of the conference of Ukrainian Catholic bishops.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church abroad does not have its own higher theological school, and candidates for priesthood are taught in foreign schools. The Pontifical College of St. Josaphat in Rome and the theological seminaries of St. Josaphat in Washington, D.C., and in Zagreb (Križevci diocese) are the only educational institutions in which the Ukrainian Catholic rite, the Church Slavonic language, and, in part, the history of the Ukrainian Church are being taught. The theological schools of the individual orders only prepare students for higher theological studies.

Of the two rival tendencies in the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine —the Eastern and the Western—the Latin influence has gained distinct superiority abroad (except in the Križevci diocese). Celibacy of the clergy is the rule of all dioceses. From the very beginning external influences have tended to bring the liturgy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church closer to that of the Roman Catholic Church. Church Slavonic remains the basic liturgical language, but the Ukrainian language is used in the catechism and sermons. The local language is being used with increasing frequency so as to reach the younger generation. The Gregorian calendar is used in most dioceses, either in whole or in part. Parallel with the movement to introduce the vernacular into the liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church, attempts have been made abroad to replace Church Slavonic with the Ukrainian language and in some cases to introduce English as a liturgical language in the Ukrainian Catholic parishes in the United States and Canada. This latter trend initiated by some of the American-educated clergy, encountered sharp opposition from the conservative elements of the clergy and faithful. In most of the dioceses of the Ruthenians this innovation has been adopted, however.

At the present time the world center for Ukrainian Catholicism is Rome. Rome is the seat of the Eastern Congregation, of the main administration of the orders

FIGURE 67. ARCHBISHOP MAJOR JOSYF CARDINAL SLIPYJ

(the protoarchimandrite of the Order of St. Basil the Great, the general administrations of the Basilian Sisters and Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate), and since 1963 of the archbishop-major. The Inter-Diocesan Liturgical Commission, which is charged with the revision of liturgical texts and their translation into Ukrainian, is located in Rome. The greatest concentration of Ukrainian theologians who are studying at the papal universities is also to be found there. Finally, Rome is the principal center of Ukrainian theological learning—with scholarly publications issued by the Basilians (*Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni*, collections of documents from the Vatican archives) and by the Learned Theological Society (restored in 1960) and its organ *Bohosloviia* (Theology). The Ukrainian Catholic University, named after Pope Clement, was established in 1964 under the aegis of Cardinal Slipyj.

It is active mostly in the fields of scholarship and publishing.

(For greater detail on the Ukrainian Catholic Church in various countries of Ukrainian settlement, see chapter XIII, Ukrainians Abroad; see also pp. 213–31, Constitution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.)

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## THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH ABROAD

A small number of Orthodox adherents arrived in North America from Bukovina at the end of the nineteenth century, as well as a few from Ukrainian lands in Russia (mainly from the Kholm region, Podlachia, and Volhynia). The number of Ukrainian Orthodox increased primarily through the absorption of former Greek Catholics who left their Church for varied reasons (see p. 1109). From 1891–1917, 163 Greek Catholic parishes in the United States went over to Orthodoxy. Initially, Orthodox Ukrainians in North America did not form separate religious congregations but joined the already well-established parishes of the Orthodox mission of the Russian Church. Today their descendants still form a large section of the Russian Church's adherents.

The subordination to the Russian Orthodox Church did not satisfy all Orthodox Ukrainians. Many Greek Catholics who were inclined to Orthodoxy also desired their own church. Several factors—the short-lived revival of the Ukrainian state, the conversion of some Ukrainian Greek Catholics in Canada to Orthodoxy (see pp. 1160 ff.), and the arrival in North America after World War I of a number of nationally conscious Orthodox clergy as well as many new immigrants—gave impetus to the movement for a Ukrainian church. In 1918, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada (Ukraïns'ka Hreko-Pravoslavna Tserkva u Kanadi) was established (see pp. 1165 ff.), and in 1919–20 the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in America (Ukraïns'ka Hreko-Pravoslavna Tserkva v Amerytsi) (now the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the USA—Ukraïns'ka Pravoslavna Tserkva v SShA; see p. 1117).

For several years these churches sought to acquire their own episcopates until a hierarch of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Bishop John Theodorovich, arrived on their invitation in 1924 and assumed the leadership over the Ukrainian Orthodox churches in both the United States and Canada as well as scattered parishes in South America. However, some in the church were dissatisfied with a hierarch ordained in the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Kiev (headed by Metropolitan Lypkivsky), as some of the Orthodox had reservations of a canonical character. Therefore some parishes, especially the newer ones that had left the Catholic Church, did not enter the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the United States but created a separate ecclesiastical organization—the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of America (Ukraïns'ka Pravoslavna Tserkva Ameryky), headed by Metropolitan Bohdan Shpylka until his death in 1965. Efforts to unite these two churches and the clarification of the

canonical status of Metropolitan John Theodorovich in 1949 helped to bring the two churches closer together, but they did not achieve a complete union.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church abroad has been strongly influenced by the large number of Orthodox Ukrainians who emigrated at the end of World War II, at first to West Germany and Austria, and later to other parts of the world. The Orthodox Ukrainians and clergy who left Ukraine in 1943–4 and settled in Europe (mainly in Germany and Austria) for several years before they went overseas belonged to a number of Orthodox Church organizations. Each of the three main Ukrainian churches—the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the Autonomous Church (see p. 175), and the Church of the *Generalgouvernement* (see p. 181) charted a different course.

The hierarchy of the Ukrainian Autonomous Church, headed by Archbishop Panteleimon Rudyk, soon acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Russian Church and ceased to exist as a separate entity. The majority of the clergy followed their bishops but the rank and file whose numbers among the émigrés were few in comparison with the followers of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church dispersed among various Orthodox congregations, both Russian and Ukrainian.

The hierarchy of the Autocephalous Church in the *Generalgouvernement* dispersed: Metropolitan Dionysius returned to Poland in 1945; the second and third bishops emigrated to Canada and the United States respectively, where they joined other churches. This church thus ceased to exist.

The hierarchy of the Church with the greatest number of émigré followers, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAPTs), spent some time in Warsaw after leaving Ukraine. There, in 1944, a sobor of bishops was held which adopted a Provisional Statute on the Administration of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. The statute provided that the highest body in the UAPTs was to be the sobor, with the synod as its executive arm. In the early years of the sojourn in western Europe (Germany, Austria, France, Great Britain, and Belgium) parishes were organized among the larger concentrations of Ukrainian emigrants, especially in the Displaced Persons camps [Vol. I, pp. 912–13]. In 1946 a Theological-Pedagogical Academy was opened in Munich (called after 1947 the Theological Academy). In 1952 the Academy ceased to function and was replaced in part by the Theological-Scientific Institute. The synod of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church published (in 1948–9) a monthly *Bohoslovs'kyi Visnyk* (Theological Messenger). A well-organized parish life, church brotherhoods and sisterhoods, and choirs helped attract the faithful from other churches to the UAPTs; the number of UAPTs clergy increased greatly during these years. In 1946 there were 71 parishes in West Germany, with a somewhat smaller number of parishes spread over several other European countries. In 1948 the faithful in Germany and Austria were served by 103 clergymen and 18 deacons. Several bishops of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church were consecrated during these years which also witnessed the revival of a national Belorussian church (with the consecration of Bishop Basil).

Though it was united organizationally, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Europe did not have a homogeneous membership. Its hierarchy and the majority of its clergy belonged to the UAPTs, formed at the time of World War II with the blessing of Metropolitan Dionysius (see p. 175). It adhered to the traditional canonical view of the apostolic succession and the internal organization of the Church. The majority of the clergy of the UAPTs of 1942 came from the western Ukrainian lands where, despite restrictions by alien authorities, the Church had not experienced such destruction as had occurred in Soviet Ukraine. The Church in Western Ukraine was not compelled to adopt such extreme

measures as the ordination of the hierarchy at Kiev in 1921 in the long-forgotten manner of the ancient Alexandrine Church. Within its ranks the secular elements did not have such a decisive influence on church life as had the followers of the UAPTs constituted in 1921 under the leadership of Metropolitan Basil Lypkivsky. The old UAPTs was completely liquidated by the Soviet regime (see p. 171) and before World War II not one active bishop or even a single parish of this Church remained in existence. At the time of the German occupation, the surviving individual priests of this Church restored some of the old parishes. They recognized the hierarchy of the UAPTs (reconstituted in 1942) who arrived in eastern Ukraine, and subsequently as members of that church they found themselves in the emigration. Here some followers of the Church of Metropolitan Lypkivsky emphasized the necessity of a wider participation of the secular element in church life (conciliarism); they also held divergent views on the authenticity of the episcopal ordinations in the UAPTs of 1921.

These dissensions culminated in 1947 in the division of the Church. The group which proclaimed itself to be the true heir of the UAPTs of Metropolitan Lypkivsky was headed by Archbishop Gregory Ohiichuk. Despite attempts at reconciliation, the two churches could not be reunited and they continue to exist as separate organizations. The UAPTs church of 1921 was left with only a few parishes in Europe, Australia, and South America, after the departure of Archbishop Gregory for the United States where the majority of its parishes had been located.

By the end of the 1940's the ranks of all three Ukrainian Orthodox churches in North America had been enlarged as a result of the emigration of UAPTs adherents from Europe, including the majority of its bishops and clergy. However, some bishops declined to join the established churches and organized two small Ukrainian autocephalous Orthodox churches. One of these was the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Exile (Ukraïns'ka Autokefal'na Pravoslavna Tserkva v Ekzyliu), founded in 1954 by Archbishop Palladius (who had belonged to the Autocephalous Church in the *Generalgouvernement*), and Archbishop Ihor (a hierarch of the UAPTs as reconstituted in Ukraine in 1942). Since the then existing churches in the United States and in Canada considered themselves American and Canadian churches, respectively, these two hierarchs wished to retain their independence (autocephaly), insisting that their church was only acting in exile and that it was its irrevocable duty to return unchanged (as concerns structure, tradition, and rites) to the homeland after the change in the latter's political regime. They invoked the 1924 *tomos* of the Ecumenical Patriarch which granted autocephaly to the Church (in Poland) embracing part of the territory of the Kievan (Ukrainian) metropolitanate. The UAPTs in exile consists of ten parishes in North America and a few in South America.

The second new ecclesiastical organization in North America is the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church—Sobornopravna (Conciliar, the Church of 1921) which also designates itself the UAPTs Abroad and considers itself the direct heir of the UAPTs of the late Metropolitan Lypkivsky. The clergy and faithful of this church arrived in the United States after World War II, following their church's separation in 1947 from the UAPTs of 1942. The church is led by Archbishop Gregory and has ten parishes, mainly in the United States. Some of the parishes left the UAPTs (*sobornopravna*) and gathered around the Metropolitan Lypkivsky Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood (with the organ *Tserkva i Zhyttia* [Church and Life], published in Germany), and Archbishop Eugene Bachynsky in Switzerland.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church of 1942 retained its center

in western Europe under the leadership of Metropolitan Polycarp, and after his death (in Paris in 1953), Metropolitan Nikanor Abramovych (d. 1969) who resided in Karlsruhe (West Germany). The Church's official quarterly *Ridna Tserkva*

FIGURE 68. METROPOLITAN POLYCARP SIKORSKY

(The Native Church) is also published there by the Theological-Scientific Institute. As a result of the mass migration of the UAPTs members overseas and the entrance of those who settled in the United States and Canada into the local Ukrainian Orthodox churches, the UAPTs of 1942 is now a small church. Some 30,000 faithful and nearly 50 priests and deacons have remained in Europe, including 20 in Germany (they are administered by the Supreme Ecclesiastical Administration attached to the metropolitan), 6 in France, 17 in Great Britain (headed by an administrator), and several in Belgium and Austria. Almost 30 clergymen work outside of Europe, including 20 in Australia and 10 in Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela.

Thus there are now six Ukrainian Orthodox churches abroad. The structure of these churches is determined by their organizational and canonical principles and by the national frontiers of the countries of their settlement. Since 1957 the three largest churches—the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the United States, and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Europe have maintained a spiritual union. Spiritual unions also exist between each of these churches

Still, after almost three decades abroad, the Orthodox churches have failed to found an indigenous organizational form. The time was too short for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to recover after centuries-long persecution in tsarist Russia and later in the USSR where this persecution assumed the most extreme forms. The physical destruction of its bishops, clergy, and its most active followers, the liquidation of its theological schools and the press, the prohibition on the teaching of faith and the performance of pastoral duties, and the loss of all property and material resources—all these factors could not but introduce chaos into the church's subsequent process of restoration. During World War II many people who had been convicted of ecclesiastical activity in the USSR were liberated from prisons and joined in the reconstruction of the Church, but their views often contradicted the convictions of those who had grown up in the West. As a result, several church jurisdictions emerged which do not have a single administrative or even coordinating center. Some of them do not maintain a communion of prayer with each other but others engage in sharp polemics even on such matters as participation in the ecumenical movement or cooperation for the future unification of all churches along the lines proposed by the last Vatican Council. Several attempts at a reunion of these churches have failed to bring about tangible results.

This instability facilitates the work against the Ukrainian churches on the part of their traditional adversaries. The

Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the United States has not been able to join the Permanent Conference of the Canonical Orthodox Bishops of the Two Americas, to which the smaller Ukrainian churches belong. Thus some Ukrainian Orthodox churches remain isolated from the common concerns of the world's Orthodox churches and their relations with the ecumenical patriarch are limited to infrequent personal contacts.

There are no accurate data on the number of Orthodox Ukrainians abroad since they are scattered over a wide area. Some remain outside organized religious life or have joined the Orthodox churches of other nationalities. Only in the larger communities do the Orthodox Ukrainians have their own churches, parish halls, and Sunday schools. In other communities they either join with the nearest (often very distant parish) or are visited by a priest on designated days of the year. All the Ukrainian Orthodox churches suffer from a great shortage of clergy. This shortage becomes more acute with every year as the older priests die and new candidates for priesthood do not come forward.

The Ukrainian Orthodox churches abroad embrace nearly 300,000 Ukrainians. Over 100,000 Ukrainians from Transcarpathia belong to the American Carpatho-Ruthenian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church. Even greater is the number of the Ukrainian Orthodox who belong to non-Ukrainian Orthodox churches, particularly in the United States—the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America and the Russian Orthodox Catholic Church in America (Patriarchal Exarchate, i.e., under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow).

(For more details about the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the various lands of Ukrainian settlement, see chapter XIII, Ukrainians Abroad; see also p. 113 ff., The Constitution of the Orthodox Church.)

*I. Korowytsky*

## PROTESTANTISM (EVANGELICAL CHURCHES) IN UKRAINE

### The Beginnings of Protestantism

Protestantism, the third great branch of Christianity, did not have a significant influence in Ukraine. The spread of Protestantism in Ukraine was impeded by its relatively late appearance and by such obstacles as geographical remoteness from the lands in which Protestantism had emerged, the social structure in Ukraine which was different from that in Germany or England, the particular cul-

TABLE II*

| Name | Church leaders | Numbers | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Bishops | Parishes | Priests | Deacons | Faithful |
| UO Church of USA | Metropolitan John Theodorovich | 4 | 98 | 105 | 15 | 87,000 |
| UGO Church in Canada | Metropolitan Hilarion Ohiienko | 4 | 120 | 91 | 10 | 130,000 |
| UAO Church (in Europe) | Metropolitan Nicanor Abramovych† | 2 | 60 | 70 | 15 | 40,000 |
| UO Church in America | Bishop Andrew Kushchak‡ | 1 | 8 | 7 | 1 | 3,000 |
| UAO Church in Exile | Archbishop Palladius Vydybida-Rudenko | 1 | 10 | 20 | 2 | 2,000 |
| UAO Church (*Sobornopravna*) | Archbishop Gregory Ohiichuk | 2 | 11 | 10 | 1 | 2,500 |

*The statistical data for the Ukrainian Orthodox churches (as of 1966) contain only approximate totals.

†Succeeded upon his death in 1969 by Metropolitan Mstyslaw Skrypnyk.

‡Succeeded Metropolitan Bohdan Shpylka who died in 1966.

tural level of the country, and its distinct ecclesiastical religious characteristics. Some Protestant movements such as Anglicanism or Methodism, originally local in character, found absolutely no response in Ukraine. Others, such as the Lutherans, the Baptists, and the Adventists, were unable to establish themselves properly before the arrival of Soviet rule and the beginning of the systematic destruction of all faiths.

The beginning of the evangelical movement in Ukraine dates back to the sixteenth century, but favorable conditions for new religious currents became evident as early as the fourteenth century when doctrines began to appear which undermined the confessional principles of the dominant churches. There was a sect of *stryhol'nyky* in Novgorod at this time which did not recognize the priesthood. After their condemnation, some of them escaped to Galicia. The *bychovnyky* or *pokutnyky* (flagellants or penitents), who were known in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Poland, may have also wandered through Ukraine. A more prominent role was played by the sect of *zhydivstvuiuchi* (Judaizers, whose doctrine was related to that of the *stryhol'nyky*), which taught that the Messiah had not yet come, did not recognize icons and churches, and proclaimed the free interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. Working on translations of the Old Testament, the Judaizers anticipated some of the principal ideas of the Reformation.

The Reformation first reached Ukraine in the fifteenth century through Hussite refugees from Bohemia who came to Poland and Western Ukraine. By the middle of the sixteenth century Calvinism had reached Ukraine through Poland and Lithuania where it was patronized by the court of King Sigismund Augustus. By then some communities of "new believers" already existed in the western lands of Ukraine. They had their own preachers and schools and were organized into three reformation "districts": Ruthenia, Belz, and Podlachia. However, Calvinism made little headway among the masses because it lacked the sociopolitical militancy that had characterized its spread within the Catholic Church in the West. By then the Orthodox Church already had no political influence, the clergy was not the dominant class of the population, and the Slavonic liturgical language was not as foreign to the people as was Latin in the West. As a new vogue, the "new faith" found its converts primarily on the estates of the rich families, such as the Hoisky, Nemyrych, or Chaplych, as well as among the burghers.

Among the "new faith" movements, one radical offshoot of Calvinism, Antitrinitarianism (known also as Socinianism), acquired special popularity. This group rejected the teachings about the Trinity, predestination, and the sacraments, but in other questions of faith had much in common with other Protestant doctrines.

The Calvinists and Socinians made significant contributions to the growth of cultural life, also arousing great interest in ecclesiastical and educational affairs. In line with the general tendency of the Reformation to use the vernacular, they translated the Holy Scriptures into Belorussian and Ukrainian. These translations began to appear in the middle of the sixteenth century. The Protestant groups began to read the gospels and the epistles in the vernacular and to use it in sermons. In this way a series of Ukrainian translations appeared (Nehalevsky's *Novyi Zapovit* [New Testament] in 1581), Tiapynsky's *Yevanheliia* [Gospel] at the end of the sixteenth century, the *Peresopnytsia* Gospel in 1556–61 [Vol. I, p. 992]; and others). Socinianism continued to spread in the seventeenth century and it became well established in Volhynia – Kyselyn, Hoshcha, Berestechko, and other large estates—where there were at least 25 congregations.

There are contemporary accounts of the sudden, though short-lived spread of new religious trends. At the beginning of

the seventeenth century Ivan Vyshensky, a noted Orthodox conservative [Vol. I, p. 994], complained (he obviously exaggerated) in his works that "all have become heretics . . . this one an Evangelist, this one a Baptist, and this one a *subotnyk.*"

Lacking support among the lower strata of the population, the Protestant movements did not survive. The Counter-Reformation dealt them a destructive blow. Brought into Poland and the Ukrainian lands, the Jesuits turned their special attention to the education of youth. Consequently, the children of Protestants, after finishing Jesuit schools and inheriting paternal wealth and influence, disavowed the faith of their fathers. By the beginning of the seventeenth century (1608) a Jesuit college was already in operation in Lviv. Jesuit schools were also opened in Lutsk and a number of other places. This network of schools played a major role in winning the most capable of the Protestant and Orthodox youth to Catholicism.

Later, wars, political changes, and the pressures of occuping powers all affected the higher social strata, arresting the further development of Protestantism. Nevertheless, there was no lack of individuals among the leading circles of Ukraine who took a somewhat critical attitude towards the formalism, doctrine, and practices of the dominant churches (Gregory Skovoroda, the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius, Taras Shevchenko, Panteleimon Kulish, Nicholas Kostomarov, Michael Drahomanov, Ivan Franko, and others). The Protestant movement was reborn in the nineteenth century among a completely different social group and in response to different stimuli.

**The Rebirth of Protestantism**

At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, many immigrant farmers from the West, especially from Germany, settled in the Ukrainian lands, mainly southern Ukraine; among them were Lutherans, members of the Reformed Church, and Protestants of other confessions.

Among these denominations were the Mennonites who, as did some other evangelical movements, dispensed with an ecclesiastical organization, the baptism of children, the clergy (the symbolic eucharistic rite being performed only by the elders of the community), and participation in public life and military service. They did not adhere to a single doctrine and each community was independent in its faith and organization. The Mennonites, along with other immigrants from Germany, settled in the steppe regions of Odessa and Molochna and the cities of Katerynoslav, Kherson, and Kharkiv. Before World War I they numbered (without the Crimea, Don, and Kuban regions) 75,000. Since they were of German extraction, they had various restrictions imposed upon them during World War I and as well-to-do farmers they, together with other Germans (for example, the colonists in Volhynia), suffered very much at the time of the revolution. In order to save themselves, thousands left for Canada in the 1920's. Those who stayed behind were destroyed at the time of forced collectivization in the 1930's and during World War II, only a small number of them escaping with the retreating German armies in 1943. There are almost no Mennonites in Ukraine now, although as late as 1925, the Ukrainian Mennonite General Conference was attended by 84 delegates representing 25,000 organized members.

A similar fate also befell other religious groups of German colonists who settled in the various provinces of Ukraine.

**The Baptists**

The contacts of the indigenous population with German settlers gave rise in the mid-nineteenth century to a mass movement of Evangelical Christians, popularly called Shtundism. Local peasants who were hired to work for the wealthy colonists participated at German

homes or churches in religious gatherings for the study of the Holy Scriptures. These gatherings were called hours (*Stunde* in German, from whence Shtundists). This movement, initially close to Calvinism with a pietist coloring, later acquired a distinct Baptist character (after 1868). The rise of Shtundism was assisted by the diffusion and strengthening of Baptism among the German settlers. At this time German Baptists conducted particularly intensive missionary activity among the Germans in Ukraine. The Union of Baptists in Russia, which was recognized by the Russian government, was organized in 1884. Among the Ukrainian population this movement was far removed from any major social concerns and was under Russian influence, with the Russian language used in the Baptist communities. This worked against the cultural-national interests of the Ukrainian people and some alienation is still noticeable among many Baptists. The Evangelical Christians and Baptists were particularly numerous in the Kherson, Katerynoslav, Kiev, and Volhynia regions. The state authorities and the dominant Orthodox Church joined in combating these movements and many of their adherents were deported to Siberia. The position of the Evangelical Christians and Baptists improved with the proclamation of the toleration law in 1905. This not only helped them to grow, but also contributed to the emergence of new currents such as the Pentecostal Christians. American influence in particular contributed to the spread of this group.

The earlier religious restriction in Russia forced large numbers of Evangelical Christians and Baptists to emigrate to North America in the 1880's and 1890's. The descendants of the Shtundists now live in the state of North Dakota.

**The Situation in the USSR**

Until the revolution in 1917 there were two main Baptist groups in the USSR: the Union of Baptists (Soiuz Baptistov) and the Union of Evangelical Christians (Soiuz Yevangel'skikh Khristiian). The differences between them were not substantial and they were driven closer together in the post-revolutionary epoch of religious persecution.

At present, there are nearly 5,000 Baptist communities in the USSR with over half a million members (and some five million sympathizers) who are officially united in the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians and Baptists (Vsesoiuznyi Soviet Yevangel'skikh Khristiian Baptistov). (These data are only projections as are all statistical data on religious groups in the USSR.) The Baptists are headed by the Moscow Soviet Council of twelve members who are approved by the authorities and who appoint local preacher-presbyters. The country is divided into 70 districts each headed by a presbyter-superintendent. The All-Union Council embraces the following groups: Evangelical Christians, Baptists, Christians of the Evangelical Faith-Pentecostal, Adventists, and Mennonites. However, not all the faithful wish to subordinate themselves to Moscow's leadership and these people are particularly persecuted. The trials and convictions of Evangelical Christians (and members of other churches) continue to take place. Particularly frequent are convictions of Jehovah's Witnesses (the great show trials of 1959).

The mystic sects of Great Russian origin occupied a separate place among the religious currents in Ukraine. Although they shared some traits with the Baptists, such as the rejection of icons, churches, and clergy, and stress on the study of the Bible, their beliefs did not spread among the native population and some of them lived in isolated communities until the time of the revolution. Among these sects (Khlysts, Dukhobors), the most widespread group was the Molokans who settled in southern Ukraine and in the northern Caucasus in the second half of the eighteenth century. Their only native Ukrainian offshoot was the sect of the Maliovantsi in the Kiev region, but it was unable to win many adherents.

**The Lutheran Church**

The Baptist communities lived their own lives, having little in common with the Lutheran Church, of which the adherents were for the most part German. The Lutheran Church had far less influence on the indigenous population. Its organization, religious ritual, and church architecture were not radically different from the Orthodox-Catholic forms and for this reason commanded little attention from the population. The Lutheran churches (*kirkhy*) were located primarily in the cities, especially in Western Ukraine and in the larger centers of eastern Ukraine. In addition to Germans, the Church also included Czechs (in Volhynia) and some Hungarians (in Transcarpathia). Many Lutherans were persecuted after the revolution of 1917–18 as a people of foreign extraction and as a wealthy stratum of the population. At the present time, this Church has virtually disappeared from the Ukrainian lands, although in 1914 the Lutherans had 234 congregations with 225 clergymen (Estonia and Latvia are primarily Protestant) in the Ukrainian (without Galicia) and Russian territories.

**The Reformed Churches in Western Ukraine**

Between the two world wars the Reformed churches in the Polish-controlled Western Ukraine developed along different paths than those in the east.

In Galicia and Volhynia, the influence of Ukrainian Protestants in Canada and the United States (united in the Ukrainian Evangelical Union of North America [Ukraïns'ke Yevanhel's'ke Obiednannia Pivnichnoï Ameryky]) contributed in 1925, to the rise of a Calvinist-type of reformation movement which formed the Ukrainian Evangelical-Reformed Church (Ukraïns'ka Yevanhel's'ko Reformovana Tserkva) with a consistory in Kolomyia. This church, led by Bishop Basil Kuziv, benefited from the temporary protection of the Evangelical Reformed Church in Poland. It was composed of 35 congregations and had almost 5,000 official members served by 17 preachers. Their organ was the monthly *Vira i Nauka* (Faith and Science).

FIGURE 69. BASIL KUZIV

The Ukrainian Lutherans were organized in the Ukrainian Evangelical Churches of the Augsburg Confession (Ukraïns'ka Yevanhel's'ka Tserkva Augsburg-z'koho Virovyznannia) headed by a missionary church council. This church had over 20 congregations with 16 preachers and some 5,000 members. Among their leaders were Theodore Yarchuk, who perished in a Soviet prison, and pastor Hilarion Shebets. The Lutheran organ was the monthly *Stiah* (Banner), and the Church's headquarters were located in Stanyslaviv. This group profited from the legal guardianship of the German Evangelical superintendent in Galicia.

With the Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine in 1939, the Ukrainian Reformed and Lutheran churches were liquidated. Some of the churches' preachers and members were exiled to Siberia and many of them perished there; others managed to escape to the West.

The Western Ukrainian Evangelical Christians and Baptists outside Galicia remained to a great extent under foreign influence although a desire for their own national character and leadership grew in their ranks. They published a monthly *Pislanets' Pravdy* (Messenger of Truth) in Lviv, edited by L. Zhabko-Potapovych. The number of Evangelical Christians and Baptists grew between the two world wars, especially in western Volhynia, where they had built many new prayer houses and enjoyed substantial moral and material assistance from the Baptist churches in western Europe and

America. The war and the Soviet occupation did not interrupt the activities of their numerous congregations with several tens of thousands of faithful, but they were henceforth subordinated, as were the Baptists and Evangelical Christians in eastern Ukraine, to the leadership of Moscow.

**Ukrainian Protestants Abroad**

Outside the Soviet bloc, however, Ukrainian Protestant groups are developing freely. They were strengthened by the post–World War II arrival in the United States and Canada of considerable numbers of more nationally conscious Ukrainian Baptists and Evangelical Christians. Their total membership approaches 150,000 of which 100,000 live in Canada and 50,000 in the United States. (See Ukrainians Abroad, pp. 1119–21 and 1167–8.)

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# 3. CONSTITUTION OF THE UKRAINIAN CHURCHES

## PRINCIPAL UKRAINIAN CHURCHES

Believers in the Ukrainian SSR do not officially possess their own national churches since these churches have been formally abolished. Over 35 million Christian Ukrainians who belonged mainly to the Orthodox or Greek Catholic churches are now officially considered either atheists or members of the Russian Orthodox Church. A certain number of them practice illegally the religious rites of the abolished churches (mostly Catholic). At present Ukrainian national churches exist openly only outside the USSR.

**The Name**

The majority of Ukrainian people belong to the Orthodox Church; the Greek term "Orthodox" dates from the earliest period of the Christian Church when it denoted the "true creed" of the entire Church. After separation, this designation was adopted by the majority of Eastern churches (Ὄρθοδοξ, i.e. Holy Orthodox) to distinguish them from the Roman Church. When part of the Ukrainian Church entered into a union with Rome, the new church came to be known as the Uniate, the Greek Catholic, or the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Byzantine rite. The term "Greek" in the name of the Ukrainian churches (Greek Catholic, Greek Orthodox) has no ethnic connotation, but merely indicates that in the past the Ukrainian Church was within the spiritual and jurisdictional sphere of the Byzantine church. Thus, in 1607, the Polish *Sejm* (parliament) adopted a constitution for the "Greek religion" which may have applied to both the Orthodox and the Uniate; in 1649, Hetman Khmelnytsky demanded a privileged status for the "ancient Greek law"; and in the 1667 Treaty of Andrusiv Poland agreed to tolerate the Greek Ruthenian religion. For centuries this Church was known in official documents as the Church of *Rus'* (Rus'ka tserkva) or Ruthenian Church (the Uniates appear in the Roman docu-

ments as Rutheno-Catholici) while in Muscovy-Russia it was called the Kievan Church or the Church of Little Russia. All these designations are relative. Historically, they applied to the church of both the Ukrainians and the Belorussians and reflected the close historical and ecclesiastical links between these two neighbouring Slavic peoples. The ethnic designation "Ukrainian Church" became current only during the last century.

**Differences and Similarities**

The two principal Ukrainian churches are separated by essential differences of dogma and canon law. Unlike the Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Catholic Church shares with the entire Catholic Church the dogmas of the procession of the Holy Spirit from both Father and Son (*Filioque*), the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God, Purgatory, and the Pope's infallibility when speaking *ex cathedra*. It also accepts a single administrative center for the entire Catholic Church.

Although both churches base themselves on the Holy Gospel, the apostolic succession, and the apostolic rules, the Orthodox Church does not recognize a series of ecclesiastical laws binding the Catholic Church. It observes only the rules of the first seven ecumenical councils, some local councils, and the resolutions of the local sobors (councils) of the Kievan Church and its successors.

However, in their external manifestations, in their ecclesiastical culture and religious consciousness, the two churches have remained closely related to each other. Therefore, even after the separation, a sense of ecclesiastical unity survived among the people as shown by frequent intermarriages and common church feasts, rites, and customs. Both churches have nearly identical divine services, a common liturgical language, similar church buildings and chants. Both adhere to the so-called old style, i.e., the Julian calendar dating from 46 B.C. and lagging 13 days behind the generally used Gregorian calendar. The Gregorian calendar (1582), used by the Western Catholic and Protestant churches, has been partially adopted in recent times by the Ukrainian Catholic Church abroad. In both churches the lower ranks of the clergy marry (celibacy is a recent and partial phenomenon in the Ukrainian Catholic Church).

**The Status of the Ukrainian Churches**

From its beginnings as the official church of the Kievan *Rus'* and, especially, in the Kozak Hetman state, the Ukrainian Church enjoyed extensive autonomy. Its status was derived from the overall administrative structure of the ecumenical Orthodox Church which consists of a varying number of autocephalous, self-governing, local (national) churches. Although the term autocephaly does not appear in church canons, independence of a local church resulted in practice from the confluence of the factors of nationality and administrative-territorial independence, as has been the case with the Kievan *Rus'*.

While canonically the Ukrainian Orthodox Church did not possess autocephaly, as the Kievan metropolitanate it enjoyed broad autonomy. Later, it achieved near independence within the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, with its constitution revealing features of a distinct local church. From its establishment, the Kievan Church had its own hierarchy headed by a metropolitan who was appointed by the patriarch. Tendencies towards broader emancipation of the Kievan metropolitanate from Constantinople were early manifested in the election of Hilarion (in 1051) and Clement Smoliatych (in 1147) as metropolitans of Kiev, without the approval of the Greek patriarch [Vol. I, p. 603]. Defending the election of Smoliatych, Prince Iziaslav Mstyslavych declared to the Byzantine envoy that if the patriarch continued to appoint a metropolitan for *Rus'*, without agreement with Kiev, "we shall ... adopt an

eternal law to the effect that [the metropolitan] be elected and installed by the bishops of Rus' ..."

The jurisdiction of the patriarchs of Constantinople was restricted to acts of higher canonical order and spiritual and religious care, such as the blessing and installation of metropolitans, transfer of metropolitan sees, granting of stauropegion, and visitations. However, the ecclesiastical contacts between Kiev and Constantinople were weak and intermittent, as shown by the fact that during its entire existence the Kievan metropolitanate was visited by the patriarch of Constantinople only once, in 1588–9.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church began to lose its relative independence in the second half of the seventeenth century. Following the political union between the Kozak state and Muscovy in 1654, the Muscovite church attempted to extend its jurisdiction over the Kievan metropolitanate. As amended in 1659, this act provided that the Kievan metropolitan be "under the blessing" of the patriarch of Moscow; however, the metropolitan was assured that there would be no appeals to Moscow against his decisions and that he would rank second only to the patriarch. Fearing the loss of its autonomy under Moscow's jurisdiction, the Kievan clergy declined to accept this provision and begged the tsar "not to separate the clergy from the jurisdiction of the Holy Patriarch of Constantinople, to whom they are subordinated by the Divine Law, baptism, and the rules of Holy Fathers." This declaration was accompanied by a petition from the Kievan metropolitan and the "Holy Sobor" which pointed out that subordination to Constantinople is "the root of all our liberties and rights," and that the Kievan Church was "joined and united" with the patriarchate of Constantinople "by the law of God through St. Apostle Andrew and the canons of Holy Fathers." Later, the Kievan sobor of 1685 called the Patriarch of Constantinople "our father from time immemorial." Continued union with Constantinople was also called for by secular spokesmen; thus the envoys of the Zaporozhian Sich demanded in Moscow that the 1659 amendment be nullified because "we abide by the will of the Patriarch of Constantinople." These protests were ignored since the annexation of the Kievan Church was political in purpose: in the words of a contemporary Muscovite official, Opanas Ordin-Nashchokin, "the unity of peoples can be realized only through the break with the patriarch of Constantinople and through uniformity with Moscow in faith and ecclesiastical administration." The transfer of canonical jurisdiction over the Kievan metropolitanate from Constantinople to Moscow took place in 1686. The gradual liquidation of the distinct features of the Kievan Church ended in complete loss of the autonomy of the Kievan metropolitanate. Yet the memory of the Church's past autonomy continued to survive. At the Pinsk congregation of 1791, the Orthodox in Poland renounced their dependence on the Russian Church and declared their allegiance to the patriarch of Constantinople who had the power in theory to consecrate their bishops.

With the restoration of Ukrainian statehood, the government passed a law in 1919 establishing autocephaly. This law stated that "the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church with its synod and ecclesiastical hierarchy shall not be subordinate in any respect to the All-Russian patriarch." Russian church authorities refused to recognize this act (e.g., in the same year, the Russian bishop of Kamianets Podilsky suspended a number of Ukrainian priests for "breaking with the Moscow patriarch by [their] recognition of the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Church"). After the promulgation of the 1919 law the Ukrainian government began negotiations with the patriarchate of Constantinople to secure its recognition of autocephaly, but political developments intervened. Meanwhile, a spontaneous Ukrainian church move-

ment headed by the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Rada challenged the authority of the hostile Russian episcopate and, in May, 1920, the church Rada proclaimed the establishment of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (see p. 170). Despite the fall of the Ukrainian state, the church continued to develop during the 1920's until its suppression by the Soviet regime.

The western portion of the former Orthodox metropolitanate of Kiev, which found itself within the Polish borders after World War I, acquired autocephaly in 1924 by a thomos of the patriarch of Constantinople, signed by twelve Eastern metropolitans, which stated "the separation of the metropolitanate of Lithuania and Poland from our see . . . and its union with the Holy Muscovite church took place in complete violation of canonic rules; moreover, this [union] failed to respect all the provisions concerning a complete ecclesiastical autonomy of the Kievan metropolitan who held the title of Exarch of the Ecumenical See." During World War II, this autocephaly was extended to eastern Ukraine, where the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was reestablished in 1942. But on their return to Ukraine, the Soviet authorities once again suppressed this church. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church, although divided into several independent jurisdictions, continues to exist among Ukrainian exiles and settlers in western countries, but most of its branches are not recognized by the older Orthodox churches.

Under the terms of the Union of Berestia (Brest) in 1596, the Uniate Church secured autonomous status within the Catholic Church. The rights of the Kievan metropolitan were recognized and he was given the power to approve, consecrate, and install bishops within the metropolitanate of Kiev-Halych. The Uniate Church experienced its greatest development during the eighteenth century, when it embraced some 11 million faithful in Right-Bank Ukraine, Belorussia, Galicia, and Transcarpathia. After the partition of Poland, the rights of the Kievan metropolitans diminished steadily, and in 1838 the Kievan Catholic metropolitanate was abolished. The Uniate (Greek Catholic) Church survived in southwestern Ukraine (Galicia and Transcarpathia), following its suppression in the Russian-controlled Ukrainian and Belorussian territories. The Galician metropolitanate, restored in 1807, was granted the rights of the Kievan metropolitans by Pope Pius VII. Following World War II, Soviet authorities banned the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine, but it continues to exist openly outside the USSR.

**Legal Foundations of the Ukrainian Churches**

The recognition of a church's separate identity (*sui juris*) may be either formal and explicit or factual and implicit. The Kievan Church was, in fact, recognized as a separate eccleciastical entity at the time of its organization when it was placed under its own hierarch—the metropolitan.

Ecclesiastical laws governing the Kievan metropolitanate were based on the canons of the Byzantine church which were known in *Rus'* in translated collections such as *Nomokanon 50 tytuliv* (*Nomocanon* of Fifty Titles); John Scholastic (sixth century), called in Slavic translation *Nomokanon sviatoho Metodiia* (*Nomocanon* of St. Methodius); *Ustiuzhska Kormcha* (thirteenth century); *Nomokanon 14 tytuliv* (*Nomocanon* of Fourteen Titles) in the first version of 629 (*Efremivska Kormcha* of the twelfth century) and second version of 883. During the seventeenth century, within one decade, canons were published in Kiev in three editions (1620, 1624, 1629). *Kormcha Knyha* (The Rudder Book) composed about 1207 by the Serbian Archbishop Sava and other collections of church laws exercised great influence. The Kievan "rudder books" supplemented the Byzantine canons with

the rules and resolutions of local sobors, patriarchal charters, regulations of metropolitans, and ecclesiastical statutes of the *Rus'* princes. Among the latter, the best known were *Ustav* (Statutes) of Volodymyr the Great and the so-called *Svytok* (Roll) of Yaroslav the Wise, which along with *Ruskaia Pravda* constituted civil ecclesiastical laws equivalent to the Byzantine νομοι (civil laws). Over the years, many other acts affected the status and organization of the Kievan Church, including the charters of local princes, enactments of the Lithuanian princes and Polish kings, the rules of the 1791 congregation of Pinsk (never implemented), the nineteenth-century statute of spiritual consistories, the local All-Russian sobor of 1917–18, and the resolutions of the 1918 All-Ukrainian Church sobor, the law "Concerning the Supreme Authority of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church" passed by the Ukrainian Government in 1919, decisions of the 1921 sobor of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Soviet ecclesiastical legislation, and acts affecting the separate parts of the former Kievan metropolitanate (in the case of the Orthodox Church in Poland, for example, the "Provisional Rules Concerning the Relations between the Church and the State" of 1922).

The canonical framework of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was shaped by the papal bulls, constitutions, and decrees of the Apostolic See, as well as decisions of its own provincial councils, especially the comprehensive resolutions of the 1720 synod of Zamostia ratified by the Pope in a specific form. Subsequently, the Lviv synod of 1891 amended the ecclesiastical rules to recognize the established practice of the Church and adapted them to Austrian ecclesiastical laws. The norms of the Basilian Order in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were established at quadrennial convocations of its general drafters. The church hierarchy also took part in these convocations, with the metropolitan presiding.

**Church Councils**

One of the outstanding features of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church has been the conciliar system of ecclesiastical government involving the participation in decision-making (usually through sobors) of all its members—the episcopate, the clergy, and lay believers. This system, however, lacked stability: it thrived in conditions of political freedom but declined in unfavorable circumstances, e.g., in the nineteenth-century Russian empire. Moreover, the respective rights and proportionate weight of its three component elements were never codified and varied with the circumstances.

Within the Byzantine Church, the conciliar system was abandoned at an early stage. It was revived only after 1453 when the status of state church was lost. Conciliarism did not develop in the Roman Church which has been characterized by the monarchical principle of ecclesiastical government. In the Ukrainian Catholic Church also the minor clergy and laymen have had little influence on the conduct of church affairs.

The supreme organ of the *Rus'* Church —its national or local sobor—met according to need to determine important matters, particularly to elect the head of the Church. Thus, in 1147, a local sobor elected a *Rus'* native, Clement Smoliatych, as metropolitan; another important sobor was held in 1274. The diocesan sobors which elected bishops and dealt with local matters acted in a lesser capacity. They normally convened at a fixed time (the first week of Lent). Of a different nature were the annual sobors of clergy (pastoral councils) popularized by Peter Mohyla (1647) in his metropolitan eparchy.

Christopher Philalet, author of the once popular work *Apokrisis* (1597), stated that church sobors should consist of all parts of the Church—bishops, clergy, and laymen. He supported his argument with references not only to Holy Scriptures (Acts of the Apostles,

XV, 22–23) but also to the authority of the early Roman Church (Popes Nicholas I and Pius II). Conciliarism flourished in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, particularly in the seventeenth century. Thus the 1621 sobor in Busha was attended not only by the hierarchy and clergy, but also by a "multitude of people." In 1628, Metropolitan Job Boretsky invited "the higher ranks of clergy and laymen . . . [and] common people elected by brotherhoods and districts" to the provincial sobor in Kiev. Participants in the Lviv sobor of 1641 included besides the metropolitan, his exarch, abbots of three monasteries, and the city's higher secular clergy, along with such laymen as representatives of the Lviv brotherhood, 112 delegates of the local Orthodox gentry, and representatives of brotherhoods from other cities of the Lviv eparchy. The Kiev sobor of 1620 restored the practice of having electoral sobors select metropolitan and diocesan bishops; such a sobor of "spiritual and secular estates" elected a bishop of Chernihiv in 1657. Some sobors were called to deal with specific problems, e.g., the 1628 council at Horodok which considered the possibility of holding a joint sobor with the Uniates, or the Kievan sobor of 1629 which adopted a new book of services.

Conciliar traditions are maintained by the Ukrainian Orthodox churches abroad. They convene sobors of the clergy and faithful and, in the intervals between sobors, episcopal sobors and church councils (radas). The church council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the United States consists of 3 bishops, 13 priests, and 10 laymen. One of the Ukrainian Orthodox churches in which laymen play an especially important role has even adopted the term Sobornopravna (Conciliar) in its semi-official name (Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church-Conciliar).

Initially, the institution of sobors in which laymen participated existed in the Uniate Church also. In the course of time, however, the lay influence declined and eventually these gatherings became restricted to the clergy. The 1720 synod of Zamostia, attended only by the bishops and clergy, provided for the annual convocation of the eparchial sobor. This sobor played a significant role in the history of the Uniate Church and survived in a modified form—synods convened according to local needs (e.g., the 1898 eparchial synod in Peremyshl, the 1906 archeparchial synod in Lviv, the 1911 eparchial synod in Canada, which promulgated the rules of the local Greek Catholic Church, and the 1959 synod of Philadelphia which adopted the archeparchial statute).

**Church Hierarchy**

**The Patriarchate.** Faced with a gradual erosion of the autonomy of the Ukrainian Church and violation of its rights by secular authority, some ecclesiastical leaders strove to raise the Church's status to the position of equality with other churches or to secure support from the powerful Roman Church. These aspirations were manifested both in the Union activities and in the attempts to secure for this almost disfranchised church the rights of a patriarchate. Through the efforts of the Jesuit Father Possevino, the matter of a Kievan patriarchate was raised as early as 1585. In 1617, after the Union of Berestia, the Orthodox and Uniates met to discuss unification on the basis of a patriarchate and, in 1627, a conference of Catholic bishops prepared a special plan for implementing this project. Plans for a patriarchate were revived during the administration of the Orthodox metropolitan Peter Mohyla, but were discarded after his death in 1647. They were again brought to light in 1674 by the Catholic metropolitan Gabriel Kolenda, but after the subordination of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to Moscow the question became irrelevant.

The idea of a separate patriarchate was raised in Lviv in 1843 and again after World War II by the Ukrainian

Catholic episcopate at the Second Vatican Council. The Council's decree concerning the organization of national churches recalls that "a patriarchate is the traditional form of authority in the Eastern Church" and, accordingly, expresses a wish that "new patriarchates be created wherever needed. . . ." Demands for the completion of the canonical organization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the form of a patriarchate, which would equalize it in status with other Eastern Catholic churches, have been strongly advocated by Ukrainian Catholic laymen abroad. However, the idea of such a patriarch—his title, place of residence, powers, and denominational character—has found no common interpretation among Orthodox and Catholics.

**Metropolitans.** In Byzantine law, between the ranks of patriarch or archbishop major, on the one hand, and that of bishop, on the other, there is an intermediate position occupied by a metropolitan who, in addition to his own eparchy, exercises some authority over other bishops of the given province. While in the Western Church the title of a metropolitan is now merely honorary, in the Eastern churches the rights of metropolitans varied over the centuries, depending on ecclesiastical and political circumstances.

During the entire history of the Church in *Rus'*-Ukraine, it was headed by metropolitans who were subordinate to the patriarch of Constantinople, and in the case of the Uniates to the Roman pope. The patriarch's authority over the metropolitans was confined to major canonical matters and spiritual and religious care, thus leaving each metropolitan a free hand in the administration of his church province. In the Kievan state and for some time after its decline, the metropolitan was, in fact, the spiritual head of all eastern Slavs, and therefore held the title, Metropolitan of All *Rus'*. After the establishment of the Moscow patriarchate and the extension of its authority over the Kievan Church, "Little Russia" replaced "All *Rus'*" in the title (from 1688).

In Kievan *Rus'* a metropolitan was elected by bishops of the entire metropolitanate, subject to ratification by the patriarch of Constantinople who could also remove a metropolitan. The mode of election and the composition and powers of electors changed in the course of history. In Kievan *Rus'* metropolitans were elected by the episcopate and clergy with the participation of the prince. After 1620, the electors included the bishops, the clergy, the hetman, and the Kozak officers. On one occasion (in 1632) a metropolitan was elected by laymen—deputies of the Warsaw *Sejm*. In the Polish Commonwealth bishops elected candidates for the metropolitan see, who were then presented by the king to the patriarch. Occasionally, the king himself appointed a candidate who applied to the patriarch for approval.

The metropolitan (who normally served also as bishop of the Kievan eparchy) convened sobors of the bishops in his metropolitanate, presided over these sobors, implemented the execution of their decisions, visited the eparchies in his metropolitanate, and represented the Church before the higher state authorities. In Kievan *Rus'* and in the Hetman state the metropolitan wielded considerable political influence. After the Church's union with Moscow, the metropolitans gradually lost their rights and since 1721 have not had provincial powers. Though they retained the traditional title of metropolitan, in reality they were reduced to the status of appointed, not elected, eparchial bishops. In time, Ukrainians ceased to be appointed to the Kievan metropolitan see which, during the nineteenth century, was predominantly Russian. For a short time, following the 1917 revolution in Russia, some of their ancient rights were given back to the Kievan metropolitans but were lost again under the Soviet regime. At present, the Kievan metropolitan has virtually no ecclesiastical

jurisdiction outside his eparchy. Only the metropolitans of the Ukrainian Orthodox churches abroad retain an independent overall authority.

Following the Union of Berestia, the Uniate metropolitans of Kiev and All *Rus'* were granted the same powers as the Kievan Orthodox metropolitans, on the basis of the papal bull *Magnus Dominus* of December 23, 1595 and the constitution *Decet Romanum Pontificem* of February 23, 1596, by which they could constitute bishops in the province of Kiev without the authority of the Holy See. They were elected directly at the gatherings of bishops and protoarchimandrites of the Basilian Order and were recommended by the Polish king to Rome for approval. With the restoration of the Galician metropolitanate in 1807, its heads were granted the same rights as the Kievan metropolitans. These rights were confirmed by Pope Pius VII in his bull *In universalis Ecclesiae regimine*, but were progressively curtailed by the Austrian government, the Roman Curia, and even the metropolitans themselves, who were finally left with merely the title and some honors. They also retained the right to hear appeals in line with the long-established practice of the Latin Church. At present, two provinces of the Ukrainian Catholic Church abroad are headed by metropolitans—Canada since 1956, and the United States since 1958. In 1963 the present Galician metropolitan Josyf Slipyj was declared archbishop major. According to the new code of Eastern churches, the jurisdiction of an archbishop major may embrace several ecclesiastical provinces headed by metropolitans, and he may create new eparchies and provinces and appoint bishops and metropolitans in his own bishopric independently of the Apostolic See (see *Motu proprio, cleri sanctitati*, Can. 326; Second Ecumenical Vatican Council, Decree on the Eastern Catholic Churches, No. 9–10). However some of these functions have not yet become effective.

As for the non-jurisdictional offices above that of bishop, four cardinals have so far been appointed in the Ukrainian Catholic Church by the Pope. In the Orthodox Church, patriarchs appointed exarchs who had supervisory disciplinary powers. This had also been the custom followed by the popes after the Union (the appointment of Bishop Cyril Terletsky as exarch in 1598). The present Orthodox metropolitan of Kiev holds the title of exarch of the Moscow patriarch, but without any special powers.

**Bishops.** In Kievan *Rus'*, bishops were originally appointed with the prince's consent by the episcopal sobor headed by the metropolitan. Later, they were elected by the representatives of the church community, including the prince, and were consecrated by the metropolitan. In the fourteenth century, the sobor of bishops elected three candidates, of which one was consecrated by the metropolitan. Secular rulers influenced the choice of bishops and occasionally refused to recognize them or admit them to their sees, as happened in Poland in the case of the Orthodox hierarchy restored in 1620. Similarly, civil authorities in the USSR have a decisive voice in choosing candidates for episcopal offices.

Bishops for Ukrainian Catholics were chosen by the metropolitan, and in recent times they have been nominated by the Holy See with the agreement of the government, according to tradition and the terms of concordats with individual countries.

Distinguished diocesan bishops in both the Orthodox and Catholic churches received the title of archbishop. Initially there were only eparchial bishops in the Kievan metropolitanate. Vicars or auxiliary bishops in the Greek Catholic Church date from the seventeenth century and in the Orthodox Church from the eighteenth century.

In modern times, the Ukrainian Catholic bishops for Ukrainian émigrés residing in the territories of the Latin Church have been called exarchs. At present,

there are five such exarchates, three of them in Europe. In administering their eparchies, bishops received assistance from various institutions which were known by different names at different times.

**Ecclesiastical administrations.** In the past, eparchies were administered by *klyrosy*, one of the peculiarities of the Ukrainian Church. Members of a *klyros*, known as *kryloshany* (distinguished priests of the city in which the episcopal cathedral was located and of its environs), performed administrative duties of varying importance in the eparchy, participated in the clerical court, had a voice in the appointment of the clergy and abbots, and took care of the financial and economic affairs of the eparchy. A *klyros* was directly responsible to the bishop or his vicar. This institution survived in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church until the introduction of the synod rule in the Russian Church in the eighteenth century. The functions of *klyrosy* in Russia were taken over by spiritual consistories.

The constitution of the Orthodox Church within the Russian empire was determined by the so-called *Dukhovnyi Reglament* (Ecclesiastical Regulations) of 1721 (the second part of which dealt with "episcopal matters") and numerous decrees of the synod which were subsequently passed to interpret and develop the provisions of the *Reglament*. The 1841 statute of the consistories gave shape to the eparchial administration in which a powerful role was assigned to a lay secretary of the consistory who was directly subordinate to the governmental representative in the Church—the oberprocurator of the Holy Synod. All the activities of the Church were placed under the control of these two institutions—the oberprocurator and the synod—which supervised all aspects of eparchial life: the eparchial bishop, the consistory, the school council, schools, charitable work, publications, the clergy, and monasteries. Attached to the consistory was a court which dealt with the affairs of the clergy and, to some extent, of laymen (marriage and divorce).

Consistories in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church abroad are not subordinate to any secular agency but report only to ecclesiastical authorities and sobors.

In the Ukrainian Catholic Church the *klyros* had evolved by the early nineteenth century into a *kapitula* (capitular chapter), an advisory body attached to a cathedral and embracing distinguished clergymen—*kryloshany*. Consistories of the Ukrainian Catholic Church consist of canons (*kanoniky*), consistorial councillors, referees, an archivist, and the chancellor.

The Orthodox parish clergy were under the direct supervision of elected *protopopy* (first priests) whose functions (clearly defined, especially in the seventeenth century) included the collection of taxes for the metropolitan and the bishops. *Protopopy* were subordinate to visitators recruited from among the educated regular clergy. Of higher rank were the exarchs of the metropolitan (there were two permanent exarchs—one for Lithuania and one for Poland), who represented the Church in secular courts. Exarchs were usually appointed from among the archimandrites of the principal monasteries.

The duties of the *protopopy* later passed to the deans (*dekany* or *blahochynni*) who were elected by the parish clergy, usually at their conferences (*soborchyky*). These gatherings, which dealt with local church matters, were also attended by deacons (*diaky*) and church elders (*starosty–tytari*) elected by the parishioners to maintain order in the church. Abroad the functions of *starosty* have largely been assumed by parish councils which administer the economic affairs and upkeep of the parish churches.

The abnormal conditions experienced by the Orthodox Church in Ukraine at certain periods of its history resulted more than once in a decline of ecclesi-

astical organization, administration, and religious life in general. Early in the seventeenth century there was a catastrophic shortage of clergy, especially in the episcopate. Thus, over a number of years only one Orthodox hierarch remained—the Lviv bishop Gedeon Balaban (1569–1607). By the 1620's the ranks of the parish clergy had decreased to such an extent that, according to Laurentius Drevinsky, a deputy to the Polish *Sejm* from Volhynia, "the churches are closed, ecclesiastical property has been destroyed, there are no monks in the monasteries and only the cattle are being kept there . . . children are dying without baptism and the dead are being carried away from the cities like carrion, without any funeral." A similar situation existed in the Ukrainian SSR during the 1930's. At present, the Church continues to suffer from the shortage of clergy. In the entire Ukrainian SSR only one small theological seminary in Odessa survives.

### The Clergy

**Eparchial clergy.** The Ukrainian clergy is divided into the "white" or eparchial and the "black" or regular clergy (monks). In contrast to the Roman Catholic Church in both the Orthodox and the Greek Catholic churches the eparchial clergy may marry. The needs of maintaining a family and bringing up children have compelled the rural clergy to devote a considerable part of their time to farming on church land. Their other sources of income—parishioners' payments for church services and a small and unstable pay from the state—were merely supplementary to their income from farming.

Family life tied the parish priests to a single place, and thus priestly families emerged which resided for generations in the same parish, developing close links with the population and becoming (especially in Western Ukraine) leaders in the fields of education, economics, and politics. These intimate ties between the clergy and the people have been officially severed in the USSR where the "servants of cult" are forbidden to engage in any activities outside the church and are subject to many other restrictions and pressures.

In both Ukrainian churches candidates for the clergy may marry only once (before being ordained as subdeacons). No second marriage is allowed after consecration. In the Greek Catholic Church the number of unmarried clergy has increased as a result of the Church's tendency towards celibacy. The Lviv synod of 1891 left the choice of celibacy to each individual candidate for the priesthood, but later, in the first half of the twentieth century, celibacy was made obligatory in two out of three theological seminaries in Galicia (Stanyslaviv and Peremyshl). In 1929, the Sacred Congregation for Eastern Churches decreed the introduction of celibacy for all Oriental Catholic clergy in North and South America and in Australia.

**Monastic orders.** While the "white" clergy concentrated on the pastoral care of the faithful, the regular clergy sought spiritual perfection in monasteries. Monastic life evolved from the early anchorites (hermits), through Byzantine monastic rules to the recent forms of Latin discipline.

Monasticism appeared in Ukraine with the arrival of Christianity. After a brief hermitic period (St. Antonius Pechersky), it emerged according to the rule of St. Basil. In 1072, St. Theodosius Pechersky introduced a rule based on the Studite *Typicon* in the Kievan Cave Monastery. This rule served as a model for other monastic centers during the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. Monasteries were headed by hegumens, the larger ones by archimandrites, who in turn were subordinate to the episcopate, except for the lavras (such distinction was granted to two Ukrainian monastic centers—the Kievan Cave and the Pochaïv and stauropegion monasteries, which were directly responsible to the patriarch or the Holy Synod. The smallest monastic centers, *skyty*, had no independent status but were subordinate

to the nearest large monastery. Monasteries were usually founded by wealthy families, although in some cases they were established by individuals from lower social strata or by organizations. In Kievan *Rus'*, monasteries often developed in the place of residence of a pious individual who sought perfection in seclusion (both lavras originated in this way). Monastic institutions played an important role in the colonization of uninhabited areas since the saintliness of their founders attracted individuals who fled from the world in search of salvation, as well as those who wished to invest their money or labor in the development of a new religious center. The role of the monasteries as centers of culture and education began to decline after the Holy Synod increased its control of their internal affairs. Their rights were progressively limited by the law of 1722 ("Regulations concerning the parish clergy and the monastics") and the supplementary decrees of 1764, 1766, and 1770, which set forth detailed rules for monastic life and curtailed the cultural role of the monasteries. Monks were even prohibited from keeping paper and ink in their cells. Following the monastic reform in central Russia, secularization of monasteries in the Kievan metropolitanate was undertaken in 1786 and 1788. In some areas this reform was carried out in the nineteenth century and involved classification into three categories and the regulation of the property held by the "established" (*shtatni*) monasteries. Numerous Orthodox monasteries were deprived of their legal and material bases by a Soviet government decree of January 23, 1918. The authorities, by persecuting monks and pilgrims, are destroying even those monasteries that survived World War II.

At the present time the Ukrainian Orthodox Church abroad maintains no monasteries.

In the Uniate Church, Metropolitan J. V. Rutsky consolidated all monasteries under his jurisdiction into a centralized congregation of Basilians in 1617. Approved by Pope Urban VIII in his *Exponi Nobis* of June 20, 1631, this congregation subsequently included monasteries from other dioceses. In line with the decision of the 1720 synod of Zamostia, monasteries of the eparchies which had recently embraced the Union (Peremyshl, Lviv, and Lutsk) established a similar congregation at the Lviv chapter meeting in 1739. In 1743, both congregations merged into the Basilian Order. The order was headed by a protoarchimandrite, and its two (after 1780, four) provinces were administered by *protoihumeny* (first hegumens). Individual monasteries were directed by archimandrites appointed for life, or by abbots with a four-year tenure. With 22 places reserved for them at foreign papal universities, the Basilians had a number of highly educated clergy and gained distinction for their schools, missions, and publishing houses. Their relationship to the bishops was regulated by special agreements. In 1772, the order had 144 monasteries with 1,225 members, including 944 priests, 190 clerics, and 91 brothers.

After the partition of Poland, the Basilian Order was dissolved within the Russian empire. It survived only in Austria (in Galicia), where it was reformed by the Jesuits in 1882. Since 1931, the General Curia of the order has been located in Rome. The new Basilian constitution of 1906 exempted the order from the jurisdiction of the bishops and abolished the office of archimandrite. The actual constitutions were made to conform with the new code of Eastern churches and were approved by Pope Pius XII in 1954. Prior to World War II, the Basilians spread beyond Galicia and included 658 monks. Since the Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine and the destruction of the Basilian monasteries there, the order has continued its activities among Ukrainians in the United States, Canada, Brazil, Argentina, and England, and has a monastery in Warsaw. In Rome, where its General Curia and Scholasticate are located, the order

operates its publishing house (Analecta OSBM, published until 1941 in Zhovkva) and St. Josaphat's College.

The other Ukrainian Catholic orders and congregations were formed in the twentieth century. Through the efforts of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky the Studites were restored to revitalize the early forms of Eastern monasticism. Until 1939, they were centered at their monastery (lavra) in Univ, Galicia. At present the Studites have two monasteries (lavras), one in Woodstock, Ontario (Canada) and one near Rome. The Congregation of Redemptorists, founded in 1732, established its Eastern, Ukrainian branch in 1905 in Canada. Originally, this branch was composed of non-Ukrainians, mainly Belgians. In 1913, the Ukrainian Redemptorists established themselves in Galicia (Zboïska, near Lviv) and later spread into Transcarpathia and Volhynia. Their main mission is now located in Canada (Yorkton, Sask.), with other centers in the United States, England, and Australia. The Redemptorists engage primarily in missionary activities. The Salesians formed their Eastern branch in 1930. This society concentrates on the education of youth and has operated the Ukrainian Little Pontifical Seminary in Rome since 1959. In the United States, there is also an Eastern branch of the Franciscan Order.

From ancient *Rus'* times until the establishment of the Soviet regime, many nunneries existed in Ukraine. The earliest known female monastery was the Kievan Convent of St. Irene (1037). In the thirteenth century, the Polotsk convent acquired special prominence because of the activities and piety of its nuns. Prior to World War II many convents, including two large houses in Volhynia (Korets and Zymne), gained prominence through their manifold activities. All Catholic and nearly all Orthodox convents have now been liquidated by the Communist regime in Ukraine. The native monastic tradition is being maintained abroad by Ukrainian Catholic convents such as the Sisters of St. Basil the Great. Based on the rule of St. Basil, these nunneries were once widespread in eastern Europe. After the Union, Metropolitan J. V. Rutsky arranged the rules for the Basilian convents, but they remained decentralized. When the Union in the territories of tsarist Russia was dissolved, the Basilian Sisters remained only in Galicia. In recent times they have expanded their activities into other European countries and overseas (the United States and Argentina). Their main preoccupations have always been secondary education for girls and the training of youth. The order is now governed by its new constitutions of 1951 and 1958 and is headed by its General Curia in Rome. In 1921, Metropolitan Sheptytsky organized the female equivalent of the Studite monasticism. The Studite Sisters have no houses abroad. The Congregation of Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate was established in 1892 in Galicia. Centered primarily in Krystynopil and Lviv, this congregation concentrated its activities on the education of youth and the care of the sick, orphans, and the aged. Approved by Pope Pius XII in 1956, it is presently active among Ukrainians in the United States, Canada, Brazil, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Italy. Headed by their General Curia in Rome, Sisters Servants maintain 91 religious houses with 621 sisters. Sisters of St. Joseph, Myronosytsi (Chrism-Bearers), Sisters of St. Josaphat and of the Holy Family, and Sisters of Mercy of St. Vincent were also active before the last war in Galicia. Abroad, Missionary Sisters and Catechist Sisters engage in charitable and educational work. (See also The Ukrainian Catholic Church abroad, pp. 192–3.)

### The Faithful

The prominent role played by laymen in the Ukrainian churches may be explained not only by their piety or interest in ecclesiastical affairs but also by the fact that, being deprived of its own political representation at different stages of Ukrainian history, the population sought

expression in church organizations. Under these circumstances, the ecclesiastical hierarchy assumed the role of spokesmen for the nation (this was the case with the Ukrainian Catholic Church under Austria and Poland in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries), while church sobors acquired the significance of national assemblies. Under the wing of the Church, public societies, publishing houses, schools, homes for orphans and the aged, and institutions for the cultivation of arts and sciences emerged.

The most prominent institutional expression of laymen's activities in the Orthodox Church were brotherhoods (see p. 147), i.e., organizations of faithful centered on the parish churches, which were known as early as the twelfth century. At first their activities were confined to the care of their parish church, but from the fifteenth century brotherhoods assumed greater importance (e.g., the Stavropygia Brotherhood in Lviv). As their influence increased, brotherhoods obtained charters confirming their rights and privileges (e.g., the royal charter of 1538 approving the statutes of the Vilnius brotherhood) from the higher secular and ecclesiastical authorities. In 1588, the patriarch of Constantinople granted to the Lviv brotherhood the privilege of stauropegion exempting it from the authority of the local hierarchy and placing it directly under the patriarch's jurisdiction. In 1620, a similar privilege was granted to the Lutsk brotherhood by the patriarch of Jerusalem. The brotherhoods came to influence the affairs of the entire Church. Thus, the Lviv brotherhood was instrumental in the restoration of the Galician bishopric around 1539, helped to improve preaching in the Church, and enlisted trained preachers. Brotherhoods maintained internal discipline through religious and moral education of their members and controlled their behavior through their own courts. They formed youth organizations, homes for the aged and the infirm (the so-called *shpytal's*), secondary and higher schools, and printing shops. The most active brotherhoods attracted attention and members from outside their own parishes. Thus the Moldavian voievodas and boyars were among members of the Lviv brotherhood and, in 1620, Hetman Sahaidachnyi "with the entire Zaporozhian Host" joined the Kievan brotherhood. The clergy, including the hierarchy, also belonged to brotherhoods.

Brotherhoods became, in fact, patrons of the Church and engaged in its internal affairs, attempting to control the clergy and the bishops. Their interference evoked the displeasure of the episcopate and caused discord within the Church, which led the enemies of Orthodoxy to claim that "it is not the clergy who lead the people, but the people who lead the clergy." Reforms carried out by Metropolitan Mohyla in the seventeenth century provided canonical solutions for most of the controversial issues.

Brotherhoods continued their activities until the nineteenth century when the entire Ukrainian-Belorussian Orthodox Church found itself under Russian rule, which imposed restrictions upon the brotherhoods and confined the scope of their activities to the local parish. Within the Ukrainian Catholic Church, brotherhoods have had only limited, local significance; abroad, however, they are active. For example, the *Pokrova* brotherhood has in fact been in charge of Orthodox church life in Argentina since 1946.

The parochial and interparish female organizations—sisterhoods—have played a less significant role in the Church. They are responsible for decorating the churches and maintaining Sunday schools, and engage in charitable work. In the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the United States, an especially active role has been played by the Sisterhood of Princess Olga. The Ukrainian Orthodox League performs similar functions in the United States.

After the revolution of 1917 church councils with strong lay influence emerged within the Autocephalous

Ukrainian Orthodox Church (see p. 170). Parishes not joining this movement adhered to the so-called consistorial administration which prevailed over a period of several centuries. The 1921 sobor vested the administrative power within the Church in elected councils—the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Rada, the Small Rada, and the *povit* or *raion* (district), *volost'* (township), and parish councils. Most of the members of these councils were liquidated by the Soviet authorities. The church councils reemerged in Ukraine during World War II and played an important role in the short-lived revival of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Of special importance were the All-Ukrainian Church Council reestablished in Kiev in 1941, the Rivne Church Council in Volhynia, and the Kholm Church Council which helped rebuild the Orthodox Church in the Kholm and Podlachia regions. Among the numerous Orthodox church councils formed among the postwar refugees in Europe, the parish council in Mannheim (Germany, 1946) was especially active. In the United States, a particularly prominent role is played within the Conciliar Church by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council.

The role of laymen progressively declined, although it came to be more clearly defined and differentiated. Among Ukrainian Catholic societies for laymen the so-called third orders are of a strictly ecclesiastical nature; they are associated with monasteries (of the Basilian Order) and strive towards Christian perfection. The Catholic brotherhoods also not only cultivate piety but perform charitable tasks. In another category are societies whose aims are restricted to piety and Christian perfection. These include the widespread Apostolate of Prayer and Marian societies (*Druzhyny*) which have been in existence since the seventeenth century and were restored in Galicia in the late nineteenth century. They are active abroad, especially among the youth.

The ecclesiastical and social tasks of the early brotherhoods are performed by Catholic Action which attempts to project Christian attitudes onto all aspects of human life, including politics. Among Ukrainian Catholics, Catholic Action found expression in the students' and graduates' society Obnova which has worked internationally through its membership in Pax Romana and continues its activity abroad, along with such societies as the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood, the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League, and the Ukrainian Catholic Youth (all in Canada), and similar organizations in other countries. The Ukrainian Christian Movement has been active since 1955 in the field of the lay apostolate and has been working towards greater understanding between two main Ukrainian confessions. While these ecclesiastical and social organizations enjoy relative organizational autonomy vis-à-vis the Catholic hierarchy, they submit fully to it in questions of religious doctrine.

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## THE CHURCH AND THE STATE

Christianity penetrated the lands of *Rus'* long before it was formally introduced in its Byzantine form as the official creed at the end of the tenth century. In adopting the new creed *Rus'* followed the example of the south Slavic states which were thereby politically strengthened and brought into the cultural sphere of Byzantium. Eastern Christianity attracted Slavic rulers by its caesaropapistic characteristics; hence the attempts of these rulers to imitate Byzantine customs, to secure for themselves the title and powers of a tsar, and for the head of their church the dignity of a patriarch (in Bulgaria, during the rule of Tsar Simeon, in 927; in Serbia, during the rule of Stefan Dushan in the mid-fourteenth century). In *Rus'*, the strength of local traditions accounted for significant differences from the Byzantine models in the constitution of the Church and its

relations with the state. The Church in the Kievan state acquired considerable influence in secular matters, and the local laws granted extensive rights to it. Unlike Byzantine emperors, the Kievan princes did not exercise complete power over the Church, which was, moreover, a part of an ecumenical system, the center of which was located outside the jurisdiction of the Kievan prince. The leaders of the Kievan Church (e.g., Theodosius Pechersky, 1035–74) exerted considerable influence on the conduct of state affairs, and the Church's extensive activities in educational, cultural, charitable, and other fields complemented the work of secular agencies in these areas. Ecclesiastical autonomy was affected little by the material support received from the princes who assigned one-tenth of their income—*desiatyna* (tithe)—for the maintenance of the Church. Tithes were also paid to diocesan bishops by the local princes and to the parish clergy by the faithful. In addition the Church had its own sources of income: from episcopal administration, for the services of the clergy, from the supervision over measures and weights, and from ecclesiastical property and donations.

The Mongol invasion in the middle of the thirteenth century (see p. 141) interrupted the normal development of the Church. The country emerged from the Mongol-Tatar rule politically divided, and ecclesiastical life developed henceforth under different conditions in the separate parts of the former Kievan realm. Nevertheless, despite changes in political boundaries and regimes, the Church showed considerable stability and the Kievan metropolitanate continued to unite in one ecclesiastical jurisdiction the divided Ukrainian-Belorussian lands and population, symbolizing their past political unity. Thus, in the Lithuanian-Polish state, the Orthodox Church became a representative of the "Ruthenian" nationality, against whom discrimination was practised. A similar role was played by that part of the Church which adopted union with Rome at the end of the sixteenth century. Religious confession became synonymous with nationality. Therefore, in the Kozak wars against Poland, the defense of the faith became a major slogan attracting the support of the masses. Kiev, former state capital and the center of religious life with its many shrines, was called the "new Jerusalem" in the seventeenth century, being looked upon as the new holy city of Orthodoxy. The flowering of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries ended with the destruction of the Kozak Hetman state and the subordination of the Kievan metropolitanate to the Russian Holy Synod. On the other hand, the Austrian annexation of Galicia from Poland created far more favorable conditions for the development of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in this part of Ukraine.

The political and ecclesiastical expansion of Moscow was accompanied by the increasing fusion of church and state powers along the lines of the Byzantine model. The fall of Constantinople (1453) and the Turkish conquest of the southern Slavs led Moscow to claim the status of a "Third Rome." In 1492, Metropolitan Zosima of Moscow addressed the Muscovite prince as "the new tsar Constantine of the new city Constantinople-Moscow." This sacral notion of the tsar with its caesaropapist implications clashed in the second half of the seventeenth century with the theocratic aspirations of the Muscovite church. Under Peter I, it became only an extension of the state machinery (1721). With its absorption into the Russian Church, the Ukrainian Church lost the privileges and autonomy it had enjoyed in the Kievan *Rus'* and in the Kozak Hetman state.

The restoration of Ukrainian statehood in 1917–20 was accompanied by the emergence of a powerful movement for the Ukrainization and democratization of the local Orthodox Church and its emancipation from Russian control. Out of this movement emerged the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church which

was, however, suppressed along with other churches by the Soviet authorities during the 1930's. Under the new Soviet church policy dating from the early 1940's, the governmental authorities exercise close control over the activities and internal affairs of the Orthodox Church and other religious denominations. For this purpose, two special agencies were established under the Council of Ministers of the USSR—the Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church (1943) and the Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults (1944)—with their plenipotentiaries attached to the republic and *oblast* authorities. In January, 1966, the two agencies were merged into a single Council for Religious Affairs. The council exercises powers of veto over candidates for bishops, determines the places of residence for the hierarchy, has the final voice on admissions to theological schools, and may force the dismissal of undesirable clergymen. The narrowly defined framework of ecclesiastical activities confined the clergy to church buildings and deprived the Church of its traditional social functions. Since the forcible absorption of both national Ukrainian churches by the Russian Church, the Church in Ukraine has been deprived of its traditional traits—conciliarism in its constitution, and national liturgical forms.

## LITURGICAL LANGUAGE AND CUSTOMS

Ukrainian churches are parts of the world church bodies—Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant—and share with these denominations common beliefs. Their national traits, however, give to Ukrainian churches their distinct character.

One of the distinguishing features of the Ukrainian Church (and other Eastern churches) has always been the use of a popularly understood language. The church language was based on one of the south Slavic languages into which Greek texts necessary for the dissemination of Christianity were translated in the ninth century. In *Rus'*, these translations were read by the clergy with the local pronunciation, which made them intelligible to the eastern Slavs. In the course of time, independent translations of Greek texts were made and original works were written in the literary language of *Rus'*. Thus, from the beginnings of Christianity in *Rus'*, both the Gospel (the Ostromyr Gospel of 1056, the Kievan Gospel of 1092, etc.) and church services could be understood by laymen. Later, in connection with new religious currents in sixteenth-century Ukraine, translations of the Scriptures into the vernacular, such as the Peresopnytsia Gospel of 1556 or the Krekhiv Epistles of the mid-sixteenth century, appeared. Evangelical texts were often published with explanatory sermons (the so-called Instructional Gospels), thus facilitating the understanding of the Scriptures by the masses. In addition, certain liturgical texts and prayers were published in the living language (e.g., *Catechesis* of 1645).

It was only in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that the introduction of Russian pronunciation of Church Slavonic made the liturgical language less comprehensible to the faithful. In modern times, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church introduced Ukrainian as the liturgical language. Most of the Ukrainian Orthodox churches abroad use Ukrainian in liturgy, though some continue the traditional use of Church Slavonic with Ukrainian pronunciation. This is the language being used in divine services by the Ukrainian Catholic Church and, in line with the decisions of the Second Vatican Council, the Ukrainian Catholic Church is also considering the introduction of the living language into the liturgy (some parts are already celebrated in Ukrainian).

In contrast with the practice of other Orthodox churches, especially the Russian, preaching flourished in the Kievan Church. In addition to numerous collections of sermons published in Ukraine,

there also appeared theoretical works on preaching, such as the 1659 text by Archimandrite J. Galiatovsky, *Nauka, albo sposob zlozhenia kazania* (Instruction or Method of Composing Sermons).

Divine services celebrated in the Kievan Church had many local peculiarities that were later banned under Russian rule. For example, the Proskomide was celebrated over five prosphoros (not seven, as in Moscow); the "royal gate" in the church was seldom closed; the Gospel was read while facing the congregation; and sermons were delivered immediately after the reading of the Gospel. The seventeenth-century service books (*trebnyks*) recorded many local rites: baptism could be administered not only by immersion but also by affusion; during the marriage ceremony the bride and groom recited a special oath; flowers were blessed on the feast day of Makovei (August 1). There were local peculiarities in the ceremonies of consecration of deacons and priests. In the so-called *misiatseslovs* (menaias), it was the native saints who were honored primarily until the Russian menaia was introduced in 1784.

In recent times, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church has revived some of these ancient customs, such as the reading of the Gospel while facing the congregation; the audible rendition of the eucharistic prayers; the addressing of the congregation before the Credo with the greeting "Christ is among us."

The departure from the ancient ecclesiastical and liturgical customs was less noticeable in the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Their reinstatement may be facilitated by the decree of the Second Vatican Council stating that "Eastern priests and monks ought to celebrate liturgy according to the rules and traditions, in line with their established customs . . ."

Among other characteristics of the Ukrainian Church, a special place belongs to its liturgical chant. In the early centuries of Kievan Christianity, this chant was based on short Greek melodies which soon fell under the influence of local works and were set to music. Especially prominent was the monks' choir of the Kievan Cave Monastery during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Early in the seventeenth century, the choir of the Lviv brotherhood, directed by Theodore Sydorovych, acquired fame by its polyphonic singing (up to eight parts). A peculiar kind of music—the so-called *znamennyi rozspiv*—developed in Ukraine and the theoretical interest in church music was early represented by the *Musykiiskaia hrammatyka* (Grammar of singing, 1677, 1678, 1679) of Nicholas Dyletsky. Although the composers of church music (Dmytro Bortniansky, Maxim Berezovsky, Artem Vedel) followed models of western, especially Italian, schools, nevertheless their works reflect popular motifs (*khody*). It was because of these popular *khody* that their works were either not welcome or even prohibited in Russia. The 1917 revolution was followed by a short-lived renaissance of original church music based entirely on popular motifs, as represented by the liturgies of Alexander Koshyts, Nicholas Leontovych, and Cyril Stetsenko (especially his requiem service [*panakhyda*] for mixed choir). Popular church singing largely disappeared in the Orthodox Church. It survived, however, in the Ukrainian Catholic Church (the so-called *samuilka* songs).

Church architecture determined the peculiar landscape of Christian *Rus'*-Ukraine. Church buildings in the original Ukrainian style were, however, systematically eliminated in tsarist Russia and destroyed in the USSR and Poland (see p. 546). Therefore, prototypes of the rural church architecture survived only in Western Ukraine, mostly in the Carpathian Mountains (see Architecture, pp. 531–2). A characteristic feature of this type of architecture is the three-domed church. Monasteries and cathedrals included majestic structures reflecting

various artistic styles. Typical for the Hetman period was the style of the so-called Kozak Baroque (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), best represented in the architecture of the Kievan Cave Monastery. By the nineteenth century the local architectural traditions fell victim to the policies of the synod which insisted that churches be built according to Russian models.

## RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

Although clergy frequently warned the faithful against other confessions and praised Orthodoxy, religious tolerance, nevertheless, prevailed in Kievan *Rus'*. Latin missionaries were freely admitted and enjoyed protection from the princes. Intermarriages of the princely families with the ruling families of the Catholic West were quite common. Ecumenical Christianity was propagated by Metropolitan Clement Smoliatych in the mid-twelfth century, and the work ascribed to him contained a chapter on the popes as saints. Catholic saints were commonly honored, as exemplified by the popular feast of the transfer of the relics of St. Nicholas from Myra, Lycia, to Italy, or by the use of such names as the Czech Ludmila. The Kievan princes also made generous donation to shrines in western Europe. Metropolitan Gregory Tsamblak attended the council of Constance in 1418 and spoke there in favor of the reconciliation of churches, and Metropolitan Isidore participated in the councils of Ferrara and Florence in 1439 and embraced union with Rome.

The oldest historical chronicles of *Rus'* written by Orthodox authors do not distinguish Orthodoxy from Catholicism. In recording the baptism of the Lithuanian prince Mendovg according to the Roman Catholic rite, the chroniclers do not identify the creed as alien. Elsewhere they refer without comment to the Hungarian princess Kinga as a saint. Similarly, the later Protestant influences did not alarm the local hierachy whose western education made them more familiar with the new religious currents. The sharp religious struggle between Orthodox and Uniates in the seventeenth century (*Rus'* against *Rus'*) was caused primarily by political considerations.

In general, religious tolerance in the Kievan metropolitanate was evident; ideas from the West were not considered heretical and infiltrated into the Orthodox ecclesiastical literature. The ecclesiastics of Orthodox Moscow did not understand this tolerance, and books published in the Kievan metropolitanate were burned, as happened in the case of the Instructional Gospel of Cyril Tranquillion in 1627. At that time, the Muscovite authorities prohibited the dissemination of books bearing the Lithuanian imprint, i.e., publications of the Kievan metropolitanate. The Orthodoxy of the Kievans was so suspect in Moscow that Ukrainians who were baptized by affusion were rebaptized there by immersion. This was a standard Muscovite practice for Catholics (in Kiev, chrismation was considered sufficient in such cases). Doubts about the "purity" of Orthodoxy in Kiev were occasionally voiced also by some other Orthodox churches. Thus Patriarch Dosifei of Jerusalem observed in 1686 that "though we recognize the Kozaks as Orthodox, they have many irregular customs." Reservations with respect to the "Ruthenian faith" were heard also from representatives of the Western Church. The Roman Catholic bishop of Cracow, Matthew, wrote as early as the twelfth century that "the Ruthenian people . . . preserve neither the rules of the Orthodox faith nor the principles of the true faith, . . . they do not want to become like the Latin or Greek Church . . . " Similarly, the Poles looked later for "heresies" in the Greek Catholic Church and reported to Rome its deviations from pure Catholicism although these deviations were in fact manifestations of the traditional tolerance and custom of this church.

This tolerance was reflected in the

durability of ancient pagan customs which were given Christian character by the Church. These customs manifested themselves in the so-called dual faith (*dvoieviria*—the coexistence in the popular customs of both pagan and Christian beliefs) the remnants of which survived until the radical social-economic reforms in the USSR and completely changed the rural way of life. Until then, village life was marked by numerous feasts combining religious observances with popular rites and customs, for example, the foremost feast of the Eastern Church, Easter, the celebration of which retained many survivals of pre-Christian folklore.

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# III. Scholarship

## 1. SCHOLARSHIP IN UKRAINIAN LANDS TO 1850

### FROM THE PRINCELY ERA TO THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The first manifestations of scientific thought—speculative reflection and research—began emerging with the spread of literacy in *Rus'*-Ukraine in the Princely era. The search for truth, for basic principles and laws of existence and communal order, is recorded in the oldest written sources of this era. At first, the predominant influence upon them was that of speculative thought imitating the various spheres of Byzantine intellectual life.

Theology, often with a philosophical tenor, dominated the scholarship of the time. The main source of theological and philosophical knowledge was translations of literature, especially the works of the eighth-century Byzantine writer John Damascene and the collections entitled *Pchela*. These writings acquainted their readers with the philosophical systems of antiquity, particularly that of Aristotle, and presented excerpts from the works of ancient writers, philosophers, and historians including Plato, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Menander, Euripides, Demosthenes, Socrates, Cato, and Epicurus. Elements of ancient philosophy are also apparent in such original theological writings as a letter from the mid-twelfth century [Vol. I, p. 986], written by Clement Smoliatych in answer to Khoma's accusation that he based his works on Homer, Aristotle, and Plato. At the same time, elements of native popular wisdom with its particular world outlook were already apparent in the collections of aphorisms, maxims, and parables circulated at this time. One original theological work was a commentary on the biblical history of the Old Testament to the time of King David. It appeared under the name *Tolkovaia paleia* (Annotated Chrestomathy), and was continued to a degree in *Slova sviatykh prorokiv* (Words of the Holy Prophets).

Though based on theology and philosophy, the scholarship of the time encompassed such other branches of knowledge as the natural sciences, history, geography, jurisprudence, mathematics, astronomy, and medicine in approximately the same measure as that of contemporary Byzantium and western European countries.

Important sources of knowledge concerning nature, especially the creation of the universe—cosmogony—were the translations of collected volumes and works such as *Shestodnev* (Hexaemeron), written by various authors including John Exarch of Bulgaria, *Nebesa* (The Heavens) by John Damascene, *Khrystiianskaia topografiia* (Christian Topography) by Cosmas Indicopleustes, and the works of Epiphanius of Cyprus, as well as various kinds of apocryphal works. The most widely circulated was the *Shestodnev* which, following the account in the Bible, describes the six days during which the world was created from earth, fire, water, and air. In the other works mentioned the authors discuss the general characteristics of the creation, as set out in contemporary cosmogony. Information about the animal world and to some extent about flora and mineralogy appeared in *Physiologos* (Physiologist), a quite popular collection in *Rus'*-Ukraine.

Historical literature consisted at first

FIGURE 70. A DRAWING FROM THE *Topography* OF COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES (SIXTEENTH CENTURY), DEPICTING HIS VIEW OF THE UNIVERSE

of translations of the chronicles of Byzantine historians—John Malalas, author of an 18-volume history of the world from the time of the Egyptians to 563 A.D.; Georgius Hamartolos, author of a universal history chronicle from the beginning of the world to 842 A.D.; Nykyforus Gregory, author of *Ryms'ka Istoriia* (Roman History)—and collected volumes such as *Paleia. Istoriia Palestyny* (History of Palestine) by Josephus Flavius was also well known in translation. Historical knowledge gleaned from foreign sources eventually became the basis of original works. Local chronicles, which constitute the beginning of Ukrainian historical scholarship, can be composed from minute marginal notes on manuscripts, or separate sheets of parchment, concerning changes in the rule of the princes, and accounts of their testaments, wars, and treaties, or describing astronomical phenomena—an eclipse of the sun, the appearance of a comet—or dealing with plagues and other calamities [for details, Vol. I, pp. 559–60].

The sources for geographical knowledge were the works of the Kosmas Indikopleustes and the writings of Methodius of Patara, as well as the Byzantine chronicles. The scope of geographical information at the time encompassed Europe, the countries of the Near East, and northern Africa. With the appearance of native chronicles, descriptions of various countries of the world were included in the chronicled notes. Elements of geographic and economic description are evident also in the memoirs of *Rus'*-Ukrainian travellers. The geographic descriptions in the notes of Daniel, hegumen of Chernihiv, on his pilgrimage to the holy land (1106–7) are particularly accurate [Vol. I, p. 981].

At about the same time, jurisprudence was beginning to emerge as a separate field of study. Church law was being adapted from collections of church laws called *Nomocanons*, brought from Byzantium in the tenth century and later known as *Kormchie Knigi* (Rule Books), and supplemented by local laws. Elements of international law have been preserved in the tenth-century treaties between Byzantium and *Rus'*-Ukraine. The codification of legal standards adopted from Byzantium and developed locally resulted in the *Ruskaia Pravda* (*Rus'* Law)—the oldest Slavic legal codex. Its content and scope attest to long years of preparation and many comparative studies of Byzantine, western European, and traditional *Rus'*-Ukraine law (see p. 11).

The development of handicraft techniques, the building of martial power, and the development of trade during the Princely era proves that the scholars of the time were acquainted with the principles of mathematics, including four mathematical rules and fractions. Cal-

endar computations involved large numbers, reaching tens of millions. Land measurements were made with the help of some elements of geometry. Calendar calculations connected with ascertaining the "range of the moon" and "range of the sun" necessitated some knowledge of astronomical principles.

Although the treatment of disease was largely the concern of sorcerers at this time, the first principles of medical science can be found in the literature of the time.

Encyclopaedias containing information in various areas of knowledge were popular during the Princely era. In addition to *Shestodnev*, *Physiologos*, and *Paleia*, there were *Izbornyky Kniazia Sviatoslava* (The Chrestomathy of Prince Sviatoslav), dating from 1073 and 1076, the collections of aphorisms, maxims, and parables entitled *Pchela*, *Izmarahd*, and *Zlataia Tsip*, and *azbukovnyky*—a kind of encyclopaedic dictionary.

Respect for erudition and wisdom was not confined to ecclesiastical circles. Princes were equally interested in fostering learning and contributed to its development. The cathedral in the capital city of Kiev was dedicated to Sophia—Wisdom. Affiliated with the cathedral was the first public library. A second celebrated center of learning, also with a library, was established at the Kievan Cave Monastery, and similar centers arose at other monasteries and at the courts of princes. Among the clergy who devoted themselves to scholarship, Kievan metropolitans Hilarion and Clement Smoliatych gained the widest renown as "scholars and philosophers." Secular scholars included Prince Vsevolod (1030–93) who spoke five languages, his son Volodymyr Monomakh (died 1125), author of the famous pedagogical and political work *Pouchenie ditiam* (Instruction for Children), and the Volhynian Prince Volodymyr Vasylkovych (died 1288) whose interest lay in problems of philosophy.

The principal sources of knowledge were copies of Greek, Bulgarian, and Czech-Moravian texts until direct translation from Greek became common. This, in turn, gave access to Jewish and Arabic sources; knowledge of Latin writings and treatises was derived from Czech-Moravian translations. Translations not only enriched the factual knowledge of *Rus'* scholars, but also developed their critical appraisal, of information given in foreign sources. Knowledge acquired with the help of translations became in time the foundation of original native thought and creative genius.

The flowering of learning, begun in the Princely era, was arrested and its acquisition in large measure destroyed by the nomadic invasions, especially the Tatar invasion of 1240, as well as by internal squabbles and wars. Opportunities for further study remained only in individual monasteries in the central and eastern regions of Ukraine, and to a somewhat greater extent in the western lands under the protectorate of the Galician-Volhynian princes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. During this time, Ukrainian scholars first began seeking contact with the cultural centers of western Europe. These contacts grew especially after Ukrainian lands came under the rule of Lithuania and Poland. As early as the late fourteenth century, a considerable number of young Ukrainians received their education at the Polish University in Cracow, as well as in Prague, Padua, Bologna, and other cities. Some of them even became professors in Western schools. Foremost among them was George Kotermak of Drohobych (1450?–94), master of the University of Cracow and doctor of the University of Padua, physician, mathematician, and astronomer, who

FIGURE 71. GEORGE DROHOBYCH

lectured at the University of Bologna (1478–82) and was a professor at the University of Cracow after 1488. The Kiev center of the Judaizers also played a part in the development of scholarship, particularly in philosophy and logic [Vol. I, p. 988].

## THE SIXTEENTH TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

A new stage in the development of Ukrainian scholarship began in the second half of the fifteenth century. The fall of Constantinople (1453) put an end to the free flow of Byzantine cultural traditions and literary achievements to Ukraine. At the same time, it opened the way for the new currents of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and humanism. The main area for development of humanistic tendencies was Galicia (Lviv), while the Reformation gained ground in Ukrainian lands within the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state. The literary and philosophical works of Western humanists spread through Western Ukraine to eastern Ukraine, Belorussia, and Muscovy.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Ukrainians continued to study abroad at Cracow and other western European universities, in Protestant schools in Germany (Wittenberg, Greifswald, Rostock, Leipzig, Halle, Breslau, Koenigsberg), at Polish Jesuit colleges, and at the Academy of Zamostia (Zamość) on the Polish-Ukrainian border which had been founded (1595) by Jan Zamojski and others. Some Ukrainians remained in the West to continue research, enriching Western culture and learning. These included Pavlo Rusyn from Krosno (Paulus Crosnensis Ruthenus), one of the first representatives of Polish-Hungarian humanism and a poet and professor at the University of Cracow, and Luke from *Rus'* (a native of the Sambir region), who lectured at Cracow and published the first universal handbook of epistolography (1522). Also of Ukrainian origin were the Polish political writer Stanisław Orzechowski (who signed his name Orichovius Ruthenus 1513–66), a Catholic priest and author of treatises in defense of Orthodoxy, as well as a treatise concerning baptism among Ukrainians, *Baptismus Ruthenorum*; the prominent Polish humanist poet and scholar from Lviv, Szymon Szymonowicz or Simonides Simon (1557–1629), author of *Sielanki*, a collection of poems on Ukrainian subjects and one of the organizers of the Academy of Zamostia.

Young scholars of Ukrainian descent who had been educated in Western colleges and universities became the organizers of Ukrainian intellectual centers. They took an active part in the work of the scholastic center in Ostrih in Volhynia, set up by Prince Constantine Ostrozky to prepare the publication of a bible. Not only Ukrainian scholars like Herasym Smotrytsky, Christopher Philalet (Broniovsky), Damian Nalyvaiko, and Klyryk Ostrozky participated in this work, but also many learned Greeks who came to Ukraine by way of Italy. This intellectual center, with its printing press and library, was reorganized in 1580 into the Ostrih Academy, the first university-level school in the whole of eastern Europe (see also p. 304). Through the efforts of this group more than 25 works were published at Ostrih. The school of the Assumption Brotherhood in Lviv became another important center of learning and education. Its first rector was Arsenius, a Greek, the Bishop of Elasson, and co-author of a grammar manual of the "Greek-Slavic" language under the title *Adelphotes.* A large group of scholars was active at the school including Laurence and Stephen Zyzanii, Cyril Stavrovetsky, Zachariah Kopystensky, and Pamvo Berynda. In the publications prepared by the Brotherhood, emphasis was placed on school textbooks (see p. 444).

Similar in orientation and important as a center of modern studies was the Kievan Brotherhood school, founded in 1615 by

the Kievan Ascension Brotherhood; its first rector was Job Boretsky. In 1638 this school was united with the school of Peter Mohyla to form the Kievan Mohyla College, which eventually became an academy. A large group of scholars gathered around this school and laid the foundations for various branches of Ukrainian science, including mathematics, geometry, and astronomy. In the development of various branches of learning, an important role was also played by a group of scholars at the Kievan Cave Monastery, led by archimandrite Yelisei Pletenetsky (1550–1624) and P. Mohyla.

The ideas of Western humanism, acquired from the West through Lviv and accepted in Ukraine, broadened the scope of scholarship, which had previously been limited to theology and philosophy. Theological studies became permeated with polemical literature, which required a thorough knowledge of ancient philosophy and literature. Therefore in the polemical treatises of Ukrainian humanists of the time, a thorough scholarly preparation is apparent.

Philological improvement was necessitated by increased interest in and study of translations and the native literary language, which was being deliberately brought ever closer to the vernacular on the one hand and to Church Slavonic on the other. Translations of works in varied fields of learning indicated the need for scientific terminology.

The numerous new printing presses produced, along with theological and polemical works, grammar manuals and dictionaries-lexicons (by P. Berynda, L. Zyzanii, M. Smotrytsky, and others). A concerted effort was undertaken to prepare a definitive edition of the Bible (Ostrih Bible, 1580–1). Theological treatises, philosophical and encyclopaedic in nature, were published: *Lithos, albo Kamień* (Stone) by P. Mohyla, *Zertsalo bohosloviia* (Mirror of Theology) by Cyril Tranquillion Stavrovetsky, and *Palinodiia* by Z. Kopystensky. The *Teraturgema* of Athanasius Kalnofoisky contains information concerning the topography of Kiev.

The foundations of the study of Ukrainian grammar, lexicology [see Vol. I, Language], and musicology (see music) were being established. The study of mathematics and astrology was initiated.

**The Kievan Mohyla Academy**

The development of Ukrainian scholarship in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was intimately related to the activity of the Kievan Mohyla Academy which was at that time the center of Ukrainian cultural and intellectual life. Founded by Metropolitan Peter Mohyla as a college in 1632, the school was transformed during the reign of Hetman Ivan Mazepa into a general education academy whose rights and title were finally approved in 1701. The intellectual influence of the Academy was felt not only in Ukraine and the neighboring countries (Russia, Moldavia, Valachia) but also in the Balkan countries and other distant lands. It maintained close relations with scholarly centers in central Europe where most of the Academy's professors had acquired their higher education. These scholars applied new ideas and new methods of research based on observations and comparisons taken from Ukrainian life. It was the Kievan Mohyla Academy which laid the foundations of the modern scientific disciplines in Ukraine and thus contributed much to the development of Ukrainian scholarship.

The new methods were noted first of all in the realm of theology and philosophy. The studies of Varlaam Yasynsky, Joasaph Krokovsky, Demetrius Tuptalo, Stephen Yavorsky, Ivan Maksymovych, Theophanes Prokopovych, and others contributed a great deal to the development of theology and philosophy in Ukraine during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Ukrainian theology attained the pin-

nacle of its development in the second half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century. Two distinct schools of thought were evident at this time in Kiev—the first, pro-Western, favoring Catholicism, was represented by S. Yavorsky; the second, more liberal and inclined toward Protestantism, had T. Prokopovych as its spokesman. By the second half of the eighteenth century the philosophical system of Prokopovych, elaborated by him in a course entitled Introduction to Theology, had become the dominant school. Among Prokopovych's followers were Kievan theologians Samuel Myslavsky (1731–96) and Ireneus Falkovsky (1762–1823). Beginning in the eighteenth century, Ukrainian theology fell under the influence of the Russian "synodal" teaching.

The development of Ukrainian philosophical thought at the Mohyla Academy followed the mid-eighteenth-century transition from philosophical disciplines based on the ideas of medieval Aristotelianism, which included physics, mathematics, ethics, and logic (e.g., Short Course on Logic given by S. Yavorsky in 1693), to the more modern currents of philosophical thinking, found in the ideas of such philosophers as Descartes (George Shcherbatsky, Simon Todorsky), Hobbes, and Grotius (T. Prokopovych), as well as the German mystics and, later, the rationalists and idealists, especially Gottfried Leibnitz and Christian Wolff. The leading representative of the new trend in philosophy was David Nashchynsky (1721–93), a follower of Wolff who was professor and rector of the Academy in 1758–9.

The transition from chronicles to pragmatic history was accomplished under the influence of the Mohyla Academy (*Kroinyka* (Chronicle) of Theodosius Safonovych; *Synopsis*, attributed to Innocent Gizel; later, works of Samuel Velychko, Gregory Hrabianka, and others). The scholarly traditions of Ukrainian philology and literary study also originated at the Academy.

ΣΥΝΟΨΙΣЪ

FIGURE 72. TITLE PAGE OF THE *Synopsis* BY INNOCENT GIZEL (1680)

A whole line of distinguished scholars, who attained prominence in Ukrainian, Russian, and world scholarship, emerged from the Mohyla Academy. Among them were the following: Gregory Skovoroda (1722–94), who conceived an original philosophical system [Vol. I, pp. 955–6), and with Velychkivsky and Hamaliia formed a separate school of Ukrainian philosophy called the Mystic Trinity; Paisii Velychkivsky (1722–94), the translator of a Greek anthology of ascetic works *Dobroliubiie* (The Love of God) and author of several Ukrainian works on asceticism; Simon Hamaliia (1743–1822); philosophers Jacob Kozelsky (1742–*ca.*94) and Nicholas Motonys (1725–87); lawyer and philosopher Ivan Khmelnytsky (1742–94)); lawyer Volodymyr Zolotnytsky (1741–*ca.*96); philologists Gregory Kozytsky (1727–75) and Luke Sichkariv (1741–1809); historians Peter Symonovsky (*ca.* 1717–1809), George Konysky (1717–95), Gregory A. Poletyka (1725–84), Nicholas Bantysh-Kamensky (1737–1814), Basil Ruban

(1742–95); archaeologist and physician Andrew Italymsky (1743–1827); physicians Ivan Poletyka (1726–83), who later became professor at the Medical-Surgical Academy in Kiel, Germany, and Nestor Maksymovych-Ambodyk (1744–1812).

At the end of the seventeenth and in the first half of the eighteenth century prominent professors and graduates of the Mohyla Academy were working in Russia as rectors and professors at the Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy and at almost all the other theological seminaries in Russia. Many Ukrainian scholars, both professors and graduates of the Academy, resettled in other Slavic countries where they continued to be active academically.

Until the establishment of Kharkiv University in 1805, the Kievan Mohyla Academy was the only institution with university standing in all of Ukraine. Toward the end of the eighteenth century the Russian government, having eradicated the last vestiges of Ukrainian political independence, began imposing limitations on the rights, curricula, and material resources of the Academy. Proposals to reorganize the Academy into a university or to establish other universities in Baturyn or Chernihiv were rejected by the Russian government when put forward by Hetman Cyril Rozumovsky and other Ukrainian leaders during the last half of the eighteenth century. In 1786 the property of the Kievan Brotherhood monastery, which subsidized the Mohyla Academy, was secularized, thus making the Academy dependent on the annual appropriations of the Russian government. In 1817 the Kievan Mohyla Academy was finally closed, and two years later the Kievan Theological Academy was established on its premises.

## THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO 1850

With the curtailment of scholarly and pedagogical activity at the Kievan Mohyla Academy and its gradual liquidation as a secular institution of higher learning, all scholarly activity in the Ukrainian lands under Russia was transferred to the universities, especially to those in Kharkiv (founded 1805) and Kiev (founded 1834) which subsequently became prominent centers of scholarship and academic study. Scholarly research was also being done at the Kievan Theological Academy (in philosophy, history, and philology as well as theology), at the Bezborodko Lycee in Nizhyn, at the Richelieu Lycee in Odessa, and at new scholarly institutions, notably the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities and the Kievan Archaeographical Commission. But a great many works, particularly in the realm of Ukrainian studies, were the result of individual effort by various scholars not always associated with the official centers of scholarship.

Many leading scholars of Ukrainian descent resettled in Russia, either voluntarily or under pressure of the Russian government. They went primarily to Moscow (where a university had been established in 1755) and to St. Petersburg (where an Academy of Sciences was founded in 1724). On the other hand, many foreign scholars (Germans, Poles, Russians) began to arrive in Ukraine.

The development of exact sciences, initiated by the physiocrats at the Kievan Academy, was continued on the Russian territories by Ukrainian scholars. Included in this group were: Ivan Prokopovych, physicist and mathematician; natural scientist Anthony Prokopovych-Antonsky (1762–1848) and his student, Michael Maksymovych (1804–73), who later returned to Ukraine; physicians Martin Terekhovsky (1740–96), Daniel Samoilovych (1743/4–1805), Joseph Kalynsky-Helita, 1792–1855), and Elias Buialsky (1789–1866); Daniel Kavunnyk-Vellansky (1774–1847), physiologist and philosopher who was a student of Schelling; Peter Lodii (1764–1829), philosopher, and Michael Baludiansky (1769–1847), lawyer, both natives of Transcarpathian Ukraine; and Roman

Tymkovsky, philologist, who was a professor at Moscow University (1785–1820).

FIGURE 73. PETER LODII

In the Ukrainian lands under Polish rule (Right-Bank Ukraine, Volhynia, and Galicia), scholarship remained at a rather low level during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The leading intellectual and educational centers for these lands were the Kievan Mohyla Academy and the Lviv Jesuit College. At the beginning of the nineteenth century a Polish lycee was established in Kremianets (a *gymnasium* until 1819), thanks to the efforts of the noted historian and economist, Tadeusz Czacki. This lycee contributed extensively to the research of culture and flora in the Right-Bank Ukraine. In Galicia (annexed by Austria in 1772), Bukovina, and Transcarpathia, scholarship, frequently German, Polish, or Hungarian in form and content, developed under the influence of Vienna, one of the world's greatest cultural and intellectual centers [Vol. I, pp. 697–9]. A theological seminary (*Barbareum*) had functioned here since 1774 for Ukrainian Catholics of the Byzantine rite. In Galicia, intellectual centers formed at the Lviv Theological Seminary (Studium Ruthenum from 1783 on) and at the University of Lviv (founded in 1784), at which various Ukrainian professors lectured, including P. Lodii, who translated Christian Baumeister's ethics into Old Church Slavonic (Lviv, 1790). Lviv University became an important center of research in economic, natural, and exact sciences; the Ossolinski Polish National Institute (founded in 1817) emerged as yet another scholarly center. It maintained an extensive library and museum, and its scholars devoted a great deal of attention to Ukrainian studies. Research in various areas of Ukrainian study was conducted by Polish scholars who were members of the Cracow Scientific Society, which was founded in 1816 and subsequently transformed into the Polish Academy of Sciences.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, philosophical thought in Ukraine developed under the influence of German idealism advanced by such noted philosophers as Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. The leading centers of philosophical study were the Universities of Kharkiv and Kiev. Lecturing at the former in 1806–16 were the German philosopher Johann Baptist Schad (1758–1816) and Andrew Dudrovych (1782–1830), a native of Transcarpathia. Working at the University of Kiev were outstanding professors who were followers of Hegel, Orest Novytsky (1806–84) and Sylvester Hohotsky (1813–89). By far the most outstanding and original philosopher of the mid-nineteenth century was Pamphilus Yurkevych (1827–74), professor at the Kievan Theological Seminary and later at the University of Moscow [Vol. I, pp. 956–8]. In Transcarpathia, the Reverend Basil Dovhovych (1783–1849), a Ukrainian Catholic priest of the Byzantine rite, was interested in Kant, Fichte, and Schelling and wrote a two-volume study on Kant. He also wrote several philosophical works in Hungarian and a Latin philosophical dictionary which was never published.

The great political events in Europe at the turn of the eighteenth century, as well as the ideas of nationalism, Romanticism, and the philosophy of natural right which called for political independence and free, unfettered development for every nation, had a strong impact on every sphere of life in Ukraine. A movement for the national renascence began to take shape with strong emphasis on the defense and diverse development of the spiritual and cultural heritage of the Ukrainian people. Leading the way in this national reawakening were intellec-

tual circles of the Ukrainian community, particularly the descendants of Ukrainian nobility, Kozak officers, and burghers, as well as the clergy of Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia. There was a great upsurge of interest in Ukraine's historical past, its language, customs, traditions, and everything that related to the Ukrainian people's cultural heritage. Ukrainian scholars became intensively preoccupied with history, ethnography, philology, and related disciplines.

Around 1750 Ukrainians had begun to collect and publish source material on Ukrainian history and the history of the Ukrainian church and culture; research was done in ethnography, geography, and economy. Basil Ruban, Theodore Tumansky (1757–1810), and Jacob Markovych (1776–1804) published a number of works in the area of Ukrainian studies. Dmytro Bantysh-Kamensky (1788–1850) published his five-volume *Istoriia Maloi Rossii* (History of Little Russia, 1822). Joseph Bodiansky (1808–77), a noted Slavist and historian, published in Moscow a maze of source material that was of great importance to Ukrainian historiography, including *Istoriia Rusov* (History of the *Rus'* People), *Litopys* (Chronicle) of Samovydets, and *Diiariiush* (Diary) of Nicholas Khanenko. *Istoriia Malorossii* (History of Little Russia), a five-volume work by ethnographer-historian Nicholas Markevych (1804–60), appeared in 1842–3. In Odessa, Apollon Skalkovsky (1808–98) worked on the history, economy, and statistical data of southern Ukraine. Of great importance was the work of Eugene Bolkhovitinov (1767–1837) relating to the history of the Ukrainian church, and of Michael Maksymovych on the history of Ukraine (and Ukrainian studies in general) during the Kiev period of his scholarly activity. These and other works of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century initiated the development of modern Ukrainian history (especially in such fields as archaeography) and laid the groundwork for Ukrainian historiography [Vol. I, pp. 561–2].

FIGURE 74. JOSEPH BODIANSKY

In Galicia and Transcarpathia, there was a marked interest in the history of the Ukrainian church. Among the most prominent of those studying this subject were the Reverend Michael Harasevych (1763–1836), a priest from Galicia who wrote *Annales Ecclesiae Ruthenae*, a work that was rich in original source material, and in Transcarpathia, Ioannikii Bazylovych (1742–1821) and Michael Luchkai-Pop (1789–1843).

A broad program of studies in history and other Ukrainian disciplines, based on unity and independence of Ukrainian language in all Ukrainian ethnographic lands, was developed by the Congress of Ruthenian (Ukrainian) scholars (Sobor ruskykh uchenykh), held in Lviv in 1848 [Vol. I, p. 699]. The program was never put into effect, however, since the prominent scholars of the time who took part in the congress—historians Denis Zubrytsky (1787–1862), Anthony Petrushevych (1821–1913), and Isidore Sharanevych (1829–1901)—adhered to the conservative *yazychiie* and showed no desire to maintain close relations with Ukrainian scholarly and literary circles in eastern Ukraine. It was the younger, populist-oriented generation of Ukrainian scholars in Galicia who took the initial steps in this direction.

Concurrently with historical studies, research in various areas of ethnography was started under the influence of Romanticism, particularly the collection of oral literature and descriptions of native rituals and customs. The first publication in this field is the work of Gregory Kalynovsky, a native of Chernihiv who published in Petersburg in 1776, *Opisanie svadebnykh ukrainskikh prostonarodnykh*

*obriadov v Maloi Rossii i Slobodskoi Ukrainie* (Description of Ukrainian Popular Wedding Customs in Little Russia and Slobids'ka Ukraïna). Ukrainian folklorism began with the publication in Moscow in 1827 of *Malorossiiskiia pesni* (Little Russian Songs), collected by

МАЛОРОССІЙСКІЯ

ПѢСНИ,

ИЗДАННЫЯ

М. МАКСИМОВИЧЕМЪ.

МОСКВА.

Въ Типографіи Августа Семена,

1827.

FIGURE 75. TITLE PAGE OF THE COLLECTION *Malorossiiskiia pesni*, PUBLISHED BY MICHAEL MAKSYMOVYCH IN 1827

Michael Maksymovych (1804–73), and of his other anthologies of Ukrainian folk songs (1834–49). Foreigners, equally enchanted with Romanticism, participated in the collection of Ukrainian ethnographical material: the Polish ethnographer Zorian Chodakowski-Dołęga (1784–1825); in Galicia Wacław of Olesko (1800–49), Żegota Pauli (1814–95), and others; the Georgian prince Nicholas Tsertelev (Tseretelli) who prepared a collection, *Opyt sobraniia starinnykh malorossiiskikh pesnei* (An Attempt at Collecting Ancient Little Russian Songs), published in St. Petersburg in 1819. The first publication in this field in Ukraine was six volumes of the collection *Zaporozhskaia starina* (Zaporozhian Antiquity), published from 1833 to 1838 in Kharkiv by the Ukrainian philologist and Slavist, Izmaïl Sreznevsky (1812–80). The first collection of songs from the entire Ukrainian territory was published by ethnographer Platon Lukashevych in 1836 under the title *Malorossiiskie i Chervononorusskie narodnye dumy i pesni* (The Little Russian and Red-Ruthenian Folk Dumas and Songs). [For other works in this field, Vol. I, pp. 269–71].

Ethnographic study also began to flourish in the 1830's under the influence of Slavophile ideas. The Kharkiv-Kiev school of romanticists contributed significantly to this development as did the famous Rus'ka Triitsia, the pioneers of Ukrainian national revival in Galicia [Vol. I, p. 1009].

Ukrainian philology, initiated with a grammar of the Ukrainian language (St. Petersburg, 1818) by Alexis Pavlovsky, at first was limited to collecting and publishing dictionary materials. Towards the end of the first half of the nineteenth century it gained importance through the works of M. Maksymovych, J. Bodiansky, I. Sreznevsky, and others. In Galicia, the authors of the first grammar handbooks and linguistic works were Joseph Levytsky, Ivan Vahylevych, and Jacob Holovatsky; in Transcarpathia, Michael Luchkai-Pop [Vol. I, pp. 430 ff.].

The materials collected and studied in the subjects discussed above up to the mid-nineteenth century were typically Ukrainian in their content and style and laid the foundation for all further development in the field of Ukrainian studies.

Juridical and economic studies also began to develop in the first half of the nineteenth century. Their centers were the Universities of Kharkiv and Kiev in the central and eastern regions of Ukraine, and the University of Lviv in

Galicia under Austria (see pp. 314–15 and 333).

Research in the area of natural and exact sciences in the first half of the nineteenth century was conducted in Ukraine by scholars and researchers from western Europe, particularly from Germany. Late in the eighteenth and early in the nineteenth centuries, research into the geography and geology, population, and flora and fauna of Ukraine was carried on by scholars (mostly of Russian descent) at the Russian Academy of Sciences. Centers in Ukraine for the study of its natural history were the University of Kharkiv, where a botanical garden already existed in 1805, and the Kremianets Lycee, which also had a botanical garden and distinguished professors, Germans and Poles, who carried on research into the natural history of Ukraine, especially its flora. For the most part zoology in Ukraine was also studied by foreigners—Karl Eichwald (1795–1876) and Karl Kessler (1815–81) [Vol. I, p. 39].

In mathematical science, Ukrainians contributed substantially to the development of research in the field. Working in educational centers outside Ukraine, in Kazan and St. Petersburg, Ukrainians gained worldwide renown through their findings, theories, and discoveries. Among these mathematicians were Nicholas Lobachevsky (1792–1856), creator of a new geometrical system of non-Euclidean geometry, Michael Ostrohradsky (1801–62), inventor of the so-called Ostrohradsky formula, and Victor Buniakovsky (1804–89).

FIGURE 76. MICHAEL OSTROHRADSKY

In the area of agricultural science, the fundamentals of scientific agronomy were established by Andrew Prokopovych (1756–1826), professor of the Kievan Mohyla Academy and later rector of Kharkiv College. Peter Prokopovych (1775–1850) was the founder and director of the first school of agriculture in Ukraine and Russia. The center of agricultural research at the time was the Imperial Society of Agriculture of Southern Russia, founded in 1828, which in its activity encompassed Bessarabia and the Katerynoslav and Kherson provinces.

The early beginnings of astronomy in Ukraine can also be traced to the first half of the nineteenth century. Its first centers were the astronomical observatories in Mykolaïv, established in 1821, and at the University of Kiev (1845).

The primary center for medical science in Ukraine at the beginning of the nineteenth century was a medical class at the Kievan Academy established in 1802, and the department of medicine at the University of Kharkiv, opened in 1805, and the Kiev University department of medicine established in 1841. Distinguished Ukrainian doctors also worked in medical-surgical schools, academies, and universities in St. Petersburg and Moscow.

*B. Krawciw, O. Ohloblyn*

## 2. SCHOLARSHIP IN THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN UKRAINIAN LANDS FROM 1850 TO 1917

The development of scholarship in Ukraine, as in other countries, was marked in this period by a progressive departure from Romanticism and an increased emphasis on emerging Positivism. Comparative, historical, and, later

sociological methods were employed in the conduct of scholarly research in the humanities. Theological and philosophical studies receded into the background; statistical economic studies came to the fore. Developments in the natural sciences and medicine were particularly pronounced and technical studies came to be emphasized. Universities, technical institutes, and other specialized institutions and societies became the centers of learning in Ukraine.

## INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING

During the latter half of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century, the principal centers of study in the humanities in the natural, medical, and agricultural sciences, and later in technical fields, were primarily the Universities of Kiev and Kharkiv, the University of Odessa (at first the Novorossiisky University, established in 1864), and, to a limited extent, the Kievan Theological Academy (established in 1819). As in the first half of the nineteenth century, learning and research at the universities of Ukraine were focused primarily on the formally established fields of the humanities: philosophy; history, archaeology, ethnography, and related historical disciplines; law; classical philology; literary history; linguistics; and pedagogy. Interest in socio-economic problems in the middle of the nineteenth century helped to promote the development of research in the statistical and political-economic fields, which was conducted by the departments of political economy and statistics at the universities.

Important, often vital, study and research were done by university scholars in many fields of natural sciences, such as geology and biology. The University of Kharkiv was primarily responsible for progress in the fields of physics, mathematics, and mechanics, not only in Ukraine, but in all of the Russian empire. Scholars at the Universities of Kiev and Odessa also contributed significantly to the work in these disciplines. The Kiev School of Algebra, headed by Dmytro Grave (1863–1939), influenced the development of research in related fields in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Kazan. The first department of theoretical physics in Ukraine was established at the University of Kiev. Astronomical research progressed at a steady pace at all three of the universities, furthering the work of the university observatories at Kharkiv (founded 1808), and Kiev (founded 1845) and beginning research at the newly established (1871) observatory at the University of Odessa. The three universities were also the principal centers of learning in the field of chemistry. The universities of Ukraine also played an outstanding role in the development of medical studies. Scholars of these institutions contributed notably to medical research and learning and gained world recognition for their research in the fields of physiology, therapy, anatomy, histology, and hygiene. Work carried on by the Ukrainian universities was also instrumental to progress in agricultural studies, particularly in zootechny and veterinary medicine. The introduction of research in mechanical engineering at the universities during the latter half of the nineteenth century was particularly significant for the development of technical studies.

In the scholarly research work of the universities, principally in the area of the humanities, increasing emphasis was placed on Ukrainian studies. There was growing interest in Ukrainian history, first as part of general Russian history, but later focusing on specific periods and questions. The major center of these studies was the University of Kiev where the so-called "Kievan School" of Ukrainian historians developed, with Volodymyr Antonovych (1834–1908 [Vol. I, p. 564]) as its principal figure. Histor-

ians at the Universities of Kharkiv and Odessa, notably Dmytro Bahalii, also contributed to the work conducted on this area. Noteworthy studies on the history of the Ukrainian church were carried on at the Kievan Theological Academy.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the center of research on the problems of Ukrainian linguistics and literature was the University of Kharkiv (principal figures Alexander Potebnia and his successors, especially Nicholas Sumtsov [Vol. I, p. 433]). By the early twentieth century the center had shifted to the University of Kiev. Ukrainian ethnography, folklore, and economics came to be studied in more depth. Much significant material on Ukrainian topics was included in the publications of the universities: *Izvestiia* (News) University of Kiev; *Zapysky* (Memoirs) of Kharkiv and Odessa universities; and *Trudy* (Works) of the Kievan Theological Academy.

In addition to the universities, institutions for technical studies were important in the development of natural and technical studies at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Among the important schools were the Technological Institute of Kharkiv (established in 1885), the Higher School of Mining of Katerynoslav (established in 1899), and the Kievan Polytechnic Institute (established in 1898). Professors at these institutes conducted research primarily in the fields of metallurgy and of mechanical and electrical engineering and in many branches of mechanics. The practical application of these sciences to the machine-building, bridge-building, mining, and metallurgical industries, particularly in the Donets and Kryvyi Rih basins, also received scholarly attention. In the area of agricultural studies, the Kievan Polytechnic Institute and the Veterinary Institute of Kharkiv were especially active in conducting studies connected with animal husbandry.

## LEARNED SOCIETIES

Learned societies established at the universities were instrumental in furthering study and research in many academic disciplines, particularly those dealing with Ukrainian problems. The most active societies in the study of humanities were: the Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler at the University of Kiev (established in 1873); the historical philological societies at the Universities of Kharkiv (1877–1919) and Odessa (1889–1917) and at the Prince Bezborodko Historical Philological Institute of Nizhyn (1894–1920); and the Kiev Juridical Society (1877–1916). The societies most concerned with research in natural sciences were the Society of Natural Scientists at the Universities of Kiev (1869), Kharkiv (1869), and Odessa (1870); in the area of exact sciences, the Mathematical Society of Kharkiv (established 1879), the Physical-Mathematical Society of Kiev (1890–1917), the Physics-Chemical societies of Kharkiv (1872–1915) and Kiev (1910–33), and the Kiev Medical Scientific Society (established 1840).

Research into Ukrainian geography, natural history, economics, statistics, and ethnography was conducted by the Komissiia dlia opisaniia gubernii Kievskogo shkol'nogo okruga (Commission for the Description of the *guberniyas* of the Kiev School District 1851–64). The scholarly activity of the Commission was connected with the University of Kiev, and included in its geographical scope both Right- and Left-Bank Ukraine.

Beginning with the 1860's, the principal center for Ukrainian studies was the government-established Vremennaia kommisiia dlia rozbora drevnikh aktov (Interim Commission for the Study of Ancient Documents, 1843–1917), founded in Kiev. The period of the Commission's greatest activity began in 1863 when V. Antonovych assumed the post of secretary and chief editor of publications; his term of office extended until 1880. The princi-

pal publications of the Commission were: four volumes of *Pamiatnyky* (Monuments, 1845–59), 35 volumes of *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (Archives of Southwestern Russia, 1859–1914), and the *Kozats'ki litopysy* (Kozak Chronicles). These works included sources and materials on the history of Ukraine from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Research and publication work of the Commission involved a large number of Ukrainian historians. In connection with this work, the Tsentral'nyi Arkhiv Davnikh Aktiv (Central Archive of Ancient Documents) was established in 1852 at the University of Kiev (see Archives and Archaeography, p. 403). The Odessa Society of History and Antiquities widened its sphere of activity (see p. 409). Local scholarly societies in many cities of Ukraine also contributed to the growing interest in Ukrainian subjects. Among these were the Historical-Archaeological Society of the Podilia Eparchy (founded in 1903 by Yukhym Sitsinsky, and having as its base the Committee of Kamianets Podilsky for the Historico-Statistical Census of the Podilia Eparchy) and the Society of Researchers of Kuban in Katerynoslav. Other centers of scholarly activity dealing with Ukrainian questions were the *guberniya* archival commissions including those on Tavria (established in 1887), Chernihiv (1896), Poltava (1903), and Katerynoslav (1903).

FIGURE 77. YUKHYM SITSINSKY

Research in the fields of the natural sciences, agriculture, and medicine was also carried on at specialized institutions and research stations. Among these were biological stations at Sevastopol (established 1871–2), in the Dnieper region (1909), in the Karadag region (1914), and in the northern Donets region. A microbiological (bacteriological) station was founded in Odessa in 1886, and similar stations followed in Kharkiv (1887) and Kiev (1896); the latter two were later reorganized as specialized research institutions. In 1913 a Sanitary-Bacteriological Institute was founded in Katerynoslav. To further research in the field of geophysics, the first observatory for the study of magnetism and meteorology in Ukraine was established in Odessa (1895). A radiometric laboratory, added to the observatory in 1911, pioneered in the study of the radioactivity of minerals, ores, water, and air. The Poltava Research Field (established in 1894) contributed significantly to the development of agricultural studies. The field served as a base for the creation of the Poltava Agricultural Research Station (1910), followed by the establishment of similar stations in Nosivka, Uman, Kharkiv, Kherson, Katerynoslav, and Odessa. The Kharkiv station (established 1909) contributed to progress in the study of genetics.

## THE ROLE OF THE ZEMSTVOS

The organs of local self-government in Ukraine played an important role in the development of scholarship, particularly in Poltava, Chernihiv, Kherson, and Tavria. The research work, conducted by scholarly institutions created by the *zemstvos*, dealt primarily with the natural and agricultural sciences (geography, geology, botany, agronomy). These centers also engaged in ethnographic research. The development of statistical economic and geographic studies on the specific regions of Ukraine owes much to the work of these institutions. The statistical and descriptive studies in the fields of demography and social economics conducted by Alexander Rusov (1847–1915) were supported by the *zemsvo* institutions. Rusov also trained a large group of young scholars, who

later became outstanding Ukrainian statisticians and economists (see p. 670).

Scholarly work on problems relating to Ukraine was also carried on in Ukraine by Russian institutions and societies of learning. Conducting research in history were the Archaeological Commission, the Russian Archaeological Society, and the Archaeological Society of Moscow; in the field of geography, economics, and statistics, the Russian Geographical Society; in geology, the Geological Committee of St. Petersburg (established 1882). The All-Russian Archaeological Congresses were of particular significance in the development of historical and archaeological studies, as well as museology and art criticism. Ukrainian scholars and researchers took an active part in these conferences, delivering lectures and papers. Six congresses were held in Ukrainian cities: Kiev (1874 and 1899), Odessa (1884), Kharkiv (1902), Katerynoslav (1905), and Chernihiv (1908).

## UKRAINIAN STUDIES IN ST. PETERSBURG AND MOSCOW

Studies of Ukrainian history and ethnology, as well as the publication of Ukrainian historical and literary documents, were conducted during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by Russian scholarly institutions in St. Petersburg and Moscow. The St. Petersburg Archaeographic Commission (established 1834) carried on, with the active participation of Nicholas Kostomarov [Vol. I. p. 563], the publication of Ukrainian historical documents in the series *Akty otnosiashchiesia k istorii Zapadnoi Rossii* (Documents Relating to the History of Western Russia, 1846–53) and *Akty otnosiashchiesia k istorii Yuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii* (Documents Relating to the History of Southern and Western Russia, 1863–92). Of great importance for Ukrainian historical research was the *Chteniia* (Readings) of the Obshchestvo Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskikh (Society for the Study of Russian History and Antiquities of Moscow). Through the efforts of the Society's secretary, Joseph Bodiansky (1808–77), a series of Ukrainian historical works, annals, chronicles, and papers were published during the middle years of the nineteenth century. (See Archives and Archaeography, p. 402.)

The development of Ukrainian studies in the latter half of the nineteenth century led to the establishment of centers for the study of strictly Ukrainian problems. The first attempt at organizing such a center was made by the journal *Osnova* (Foundation), published in St. Petersburg (1861–2). Although published outside the boundaries of Ukraine, its scholarly and literary activity grouped a number of outstanding scholars working in Ukrainian studies led by N. Kostomarov and Panteleimon Kulish. A number of Russian scholars working in Ukrainian studies also contributed to the journal. The editors of *Osnova* also maintained contact with the leaders of cultural and intellectual life in Galicia. Shortly after, an attempt was made by scholars and civic-minded individuals to create a center for Ukrainian studies in Ukraine. Using the Russian Geographical Society as a base, they founded the Pivdenno-Zakhidnyi Viddil Rosiis'koho Heohrafichnoho Tovarystva (Southwestern Branch of the Russian Geographical Society, 1873) in Kiev. Among its members were such noted scholars as historians Antonovych and Michael Drahomanov, anthropologist Theodore Vovk, economist and sociologist Nicholas Ziber, law historian Alexander Kistiakovsky, linguists Constantine Mykhalchuk and Paul Zhytetsky, statistician Alexander Rusov, ethnographers Paul Chubynsky and Ivan Rudchenko, and musicologist Nicholas Lysenko. A major achievement of the Society was an expedition led by P. Chubynsky and other ethnographers and statisticians to study the elements of material and non-material culture in Right-Bank Ukraine. A monumental, seven-volume publication, *Trudy etno-*

*graficheskо-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-Russkii krai* (Works of the Ethnographic Statistical Expedition to the West Russian Lands, 1872–8), resulted from the research done by the expedition [Vol. I, p. 272]. The Society also published two volumes of *Zapiski* (Proceedings) as well as numerous monographs on topics in ethnography and folklore. Through the efforts of the Society, the Third Archaeological Congress was convened in Kiev in 1874. The Congress, attended by specialists in Ukrainian studies from all parts of Ukraine, was used by the scholarly community to demonstrate the progress made in this area. This demonstration visibly disturbed the Russian government and, with the proclamation of the Ems ukase in 1876, the Society was abolished.

The policy of Russification espoused by the Russian government forced Ukrainian scholars to transfer some of their activities to Galicia (see p. 249) and abroad, principally to Switzerland, where M. Drahomanov, N. Ziber, S. Podolynsky, and others continued their scholarly work. Another, more significant, intellectual center was formed around the publication of the monthly *Kievskaia Starina* (Kievan Antiquity), founded in 1882 and published in Kiev through the efforts of Ukrainian scholars and civic leaders. This publication, printed in Russian because of the prohibition on printing in Ukrainian, was until 1906 the principal journal of Ukrainian studies. It was known as the "Ukrainian philological-historical department" by contemporaries. In the twenty-five years of its existence, *Kievskaia Starina* (changed to *Ukraïna* [Ukraine] in 1907) published a large number of monographs, articles, and materials in various branches of Ukrainian studies: the political, social, and cultural history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the history of literature and art, archaeology, ethnography, economics, statistics. In addition to scholars from all the territories of Ukraine, Russian and Polish specialists in Ukrainian studies also contributed to the journal.

## THE UKRAINIAN SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY OF KIEV

Following the revolution of 1905 and the abolition of the restriction on printing in Ukrainian, conditions for the development of Ukrainian scholarship improved. Utilizing the organizational skill and experience of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, a Ukrainian Scientific Society was established in Kiev in 1907 on the initiative of a group of Ukrainian scholars and civic leaders. The goal of the Society, as stated in its charter, was to "develop and popularize various branches of learning, using the Ukrainian language." The president of the society was Michael Hrushevsky. The activities of the Society were divided into sections: historical, philological, and mathematical-scientific. Later medical and technical sections were added; and sections were subdivided into commissions, for example, statistical-economic, linguistic, etc. The membership of the Society numbered 54 in 1907, 98 in 1912, 161 in 1916. Works of the members were published in the *Zapysky Ukraïns'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva* (Memoirs of the Ukrainian Scientific Society, 18 volumes, 1908–19), the *Zbirnyky pryrodnycho-tekhnichnoï sektsiï* (Collections of the Scientific and Technical Sections, 4 volumes, 1910–18), and in the *Zbirnyky medychnoï sektsiï* (Collections of the Medical Section, 5 volumes, 1910–22). Another organ of the Ukrainian Scientific Society was *Ukraïna*, a quarterly dealing with Ukrainian studies, which began publication in 1914.

The founders of the Ukrainian Scientific Society of Kiev regarded it as the core of the future Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences.

*B. Krawciw, O. Ohloblyn*

# 3. SCHOLARSHIP IN WESTERN UKRAINIAN LANDS AND ABROAD (1850-1918)

## WESTERN UKRAINIAN LANDS

### Schools of Higher Learning

During the period 1850–1918, schools of higher learning, particularly the Universities of Lviv and Chernivtsi and the Lviv Polytechnic Institute (see p. 333), were the main centers of scholarly study and research in these areas. The research institutes and professors of these universities contributed greatly to the advancement of the humanities, Ukrainian studies, and the natural sciences, particularly the study of the history, ethnography, economy, and natural history of Galicia and Bukovina. The development of some aspects of Ukrainian studies, and especially the increase in the number of scholars and researchers, can be attributed in large measure to the activities of the chairs of Ukrainian language and literature at Lviv University (headed by Jacob Holovatsky, 1849–67, Omelian Ohonovsky, 1870–94, and Cyril Studynsky, from 1900) and the chair of Ukrainian history (directed by Michael Hrushevsky, 1894–1914). Similar work was done at the University of Chernivtsi by the chair of Ukrainian language and literature headed by Hnat Onyshkevych, 1877–83 and Stephen Smal-Stotsky, 1884–1919.

FIGURE 78. JACOB HOLOVATSKY

Also contributing to the development of some areas of Ukrainian studies was the activity at the University of Vienna, which numbered many Ukrainian scholars and researchers among its students. The University's publications included important works on the history, ethnography, and natural history of Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia.

But because of their non-Ukrainian character, these schools of higher learning were only of secondary importance in the development of Ukrainian scholarship and research. The Ruthenian National Institute "National Home" (Narodnyi Dim), founded in Lviv in 1849 with the aim of collecting historical and archaeological material and publishing scholarly works on history, ethnography, and philology, also failed to develop into a center of research. Its activity in the last decades of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century was limited to maintaining a library and archeological, historical, and natural history museums. Similarly, the Stavropygian Institute in Lviv (founded in 1788) also limited its activities to the maintenance of a museum and archives.

The level of Ukrainian scholarship in Western Ukraine at the beginning of the 1890's was low. There were relatively few Ukrainian scholars, and for the most part, they wrote in languages other than Ukrainian. In addition to the older Anthony Petrushevch and Isidore Sharanevych [Vol. I, p. 565b], noteworthy scholars included historian Julian Tselevych, church historian Bishop Julian Pelesh, and philologists Omelian Ohonovsky, Alexander Barvinsky, and later, Stephen Smal-Stotsky [Vol. I, pp. 432 and 961]. Ukrainian scholarship in Western Ukraine made some advances only during the last few years of the nineteenth century; this development was closely related with the activity of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and Professor Michael Hrushevsky.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society was a continuation of the Shevchenko Society,

a literary scholarly society founded in 1873 in Lviv, on the initiative and with the financial support of community leaders in the central and eastern Ukrainian lands. Both the establishment of

FIGURE 79. MICHAEL HRUSHEVSKY

this society and its transformation into a learned institution constituted a reaction against the increasing pressures of the tsarist regime in the central and eastern lands, including the Ems ukase (1876), limitations on Ukrainian language, literature, and scholarship, and in particular the ban on printing books in Ukrainian [Vol. I, p. 684a-b]. The reorganization of the Shevchenko Society, initiated by Volodymyr Antonovych and Alexander Konysky, was an attempt to create a free Ukrainian center of scholarship, one that would unite scholars and researchers from all the Ukrainian lands. A major role in the development of the scholarly work of the Society was played by Michael Hrushevsky, who left Kiev in 1894 to assume the chair of history at the University of Lviv [Vol. I, p. 566]. He succeeded Julian Tselevych and Alexander Barvinsky as president of the Society, and remained in this post from 1897 until 1913. He was also the director of the Society's Historical-Philosophical Section, and edited a number of publications of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, notably the *Zapysky* (Memoirs). Hrushevsky's closest associates were ethnographer Volodymyr Hnatiuk (1871–1926) [Vol. I, p. 275a] who served as secretary of the Society for many years and Ivan Franko (1856–1916), Western Ukraine's leading writer and scholar.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society, organized on the pattern of the Vienna Academy of Science, was divided into three sections: historical-philosophical, philological, and mathematical-naturalistic-medical. Within these sections, research commissions worked in specific scholarly fields and projects. In 1898 the membership of the Society was divided into full members and members. The original full members, as well as those later elected to full membership, included Ukrainian scholars from all Ukrainian lands and from abroad. After 1902 prominent scholars and researchers of other nationalities who were especially noted for their work in Ukrainian and Slavic studies were also elected as full members.

The Historical-Philosophical Section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, headed by Michael Hrushevsky, developed into the most active division. Hrushevsky assembled a group of historians, for the most part his own students [Vol. I, p. 567b], and together they did the research and published a great deal of material relating to Ukrainian history. The monumental work, *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy* (History of Ukraine-*Rus'*), began to appear in 1898 in a series of Shevchenko Scientific Society editions published in Lviv. The publications of the section and its commissions also included: *Zbirnyk istorychno-filosofichnoï sektsiï* (Collection of the Historical-Philosophical Section, 1913, 14 volumes), *Ukraïns'ka istorychna biblioteka* (Ukrainian Histori-

cal Library), *Zherela do istorii Ukraïny-Rusy* (Sources on the History of Ukraine-Rus', 11 volumes), *Pravnycha biblioteka* (Legal Library, 4 volumes), and *Studii z polia suspil'nykh nauk i statystyky* (Studies in the Field of Social Sciences and Statistics, 5 volumes). The archaeographical, archaeological, legal, and statistical commissions assisted in the work of the Historical-Philosophical Section. Prominent economists, statisticians, and jurists worked in the latter two commissions, among them Stanyslav Dnistriansky, Constantine Levytsky, Michael Lozynsky, and Volodymyr Okhrymovych.

The Philological Section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, headed by Ivan Franko, assembled the largest group of researchers—philologists, Slavists, literary historians, and ethnographers. Its members included not only Ukrainian scholars [Vol. I, Language, Literature, Ethnography], but also a number of famed Slavists of other nationalities, among them Vatroslav Jagič, Jan Baudoin de Courtenay, Alexander Pypin, Alexander Brückner, Olaf Broch, and Lubor Niederle. The publications of this section and its commissions (ethnographic, bibliographic, etc.) included *Zbirnyk filolohichnoï sektsii* (Collection of the Philological Section, 18 volumes), *Pamiatky ukraïns'koï movy i literatury* (Monuments of Ukrainian Language and Literature, 7 volumes), *Etnografichnyi Zbirnyk* (Ethnographic Collection, 40 volumes), *Materiialy do ukraïns'koï etnolohii* (Materials on Ukrainian Ethnology, 22 volumes), *Materiialy do ukraïns'koï bibliohrafii* (Materials on Ukrainian Bibliography, 3 volumes). Among works published in these editions were many significant contributions to the field of Slavic studies.

The Mathematical-Naturalistic Medical Section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society pioneered in the development of Ukrainian scientific research. Its directors, who also served as editors of its publications *Zbirnyk matematychno-pryrodopysno-likars'koï sektsii* (Collection of the Mathematical-Naturalistic-Medical Section) and *Zvidomlennia z zasidan' matematychno - pryrodopysno - likars'koï sektsii* (Minutes of the Meetings of the Mathematical-Naturalistic-Medical Section, in German), were zoologist and botanist Ivan Verkhratsky (1846-1919), a pioneer in the development of Ukrainian scientific terminology, and Volodymyr Levytsky (1872–1956), the mathematician and physicist. Other prominent members of the section were biochemist Ivan Horbachevsky (1854–1943) professor at the University of Prague and author of numerous works in the field of biological and medical chemistry; physicist Ivan Puliui (1845-1918), professor at the Prague Polytechnic Institute and one of the founders of radiology; geographer Stephen Rudnytsky (1877–1932), father of Ukrainian geography [Vol. I, p. 167a-b]; and Ivan Rakovsky (1874–1949), anthropologist and zoologist.

The most significant general publication of the Shevchenko Scientific Society was the *Zapysky NTSh* (Memoirs of the Shevchenko Scientific Society). In addition to the original works, surveys of intellectual life in Ukraine and in the world and reviews of important scholarly works appearing in Ukrainian and other languages were included in the *Zapysky*. Between 1892 and 1913, 110 volumes were published. The *Khronika NTSh* (Chronicle of the Shevchenko Scientific Society; in two editions, one German and one Ukrainian, 59 volumes each) continually published information about the scholarly work of the Society. Other publications of the Shevchenko Scientific Society included the literary-scientific journal *Zoria* (The Star, 1885–97); *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk* (Literary and Scientific Herald, 1898–1905; see The Press, p. 484); and *Chasopys' Pravnycha* (Legal Newsletter), begun in 1899 and renamed *Chasopys' Pravnycha i Ekonomichna* (Legal and Economic Newsletter) in 1900. Altogether, 461 scholarly works were published by the Shevchenko Scientific Society from 1892 to 1913, not

including literary journals and belles-lettres.

Scholarly research done by members of the Society was greatly facilitated by its library which in 1914 numbered 100,000 volumes, dealing mostly with Ukrainian subjects (see pp. 396–7) and also included a museum (see p. 411). The Society was financed by subsidies of the Austrian and provincial (Galician) governments, income from its own businesses (printing shops and bookstores), and contributions from its Ukrainian patrons (including Basil Symyrenko, Elizabeth Skoropadska-Myloradovych, Paul Pelekhyn, Eugene Chykalenko, and Constantine Pankivsky). The research work and publications of the society dealt with problems of all lands of Ukraine, although they concentrated on Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia. The Shevchenko Scientific Society exchanged publications with most of the academies and scholarly societies and institutions of the world. Members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society participated in international conferences and contributed to foreign scholarly publications. The Society continued its activity on a national scale even after Ukrainian scholarship was permitted to develop somewhat in Ukrainian lands under Russia, and after the Ukrainian Scientific Society was established in Kiev in 1907 (see p. 247). Up to the time of the creation of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev in 1918, the Shevchenko Scientific Society was universally recognized as the major center of Ukrainian scholarship in Ukraine.

**Other Scholarly Institutions**

The Church Museum in Lviv, renamed the National Museum (see p. 412) in 1908, was an important center of scholarly research in the field of Ukrainian art, in particular church art and bibliology. It was founded in 1905, on the initiative of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, with Hilarion Svientsitsky (1876–1956) as director. A rather limited amount of scholarly work was also conducted by Galician professional societies (all based in Lviv) such as the Ukrainian Technical Society (established 1908), which published *Tekhnichni Visti* (Technical News); the Association of Ukrainian Lawyers (established 1910), which published the *Pravnychyi Vistnyk* (Legal Herald); and the Ukrainian Medical Society (established 1912), which published the *Likars'kyi Vistnyk* (Medical Herald).

Among Polish scholarly institutions which devoted some space in their publications to Ukrainian studies were the Ossolinski National Institute in Lviv (see p. 396), the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow, the Polish Scientific Society in Lviv (established 1900), and the Copernicus Polish Naturalists Society in Lviv (founded 1875).

**Abroad (1850–1918)**

The same leading Ukrainian scholarly and civic groups of the central and eastern Ukrainian lands which helped organize a center of free Ukrainian studies in the western Ukrainian lands—particularly members of the Kievan Stara *Hromada* [Vol. I, pp. 682 et seq.]—also initiated efforts to establish such a center in western Europe. Their project was realized sooner than expected as a result of the proclamation of the Ems ukase. Restricted in their work by the ukase, some Ukrainian scholars—Michael Drahomanov, Theodore Vovk, Nicholas Ziber—were forced to emigrate. They settled in Geneva and began to publish a nonperiodical scholarly journal entitled *Hromada* (Community, 1878–82). Among contributors to this publication, in addition to those mentioned above, were sociologist Serhii Podolynsky and Galician publicist Michael Pavlyk. The Genevan group also published brochures in Ukrainian, Russian, and western European languages, designed to inform the European community on the Ukrainian problem. It established contact with foreign scholarly circles and societies.

The founder and most prominent member of the Genevan Hromada was Michael Drahomanov (1841–95). He induced younger Ukrainian scholars to undertake more thorough research into the past and present of Ukrainian life and exerted great influence on the formation of the political viewpoint of the contemporary young Ukrainian intelligentsia, [Vol. 1, pp. 685, 703]. After moving to Bulgaria, Drahomanov maintained his contact with scholarly circles in the West, particularly in Switzerland, France, and Italy. Associates of Drahomanov in Geneva were Nicholas Ziber (1841–88), one of the first Ukrainian theoretical economists of a Marxist bent (see p. 670), and initially Theodore Vovk (1847–1918)—prominent Ukrainian anthropologist, ethnographer, and archaeologist [Vol. I, p. 160b].

FIGURE 80. SOPHIA KOVALEVSKA

FIGURE 81. MAKSYM KOVALEVSKY

Many other Ukrainian scholars, deprived of the necessary working conditions in their own country, or persecuted because of their views, were forced at various times to emigrate from Ukraine. They continued their work abroad, attaining scholarly stature in the countries of their residence. Some maintained contact with Ukrainian scholarship; others returned home and resumed their scholarly work there. The majority, however, especially those who settled in Russia and Poland were lost to Ukrainian scholarship and their Ukrainian origins are seldom recognized—Michael Borys-kevych (1848–99), a professor at the Universities of Innsbruck and Gräz; mathematician Sophia Kovalevska (1849–89), the author of a number of works on the theory of function and mechanism and a professor at the University of Stockholm; Maxim Kovalevsky (1851–1916), lawyer, historian, and sociologist, and professor at the Universities of Oxford and Stockholm; Nobel-prize-winning biologist from Odessa, Elias Mechnykov (1845–1916), a pioneer in a number of modern biological sciences, and the organizer and director of a laboratory at the Pasteur Institute in Paris; historian Dmytro Petrushevsky (1863–1942), a noted expert on European medieval history and a professor at the Universities of Warsaw, St. Petersburg, Moscow, among others.

FIGURE 82. ELIAS MECHNYKOV

*V. Doroshenko, B. Krawciw*

# 4. CENTRAL AND EASTERN LANDS AFTER 1917

## THE PERIOD OF UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD

Following severe repressions by the tsarist government at the outbreak of World War I, including a series of bans, prohibitions, and personal attacks (e.g., imprisonment and deportation of Michael Hrushevsky), Ukrainian scholarship did not experience a revival until the revolution of March 1917 and the rebirth of Ukrainian statehood. The Ukrainian

Scientific Society in Kiev became the hub of Ukrainian scholarly activities. Its scope broadened with the reorganization of the section of mathematics and natural sciences into three separate sections: natural sciences, technology, and medicine. The Society renewed the publication of its *Zapysky* (Memoirs), *Zbirnyky* (Collections), and the scholarly quarterly *Ukraïna,* and initiated the *Zbirnyk Tekhnichnoï Sektsiï UNT* (Symposium of the Technical Section of the Ukrainian Scientific Society). Scholars from other areas of Ukraine joined in the work of the Ukrainian Scientific Society, with increasing numbers active in the field of natural science and technology. The Society established a branch in Poltava.

The task of establishing new centers of scholarly research was assumed by the newly established government of Ukraine. The Ukrainian Academy of Fine Arts and the Academy of Pedagogics were founded late in 1917 in Kiev. New state universities were established in 1918 in Kiev and Kamianets Podilsky; a department of history and philology was opened in Poltava. Ukrainian was the language of instruction in all these institutions, and chairs of Ukrainian studies were founded in all the existing establishments of higher learning (see p. 342). The Ukrainian National Library, the State Archaeological Commission, the Ukrainian Geological Committee, and other scholarly institutions were established in the same year.

The most important event was the opening of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in the fall of 1918. Its charter was drafted by a special commission created by the Ministry of Education (headed by Nicholas Vasylenko). Pursuant to a decree promulgated by the Hetman government of Ukraine, the Academy, consisting of three departments, was opened on November 14, 1918. The following academicians were charter members: in the department of history and philology, Dmytro Bahalii, Ahatanhel Krymsky, Nicholas Petrov, and Stephen Smal-Stocky; in the department of physics and mathematics, Volodymyr Vernadsky, Nicholas Kashchenko, and Stephen Tymoshenko; in the department of socio-economic sciences, Michael Tuhan-Barnanovsky, Orest Levytsky, Volodymyr Kosynsky, and Theodore Taranovsky. V. Vernadsky was elected

FIGURE 83. VOLODYMYR VERNADSKY

FIGURE 84. AHATANHEL KRYMSKY

president of the Academy and A. Krymsky the permanent secretary. The following were elected chairmen of their respective departments: D. Bahalii, N. Kashchenko, O.Levytsky.

Scholarly activities also developed in other Ukrainian cities. In Kharkiv, it centered around D. Bahalii, an outstanding historian. The Kharkiv Technological Institute was the center of applied sciences, with mechanical and technical departments opened in 1918. Odessa was an active center of research in social and economic history of Ukraine and history of law (Michael Slabchenko, Eugene Zahorovsky, and Alexander Riabinin-Skliarevsky). Research in history, natural science, geography, and economics was conducted by Dmytro Yavornytsky and other scholars in Katerynoslav; the Institute of Medicine established there in 1916 was transformed into a university with four departments in 1918. Kamianets Podilsky, with its university organized by Ivan Ohiienko in 1918, was another important center. There were also centers of scholarly research in Poltava and Zhytomyr.

The relatively short period of Ukrainian statehood demonstrated the vast potential of Ukrainian scholarship when allowed to function and develop in freedom. The establishment of new scholarly institutions, indicating diversification of interests and research which ranged from the humanities to the socio-economic and technological fields, the greater variety of scholarly publications, and the initiation of Ukrainian terminology in the sciences—all this went hand in hand with intensive cultural activity which enveloped the country in the wake of its independence. Substantial contributions to Ukrainian learning were made by Ukrainian scholars who had been working in Russia before the revolution and now returned to Ukraine. The growing ranks of Ukrainian scholars delved into many fields of research, persevering in their work despite the war and the difficulties imposed by the Communists and other occupation armies (the Denikin troops, Polish armies) in 1919–20. This pioneering work in the organization of Ukrainian scholarship paved the way for continued progress in the decade that followed.

## IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN THE 1920's

The development of Ukrainian scholarship during the years of Ukrainian independence was partially arrested by the Communist invasion and subsequent establishment of the Soviet regime in Ukraine in 1920. The Academy of Pedagogics and the Ukrainian State University in Kiev were dissolved immediately, as was later the Ukrainian State University in Kamianets Podilsky. The Ukrainian Academy of Fine Arts was transformed into an Arts Institute in 1923. Leading Ukrainian scholars were persecuted and some were put to death (Volodymyr Naumenko and others). Many Ukrainian scholars emigrated to the West, establishing Ukrainian scholarly institutions abroad, particularly in Czechoslovakia (see pp. 280 ff.). Those who remained continued their work under incessant pressure of the Communist regime. Conditions were especially harsh during the period of war communism [Vol. I, p. 799b]. In addition to widespread terror, there was also suffering from shortages of food and housing and forcible Russification. Opportunities for publishing scholarly works were very limited. But the course of Ukrainian scholarship had been set in the earlier period of independence, and it could not be restricted by official attempts to impose "proletarian" or "socialist" dogma on it.

The ensuing period of the New Economic Policy (NEP) and subsequent years of relative liberalization were a short-lived stage in the growth of Ukrainian scholarship and of Ukrainian culture in general. The return of Ukrainians from abroad, led by Hrushevsky, also contributed greatly to the progress of Ukrainian scholarship during this period.

The structural forms of scholarly activity in the 1920's differed substantially from those before the revolution. In those years the universities were the main centers of scholarly research. Following their transformation into the Institutes of People's Education and other establishments of professional education (see Education, pp. 346 ff.), the emphasis was primarily on instruction with attendant diminution of pure research. However, a number of new research institutes emerged, especially in technology, agronomy, and medicine. The All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (VUAN) in Kiev became the leading center of Ukrainian scholarship. Along with it, a number of state research institutions began conducting research in applied fields along strictly defined lines. A number of local scholarly centers appeared outside of Kiev, usually attached to higher educational establishments, which employed thousands of research workers.

The purposes of Ukrainian scholarship also changed. There was no longer any

need to prove the separate origin and character of the Ukrainian people and their culture. Scholarly research was conducted on a national scale, with all Ukrainian scholars joining in the effort, as well as scholars of other nationalities who lived in Ukraine at the time. Despite restrictions of a political and ideological nature, which inhibited the development of the humanities and social sciences, research developed rapidly in all sectors, including the natural sciences, engineering, and medicine. Natural scientists and economists looked at Ukraine for the first time as a separate entity and not as a part of the Russian empire. Books in some fields of scholarship were written and published in Ukrainian for the first time, and in this respect the VUAN spearheaded the efforts to compile and publish terminological dictionaries.

The VUAN maintained continuous contacts with the Western world of learning during the 1920's. The academicians and scholarly workers of the VUAN took part in international conferences and made trips to the West. Foreign scholars in turn visited Ukraine, establishing personal and scholarly contacts. Ukrainian scholarly institutions also maintained contacts with Ukrainian centers of learning in Western Ukraine and abroad: works by academicians and other members of the VUAN were published in Western Ukrainian and émigré publications, and, conversely, the scholars of Lviv and those living abroad contributed to the publications issued by VUAN. During the 1925–9 period four Lviv scholars were elevated to the rank of academician in the VUAN.

**The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences**

Immediately upon their occupation of Kiev, the Communists proclaimed the decree of the People's Commissar of Education of the Ukrainian SSR (February 11, 1919), which established structural and financial guidelines for the Academy. Although this decree was of little practical significance, it served the Soviets as a means for advancing the unjustifiable claim of having established this highest scholarly institution of Ukraine.

During the period of war communism, the Academy conducted its work under extremely difficult conditions. In addition to physical hardship, the Academy's research workers were persecuted by the authorities for their scholarly work and opinions. Although the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR, by its decree of June 14, 1921, recognized the Academy as "the highest state scholarly institution" (designating it the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, VUAN), this status did not improve the institution's material well-being. Payment of appropriations and salaries was delayed for months, and as a result of the inflation in the second half of 1921, the monthly salary of a permanent staff member of the Academy came down in real value to two prewar rubles (about one dollar). Appropriations for scholarly research and the publications of the VUAN were wholly inadequate.

After the monetary reform of 1922 the material conditions of the Academy's employees improved somewhat, although at this time the staff of VUAN was drastically reduced from 606 to 149 persons, and in 1923 to 118. Nevertheless, the work at VUAN went on, helped by non-staff employees (over 1,000 in 1921), most of whom worked without any remuneration. Publishing also improved after VUAN had been granted the rights to the printing shop of the Kievan Cave Monastery in 1922.

VUAN's research work intensified in 1924 with the return of M. Hrushevsky who delved into various areas of historical research. The permanent staff of the Academy was increased to 160. Publication multiplied: from 22 in 1923 to 35 in 1924, 52 in 1925, 75 in 1926, 88 in 1927, 90 in 1928, 136 in 1929, and 116 in 1930, excluding reprints and circulars. According to the charter of 1918, the Academy was divided into three departments. The

departments included academic chairs, numerous commissions, institutes, museums, libraries, which functioned as permanent institutions each under a director. The highest governing body was the assembly of members. The executive committee consisted of president, vice-president, and permanent secretary, whose duties included coordination of work in various scholarly institutions. The following were presidents of the Academy: V. Vernadsky, 1918–9; O.

FIGURE 85. VOLODYMYR LYPSKY

FIGURE 86. DANIEL ZABOLOTNYI

Levytsky, 1919–21; N. Vasylenko, 1921–2; Volodymyr Lypsky, 1922–8; Daniel Zabolotnyi, 1928–9; Alexander Bohomolets, 1930–46. Serhii Yefremov was vice-president from 1923 to 1929, and A. Krymsky was permanent secretary from 1918 to 1929.

There were two categories of membership—full and corresponding. Members of both categories could be included in the staff, that is, paid out of the budget of the Academy, or non-staff—working without pay and without permanent assignment. Academic chairs were the main link in the structure of the Academy. They were headed by academicians nominated by the departments and elected by secret ballot by the assembly of the full members; for the most part they were eminent specialists in a given field of learning. The chair, in addition to its head (or director), also included corresponding members and research workers of different ranks.

The first Historical and Philological Department of VUAN developed a particularly broad spectrum of research. It was aided by the annexation of the same sections of the Ukrainian Scientific Society, the Society of Nestor the Chronicler, the Kiev Archaeographic Commission, and other scholarly institutions which were merged into the VUAN after 1921. In 1927–8 the department included the following chairs: historical-philological (A. Krymsky), history of the Ukrainian language (Eugene Tymchenko), Ukrainian oral literature (Andrew Loboda), history of modern Ukrainian literature (S. Yefremov), old Ukrainian literature (Volodymyr Peretts), modern history of the Ukrainian nation (M. Hrushevsky), ancient Ukrainian history (D. Bahalii), historical geography (Alexander Hrushevsky), Byzantology (Theodore Myshchenko), history of Ukrainian art (Alexis Novytsky). The total number of staff academicians in the department was eight, non-staff, nine; members-directors, two; and corresponding members, five.

At the beginning of 1928 the department and its chairs included 39 commissions, institutes, committees, and museums. Work was conducted on the compilation of dictionaries of contemporary Ukrainian, a historical language dictionary, and a biographical dictionary of prominent Ukrainians. Two separate institutions for the study of non-Ukrainian cultures were working under A. Krymsky—the cabinet of Arabic and Iranian Philology and the Hebrew Historical and Archaeographic Commission. The institutions devoted to history and working under M. Hrushevsky developed a broad field of research. The quarterly (subsequently bimonthly) organ of the Historical Section *Ukraïna* (1924–30), edited by Hrushevsky, attracted a large group of historians [Vol. I, p. 569] and researchers in various fields of Ukrainian studies. Hrushevsky continued his work on the further volumes of his *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy* (History of Uk-

raine-*Rus'*) and *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury* (History of Ukrainian Literature). He was also editor of a number of serial publications of the Historical and Philological Department [Vol. I, p. 569] and of the Archaeographical Commission (see Archives, p. 405). The All-Ukrainian Archaeological Commission, organized in 1922 from the Archaeological Section of VUAN, did considerable work in scholarly research and publications, under the leadership of Theodore Schmit and Nicholas Biliashivsky, among others. In the field of Ukrainian philology, lexicography, and studies of literature (particularly the works of Shevchenko) major studies were produced by A. Krymsky, S. Yefremov, and their associates. Krymsky edited most of the issues of *Zapysky istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu* (Memoirs of the Historical-Philological Department) and other publications sponsored by the Department. The commission for the compilation of a dictionary of contemporary Ukrainian published three volumes of the Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary (A to P) in 1924–8. The Institute of the Ukrainian Scientific Language (subsequently the Institute of Linguistics) compiled and published during the 1923–30 period 22 terminological dictionaries in various fields, particularly the natural and technological sciences and began publication of the Historical Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language, edited by E. Tymchenko. Substantial research activity was developed by the Ethnographic Commission under A. Loboda, which, in addition to a number of books and programs, published in 1925–30 nine volumes of *Etnohrafichnyi Visnyk* (Ethnographic Herald [Vol. I, p. 277]).

The Department of Physics and Mathematics consisted of scholars in anthropology, geography, geology, mathematics, physics, chemistry, medicine, and many fields of technology. Some worked within the framework of the VUAN institutions, but the majority were associated with institutions of higher learning and research institutes and stations all over Ukraine, which were not part of the VUAN system.

During 1927–8 this department of VUAN included the following chairs: mathematics (Dmytro Grave); mathematical physics (Nicholas Krylov); biology of agricultural plants (Eugene Votchal); experimental zoology (Ivan Schmalhausen); chemical technology (Volodymyr Shaposhnykov); Public Health (Ovksentii Korchak-Chepurkivsky); clinical medicine (Theophile Yanovsky). The total number of staff academicians in the Department of Physics and Mathematics at that time was 15; non-staff, 21; and corresponding members, nine. In 1927–8 the department included, in addition to the seven chairs,

FIGURE 87. VOLODYMYR SHAPOSHNYKOV

FIGURE 88. ALEXANDER FOMIN

19 different institutions. The Geological Society headed by academician Paul Tutkovsky and the Botanical Society under academician Alexander Fomin were also part of the department.

The Department of Physics and Mathematics published a great deal of material. In addition to several dozen works published in the series *Trudy fizyko-matematychnoho viddilu* (Works of the Physical Mathematical Department), it also published 15 issues of *Zapysky* (Memoirs 1923–30) and 32 issues of other serial publications, including *Ukraïns'skyi Botanichnyi Zhurnal* (Ukrainian Botanical Journal), *Ukraïns'kyi Zoolohichnyi Zhurnal* (Ukrainian Zoolog-

ical Journal), and *Antropolohiia* (Anthropology).

FIGURE 89. MICHAEL KRAVCHUK

FIGURE 90. CONSTANTINE SYMINSKY

Among the leading members and researchers of the department distinguished for their works, in addition to the cited directors of chairs and institutions, were the following: V. Vernadsky, director of the chair of mineralogy during the first years of VUAN, natural philosopher, and founder of biogeochemistry; D. Zabolotnyi, bacteriologist and author of research works on cholera and bubonic plague; African Kryshtofovych, botanist and geologist, student of Asia and plants in Ukraine; V. Lypsky, botanist; Nicholas Sharleman, zoologist; Michael Kravchuk, mathematician; Naum Akhiezer, aerodynamicist; Constantine Syminsky, applied mechanics; Volodymyr Kistiakovsky, physics and chemistry; P. Tutkovsky, geology. There were many other prominent scholars, some of whom subsequently gained world recognition in their chosen fields.

FIGURE 91. VOLODYMYR KISTIAKOVSKY

Like other departments of the VUAN, the Social-Economic Department maintained the following chairs in 1927–8, headed by full members of the Academy: history of West-Ruthenian and Ukrainian law (Nicholas Vasylenko), statistics (Michael Ptukha), economics of trade and commerce (Constantine Voblyi), philosophy of law (Alexander Hyliarov), national law (Onykii Malynovsky), banking and finance (Leonid Yasnopolsky), international law (Volodymyr Hrabar), civil law (Stanyslav Dnistriansky), national economy (Volodymyr Levytsky), and political economy (Serhii Solntsev).

In addition, the department's research work was conducted in the Demographic Institute (chairman M. Ptukha), commissions for the study of the history of western *Rus'* and Ukrainian law (N. Vasylenko), commission for the study of common law (O. Malynovsky), commission of Soviet law (Arnold Kryster, chairman since 1927), commission for the study of banking and finance (L. Yasnopolsky), commission for the study of the national economy (C. Voblyi), and seminars for civil law and economics.

Affiliated with the department were also scholarly societies of economists and jurists. Academician Alexis Hyliarov was active in the field of the philosophy of law. Of the above-named ten scholars, six were staff academicians and four were non-staff academicians. There were also two corresponding members.

The main achievement of this department of the VUAN was the development of studies on the history of Ukrainian law and research on the national economy of Ukraine, particularly in such fields as demography, statistics, and sociology. A large group of older and younger scholars worked jointly in these areas. The studies of members and co-workers of the department were published in *Zapysky sotsial'no-ekonomichnoho viddilu* (Memoirs of the Social-Economic Department) in six volumes between 1923 and 1927, and in the serial publications (*Pratsi*—Works) of the above-mentioned commissions, seminars, and the Demographic Institute. Some works were published in separate book form.

In addition to scholarly institutions operating under the jurisdiction of the departments, there were others under the direct supervision of VUAN's Presidium, e.g., the People's Library of Ukraine, Museum of the Arts (former Khanenko Museum), the Theodore Vovk Laboratories of Anthropology and Ethnology, and commissions in regional studies, productive forces, and bibliography. In 1928, the VUAN began publishing its own official organ—the bimonthly *Visti* (News) containing a chronicle of events and reports of activities.

Affiliated societies of VUAN existed in other cities as well. In some instances they actually constituted VUAN branches, which were subdivided into sections and commissions, and brought out their own publications. The most important was the Kharkiv Scientific Society with sections of technological, medical, and natural sciences; in addition to numerous separate studies, it published more than 70 issues of periodicals between 1926 and 1930 (including 26 issues of *Naukovo-Tekhnichnyi Visnyk* [Herald of Technological Science], 11 issues of *Ukraïns'kyi Medychnyi Arkhiv* [Ukrainian Medical Archive], and 9 issues of *Visnyk Pryrodoznavstva* [Herald of Natural Science]). Operating within the system of VUAN was the Commission of Regional Studies in Odessa, which published its *Visnyk* (Herald, 1924–30), and the Odessa Scientific Society with its *Zapysky* (Memoirs, 13 issues 1928–30). The following scholarly societies affiliated with VUAN should also be mentioned: Poltava, Katerynoslav (Dnipropetrovske), Kamianets Podilsky, Mykolaïv, Chernihiv, and Shepetivka. The Leningrad Society of Ukrainian History, Literature, and Language (under Academician V. Peretts) and regional study societies in Lubni and Nizhyn were also connected with the VUAN. A cabinet for the study of Podilia was working as part of the branch of the All-Ukrainian Library branch in Vinnytsia (it brought out 26 publications between 1924 and 1929).

On April 1, 1928, the scholarly research personnel of VUAN consisted of the following: 63 full members (including 34 non-staff), 16 corresponding members, and 323 research employees (including 212 non-staff).

**Other Scholarly Institutions**

Scholarly activities in Ukraine in the 1920's were not limited to the VUAN and the various institutions within its system, but also embraced higher educational establishments, scientific research institutes and chairs, museums and archives, central libraries, historical and natural reservations, scientific experimental stations, and other scholarly societies. Most of them were located in Kharkiv, then capital of the Ukrainian SSR, followed by Kiev, Odessa, Dnipropetrovske; lesser centers of scholarship existed in Poltava, Nizhyn, Chernihiv, Vinnytsia, Zhytomyr, Mykolaïv, Kherson, Simferopol in the Crimea, Krasnodar in Kuban, and elsewhere.

Although limited in activity after the reorganization in the 1920's, the establishments of higher learning continued to be centers of scholarly research, maintaining their own publications, particularly in some areas of Ukrainian studies. This was particularly true of the institutes of people's education which concentrated on humanities and natural sciences, the institutes of national economy, and agricultural, medical, technological, and art institutes. Scholarly research planned by the People's Commissariat of Education in 1921–2 was limited for a long time to classroom experiments.

Scientific research institutes were under the supervision of individual People's commissariats or the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR and were often limited to narrowly specialized fields. Scientific research chairs outside of the VUAN system were usually attached to higher educational establish-

ments and scientific institutes: few of them functioned independently. In the early 1930's, there were 26 such chairs in Kharkiv, 25 in Kiev, 13 in Odessa, 8 in Dnipropetrovske. Most of the scientific research institutes and chairs published their own proceedings and transactions.

The more important institutes and chairs in the field of the humanities were: in Kiev, the Scientific Research Chair of Ukrainian History (chairman M. Hrushevsky); in Kharkiv, the Scientific Research Chair of the History of Ukrainian Culture (headed by D. Bahalii, and later renamed the D. Bahalii Institute), the Shevchenko Institute of Ukrainian literature, and the Scientific Research Chair of World History (headed by Vladyslav Buzeskul); in Odessa, the Scientific Research Chair of Ukrainian history (chairman M. Slabchenko); and the Scientific Research chairs of Ukrainian Culture in Dnipropetrovske (chairman D. Yavornytsky), Nizhyn, and other cities. Oriental studies were concentrated in the All-Ukrainian Scientific Association of Oriental Studies in Kharkiv (1926–33), which published the journal *Skhidnyi Svit* (Oriental World, 1927–31). Other institutions active in scholarly work were: the Central Archives Administration in Kharkiv, with its organ *Arkhivna Sprava* (Archive Matters, see Archives, p. 405); the Ukrainian Institute of Bibliology in Kiev (see Book Publishing, p. 409); the Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Pedagogics in Kharkiv (see Education, pp. 296 ff.), and many others.

In the field of natural sciences, there were, in addition to the institutions within the Second Department of VUAN, higher educational establishments and chairs and the Society of Natural Scientists (in Kiev, Odessa, and other cities) which published their own works, the Ukrainian Geological Committee, the Ukrainian Committee for Conservation of Natural Monuments (Kharkiv), and the Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Geography and Cartography founded in Kharkiv in 1927 by Stephen Rudnytsky. During the brief period of its existence between 1919 and 1927, the Agricultural Scientific Committee of Ukraine located in Kharkiv did a great deal of research in agronomy, botanics, soil science, etc. Particularly active were the sections of Soil Studies under Gregory Makhiv, which published the first accurate *Mapa hruntiv Ukraïny* (Map of Soils of Ukraine) and of Botany under Alexander Yanta, which compiled *Botanichno-heografichna raionizatsiia Ukraïny* (Botanical-Geographical Regionalization of Ukraine, 1925) and began publication of *Flora Ukraïny*. Important work was also performed by the Ukrainian Meteorological Service founded in Kharkiv in 1921, and by the Askaniia Nova Reservation with its zoological and botanical gardens and experimental stations.

Research in regional studies was conducted in the 1920's by the Ukrainian Committee of Regional Studies in Kharkiv and a series of local organizations which published their findings.

Several dozen scientific research chairs and institutes were active in the field of the exact and technological sciences. The most important among them were scientific research chairs of physics in Kiev and Kharkiv, and of chemistry and applied mechanics in Odessa; the Institute of Applied Chemistry (1925), the Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Machines and Machine-Building (1928), the Ukrainian Physico-Technological Institute (1929), and the Scientific Research Institute of Experimental Aerodynamics (1929)—all in Kharkiv; the Institute of Technological Mechanics (1922) and the Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of the Sugar Industry (1926) in Kiev; and the Central Gravimetric Observatory (1926) in Poltava.

The following medical institutes were engaged in scientific research: the All-Ukrainian State Roentgen-Radiological and Oncological Institute (1920), the Ukrainian State Psychoneurological Institute (1921); the Ukrainian State Institute of Pathology and Labor Hygiene (1923), the Ukrainian State Institute of

Clinical Psychiatry and Social Mental Health (1926)—all in Kharkiv; the T. Yanovsky Institute of Tuberculosis (1922), the Ukrainian Biochemical Research Institute (1925), and the Kiev State Psychoneurological Institute (1927)—all in Kiev; the State Institute of Skin and Venereal Disease (1917), the Ivanov Scientific Research Institute of Tuberculosis (1921), and the All-Ukrainian Institute of Balneology and Spas (1929)—all in Odessa.

Research work conducted by the Central Statistical Bureau of the Ukrainian SSR in Kharkiv was significant from both the theoretical and the practical standpoint. It published statistical material and a series of major studies, including *Statystyka Ukraïny* (Statistics of Ukraine).

Major centers of research in Kuban were: the Kuban-Black Sea Scientific Research Institute (founded in 1917 as a scholarly society and reorganized as an institute in 1920), the Kuban Scientific Museum (founded in 1879 and operating independently since 1917), and the Kuban Agricultural Institute (founded in 1922)—all in Krasnodar.

The Ukrainian Institute of Marxism, founded in Kharkiv in 1922, occupied a rather unique place in Ukrainian scholarship. It was headed by Matthew Yavorsky and embraced historians and economists of the Marxist persuasion.

## SUPPRESSION OF UKRAINIAN SCHOLARSHIP IN THE 1930's

The promising development of Ukrainian scholarship was forcibly arrested by the Soviet regime in the early 1930's. With the change in Soviet nationality policy, which manifested itself in the curtailment of Ukrainization and the onset of intensive Russification [Vol. I, p. 818 ff.], the Communist regime waged an all-out assault on Ukrainian culture and scholarship, and the intellectual elite. The wave of repressions was designed to coincide with the preparations for the Five-Year Plan of industrialization and collectivization, and the attempt to enlist scholarly institutions of the Ukrainian SSR in promulgating the plan. The wave of terror was caused partly by the inability of the Soviet regime to take over the existing Ukrainian scholarly institutions from within (especially the VUAN) and thus subordinate them to the Russian centers of learning in Moscow and Leningrad.

The first blows were directed at the VUAN as the leading center of Ukrainian scholarship. Even before the assault, in 1927, the election of regular members of VUAN was made contingent upon the approval of the People's Commissar of Education of the Ukrainian SSR. Orders were issued in 1928 to change the structure of the leading organs of VUAN: instead of the assembly of full members, the council of VUAN, which convened several times a year, became its supreme governing body. Membership in the council was opened not only to regular members but also to representatives of the People's Commissariat of Education,

FIGURE 92. ALEXANDER BOHOMOLETS

FIGURE 93. OVKSENTII KORCHAK-CHEPURKIVSKY

corresponding members, and younger scholarly workers (with an advisory vote). As a result of this reorganization, the Presidium of VUAN was made up of government supported candidates: Daniel Zabolotnyi, president (succeeded by Alexander Bohomolets in 1930); Constantine Voblyi, vice-president; and Ovksentii Korchak-Chepurkivsky, permanent secretary, after the re-election of A.

Krymsky to this position was rejected by the government. In 1929, pursuant to a new resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR, the 34 newly elected academicians included not only eminent scholars, but also party members and persons who had little or nothing to do with scholarship (e.g., People's Commissar of Education Nicholas Skrypnyk, Simon Semkovsky, Alexander Shlikhter, and Hlib Kryzhanivsky). The next step was to fill a number of important positions in the administration of VUAN with party members. Thus, M. Yavorsky became secretary of the Historical-Philological Department, while A. Shlikhter (chairman) and Volodymyr Yurynets (secretary) took over the Social-Economic Department.

Along with these measures, the Soviet regime attacked the VUAN with direct police action and administrative repression. In the summer of 1929, arrests were made among Ukrainian scholars, who were accused of membership in the Association for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU [Vol. I, pp. 505b, 818b]). A number of them were convicted after trial, and some (S. Yefremov, Joseph Hermaize, Andrew Nikovsky, and Volodymyr Durdukivsky, for example) were executed in prisons and concentration camps. Many Ukrainian scholars were discharged from work at the VUAN and other scholarly institutions, and some, to save their lives, left Ukraine. By mid-1930, the Historical-Philological Department was merged with the Social-Economic (retaining this name as its title), under A. Shlikhter. This move paralyzed the research work of the Historical-Philological Department. The Department of Physics and Mathematics, now the First Department of VUAN, was the most active. Headed by Academician Alexander Fomin, this department conducted its scholarly activities in accord with the purposes of the first Five-Year Plan and party directives.

The Ukrainian Institute of Marxism, later renamed the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, for the training of Communist scholarly personnel played an important part in bringing the VUAN under the control of the regime and reorganizing it to conform with Communist ideology. In 1931, the departments of this institute—historical, economic, and philosophical-sociological—along with other institutions of the same type, were reorganized into the All-Ukrainian Association of Marxist-Leninist Institutes (VUAMLIN), under A. Shlikhter as chairman and sponsored by the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine. Scholars, employees, and graduates of these institutes carried out the dissolution of the principal centers of Ukrainian scholarship and reorganized them according to the party program. They helped the regime in purging scholars, particularly censoring published studies, and eliminating works which did not follow the party line. The quality of the scholarly and general publications of these Marxist institutions was rather poor.

The suppression of Ukrainian scholarly achievements continued in spite of the changes in the VUAN brought about by the reconstruction needs of the Ukrainian SSR's national economy. During 1931–3, most of the institutes of history headed by M. Hrushevsky were abolished and the reorganization of other departments and institutions of VUAN continued. The All-Ukrainian Archaeological Committee was eliminated in 1933 and replaced by the Section of History of Material Culture. The drive against Ukrainian scholarship intensified with Moscow's appointment of Paul Postyshev to the post of Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP Ukraine in late 1933. Academicians S. Rudnytsky and V. Yurynets were arrested and expelled from VUAN in January 1934; western Ukrainian Academicians M. Vozniak, F. Kolessa, C. Studynsky, and B. Shchurat were also expelled as "enemies of the toiling masses of Ukraine." The VUAN was again reorganized in

November 1934; the Department of Social Sciences was abolished and the Department of Physics and Mathematics was divided into the Mathematical-Natural Sciences Department and the Technological Department. The individual departments lost almost all of their significance. The Academy actually became an association of institutes (numbering 21 at the time, and headed mostly by party members). The Presidium of the Academy was an executive board in name only, the real executive power was vested in the Academy's Party Center, established in 1930.

Also in 1934, the VUAN was transferred from the jurisdiction of the People's Commissariat of Education to the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR, but without the privilege of a people's commissariat similar to that reserved for the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The research programs of the Academy and its institutes were subject to approval by the Council of People's Commissars, which made scientific research contingent upon production and a number of practical projects planned in various fields of the national economy. The predominance of applied sciences in the activity of VUAN in 1934 was also evident from the fact that promotions to the rank of academician were primarily made from among candidates in the mathematical, natural, and technological sciences.

In 1935, without any vote or resolution, the letter "V" disappeared from the title of the Academy: instead of "Vseukraïns'ka" (All-Ukrainian), it was now called "Ukraïns'ka Akademiia Nauk" (Ukrainian Academy of Sciences—UAN). Even this designation was changed by the resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR of February 1936 to Akademiia Nauk Ukraïns'koï RSR (Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR). This version was meant to imply that the highest scholarly institution of Ukraine had been changed from a national to a territorial institution. The same resolution also approved a new charter for the Academy, again with three departments: Social Sciences, Mathematical and Natural (divided in 1938 into Physical-Mathematical and Biological), and Technological. Institutes continued as the centers of scholarly research, and the assembly of full members was the supreme governing body. The activities of the Academy were coordinated to conform with those of similar institutions of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.

This reorganization still failed to provide a firm foundation for the activities of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and its institutes, which were being continuously restructured and their personnel changed as a result of the purges. A number of scientific research institutes, which had not been a part of its system before, were placed under the supervision of the Academy. At the beginning of 1939, the number of members and institutions in the Academy were as follows: First Department of Physical-Chemical and Mathematical Sciences—19 full members and 21 corresponding members; institutes of mathematics, physics, chemistry, physical chemistry, chemical technology, and geological sciences; Second Department of Biological Sciences—16 full and 24 corresponding members; institutes of biochemistry, zoology, botany, microbiology and epidemiology, clinical physiology; a hydrobiological station and the Karadah biological station; Third Department of Technological Sciences—12 full and 16 corresponding members; institutes of construction mechanics, electric welding, mining engineering, and hydrology; Fourth Department of Social Sciences—13 full and 7 corresponding members; institutes of linguistics, the Shevchenko Institute of Ukrainian Literature, Ukrainian folklore, history of Ukraine, archaeology, economics, and the cabinet for the study of Jewish literature, language, and folklore. The council for the study of productive resources of the

Ukrainian SSR, and the library of the Academy functioned independently.

The All-Ukrainian Association of Marxist-Leninist Institutes was abolished in 1936 and most of its scholars were purged.

In addition to VUAN, numerous other scholarly centers were reorganized or abolished in the mid-1930's, particularly those engaged in Ukrainian studies. This was followed by the discontinuance of scholarly societies and the closing of most research institutes in the humanities. All VUAN institutions of history were abolished in 1933. The institutions of the former Third Department of Social-Economic Sciences received the same treatment: following their liquidation, only the Institute of Demography and Health Statistics began operating again in 1934, and among the institutes of literature, only the Institute of the Study of Shevchenko's Work remained. The universities were reactivated in 1934, replacing the former institutes of public education, but all areas of Ukrainian studies were excluded from their scholarly activities. Both in the publications of VUAN (whose number dropped to 160 titles in 1934, mostly in the field of natural and applied sciences) and of the universities, the Russian language began to predominate.

Governmental scientific research institutes grew in importance. In the early 1930's, such institutes were maintained not only by the People's Commissariat of Education, but also by other commissariats and government bureaus. They were assigned the task of developing specific branches of the national economy, and their number reached 323 by 1940 (including scientific research institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR).

The quality and quantity of scholarly production could not remain unaffected by the terror and purges in the USSR, particularly the intraparty purges of the 1934–7 period. According to incomplete reports, the number of Ukrainian victims among high-ranking scholars of history, archaeology, law, ethnography, and literature was at least 150.

Because of the political pressure on scholarship, history had to be rewritten according to Marxist doctrine. The Ukrainian past had to be presented as closely associated with Russia. Periods of the Ukrainian people's struggle against Russia were completely omitted from historical accounts, while the war of Ukrainian liberation was denigrated. Books hostile to party ideology were banned, and classical works were published in excised or doctored editions, with strong emphasis on Russian influence on all aspects of Ukrainian development. Research into Old Ukrainian literature was restricted almost entirely to Moscow. Linguistics propagated the affinity of the Russian and Ukrainian languages. Philosophy was reduced to a recitation of dialectical and historical materialism, everything else being branded "bourgeois pseudo-science." Studies of law and jurisprudence were discontinued; economics and even the pure sciences were required to adhere to Marxist-Leninist theory, all works being heavily interlaced with quotations from Marx, Lenin, and Stalin.

Only the applied sciences were recognized by the authorities as being of paramount importance for the national economy, particularly industrialization and armaments, e.g., the research of Academician Eugene Paton, who developed a new method of rapid electric welding at the Institute of Electric Welding; the research of Academicians Maxim Luhovtsev, Nicholas Dobrokhotov, and corresponding member Ivan Frantsevych, who solved complex problems of production of high

FIGURE 94. EUGENE PATON

quality metals and increased output of open-hearth furnaces; the experiments of Academician Alexander Brodsky, who worked out a general theory of isotopes and was the first scholar in the USSR to produce heavy water.

In view of the Communist party's control and continued harassment, broad conceptual theories in either the natural or the social sciences could not be produced. Many branches of science, such as pedology, reflexology, and even anthropology, were pronounced "bourgeois" and "pseudo," and hence unworthy of attention and research.

This period also witnessed a marked decline in the quantity and quality of publications brought out by the VUAN (UAN) and other scholarly institutions. Out of 311 titles planned for publication by the UAN Press in 1934, there were 206 in the exact and applied sciences, but only 93 in the humanities (including 19 highly slanted studies on linguistics, 8 on the history of Ukrainian material culture, and 20 on problems of Jewish "proletarian literature"). Only 34.4 per cent of the total planned quota was actually published within the year, whereas in the applied sciences 70 per cent of the quota was filled. Not one work on Ukrainian literature appeared in 1934.

Matters did not improve in publishing during the following years. Nothing was published in such fields as philosophy, history of Ukraine, archaeology, literary criticism, ethnography, law, education, and psychology. In connection with the observance of the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko, a five-volume collection of his works appeared in 1939, as well as two volumes of a planned ten-volume edition. Several books on the creative heritage of Shevchenko were also published. Only two works of economic surveys came out—*Radians'ka Ukraïna za 20 rokiv* (Twenty Years of Soviet Ukraine, 1938) and *Sotsiialistychne sil's'ke hospodarstvo Radians'koï Ukraïny* (Socialist Agriculture of Soviet Ukraine, 1939).

**1939–44**

With the occupation of western Ukrainian territories by the Soviet armed forces in September 1939, western Ukrainian scholars joined in the activities of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and the Ukrainianized higher educational establishments. The Shevchenko Scientific Society was abolished and its facilities, along with those of other scholarly centres in Lviv, were integrated into the Academy (see p. 280).

The German-Soviet war brought great changes. The libraries and archives suffered considerable losses during the fighting and German occupation. At the start of hostilities, the Soviet government evacuated the Academy of Sciences and some of the scientific research institutes, as well as a majority of Ukrainian scholars (nearly all academicians), but most of the facilities were left in Ukraine. A majority of the institutes and the Presidium of the Academy were transferred to Ufa, where they engaged exclusively in defense research. The Institute of Electric Welding completed the important work of introducing automatic welding into the defense industry of the USSR. The military situation compelled the leadership of the Communist party and the regime to make some concessions to Ukrainian scholarship. While still residing in Ufa, the Ukrainian scholars A. Biletsky, L. Bulakhovsky, and M. Rylsky published several works on literature and linguistics; others brought out the first volume of the history of the Ukrainian SSR which had been ready before the outbreak of war. However, when hostilities subsided, the Communist authorities reverted to their former practice of persecuting and trying to exterminate Ukrainian scholarship and culture.

It was almost impossible to engage in any scholarly activity during the German occupation [Vol. I, pp. 882–3]. Some

Ukrainian scholars perished under the Nazi terror; others lived in poverty, unable to pursue their research.

In the fall of 1943, the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR was transferred from Ufa to Moscow, and in February, 1944, initial steps were taken to bring it back to Kiev. However, some of the Academy's most prized possessions (books, manuscripts, etc.), transferred during the war deep into the Soviet Union, were never returned. This was also true of the facilities which the German occupation authorities shipped to Germany.

*B. Krawciw, A. Ohloblyn*

# 5. THE UKRAINIAN SSR, 1945–66

## GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The immediate postwar years witnessed the imposition of the official policy on all institutions of higher learning, particularly those dealing with history and the social sciences. The CPSU enunciated its nationality policy as being based on the "unbreakable friendship among the nations of the USSR" and the "great role" of the Russian people in the development of the cultures of all non-Russian peoples incorporated in the Russian empire. Scholarly works on the history of Ukraine, literature, art, economics, etc., published in the period of a relative thaw during the war, were withdrawn from circulation or rewritten. The scholars of the Ukrainian SSR were compelled to divert their research to isolated problems or periods of Ukrainian history and culture, or to present historical facts in a distorted light, adhering to the official line on "the common development of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples." This tendency is particularly marked in work on Ukrainian history, ethnography, and literature, published on the occasion of the three-hundredth anniversary of the "union of Ukraine with Russia" (1654–1954).

This official course, aimed at Russification and the merging of Ukrainian with Russian culture, continued during the subsequent years of liberalization, particularly in 1957 when, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of Communist rule in Ukraine, a number of extensive works were published on the history of Ukrainian literature, scholarship, architecture, and art. At this time the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR had also successfully solved a number of highly complex problems in the development of the national economy. Despite an increase in scholarly publications in the Ukrainian language and the establishment of a number of scholarly journals between 1955 and 1958, including *Ukraïns'kyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal* (Ukrainian Historical Journal), *Narodna Tvorchist' ta Etnohrafiia* (Folk Creativeness and Ethnography), *Radians'ke Literaturoznavstvo* (Soviet Literary Studies), *Ekonomika Radians'koï Ukraïny* (Soviet Ukrainian Economy), *Radians'ke Pravo* (Soviet Law), *Ukraïns'kyi Fizychnyi Zhurnal* (Ukrainian Journal of Physics), *Fiziolohichnyi Zhurnal* (Journal of Physiology), and *Avtomatyka* (Automation), Ukrainian scholarly production was insignificant compared with that in the Russian language. Thus, in the 1950's and 1960's a scant 3.9 per cent of all scholarly books published in the USSR were in Ukrainian, comprising only 2.9 per cent of the total number of copies printed, although, according to the 1959 census, Ukrainians constituted 17.8 per cent of the USSR's population.

The majority of scholarly publications in the Ukrainian SSR are published in Russian, particularly those concerned

with the natural and technological sciences, as well as most serial publications. For example, in 1964, out of a total of 136 scholarly transactions, proceedings, reports, and bulletins of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, higher educational establishments, and scientific research institutes, 101 were in Russian, 33 in Ukrainian, and 2 in Russian and Ukrainian.

The distribution of scholarly personnel is also aimed at the merging of national cultures and Russification. Ukrainian scholars are transferred to the Russian SFSR and to other Soviet republics. Out of a total of 46,657 scholarly workers employed in the Ukrainian SSR in 1960, only 22,523 (48.3 per cent) were Ukrainians. At the same time, 13,097 Ukrainian scholars were working in other republics, where they used the Russian language exclusively and were not listed as Ukrainians.

In spite of various restrictions on the development of learning in the Ukrainian SSR, particularly in the field of the social sciences, scholars are engaged in large-scale research and have many achievements to their credit, especially in the natural and applied sciences. The Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and other research institutions in Ukraine maintain some contacts with learned institutions and scholars in many parts of the world. Personal contacts are quite limited, but there is an exchange of scholarly publications. Scholars of the Ukrainian SSR participate in conferences abroad as members of the USSR delegation and as such represent Soviet scholarship. Their contacts are closer with the countries of the "peoples' democracies." Thus, between 1957 and 1963 the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR had 200 Rumanian scholars as guests, whereas only 40 Ukrainian scholars visited Rumania in the same period.

FIGURE 95. ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

The principal centers of scholarly activity in the postwar period were the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and higher educational establishments, particularly universities and numerous scientific research institutes.

## THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

The activities of the Academy during the early postwar period were determined by the need for reconstructing the national economy and strengthening communism. These were the reasons for the continual reorganizations and changes in the structural system of the Academy, its planning and direction of scholarly pursuits, particularly in the years 1945–6 and 1956.

Following its return from evacuation to Kiev in 1944, the Academy began operations in four departments: social sciences, consisting of seven scientific research institutes; physico-chemical and mathematical sciences in nine institutes; biological sciences in eight institutes, and technology in seven institutes. Remaining under the Presidium's jurisdiction were: library, publishing, commission on the history of the Great Patriotic War, and several other institutions.

In 1946, following the death of the Academy's president, Alexander Bohomolets, Alexander Palladin was elected to succeed him; in 1962, Borys Paton was elected president.

During 1945–6 an independent Department of Agricultural Sciences was established within the Academy. In 1956, this department was emancipated as the

FIGURE 96. ALEXANDER PALLADIN

Ukrainian Academy of Agricultural Sciences. A number of new institutes were set up, including the Institute of Engineering in 1948, while many others were reorganized; for example, the Institute of Ukrainian History became the Institute of History (1951). In Lviv, in 1951, the scientific research institutes which had been in existence since 1940 were reorganized into the following institutes: social sciences (placed under the jurisdiction of Lviv University in 1963), geology, mining, agrobiology, mechanical engineering and automation. The Council on the Study of Productive Potentials of the Ukrainian SSR extended its scope of activities in the 1950's. Some changes in the structure of the Academy were made in 1956, expanding it to five departments: social sciences with 15 scientific research institutes; physico-mathematical sciences – 7 institutes; chemical and geological sciences–7 institutes; biological sciences–15 institutes; and technological sciences–12 institutes.

In the early 1960's, in connection with the measures undertaken for the realization of the Seven-Year Plan and the nationality policy of the CPSU within the framework of the resolutions of the twenty-second Party Congress, 44 scientific councils were established in the Ukrainian SSR to coordinate scholarly work in the natural and social sciences. They were placed under the supervision of the Coordinating Council of the Academy's Presidium. The Academy was again reorganized in 1963 and placed under the supervision of Moscow. As early as April 1963, the CC CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR passed a resolution "On Measures for the Improvement of the Activities of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and of the Activities of the Academies of Sciences of the Union Republics." According to the resolution, new charters were drafted both for the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and for the academies of sciences of the Union republics. They provided that general supervision and control of scientific research work on important problems of natural and social sciences conducted by institutions of the academies of sciences of the Union republics, higher education establishments, and other scientific research institutes be concentrated in the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Thus, the academies of sciences of the republics were actually relegated to mere branches of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The respective councils of ministers of each republic provide added supervision.

A new structure was proposed and adopted for the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR at its annual meeting in June, 1963. Like the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, it is composed of three sections: physico-technical and mathematical sciences (departments: mathematics, mechanics, and cybernetics, physico-technical problems and structure of materials, physics, sciences of earth and space–a total of 19 scientific research institutes); chemico-technical and biological sciences (departments of chemistry and chemical technology, biochemistry, biophysics, physiology, and general biology–a total of 13 scientific research institutes); and social sciences (departments of literature, language, and art; economics; history; philosophy; and law–a total of 7 scientific research institutes, and the section of constitutional law). In addition, the respective sections and their departments have experimental laboratories, biological stations, observatories, museums, libraries, etc. In 1964, the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR numbered 71 scientific institutions, as compared with 54 in 1962. Without

disturbing the basic structure of the Academy as established in 1963, its range of activities expanded in the following years with the establishment of a branch of geography in 1964, the Lviv

FIGURE 97. INSTITUTE OF TECHNICAL THERMO-PHYSICS, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN KIEV

affiliate of the Institute of Economics, and finally in 1965 the Donetske Scientific Center comprising four research institutes. The total number of institutes within the system of the Academy was 59 in 1965.

The chief governing body for the internal management of the Academy is the general meeting of full members (academicians) and corresponding members; between general meetings the Presidium rules. The coordination of its scientific research with that of the USSR is channelled through one of the vice-presidents of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (the president of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR is a member of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR). In replenishing its personnel, the Academy is completely dependent on Moscow: during discussions of the qualifications of candidates for academicians, corresponding members, and directors of scientific research institutes, the recommendations of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR are always taken into account. There were 99 full members in the Academy in 1965 and 128 corresponding members.

For a brief period there were two branch academies in the Ukrainian SSR: the Ukrainian Academy of Agricultural Sciences and the Academy of Building and Architecture. The Ukrainian Academy of Agricultural Sciences (UASHN) was founded in December, 1956, with Peter Vlasiuk as its president. The UASHN had five departments and 21 research institutes with a large network of experimental stations and a central agricultural library. In 1961 it had 22 full members and 22 corresponding members, and its 79 institutions had 2,070 research workers. The Academy has its own press and published *Dopovidi UASHN* (Transactions of the UASHN) and *Visnyk sil's'ko-hospodars'koï nauky* (Herald of Agricultural Science). The UASHN was disbanded in 1962, and its scientific research institutes were transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture of the Ukrainian SSR. This reorganization made the Ukrainian agricultural research institutes more dependent on the central organs of the USSR, inasmuch as the Ministry of Agriculture of the Ukrainian SSR is a Union-Republic ministry. This move was accompanied by a considerable broadening of the activities of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences.

The Academy of Building and Architecture (ABIA) was organized in November, 1956, from the earlier Academy of Architecture of the Ukrainian SSR (founded in 1944) and several branch institutes. Its task was to determine guidelines for the development of building techniques, conducting experiments in construction and architecture, and training scholarly personnel. In 1962 the ABIA had 26 scientific research institutes, a library of about one million volumes, and a museum of architecture, and acted as curator of the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Kiev, a national historical monument. There were 30 academicians and 1,925 research workers in the

Academy. In 1963 the Academy was abolished and most of its research institutes were placed under the jurisdiction of the State Building Bureau of the USSR, with a few under the State Building Bureau of the Ukrainian SSR.

The dissolution of these academies was prompted by the Soviet regime's policy of centralization and an attempt to concentrate all branch academies exclusively in Moscow, where, in addition to the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, there are the following academies: medical sciences, art, social sciences, agricultural sciences, and the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the Russian SFSR, the only such institution in the entire USSR (renamed Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR in 1966).

## HIGHER EDUCATION ESTABLISHMENTS

Beginning in the 1930's the universities regained their status after being called Institutes of People's Education, and became important centers of scholarly research in Ukraine, especially in the natural and applied sciences. Included were the universities of Kiev, Odessa, Kharkiv, and Dnipropetrovske, and those of Lviv and Chernivtsi (added in 1939–40), the newly established University of Uzhhorod in 1945, and Donetske in 1965. Scholarly research is conducted not only in departments, but also in special laboratories and research institutes. As of January 1, 1965, the Ministry of Higher and Special Secondary Education had supervision over 7 scientific research institutes, 192 research laboratories handling related problems (including 31 in the chemical sciences, 23 in machine building, 20 in instrument and radio-electronics, 12 in electric power, and 20 in biological sciences). Scholarly research work is directed towards both the training of highly qualified experts and the development, improvement, and application of new production processes in the national economy.

A major part of scholarly research is performed by the higher educational establishments in conjunction with economic institutions. Thus, in 1961, the advanced engineering institutions and universities completed 2,149 subjects under contract, and in 1960–1 industry introduced 700 inventions and suggestions for improving efficiency developed by Ukrainian establishments of higher learning.

An important role is played by the scholarly publications of these establishments, particularly by those of the Kiev and Lviv universities and some educational and technical institutes. They publish scientific transactions, newsletters, specialized symposia, monographs, textbooks, etc.

## GOVERNMENT RESEARCH INSTITUTES

After World War II, scientific research institutes assumed greater importance both within the system of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and higher educational establishments and within the Council of Ministers and its departments. The largest network of research institutes is now maintained by the Union and Union-Republic ministries. They are under the direct or indirect jurisdiction of Moscow, and their research personnel is appointed by the central authorities which give priority to Russians.

These institutions are engaged in research on new and more efficient production methods in industry, agriculture, construction, and transportation. There were 217 scientific research institutes and affiliates operating in the Ukrainian SSR in 1964, 116 of which are pursuing industrial research; 17 in metallurgy. The most important institutes are the following: ferrous metallurgy in Dnipropetrovske (theoretical research in the metallurgy of cast iron and steel, study of metals, thermal processing, mechanization and automation of metallurgical processes, publishing of *Nauchnye trudy*

FIGURE 98. MINING INSTITUTE IN DNIPROPETROVSKE

[Scientific Transactions, in Russian] and monographs); the Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Metals in Kharkiv (the chief institute in the Soviet Union in the field of dies, whose main research aims are the development of new methods of preparing raw material for smelting cast iron and steel, putting in operation new large and highly productive metallurgical plants, and creating new brands of high-strength low-alloy steels); the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of the Tube Industry of the USSR in Dnipropetrovske (the principal research institution of the pipe industry of the USSR, whose purposes are the development and improvement of technological processes of producing tubes made of ferrous metals and alloys); the Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Metals (this institute and the tube institute are both under the State Committee for Ferrous and Non-ferrous Metallurgy of the Gosplan, USSR).

There are 23 institutes working for the chemical industry, of which the most important are: Institute of Fundamental Chemistry in Kharkiv (the main institution in the USSR dealing with problems of potassium production, technology of production of adsorbents and absorbents of mineral origin); the State Scientific and Design Institute of Nitrogen Production and Products of Organic Synthesis in Dnipropetrovske, with affiliates in Lysychanske and Siverskodonetske; and the State Scientific Research Institute of the Petroleum and Petrochemical Industry in Kiev. There are 12 scientific research institutes and affiliates in the coal and mining industry. The most important are: Scientific Research Institute of Coal in Donetske (active in devising new and improving existing methods of coal extraction); the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Organization and Mechanization of Mine Construction in Kharkiv; the Institute of Underground Coal Mining in Luhanske (studies problems of hydraulic construction and transportation of coal); and the M. Fedorov Institute of Mining Engineering and Mining Cybernetics in Donetske (conducts studies of theoretical principles of mining, application of cybernetics and computer techniques to production management, and engineering and economic problems of the mining industry). The important institutes in machine-building are: Scientific Research and Design-Technological Institute of Machine-Building in Kramatorske (design of new equipment for heavy machine building, research of new technological processes, methods of comprehensive mechanization and automation of parts and assembly shops of machine-building enterprises): the Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Plant Design and Instrument Production in Odessa (new types of plants, particularly high precision) and the scientific research institutes on general machine-building in Poltava, Kiev, Kharkiv, and Chernihiv. Scientific research in the electrotechnical industry is being conducted by six

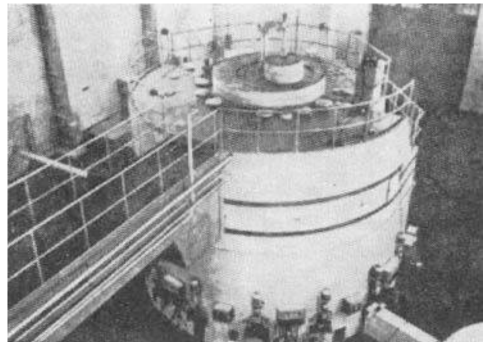

FIGURE 99. NUCLEAR REACTOR OF THE PHYSICS INSTITUTE, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

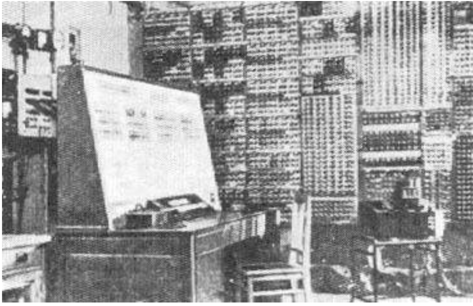

FIGURE 100. ELECTRONIC COMPUTER, FIRST IN THE USSR, BUILT BY THE INSTITUTE OF ELECTROTECHNOLOGY, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

scientific research institutes and two affiliates, including the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Heavy Electric Machine-Building in Kharkiv and the Institute of Transformer Design in Zaporizhia. Light industry has six scientific research institutes in operation (including the institute of leather foot-wear, textile industry, processing of artificial and synthetic fibers—all in Kiev) and 12 in the food and fisheries industries (among these, the Institute of Sugar Refining in Kiev is of All-Union importance).

The agricultural sciences in Ukraine had at their disposal in 1964 a total of 27 research institutes (including seven All-Union), 90 experimental stations, 40 experimental planting areas, research points, laboratories, etc. scattered across the Ukrainian SSR. Operating in the area of land tillage and planting are: All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Selection and Genetics in Odessa, Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Land Tillage in Kiev, Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Vegetables and Potatoes in Kharkiv, Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Irrigation in Kherson, Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Animal Husbandry of the Steppe Regions Askaniia Nova in the Kherson area, Scientific Research Institute of the Forest Steppe and Polisia in Kharkiv, Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Poultry in Berky near Kharkiv, and Scientific Research Institute of Hog Raising in Poltava. The All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Sugar Beets in Kiev is part of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences in Moscow. The Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Orchards in Kiev and the V. Tairov Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Viti- and Viniculture in Odessa are engaged in obtaining new high-yield strains of berries and grapes. Other institutes worthy of mention are: The Maharach All-Union Institute of Viti- and Viniculture in Yalta, and of Legume Cultures in Hlukhiv; the Experimental Station of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Edible and Aromatic Oil Cultures in the Chernihiv area; and the All-Union Scientific Research Station for Potato Cancer Study in the Chernivtsi area. The Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Mechanization and Electrification of Agriculture is working on improving and developing mechanization processes in farm production. The Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of the Economy and Organization of Agriculture in Kiev is investigating problems of distribution and specialization in agriculture.

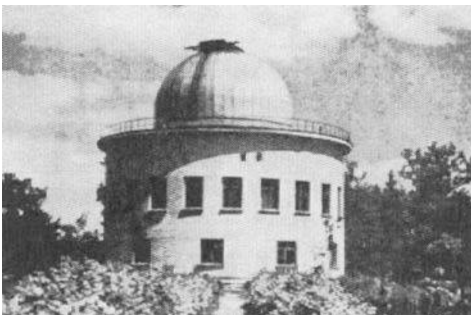

FIGURE 101. DOME OF THE 70-CM. REFLECTOR AT THE MAIN ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATORY OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

Problems of industrial construction, transportation facilities, renewal of old and design of new cities and villages in Ukraine are the responsibility of 17 scientific research institutes (1964). The main institutes in this specialty are located in Kiev (Building Construction, Design Institute, State Institute of Urban

Planning) and in Kharkiv (Building Construction and Design of Industrial Buildings).

Research on the problems of the mineral resources of Ukraine are studied at the Kiev Scientific Research Institute of Geological Prospecting and the Simferopol Scientific Research Institute of Mineral Resources, among others.

Scientific research in theoretical and clinical medicine was conducted in 48 government scientific research institutions in 1964, the most important of which were the N. Strazhesko Institute of Clinical Medicine, the F. Yanovsky Institute of Tuberculosis and Thoracic Surgery, and the institutes of Communicable Diseases, Geriatrics, and Experimental Pathology—all in Kiev (the latter two form part of the scientific research institutes of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR). Many other governmental institutes in theoretical and clinical medicine are located in Kiev, Lviv, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovske, Donetske, Kryvyi Rih, and Odessa.

Atmospheric phenomena, meteorology, and hydrology are studied at the Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Hydrometeorology in Kiev.

FIGURE 102. INSTITUTE OF HYDROMECHANICS, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

Problems in education and psychology are researched at the Scientific Research Institute of Pedagogy of the Ukrainian SSR and the Scientific Research Institute of Psychology within the system of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR (see also p. 297).

## LEARNED SOCIETIES

Learned societies in the Ukrainian SSR are also engaged in scholarly research. Since 1945 all the principal learned societies in the Ukrainian SSR have been acting as branches of the corresponding All-Union societies. The natural science societies are: botanical, microbiological, entomological, physiological, biochemical, and hydrobiological. Others are: the Geographic Society of the Ukrainian SSR; Ukrainian affiliates of the All-Union mineralogical, paleontological, and Mendeleiev chemical; and 28 medical societies (all affiliates of the corresponding All-Union societies). The Society for Dissemination of Political and Scientific Knowledge founded in 1947 and renamed the *Znannia* (Knowledge) Society of the Ukrainian SSR in 1963, is also an affiliate of the All-Union society, as is the Society of Inventors and Efficiency Experts. The activities of the following societies are confined to the Ukrainian SSR: the Pedagogical Society of the Ukrainian SSR; the Ukrainian Society for Conservation of Nature and Development of Natural Wealth; and the Ukrainian Republic Society of Parasitologists (with nine affiliates). Only very few local learned societies are free to act without the supervision of All-Union and Republic centers: the Lviv Geological Society, the Kharkiv Mathematical Society, the Odessa Archaeological Society, and the *oblast* societies of regional studies.

In the Ukrainian SSR there is also a separate network of scientific-technical societies and voluntary mass organizations which unite scientific and engineering workers, agricultural experts, and the so-called production shock-workers. The purpose of these societies is to discover and utilize the reserves of the national economy, propagate the achievements of science and engineering, and introduce efficiency methods in production. In Ukraine, these societies operate within the All-Union network attached to trade

union organizations. As of January 1, 1965, there were 21 such societies in the Ukrainian SSR in different fields of industry and agriculture. The societies' membership varies from 5,000 to 60,000, and they engage principally in conferences, discussions, competitions, seminars, and field trips.

## COORDINATION OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH, TRAINING OF SCIENTIFIC PERSONNEL

Coordination of all scholarly research in the Ukrainian SSR is in the hands of the State Committee for Coordination of Scientific Research attached to the Council of Ministers. This committee, however, is merely an executive branch acting on orders from Moscow, particularly since 1963 when the overall supervision of scholarly activity in the republics was entrusted to the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and 1966 when the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR was transformed into a Union-Republic ministry.

Training of scholarly personnel is accomplished through postgraduate study (*aspirantura*). Studies are conducted on both a personal attendance and a correspondence basis without relinquishing employment).

The increase of scientific personnel in the Ukrainian SSR is shown below (the totals include other categories which are not relevant here).

In 15 years, the total number of scholarly personnel in the Ukrainian SSR increased more than fourfold. Still, by population ratio, the Ukrainian SSR is far behind the Russian SFSR, the figures per 10,000 people being 21 to 37. In the entire USSR, the ratio is as follows: for each 10,000 Ukrainians there are 17.5 scholarly workers and for each 10,000 Russians, 35.5.

## SCHOLARSHIP POLICY AND ITS RESULTS

In spite of all the difficulties and limitations imposed on Ukrainian scholarship in the Ukrainian SSR, its scholars are achieving significant success in various fields of the learned disciplines. One of their achievements was the publication of *Ukraïns'ka Radians'ka Entsyklopediia* (Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia) in 17 volumes (1959–65) and the *Ukraïns'kyi Radians'kyi Entsyklopedychnyi Slovnyk* (Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedic Dictionary) brought up to date and published in three volumes in 1966–8.

Philosophy is limited to problems of historical materialism and questions relating to the natural sciences. Recently more attention is being paid to esthetics and research on the history of philosophical thought, as evidenced by the publication of works of Gregory Skovoroda (in two volumes, 1961), studies on the philosophical and social-political views of Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko, and the collection *Narys istoriï filosofiï na Ukraïni* (Outline of History of Philosophy in Ukraine, 1966).

The main area of research and publication in history has been the period of the October revolution and the establishment of Soviet rule, coupled with the history of the Communist party of the Soviet Union and of the Communist party of Ukraine. The only general textbook is still the two-volume *Istoriia Ukraïns'koï RSR* (History of the Ukrai-

| Total | 1950 | 1960 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 22,363 | 46,657 | 93,984 |
| Including higher educational establishments | 14,474 | 24,661 | 39,229 |
| Including Ph.D.'s | 907 | 1,343 | 1,885 |
| Including Ph.D. candidates | 6,118 | 13,622 | 19,291 |

nian SSR, third revised edition of 1967). The second important area of research has been the Kozak period. In addition to documents on the revolutionary war of 1648–54 published in Russian in three volumes in 1954 and one volume in 1965, important works on this subject were produced by Ivan Krypiakevych and Volodymyr Holobutsky [Vol. I, p. 572].

FIGURE 103. IVAN KRYPIAKEVYCH

The only works on the history of the Princely period have been the studies of I. Shekera, published in 1963–7, dealing with the international relations of Kievan *Rus'* in the seventh through the ninth centuries. Other noteworthy works are the two-volume *Istoriia Kyieva* (History of Kiev) published in 1959–61 and *Istoriia ukraïns'koï kul'tury* by Michael Marchenko (1961).

Archaeological research was conducted on a large scale. In addition to several dozen monographs on various cultures and excavations, the works of Ukrainian archaeologists were released in series publications of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (*Arkheolohiia*, I–XX, 1947–66), *Kratkie soobshcheniia instituta arkheologii AN URSR* (Brief Reports of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, 1–12, 1947–63); *Arkheolohichni pamiatky* (Archaelogical Monuments, I–XIII, 1949–63).

Publication of symposia *Istorychni dzherela ta ïkh vykorystannia* (Historical Sources and their Utilization, I–II, 1964–7) constituted a return to the almost completely neglected historical disciplines in the 1930–50 period.

The most important studies on the history of economics in Ukraine were produced by Ivan Hurzhii: *Rozvytok tovarnoho vyrobnytstva i torhivli na Ukraïni* (Development of the National Economy of the Ukrainian SSR), and *Istoriia selianstva URSR* (History of the Peasantry of the Ukrainian SSR), in two volumes each (1967). Publication of interdepartmental scholarly symposia was started in 1966 with *Ekonomichna heohrafiia* (Economic Geography). In statistics, in addition to the annuals *Narodne hospodarstvo URSR* (National Economy of the Ukrainian SSR), valuable studies were produced by Michael Ptukha (*d.* 1961, see also p. 678).

Among the few works that appeared in the field of law, the most important was *Istoriia derzhavy i prava URSR 1917–1960* (History of State and Law of the Ukrainian SSR 1917–1960), published in 1961 and revised and republished in two volumes in 1967.

Research in linguistics made substantial progress in this period. In addition to a number of monographs by Leonid Bulakhovsky, O. Bezpalko, Lukia Humetska, Paul Pliushch, and L. Khudash, important serial publications were: *Pam'iatky ukraïns'koï movy* (Monuments of the Ukrainian Language), including *Leksykon Slovenoros'kyi Pamvy Beryndy* (Slavic-*Rus'* Lexicon of Pamva Berynda, 1961), *Leksys Lavrentiia Zyzaniia i synonima slovenorosskaia* (Lexis of Lavrentii Zyzanii and Synonyms of Slavonic-Ruthenian, 1964), *Ukraïns'ki hramoty XV st.* (Ukrainian Documents of the fifteenth century), *Slovnyk ukraïns'koï movy* (Dictionary of Ukrainian Language) by Paul Biletsky-Nosenko (1966). Studies of the old Slavonic language are still being neglected. The only work in this area was the textbook of M. Stanivsky published in Lviv in 1964. Very little also was being done in comparative linguistics and classical languages; works in the latter field were published only in some issues of the serial publication of Lviv University particularly in *Inozemna filolohiia* (Foreign Philology). The journal *Movoznavstvo* (Linguistics), published non-periodically until 1967, has now become a bimonthly in the field of

general linguistics. Research in structural-mathematical linguistics lags behind that in Russia.

Research in dialectology, onomastics, and toponymics has also been revived in recent years. In lexicography, the publication of the six-volume *Ukraïns'ko-rosiis'kyi slovnyk* (Ukrainian-Russian Dictionary, 1953–63) and of a number of terminological dictionaries since 1959 were of considerable importance. In addition to some monographs, *Leksykohrafichnyi biuleten'* (Lexicographic Bulletin) continued publication, and a symposium *Leksykolohiia i leksykohrafiia* (Lexicology and Lexicography) appeared.

The principal textbook in the history of Ukrainian literature remains the two-volume *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury* (History of Ukrainian Literature) published in 1954–7; an 8-volume edition of this history began to appear in 1967. Other important works are : *Materiialy do vyvchennia istoriï ukraïns'koï literatury* (Materials for the Study of History of Ukrainian Literature, 5 vols., 1959–63); the bio- and bibliographic dictionary *Ukraïns'ki pys'mennyky* (Ukrainian Writers, 5 vols., 1960–5); and a symposia series of critical essays *Ukraïns'ki radians'ki pys'mennyky* (Ukrainian Soviet Writers, Vols. I–IV, 1954–64). The following Ukrainian classical works have been published: Ivan Franko (20 vols., 1950–6), Taras Shevchenko (6 vols., 1963–4), Lesia Ukrainka (10 vols., 1963–5), Marko Vovchok (7 vols., 1964–7), and Ivan Nechui-Levytsky (10 vols., 1965–7). Except for the *Khrestomatiia davn'ioï ukraïns'koï literatury* (Reader in old Ukrainian Literature) by A. Biletsky, 1949, republished in 1967, and the symposium *Slovo o polku Ihorevi ta yoho poetychni pereklady i perespivy* (The Tale of Ihor's Armament and its Poetic Translations and Renditions, 1967), there were no other important works on the history of Ukrainian literature of the Princely period.

The Institute of Art, Folklore, and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, which has published the journal *Narodna tvorchist' ta etnohrafiia* (Folk Art and Ethnography) since 1957, is the centre for work and research studies in ethnography and folklore. Some serial publications in this field have come out in Kiev and Lviv [Vol. I, 278–9], as have important publications in the series *Ukraïns'ka narodna tvorchist'* (Ukrainian Folk Art), including *Istorychni pisni* (Historical Songs), *Koliadky ta shchedrivky* (Christmas and Epiphany Carols), *Zahadky* (Riddles), and *Ihry ta pisni* (Games and Songs). Vsevolod Naulko published studies on the ethnic composition of the population of the Ukrainian SSR.

Research in numerous fields of art has flourished in recent years. In addition to a number of monographs and albums on the history of Ukrainian architecture (see p. 551), the more important publications on the history of painting were *Taras Shevchenko: mystets'ka spadshchyna* (Taras Shevchenko: Art Heritage, 4 vols., 1961–63), and particularly the six-volume *Istoriia ukraïns'koho mystetstva* (History of Ukrainian Art) begun in 1966, and the collection *Narysy z istoriï ukraïns'koho mystetstva* (Essays on the History of Ukrainian Art, 1966). Journals published in this field are: *Mystetstvo* (Art, 1954) and *Ukraïns'ke Mystetstvoznavstvo* (Studies of Ukrainian Art, 1957). The applied arts are represented by the serial publication *Ukraïns'ke narodne mystetstvo* (Ukrainian Folk Art), the individual items in the series being: *Tkanyny ta vyshyvky* (Weavings and Embroideries, 1960), *Vbrannia* (Clothing, 1961); *Riz'blennia ta khudozhnii metal* (Carving and Artistic Ironwork, 1962), *Zhyvopys* (Painting, 1967), etc.; as well as an album of the works of Olena Kulchytska, and studies of Borys Butnyk-Siversky.

There is as yet no separate musical periodical in the Ukrainian SSR and it was only in 1966 that the collections *Ukrainskoe muzikovedenie* (Ukrainian

Music Studies) began to appear in Russian. Important works in this field include *Narysy istorii ukraïns'koï radians'koï muzyky* (Outline of History of Ukrainian Music, I–II, 1964).

The history of Ukrainian drama is treated in the collection *Ukraïns'kyi dramatychnyi teatr* (The Ukrainian Drama Theater), the second volume of which appeared in 1959, and the first in 1967.

There are no scholarly research works whatever in such branches of the humanities as ancient history, Byzantology, church history, military history. Some areas of the social sciences, for example, Oriental studies which flourished in the 1920's and classical philology, are largely neglected, with only limited progress in recent years.

Publication in the realm of natural sciences was even more limited. Among important geographical studies are Alexander Dibrova's works, the series *Oblasti Ukraïns'koï RSR* (Provinces of the Ukrainian SSR), as well as *Istoriia mist i sil* (History of Cities and Villages) in 26 volumes started in 1966, and a number of atlases [Vol. I, p. 51b]. In geology, Volodymyr Bondarchuk's *Heolohichna budova URSR* (Geological Structure of the Ukrainian SSR) represents a serious scholarly contribution in the field.

There has been a revival of the research in anthropology in recent years, resulting in three issues of *Materiialy z antropolohii Ukraïny* (Materials on the Anthropology of Ukraine, 1960–4) and the work of V. Diadychenko *Antropolohichnyi sklad ukraïns'koho narodu* (Anthropological Composition of the Ukrainian People, 1965).

Zoology and botanical studies were well represented by the multivolume publications *Fauna Ukrainy* (started in 1956), *Flora URSR* (12 vols., started in 1935), *Flora Krymu* (Crimean Flora, 4 vols., started in 1927), *Vyznachnyk prisnovodnykh vodorostei* (Handbook of Fresh-Water Plants, 12 vols.), and the one-volume *Atlas komakh Ukrainy* (Atlas of Insects of Ukraine, 1962).

The scholars of the Ukrainian SSR are noted for their achievements in the applied technical and natural sciences, particularly astronomy and astrophysics, mathematics, cybernetics, nuclear physics, thermo-physics and thermo-energetics, aircraft engineering, rocketry, aero- and hydrodynamics, study of metals and materials (new synthetic materials), chemistry of polymers, geophysics, oceanography, and radio-electronics. The research achievements of scholars of the Ukrainian SSR in some of these fields are generally recognized as being the first in the USSR and in the world.

Substantial research was done on the history of natural, medical, and applied sciences. A great deal of material in these fields is contained in collections such as *Istoriia kyïvs'koho universytetu* (History of Kiev University, 1954); in separate chapters of the symposium *Rozvytok nauky v Ukraïns'kii RSR za 40 rokiv* (Forty Years of Science Development in the Ukrainian SSR, 1957); *Narysy z istorii fiziolohii na Ukraïni* (Outline of History of Physiology in Ukraine, 1959); the four-volume *Istoriia otechestvennoi matematiki* (History of Domestic Mathematics in Russian) started in 1966; and individual monographs on the history of medicine, etc. Materials and development problems of the natural and applied sciences are treated in the serial publication *Narysy z istorii tekhniky ta pryrodoznavstva* (Essays on the History of Technology and Natural Sciences, of which nine issues had appeared by 1967).

A new study, which deals with learning as a whole, has emerged recently in Ukraine. The first general work in this field was G. M. Dobrov's *Nauka o nauke* (Learning about Learning), published in Russian in 1966.

*I. Bakalo*

# 6. IN WESTERN UKRAINE AND IN THE EMIGRATION, 1919–45

## IN WESTERN UKRAINIAN LANDS TO 1944

In the period between the two world wars, the University of Lviv remained the main center of scholarly research in Galicia. All Ukrainian chairs at the University were abolished (see p. 377), except that of Ukrainian language which was held by a Polish scholar. The principal centers of scholarly research work continued to be the Lviv polytechnic and other institutions of higher learning, as well as a number of Polish scientific institutions and societies in Lviv, which for the most part were already in existence before 1914 (see p. 251). The Podilian Regional Studies Society (established 1925) worked in the field of regional studies, as did the Volhynian division of the Polish Union of Grammar School Teachers, which published *Rocznik Wołyński* (Volhynian Yearbook) in 1930–9. Among the Polish scholarly institutions in Poland proper which conducted some research in Ukrainian studies were the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Slavic studium at Jagiello University in Cracow, the Polish Eastern Institute and the Institute of National Research in Warsaw.

The main center of Ukrainian scholarship in the western Ukrainian lands remained the Shevchenko Scientific Society. Conditions, compared with those in previous periods, deteriorated: the number of scholars decreased because of emigration abroad or to the central and eastern Ukrainian lands, economic circumstances became more difficult (state subsidies were discontinued), and Polish authorities obstructed the work of the Society. At the same time, owing to the establishment of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev and a number of Ukrainian scholarly institutions abroad, the Shevchenko Scientific Society ceased to fulfill its functions as the scholarly center for all Ukrainian lands. However, it maintained close ties with all these institutions, and in the 1920's acted to some extent as a western Ukrainian branch of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. This relationship was changed by the suppression of the Academy in 1930–33, at which time the Shevchenko Scientific Society again became the primary representative of free Ukrainian scholarship. Despite the above-mentioned obstacles, the activity of the Society broadened to encompass new and increasingly specialized fields. A number of new commissions were formed particularly in the field of the natural sciences. The library grew considerably and in 1939 numbered over 250,000 volumes (see Libraries, p. 396). The museum of the Society was also extended, the prewar ethnographic-historical museum was joined by the natural history museum and the museum of historical monuments (see Museums, p. 000). A reservation in the Gorgan Mountains and museums in other western Ukrainian lands were also under the jurisdiction of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. Younger scholars worked beside older members of the Society in its individual sections and commissions. In addition to historians Myron Korduba, Ivan Krevetsky, Ivan Krypiakevych, Omelian Terletsky, Stephen Tomashivsky, and Nicholas Chubaty, there were Nicholas Andrusiak, Elias Vytanovych, Roman Zubyk, Volodymyr Zalozetsky, and Rev. Josaphat Skruten, archaeologists Yaroslav Pasternak (excavations of Old Halych) and Markian Smishko; in

the field of law, economics, and social studies, Constantine Levytsky and Volodymyr Starosolsky were joined by Carl Kobersky, Julian Pavlykovsky, and Eugene Khraplyvy. In the Philological Section (see p. 250) the ranks of recognized scholars such as Michael Vozniak, Volodymyr Doroshenko, Ivan Zilynsky (study of dialects), Filaret Kolessa (ethnography, musicology), Hilarion Svientsitsky, Basil Simovych, Cyril Studynsky,

FIGURE 104. BASIL SHCHURAT

FIGURE 105. CYRIL STUDYNSKY

Basil Shchurat were supplemented by Eugene Pelensky and Jaroslaw Rudnyckyj. The activity of the Mathematical-Naturalistic-Medical Section was also broadened. In the fields of mathematics, physics, and chemistry, Volodymyr Levytsky was joined by Eugene Vertyporokh, Myron Zarytsky, Andrew Lastovetsky, Basil Milianchuk, and Zenon Khraplyvyi. Among the younger researchers in the biological sciences were Volodymyr Brygider, Volodymyr Lazorko, Nicholas Melnyk, Olha Mryts, Alexander Tysovsky; in geography and geology, Volodymyr Kubijovyč, Nicholas Kulytsky, George Poliansky, and Ivan Teslia; in the technical sciences, Ivan Feshchenko-Chopivsky among others. Presidents of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in the 1920's and 1930's were Basil Shchurat, Cyril Studynsky, Volodymyr Levytsky, and Ivan Rakovsky. Because of limited finances, the publishing activity of the Society decreased. In addition to the *Zapysky* (Memoirs), it published only a few of the former series of its sections and commissions, although some new ones appeared (among them *Zbirnyk Fiziohrafichnoï Komisiï* [Collection of the Physiographical Commission], and *Sitzungsberichte*). The Shevchenko Scientific Society also published journals dealing with Ukrainian studies: *Stara Ukraïna* (Old Ukraine, 1924–5) and *Siohoschasne i mynule* (The Present and the Past, 1939). Altogether, in the years 1914–39, the Society published 173 volumes of scholarly works, including 44 volumes of *Zapysky*. Other institutions also carried on research and publishing. Among these was the National Museum in Lviv, directed by I. Svientsitsky (see p. 412), and a number of new institutions such as the Ukrainian Theological Scholarly Society (founded in 1923; published a quarterly *Bohosloviia* [Theology] and *Pratsi* [Works]) and the Greek-Catholic Theological Academy (see p. 378). The Order of Saint Basil the Great started publishing its *Zapysky* (Analecta) in 1924; the Prosvita (Enlightenment) society published a series of popular educational works entitled *Uchitesia, braty moï* (Learn, My Brothers); the museum society *Boikivshchyna* in Sambir began publishing *Litopys Boikivschyny* (Chronicle of the Boikian Region) in 1931; teachers' associations such as *Uchytels'ka Hromada* (Teachers Community) and *Vzaïmna Pomich Ukraïns'kykh Uchyteliv* (Ukrainian Teachers' Mutual Aid Society) published periodical journals and research works on pedagogy and the history of education and schools; the Audit Union of Cooperatives (see p. 984) published an economic journal, *Kooperatyvna Respublika* (Cooperative Republic); a valuable journal in the field of agriculture was *Ukraïns'kyi Agronomichnyi Visnyk* (Ukrainian Agronomic Herald; 1934–8, edited by E. Khraplyvyi). Medical, legal, and technical societies continued their activity. The publications of general Ukrainian significance appearing at the time were: *Ukraïns'ka Zahal'na*

*Entsyklopediia* (General Ukrainian Encyclopedia), in three volumes, edited by I. Rakovsky; *Atlas Ukraïny ta sumezhnykh kraïn* (Atlas of Ukraine and Neighboring Countries), and *Heohrafiia Ukraïny* (Geography of Ukraine), prepared by V. Kubijovyč and associates.

After the occupation of Western Ukraine, Soviet authorities disbanded the Shevchenko Scientific Society (January 14, 1940) and merged it with the Lviv branch of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. Other Ukrainian scientific centers were reorganized, and often Ukrainian and Polish institutions were joined together. Many Ukrainian scholars at this time had the opportunity to pursue their professions either in institutions of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR or in Ukrainianized institutions of higher learning. Eventually their number decreased. Some were arrested and imprisoned or executed by the Soviet authorities (Constantine Levytsky, Volodymyr Starosolsky, Carl Kobersky, Maksym Muzyka, and Roman Zubyk), while others, among them the president of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, I. Rakovsky, emigrated to the West.

During the German occupation of Galicia, the authorities did not allow the Shevchenko Scientific Society to reopen, and its work was done secretly. The Association of Scholars of the Ukrainian Central Committee and the Ukrainian Publishing House in Cracow were lesser centers of scholarship. In the winter of 1943–4, as a result of the war, a large number of Ukrainian scholars from central and eastern Ukrainian lands came to Lviv, and there participated in cultural and scholarly activity. After the renewed occupation of western Ukrainian lands by the Soviets, these scholars, together with numerous others from Lviv, emigrated to the West (see below).

Transcarpathia was also the scene of significant scholarly endeavor, due in large measure to Ukrainian scholars who had emigrated to Czechoslovakia. Prosvita (Enlightenment), established in Uzhhorod in 1920, had published 14 volumes of *Naukovyi Zbirnyk* (Scholarly Collection) by 1939; the Uzhhorod Pedagogical Society of Subcarpathian *Rus'* (founded 1924) published a monthly, *Pidkarpats'ka Rus'* (Subcarpathian *Rus'*) devoted to regional studies and pedagogy; a regional ethnographic society existed in Mukachiv. Research on various aspects of Transcarpathia was also carried on by Czech scholars. Among the scholars of Transcarpathia the following deserve mention: Reverend Augustine Voloshyn, Reverend Basil Hadzhega (historian), Volodymyr Birchak (specialist in literature), Ivan Pankevych (linguist), V. Kubijovyč (anthropogeographer), Alexander Mytsiuk (4 volumes of *Narysy sotsial'no-ekonomichnoï istoriï Zakarpattia* [Outline of the Socio-economic history of Transcarpathia]), Eugene Perfetsky (historian), Stephen Rudnytsky (physical geographer), and Volodymyr Sichynsky (art, regional historian). Non-Ukrainian scholars in this area of study were the Russian historian Alexei Petrov, Czech economist Drahnyj, and geographer Jiří Kral.

Ukrainian scholarship in Bukovina at the time of the Rumanian occupation all but died out.

## ABROAD, 1919–45

After the struggle for liberation in 1917–20, many Ukrainian scholars from all Ukrainian lands emigrated for political reasons [Vol. I, p. 859 ff.]. This made possible the creation of Ukrainian scholarly centers abroad. They sprang up first in Vienna (for a short time only), and then in Czechoslovakia (primarily in Prague), Warsaw, and Berlin. Ukrainian scholars abroad sought to develop Ukrainian scholarship under the free but difficult conditions of refugee life. They lacked the necessary tools for their work and could not make use of Ukrainian archival, museum, and library resources. Ukrainian scholars and scientific centers

abroad maintained a lively contact with their foreign counterparts and with scholarly centers in Ukraine, notably with the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in the 1920's and the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv until 1939.

The first center of Ukrainian scholarly activity abroad was Vienna. The Ukrainian Sociological Institute, initiated and directed by M. Hrushevsky, was founded there in 1919. In 1919–25 the Institute published, in Ukrainian and French, a number of scholarly works on sociology, the nation theory, the history of the Ukrainian revolution, and related subjects. The publishing house of *Dniprosoiuz* in Vienna published the historical works of M. Hrushevsky and Viacheslav Lypynsky in 1919–21. Much valuable scholarly material was included in the collections *Khliborobs'ka Ukraïna* (Farmers' Ukraine).

**In Czechoslovakia**

Conditions in Czechoslovakia were especially favorable for Ukrainian scholarship owing to the good will and material support of Czech scholarly and official circles, beginning with the president of the Czechoslovak Republic, the prominent scholar Thomas Masaryk. The hub of Ukrainian study was Prague, one of the outstanding European centers of scholarship, particularly in the area of Slavic studies. The most productive years of the Prague group were 1922–8.

FIGURE 106. FACULTY OF THE UKRAINIAN FREE UNIVERSITY IN PRAGUE, 1926

Ukrainian scientific life at the end of 1921 was concentrated chiefly at the Ukrainian Free University (see p. 385). Professors gathered there carried on their scholarly studies while initiating the establishment of Ukrainian scientific institutions in Czechoslovakia and other European countries. While in Prague, the Ukrainian Free University educated numerous young scholars and researchers. On its staff were prominent former and current professors of various Russian, Austrian, and Czech universities, full members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and of other foreign scientific and academic institutions. Many of them were simultaneously professors at other schools of higher learning. Long-time rectors of the Ukrainian Free University were philologists Alexander Kolessa and Stephen Smal-Stotsky and chemist Ivan Horbachevsky. Among the other rectors and professors were: historians and archaeologists Basil Bidnov, Ivan Borkovsky, Dmytro Doroshenko, Alexander Lototsky, Simon Narizhnyi, Alexander Shulhyn, Vadym Shcherbakivsky; philologists Agenor Artymovych, Leonid Biletsky; art historian Dmytro Antonovych; geographer Stephen Rudnytsky; philosophers Ivan Mirchuk, Dmytro Chyzhevsky; jurists Stanyslav Dnistriansky, Otto Eichelman, Rostyslav Lashchenko, Michael Lozynsky, Constantine Losky, Volodymyr Starosolsky, Serhii Shelukhyn, Andrew Yakovliv; economists Alexander Mytsiuk, Volodymyr Tymoshenko, and Theodore Shcherbyna. They published scholarly works and textbooks in Ukrainian and other languages. The Ukrainian Free University also published several volumes of scholarly collections and reports of its activity.

A second center of higher learning and scholarship was the Ukrainian Academy of Technology and Husbandry in Poděbrady, Czechoslovakia, established in 1922 and reorganized in 1935 into the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry In-

stitute (see pp. 385–6). Professors at this institution, other than those who at the same time were professors at the Ukrainian Free University, included: economists and sociologists Serhii Barodaievsky, Olgerd Bochkovsky, Nicholas Dobrylovsky, Borys Martos, Constantine Matsiievych, Valentine Sadovsky, and Lev Shramchenko; among professors of natural and agricultural sciences and forestry, Victor Domanytsky, Borys Ivanytsky, Nicholas Kosiura, George Rusov, Volodymyr Cherediïv; professors of mathematics, physics, chemistry and technical sciences, Nicholas Vikul, Leonid Hrabyna, Serhii Komaretsky, and Leonid Florov; and finally historian Maxim Slavinsky and doctor-hygienist Borys Matiushenko.

The Ukrainian Academy of Technology and Husbandry published three volumes of *Zapysky UHA* (Memoirs of the Ukrainian Academy), and the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute published *Visti UTHI* (News of the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute). Both institutions published textbooks and a number of works devoted to the natural history and economy of Ukraine among other things. Several scholarly societies operated within the framework of this institution; the Society of Economists, which published *Ukraïns'kyi Ekonomist* (Ukrainian Economist), the Agronomic Society, the Union of Agricultural Technicians, the Society of Members of Cooperatives.

A third Ukrainian institution of higher learning in Czechoslovakia was the Drahomanov Pedagogical Institute in Prague (see p. 386), founded in 1923. Professors and lecturers of this institute participated in two scholarly societies connected with it—the G. Skovoroda Philological-Pedagogical Society, renamed [illegible] Pedagogical Society in 1924, and the Mathematical-Natural Sciences Society (from 1928). The publishing house of the Institute, *Siiach* (Sower), issued a total of 44 textbooks and scholarly works. The scholarly organ of the Institute was *Pratsi* (Works; 3 volumes in 1929–33). Among the professors of this institute, other than those also connected with the Ukrainian Free University and the Academy of Technology and Husbandry, were philologist Basil Simovych, professors of pedagogy Sophia Rusova and Yakym Yarema, musicologists Nestor Nyzhankivsky, Theodore Steshko, and Theodore Yakymenko.

Of the various Ukrainian scholarly societies and organizations in Czechoslovakia, particularly noteworthy is the Historico-Philological Society in Prague, founded in 1923 at the Ukrainian Free University. In 1932 it had 57 full members and was devoted primarily to Ukrainian studies; prior to 1941 the society published four volumes of works.

The Ukrainian Institute of Sociology in Prague was also important. It was organized in 1924 by Mykyta Shapoval as an extension of the Ukrainian Sociological Institute in Vienna which published a journal, *Suspil'stvo* (Society) and works on sociology. Some scholarly work was undertaken by the Museum of the Struggle of Ukraine for Liberation (see p. 422); the Ukrainian Military Historical Society; Ukrainian Society of Bibliophiles, which from 1927 published the journal *Knyholiub* (Bibliophile) (see p. 431); Ukrainian Law Society in Czechoslovakia, which published several works; and Society of Ukrainian Physicians from 1922, which published the journal *Ukraïns'kyi Medychnyi Vistnyk* (Ukrainian Medical Review, 1923–5).

In order to coordinate Ukrainian scholarship and centers of research and study, the Ukrainian Free University initiated the establishment of the Ukrainian Academic Committee in 1924. This body united Ukrainian institutions of higher learning and scientific societies in Czechoslovakia, the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, and the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin. It participated in international conferences, maintained contact with the International Commission for Intellectual Cooperatic with the League of Nations (until 1934),

and organized two scientific conferences in Prague (1926 and 1932).

The Ukrainian Historical Research Cabinet was a separate Czech-Ukrainian institution, founded in 1931 for the purpose of doing research in the field of Ukrainian history. The Slavic Institute in Prague also furthered Ukrainian studies and Ukrainian scholars participated in its activity. Some of them were professors and lecturers at Karl University, where Alexander Kolessa held the chair of Ukrainian language and literature, and lectured in other Czech institutions of higher learning.

Ukrainian scholars who had emigrated to Czechoslovakia participated in large numbers in various international scientific conferences and congresses held in Prague and abroad. They also contributed to the growth of scholarly and cultural activity in Transcarpathia.

At the end of the 1920's Ukrainian institutions of learning and scholarship in Czechoslovakia deteriorated as a result of declining economic conditions [Vol. I, p. 866a]. A number of Ukrainian scholars resettled in Galicia (in the mid-1920s many of them had moved to Soviet Ukraine to continue their scientific activity), others found work in Ukrainian scientific institutes in Warsaw and Berlin. During World War II Ukrainian institutions of higher learning in Czechoslovakia experienced a temporary renaissance caused by the influx of Ukrainian refugees from central and eastern Ukrainian lands. However, after the occupation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet army, Ukrainian scientific institutions in that country ceased to exist.

**In Other European Countries**

Warsaw became an important center of Ukrainian scholarship in Poland proper. The Ukrainian Scientific Institute was founded there in 1930; until 1938 its director was A. Lototsky, later A. Yakovliv; its general secretary was Roman Smal-Stocky; among its permanent members were economist Eugene Glovinsky and Shevchenko scholar Paul Zaitsev.

FIGURE 107. ALEXANDER LOTOTSKY

FIGURE 108. IVAN MIRCHUK

During the short period of its existence the Institute developed a more comprehensive publishing program than any other Ukrainian scholarly institution in Western Ukraine or abroad. It published nearly fifty volumes of scholarly works in various fields of Ukrainian studies, some of which dealt with the economic, social, and cultural conditions in Ukrainian lands under Soviet rule. In addition, thirteen volumes of a complete scholarly edition of Shevchenko were published. Ukrainian publishing activity in Warsaw was also carried on by the Ukrainian Society of Military History established in Kalish in 1926, which published its own series of symposia, *Za Derzhavnist'* (For Statehood). The popular scientific journals of Ivan Ohiienko (*Ridna Mova* [Native Language] and *Nasha Kul'tura* [Our Culture]) were also printed in Warsaw.

In addition to their activity in Ukrainian scholarly institutions and publishing houses established in Warsaw, Ukrainian scholars worked in Polish schools, particularly as lecturers in the theological and philological departments of Warsaw University. Ukrainian professors lectured on Ukrainian literature, history, language, and geography at Jagiello University in Cracow; the chair of metallurgy at the Mining Academy in Cracow was headed by Ivan Feshchenko-Chopivsky, the founder of the Polish school of metallurgy. Ukrainians also worked in universities and higher schools in such other Polish cities as Wilno and Pulavy.

After the occupation of Warsaw by the Germans in 1939, the Ukrainian Scientific Institute ceased to exist and its valuable library was destroyed during the war. Other Ukrainian centers of scholarship in Poland met a similar fate.

In Germany, an active center of Ukrainian scholarly life in the years 1926–45 was the Ukrainian Scientific Institute established by Hetman Paul Skoropadsky, initially under the direction of Dmytro Doroshenko and later Ivan Mirchuk. Since it had over a dozen Ukrainian scholars and excellent library facilities, the Institute was able to maintain contact with German scholarly circles and organize lectures and courses in Ukrainian studies. It assembled a large library. Scholars connected with the Institute included Zenon Kuzelia, Roman Dyminsky, Borys Krupnytsky, Volodymyr Zalozetsky, and Michael Antonovych. The publishing activity of the Institute was somewhat limited: it published several volumes of its Notes (*Abhandlungen D.U.W.I.*), Reports (*Mitteilungen*), Material on Ukrainian Studies (*Beiträge zur Ukrainekunde*), *Visti* (News), and Ukrainian Cultural Reports (*Ukrainische Kulturberichte*). A valuable source of material on Ukraine was *Handbuch der Ukraine* (Handbook of Ukraine, 1942). As a result of the war and particularly of the Soviet occupation of Berlin, the Ukrainian Scientific Institute ceased to exist.

In France, the Simon Petliura Library, established in 1929, was a center of Ukrainian scholarly life. The Germans confiscated and destroyed it during their occupation. The Parisian society *Cercle d'Etudes Ukrainiennes* played a role in Ukrainian-French scholarly relations. Ukrainian scholars active in France were historians Elias Borshchak, who conducted research in the field of French-Ukrainian relations, and Alexander Shulhyn, whose field was world history.

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# 7. ABROAD, 1945–67

## IN WESTERN EUROPE, 1945–9

At the end of World War II, West Germany (Bavaria) and, to a lesser extent, Austria became the main areas of Ukrainian scholarly activity. Nearly three hundred Ukrainian scholars from all parts of Ukraine settled in these countries, mainly in displaced persons camps. They included scholars from former seats of learning in Prague, Warsaw, and Berlin which had been disbanded after the war. Late in 1945, the Ukrainian Free University resumed its activities in Regensburg (subsequently transferred to Munich), as did the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute (see Education, p. 388). The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences was founded in Augsburg at this time (with Dmytro Doroshenko as its first president), along with a museum, archives, and press. Through the efforts of Volodymyr Kubijovyč, the Shevchenko Scientific Society resumed its activities in Munich in March 1947. (Ivan Rakovsky, who had been the last president of the Society in Lviv, was the president, followed by Zenon Kuzelia). The Society was active in three sections (see p. 249) and had a newly established Encyclopedic Institute and an Institute of National Research.

FIGURE 109. IVAN RAKOVSKY

In spite of difficult postwar conditions, lack of library facilities and laboratories, limited publishing possibilities, and the transitory condition of Ukrainian scholars in Germany and Austria, the above-named institutions initiated scholarly and publishing activities. In 1947, the Ukrainian Free University resumed publication of the *Naukovyi Zbirnyk UVU* (Scholarly Symposium of UFU), and of the *Naukovi Zapysky* (Scientific Notes). The Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute began publishing the series *Naukovi Zapysky* (Scientific Notes) in 1948. Both institutions published several dozen university courses in various fields of learning. The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences began publishing *Litopys UVAN* (Chronicle of the UVAN), in addition to several historical works, in 1946 and the series *Slavistica* (Slavistics) in 1948. The Shevchenko Scientific Society resumed its *Zapysky* (Memoirs, four volumes in 1948–9), published two issues of the journal of Ukrainian studies *Siochochasne i Mynule* (The Present and the Past, 1948–9), and began *Entsyklopediia Ukraïnoznavstva* (Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies) and *Biblioteka Ukraïnoznavstva* (Library of Ukrainian Studies) in 1949.

In France, Elias Borshchak began publishing the journal of Ukrainian studies, *Ukraïna* (1949–53). In Italy, the Order of Saint Basil the Great in Rome became the center of scholarly research and publishing, mainly in the field of Ukrainian church history, with the resumption of *Zapysky ChSVV* (Analecta OSBM) in 1948 and the series *Pratsi* (Opera) begun in 1949.

In 1947, scholarly research was also initiated in countries outside of Europe. A branch of the Shevchenko Scientific Society was established in New York (president Nicholas Chubaty, subsequently Roman Smal-Stotsky) and the Canadian Shevchenko Scientific Society in Toronto (president Eugene Vertyporokh). The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences began functioning in Winnipeg in 1949 (president Leonid Biletsky, later Jaroslaw Rudnyćkyj).

Works published during this five-year period were limited primarily to the following branches of Ukrainian studies: history of Ukraine and Ukrainian law, church history, literature, and linguistics.

**1950–67**

The majority of Ukrainian scholars emigrated to the United States and Canada; some went to South America and Australia during the mass resettlement of Ukrainian refugees from Germany and Austria. These scholars either joined existing scholarly centers, or founded new institutions.

A branch of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, in addition to those in the United States and Canada, was established in Australia in 1950 (president Eugene Julian Pelensky, subsequently Ivan Rybchyn). All these branches ultimately became separate legal units with common sections and a supervisory coordinating body, the Supreme Council of the Shevchenko Scientific Societies (president R. Smal-Stotsky, General Secretary V. Kubijovyč, now E. Vertyporokh). A joint venture of all these societies are the serial publication *Zapysky NTSh* (Memoirs), 22 volumes of which were published between 1950 and 1966, *Biblioteka Ukraïnozavstva* in 15 volumes (1951–65), and *Proceedings* of individual sections, (9 volumes, 1951–66).

The European branch of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, with its library, archives, and files, was transferred from Munich to Sarcelles (France) in 1951 and engaged in the broad work of publishing the Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies, under the editorship of V. Kubijovyč and with the collaboration of a wide circle of scholars from all countries of Ukrainian settlement in the free world. Having completed the Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies in article form (three volumes in 1952), it began an alphabetical encyclopedia (four volumes published by 1966), and in 1963 the

two-volume English-language *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia.* In addition to joint serial publications, the Shevchenko Scientific Society in the United States publishes a series *Dopovidi* (Papers, 23 issues to the end of 1965), and the Canadian Shevchenko Scientific Society *Zbirnyky Materiialiv* (Symposia of Materials) of its scholarly conferences (seven volumes to the end of 1966).

The Ecclesiastic Archaeographic Commission, activated in Munich in 1945 as part of the office of the apostolic visitator of Germany (chairman, Rev. Josaphat Skruten, subsequently Ivan Mirchuk), published five papers between 1950 and 1953 as parts of the symposium *Teoriia Tretioho Rymu* (Theory of the Third Rome).

In the United States, under the sponsorship of the Ukrainian National Association, several dozens of works were published in English on different aspects of Ukrainian studies, primarily history, including the above-mentioned *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia* (Vol. I, 1963). A number of scholarly works on Ukrainian studies also came from the press of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine in New York, *Dniprova Khvylia* (Dnipro Wave) in Munich, and the Ukrainian Publishing House in Paris.

The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., founded in New York in 1950 through the efforts of Michael Vetukhiv (subsequently headed by George Shevelov and Alexander Archimovich), became an active scholarly and publishing center. Its museum, archives, and library were transferred from Augsburg (Germany) to New York. In addition to the English-language *Annals*, begun in 1951 (10 volumes in 19 issues to the end of 1966), the Academy published 2 volumes of *Naukovyi Zbirnyk* (Scholarly Symposium), 10 annual volumes of *Shevchenko*, and a number of individual monographs and symposia on various aspects of Ukrainian studies.

FIGURE 110. MICHAEL VETUKHIV

Continuing their earlier educational pursuits, the Ukrainian Free University engaged in scholarly publication on a substantially large scale in Munich, and by the end of 1966 had 8 volumes in the series *Naukovi Zapysky* and the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute published, between 1961 and 1966, 10 volumes in the series *Naukovi Zapysky UTHI* (Scholarly Transactions of the UTHI).

The Order of Saint Basil the Great in Rome continued its *Zapysky ChSVV*, the series *Pratsi*, edited by Father Athanasius Welykyj, and the special series *Dokumenty z ryms'kykh arkhiviv* (Documenta from the Roman Archives), 39 volumes of which were published between 1953 and 1966. Publishing activity on a large scale is also carried on by the Saint Clement Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome, founded by Josyf Cardinal Slipyj in 1963, which has published several dozen volumes of documents and treatises on the history of the Ukrainian Church and theology. The Ukrainian Theological Society, re-established by Cardinal Slipyj in Rome, has published its organ *Bohosloviia* (Theology) since 1965.

Other scholarly, publication, and research centers worthy of mention in the United States are: the Scholarly Theological Institute of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the United States of America, founded on the initiative of Archbishop Mstyslav Skrypnyk in 1952 (director Basil Zavitnevych), the Prologue Research and Publishing Association in New York (since 1952), the V. Lypynsky East-European Research Institute in Philadelphia (1963), the Archives Committee of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen *Chervona Kalyna* (1963), and the Ukrainian Historical Society founded in 1964 (president Alexander Ohloblyn) with its journal *Ukraïns'kyi Istoryk*

(Ukrainian Historian, edited by Lubomyr Vynar). The following are active in Canada: Ukrainian Scholarly Theological Society (1947) under the leadership of Metropolitan Hilarion Ohienko; the center of the Redemptorist Order with its journal *Logos* in Yorkton, Saskatchewan; the Institute of Research of Volhynia (1951, under Volodymyr Borovsky) which published *Litopys Volyni* (Chronicle of Volhynia, eight symposia to the end of 1966); and the Ukrainian Military-Historical Institute in Toronto (1961, under Michael Sadovsky). Legal, medical, and technological sciences are represented in part by journals and symposia published by professional associations of Ukrainian lawyers, physicians, veterinarians, and engineers (for more detailed data, see Ukrainians Abroad, pp. 1147–8, 1185–7).

By their nature, all these centers constitute associations of scholars and researchers in many fields of learning, as well as institutions which publish or help to publish scholarly works of members of these associations. There are no Ukrainian scholarly institutions in the Western world subsidized by state budgets with adequate research facilities and financial security for scholars, as was the case of the Ukrainian scientific institutes in Berlin and Warsaw and Ukrainian educational establishments in Prague.

A certain number of Ukrainian scholars work in American and West European institutes of Soviet studies, e.g., the Institute for the Study of the USSR founded in Munich in 1950 or the West German institutes for the study of East Europe. The works of Ukrainian researchers associated with the Institute for the Study of the USSR deal primarily with present conditions in the Ukrainian SSR; they were published in Ukrainian in the series *Ukraïns'kyi Zbirnyk* (Ukrainian Symposium) in 16 volumes (1950–8) and in English in the series *Ukrainian Review* in 8 volumes, 1950–8). The Home of Ukrainian Learning, founded by the German authorities in 1962 in Munich under the name *Arbeits- und Foerderungsgemeinschaft der Ukrainischen Wissenschaften*, aids the development of Ukrainian scholarship abroad; it publishes its reports under the title *Mitteilungen*.

Only some of the large number of scholars who emigrated in the early 1950's have been able to pursue their work at American or Canadian establishments of higher learning. Most of them are old and their ranks are getting thinner year by year. Within the last ten years there has been a marked increase in young Ukrainian scholars, graduates of American and Canadian universities. Some are active in special fields of scholarly research, including the natural sciences. Limited by their specific pursuits they show interest in Ukrainian studies, and some have already produced valuable works.

The research of Ukrainian scholarly centers and individual scholars abroad is basically limited to the humanities and social sciences, with emphasis on Ukrainian studies. Ukrainian émigré scholars see as their main task the pursuit of research in Ukrainian studies which are either neglected in the Ukrainian SSR or deliberately distorted for political reasons.

Despite organizational and financial difficulties, a number of valuable works have been published abroad during this period, some even exerting considerable influence on the development of scientific thought in the Ukrainian SSR. The most meticulous work undertaken in both the article and the alphabetical sections is the Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies published by the Shevchenko Scientific Society. It encompasses all Ukrainian studies, and nearly all Ukrainian scholars in the Western world are engaged in this work. *Ukraïns'ka mala entsyklopediia* (Ukrainian Small Encyclopedia) was published by Eugene Onatsky in 1957–66.

The majority of works published from 1950 to 1966 deal with Ukrainian history. A number of important scholarly works

cover such branches of history as historiography and archaeology and such periods of Ukrainian history as the Princely period, the liberation struggle, and recent history (between the two world wars and during World War II). The largest group of publications in this field consists of works on the history of the Kozak-Hetman period of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including numerous monographs on the 1654 Treaty of Pereiaslav and Hetman Ivan Mazepa. There is an abundance of memoir literature on the Ukrainian struggle for liberation and the World War II period. Some important works were republished, e.g., *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy* (History of Ukraine-*Rus'*) by M. Hrushevsky in 10 volumes, the historical works of Dmytro Doroshenko, Viacheslav Lypynsky and Ivan Krypiakevych [Vol. 1, pp. 571–3].

The second largest group of scholarly publications is comprised of treatises and materials on church history, particularly the history of Christianity in Ukraine and of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, as well as various studies in theology (see Church Historiography, pp. 120 ff.).

Several dozen publications in Ukrainian, English, German, French, and other languages on present conditions in the Ukrainian SSR have appeared. Included are numerous studies on problems of the economy of the Ukrainian SSR (see National Economy, pp. 680–1).

Numerous works and symposia have been published on the history of culture, science, and education, particularly accounts of the Soviet destruction of Ukrainian scholarship in the 1930's.

A number of symposia and monographs deal with regional studies of Ukraine (Bukovina, Volhynia, the Peremyshl Area, and Uhniv). Studies were also begun on the history of Ukrainian settlements abroad, particularly in Canada and Australia.

The study of literature constituted a fairly large part of scholarly production in the 1950–66 period. Most of the works and symposia in this group were devoted to biographical and analytical studies of the classicists of Ukrainian literature (Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, Markian Shashkevych). Some studies dealt with the history of old Ukrainian literature, including historical accounts describing the attacks on Ukrainian literature in the Ukrainian SSR in the 1930's, and studies on contemporary literary processes in the Ukrainian SSR (for more detail on émigré literature, see Vol. I, pp. 972–3). Of major significance were the republication of *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury* (History of Ukrainian Literature, five volumes) by M. Hrushevsky, and literary studies of Nicholas Plevako and Nicholas Zerov.

Linguistics was limited basically to works on the history of the Ukrainian language and, to some extent, grammar. In the field of lexicography, the publication of the etymological dictionary of the Ukrainian language and of a dictionary of Shevchenko's usage can be considered as significant developments.

Various branches of law (see pp. 7–8), political science, and international relations are represented by a number of important works.

There were several dozen works and monographs published on the fine arts in this period (see Arts, p. 529), primarily on painting, architecture, music (see p. 578), and drama (see pp. 614–15).

Individual works were published in the 1950–66 period on geography, demography, ethnography, education, psychology, and ethnopsychology. Ukrainian scholars also produced works in Oriental studies, Byzantology, and sociology, which appeared mostly in foreign languages in American, Ukrainian, and other scholarly publications.

Scholarly research in the natural, medical, and technological sciences was rather limited. The works of Ukrainian scholars in the numerous branches of these sciences appeared in American, British, Spanish, and German scientific publications. In some instances they were published as books in these languages.

The scholarly and literary production

of Ukrainians abroad has not yet been bibliographically recorded. Thus far, only some serial publications of regional significance have made their appearance, e.g., the serial *Ucrainica Canadiana* published by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Canada, and index publications of book production for individual years. An extensive publication program is planned in connection with the newly established (1968) Chair of Ukrainian Studies at Harvard University.

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# IV. Education and Schools

## 1. HISTORY OF PEDAGOGICAL THOUGHT AND PRESENT STATE OF RESEARCH

### BEFORE THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Definite pedagogical concepts, i.e. ideas on raising and educating children are known to have existed in Kievan *Rus'* as early as the tenth century. These opinions found subsequent expression in *Pouchenie Volodymyra Monomakha ditiam* (Instruction) of Prince Volodymyr Monomakh to his children in 1096 and in later collections of moral and religious teachings, particularly translated works such as St. John Chrysostom's *O Voskromlenii detii* (On Educating Children).

After a long gap caused by the Tatar invasion, centers of education shifted to the religious brotherhood schools in Lviv, Lutsk, Ostrih, and later Kiev (see pp. 304–5). An important role in the development of educational thought and didactics in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was played by church leaders, teachers, and writers. The polemicist Ivan Vyshensky [Vol. I, pp. 993–4], a defender of the traditional church religious education and opponent of the inclusion of philosophy in the curricula of brotherhood schools, expounded the principles of instruction in his symposium *Knyzhka Ioanna mnikha Vyshenskoho* (Book of Ioann the Monk Vyshensky) *ca.* 1598. Actively engaged in spreading education among the masses was Job Boretsky, rector of the Lviv brotherhood school (1604) and later of the Kiev brotherhood which he helped to establish in 1615–16; he was the author of a preface to the symposium *O vospytanii chad* (On the Education of Children), 1609, which extolled the benefits of education. The need for teaching children from the earliest possible age and the tasks of teachers were expounded by a leader of the Lviv brotherhood and teacher of the brotherhood schools in Lviv and Vilnius, Cyril Tranquillion Stavrovetsky, author of the symposium of moral and religious teachings, *Perlo mnohotsennoe* (Priceless Pearl, 1646), which included a chapter "Acquiring Talents." Textbooks authored by Lavrentii Zyzanii Tustanovsky (see Vol. I, pp. 430a, 441b) and Meletius Smotrytsky [Vol. I, pp. 430–1 ff.] contributed to the development of teaching at that time.

FIGURE 111. MELETIUS SMOTRYTSKY

The Kievan Mohyla Collegium (transformed into an academy in 1701) was the center of pedagogical study in Ukraine during the second half of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth centuries. Its professors and graduates played an important part in the development of pedagogics and didactics in the institutions of higher education of both Ukraine and Muscovy. Noteworthy among them were: Yoanikii Galiatovsky [Vol. I, pp. 997a–8b], author of the symposium *Kliuch razumeniia* (Key to Understanding, 1659), whose treatise on education defined the tasks of teachers and the purposes of teaching; and Simeon Polotsky, one of the founders of the

Slavic-Greek-Latin Collegium in Moscow, who, in his *Obed dushevnyi* and *Vecheria dushevnaia* (Spiritual Dinner and Spiritual Supper) emphasized the importance of education and learning and supported the principle of visual methods of instruction. The educational ideas of Gregory Skovoroda [Vol. I, pp. 755b–6a] had a considerable influence on the development of pedagogics in the second half of the eighteenth century. In his works Skovoroda proposed the principle of the development of man's natural abilities and the idea of education adapted to natural characteristics. He demanded that education be made available to all classes of society, including women.

## CENTRAL AND EASTERN LANDS IN THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

The universities of Kharkiv and Kiev, founded in the first half of the nineteenth century did not initially play a major role in the development of pedagogics and didactics. The first history of the Kievan Mohyla Academy published at this time (1843) was by Makarius Bulgakov, a Russian theologian and professor at the Petersburg Theological Seminary.

Educational ideas and research into the history of schools and education on a broader scale did not begin until the second half of the nineteenth century. The chair of education established at Kiev University in 1850 was occupied in 1851 by Sylvester Hohotsky, philosopher and author of works on the theory and history of education. Theoretical works and textbooks of the following Ukrainians played an important part in the development of pedagogical thought in the second half of the nineteenth century: Theodore Bemer, a protagonist of humanism, visual and purposeful instruction; Nicholas Levytsky, expert in the methodology of elementary education; and, most important, the Russian pedagogue of Ukrainian descent, Constantine Ushynsky (active in Russia), who favored methods of instruction based on scientific psychology and physiology.

FIGURE 112. CONSTANTINE USHYNSKY

The Russian physician and educator, Nicholas Pirogov, exerted considerable influence on the development of pedagogical ideas during this period. Active in Ukraine, he advanced the idea of a uniform system of general education and devised a scheme of graduated schools. Another important figure was Baron Nicholas Korf, organizer of *Zemstvo* schools in Ukraine.

Elias Derkach (Derkachev), a Ukrainian educator and author of books for children, followed Ushynsky's teachings in Ukraine. He also authored more than fifty textbooks. Towards the end of the nineteenth century problems of education, particularly in the public sector, were being tackled by Christine Alchevska (method of adult education), Tymothy Lubenets (preschool education), and Sophia Rusova (popular education).

Research on the history of education and schools in Ukraine was also started in the second half of the nineteenth century. Developments from the beginning of the tenth century to the end of the fourteenth were described by Nicholas Lavrovsky, professor at Kharkiv University (1855–75) and director of the Nizhyn Institute of History and Philology from 1875 to 1882, and by Anthony Paventsky, a scholar in Lviv. The history of the Kievan Mohyla Academy was researched by the following Kiev scholars: Victor Askochensky, M. Linchevsky, Michael Maksymovych, V. Serebrennikov, Nicholas Petrov, and the Polish his-

torian Aleksander Jabłonowski. Authors writing on Ukrainian schools of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were Alexander Lazarevsky, Michael Vladimirsky-Budanov, and the Russian scholar Peter Pekarsky. Works on the history of Kiev University were written by V. Shulhyn, M. Vladimirsky-Budanov, Volodymyr Ikonnikov, and on Kharkiv University by Dmytro Bahalii. V. Herbel wrote about the Prince Alexander Bezborodko Lyceum in Nizhyn. The general history of schools in Ukraine of the nineteenth century is described in the works of N. Aristov, I. Barsov, E. Schmidt, and in the three-volume publication, *Sbornik materialov dlia istorii prosveshcheniia v Rossii* (Collection of Material for the History of Education in Russia, 1893–8). The history of pedagogics is treated in the work of Michael Demkov, published in Petersburg in 1897. Michael Drahomanov and Borys Hrinchenko wrote about the elementary schools of this period. The journal *Kievskaia Starina* (the Kievian Antiquity) devoted considerable space to the history of education, as did the Petersburg journal, *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia* (Journal of the Ministry of Public Education), started in 1834, and other Russian educational journals of the period.

The chairs of education at Kiev, Kharkiv, and Odessa universities became increasingly active in the early twentieth century under the influence of modern trends and methods of education initiated in the West. Stephen Ananïn, director of education at Kiev University and author of numerous treatises on education, was the chief exponent of these trends and methods. The Museum of Education founded in Kiev at this time became an important center of educational research.

The development of Ukrainian pedagogical thought was limited during this period (particularly following the revolution of 1905) to problems of public education, i.e., elementary schools conducted in the Ukrainian language. In addition to those of T. Lubenets and S. Rusova, theoretical works on this subject were written by B. Hrinchenko, Viacheslav Prokopovych, Stephen Siropolko, Michael Chalyi, Jacob Chepiha, Spyrydon Cherkasenko, and Gregory Sherstiuk. After 1910, the publishing house Ukraïns'kyi Uchytel (Ukrainian Teacher) became the leading center of educational research, publishing the first pedagogical journal in Ukraine under Russia, the Ukrainian-language *Svitlo* (Light), 1910–4, edited by G. Sherstiuk.

The most complete history of education from the earliest times was written by Michael Hrushevsky in the first volumes of his *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy* (History of Ukraine-*Rus'*). C. Kharlampovych wrote a broad analytical study of the history of education from its beginnings to the mid-eighteenth century. The works of Volodymyr Peretts and I. Filevsky dealt with the pre-Mongolian period. The history of the Kievan Mohyla Academy was treated by Stephen Golubev, Dmytro Vyshnevsky,

FIGURE 113.
NICHOLAS PETROV

FIGURE 114.
VLADYSLAV BUZESKUL

and Nicholas Petrov. The history of Kharkiv University was researched by Vladyslav Buzeskul as well as by D. Bahalii. I. Pavlovsky and S. Rozhdestvensky wrote on public education in Ukraine in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and S. Farvorovsky dealt with education in the Kuban region.

## WESTERN LANDS BEFORE 1918

The first major work in western Ukrainian educational literature was Alexander Dukhnovych's *Narodnaia pedagogiia v pol'zu uchilishch i uchitelei sel'skikh, chast' I, pedagogiia obshchaia* (Public Pedagogy for the Use of Village Schools and Teachers, Part I, General Pedagogy) published in 1857 in Lviv. Towards the end of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth century, research into the history of education was pursued by Ostap Makarushka, Basil Biletsky, Ivan Demianchuk, Constantine Malytska, Ivan Yushchyshyn, and others. Professors and lecturers at Lviv University also did some research in this field.

An important contribution to the development of education, particularly in the field of cultural enlightenment, was made by the Prosvita society, founded in 1867, and by the Shevchenko Scientific Society, founded in 1873, originally for educational purposes. After 1881 theory of education and practice became the exclusive concern of the Ruthenian (subsequently Ukrainian) Pedagogical Society and its semimonthly publication, *Uchytel'* (Teacher, 1889–1914). Another organization preoccupied with educational questions was the Vzaïmna Pomich Ukraïns'koho Vchytel'stva (Mutual Aid Society of Ukrainian Teachers) founded in 1905, which, in addition to professional matters, paid considerable attention to problems of theory and history of education, particularly in its journal *Uchytel's'ke Slovo* (The Teacher's Word, Lviv, 1912). The association of teachers of secondary schools of Galicia and Bukovina Uchytel's'ka Hromada (Teachers' Community), founded in Lviv in 1908, published textbooks and the journal *Nasha Shkola* (Our School, 1909–18), with Hrushevsky as its first editor.

The Ukraïns'ka Shkola (Ukrainian School) society was the principal educational center in Bukovina. Scholars of the University of Chernivtsi also did research on the problems of history and theory of education. In Transcarpathia, a journal, *Uchytel'* (Teacher), started publication in 1867. It was the first educational periodical in Ukraine. The Rev. Augustine Voloshyn began his pedagogical activity in Transcarpathia in 1900.

Р. I.

УЧИТЕЛЬ

РУСКОГО ТОВ. ПЕДАГОГІЧНОГО.

Вôдъ выдавництва.

FIGURE 115. FIRST PAGE OF THE JOURNAL *Uchytel'* (TEACHER, FIRST ISSUE, 1889)

The scope of works on educational history in Western Ukraine was quite limited. Ambrose Krylovsky, a Kiev historian of Galician origin, published a history of the Lviv Stavropygian Brotherhood in 1904. Substantial material on the history of education in Galicia was compiled in *Materiialy do kul'turnoï istoriï Halyts'koï Rusy XVIII i XIX viku* (Material on the Cultural History of Galician *Rus'* of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries), edited by Ivan Franko (1902). The Lviv Theological Seminary at the time of Markian Shashkevych was

described by Cyril Studynsky. The Polish historian F. Jaworski wrote the history of Lviv University. The works of Stephen Baran and of the Polish researchers A. Baranowski and J. Buzek deal with the history of schools in Galicia in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Eugene Dmytriv wrote about educational matters in Bukovina.

## THE PERIOD OF UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD

Large-scale development of Ukrainian schools following the March revolution of 1917 also contributed to a revival of Ukrainian pedagogical thought. With the spontaneous organization of elementary, secondary, and higher education, work was started on drafting plans and programs for a uniform system of education in Ukraine (the so-called Yedyna trudova shkola (unified labor school), see p. 344). The Society of School Education, founded in 1917, drafted a plan for a uniform school system, which was adopted at the Second All-Ukrainian Teachers' Convention in August 1917 and became the basis of a plan being prepared by a number of committees under the supervision of the General Secretariat of Education of the Central Rada, later by the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian National Republic (Ivan Steshenko, Peter Kholodnyi, Volodymyr Naumenko). Taking part in the implementation of the system and in the preparation of theoretical and practical norms of education were S. Rusova, Volodymyr Durdukivsky, Jacob Chepiha-Zelenkevych, Gregory Ivanytsia, S. Siropolko, and Alexander Muzychenko. The journal *Vil'na Ukraïns'ka Shkola* (Free Ukrainian School), published from 1917 to 1919 under S. Cherkasenko and subsequently Alexander Doroshkevych, dealt exclusively with the problems of education and organization of schools.

The Ukrainian Academy of Education, founded in Kiev in 1917, became the center of research in education and training of teacher personnel. Work in this field was also continued at the existing universities, particularly in Kiev, under the direction of S. Ananïn, author of *Lektsiï z istoriï pedahohiky* (Lectures on the History of Pedagogics), published in 1918–19.

Papers read at the first and second All-Ukrainian teachers conventions on the history of education and pedagogical thought were published in the press. No other important works on education were published during the 1917–19 period in any part of Ukraine.

## THE UKRAINIAN SSR, 1919–32

The years immediately following the Soviet occupation of Ukraine were marked by an intensive search for new norms and educational methods and by efforts to devise a school system compatible with the needs and priorities of the new political order.

The ideas and program of the unified system of education, national in content, but partially adapted to the new social order imposed by the Communist system were implemented by educators and pedagogues united in the pedagogical section of the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Kiev and, after 1921, in the Scientific Pedagogical Committee of the Historical-Philosophical Section of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, with Ovksentii Korchak-Chepurkivsky acting as chairman of the committee, Alexander Doroshkevych as scientific secretary, and Volodymyr Durdukivsky as acting director. A section on history of education formed part of the committee, headed by Stephen Posternak. The committee published one volume of *Pratsi* (Works). Scientific research on education was conducted by the Scientific Pedagogical Society which was also attached to the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. In addition to prominent educators from the committee, the membership of this

society consisted of a large group of educators and pedagogues, including Alexander Astriab, Basil Doha, and Gregory Ivanytsia. The idea of a unified labor school system was promoted by Theophil Lubenets, professor of education at the Kiev Institute of Public Education, and Victor Rodnikov. In Odessa, adherents of this trend included Michael Hordiievsky, author of *Pedahohika prahmatyzmu* (Pedagogics of Pragmatism, published in 1924), Artemii Hotalov-Hotlib, and V. Chudnovtsev, all members of the pedagogical section of the Odessa Scientific Society attached to the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

Among advocates of Western educational ideas such as a liberal comprehensive system of education, experimental pedagogy, and reflexology were: J. Chepiha-Zelenkevych, advocate of liberal education; Jacob Mamontov, follower of the method of esthetic education; Alexander Muzychenko, advocate of individualistic methods and a comprehensive system; Adrian Volodymyrsky, adherent of the "school of natural development" and theory of reflexology (director of the Kiev Experimental Pedological Station founded in 1923); B. Manjos, author of the monograph *Dydaktyka* (Didactics, 1930) and a believer in the American methodology of teaching, particularly reflexology. Before education in the Ukrainian SSR was modernized, this movement was centered in the Laboratory of Reflexology and Experimental education of the Physical-Mathematical Department of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, headed by Alexander Skovoroda-Zachyniaiev in Kiev, the editorial offices of the journal *Ukraïns'kyi Visnyk Refleksolohiï ta Eksperymental'noï Pedahohiky* (Ukrainian Herald of Reflexology and Experimental Pedagogy) published in Kharkiv from 1925 to 1930, and the Odessa Experimental Pedological Station established in 1923.

The government set a different course in the development of education in the 1920's through the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, in an effort to reshape education and training on the principles of Marxism-Leninism (see pp. 344 ff.). This trend was quite different from the prevailing unified system in the Russian SRSR in that it stressed social education and professional training. Its principles were worked out mainly by the heads of the People's Commissariat of Public Education, Gregory Hrynko, Jan Riappo, Alexander Shumsky, Nicholas Skrypnyk, and Volodymyr Zatonsky. The system of social education and its accompanying reforms were developed and propagated by such educators as Andrew Zilberstein, editor of the journal *Shiliakh Osvity* (Pathway of Education) published by the People's Commissariat of Public Education (1921-34), Nicholas Hryhoriev, and Sava Chavdarov.

The Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Education in Kharkiv (established in 1926) with a branch in Kiev and eight divisions, including a laboratory and a library, was the official center of scientific research in educational theory and practice. In addition to the monthly *Osvita v Kapitalistychnykh Kraïnakh* (Education in Capitalist Countries) published by the Institute, the following organs of educational ideas were published in the 1920's: *Narodna Osvita* (Public Education, 1919); *Proletars'ka Osvita* (Proletarian Education, 1920–1); *Shliakh Osvity* (1923–31); and the newspaper *Narodnyi Uchytel'* (Public School Teacher, 1925–30). The chairs of education in the principal institutes of public education also engaged in systematic educational research during this period, for example, the chair of education in Odessa established in 1927, and museums of education in Kiev (1929) and in Chernihiv.

Most of the centers and journals active in the 1920's were silenced in the early 1930's and many leaders, including proponents of the unified school system and free education were subjected to persecution. The system of social education was radically reorganized. One of its founders, N. Skrypnyk, committed sui-

cide, and G. Hrynko and V. Zatonsky were executed in 1938.

Much research into the history of Ukrainian education was carried out in the 1920's. Treatises by Alexander Savych and Theodore Titov explored the history of the brotherhood schools and higher education from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth. Nicholas Petrov and Lev Mylovydov researched the history of the Kievan Mohyla Academy; Nicholas Vasylenko wrote about the Lyceum in Kremianets and the Kiev University in the nineteenth century. Alexander Nazarevsky, Dmytro Krakhovetsky, and V. Durdukivsky worked on the history of education in that century; and Stephen Posternak wrote about the educational movement of 1917–19. G. Hrynko and J. Riappo produced theoretical and historical works on the organization of education and the system of social education in the 1920's. Professional education of this period was the specialty of Jacob Zvihalsky, Michael Ivanov, and Nicholas Hrunsky. Works on the history of education were produced by A. Hotalov-Hotlib, J. Mamontov, and Gregory Zhurakivsky and for the 1917–27 period by M. Hordiievsky.

## THE UKRAINIAN SSR, 1933–66

Following the liquidation of the study centers and the repression of educators whose views were not acceptable to the Soviet regime, their ideas and methods were denounced in a number of resolutions of the Communist Party Central Committee and the Soviet government (see pp. 351 ff.). Since the second half of the 1930's the development of education in the Ukrainian SSR has been based exclusively on Marxist principles, in harmony with the theories of labor and collective education formulated by the Soviet educator of Ukrainian descent, Anthony Makarenko, and further developed in Ukraine by Nicholas Dadenko, and S. Chavdarov.

The main center of research into the history of education, schools, and educational systems is the Scientific Research Institute of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, reorganized and transferred from Kharkiv to Kiev in 1934. It publishes *Naukovi zapysky* (Scientific Notes) in a number of series including historical and pedagogical. The Scientific Research Institute of Psychology, founded in Kiev in 1935 under the supervision of the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, is a parallel institution. This institute also publishes a *Naukovi zapysky*, studies problems of teaching and education, and coordinates the activities of psychological laboratories in Kiev, Odessa, Kharkiv, and Lviv. The chairs of education at the universities and teachers' institutes also engage in educational research. The Republic Scientific-Pedagogical Society and the pedagogical section of the *Znannia* (Knowledge) society are active in the popularization of educational knowledge. There is no supervisory scholarly institution in the Ukrainian SSR. A Ukrainian academy of pedagogical sciences was proposed in the late 1920's, but never came into being. The only such institution in the USSR is the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the USSR in Moscow, founded in 1966 as the successor to the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the Russian SFSR (1943).

FIGURE 116. ANTHONY MAKARENKO

Scholarly works on education are published in *Naukovi zapysky* of the institutes already mentioned in the journal of general education, *Radians'ka Shkola* (Soviet School, 1945); and in the newspaper *Radians'ka Osvita* (Soviet Education, 1940). In addition, there are the methodological publications: *Doshkil'ne Vykhovannia* (Preschool Education,

1951), and *Ukraïns'ka Mova i Literatura v Shkoli* (Ukrainian Language and Literature in Schools) established in 1963 from a merger of two other journals. All are published by the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR. Problems of instruction in geography are discussed in the non-periodical publication *Heohrafiia v Shkoli* (Geography in Schools), which started in 1948, and some aspects of history teaching in *Ukraïns'kyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal* (Ukrainian Historical Journal).

In methodology, most attention is given to the teaching of Ukrainian and Russian language and literature. The leading authors in this field are: Tetiana Buhaiko, S. Chavdarov, Serhii Dudkin, V. Masalsky, Alexander Mazurkevych, and Peter Volynsky. Theoretical research in other fields has not been accorded so much attention: mathematical method (A. Astriab), physics (Alexander Babenko, Gregory De-Metz), zoology (Volodymyr Artobolevsky), geography (Alexander Dibrova), history (Ivan Krypiakevych). The following scholars have been working on various problems of methodology and Communist education: Nicholas Dadenkov, A. Hotalov-Hotlib, Stephen Lytvynov, Nicholas Hryshchenko, S. Chavdarov, and Basil Sukhomlynsky.

Most of these scholars are still preoccupied with the history of education under Soviet rule. Others working in this field are V. Hryshchenko, Alexander Dzeveryn, Theodore Naumenko, M. Nizhynsky, and Liubov Shevchenko. The education of the Princely period is treated as part of general history and the history of culture (Michael Marchenko). Works of Eugene Medynsky, T. Naumenko, and Yaroslav Isaievych deal with the history of brotherhood schools of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. K. Lazarenko has written a history of Lviv University while the history of Kiev University was published in a separate symposium in 1959. N. Dadenkov, M. Konstantynov, and V. Smyrnov have produced works on the general history of education. The bibliography of Soviet historical-pedagogical literature of the 1918–57 period has been compiled in the Russian Index by A. Piskunov. Considerable material on the history of education in Ukraine is offered in the Russian *Pedagogicheskaia Entsiklopediia* (Pedagogical Encyclopedia), Moscow, 1964–7.

## WESTERN UKRAINE, 1918–39

Educational efforts in Ukrainian lands under Poland were spearheaded by the Ridna Shkola (Native School) society with its journal of the same name. Professional organizations of teachers were also active in this field: Vzaïmna Pomich Ukraïs'koho Vchytel'stva (Mutual Aid Society of Ukrainian Teachers) which published the methodological monthly, *Uchytel's'ke Slovo*, subsequently changed to the *Shliakh Vykhovannia i Navchannia* (Pathway of Education and Teaching), 1927, the book series *Pedahohichno-metodychna biblioteka* (Pedagogical-Methodological Library), and sponsored an educational consulting bureau; and *Uchytel's'ka Hromada* (Teachers' Community) which published textbooks and the journals *Svitlo* (Light, 1921–2), *Uchytel'* (Teacher, 1923–4), and *Ukraïns'ka Shkola* (Ukrainian School, 1925–39).

Teaching methods in various fields were studied by Yaroslav Bilenkyi and Nicholas Matviichuk (Ukrainian language), Bohdan Zaklynsky (oral and written methodology), Ivan Levytsky (music), and Savyna Sydorovych (handicrafts).

I. Krypiakevych wrote on the history of education through the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries in his general works *Istoriia Ukraïny* (History of Ukraine), *Istoriia kul'tury* (History of Culture), and in a number of articles. Works in Polish published on this subject in Lviv were authored by C. Kharlampovych and Alojzy Wańczura.

Ambrose Androkhovych, Ivan Fylypchak, among others, wrote on Ukrainian education in Austria, and the Rev. Josyf Slipyj wrote on the education of clergy and on the history of the theological academy in Lviv. Eugene Hrytsak produced a study of the development of schools and elementary education under the Soviet system. A study on the underground Ukrainian university in Lviv was written by Basil Mudryi. The works of Y. Bilenky, Ivan Herasymovych, and Lev Yasinchuk treated the development of Ukrainian private schools, and those of S. Persky (Stephen Shakh) adult education. The Polish author S. Lehnert wrote about schools in Galicia in the 1920's. The general history of education was the subject of the works of Ostap Makarushka, Basil Levytsky, B. Zaklynsky, and the Polish scholar Stanisław Kot.

During World War II the work of the Mutual Aid Society of Ukrainian Teachers was continued in Cracow and Lviv by the Uchytel's'ke Ob'iednannia Pratsi (Teachers' Labor Association) attached to the Ukrainian Central Committee [Vol. I, pp. 875a, 887b], which published the journal *Ukraïns'ka Shkola* (Ukrainian School, 1942–4).

## ABROAD AFTER 1918

During the period between the two world wars, the Drahomanov Ukrainian High Pedagogical Institute and the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society, both in Prague, played an important part in the development of Ukrainian educational ideas and in research on the history of education. The former published *Naukovi zbirnyky* (Scholarly Symposia) and textbooks under the firm Siiach (The Sower). S. Siropolko, a professor at the Institute, authored *Istoriia osvity na Ukraïni* (History of Education in Ukraine) published in Lviv in 1937 and considered the best study in its field, a descriptive work, *Narodna osvita na Soviets'kii Ukraïni* (Public Education in Soviet Ukraine, Warsaw, 1934), and a number of articles on education in Ukraine and in the countries of Ukrainian settlement. Schools and education in Ukraine were also the subject of writings by Basil Bidnov. Volodymyr Doroshenko and Zenon Kuzela wrote a survey of education in the early twentieth century. The Ukrainian Pedagogical Society in Prague published treatises of Basil Simovych on schools in Bukovina, Julius Husnai in Transcarpathia, and Maria Omelchenko in Kuban. The history of Ukrainian education abroad has been partly expounded in the general work of Simon Narizhny, *Ukraïns'ka emihratsiia* (Ukrainian Emigration, 1942). S. Rusova was also an eminent member of the Prague center of educational research.

FIGURE 117. STEPHEN SIROPOLKO

Among the post-World War II émigrés in Germany, Professor Gregory Vashchenko of the Institute of People's Education in Poltava and later of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, worked on the theory and history of education and produced several works in these fields. The journal *Ukraïns'ka Shkola* (Ukrainian School, 1947–8) was devoted to practical problems of education. Ivan Krylov wrote on the system of education in Ukraine in the 1917–30 period. The publications on the Ukrainian Free University, the Ukrainian Technical Husbandry Academy, and the Ukrainian Technical Husbandry Institute contain a mass of material on higher education abroad in the 1920's and 1930's.

On the North American continent, the Educational Council of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in the United States and the Association of Ukrainian Educators in Canada deal

with problems of education, including methodology and the publication of textbooks. The organizations mentioned above and the Association of Ukrainian Organizations in Australia established a special committee in 1965 to draft a project of the Ukrainian educational system in the free world. The committee is headed by Zenon Zelenyi and Cecilia Paliïv.

Educational journals such as *Zhyttia i Shkola* (Life and School) and *Uchytel's'ke Slovo* (Teacher's Word), published privately by Basil Lutsiv, have been appearing in the U.S. and Canada since 1956. The quarterly *Plastovyi Shliakh* (The Plast Pathway), revived in 1966, is devoted to problems of Ukrainian Scout life and education.

*B. Krawciw*

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## 2. TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

### TO THE MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY

#### Before Adoption of Christianity

It is probable that several systems of writing existed in Ukraine-*Rus'* even before the adoption of Christianity (988). Old-Ukrainian, Byzantine, and Arabic sources mention *Cherty y rezy* (dashes and slashes) with the help of which the Slavs counted and notated, a bible and psalter found in Khersones (Korsun) in the Crimea written *rus'skimy pis'meny* (in *Rus'* characters), and a written language of the *Rus'* people. The existence of a written language is further indicated by various, as yet undeciphered, inscriptions on archaeological finds.

#### After Adoption of Christianity

The adoption of Christianity at the end of the tenth century heralded the beginning of literature, both original and in translated form (from Byzantium and Bulgaria). This was made possible by the adoption of a Slavic alphabet (the so-called *Kyrylytsia*) created at the end of the ninth century by students of SS. Cyril and Methodius, and the wider use of Church Slavonic, a language understood at the time by southern and eastern Slavs. After 863, Cyril and Methodius translated the basic liturgical books from Greek into Church Slavonic, which then became the major language in southern and eastern Slavic lands. In western Slavic lands, Latin became the church and official language. Literature in Church Slavonic provided the primary source of education for the higher classes of Kievan *Rus'* society. Not only liturgical books were used for this purpose, but also sermons and teachings of the church

fathers, the "Lives" of martyrs and ascetics, historical stories and chronicles, and works on nature—*Fisiolog, Shestodnev,* etc. Later, original works on various subjects also became textbooks, particularly the first pedagogical work in old Ukrainian literature, *Pouchenie* (Instruction) or *Hramotytsia* by Prince Volodymyr Monomakh (*ca.* 1117 [Vol. I, p. 981]).

The first schools in Kievan *Rus'* appeared at the time of the introduction of Christianity. Numerous questions concerning the emergence of schools have not yet been resolved, but it is known that in Ukraine education and a school system, like literature, were adopted from Byzantium on the pattern of Bulgarian examples. Nestor's chronicle of the year 988 records that Prince Volodymyr the Great decreed that children of prominent persons be assembled for "book learning." In this same chronicle it is said of Yaroslav the Wise that he appointed priests to churches and ordered them to teach the people, paying them for this from the princely treasury. Concerning Yaroslav, the (first) Sophia chronicle of the year 1030 notes that in Novgorod "he gathered 300 children of nobles and priests to be taught from books." On the basis of these chronicles it is possible to accept as fact the existence of schools in Kievan *Rus'*: higher schools, probably boarding schools, at the courts of princes for the children of prominent people (*boyars* (nobles) and knights), and lower schools in monasteries and churches for townspeople (merchants and craftsmen). Among the princes, individual tutoring was the usual method of education. Instructed by teachers from among the nobility, the sons and daughters of the Kiev, Chernihiv, and other princes studied philosophy, rhetoric, and grammar, and learned several languages (Vsevolod, son of Yaroslav, knew five languages).

The main goal of education, apart from "strengthening the faith," was to train priests, sextons, singing masters, and officials for the princely chancery and administration. Teachers were priests, at first Greeks and Bulgarians, later local men. Children began their schooling at seven to nine years of age. The first year was spent in learning the alphabet and the rudiments of reading and writing, possibly with the help of primers. In the second year the students were taught the fundamentals of arithmetic and calendar calculation. Later they studied the sacred writings—*Psaltyr* (Psalter), *Apostol* (Epistle), *Evanheliie* (Gospel), and *Chasoslov* (Prayerbook) —thus acquiring the rudiments of faith and morals as well as basic education. Singing was also taught in the schools. The mastery of rhetoric and the Greek language, which was necessary in diplomatic and trade relations with Byzantium and other countries, completed formal education. Students and adults acquired a knowledge of history, geography, and the natural sciences through the careful reading of books.

FIGURE 118. KIEVAN CAVE MONASTERY (engraving, eleventh century)

Teaching at the time was based on the precepts of St. John Chrysostom, presented in his *O voskrmlenii detii* (On Bringing up Children). The textbook on grammar was a translation of John Damascene's *O osmekh chastekh slova* (On the Eight Parts of a Word).

Initially, education in schools organized by the princes was of a more secular nature, and its primary goal was to prepare noble youths for state and higher church offices. After it came under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical circles, education became increasingly one-sided, being limited to the acquisition of reading and writing skills, using for the most part liturgical books, most often the Psalms. The education of secular persons (primarily burghers and craftsmen) usually ended in the lower schools. Only candidates for the clergy or children of princes and nobles received supplementary education. Kiev, Novgorod, Polotsk, Chernihiv, Volodymyr Volynsky, and Halych were the major centers of learning.

**From the Mongolian Invasion to the Mid-Sixteenth Century**

After the Mongolian invasion in 1240, education in the central and eastern lands of Ukraine deteriorated. Halych and Volodymyr Volynsky, the capitals of the Galician-Volhynian principality, became the main cultural centers, with schools operated on the pattern of those at Kiev.

Nevertheless, Mongolian rule did not completely arrest the development of schooling in central and eastern Ukrainian lands. Schools continued to exist in monasteries and churches, their system of instruction being similar to that of the Old Ukrainian schools of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

With the annexation of Galicia to Poland in 1387 and Volhynia to Lithuania, Galicia was increasingly influenced by Western culture with Latin as the language of instruction, while Volhynia transmitted its culture, language, educational system, and teaching methods to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

Teachers were, as previously, priests and sextons—formerly called *didaskaly*, then *maistry*, *ustavnyky*, and *bakalary*. They taught children irrespective of financial and social standing, including those of craftsmen and peasants, in schools housed in monasteries and churches, or at the houses of well-to-do persons. Liturgical books continued to serve as textbooks (*abetsedarii*, the ABC's). In church schools the curriculum consisted of the alphabet, taught from primers, the reading of liturgical texts, and the study of the basic principles of arithmetic. The transition from the primer to *Chasoslov*, *Psaltyr*, and other liturgical texts corresponded to the transfer from one grade to another, and was marked by appropriate ceremonies. Subjects of study, in addition to reading, included church singing and writing, at first in the manner of the Old Ukrainian *ustav* (large calligraphic writing) and later, cursive writing. Monastic schools were considered secondary schools, to which pupils from parochial schools came for the completion of their studies. The program of studies in the monastery schools included Greek, grammar, and rhetoric, and in some places mathematics and music (singing).

Instruction in schools in all Ukrainian lands was in "the language of *Rus'*", i.e., in Church Slavonic with many elements of the Ukrainian language of the time. Secondary schools with this as the language of instruction existed at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries in Zabludiv, Ostrih, Volodymyr Volynsky, Kholm, Lviv, Uhniv, and Kiev (St. Michael monastery). In the western lands, Latin had been taught in addition to Greek since the thirteenth century, since it was the language required for diplomatic and trade relations. Centers of formal education were Ostrih, Lviv, Kholm, and Kiev.

There were no institutions of higher learning in Ukraine until the last quarter

of the sixteenth century. Children of Ukrainian magnates, nobles, and wealthier burghers received their higher education at Western universities: in Cracow (established in 1364), Prague (established in 1348), Padua, Bologna, and other cities. Separate boarding schools existed in Cracow (from 1409) and Prague (the so-called Lithuanian Collegium, founded in 1397).

## FROM THE MID-SIXTEENTH TO THE MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

### Catholic and Protestant Schools

Schools in Ukraine until the middle of the sixteenth century and even in later decades continued to be religious in nature, limited by the traditional methods and curriculum established under Byzantine influence in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This situation coupled with the influence of new cultural currents of humanism, renaissance, and modern Western methods of teaching, led Ukrainian youth (mainly nobles and wealthier burghers), including those of Orthodox faith to seek education in Catholic cathedral schools at Lviv, Kiev, and Lutsk.

In addition to Latin, Greek, and Polish these schools taught various subjects which were included in the system of the seven liberal arts (*septem artes liberales*). The Jesuits became increasingly active, particularly after the Union of Lublin in 1569, and Jesuit schools appeared in Ukraine, notably the Jesuit college in Vilna (1570), which in 1579 attained the status of an academy and became one of the major educational centers for Ukrainian and Belorussian youth. The Jesuits opened many other schools in various regions of Ukraine: for example, in Yaroslav (1575), Peremyshl, Lviv, Lutsk (1608), Ostrih, Kamianets Podilsky (1610), Vinnytsia, Bar, Pinsk, and Kiev (1647), in all 23 colleges in Ukrainian lands. Education in these schools was conducted in the Catholic spirit, occasionally bordering on the fanatical, but applying new methods of teaching, in contrast with the old scholastic method. The program of subjects in these schools was divided into two groups, lower (*studia inferiora*) and higher (*studia superiora*). The first group, or gymnasium, was composed of five grades, whereas the higher group consisted of three-year philosophical and four-year theological courses (in Ukrainian lands only in Pinsk). A separate place among Polish Catholic schools was occupied by the Academy of Zamość (Zamostia), founded in 1595 by the Polish Chancellor, Jan Zamojski. It consisted of eight grades, with students divided into five groups according to nationality. Many Ukrainians studied at this academy, including such future prominent Ukrainian teachers and organizers of Ukrainian schooling as Kasiian Sakovych, later rector of the Kievan brotherhood school (1620–4), Sylvester Kosiv, professor at the Kievan Mohyla Collegium, and Isaiah Trofymovych-Kozlovsky, rector of the Kievan Mohyla Collegium.

With the spread of Protestant ideas and the Reformation in Ukraine, adherents of these movements from among Ukrainian magnates and nobles began to establish their own schools. The most prominent of these was the Calvinist school in Panivtsi in Podilia. Socinian schools existed in Kyselyn (near Volodymyr Volynsky), Khmelnyk, Hoshcha, Berestechko; Arian schools were established at some Arian settlements in Volhynia. In all these Protestant schools the language of instruction, depending on local conditions, was German, Latin, or Polish. The curriculum and structure were based on the ideas of the German humanist Philipp Melanchthon and the Strasbourg pedagogue Johannes Sturm. The schools were called gymnasiums and the program of studies consisted of three grades of grammar (*infima*, *media*, *suprema* or *syntactica*) and two grades of poetics and rhetoric. They were attended primarily by the children of

nobles and burghers, and like the Catholic schools, were a medium for the denationalization of Ukrainian youth.

### Revival of Ukrainian Schools

In order to counteract the influence of Catholic and Protestant schools and to neutralize the spread of their influence on Ukrainian society, wealthier individuals and groups began establishing Ukrainian Orthodox schools in the last decades of the sixteenth century. Contributing to the establishment of these schools was the publishing and translating activity of a Belorussian doctor and printer, Francis Skoryna (see Book Publishing, p. 441) and of Prince Andrew Kurbsky, a refugee from Muscovy, who in the 1560's and 70's initiated in Volhynia a movement to protect the Church Slavonic language and literature from Polish influences. Orthodox schools were founded in Smotrych in Podilia (1579) and Kholm (1582), organized on the pattern of Catholic (Jesuit) and Protestant gymnasiums, and having as their goal the education of priests, teachers, writers, etc. Owing to the efforts of Prince Constantine Ostrozky, such schools were also opened in Turiv (1572), Volodymyr Volynsky (1577), and Slutsk (1580). Of the schools founded by Prince Ostrozky, the most important was the Ostrih school, which opened around 1580 and was called by contemporaries an academy because of its prominence. The faculty of the Ostrih school was composed of Ukrainian and Greek scholars and pedagogues who taught the Slavic-*Rus'*, Greek, Latin, and Polish languages, as well as grammar, dialectics, rhetoric, philosophy, and other subjects. They raised the level of education in this school to that of the contemporary Catholic and Protestant schools. By including in its curriculum the study of theology and philosophy, the Ostrih school went beyond the "seven liberal arts" adopted by secondary schools of the West and Poland in the Middle Ages. Its teachers and writers took an active part in translating the Bible, and in editing other works published by the Ostrih press (see Book Publishing, p. 443). Herasym Smotrytsky, an eminent scholar of the late sixteenth century [Vol. I, p. 993a], was rector of the Ostrih school, which continued to function until the death of its founder (1608). Its graduates included many prominent Ukrainian cultural and political leaders. Bishop Theodosius Lazovsky established a Greek-Slavic school in Volodymyr Volynsky on the pattern of the Ostrih school, drawing some teachers from Ostrih.

### Brotherhood Schools

Educational institutions on a secondary school level established in the 1570's by the brotherhoods were even more important. These were religious organizations resembling guilds [Vol. I, p. 629] in whose statutes (1542, 1544, and 1586)

FIGURE 119. TITLE PAGE OF THE BOOK OF RULES OF THE ASSUMPTION BROTHERHOOD SCHOOL IN LVIV, 1587

various tasks were enumerated, including the establishment of schools and printing houses. In this respect they were greatly aided by Orthodox magnates and nobles. The first of these brotherhood schools was opened in Lviv in 1586 by the Assumption (later Stavropygian) Brotherhood. This school sought to provide a national and religious education for youth from all strata of society; there was no fee for the poor, but the rich were obliged to pay tuition.

Following the example of the Lviv brotherhood school, other cities, in the closing decades of the sixteenth century, began to establish similar schools: Peremyshl (1592), Halych, Rohatyn, Dubno (1604), Kholm, Zamość (1606), Lublin, Berestia, Kiev (1615), Vinnytsia, Kamianets Podilsky, Lutsk (1620), Volodymyr Volynsky, Medzhybizh (1621), Kremianets, and many others. In Lithuania, a brotherhood school was established in Vilna (1587), and in Belorussia in Minsk and Mohyliv.

The internal structure of brotherhood schools, their program, and general methods of instruction were regulated by separate school statutes, as exemplified by *Poriadok Shkil'nyi* (School Order) and *Prav Shkoly Hreko-Slovians'koï Luts'koï artykuly* (Articles of Rights of the Greek-Slavic school in Lutsk), borrowed by the Lutsk brotherhood in 1620–4 from the Lviv school. The first document set forth the principles for organizing a school, while the articles summarized regulations for students and designated the rights and obligations of teachers. Admission to a school was contingent upon a separate agreement between the school and the parents. The pupil himself, with the advice of the rector, could choose his subjects of study. Students were admitted regardless of their social standing. In the school they were differentiated only by their degree of proficiency. The curriculum of the brotherhood schools was divided into three sections: in the first, students studied letters and syllables; in the second they learned to read and memorize texts; in the third they were taught to explain and independently analyze texts. The program of studies corresponded to the requirements of secondary education of the time: in addition to Church Slavonic, Greek, Latin, and later Polish, it included dialectics, poetics, rhetoric, homiletics, and in the afternoons, religion, arithmetic, and music (singing).

There were also numerous primary schools, for the most part parochial, in all sections of Ukraine during the seventeenth century. In the central and eastern lands they were supported by church communities, and in the western lands by church brotherhoods. In some cities there were as many as three or four schools. The teachers in these schools were called baccalaureates. Typical of the time were itinerant teachers—sextons, who traveled not only from school to school, but very often from one area of Ukraine to another.

Education in brotherhood and other schools was based on the pedagogical ideas expressed in the works of leading educators and writers such as Ivan Vyshensky, Cyril Stavrovetsky, and Simeon Polotsky.

Many primers and grammars were published to serve as textbooks [Vol. I, p. 492 ff.]. Even before the establishment of the Lviv brotherhood school, Ivan Fedorovych printed in 1574 his *Bukvar* (Primer), the first handbook of its kind in Ukraine, Belorussia, and Muscovy. The first grammar of Slavonic language was published in Vilna in 1586, followed in Lviv by a grammar of the Greek-Slavonic language, *Adelfotes* (1591); then *Nauka ku chytaniiu i rozumeniiu pysma slovenskoho* (The Study of Reading and Understanding Slavonic Writing) and *Hrammatika Slovenska* (Slavonic Grammar) both by Lavrentii Zyzanii-Tustanovsky published in Vilna (1696), and the most notable of them, *Hrammatiky slovenskiia pravylnoe syntahma* (A Grammar of Proper Slavonic Syntax,

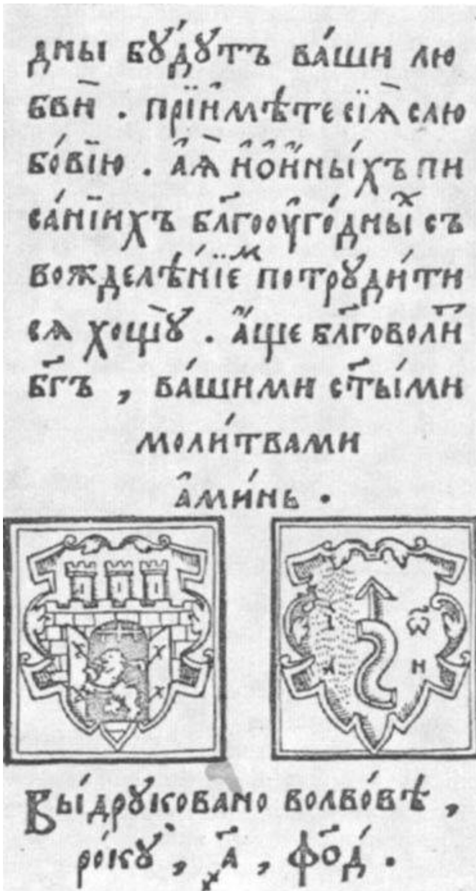

FIGURE 120. COLOPHON OF IVAN FEDOROVYCH'S PRIMER (1574)

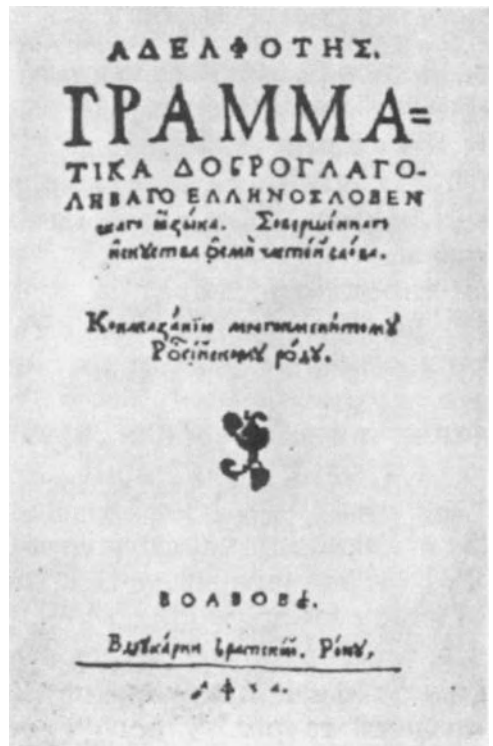

FIGURE 121. TITLE PAGE OF *Adelfotes*, LVIV, 1591

1619) by M. Smotrytsky, published in Evie in the Vilna region and later republished in Muscovy, Wallachia, and other countries.

Brotherhood schools contributed to the spread of religious and national consciousness and the development of Ukrainian (and Belorussian) culture, particularly through the publication of textbooks. The eminent Czech pedagogue Jan Amos Komensky based his *Didactica Magna* (Great Didactics) largely on the practice of brotherhood schools. These schools retained their importance until the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Printing houses established by the brotherhoods, notably that in Lviv, played an important role in the development of schools and education. During the seventeenth and the first quarter of the eighteenth centuries, the Lviv printing press produced 34,237 copies of primers, 500 grammar handbooks, 200 copies of a pedagogical text, *O vospytanii chad* (On the Education of children), 1602, as well as other books required by schools. The Kievan Cave Monastery's printing press also published a number of school textbooks.

**Kievan Mohyla Collegium**

Over the years the Kievan brotherhood school established in 1615 by the Brotherhood of the Annunciation became the most prominent. Its growth was due to the protection rendered by the Kozak Host and the material support of church hierarchs, Job Boretsky and Peter Mohyla. In program and internal structure it was somewhat similar to Polish Catho-

lic, especially Jesuit, schools. As in other brotherhood schools, not only Orthodox, but Catholic theology as well was taught to counter the influence of Polish Catholicism and the Union. In 1632 Metropolitan Peter Mohyla created the

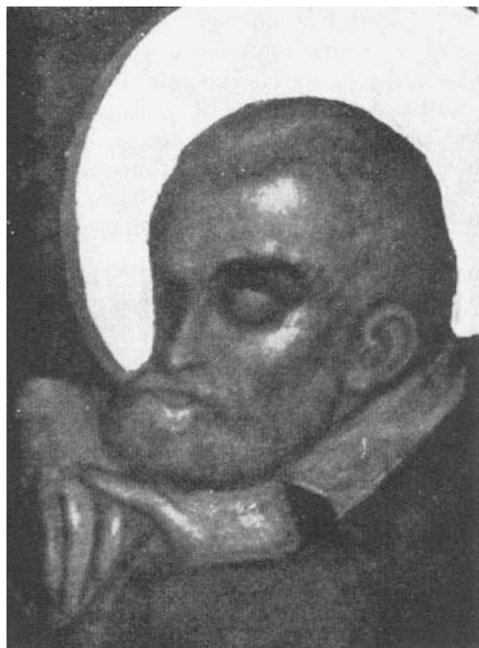

FIGURE 122. PETER MOHYLA (from a fresco at the Church of the Transfiguration in the Berestiv part of Kiev, 1644)

Kievan Mohyla Collegium using the Annunciation Brotherhood's school and the school at the Kievan Cave Monastery as its basis. The metropolitan enticed prominent teachers and scholars to the collegium, safeguarded its rights by securing a charter from King Władysław IV in 1635 and its financial basis by donating several estates to the Annunciation monastery which supported the school. Despite the fact that the school had the official status of a secondary school, the Kievan Mohyla Collegium, with its West European educational system and formal level of instruction, was equivalent to an academy, and was considered as such. As in other West European and Polish schools of the time, Latin was the language of instruction (except in catechism and Slavic grammar). Students also studied Ukrainian, Greek, and Polish. Lectures in the seven liberal arts, namely grammar, rhetoric, poetics, philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, and music were on a high level.

The Mohyla school did not aim to elevate scholarship or develop theology and philosophy. Its main objective was to prepare youth for everyday, practical life, provide it with a classical education, the ability to express and defend its views, and prepare educated priests, teachers, speakers, and writers-polemicists.

In terms of its curriculum the Kievan Collegium was divided into seven grades. It was supervised by a rector, usually

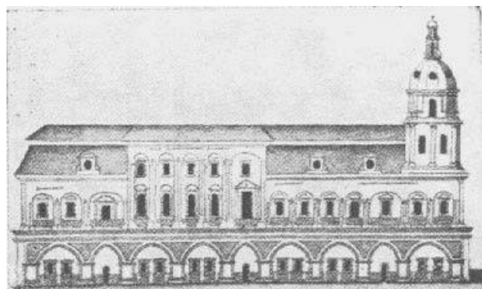

FIGURE 123. BUILDING OF THE KIEVAN MOHYLA ACADEMY (engraving, eighteenth century)

elected to this post, assisted by a prefect. Members of all strata of society received their education here: clergy, nobles, Kozak officers and burghers, as well as the *pospolyti* or common people, including regular Kozaks, artisans, and peasants. Besides Ukrainians, the students included Russians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Serbs, and even Greeks and Arabs, thus elevating the Collegium to an educational center for the whole Orthodox world. Following its example and with the aid of Kievan professors and teachers, a Slavic-Greek-Latin academy was established in Moscow in 1682. In the first half of the eighteenth century over 20 theological seminaries were founded in various Muscovite and Sibe-

rian towns. In the 1640's Peter Mohyla established a branch of the Kievan Collegium in Vinnytsia, which eventually was transferred to Hoshcha in Volhynia, where it continued to operate until the end of the seventeenth century.

## FROM THE LATE SEVENTEENTH TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

### General Characteristics

The existence of a wide network of brotherhood schools in western Ukrainian lands during the first half of the seventeenth century and their expansion to central and eastern lands, climaxed by the founding of the Kievan Mohyla Collegium, contributed greatly to the development of Ukrainian (and Belorussian) culture and the crystallization of religious and national feelings on the part of the Ukrainian people. This was subsequently reflected in the national and political renascence of Ukraine which led to the struggle for independence and statehood.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, after Ukraine had been divided into Right Bank and Left Bank (1667), brotherhood schools in the western lands (incorporated into the Polish state) began to decline. The center of the educational movement was transferred to Left-Bank Ukraine, and at first gained great momentum under the protection of the Kozak Hetman state. Moscow arrested this development, however, by suppressing all manifestations of independent political and cultural life in Ukraine.

In 1689 the Kievan Mohyla Collegium introduced theology into its curriculum and became an institution of higher learning, and was officially designated an academy in 1701 by a charter from the tsar. The academy enjoyed its period of greatest development during the rule of Hetman Ivan Mazepa, and later under the protection of Kievan Metropolitan Raphael Zaborovsky. Its internal structure and methods of instruction remained the same as when it was a collegium. With the introduction of the study of theology, a full program of studies at the academy required twelve years. This term was divided into eight grades, with the highest being philosophy (two years) and theology (at least four years). First in importance among the languages taught in the eighteenth century was Latin, then Church Slavonic, Greek, Old Hebrew, and Polish (the last on a par with Latin not only in lectures, but also in the academy's publications). Ukrainian began to gain wider use in the seventeenth century as a language of

FIGURE 124. KIEVAN MOHYLA ACADEMY, SOME OF ITS STUDENTS, AND RECTOR J. KROKOVSKY (engraving, first half of the eighteenth century)

instruction. It was generally used in academic life, and sometimes even in academic publications. Under pressure from Moscow in 1765, Russian became the language of instruction in all subjects. In the middle of the eighteenth century, German and French were introduced as optional subjects. In the second half of the eighteenth century, geodesy and construction of fortifications were included in the curriculum. Vocal and instrumental music and painting were all taught at the academy. Its general method of education up to the mid-eighteenth century was scholastic. Lectures in philosophy were based on Aristotle, later on Christian Baumeister's philosophical system.

New pedagogical methods developed

in the West affected the academy very little. Attempts to modernize teaching and to introduce the natural sciences and mathematics into the curriculum, initiated by Theophan Prokopovych at the beginning of the eighteenth century, produced no result and came to an end with his resettlement in St. Petersburg.

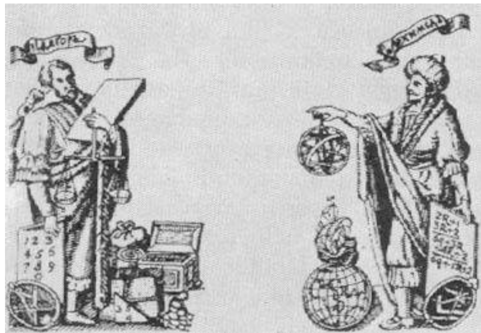

FIGURE 125. PYTHAGORAS AND ARCHIMEDES ON THE TITLE PAGE OF LEONTII MAHNYTSKY'S MATHEMATICS TEXTBOOK (1703)

The internal life of the academy, i.e., the deportment of students and the privileges and responsibilities of teachers, were regulated by special instructions, of which the *Instruktsiia* of 1763 prepared by rector Samuel Myslavsky is an example. Those enrolled in the first six grades were called pupils, while those attending classes in philosophy and theology were classed as students. The seating arrangement in classes was according to scholastic achievement. Examinations were held twice a year, in December and June.

FIGURE 126. KIEVAN STUDENTS (eighteenth century)

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, there were over 2,000 students at the academy. This number gradually decreased: there were 1,100 students in 1715; 1,112 in 1744 (380 clerical and 722 secular students); 1,160 in 1784 (388 clerical and 777 secular); 898 in 1799 (554 clerical); and 1,158 in 1811 (1,029 clerical). Among the rectors and professors of the Academy were such prominent seventeenth and eighteenth century Ukrainian educators, scholars and writers as Sylvester Kosiv, Innocent Gizel, Lazar Baranovych, Joannikii Galiatovsky, Varlaam Yasynsky, Stephen Yavorsky, Theophan Prokopovych, George Konysky, George Shcherbatsky, and David Nashchynsky (see Scholarship, pp. 236–7). Many prominent scholars and civic and church leaders were graduates of the Kievan Academy: hetmans Ivan Vyhovsky, Ivan Mazepa, and Philip Orlyk; St. Demetrius Tuptalo; philosopher Gregory Skovoroda; the chancellor of Catherine II, Prince Alexander Bezborodko; the director of the Moscow archives of the College of Foreign Affairs Nicholas Bantysh-Kamensky. The Kievan Academy provided professors for the Slavic-Greek-Latin academy in Moscow, for the universities of St. Petersburg and Moscow and later for the St. Petersburg Academy of Science, as well as rectors and professors for numerous Russian theological seminaries and high schools of the eighteenth century. Many of the higher Russian clergy in the first half of the eighteenth century were graduates of the academy. The Russian government rejected proposals submitted by Ukrainian political leaders in the latter half of the century to transform the academy into a university, or at least to establish faculties of mathematics or medicine (a medical class was established in 1802). When the estates of the Annunciation monastery, which supported the academy, were

secularized, the school became dependent on annual government appropriations, which were never adequate. It gradually began to lose its character as an institution of general education, and in 1817 the academy was closed. Its place was taken over by the Kievan Theological Academy in 1819.

**From the Latter Half of the Seventeenth to the End of the Eighteenth Century**

Several schools modelled on the Kievan Mohyla Academy came into existence in Left-Bank Ukraine and Slobids'ka Ukraïna in the second half of the seventeenth and during the eighteenth centuries. The most important was the school transferred by Lazar Baranovych from Novhorod Siversky to Chernihiv in 1689, which in 1700 became a college (six grades) offering all courses (including rhetoric) except philosophy and theology. In 1736 there were 253 students in this school, in 1743–4 there were 267. Of the latter number, 107 were the children of clergymen, 33 of Kozak officers, 49 of lower rank Kozaks, 19 of burghers, 27 of peasants, and 29 of secular emigrants from Ukrainian lands under Poland. In 1776 the school became a theological seminary, and retained this status until 1917.

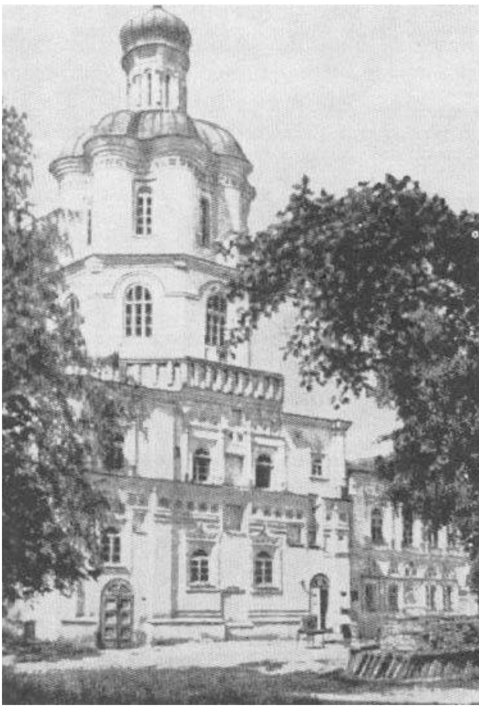

FIGURE 127. BUILDING HOUSING THE CHERNIHIV COLLEGE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The church reform initiated by Peter I in Ukraine (as well as in Muscovy) and the proclamation of the *Dukhovnyi Reglament* (Spiritual Regulation), which called for the establishment of new schools to prepare candidates for priesthood, led to the founding of secondary schools in Kharkiv, Pereiaslav, and Poltava (some of which were branches of the Kievan Mohyla Academy). The Kharkiv Collegium was the main cultural-educational center in Slobids'ka Ukraïna at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was opened in 1727, introduced the study of theology in 1734, and in 1768 initiated classes in French, German, mathematics, geometry, drawing, engineering, artillery, and geodesy. There were 267 students in the upper grades of the Kharkiv Collegium in 1785. Of that number, 120 belonged to the nobility and 50 were sons of the clergy. Gregory Skovoroda lectured in philosophy in this school. The collegium lost its prominence with the founding of the University of Kharkiv in 1805.

Noteworthy among other secondary schools was the Pereiaslav college, opened in 1738 thanks to the efforts of Bishop Arsenius Berlo, which initiated the study of theology in 1778 (and continued as a theological seminary until 1862). There were theological seminaries also in Poltava (founded in 1779, later transferred to Katerynoslav) and in Novhorod Siversky (1785–1795).

Each of these schools was dependent on its local bishop, who cared for its material welfare and the quality of its teachers, and resolved questions of education and instruction. Although called theological seminaries, these schools did not limit their programs to the prepara-

tion of future priests, but were general educational institutions for persons in all walks of life. Their existence was for the most part brief; after the confiscation of monastery lands, some seminaries relying on government support gradually ceased their activity; others supported by their eparchies operated for a longer time. Their importance began to wane, especially after the Russian government of Catherine II commenced the establishment of schools in some cities (Kiev, Katerynoslav, Novhorod Siversky). These government schools corresponded to the lower grades of later gymnasiums, and deprived collegiums and seminaries of their basic supply of pupils. Simultaneously, official Russian schools for the privileged classes began to appear as part of Catherine's policy of centralization. These schools were open to the nobility and clergy but closed to other segments of the population.

Several professional schools were in operation in the eighteenth century: the Medical-Surgical Academy in Elysavethrad, an agricultural school in Mykolaïv, a music school in Katerynoslav, and one for the study of voice in Hlukhiv. Only the school of the Church of the Intercession at the Zaporozhian Sich (until its destruction on the orders of Catherine II), was Ukrainian in spirit. One of its two divisions educated future sextons, cantors, and deacons, while in the other, orphans of Kozaks or children saved by the Kozaks were taught writing, singing, and the use of arms.

### Elementary Schools

Parochial schools were widespread in Left-Bank Ukraine during the eighteenth century; usually they were located in separate houses next to the church, and were conducted by sextons. In some smaller towns and on homesteads children studied under itinerant sextons. Pupils who wished to become teachers were called *molodyky* and lived in the school. A partial picture of the development of parochial schools, basically elementary schools, is provided by statistics found in the books of seven of the ten *polks* (regiments) of the Hetman state for the years 1740–7. In the area encompassed by these seven regiments there were 866 schools for the 1,099 settlements covered by the statistics. In Slobids'ka Ukraïna, according to partial data provided by the 1732 census, there were 129 parochial schools in which children of all classes of society were educated.

The network of schools and the level of education in the Hetman state were far better than those in Poland, and incomparably superior to those in Muscovy. Various sources substantiate the high level of education in Hetman Ukraine. The memoirs of foreign travelers cite the fact that not only men but also many peasant women in Ukraine were proficient in reading and writing. In the eighteenth century, every large settlement in the Hetman state and Slobids'ka Ukraïna had its own school.

With the introduction of serfdom, the revocation of Kozak freedoms, and increased Russification, the number of these schools decreased sharply. The tsarist government's policy of centralization almost completely destroyed the elementary school system. In 1768, for example, there had been 134 schools in the territory of the later Chernihiv, Horodnia, and Sosnytsia counties (i.e., one school per 746 persons), but one hundred years later, in 1875, there were only 52 schools in the same territory (i.e. one for 6,750 persons). Even worse was the situation in the entire Chernihiv *guberniya*, where in 1860 there were 70 schools, or one per 17,143 persons.

### In Ukrainian Lands in the Polish Republic

In Right-Bank Ukraine, in Volhynia and Galicia, Orthodox brotherhood schools began to disappear in the second half of the seventeenth century as the number of Orthodox nobility decreased and the burghers lost their influence. For

a time, Jesuit schools continued in the cities, but towards the end of the seventeenth century they began to decline. They were replaced by Piarist schools (run by the Order of St. Piarius) in Lviv, Zolochiv, Mezhyrich, and other cities, especially after the reform in 1754 led by Stanisław Konarsky, a noted Piarist educator. Basilian (Order of St. Basil the Great) schools were organized, beginning in 1617; the "Ruthenian" language was introduced into their teaching program, but otherwise their educational activities were conducted in a Roman Catholic spirit. Basilian schools were patterned in some cases on the Orthodox brotherhood schools. More Basilian schools were opened in the eighteenth century, some endowed by Polish magnates, e.g., Stanisław Lubomirski in Sharhorod (*ca.* 1749) and Stanislaw Potocki in Uman. There were Basilian schools also in Volodymyr Volynsky, Buchach (these two were the best-known), Hoshcha, and Liubar. The educational activity of the Order of St. Basil expanded after the dissolution of the Jesuit order and when in 1781 the Polish Educational Commission (the first ministry of public education in Europe) granted the Basilians some former Jesuit schools.

Compared with the secondary schools organized by the Piarist and Basilian orders in western Ukrainian lands and Right-Bank Ukraine, elementary education in these territories was on a very low level. Elementary schooling was limited to parochial or sextons' schools with outdated methods of instruction and a thoroughly church-oriented curriculum. The Polish Educational Commission, interested in promoting the growth of secondary schools primarily for the education of nobles' and burghers' children in a patriotic Polish spirit, decreed in 1789 that all Ruthenian church schools be closed. But the school system established by the commission was itself short-lived. Many of the secondary schools created or supported by it were closed with the partition of Poland, and all remaining schools ceased to function after the Polish uprising of 1831 was crushed.

*B. Krawciw*

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# 3. IN UKRAINIAN LANDS IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE IN THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Education in central and eastern Ukraine was directly dependent on the internal conditions prevailing in the Russian empire. Reforms instituted in Russia in the 1860's brought many changes. Thus this survey of the history of schools and education in that part of Ukraine occupied by Russia is divided into two periods, before and after 1860.

## GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS 1800–60

The abolition of the hetmanate, introduction of serfdom and increasing Russification contributed to the decline of schools and education in Ukraine under the Russians. The Russian government implemented a special policy towards higher education in Ukraine, which had shown marked progress in the eighteenth century: it transformed institutions of higher learning into theological schools (the Kievan Mohyla Academy became a theological academy, collegiums became seminaries), and new schools were exclusively Russian (except those in Right-Bank Ukraine, before 1831). In all Russia, there was but one official organizational school system, regulated by the Ministry of Education formed in 1802, and from 1803 incorporating the Head Administration of schools (whose director was a Ukrainian from the Kharkiv region, Basil Karazyn). Ukrainian *guberniyas* (provinces), with respect to education, were included in two districts: the Vilna district (later Kievan) to which the Volhynian, Kievan, and Podilian *guberniyas* belonged, and the Kharkiv district, which included the remaining *guberniyas*. In 1818, the Kiev *guberniya* was

allocated to the Kharkiv school district; in 1832 the Kievan school district, and later the Odessa district were formed from the Right-Bank *guberniyas*. Beginning in 1804, schools in *guberniya* seats were transformed into four-year gymnasiums supervised by a university. In each *guberniya* and county seat, two-year county schools (*uiezdnyie uchilishcha*) were formed, under the supervision of the gymnasium principals; in smaller towns and villages one-year primary parochial schools (at the church or on the pastor's estate) were set up, under the supervision of the director of the appropriate county school. The whole process of educational development proceeded from the top: ministry, university, county, and parochial schools.

On the Right Bank, the school system in its reorganized state, was almost exclusively under Polish influence until 1830. The school district of Vilna was headed by a Pole, Prince Adam Czartoryski; in Right-Bank Ukraine, the school superintendent, a prominent Polish educator Thaddeus Czacki, organized schools and carried on educational activity. In 1819 a Polish lyceum was established in Kremianets (from 1804 until 1819, it had been a gymnasium), and a Basilian gymnasium was opened in Uman. All teaching was in Polish; in the first Russian gymnasium founded in 1812 in Kiev, the second official language was originally Polish. Only after the Polish uprising of 1831 did the Polish schools in Right-Bank Ukraine change their language of instruction to Russian. Despite the fact that schools in eastern and southern Ukraine at the time were officially foreign as to subject and language, for many years they were centers of learning benefiting the Ukrainian population also. The majority of teachers and professors in the first decades of the nineteenth century were local people, educated in Old-Ukrainian schools.

In the school system of the first half of the nineteenth century the government maintained a policy of class education: gymnasiums were designated exclusively for the children of the higher officials, seminaries for children of the clergy, district schools for children of the lower nobility, officers, wealthier burghers, and merchants, and parochial schools for townsfolk, craftsmen, and peasants. Tuition fees in the gymnasiums were so high that lower classes could not aspire to enter these schools. The general state of education in the first half of the nineteenth century was very poor, as can be readily seen from government statistics for the year 1856 (below).

### Schools of Higher Learning

The first university in Ukrainian territory under Russia was founded in 1805 through the efforts of B. Karazyn in Kharkiv, with departments of philology, philosophy, physics and mathematics, and medicine. In 1820 it had 201 students; in 1825, 346; in 1835, 263. The University of Kharkiv, established during a liberal period of Russian politics, became an important Ukrainian cultural center. The literary and scholarly activity

| *Guberniyas* | Elementary, secondary, and higher schools | Total no. of students | Students per 100 population |
|---|---|---|---|
| Volhynia | 76 | 3,558 | 0.23 |
| Podilia | 143 | 4,432 | 0.25 |
| Kiev | 142 | 9,114 | 0.50 |
| Kherson | 168 | 8,704 | 0.80 |
| Katerynoslav | 161 | 9,652 | 0.92 |
| Tavria | 169 | 8,867 | 1.34 |
| Kharkiv | 128 | 7,227 | 0.48 |
| Poltava | 160 | 8,766 | 0.44 |
| Chernihiv | 173 | 8,867 | 0.54 |
| TOTAL | 1,320 | 67,129 | 0.53 |

of such men as Peter Hulak - Artemovsky, Gregory Kvitka, Ambrose Metlynsky, Ismaïl Sreznevsky, Nicholas Kostomarov, came to light in the first decade of its history. With the cooperation of professors of the University of Kharkiv, and with its backing, the first Ukrainian journals, almanacs, and newspapers began to appear: *Ukrainskii Vestnik* (Ukrainian Herald, 1816); *Ukrainskii Domovod* (The Ukrainian Housekeeper, 1817); *Kharkovskie Izvestia* (Kharkiv News, 1820–22); *Ukrainskii Zhurnal* (Ukrainian Journal, 1824), with a section called *Malorossiiskaia Starina* (Little Russian Antiquity).

FIGURE 128. BASIL KARAZYN

The second university in Ukraine was that of St. Volodymyr in Kiev, founded in 1834 on the basis of the Kremianets lyceum, which had been closed in 1831. At that time this university was reserved for the Polish nobility of Right-Bank Ukraine. Its first rector was the famed Ukrainian scholar Michael Maksymovych [Vol. I, p. 562]. At the outset, this university had two faculties, philosophy and law; later, in 1841, a medical faculty was established. In the early years, there were 62 students (57 from the nobility, 3 from the clergy, and 2 burghers). By 1844 there were 403 students and in 1854, 746. In time, Ukrainians and Russians came to predominate. Professors originally were mostly Poles and Germans, while Ukrainians and Russians formed an insignificant minority. In 1843–61, the university was administered by professors of German origin.

FIGURE 129. KIEV UNIVERSITY (MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY)

The University of Kharkiv's statute of 1804 ensured nominal academic freedom. Nevertheless, the statute of 1835 abolished this freedom, and the administration, although elective, was made dependent on the Ministry of Education. The power of the council of professors was curtailed; professors and students came under the constant supervision of civil and school authorities. The underlying philosophy of the educational program was "Orthodoxy, autocracy, nationality" (meaning, of course, the Russian nationality).

Another school at university level was the Kievan Theological Academy, established in 1819 to replace the Kievan Mohyla Academy.

Lyceums also provided a general higher education. The most important of these was the Prince Alexander Bezborodko Nizhynsky Lyceum, founded in 1825, which lasted until 1832 as a gymnasium of higher studies with a nine-year course of studies and rights equal to those of universities. Until 1840 this school remained a physicomathematical lyceum, and later became a juridical one. In 1875–6 it was reorganized into the

FIGURE 130. NIZHYN LYCEUM (SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY)

Historico-Philological Institute. Other lyceums were the aforementioned Kremianetsky, and Richelieu's in Odessa, opened in 1817 and after 1837 having the characteristics of an institution of higher learning, comprising departments of physics, mathematics, and law, and an institute of Eastern languages.

**Secondary Schools**

The principal secondary schools were the gymnasiums. According to the statute of 1804, studies in gymnasiums consisted of four grades and included Latin, mathematics, history, geography, statistics, philosophy, natural science, political economy, technology, German and French, art, and drawing. By 1817, the course of studies in gymnasiums was expanded to seven grades and religion ("God's Law"), Russian, Greek, and calligraphy were introduced as formal subjects. Tuition in the gymnasiums was excellent. In 1825, there were eight in Ukraine, with 1,440 students.

Secondary schools included cadet corps (in Kiev and Poltava) and finishing institutes for daughters of the nobility (after 1818 in Kharkiv and Poltava, later in Odessa, Kiev, and other cities), where French, music, and dancing were among the subjects taught. Children of the nobility, especially girls, were also educated in boarding schools, which were opened in the first decades of the nineteenth century in all Ukrainian cities, for the most part by French and German colonists. Beginning in 1826, boarding schools were obliged to follow a program prepared for them by the Ministry of Education.

**Elementary Schools**

The government-established schools, whether public or parochial, were for the native Ukrainian population foreign and unsatisfactory with respect to both program and language of instruction. Therefore, Ukrainians, especially those in the villages, preferred to have their children taught in non-official deacons' schools, or simply by deacons; this form of education was simple, often limited to grammar, writing, and the reading of the *Chasoslov* and *Psaltyr*. There were more pupils than in the government schools. In general, the number of schools on the territory of the former Hetman state was considerably smaller than it had been 100 years earlier (see p. 311). Illiteracy also increased.

In the 1830's and 1840's, the Ministry of National Estates attempted to organize schools for peasant serfs on these estates and urged landowners to organize similar schools, but neither plan met with success. The majority of landowners preferred their peasants to remain uneducated, if not illiterate. In some villages, the more progressive landowners instituted schools and shelters for peasant children, but these were exceptions to the rule. "Lancaster schools," following the teaching methods of Joseph Lancaster, an English educator, were established in Ukraine in 1820–40 on the estates of some landowners and in some towns, but were not successful. The biggest of the Lancaster schools was that for military orphans in Kiev, established 1820, which later served as a model for schools in Mohyliv and Kherson.

In the mid-nineteenth century a movement for the promulgation of education among the people, especially the peasants, arose in Ukraine. Some of the requirements had been outlined in the program of the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius [Vol. I, p. 675–6] which considered education one of the means of achieving equality and dignity in relations among people. A memorandum of Basil Bilozersky, a member of the brotherhood, speaks of the need to establish peasant schools "in the name of the love of humanity and mass education." In the late 1850's, nationally conscious Ukrainian students in Kiev opened three Sunday schools and one daily school; eventually, attempts were made to organize similar schools in other cities—Poltava, Chernihiv, Kharkiv. The aboli-

tion of serfdom in 1861 made possible a broader base for educational endeavor.

## GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS 1860–1917

Some apparent liberalism in the reign of Alexander II, the abolition of serfdom in 1861 and the introduction of autonomy for *zemstvos* in 1864, permitted a broader base for educational work and the spread of schooling in Ukraine [Vol. I, p. 695b]. But the quick growth of Ukrainian nationalism was curtailed by the Russian government, especially by its 1863 ban on publishing Ukrainian popular manuals and books and the interdiction on Ukrainian literature as a whole (Ems ukase of 1876 [Vol. I, p. 684]). This ukase was particularly effective in the Kievan school district, which along with the University of Kiev was distinguished until the revolution of 1917 by a spirit of Russian nationalism and active opposition to the elements of Ukrainian culture. The activity of *zemstvos*, which undertook elementary and even some professional education, did not spread in Right-Bank *guberniyas* until 1911.

The cultural and educational movement was revived in Ukraine at the beginning of the twentieth century, especially after the revolution of 1905 and the repeal of the prohibition on Ukrainian publishing. However, its growth was impeded by the reactionary trends that prevailed in Russia in 1907. The final blow to the Ukrainian national movement was World War I. It completely destroyed the manifestations of Ukrainian national life in both Russia and the western Ukrainian lands—Galicia and Bukovina—which were occupied by Russian troops [Vol. I, p. 689].

According to the elementary school statute of 1864, elementary schools in Russia were subordinate either to the Ministry of Education (one- and two-grade schools) or to the synod (the so-called reading and writing schools [*shkoly hramoty*], three-year parochial, and Sunday Russian schools). Instruction in all these schools followed a program prepared by the Ministry of Education and the synod, exclusively in Russian, despite the demands of leading contemporary educators, such as C. Ushynsky, and Ukrainian circles. A new slightly changed elementary school statute was published in 1874. *Zemstvos*, community groups, and private individuals were allowed to organize elementary schools, but only upon receiving permission from the school authorities and under their control. According to the statute, the goal of elementary schools was "to strengthen religious and moral concepts and disseminate elementary useful knowledge." All teaching was to be carried on in Russian.

After the reform of land institutions, *zemstvos* [Vol. I, p. 678b) began to establish elementary schools (three-year schools, in the 1890's four-year schools, and from 1910 even some seven-year schools) and support them financially. In addition, they opened teachers' seminaries (with a three-year course of studies), organized summer courses and conferences for teachers, cared for school buildings, spread the concept of universal education, supported schools (84 per cent; the Ministry of Education gave 12 per cent and the clergy 2 per cent), and organized public nurseries for children during the summer agricultural season. In 1910, *zemstvos* worked out a project for universal elementary education, although this was not realized. The *zemstvos* did not have jurisdiction over the program of teaching employed in the schools or the appointment of teachers. In both the provincial and district school councils they had only two representatives. These councils were supervisory in character; direct administrative functions were centered in organs of the Ministry of Education and the synod.

Schools organized by *zemstvos*, or with their guidance and support, were widespread in the late nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries, but only in Left-Bank Ukraine and in the south. The statistics are shown below (the starred number is approximate):

| No. of schools | | | No. of students | No. of teachers |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1877 | 1898 | 1909–10 | 1909–10 | 1909–10 |
| 1,600* | 3,117 | 4,700 | 460,000 | 8,458 |

The government sought to limit *zemstvo* supported elementary education by denying it larger appropriations and annulling decrees passed by the *zemstvos*. Parochial schools, with their limited program of study, had greater support. The program of a one-form church-parochial school included reading, writing, arithmetic (up to fractions), and catechism. In the teaching process, elements of natural science, geography, and history were brought in. The first three years of a two-form school were equivalent to a one-form school; the fourth and fifth years of study constituted the second grade. In the upper classes children studied grammar, arithmetic (fractions), geometry, Russian geography and history, and natural science. Included in the curriculum were painting and elementary design, gymnastics and military drills. One-form schools in villages were coeducational, whereas in cities and towns they were often separate for boys and girls (as were the two-form schools).

Former district schools were renamed "higher beginning schools" by law in 1912, with a four-year course of study. After completing the course in such schools students could transfer to the fifth grade of a secondary school. These higher beginning schools, for the most part coeducational, began to appear in smaller towns and larger villages also. During 1912–14, municipal schools too were transformed into higher beginning schools. Before the 1917 revolution, there were 312 such schools in Ukraine (not counting those in the Tavria *guberniya*).

Despite the educational activity of *zemstvos* and the government, the number of elementary schools in Ukraine was low. Although constantly increasing, it was not commensurate with the size of the population. In 1856, pupils attending elementary schools in Ukrainian lands under Russia constituted approximately 0.4 per cent of the population, in 1875 approximately 1.1 per cent, and in 1915 the number had increased to 5.5 per cent. In 1915, there were about 19,340 elementary schools in Ukraine, in which 1,663,000 children studied. And until the revolution of 1917, only 60 per cent of school-age children attended schools. The main reason for this was the lack of compulsory universal education and the inadequate number of schools. The most distressing conditions prevailed in Right Bank-Ukraine: *zemstvo* schools did not open there until the second decade of the twentieth century. In the villages of the Kiev *guberniya*, as late as the year 1908, only 136,382 out of 344,920 school-age children attended school. The remaining 60.5 per cent had no opportunity to study.

A number of outstanding pedagogues took part in the organization and operation of the schools. Compared with secondary schools, elementary schools (especially *zemstvo* schools) had greater freedom and possibilities for growth. Action to develop elementary schooling with Ukrainian as the language of instruction was carried on by Ukrainian communities, with the notable participation of student societies and underground groups of students from the universities, theological seminaries, and secondary schools. Simultaneously these groups strove to educate themselves, mainly in the area of Ukrainian studies.

In the insufficient number of schools that did exist, success was greatly hampered by the use of Russian in teaching. *Zemstvos*, provincial boards, town councils, agricultural committees, universities, prominent Russian educators, congresses of elementary school teachers, and mem-

bers of the State Duma all raised their voices on behalf of the introduction of Ukrainian as the language of instruction. In some cases, their demands included the secondary schools (gymnasiums and theological seminaries): after 1905 their chief concern was for the introduction of courses in Ukrainian studies. However, all these voices were raised in vain. The schools remained Russian—foreign to the Ukrainian population, not only in language but also in content. For this reason, children learned little, and after finishing school they not infrequently reverted to illiteracy. The percentage of literate people was therefore low [Vol. I, pp. 1766, 177a]. It was however, higher in those districts where *zemstvos* had been formed (19.9 as compared with 16.9 per cent, according to 1897 statistics).

**Preschool Education**

Preschool education also owed its development largely to *zemstvos*. In the 1890's they began opening kindergartens in cities, and nurseries in villages for the children of peasants during the busy summer agricultural season. The provincial *zemstvo* of Poltava began to establish such kindergartens and nurseries in 1897, and by 1902 there were 151. In Kiev, starting in 1890, and later in other cities, Froebelian societies began to organize and to open their own kindergartens. So-called public kindergartens were established by charitable societies in conjunction with *zemstvos*. Since the teaching was in Russian, many parents established private kindergartens for their own children and those of close friends. One of the prominent workers in the field of preschool education was Sophia Rusova, the founder of the first private kindergarten in Kiev, and later in Chernihiv. Teachers for preschool children were trained at the Pedagogical Froebelian Institute and at Froebelian courses in Kiev and Kharkiv.

FIGURE 131. SOPHIA RUSOVA

In addition to the aforementioned leaders of education (see p. 292), the members of the Ukrainian community who contributed most to the development of the school system, particularly of elementary and preschool education in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were teachers and authors of pedagogical works and handbooks; among these were Stephen Siropolko, Michael Chalyi, Viacheslav Prokopovych, Jacob Chepiha, and Spyrydon Cherkasenko. The participation of Ukrainian pedagogues in the First All-Russian Convention on Elementary Education (December 23, 1913–January 3, 1914) contributed to the introduction of Ukrainian as the language of instruction in schools. The publication of children's journals and literature (see Book Publishing, pp. 452 and 486–7) was of great importance in the extension of elementary education. The publishing houses Lan (Meadow), Chas (Time), Ukraïns'kyi Uchytel' (Ukrainian Teacher), and Ridnyi Krai (Native Land) published textbooks and educational material such as children's readers.

**Teachers' Schools**

Pedagogical schools for training teachers were closely related with the development of public elementary schools. The first such school, the Provisional Pedagogical School, was founded in Kiev in 1862; later, in order to prepare teachers for municipal, county, and higher elementary schools, three-year, and later four-year, teachers' institutes were opened. Teachers' seminaries, also three-year and then four-year institutes, trained teachers for elementary schools. The Ministry of Education controlled these schools (the only *zemstvo* seminary in Chernihiv was closed in 1878, under pressure from the Ministry).

Teachers' seminaries, the first of which

opened in 1869 in Kiev, accepted students from 15 years of age whose knowledge was equivalent at least to a two-form school education (determined by examinations). Before the war, many entered the seminary after completing higher beginning schools. Seminaries like gymnasiums, had a program of general education, but the courses did not include foreign languages or trigonometry, thus disqualifying seminary students from possibly entering university. Pedagogical training was on a high level (pedagogy, didactics, methodology of various disciplines, music and singing). By the beginning of 1917, there were 33 teachers' seminaries in Ukraine; in addition to the seminaries, two-year teachers' courses which accepted students with four grades of gymnasium or higher schools, were available. These courses also graduated well-trained teachers. For the training of parochial school teachers, so-called second-class teachers' schools accepted students for a three-year course after they had finished a one-form school, and offered a program lower than the fourth grade of a gymnasium. There were also, but in smaller numbers, parochial teachers' schools with a four-year course and a program similar to that of teachers' seminaries. Such schools were supervised by the synod.

Teachers' institutes, the first of which was established in Hlukhiv in 1874, were attended mostly by elementary school teachers. The program in teachers' institutes was somewhat more advanced than in secondary schools, but did not include instruction in foreign languages. Final examinations were not given, again to disqualify the students for university entrance. In 1917, before the outbreak of the revolution, there were eight teachers' institutes in Ukraine.

In the majority of teachers' schools, no matter what official department they came under, the spirit was intrinsically Ukrainian and nationalistic. This is explained by the fact that the students were, for the most part, youths closely bound with the Ukrainian village, which clung tenaciously to its own language and national traditions. The Ukrainian spirit in teachers' schools became especially apparent after 1905. Journals published by seminarians and students of parochial teachers' schools printed essays and stories in Ukrainian, students conversed in Ukrainian, and cultivated Ukrainian songs. The methodological training of future teachers in teachers' seminaries and institutes ranked fairly high. "Model schools" were conducted which gave future teachers systematically acquired teaching practice closely bound with theoretical lectures in pedagogy and special methods.

**Secondary Schools**

Secondary schools remained socially stratified after the reforms of the 60's and continued so until the end of the nineteenth century when this factor began to change. In Ukraine, according to the statute of 1864, secondary schools were classed as "gymnasiums," teaching two classical languages; "eight-year gymnasiums," teaching only Latin (in almost every district center city); and "realgymnasiums," where no classical languages were taught. The latter were changed into "real schools" (with a six-year course and an additional seventh grade for candidates to higher technical schools).

In the 1890's, a new type of school—the eight-year commercial school—was established.

The teaching methods of the majority of secondary schools were formalistic, with antiquated ideas designed to instill absolute subservience to the Russian state. Policelike control maintained by the authorities in secondary schools stifled all signs of free thinking and national consciousness on the part of students and persecuted the more liberal teachers.

A special type of secondary school was the Paul Galagan Collegium in Kiev (established 1870). Its four-grade program corresponded to the four highest

grades of a gymnasium. Eminent Ukrainian scholars and educators were directors and professors of this collegium.

Secondary schools for girls, in addition to the already mentioned finishing institutes for daughters of noble families, were gymnasiums with seven basic classes (teaching no classical languages) and an eighth pedagogical class which prepared the students for teaching in elementary schools. For a time, progymnasiums with four and five grades were in operation. There were also state and private gymnasiums.

Sons of clergymen could attend four-year theological schools in preparation for entrance into a theological seminary; there were 39 such schools before the 1917 revolution. There were also six-year theological seminaries, the first years of which corresponded to the program of gymnasiums (1917–19). Girls attended eparchial schools which also corresponded to the gymnasiums.

Military schools and Cadet Corps fell in the class of general secondary schools.

The number of gymnasiums, especially for girls, increased greatly at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1912 there were 46 for boys in the Kievan school district, with a total of 17,600 pupils (of this number barely 21.3 per cent were children of peasants and Kozaks), 95 for girls (including progymnasiums) with 27,082 pupils, and 14 real schools with 4,313 pupils. The official tone of all these schools was Russian; only the private gymnasiums of V. Naumenko and Kovalchuk in Odessa preserved a Ukrainian spirit. The theological seminaries displayed considerably more Ukrainian spirit.

**Professional Schools**

In the second half of the nineteenth century, specialized (professional) schools increased in Ukraine. They were organized by, and subordinate to, various departments. In the 1870's, *zemstvos* organized a number of agricultural and trade schools, for the most part as divisions of their elementary schools. In the Poltava region, the N. Gogol professional art school in Myrhorod and a weaving school-workshop in Dehtiari were well-known.

Most professional schools were under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education (the teachers' seminaries and institutes, as already mentioned), the Ministry of Agrarian affairs (agricultural schools), the Ministry of Finance (commercial schools), the Ministry of Trade and Industry (trade schools), the Ministry of Internal Affairs (medical assistants' and veterinary schools), etc. The Holy Synod had theological schools, seminaries and academies, and eparchial schools for girls. In the secondary professional schools, the course of study generally lasted four years and the program was equal to four grades of a gymnasium (without foreign languages). Not counting teachers' and theological schools, there were 93 specialized secondary schools in Ukraine at the beginning of 1917. Of this number, 66 were commercial, 6 agricultural, 10 technical, and 11 art. At the same time, there were 471 elementary professional schools: 255 trade, 54 agricultural, 144 industrial-technical, 21 business, 16 medical assistants' and midwives', and 11 art.

Advanced professional schools are discussed below.

**Institutions of Higher Learning**

Universities had gained partial autonomy under the statute of 1863, but from 1864 to 1905 were completely subordinate to the Ministry of Education, under a new university statute prompted by the pressure of the revolution. The already existing universities in Ukraine (in Kharkiv and Kiev) were joined by the so-called Novorosiisky (New Russian) university in Odessa (founded in 1865). At the outset, the University of Odessa was composed of three departments, physicomathematical, naturalistic, and juridical. In 1900 a medical faculty was added. Some 3,000 students studied at

FIGURE 132. ODESSA UNIVERSITY (contemporary photo)

this university. It was not until World War I (1916) that a fourth university was established in Ukraine, in Katerynoslav. In 1913, there were 79 professors, 81 lecturers, and 5,000 students at the University of Kiev; in 1907–8, 144 professors and lecturers, and 4,295 students at the University of Kharkiv; in 1915, 72 professors, 183 lecturers, and 1,796 students at Odessa.

The universities were important centers of learning, serving as organizational focal points for learned societies and publishing various works (see also Scholarship). Among the eminent scholars and professors at the University of Kiev were Volodymyr Antonovych, Michael Drahomanov, Alexander Kistiakovsky, Nicholas Kostomarov, Volodymyr Peretts, and Andrew Loboda. At the University of Kharkiv the following were active: Alexander Potebnia, Nicholas Sumtsov, Dmytro Bahalii, Michael Chubynsky, Dmytro Ovsianiko-Kulikovsky, and Leo Hirshman. The world-famous physiologist Elias Mechnikov, the economist Alexander Postnikov, and the historian Alexander Markevych were among the professors at the University of Odessa.

Ukrainian students at the beginning of the twentieth century formed societies and clubs composed of people from the same district. Their activity was cultural-auxiliary in nature, but in some cases their framework was utilized by student activists to promote political action or to establish underground student societies. The first such Ukrainian student organization was founded in 1895 in Kiev (early presidents were Basil Domanytsky, Basil Sovachiv, Andrew Livytsky). The most active group, established in 1897 and headed by Dmytro Antonovych, was in Kharkiv. After the revolution of 1905, nine student organizations had been formed in the central and eastern Ukrainian lands by 1908; they operated, for the most part, in secret, and had some 1,000 members. By 1913 their number had increased to 22. Their activity was limited to self-education and cultural educational work. Some groups, headed by nationally conscious professors, studied various aspects of Ukrainian subjects. Partly through the influence of these students, all three universities in 1907 initiated Ukrainian-language lectures in Ukrainian studies. (In Kiev, Andrew Loboda lectured on modern Ukrainian literature and Volodymyr Peretts on ancient literature; in Kharkiv, Nicholas Sumtsov lectured on Ukrainian folklore, Michael Khalansky on the history of the Ukrainian language, and Dmytro Bahalii on the history of Ukraine; at the University of Odessa, Alexander Hrushevsky taught Ukrainian history.) The Ministry of Education, however, soon put a stop to these lectures.

The Kievan Theological Academy was an institution of higher learning, with an enrollment of approximately 200 students. It was also an important center of scholarly endeavor.

Women were allowed to attend the universities only during a short period in 1905–9. Instead, in 1905–6, after the

1905 revolution, a number of higher women's courses were instituted in Kiev (they had existed in 1878–98 at the University); in 1914 they were renamed St. Olha Women's Institute in Kharkiv and Odessa, and private courses of Mme. Zhekulina in Kiev. The courses took four years and were divided into physicomathematical, historicophilological, juridical, and in some places economic and medical. In 1912 over 4,000 women students attended these courses. Several higher professional schools for women also were established.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the first advanced technical schools were opened in Ukraine. The Technological Institute in Kharkiv (1884), the Polytechnic Institute in Kiev (1898), the Higher School of Mining in Katerynoslav (1889; renamed the Institute of Mining in 1912). In 1851, a veterinary school was founded in Kharkiv, which in 1871 was reconstituted as the Kharkiv Veterinary Institute. The number of advanced professional schools increased. In 1915 there were 19 in Ukraine under Russia, four universities, three women's medical institutes (in Kharkiv, Kiev, Odessa), Froebelian pedagogical courses in Kharkiv, a pedagogical Froebelian Institute in Kiev, a historicophilological institute in Nizhyn, two commercial institutes in Kiev and Kharkiv respectively, an institute of technology in Kharkiv, an institute of mining in Katerynoslav, and a veterinary institute in Kharkiv, as well as two conservatories (one in Kiev and one in Odessa).

## EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL MOVEMENT

### Before 1900

Enlightenment and education could be fostered only after the abolition of serfdom. To fill the needs of popular education and schools, a publishing house was established in St. Petersburg through the efforts of Panteleimon Kulish and Nicholas Kostomarov. It published school textbooks and popular books for the masses. Many students and youth from the nobility or intelligentsia left their universities in order to dedicate themselves to the dissemination of education among the nation's populace. Demands for the introduction of Ukrainian as the teaching language in schools, were widely heard.

All these attempts at innovation were cut short by the Russian government and the chauvinistic Russian reaction in the 1860's and 1870's, in particular by the 1863 ukase of Minister of the Interior Peter Valuev which forbade the printing of textbooks and other books in Ukrainian. In 1873 all Ukrainian literary activity was prohibited. In order to spread education and literacy among the people at least in Russian, Ukrainians active in civic and educational life began utilizing Russian institutions and societies. Owing to their efforts, "societies of literacy" sprang up in Kharkiv and Kiev. The one founded in Kharkiv in 1891 concentrated mainly on the publishing of popular literature. Of the 95 books published in its first decade, only 5 per cent were in Ukrainian. In general, the activity of this group had no impact on the Ukrainian peasantry. More successful, especially in popularizing Ukrainian literature, was the Kievan Society of Literacy. The "National Home" built by this society in Kiev became the locus for a Ukrainian theater, Ukrainian lectures, and later for the Prosvita (Enlightenment) society which was the root cause for the disbanding by the Russian government in 1907 of the Society of Literacy.

The Russian government not only suppressed education outside the school system, but completely disregarded it. The fact that in 1909 the government treasury alloted a mere 50,000 rubles for the purposes of extrascholastic education in all Russia serves as proof of this lack of concern. As for extrascholastic educational activity in Ukraine, the Russian government did everything possible to prevent it from increasing in scope and potency. The so-called Sunday schools for youth and adults, initiated by Ukrainian

students in 1859 in Kiev and from there carried over to other cities and villages (in 1859–60 there were 68 such schools in Ukraine), were shut down in 1862. In 1864 they were permitted to operate on a new, government approved basis. The Sunday school established in Kharkiv in 1862 by Ukrainian educator Christine Alchevska was forced to operate clandestinely until its official opening in 1870. In the 1870's *zemstvos* and eventually ecclesiastical circles took over the organization of Sunday schools; in 1891 the clergy officially received this privilege by a governmental ukase.

Popular readings, initiated in Poltava (1861) by Alexander Stronin and Dmytro Pylchykiv, were also discontinued by the Russian government. These popular lectures given in Russian to reach wider circles of the population, were soon suppressed by the government. In the 1870's they resumed their activity on "a new basis" in *guberniya* centers. The Kharkiv Society of Literacy organized a special committee for the planning of popular lectures, of which 94 were given in 1897 alone to an audience of 18,400 persons, with the formation of *zemstvos*, public lectures were brought to the villages also. The Alexandria *zemstvo*, for example, organized 854 lectures for 164,000 listeners in the six years beginning in 1888. These lectures were held in Russian, and each one required separate permission from the administration.

Public libraries, a part of city life since the 1830's, and popular libraries, opened by *zemstvos* in villages and smaller towns somewhat later, played a prominent role in the growth of extrascholastic education. However, their development was limited by official rules of May 15, 1890, which decreed that free public libraries could be opened only with gubernatorial permission, and that the books acquired were to follow a catalogue approved by the Learned Committee of the Ministry of Education. Publishing houses furthered extrascholastic education in Ukraine by printing popular books. This was especially the case of the publishing youth group started in 1895 (later the publishing firm Vik [Age]), and the philanthropic society for the publication of generally useful and inexpensive books founded in St. Petersburg in 1898. Ukrainian theatrical troupes and amateur groups also served to enlighten the public.

### 1900–17

The Ukrainian cultural and educational movement gained renewed vigor at the beginning of the twentieth century. An energetic battle was waged to gain freedom for Ukrainian language and education. Ukrainians started to establish their own publishing houses, educational societies (which following the example of Galicia (see pp. 336–7) they called Prosvita), and to publish textbooks for schools and popular literature for the people. The first Prosvita group was organized in Katerynoslav at the end of 1905; thereafter "societies for enlightenment" were founded in Odessa, Zhytomyr, Kamianets Podilsky, Kiev, Chernihiv, Mykolaïv, Melitopol, Hrubeshiv, and Katerynodar. In the Poltava and Kharkiv region, Prosvita was banned by the government. In Kiev, Kamianets, Chernihiv, Katerynoslav, and Katerynodar the society organized branches in district towns and villages, but only the Katerynoslav Prosvita was successful in developing effective activity in the villages, where its branches and reading rooms were housed in buildings constructed by the peasants themselves.

The revolution of 1905 and a consequent change in the Ministry of Education's rules concerning public and popular libraries removing the restrictions previously placed on their establishment and acquisitions caused the number of libraries to increase significantly. In the Kharkiv *guberniya*, there were 684 public libraries in 1911 (each with an average of 795 books), in the Chernihiv *guberniya* in 1915 there were 393 libraries (with 597 books on the average), and in the Kiev *guberniya* in 1912 there were 322 libraries (with an average of

438 books each). In these libraries Ukrainian books accounted for 3–6 per cent of the total. Prosvita societies also energetically undertook the organization of public libraries. Some of these societies developed a broad publishing activity, e.g., the Kievan Prosvita, which in the four years of its existence published 34 books amounting to 163,760 copies.

In addition to the Kiev Prosvita, numerous private and group publishing houses were active, printing material primarily of a cultural-educational nature. There were seventeen such publishing houses in the central and eastern Ukrainian lands in 1909, thirteen of them in Kiev (see Book Publishing, p. 452). Publishing increased significantly in the years immediately after the revolution of 1905, when the tsarist régime became somewhat more liberal.

In addition to Prosvita, a number of Ukrainian clubs, which also carried out cultural and educational tasks, were founded. These clubs presented Ukrainian lectures, concerts, and theatrical performances, and appeared in Kiev, Poltava, Odessa, Kharkiv, and other Ukrainian cities, as well as in localities outside Ukraine where large groups of Ukrainians had settled (e.g. St. Petersburg, Moscow, Warsaw, Riga). The same tasks were fulfilled by student groups and societies formed at various institutions of higher learning.

A very important factor in the spread of national consciousness, education, and culture was the growth of village theaters, and later of professional theater groups. Numerous amateur peasant theatrical groups, choirs, and dance groups were organized towards the end of the 1890's under the leadership of the local intelligentsia and students. Tolerated by the administration, they became centers of cultural and educational life in the villages. Traveling theatrical ensembles were also significant, and in the 1900's permanent Ukrainian theaters appeared in Kiev and other cities.

Ukrainian national rallies also played an important part in the growth of national consciousness. These rallies were held at the beginning of the twentieth century on such occasions as the unveiling of I. Kotliarevsky's monument in Poltava in 1903, the jubilee celebrations of Ivan Nechui-Levytsky and Nicholas Lysenko in Kiev in 1904, and Kievan demonstrations against the prohibition of the hundredth anniversary celebration of Shevchenko's birth in 1914. The funerals of M. Starytsky in 1904, B. Hrinchenko in 1910, N. Lysenko in 1912, and Lesia Ukraïnka in 1913 turned into massive national rallies.

The general reaction which gripped Russia in 1907 somewhat curtailed the growth of the Ukrainian cultural-educational movement. Many Prosvita groups were disbanded: in Kiev in 1910, then in Chernihiv, and later in other cities.

Immediately before the revolution of 1917, in the first years of World War I, all Prosvita groups as well as other Ukrainian societies and publishing houses were disbanded. In western Ukrainian lands occupied by Russian troops and in Bukovina, Prosvita and other cultural-educational societies and institutions were forced to discontinue their work.

### Schools and Extrascholastic Education in Kuban

There were three types of schools in Kuban in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: Kozak schools, *Inohorodni* schools (the name designating more recent residents of Kuban who were outside the closed Kozak society), and church schools. The first were supported by Kozak funds (supervised by school councils), and tuition for Kozak children was free (non-Kozaks were obliged to pay). The children of Kozaks also received free books and supplies. All these schools used Russian as the language of instruction. Until 1905, secondary and advanced schools were located only in cities; Kozak villages had higher elementary schools (up to the fifth grade). A girls' institute and a realgymnasium in Katerynodar were limited to the children of Kozak officers, while children of regu-

lar Kozaks could study only in a medical assistants' school or a teachers' seminary. In 1909 there were 1,148 elementary and 14 municipal schools in Kuban (according to the statute of 1872), as well as 459 parochial schools. After 1905, the number of secondary schools grew considerably (in 1911 there were 11 gymnasiums, 7 progymnasiums, and 4 real schools). In general, elementary and secondary schools in Kuban had higher standards than those in central and eastern lands.

The Kozak upper class became Russified in Kuban [Vol. I, p. 789b] and a Ukrainian cultural and educational movement arose in the 1860's because of influences from central and eastern Ukraine (popularization of Ukrainian literature, Shevchenko cult). It declined, during the reactionary period, and regained momentum only in the last decade of the nineteenth century, when students in Kuban again came into contact with Ukrainian student groups. However, the activity of this movement was limited to the celebration of Shevchenko's anniversary and the propagation of Ukrainian books (the circle of S. Erastov). Of great importance were the productions of Ukrainian theatrical troupes which visited Kuban, beginning in the 1890's (M. Sadovsky), chiefly in Katerynodar. With the outbreak of the revolution of 1905, Ukrainian cultural and educational work began in earnest. Prosvita was established in Katerynodar with the right to open branches in Kozak towns and villages. However, the activities of Prosvita were later discontinued (1907) and national life in Kuban remained dormant until the revolution of 1917.

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# 4. UKRAINIAN LANDS UNDER AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

The annexation of Ukrainian lands by Austria produced more favorable conditions for the development of Ukrainian schools and education. This was mainly a result of the spirit of enlightenment prevailing in Austria, its closer ties with Western culture, and the establishment of democratic institutions in Austria in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The history of Ukrainian schools and education in Ukrainian lands under Austria and Hungary, like the general history of the Ukrainian people inhabiting these territories, was one of continuous struggle against Germanization, and particularly Polonization, Magyarization, and Rumanization. Internally, it was a struggle of two opposing trends—Ukrainophilism and Russophilism. The forms were different in each of the three lands included in Austria-Hungary, namely, Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia.

## EDUCATION IN GALICIA

### Before 1860

When Galicia was annexed by Austria, its schools and education were at a low level of development [Vol. I, p. 698]. Except for the school of the Stavropygia Brotherhood (founded in 1585), there were only a few scattered elementary schools, the so-called *diakivky* (schools conducted by sextons), where Ukrainian children learned the fundamentals of reading and writing. There were only two Ukrainian secondary schools operated by the Basilian Fathers. The annexation by Austria and subsequent contacts with Vienna had a beneficial effect on education in Galicia. A number of schools were built and the methods of teaching were modernized—a favorable development in spite of the partial Germanization. The Polish circles which sought to Polonize Ukrainians by means of curricula and teaching posed a greater danger to Ukrainian education. The struggle for Ukrainian education against Polish influences lasted throughout the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth.

**Elementary schools.** The educational reform of 1777, introduced in Galicia as well as in Austria on the order of Maria Theresa, provided for the establishment of the following types of elementary public schools: (1) normal, only in Lviv (this school also offered a special course in teacher training; (2) main, staffed by three to four teachers, in each district, in larger cities, or monasteries; (3) *triviums* (schools of the most primary educational level) in smaller cities and villages.

Control was in the hands of the land school commission. District schools were supervised by deans and in smaller towns and villages by local priests. The language of instruction was German. At the same time, Bishop Peter Biliansky of Lviv ordered the clergy and the sextons to teach the fundamentals of reading and writing. The language of the first textbooks (reader in 1776, primer in 1790) for these schools was called Slavonic Ruthenian. It was an artificial language with Old Church Slavonic vocabulary and syntax.

The educational reforms of Joseph II were even more extensive. The money obtained from the disappropriation of monastic estates was channeled into a special school fund. Joseph II ordered the establishment of compulsory public schools in all localities with 90–100 children of school age (1781). Supervision and maintenance was entrusted to those who had the right of assigning parishes to priests (most frequently Polish landlords, very rarely the Department of State Treasury). By the decree of 1781, four-grade main schools and German-

type *triviums* were organized in cities and towns. Simultaneously, Bishops P. Biliansky and Maximillian Ryllo ordered the establishment of parish kindergartens in the cities. The number of Ukrainian parochial schools gradually increased. In 1787, Ukrainian became the official language of the land.

However, at the turn of the nineteenth century, limitations were imposed on Ukrainian schools under pressure from influential Polish circles. In 1792, only two hours of instruction in the Ukrainian language were allowed per week. Ukrainian Greek-Catholic clergy (Byzantine rite) were barred from giving religious instruction in public schools, thus forcing Ukrainian children to attend Roman Catholic churches. Supervision of schools was in the hands of Roman Catholic consistories and priests. Compulsory education, instituted by Joseph II, was abolished in 1812. Despite the fact that a decree, issued in 1812, provided for the instruction of rural youth in their native tongue, the Roman Catholic clergy, which retained control and supervision, tried to bar the use of the Ukrainian language in the schools. Before 1817, there were no Ukrainian lower elementary schools (*triviums*) in Galicia.

In this period, Bishops Michael Levytsky (later metropolitan of Galicia), Ivan Snihurovych of Peremyshl, and Canon Ivan Mohylnytsky, were active in educational affairs. As a result of their memoranda, the imperial government issued an edict on April 25, 1818, which provided for the following: children of the Greek Catholic (Byzantine rite) denomination were to be given religious instruction in the Ukrainian language; in schools attended by Greek Catholic (Byzantine rite) children, Ukrainian was to be the language of instruction and Polish was to be taught as a subject; in communities with a mixed population, Polish was to be the language of instruction, except for the teaching of religion, and Ukrainian was to be taught as a subject; Ukrainian schools were to be supervised by the Catholic clergy of the Byzantine rite; in schools attended by children of both rites, supervision was to be determined on the basis of majority rule. In reality, however, supervision of main schools and *triviums* remained in the hands of Roman Catholic consistories and only parochial (sexton) schools were supervised by the Greek Catholic (Byzantine rite) consistories. A clerical society, established in Peremyshl in 1816 for the purpose of organizing and promoting Ukrainian schools, was never active. In 1816, the Peremyshl Greek Catholic consistory founded an institute for sextons and published a series of textbooks for Ukrainian schools in the Slavonic Ruthenian language.

In 1821, there were 2,629 parishes and 1,226 schools in Galicia; of these, 834 were parochial schools, attended by 11 per cent of all school-age children; the total number of teachers was 1,255 (one per 32 pupils). By 1843, the number of schools had increased to 2,132, of which 81 were German, 921 Ukrainian parochial, 190 Polish, 1 Hungarian, 1 Armenian, and 938 with Ukrainian, German, and Polish as the languages of instruction. The Catholic clergy of the Byzantine rite controlled only fifty *triviums* and one main school operated by the Basilian Fathers in Lavriv.

The level of instruction in parochial schools was very low. They were open mostly in winter, and instruction was given by persons without proper training, usually sextons.

**Secondary schools.** In place of old schools conducted by the clergy, the government organized five state gymnasiums, designed primarily for the children of the nobility and government officials. Few Ukrainians could afford to send their children to these schools despite the fact that beginning in 1784, Ukrainian parents who wanted their children to enter the priesthood had to enroll them in gymnasiums, since admission to theological seminaries was made contingent upon the completion of

secondary education. Children of wealthy burghers also attended gymnasiums, but those of the villagers were not permitted with the exception of those who had permission from their landlords and exemption from the corvée.

Originally, gymnasiums consisted of five grades, but in 1818, were extended to six grades. At first the language of instruction was Latin supplemented by German; later German supplemented by Polish. Subjects taught were religion (also Byzantine-rite Catholic, taught until 1848 by Roman Catholic priests), Latin, Greek, German, Polish, Ukrainian, history, geography, mathematics, and natural science. German influences were evident in all phases of education.

Conditions improved in 1848. On the demand of the Holovna Rus'ka Rada (Supreme Ruthenian Council [Vol. I, p. 699]), the newly established Ministry of Education in Vienna promised to introduce the Ukrainian language in public elementary and secondary schools in Galicia. In 1849, land boards of education, consisting of specialists and administrative officials and serving as advisory bodies to the Ministry of Education, were established. With the adoption of the constitution [Vol. I, p. 700], the schools of Galicia became increasingly Ukrainian in character. At the same time, gymnasiums were expanded to eight grades by the addition of two courses in philosophy, and matriculation examinations were introduced. German was retained "temporarily" as the language of instruction. The Ukrainian language was accepted only as a required subject, even though there were enough teachers to conduct all classes in the language. First Ukrainian textbooks appeared, (a Ukrainian reader for secondary schools by Basil Kovalsky, 1852) and a special commission was established in 1859 for the preparation of secondary school textbooks.

Following the concordat between Pius IX and Francis Joseph I of August 18, 1855, the supervision of schools was handed over to the consistories. School supervisors were appointed by the emperor on the recommendation of bishops. A special educational department in charge of all schools was to be established at the vice-regency office in Lviv. On the initiative of the Greek Catholic consistory, Ukrainian communities began organizing schools on a mass scale, and in the 1860's they even surpassed the Poles. But schools could not be fully nationalized because of the strong Germanization that followed the abolition of the constitution in Austria (1849). On August 21, 1856, compulsory teaching of the Ukrainian language in the secondary schools of eastern Galicia was abolished, whereas the German language was retained not only in secondary schools but in urban elementary public schools as well. In the meantime, the Poles opened their first gymnasium in Lviv (1858), thus in effect heralding the onset of the Polonization of secondary schools in eastern Galicia.

In the field of higher education, the following establishments functioned in Galicia: the University of Lviv, founded in 1784 by Emperor Joseph II, with Latin as the language of instruction; a scholarly institute, the Studium Ruthenum, with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, which was attached to the Lviv university from 1787 to 1809; in 1805 this university was changed by the Austrian government into a lyceum, but in 1817 it was restored to its former status (named after Emperor Franz I), this time with German as the language of instruction. The struggle for the introduction of the Ukrainian and Polish languages at the University of Lviv began in 1849. The chair of Ukrainian language and literature (Jacob Holovatsky) was established in the same year, and soon similar chairs were opened at the theological faculty. Candidates for the Catholic priesthood of the Byzantine rite studied at the Barbareum, a theological seminary founded at the Church of St. Barbara in Vienna in 1774 and operative until 1784; at the

Studium Ruthenum; at the Greek Catholic theological seminary in Lviv (from 1783); and at the theological department of the University of Lviv.

### Second Half of the Nineteenth Century and Early Part of the Twentieth

**Structure and administration.** Changes affecting Ukrainian schools and education in Galicia in the 1860's were the result of the restoration of the constitution in 1861, the establishment of a new system of government whereby Galicia was granted autonomy, and the Austro-Polish agreement of 1867 with the subsequent transfer of power and control to the Poles [Vol. I, pp. 700–1].

By the Austrian law of May 25, 1869, the schools were separated from the church, and control over them was handed over to the land, county, and local boards of education. The internal structure of public and professional education, as well as the composition and scope of the supervisory organs, was determined by the laws of each land. Control over secondary and advanced schools remained in the hands of the central government in Vienna. In Galicia, the Land Board of Education was established on June 22, 1867. On the same date the law on the language of instruction was adopted and approved by the emperor, despite vigorous opposition from Ukrainian deputies in the diet. According to this law, the language of instruction in schools was to be determined by community councils; if part of the student body spoke a language different from that in which instruction was given, that language was to be taught as a compulsory subject. In secondary schools, Polish replaced German as the language of instruction. The Ukrainian language was taught as a subject on a provisional-compulsory basis (those who registered had to study it). Ukrainian as the language of instruction was allowed only in the lower grades of the Academic Gymnasium in Lviv (expanded in 1874 to include all grades). In addition, there were German-language gymnasiums in Lviv and Brody. Any changes involving expansion of the Ukrainian language, such as the establishment of separate Ukrainian secondary schools or parallel classes with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, could be made only with the express consent of the Galician diet. This consent was based on reports submitted by the county boards which were virtually opposed to any change.

The Land Board of Education for Galicia, in Lviv, was composed of four Poles and one Ukrainian. It employed a variety of means to effect the Polonization of schools. Ukrainians also constituted a minority in district school boards. The administration of schools was almost entirely in Polish hands. Repressive measures applied to Ukrainian schools prompted constant appeals, complaints, interpellations, and outright battles in the Galician diet and the Austrian parliament, particularly in connection with attempts to secure a greater number of Ukrainian gymnasiums and institutions of higher learning.

Six-year compulsory education was introduced throughout the land, with the program divided into elementary, secondary, teachers' seminaries, professional, and higher education.

**Elementary schools.** Organization of elementary schools was determined by the Land Board of Education law of 1863, with some subsequent changes on the basis of the law of 1893. Schools were divided into rural, small-town, and urban, with varied programs of instruction. The number of grades in a school ranged from one to seven, depending on the number of pupils. The three upper classes of the seven-grade school were called *vydilovi shkoly* (resembling American junior high schools). However, permission to open upper-grade schools in Ukrainian villages was granted only reluctantly by the Land Board of Education. Consequently, Ukrainian village schools were limited almost exclusively to one or

two grades. All Ukrainian schools, starting with the second grade, taught the Polish language. German was begun in the third grade. The Ukrainian population was adequately supplied with lower-grade schools only; there were only a few four-grade schools and two private junior high schools for girls. Teachers in Ukrainian schools were mostly Ukrainians. Along with the gradual development of national consciousness, the quality of Ukrainian teachers also improved as they endeavored to make the elementary schools more Ukrainian in content. In spite of the introduction of compulsory education, there was a shortage of schools, particularly in mountainous areas. Consequently, 30 per cent of the population nine years of age and over was illiterate.

In the years immediately preceding World War I, there were approximately 3,560 elementary schools in eastern Galicia, including the Lemkian region; of these, 2,510 (71 per cent) were Ukrainian. Total enrolment was approximately 670,000; of these, 440,000 attended Ukrainian elementary schools. Ninety-seven per cent of children of Ukrainian nationality were enrolled in Ukrainian schools and only 3 per cent attended Polish schools. On the other hand, Ukrainian schools were attended by both Polish and Jewish children.

**Secondary schools.** These schools were classified as follows: gymnasiums, with two classical languages, Latin and Greek; realgymnasiums (not numerous), with Latin only; and so-called realschulen, without classical languages. The course of studies was eight years (in realschulen, seven years). Requirements for admission to secondary schools were: completion of a four-grade elementary school and successful passage of an entrance examination. Upon graduation from the gymnasium, a student could enter any school of higher learning. Graduates of the realschule could also enter schools of higher education with the exception of universities.

It took Ukrainians years of hard struggle to establish each new Ukrainian gymnasium in Galicia. Prior to World War I, there were only six such public gymnasiums—one each in Lviv (with a branch), Peremyshl, Kolomyia, Ternopil, Stanyslaviv—and parallel classes (separate classes for Ukrainian students, with instruction in the Ukrainian language) in Polish gymnasiums in Berezhany and Stryi. At the same time, Poles had 29 gymnasiums and 11 realschulen, and Germans one gymnasium in Lviv. The harsh policy towards Ukrainians can be illustrated by the disproportionate relationship of gymnasiums to the population; one Polish gymnasium for every 60,400 Poles, one Ukrainian gymnasium for 546,000 Ukrainians.

**Training of teachers.** Teachers' seminaries began to appear in Austria in 1869, and in 1874 they were given accreditation as schools with a four-year course of study. Separate teachers' preparatory schools functioned until 1854 (five in eastern Galicia). The teachers' seminaries in eastern Galicia were bilingual in character, i.e., instruction was in Polish and Ukrainian (in western Galicia, in Polish only). There were ten public teachers' seminaries in eastern Galicia, seven for men and three for women.

**Vocational schools.** At that time, Ukrainians of Galicia showed little interest in vocational schools. There were practically no public vocational schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, and only one private trade school of secondary level operated by the Prosvita (Enlightenment) society in Lviv. There was also a private agricultural school of lower rank in Mylovanie.

Professional education organized by the Galician Land Board was also poorly developed. There were only a few schools at the secondary level (e.g. commercial art and trade schools in Lviv) and a few more of lower rank (primarily vocational schools). Polish was the language of instruction.

**Preschool education.** Interest in preschool education began to appear at the end of the nineteenth century. Natalia Kobrynska (1851–1920), a noted poetess and pioneer of the women's movement, provided the initiative when she spoke on the subject at a women's meeting in Stryi in 1891. The first children's nursery (*zakhoronka*) under the supervision of the Sister Servants of God was organized in 1892 by the Rev. Cyril Siletsky. A number of others were soon opened. From 1900 on, preschool education was promoted and sponsored by the society Rus'ka Zakhoronka (Ruthenian Nursery, later Ukrainian Nursery), which opened its first nursery in Lviv in 1902, as well as by other organizations such as the Sisters of the Order of St. Basil the Great and the Sister Servants of God, and by individual priests. Instructional supervision was handled by the executive board of the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society. In addition, this society, often with the assistance of other groups, organized kindergartens during the summer work period in the villages.

**Private schools.** Once it became apparent that all efforts to secure expansion of Ukrainian public schools at the higher level were practically useless, the Ukrainian community began to organize private schools, mainly gymnasiums, teachers' seminaries, and, on a smaller scale, elementary schools. Private schools were organized by the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society (before 1912, Ruthenian Pedagogical Society) which in 1926 adopted the name Ridna Shkola (Native School). Also prominent in these efforts, especially in the organization of secondary schools, was the Land Educational Association (from 1910), composed of representatives of central organizations and political parties, headed by Michael Hrushevsky and Ivan Kyveliuk.

Before the outbreak of World War I, the number of private elementary schools increased to 16, that of secondary schools and teachers' seminaries to 13. This included eight gymnasiums with 1,930 students (1911–12) and two teachers' seminaries functioning under the auspices of the Land Educational Association, a girls' gymnasium in Lviv and a teachers' seminary in Yavoriv operated by the Sisters of the Order of St. Basil the Great, and a girls' lyceum, turned into a gymnasium in 1918, operated in Peremyshl by a private society called the Ukrainian Institute.

**Educational organizations and publishing houses.** Despite apparent shortcomings in providing a sufficient number of native schools for the Ukrainian population, particularly elementary schools with upper grades and secondary schools, Galicia, with the exception of Bukovina, was the only part of Ukraine where Ukrainian youth had an opportunity to study in Ukrainian schools. Gradually, these schools became more Ukrainian in both form and content. Particularly commendable in this respect were the efforts of the patriotic and dedicated teachers who were organized in two groups, Vzaïmna Pomich Ukraïns'koho Uchytel'stva (Mutual Aid Society of Ukrainian Teachers), founded in 1905 and consisting of elementary school teachers (710 members in 1914), and Uchytel's'ka Hromada (Teachers' Society), founded in 1908 for teachers of secondary and higher schools.

The journals published by these and other teachers' organizations were organs of pedagogical and methodological thought (see p. 294). Many prominent Galician pedagogues worked on problems concerning the theory and history of teaching, didactics, and methodology. Among them were Theodore Bilenkyi, Basil Biletsky, Volodymyra Vilshanetska, Michael Halushchynsky, Ivan Demianchuk, Ivan Kazanivsky, Stephen Kovaliv, Ostap Makarushka, Constantina Malytska, and Ivan Yushchyshyn. Galician teachers played a prominent role in the growth of educational youth organizations. Often they were the initiators and counselors of self-educating youth groups and cooperated in the activity of illegal

student organizations (e.g., Moloda Ukraïna (Young Ukraine) in 1900–3 and later groups. On the initiative of teachers (Alexander Tysovsky, Ivan Chmola, and Peter Franko) the self-educating youth organization Plast was established in Galicia in 1911–12. Patterned on the scout movement, this organization included both boys and girls, offering a broad program of instruction and sports (camping, hiking, exercises).

**Institutions of higher learning.** Ukrainians were least successful in their efforts to secure institutions of higher learning. Before 1867, the University of Lviv was a German-language institution. An extended struggle soon developed, particularly in the Galician diet, over the national character of the university. By an imperial decree of July 7, 1871, professorial chairs in the future were to be awarded only to those scholars who were proficient in either the Ukrainian or Polish language. Although this order ostensibly acknowledged the bilingual character of the university, in reality the institution was rapidly Polonized. In 1879, Polish was introduced as the administrative language of the university and the tenure of Ukrainian lecturers (docents) was made extremely difficult. Before the outbreak of World War I, the University of Lviv consisted of four departments: theology, philosophy, law, and medicine (established in 1894). Student enrollment was approximately 5,000 (1,000 in 1870). Faculty members numbered 80, only 8 of whom, plus 4 docents, were Ukrainians. The position of Ukrainians was even weaker at the two other institutions of higher learning in Lviv—the Polytechnic (1872) and the Academy of Veterinary Science (1897; after 1881, School of Veterinary Science), and at the Land Agricultural Academy of Dubliany.

The efforts to secure equality for Ukrainians at the University of Lviv expanded towards the end of the nineteenth century into an all-out struggle for the establishment of a separate Ukrainian university. One of the basic demands of Galician Ukrainians in their struggle for political rights, it assumed national significance for all Ukrainians as a struggle to establish what at that time would be the only Ukrainian university in existence. Led primarily by the Ukrainian students (non-Ukrainian students were at best passive, at worst opposed to the establishment of such a university), this struggle found its way to the Galician diet and to the parliament in Vienna. In Lviv it erupted into violence on several occasions (fights between Ukrainian and Polish students, withdrawal of Ukrainian students from the university in 1901, a demonstration in 1907, the killing of Adam Kotsko, imprisonment of Ukrainian students, etc.). In 1912, the Austrian authorities finally acceded to the establishment of a separate Ukrainian university (not sooner than 1916), but the outbreak of World War I prevented this project from ever being realized.

While Galicia and Bukovina were being incorporated into Austria, many students attended schools of higher education in Vienna, Graz, Leoben (Mining Academy), and Prague.

**Student Organizations.** Students of various institutions of higher learning and theological seminaries took an active part in the cultural, educational, and political life of Galicia. The Society of Student-Theologians (Lviv, 1830) and the Sich organization (1861–3) were essentially self-educational societies. The activity of Ukrainian student organizations in the last quarter of the nineteenth century—Akademichna Besida [Academic Club], Akademicheskii Kruzhok [Academic Circle], Akademichne Bratstvo [Academic Fraternity], Vatra [Campfire], Akademichna Hromada [Academic Community])—was strongly affected by the prevailing political conflict between the Populist and the Russophile trends [Vol. I, p. 701 ff.]. The activity of the clandestinely functioning Moloda Ukraïna (Young Ukraine)

1900–2 student groups was essentially political in character. Founded by the editorial board of the journal *Moloda Ukraïna*, this organization was composed of both university and gymnasium students. After the 1902 withdrawal of Ukrainian students from the Lviv university and other developments in the struggle for a Ukrainian university, Ukrainian students became increasingly active at other universities in Austria-Hungary (Cracow, Vienna, Graz, Innsbruck). The Ukrainian Student Union (Ukraïns'kyi Students'kyi Soiuz) came into being in 1909 at the first student congress held in Lviv. The Union's press organ was the journal *Shliakhy* (Pathways) founded in 1913. The Union also embraced county student sections whose primary task was to conduct cultural and educational activity in the countryside.

World War I disrupted the development of Ukrainian education, particularly in the elementary schools (many buildings were partially destroyed and scores of teachers were drafted into the army). During the Russian occupation, Ukrainian schools ceased to operate. On the other hand, a number of Ukrainian elementary schools, secondary and seminary courses were organized by émigrés in Vienna and in refugee camps in Austria (Gmünd) and elsewhere.

## EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL MOVEMENT IN GALICIA

### Before 1860

As a result of the new system of education, closer relations with the cultural centers of the West, and the influx of new currents and ideas in the early nineteenth century, the level of education of the Ukrainian leading class, the clergy, improved steadily. In turn, the masses became more enlightened, although in Galicia the new trends took root very slowly.

The only cultural-educational organization functioning in the first half of the nineteenth century was the Stavropygian Institute, changed by the Austrian government in 1788 from the Lviv Stavropygian Brotherhood, which was well known for its work in the field of education. The activity of the Institute was limited to the printing of school textbooks and the operation of one school and dormitory. Equally limited was the work of the Society of Galician-Greek-Catholic Priests, established in 1816 in Peremyshl by Bishop Michael Levytsky and his assistant, Canon Ivan Mohylnytsky, with the aim of spreading education among the priests and people. The majority of Ukrainian intelligentsia of the 1830's, Polonized and conservative in outlook, did not pay much attention to questions of education. The efforts of a small group of Ukrainian intellectuals led by the "Ruthenian Trinity" [Vol. I, p. 1009a], to achieve greater rights for Ukrainian education, was not successful. The most important and agitating issue of the time was the so-called "alphabet war" which involved attempts to introduce the Polish alphabet into the Ukrainian written language (Joseph Lozynsky, 1834). Plans to publish newspapers were disrupted by disagreement as to the language in which they were to be printed—the vernacular or Old Church Slavonic.

The question of Ukrainian education assumed greater importance with the establishment of the Supreme Ruthenian Council in 1848. The Halyts'ko-Rus'ka Matytsia (Galician Ruthenian Matytsia) was founded in Lviv in 1848 (first president Rev. Michael Kuzemsky) on the pattern of similar Slavic societies to undertake the promotion of education among the masses. The question of a literary language for Galician Ukrainians was resolved by the Council of Ruthenian Ukrainian Intellectuals (Sobor Rus'kykh Uchenykh) in favor of the vernacular. Other significant developments of this period were the appearance of the weekly *Zoria Halyts'ka* (Galician Star) and the founding of a national home in

Lviv, which was to become the cultural center of Galician Ukrainians. Reading rooms were also established (in Kolomyia in 1848, at the Lviv Theological Seminary in 1850).

The cultural-educational movement which emerged in Galicia in the late 1840's experienced a marked decline in subsequent years. The Supreme Ruthenian Council ceased to exist (1851) and the Galician-Ruthenian Matytsia failed to develop any meaningful program of activity. Among the Ukrainian intelligentsia, the conservative trend, with its insistence on limiting the education to parochial schools, became dominant. The issue which again aroused Galician Ukrainians was the second "alphabet war" (1859). The dispute arose when the Austrian government, persuaded by the governor-general of Galicia, Count Agenor Goluchowski, tried to introduce the Polish alphabet into Ukrainian schools. The plan met with vigorous opposition and was defeated by a united effort of the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

**1860–90**

In the 1860's, the cultural-educational life of Ukrainians in Galicia was revitalized under the influence of the Populists [Vol. I, p. 701 ff.], who opposed the older generation of conservatives, who were more than ever committed to Russophile tenets. The Ukrainians of Galicia were sharply divided between the two camps. The Russophiles controlled the Stavropygian Institute, the National Home, the Galician-Ruthenian Matytsia (all showing little interest in educational affairs), and the paper *Slovo* (The Word). Originally a cultural-educational movement, the Populists developed into a political force, gaining the support of the young (including theology students), who began organizing Hromady (communities) in secondary schools. Encouraged by this support, the Populists began to publish a number of journals: *Vechernytsi* (Evening Gatherings, 1862), *Meta* (The Goal, 1863), *Nyva* (The Field, 1865), and *Rusalka* (The Nymph, 1866). However, the publication of the periodicals was gradually discontinued because the small number in the Populist movement at that time could not provide sufficient funds.

The only Populist-oriented organization was the social club Rus'ka Besida (Ruthenian Club), founded in 1861, which became Ukrainian in 1870, until the Prosvita (Enlightenment) society was founded in 1868 by the Populists on the initiative of Rev. Stephen Kachala. This society was to become a central organization of all nationally conscious Ukrainians for the advancement of culture and education. The first general meeting of the Prosvita society took place on December 8, 1868, and the first president-elect was Anatole Vakhnianyn. Its bylaws and regulations were designed to have a scholarly educational character, but according to the amended bylaws, introduced as early as 1870, the Prosvita society was to confine its activity to the promotion of education among the Ukrainian masses, while all matters pertaining to Ukrainian scholarship and literature were assumed by the Shevchenko Society (established in 1873 and changed to the Shevchenko Scientific Society in 1893).

FIGURE 133. STEPHEN KACHALA

In the 1870's, branches of the Prosvita society began to appear in smaller cities and towns and establishing reading-rooms in many villages. The headquarters of this network was in Lviv. It began publishing its own organ, *Pys'mo z Prosvity* (Letter from Prosvita) in 1877, popular and scholarly books in the 1860's, and textbooks for use in secondary schools. The Russophiles did not belong to Prosvita. In 1874, they founded in Kolomyia a rival group, Obshchestvo

im. Kachkovskoho (Kachkovsky Society), which was transferred to Lviv in 1876. With functions similar to those of Prosvita, it also published popular books and established reading rooms in villages. The Russophiles and the Populists, however, belonged to other community groups, particularly to those in the countryside such as the so-called Besida clubs. A significant achievement of the 1860's was the establishment of a Ukrainian folk theater attached to Rus'ka Besida (see Theater). The division of Galician Ukrainians into two camps weakened the already rather disorganized forces. Still, the ranks of Ukrainian intelligentsia continued to increase steadily, and they were no longer Polonized. The Populists gradually gained more supporters among them.

A marked differentiation in the organized cultural life began to appear in the 1880's. Educational activities which had been conducted by Prosvita and various political groups were concentrated in the Rus'ke Pedahohichne Tovarystvo (Ruthenian Pedagogical Society). Beginning in 1891, the Prosvita society extended the scope of its activity into the economic field, organizing stores, community warehouses, agricultural and commercial cooperatives, and savings and loan banks. Further growth in this area necessitated the establishment of separate economic organizations, such as Sil's'kyi Hospodar (Village Farmer) and Kraiovyi Reviziinyi Soiuz (Land Audit Union) [Vol. I, p. 706].

The organizational-educational life of Galician Ukrainians in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was marked by a series of significant cultural events: the transfer of the remains of Markian Shashkevych to Lviv (1893), the fiftieth anniversary observance of the abolition of the corvée (1898), the centennial celebration of the publication of Ivan Kotliarevsky's *Eneïda*, and the twenty-fifth anniversary of Ivan Franko's literary activity (1898). These events contributed substantially to the intensification and development of Ukrainian endeavors in the realm of education.

### The Twentieth Century

The progress achieved in the late nineteenth century provided the basis for the further growth of organized cultural life. The Prosvita society remained the leading organization; special courses for the illiterate were offered in 1907; activities in publication and economic organization were revived; the first Ukrainian cultural economic congress of the Prosvita society was held in Lviv on February 1 and 2, 1909, with 768 educational and economic leaders participating; 2,000 new reading rooms, 430 Prosvita buildings, a number of national homes housing Prosvita reading rooms, and other Ukrainian institutions were established in the period 1900–14. The growth of the Prosvita society from the year of its establishment until 1914 is shown in Table I.

FIGURE 134. BUILDING OF PROSVITA IN LVIV

In 1914, 75 per cent of all Ukrainian populated centers in Galicia had Prosvita reading rooms, 15 per cent had their own buildings, and the membership in the Prosvita society included approximately 20 per cent of all Ukrainian males. Dur-

TABLE I

| Year | Branches | Reading rooms | Members in thousands: Central organ. | Members in thousands: Reading rooms | Libraries | Publications: Books | Publications: Copies in thousands | Bldgs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1869 | — | — | — | — | — | 4 | 20 | — |
| 1875 | 1 | — | — | — | — | 6 | 83 | — |
| 1880 | 3 | — | 1.5 | 0.2 | — | 6 | 23 | — |
| 1890 | 4 | — | 4.8 | 27 | — | 8 | 50 | — |
| 1895 | 10 | 233 | 7.9 | 42 | 843 | 9 | 45 | 34 |
| 1900 | 20 | 924 | 13.4 | 76 | 1,243 | 9 | 83 | 75 |
| 1905 | 34 | 1550 | 19.0 | 100 | 1,753 | 8 | 120 | 118 |
| 1910 | 64 | 2376 | — | 114 | 2,290 | 16 | 111 | 310 |
| 1914 | 77 | 2944 | 36.4 | 197 | 2,664 | 16 | 120 | 504 |

ing the fifteen years preceding World War I, the Prosvita society published close to 1.5 million books, designed primarily for mass education of the peasantry.

Other organizations contributing to the progress of education were the already mentioned teachers' groups, Mutual Aid Society of Ukrainian Teachers and the Teachers' Association, the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society (later, Ridna Shkola), the Sokil and Sich athletic associations, and students' and women's organizations.

Intensive development of press and publications, including those specifically aimed at the general public, contributed in large measure to the improvement of mass education. Whereas in 1875 there were only 62 new non-periodical publications in Galicia, by 1894 this number had increased to 177, and by 1913 to 362, thus constituting more than half of all Ukrainian publications in the world (see Book Publishing and Press, p. 455). Children's literature formed a significant part of all publications (readers, magazines, etc.) contributing to the education of Ukrainian youth.

*I. Herasymovych, O. Terletsky*

## EDUCATION IN BUKOVINA

During the period of Moldavian rule, schools and education in Bukovina were at an exceedingly low level [Vol. I, p. 707]. Only elementary schools, operated by monasteries for low-ranking clergy, were available. This situation improved but slightly with the annexation of Bukovina by Austria. Following its incorporation into Galicia, the two Ukrainian lands shared the same fate (1787–1849). German schools appeared in the cities. At the same time, the Austrian government opened German-language secondary schools (first gymnasium in Chernivtsi, 1808), as well as Rumanian-language theological schools, first established in 1827.

### Schools

Conditions changed substantially following Bukovina's separation from Galicia in 1849, and even more during the 1860's as a result of the restoration of the constitution in Austria, the subsequent Ukrainian autonomy, and the national revival among Ukrainians of Bukovina [Vol. I, pp. 708 ff.]. This period was marked by a rapid development of Ukrainian schools and extracurricular educational activities, although the growth of public schools in Bukovina did not become apparent until 1869, when the government took over control of all schools. There were 116 schools as early as 1870 and 165 in 1896, of which 131 were purely Ukrainian and 34 were mainly Ukrainian-German and Ukrainian-Rumanian. The schools were attended by nearly 20,000 children. The

school development progressed in proportion to the general advancement of Ukrainians as a political force in Bukovina. One of the major gains of that period was the appointment of Omelian Popovych to the Land Board of Education for Ukrainian Schools as administrator. Thanks to his efforts, there were 216 Ukrainian and 8 mixed schools in 1910–11, with 40,000 pupils and 800 Ukrainian teachers compared to 177 Rumanian, 82 German, 12 Polish, and 5 Hungarian schools. Of all Ukrainian lands, Bukovina had the most adequate supply of elementary schools, mainly because supervision of these schools was in their own hands. Practically all Ukrainian children attended Ukrainian schools, and only three per cent did not attend.

FIGURE 135. OMELIAN POPOVYCH

**Urban schools** were originally German because of the Jewish population in the cities. Separate classes for national groups (grades 1–2) were opened in Chernivtsi in the 1890's, but with the establishment of the Ukrainian School Administration in 1906 they were reorganized into Ukrainian schools (four in Chernivtsi). There were also boys' and girls' elementary schools in Chernivtsi, subsidized by the Greek Orthodox religious fund, with Ukrainian and Rumanian as the languages of instruction.

**Secondary schools** were originally German (starting in 1851 the Ukrainian language was taught at the Chernivtsi gymnasium, and after 1872 religious instruction for Orthodox Ukrainians was also given in Ukrainian; religious instruction in Ukrainian for Greek-Catholics had been introduced earlier). It was not until 1896 that a lower Ukrainian-German gymnasium was opened in Chernivtsi. In 1905 it was changed into a higher gymnasium. In addition, there was one Ukrainian-German gymnasium in Kitsman (1904), a Ukrainian gymnasium in Vyzhnytsia (1908), and a private real-gymnasium in Vashkivtsi. Total enrollment in secondary schools prior to World War I was 1,200 students.

A teachers' seminary for men, established in 1871 and expanded in 1872 by the addition of a women's division, was also German. Since there were no coeducational schools in Bukovina, a special two-year preparatory course was opened for students intending to enroll in teachers' seminaries; later, several subjects were taught in the spoken languages of the land. Three equivalent Ukrainian, German, and Rumanian departments were established in the men's division of the teachers' seminary in 1910. In the meantime, the society Ridna Shkola (Native School) in Chernivtsi opened a private Ukrainian teachers' seminary for women in 1907.

**The University of Chernivtsi** was established in 1875 with German as the language of instruction, but a chair of Ukrainian language and literature (headed by Ignatius Onyshkevych and later by Stephen Smal-Stotsky). Two additional Ukrainian chairs were established in the department of theology.

**Extracurricular Activities**

The educational and cultural movement in Bukovina began in the 1860's, when the first attempts were made to organize reading rooms in the villages and to stimulate activity among urban dwellers and the intelligentsia. Most important in this movement was the Rus'ka Besida (Ruthenian Club) society, founded in 1869 on the initiative of the Orthodox bishop (later metropolitan), Eugene Hakman. At that time, Rus'ka Besida was the only organization defending the rights and interests of the Ukrainian people from abuses by Rumanians and Germans. Moreover, it prompted the establishment of other organiza-

tions, such as the Urban Reading Room (1880), National Home (1884), and Theatrical Society. Initially hampered by the conflict between the Populists and the Russophiles, the society intensified and broadened the scope of its activities when the Populists assumed control (1884). Before 1889, Rus'ka Besida was basically a social club, but it then assumed in Bukovina the functions and interests of the Lviv Prosvita society. Prior to World War I, it had 908 members in Chernivtsi, 9 additional branches in the countryside, and 190 reading rooms, with a total membership of approximately 13,000.

The first Ukrainian newspaper in Bukovina, titled *Bukovyna*, was published in 1885 through the efforts of Rus'ka Besida. Its editor was Joseph George Fed'kovych. Other publications, including popular books, began to appear under the auspices of the society, which also promoted economic activities later assumed by independent economic organizations.

Because of this wider range of activities, individual sections of Rus'ka Besida found it necessary to establish independent cultural and educational societies. Some of the more important were: the Rus'ka Shkola (Ruthenian [Ukrainian] School), 1887, which promoted educational activities, organized lectures and courses, published textbooks and a pedagogical journal of the same name (1888–1900); Mishchans'ka Chytal'nia (Urban Reading Room), 1880, in Chernivtsi; Zhinocha Hromada (Women's Society), 1906; Tovarystvo Pravoslavnykh Rusynok (Society of Ruthenian Orthodox Women), 1908; and Sich athletic associations.

Student organizations in Bukovina were also active in the cultural-educational field. Organized in some cases on the pattern of German student corporations (*Burschenschaften*), student societies such as Soiuz (Union, after 1875), Bukovyna (1888), Zaporozhe (1898), Moloda Ukraïna (Young Ukraine, 1900), Sich (1902) contributed greatly to the educational life of Bukovina. At the same time they helped to increase the knowledge of Ukrainian studies among their members.

Much attention was given to the observance of national occasions and events, such as the jubilee anniversary of J. G. Fedkovych (1886) and Sydir Vorobkevych (1887), the centennial of Kotliarevsky's *Eneïda* (1898), the twenty-fifth jubilee anniversary of the activity of O. Popovych (1900), a jubilee celebration in honor of Nicholas Lysenko (1904), and a festive reception in honor of Ivan Franko (1913).

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## EDUCATION IN TRANSCARPATHIA

### Before 1860

At the turn of the nineteenth century, schools and education in Transcarpathia were maintained at a relatively high level largely owing to the activity of Bishop Andrew Bachynsky (1772–1809) [Vol. I, p. 1002b], who succeeded in rallying most of the Carpatho-Ukrainian intelligentsia. In 1841, a theological seminary was founded in Uzhhorod, which was attended by nearly 100 students. There was a theological Greek Catholic seminary in Priashiv also. The Greek Catholic clergy were granted the same rights and privileges as the Roman Catholic clergy, and this resulted in the improvement of their social standing and material well-being. In 1793, 300 schools were maintained by church societies. In comparison with other Ukrainian lands, Transcarpathia was far ahead in the field of education. Consequently, this region produced a number of outstanding civic and political leaders. The fundamentals of reading, writing, arithmetic, and, in some schools, Latin, philosophy, and the Hungarian language (after 1844) were taught in Ukrainian.

After the suppression of the Hungarian revolution (1849), the number of elementary schools increased and the Ukrainian language was introduced as a compulsory subject in the Uzhhorod gymnasium.

**1860–1918**

Following the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, these generally favorable conditions changed in the 1860's. As a result of increasing pressure by the Hungarians, the cultural life of Transcarpathia declined [Vol. I, p. 713]. Despite the fact that state law No. 38 (1868) granted national minorities the right to maintain their own schools, paragraph 80 of the same law provided for the establishment of Hungarian public schools whenever and wherever such schools would serve Hungarian national interests. Originally, Ukrainian was permitted as a separate subject in public schools, but Hungarian was introduced as the language of instruction. Since Ukrainian schools were financed by church parishes, the peasants did not object to the introduction of public schools for which no direct payment was required. In 1881, there were still 353 schools with Ukrainian and 265 with Hungarian as the language of instruction. But two years later the number of Ukrainian schools fell to 282, while that of Hungarian schools increased to 313. This trend continued (88 Ukrainian schools in 1899) until 1906 when only 23 Ukrainian schools were left in Transcarpathia.

The education law of 1907 (proposed by the Hungarian Minister Albert G. Apponyi) abolished all non-Hungarian schools, thus leaving only 107 Ukrainian-Hungarian parochial schools which provided only religious instruction and the teaching of Old Church Slavonic in the Ukrainian language. But even these schools were gradually eliminated until in 1918 their number was reduced to 34.

In 1917–18, there were 100 kindergartens in Transcarpathia, 517 elementary schools, 8 elementary schools with higher grades, 3 gymnasiums, 3 teachers' seminaries, 2 commercial schools, 1 agricultural school, 1 school of ceramics, 1 institute for the deaf and dumb, 2 theological seminaries, and 1 lyceum of jurisprudence. The language of instruction in all of these schools was Hungarian. The teaching of Ukrainian was allowed in 34 parochial schools and 2 gymnasiums and teachers' seminaries, but only as an elective subject. In theological seminaries instruction was given in Hungarian, Latin, and Ukrainian. As a result of this educational policy, the level of illiteracy in Transcarpathia reached 60 per cent, and 26,000 children did not attend school at all.

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# 5. THE PERIOD OF UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD

## UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC (UNR)

Immediately after the outbreak of the revolution in March 1917, Ukrainians set out to develop their own schools and a system of education. To a large degree, the groundwork had already been prepared by Ukrainian educators and cultural leaders of the earlier period. The Galician Ukrainians also played an important part in the educational development of central and eastern Ukraine. They found themselves in these areas as prisoners of war, hostages, or deportees arrested by the Russian authorities. Many of them were employed as teachers, editors, and journalists. It was the General Secretariat of Education, headed by Ivan Steshenko, which began to organize Ukrainian schools. At the same time, the Society of School Education was established for the purpose of providing Ukrainian textbooks and preparing the first congress of Ukrainian teachers (August 1917). The first Ukrainian gymnasium (the T. Shevchenko gymnasium) was established in Kiev in March 1917, followed soon afterwards by the S.S. Cyril and Methodius Gymnasium. The General Secretariat of Education opened new Ukrainian elementary schools of lower rank and introduced Ukrainian as the language of instruction in elementary schools of the middle and higher ranks. Secondary schools also were established (gymnasiums, realschulen, commercial schools). To facilitate the organizational work, the three existing school districts, Kiev, Kharkiv, and Odessa (the latter two in 1918), were changed into commissariats in 1917. The process of de-Russification of schools was intensified, and in 1917–18 numerous courses of Ukrainian studies were made available for teachers of secondary schools, conducted by such well-known scholars as M. Hrushevsky, Sophia Rusova, Nicholas Vasylenko, Volodymyr Naumenko, and Teoktyst Sushytsky. Since there was now an adequate supply of teachers, five gymnasiums were opened in Kiev alone, with an additional 80 in the cities and villages throughout Ukraine. The *zemstvos* and local self-government agencies demanded that new Ukrainian secondary schools be established as soon as possible. A major role in this development was played by the curators of school districts, particularly by the Kiev district curator N. Vasylenko and later V. Naumenko. Great care was given to the preparation of textbooks for Ukrainian schools. In spite of continued military operations, books were published in large numbers (up to 300,000 copies) in 1917—a supply that was, however, far from sufficient for the entire territory. In only a few months in 1918, close to two million textbooks for elementary and secondary schools were published by the Ministry of Education, which had established a special fund for this purpose.

Work on the curriculum of the unified labor school was started late in 1917 by a special commission with appropriate subcommissions and sections created by the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian National Republic. The commission's policy and plan of work were outlined at the Second All-Ukrainian Teachers Congress and approved by the Directory in Kiev late in 1918. The program of the unified labor school set the term of studies at twelve years, consisting of three levels: (1) junior basic school (grades 1–4, (2) senior basic school (grades 5–8), (3) collegium (grades 1–12). This program applied only to general education schools. Vocational education was not included although vocation-

al schools could be established on each of the three levels: lower school on the first level, secondary school on the second level, and several types of schools on the third level (collegiums with two, one, or no classical languages included in the curriculum). The general principles determining the educational content of elementary and secondary schools were as follows: (1) national character of schools; (2) realization of the ideal of unified education, i.e., all students should be afforded an opportunity to complete all levels of education according to their abilities; (3) cultivation and fostering of individual activity, initiative, and creative abilities; (4) initiative on the part of pedagogical boards in the organization of the educational process. In addition, the principles of aesthetics were to be applied in the process of teaching and education. The war, however, did not permit complete realization of the unified education program. It should be noted that the programs of all Ukrainian governments were similar in principle, and, therefore, subsequent changes in the form of government did not have an adverse effect on the development of the Ukrainian educational system.

In the years 1917–18, the education and training of teachers in Ukraine was conducted in the Ukrainian language. This applied to university departments of education, the Ukrainian Academy of Pedagogy in Kiev (established in 1917), numerous accelerated teachers' training courses, and regular teachers' institutes and seminaries.

On October 5, 1918, the Ukrainian University of Kiev, which was founded in 1917 in addition to St. Volodymyr University established in 1834, was turned into the first state university with departments of history and philology, physics and mathematics, law, and medicine. An academy of fine arts was also established in Kiev. The University of Kamianets Podilsky was opened on October 22, 1918 (departments of history and philology, law, theology, and, later, agriculture). The College of History and Philology also conducted courses in Poltava. A new university was opened in Katerynoslav, but it was Russian in character. Chairs of Ukrainian language, history, arts, and the history of Ukrainian law were opened at the older universities of Kiev, Kharkiv, and Odessa.

Despite the turmoil brought on by the war, Ukrainian cultural life rose to new heights in the years 1917–18. A vast number of Ukrainian newspapers of various types appeared and new publishing houses sprang up (see Book Publishing and Press, p. 457). Publication of textbooks was particularly well developed. Numerous private publishing houses, on the receipt of free loans from the government, published hundreds of thousands of books. Because of an overload of work at home resulting from the heavy demand, books had to be printed in Vienna and Berlin. The Prosvita society developed a network of branches throughout the entire country. On November 14, 1918, the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was founded in Kiev (see Scholarship), as were the National State Library, National State Archives, and other institutions of research and education (see Libraries, Archives, pp. 393, 404).

## WESTERN UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC

During the brief life of the Western Ukrainian National Republic the reconstruction of education in Galicia was in the hands of the State Secretariat of Education. Basically, the Austrian system of education and program of teaching were retained, although some adjustments were made to adapt the system to the existing political conditions. County boards of education were formed in February 1919. Instruction in elementary schools with a majority of Ukrainian children was given in the Ukrainian language. Polish schools in the cities were made coeducational, some with Polish

as the language of instruction and others with Ukrainian. By a law passed on February 10, 1919, Ukrainian private schools were nationalized. In accordance with parental demands, Polish was replaced by Hebrew as the language of instruction in the Baron Hirsch Jewish School. In all non-Ukrainian schools, the Ukrainian language was made a compulsory subject. Some secondary schools in the cities became Ukrainian, others retained their Polish character. Gradual Ukrainianization was customary in localities where there was only one Polish public school. The establishment of Polish private schools was permitted by the government, with the provision that the Ukrainian language be included in the curriculum as a compulsory subject. The conditions of war on the territory of the Republic did not interrupt instruction in the majority of schools. Ukrainian secondary public schools totaled 30 (20 gymnasiums, 3 realschulen, 7 teachers' seminaries).

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## KUBAN

After the revolution of 1917, secondary and higher schools were opened in Kuban through private initiative. The Kuban Land Council began to formulate a program of education for the entire region, but because of the war accomplished little. Schools remained Russian in character, and only in elementary schools of lower rank was Ukrainian introduced as the language of instruction, mainly through the efforts of the local intelligentsia. In 1919, Ukrainian gymnasiums were opened in Katerynodar (through the efforts of Ivan Rotar) and, later, in the Okhtyrska *Stanytsia* (organized and financed by the local community). The teachers' seminary was Ukrainianized, and Ukrainian subjects were made available for elementary school teachers. In 1919, the following schools functioned in Kuban: 1,391 elementary schools of lower rank, 151 secondary schools, 2 secondary agricultural schools, 1 secondary technical school, 1 teachers' institute, 5 teachers' seminaries (two Ukrainian), 124 vocational schools, 1 pedagogical institute, 1 school of polytechnics.

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# 6. THE UKRAINIAN SSR

## THE 1920's

National renaissance in the central and eastern parts of Ukraine, which had begun after the revolution of March 1917, was interrupted by the war imposed upon the Ukrainian National Republic by Soviet Russia [Vol. I, pp. 756b]. The draft project of a system of general education known as the "unified labor school" could not be realized under these circumstances. While the war lasted, prerevolutionary educational methods and goals remained essentially unchanged. The financial support of Ukrainian schools—inasmuch as it could not be obtained from regular government sources—came from the citizens, particularly from consumer cooperatives, which established at their own expense a

union for Ukrainian culture to direct Ukrainian schools.

Prior to 1920, the Bolshevik leadership in Ukraine was guided in its educational policies by the declaration and the constitution of the Unified Labor School (yedyna trudova shkola) publicized by the Central Executive Committee of the Russian SFSR on October 18, 1918. Tuition was abolished in all schools and universities, and free education in one's native tongue was proclaimed as the right of all who had worker or peasant backgrounds. All schools were to be co-educational. The decree on the separation of Church and State (January 19, 1919), also banned the teaching of religion in schools. Teachers and professors suspected of anti-Soviet leanings were dismissed from their jobs. The new goals of education were formulated by the Russian Communist party (Bolsheviks) as follows: "During the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the period of the formation of conditions for the realization of a full-fledged Communist society, the school system must not only serve as a general conduit of Communist principles, but must also be an instrument of the proletariat's educational influence over the semi-proletarian and non-proletarian masses."

The Communist party's philosophy thus became supreme in all educational pursuits. The tasks of re-educating the old and of educating a new generation in loyalty to communism motivated Ukrainian Bolsheviks to adopt a policy of thorough Ukrainization of the school system. In their view, Communist indoctrination could reach and be understood by the masses only if it were conducted in their native tongue. This viewpoint prevailed at the Seventh Conference of the Communist Party of Ukraine (April 4–10, 1923), and became part of the official resolutions adopted by the central committee of the CPU on June 22, 1923, and of the decree of the Ukrainian SSR's Council of People's Commissars of July 27, 1923, both of which proclaimed the desirability of Ukrainizing all schools and providing practical measures for accelerated training of new pedagogical cadres fluent in the Ukrainian language. Special obligatory language courses were set up for those teachers and professors who could not lecture in Ukrainian. This act angered Russian chauvinists both in the Communist party and out of it. They vehemently opposed Ukrainization and blocked it by all possible means.

A significant event in the development of Soviet Ukrainian education was the First All-Ukrainian Teachers' Congress held at Kharkiv in January 1924. This congress voiced support for the policy of Ukrainization. On July 6, 1927, the government of the Ukrainian SSR adopted its final decree on Ukrainization: among other things, it provided that the positions of teachers in Ukrainian public schools and those of lecturers and professors in higher educational establishment could only be occupied by individuals fluent in Ukrainian. At the same time, however, schools of all types, conducted in the languages of Ukraine's national minorities, were also set up; there were numerous schools using Yiddish, Russian, German, Polish, Rumanian, Belorussian, Bulgarian, and Greek. Similarly, starting with the 1927–8 school year, more than 300 Ukrainian schools were established for the Ukrainian minorities in Russia, Kazakhstan, and other republics of the Soviet Union.

### New School System

Early in 1920, Gregory Hrynko, the people's commissar of education, proposed a new educational system for the Ukrainian SSR, which was officially adopted in August 1920. One of its peculiar features was its marked difference from the system concurrently established in the RSFSR. Hrynko's system consisted of the following institutions: (1) pre-school child care establishments, mostly kindergartens, for 4 to 8 year-olds; (2) the so-called labor schools for social edu-

cation—general education seven-grade schools for 8 to 15 year-olds; (3) professional higher education comprising (a) secondary professional two- to three-year schools for vocational training of skilled workers; (b) the so-called tekhnikums (technical schools)—three-year intermediate specialized schools graduating technicians and instructors for "labor" schools; (c) institutes—four-year professional schools preparing qualified specialists; and (d) academies–two-year schools of advanced study for institute graduates. By 1921, however, Hrynko's system was slightly altered to reflect the proposals of his deputy, Yan Riappo. Scientific research was excluded from the educational system. Tekhnikums, as well as institutes, were to be institutions of higher learning. The length of studies in tekhnikums was to be 3–4 years; in the institutes, 4–5 years. Tekhnikums graduated specialists of narrow interest, the institutes, specialists in administration and management. Professional schools were to be establishments of both professional and general education within the scope of the secondary "real" schools. The new educational system provided for both a thorough political indoctrination and specialized professionalism.

**Preschool Education**

The preschool child-care establishments of the 1920's were largely designed to instill the basic ideas of communism. For this purpose, various ultramodernistic experiments were conducted, some of them quite bizarre. Children were taught to engage in productive work from the earliest age; they were to act and behave in accordance with strict disciplinary programs in one situation and be absolutely free in another. However, such establishments were rare. By the end of the 1920's there were only 643 kindergartens in the Ukrainian SSR, not counting those which were opened temporarily during the summer months. All instruction in the kindergartens was given in Ukrainian.

**The Labor School**

The seven-grade labor school in Hrynko's scheme was the basic general-purpose school designed to provide what was called "social" education. It included, in addition to general literary subjects, some polytechnic and vocational training, and indoctrination in socialist ideas, working-class consciousness, and political action. The seven-grade school was divided into two subdivisions: the lower (grades I–IV), also called "elementary school," and the higher (grades V–VII), also called "incomplete secondary school." A decree of October 1925 made elementary four-grade education mandatory for all children. However, this could not be easily implemented because of a serious shortage of teachers and school buildings. In 1923–4, government expenditures on education per capita amounted to only 0.90 rubles in the Ukrainian SSR, whereas in the RSFSR the amount was 1.20 rubles. It was not until 1925–9 that a crash program of school construction was begun in the Ukrainian SSR; government investments increased 8.18 times (in the USSR as a whole, only 4.7). Nevertheless, in this period nearly one-third of all children of school age, mostly in the countryside, still failed to complete the four-grade school. There was official discrimination against children of well-to-do peasants, shopkeepers, and clergy: these pupils, unlike others, had to pay tuition. In 1928 there were 122,598 tuition-paying pupils in the Ukrainian SSR, or about 5 per cent of the total. The prerevolutionary pattern of boys attending school outnumbering girls prevailed in the rural areas as late as 1928 (a 61:39 per cent ratio), while in urban areas the disproportion was negligible (52:48).

Beginning with the school year 1930–1, a decree of CC CPSU of July 25, 1930, established compulsory elementary education (4 grades) in the countryside and incomplete-secondary education (7 grades) in the urban areas. By this time,

almost all children of school age attended. Towards the end of the 1920's a degree of specialization was introduced into the seven-grade schools. In urban areas, some industrial subjects were taught in addition to the usual basic subjects, while in rural areas some agricultural subjects were introduced. Since 1929–30, Grade VIII has been added in some urban seven-grade schools.

The statistics in Table II apply to general education schools in this period: The total number of children attending schools in 1927–8 divided percentage-wise among national schools with the given language of instruction is shown in Table III.

From among all children of Ukrainian nationality 93.9 per cent attended Ukrainian schools, 3.2 per cent mixed Ukrainian-Russian schools, 2.4 per cent Russian schools, and 0.5 per cent other schools. This was, of course, an impressive result of the Ukrainization policy.

TABLE II

| | Number of schools | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| School year | Total number | Elementary | Incomplete secondary | Secondary (more than 7 grades) |
| 1914–15 | 19,568 | 18,775 | 341 | 452 |
| 1928–9 | 20,446 | 17,488 | 2,660 | — |
| 1932–3 | 21,697 | 13,354 | 8,011 | 261 |

| | Number of pupils (in thousands) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| School year | Total number | Elementary | Incomplete secondary | Secondary (more than 7 grades) |
| 1914–15 | 1,678 | 1,493 | 44 | 141 |
| 1928–9 | 2,554 | 1,586 | 954 | — |
| 1932–3 | 4,481 | 1,329 | 2,920 | 224 |

| | Number of teachers | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| School year | Total number | Elementary | Incomplete secondary | Secondary (more than 7 grades) |
| 1914–15 | 46,739 | 34,419 | 2,730 | 9,590 |
| 1928–9 | 75,380 | 39,488 | 35,043 | — |
| 1932–3 | 126,443 | 32,686 | 85,776 | 7,387 |

TABLE III

| | Type of school | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Language of instruction | Elementary (%) | Incomplete secondary (%) | All schools combined (%) |
| Ukrainian | 85.4 | 66.0 | 78.0 |
| Russian | 7.3 | 13.3 | 9.0 |
| Ukrainian-Russian (mixed) | 1.3 | 11.1 | 5.3 |
| Yiddish | 1.4 | 5.1 | 2.9 |
| German | 1.6 | 1.0 | 1.3 |
| Polish | 1.4 | 0.5 | 0.9 |
| Others | 1.6 | 3.0 | 2.6 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

In the following years, the percentage of all pupils in the Ukrainian SSR attending Ukrainian schools increased from 78.0 in 1927, to 81.0 in 1929, and 88.5 in 1933, when the peak of Ukrainization was reached.

**Professional and Higher Education**

The transformation of higher education into a system of professional education began in April 1921, with the establishment of the Chief Ukrainian Administration of Professional Education within the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR. Professional schools were based on the seven-grade schools and were designed for children from 15 to 18 years of age. To accommodate the needs of the national economy for a skilled labor force, professional schools had different types of specialization: industrial, agricultural, business, transportation, medical, art, etc. In 1929, there were 680 professional schools, of which 250 were agricultural, 157 industrial, 103 handicraft.

Most professional schools charged tuition fees (79 per cent of all schools in 1928), but children of poor workers and peasants were exempt.

Vocational training of skilled industrial workers was conducted by the schools of Factory and Plant Training (Fabrychno-Zavods'ke Uchenytstvo). These schools were first established in 1920 with a three-year course of study. The FZU schools furnished both technical training and general education at the level of grades V–VII. After 1930, most students in the FZU schools were graduates of the seven-grade schools, and consequently their period of training was reduced to 1½–2 years. At the end of 1928, there were 265 FZU schools with an enrollment of 49,500 students.

In the system of professional education, tekhnikums initially played a leading role. They were defined as institutions of higher learning designed to train specialists of narrow interest, capable of doing practical work, viz., that of a technical engineer or practicing agronomist. In July 1928, however, by a decision of the CC CPSU all technical education in the USSR was unified. In Ukraine, as in Russia, tekhnikums were reduced to the status of secondary professional schools, their present classification. In 1927–8 the number of tekhnikums and other secondary professional schools in the Ukrainian SSR was 158, with an enrollment of 31,176 students.

FIGURE 136. UNIVERSITY OF KHARKIV (in 1920's)

Ukraine's universities were also transformed into higher professional schools, i.e. specialized institutes, despite the fact that in the RSFSR and other Soviet republics the universities remained intact. The medical schools of Ukraine's universities were changed to medical institutes and women's medical institutes were merged with them. Law schools of the universities were joined with socio-economic institutes, which replaced the former commercial institutes. The departments of historical and philological, as well as physical and mathematical, sciences of the universities, the women's courses of higher studies, and the teachers' seminaries in *oblast* cities were transformed into the so-called institutes of people's education (INO), whose main task was to prepare teachers for the upper grades of the seven-grade schools of general education. The INO's consisted of three departments: (1) social education, which prepared teachers for public schools and kindergartens;

(2) professional education, which produced teachers for tekhnikums and other secondary professional schools; and (3) political education, which prepared propagandists for political agitation among the masses. INO's were situated in Kharkiv, Kiev, Odessa, Dniepropetrovske, Mykolaïv, Kherson, Kamianets Podilsky, Nizhyn, Poltava, Chernihiv, Zhytomyr, and Luhanske. Early in the 1930's, however, the INO's were subdivided and reorganized into separate institutes of people's education, of social education, and of professional education. Thus the former departments became independent INO's.

In 1930, there were 42 institutes, of which 13 were pedagogical, 5 specializing in the arts, 5 medical, 1 specializing in transportation, 4 socio-economic, 5 industrial engineering, and 9 agricultural. Women comprised 28 per cent of the total enrollment of 40,890 students; Ukrainians by nationality numbered about 23,000 or approximately 56 per cent of the total student body.

Within this system of higher education, there were also various short-term professional courses for industrial and agricultural workers designed to augment their technical knowledge or skills, night tekhnikums, and night secondary professional schools. In order to train politically reliable professional personnel, the government of the Ukrainian SSR established in March 1921 special workers' faculties (*robfaks*)—two-year, general education schools for adults attached to the institutes of higher education and to some tekhnikums. The "workers' faculties" enjoyed various privileges. Their students were selected only upon the recommendation of the Communist party, Communist Youth League (Komsomol), trade unions, and the committees of poor peasants. In 1921, 40 per cent of *robfak* students were industrial workers, and 20 per cent of the students belonged to the Communist party and the Komsomol; by 1929, these percentages increased to 63 and 57, respectively.

Table IV illustrates the general state of professional education in the Ukrainian SSR in the academic year 1929–30.

The proportion of Ukrainian students in professional education establishments in 1929–30 was 53.1 per cent, compared with 20.0 per cent Russians and 22.5 per cent Jews. At the same time, Ukrainians in the Ukrainian SSR represented more than 80 per cent of the total population, Russians 9.2 per cent, and Jews 5.4 per cent. This indicates that, despite official policy, Ukrainization in the field of higher education was far from complete. The main reason for this was that the percentage of Russians and Jews was much larger in the urban population than in the total population and that students in professional schools came mostly from urban centers. On the other hand, Ukrainian students predominated in agricultural, pedagogical, medical, and art schools—a pattern of distribution which continued well into the 1930's and 1940's.

Among institute students in 1929–30,

TABLE IV

| Type of school | Number of schools | Number of students | Language of instruction of all schools (%) | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Ukrainian | Russian | Mixed Ukrainian Russian | Yiddish | Other |
| Institutes | 42 | 40,890 | 28.9 | 2.6 | 63.2 | 0.0 | 5.3 |
| Tekhnikums | 109 | 26,778 | 36.5 | 14.3 | 42.9 | 2.4 | 3.9 |
| Workers' faculties | 78 | 14,553 | 60.4 | 22.9 | 14.6 | 0.0 | 2.1 |
| Professional schools | 680 | 88,409 | 59.1 | 7.1 | 24.6 | 4.1 | 5.1 |
| Professional courses | 377 | 37,202 | 40.5 | 45.0 | 12.5 | 0.7 | 1.3 |
| Factory and plant schools | 197 | 29,167 | 17.6 | 32.7 | 48.3 | 1.4 | 0.0 |

workers and their children comprised 35.7 per cent of the total enrollment, and those of peasant background 25.6 per cent. In tekhnikums these percentages were 42.3 and 37.4, respectively.

**Educational Methods**

During the 1920's and early 1930's all kinds of methods used abroad or discussed in world pedagogical literature were experimented with and adapted to Communist purposes (e.g., method of complete words, complex system, projects method, the Dalton plan, and team work and study). In grade schools, polytechnic principles were tried out; in higher education, collective methods of studying and doing research in teams and brigades were tested. These experiments were disappointing, however, and most of them were subsequently discarded. Experimentation, along with other factors, had an adverse effect on higher education. The course of study in technical institutes had been prolonged in some cases to more than six years. Of the total number of students accepted by these institutes only 6 per cent graduated (1928). On the eve of industrialization, this situation created acute shortages of engineers and other technicians.

**Administration**

The entire educational system was thoroughly centralized; no single unit had autonomy. At the top, there was the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, supervising all schools, tekhnikums, and institutes through its official inspectors and instructors. Higher education was included in the centralization. In accordance with the statute of 1922, the Chief Ukrainian Administration of Professional Education appointed the rectors (presidents) in establishments of higher education, while the CC CPU appointed political commissars. The position of political commissar did not, however, last long. By 1926–7 more than 90 per cent of all rectors belonged to the Communist party; hence, they could carry out the party line without supervision. In their turn, rectors appointed the deans of faculties, with the approval of the Chief Administration.

**Extracurricular and Communal Activities**

The Prosvita (Enlightenment) societies (852 branches in October 1918 and 4,322 in June 1921), which took care of all extracurricular activities during the period of independence, were later abolished by the Bolsheviks as "nationalistic" and "bourgeois." The new policy for communal extracurricular education was laid down by the Fifth All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets (March 3, 1921). It called for the nationalization of the press, radio, and all other communications media, for the establishment of libraries, social and sports clubs for adults, and summer camps for children, all of which should actively engage in Communist propaganda and indoctrination. A special Commission for the Elimination of Illiteracy (Liknep) was established in 1921, and a Ukrainian SSR government decree made it mandatory that all individuals between the ages of 8 and 50 learn to read and write in Ukrainian or any other language of their choice. As the following statistics indicate, the success of this difficult task was gradual (Table V).

TABLE V

PERCENT OF ILLITERATES FROM 9 TO 49 YEARS OLD

| Year | Both sexes | Men | Women |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1926 | 36.4 | 18.9 | 52.8 |
| 1939 | 11.8 | 6.1 | 17.1 |
| 1959 | 0.9 | 0.4 | 1.2 |

Data for 1939 do not include western Ukrainian lands, but those for 1959 do. Illiteracy was higher in the villages than in the cities. In rural areas, in 1939, the illiterates numbered 8.1 per cent among men and 21.5 per cent among women; in 1959, these figures were reduced to 0.5 and 1.1 per cent, respectively.

**Evaluation**

The system of education adopted at the beginning of the 1920's prevailed, with some changes and improvements, until 1932–3. In quantitative terms, the new system compared favorably with that before 1917. However, in terms of quality, the Soviet education was incomparably different and in some respects clearly inferior. In comparison with the pre-1917 gymnasium, the new system did not provide a complete secondary education. Classical education was sharply reduced in scope: the study of Greek and Latin was eliminated, the humanities were reduced to rather primitive instruction in Marxist-Leninist philosophy and rudimentary political economy. The study of history and literature was made Procrustean as a result of an oversimplified sociological interpretation. Of the foreign languages, only German and occasionally French were studied, and the quality of instruction was extremely poor. On the positive side, some gains and improvements could be noticed in the study of mathematics and the natural sciences, which gradually became the dominant subjects. The history of Ukraine and of Ukrainian literature and culture (but in sociological, "class" interpretation) also became important new subjects in secondary and higher education. In spite of quantitative and, on the average, successful development, the quality of the new Soviet education was inferior to the best that had been achieved before the revolution and abroad.

## THE 1930's

Beginning with the 1930–1 school year, the educational system of the Ukrainian SSR went through significant reforms corresponding to the contemporary changes in the entire socioeconomic and political structure (collectivization of agriculture, industrialization, etc., [Vol. I, pp. 816 ff.]). As a result of the decision of the CC CPSU concerning compulsory elementary education (July 1930) and the decree of the USSR government on the mandatory seven-grade education in the cities (August 1930), the entire school system underwent considerable expansion. Secondly, because of the rapid expansion in the employment of females and other dependents, the number of preschool child-care establishments had to be increased. Whereas in the 1920's the preschool system was still in a nascent state, by 1938 there were already 3,384 full-time kindergartens for children from three to seven (there were 172,200 children in the Ukrainian SSR) and 7,461 part-time recreational establishments for children of the appropriate age in the preschool and extracurricular establishments. The percentage in the cities was somewhat larger than in the countryside.

The total number of elementary and secondary schools increased in 1928–38 from 20,446 to 22,396. Within these totals, the number of junior secondary (seven-grade) and secondary (ten-grade) schools grew much faster than that of the elementary (four-grade) schools, especially in country districts. There the number of seven-grade schools increased from 2,660 in 1928 to 8,180 in 1938; the number of ten-grade schools in the countryside in 1938 was 1,519, none in 1928. Expenditures on elementary and secondary education in the Ukrainian SSR grew at a slower pace than in the RSFSR or the USSR as a whole.

Rapid growth was also experienced by the higher educational system: in 1928 there were 39 institutes with 33,800 students; in 1938, 129 and 124,400, respectively. This was achieved mainly by breaking up the old institutes into independent but more specialized units and by transforming tekhnikums into institutes. Especially rapid expansion took place in 1930–2. The number of students in the institutes and tekhnikums increased from 60,700 in 1929 to 266,400 in 1932 and to 296,800 in 1938. In the course of the first two five-year plans (1928–37)

schools of the Ukrainian SSR graduated 41,551 engineers, or 31.5 per cent of the USSR total. Such rapid expansion created great shortages of educational facilities, textbooks, and qualified instructors, resulting in the deterioration of higher education. The erratic experimentation and groping for shortcuts in education of this period also contributed to the decline in its quality.

An even more intensive unification and centralization of the educational system in the entire USSR were now evident. The decision to move in this direction was reached in 1930 at the All-Union party conference devoted to problems of education, and was finally acted upon by the CC CPSU in August 1932. The unification of the educational systems of Soviet republics was motivated by the need to exchange trained personnel. Pursuant to the new course aimed at centralization, the Ukrainian Commissariat of Education began to lose its power and significance. Until that time, it had controlled all educational establishments in the Ukrainian SSR and while under the leadership of G. Hrynko, Alexander Shumsky, and Nicholas Skrypnyk it actually directed the development of the whole Ukrainian national culture therein and was in fact a bulwark of defense against Moscow's Russifying pressures.

With the establishment of a number of specialized but centralized Union people's commissariats for various sectors of the national economy in Moscow in July 1930, all higher and secondary professional educational establishments preparing specialists for these sectors were removed from under the control of the Ukrainian Commissariat of Education and placed directly under the new commissariats in Moscow. In September 1932 a committee for higher technical education was established by the government of the USSR in Moscow, and in May 1936 it was transformed into a new committee for higher education of the USSR. A parallel committee, subordinated to the latter, was also established in Kiev by the government of the Ukrainian SSR. All institutions of higher education, with the exception of military and party schools, were transferred to the jurisdiction of the new committee. Thus, as a result of these reforms, the power of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR was reduced to the control of primary and secondary schools, preschool child-care establishments, and some tekhnikums. (It remained in this position until 1966 when it lost its autonomous republican status and was transformed into a union-republican ministry of double subordination.) The centralization of the administration of higher education and especially the unification of its programs and methods of instruction were also discussed and recommended by the First All-Union Conference on Higher Education held in Moscow, March 15–17, 1938. Both J. Stalin and V. Molotov made important policy pronouncements at this conference which heralded final unification of all higher education in the Soviet Union and complete loss of autonomy by Ukraine in this field.

**Beginnings of Russification**

The official Ukrainization policy ended for all practical purposes in mid-1933 after N. Skrypnyk's suicide. The de-Ukrainization of the institutes and other seats of higher learning, that is, their transfer back to Russian as the language of instruction, began gradually with the transfer of jurisdiction to the appropriate economic commissariats in Moscow, although it is true that even under Skrypnyk the Ukrainization of higher education in the Ukrainian SSR probably never surpassed 50 per cent in terms of total lectures given (exact figures are not known). The number of students of Ukrainian descent declined from the maximum of 62.8 per cent in 1930 to 57.6 per cent in 1932, and to 54.2 per cent in 1938.

The de-Ukrainization of the school

system was especially marked at the secondary school level. In 1933, an all-time maximum of 88.5 per cent of children of school age attended schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction. This was a somewhat larger percentage than that of pupils of Ukrainian nationality in the total number of school children in the Ukrainian SSR (85.1 per cent). Russian chauvinists used this discrepancy to openly accuse Skrypnyk of allegedly forcing Ukrainization upon the Russians. After Skrypnyk's downfall the enrollment of pupils in the Ukrainian-language schools began to dwindle; it was 83.0 per cent in 1936, 78.2 per cent in 1938, and 79.0 per cent in 1940. (The last figure includes Western Ukraine.) This decline was due in part to the influx of Russians into the Ukrainian SSR to replace Ukrainian personnel who perished in the purges. In some industrial cities of the Donbas also, Ukrainian schools became Russian by administrative decrees. In 1938 the percentage of pupils attending Russian-language schools in the Ukrainian SSR increased to 14.2 per cent (from 9.0 per cent in 1928).

Especially hard hit were Ukrainian schools in Kuban and the rest of the RSFSR. They were all summarily closed at the start of the 1932–3 school year. Brutal police force was used against the students and numerous arrests were made at the Krasnodar Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute and the pedagogical tekhnikum at Poltavska *Stanytsia* in the Kuban region in November 1932. Since that time, with the sole exception of the two war years (see p. 356), Ukrainians living in the USSR but outside the Ukrainian SSR have been totally deprived of education in Ukrainian schools, and their language is not even taught as a subject in local Russian schools.

Attempts at Russification became pronounced also in changes introduced into the school curricula and textbooks. The teaching of Ukraine's history and culture as separate subjects in secondary schools of the Ukrainian SSR, even in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist principles, ceased in the 1934–5 school year (to be partially revived, after prolonged demands, in 1961–2). Instead, historical interpretation of the tsarist empire in a positive light was introduced in all schools, following the 1934 instructions of Stalin, Kirov, and Zhdanov. During 1938–58 the teaching of history in all Soviet schools turned into an outright glorification of Russian imperialism and chauvinism. Then, by a secret decision of the CC CPSU of March 13, 1938 (not publicly revealed until 1955) "Concerning the Study of the Russian Language in Schools of the National Republics of the USSR," compulsory study of Russian in schools of all levels was decreed for the first time. The government of the Ukrainian SSR and the CC CPU, in their turn, issued a joint decree on April 24, 1938, prescribing that the study of Russian on a compulsory basis begin in all Ukrainian elementary schools in grade II and in all seven-grade schools in grade III. (Ukrainian was made a compulsory subject in all Russian schools of the Ukrainian SSR at the same time.) At the XIV CPU Congress in June 1938, Nikita Khrushchev denounced "sabotage" in the study of Russian at the tekhnikums and higher educational institutions of the Ukrainian SSR, and the congress resolved to foster their Russification.

Large numbers of Ukrainian educators perished in the purges of the terror of the 1930's. They were replaced by new personnel, teachers and professors who were afraid to lecture in Ukrainian. No one dared any longer to demand it from them. Thus, even without overt governmental decrees, higher educational institutions and secondary schools in the urban centers of the Ukrainian SSR gradually changed from Ukrainian to Russian as the language of instruction.

In the school year 1940–1, there were 18,634 Ukrainian schools in the Ukrainian SSR (excluding Western Ukraine), 2,362 Russian, 53 Moldavian, 19 Yiddish, 13 Uzbek, and a few others. Compared with the early 1930's, when the peak in the Ukrainization of schools had been

reached, there was a decline not only in the number of Ukrainian schools, but also in that of Yiddish, German, and Polish schools, which succumbed to the policy of Russification. By 1940, Ukrainian as the language of instruction remained in no more than 44 per cent of all institutions of higher learning.

**Social Discrimination**

Unlike national discrimination, social discrimination in education became especially acute in the late 1920's and early 1930's. Children of "class enemies" (well-to-do peasants, merchants, clergy, members of the armed forces of the Ukrainian National Republic, and the émigrés) could acquire secondary education only with great difficulty. They were officially barred from pursuing higher education. In the course of the collectivization of agriculture, any peasant who in the slightest way opposed collective farming was officially pronounced a *kurkul* (rich peasant) and his children were expelled from school. In the course of the political terror of the 1930's, children of the imprisoned "enemies of the people" were automatically expelled from the higher educational institutions (though not from secondary schools). In addition to this politically motivated discrimination, there was an official discriminatory policy in accepting students to institutions of higher learning, with preference given to workers over peasants. Beginning in 1928, the official rule was that no less than 65 per cent of those entering these institutions must be of the workers' class. In practice, however, this percentage was never attained (maximum was 63.0 per cent in 1933). The children of salaried employees gradually pushed the workers' children out. The children of peasants were openly discriminated against until 1938, when the classification of students by social origin was formally abolished.

Towards the end of the 1930's, secondary and higher education, along with party membership, became the main avenue of social advancement. Competition for admission to the institutions of higher learning increased in intensity, especially after the abolition of the classification of students by social class origin. To withstand the pressure, the USSR government in October 1940 restored tuition in grades VIII–X of the secondary schools and in tekhnikums and higher educational institutions. Annual fees ranged between 150 and 200 rubles in secondary schools and tekhnikums, and 300 to 500 in institutions of higher learning. These fees were approximately equal to the monthly wage of a worker and an employee. At the same time, scholarships in higher educational institutions were limited to outstanding students, with marks not less than one-third "excellent" and none below "good." Since there were no scholarships in secondary schools, children of lower-income families had a relatively small chance of attaining higher education. These policies continued unchanged until 1956.

**Changes in the School System**

After a number of experiments, the system of education in the Ukrainian SSR has since 1936 been virtually identical with that of the rest of the USSR. General education was subdivided into three levels: (1) elementary school i.e. grades I–IV; (2) junior or incomplete secondary school comprising grades I–VII; and (3) complete secondary school with grades I–X. Children were admitted to school at the age of eight. Elementary education was compulsory in rural areas and incomplete secondary in urban areas; this was general by the end of the 1930's.

Graduates from the incomplete secondary schools had the right to bid for admission either to grades VIII–X of the complete secondary school or to professional secondary schools and tekhnikums. Graduation from the ten-grade school gave the right to compete for admission to institutions of higher learning. However, as late as 1937, no more than 50.4 per cent of all those accepted by non-military higher educational institutions

of the Ukrainian SSR were regular secondary school graduates. The rest were industrial and party workers and those who had secured permits to study under the discriminatory quota system.

Since the general level of literacy and Communist indoctrination increased considerably towards the end of the 1930's, the above-mentioned "workers' faculties" were gradually eliminated and finally abolished in 1940. Some secondary night schools for adults remained, but their quality was extremely poor. The institutes of social education were transformed in 1933–5 into four-year pedagogical institutes preparing teachers for secondary schools and tekhnikums. Two-year teachers' institutes prepared teachers for elementary and incomplete secondary schools.

The few institutes of professional education that remained under the Ukrainian Commissariat of Education were merged and became universities in 1933. Four state universities were thus established: in Kiev, Kharkiv, Odessa, and Dnipropetrovske. Their task was to train instructors for the scientific research institutes, tekhnikums, and selected secondary schools.

**Vocational Education**

The main sources of skilled labor for the rapidly growing industry during the 1930's were the tekhnikums and the FZU schools, which drew their students from the graduates of the seven-grade schools. The tekhnikums (mostly three-year schools) were highly specialized institutions subordinate to the appropriate industrial commissariat. There were mechanical, mining, transportation, agricultural, banking, medical, veterinary, and numerous other types of tekhnikums.

With the approach of war, however, the supply of labor from the tekhnikums was insufficient, and the FZU schools were inefficient and rather irregular in instruction. Accordingly, on October 2, 1940, a new institution was established by decree: the State Labor Reserves of the USSR. Almost all vocational training schools below the level of tekhnikum were placed under the jurisdiction of this institution; they were radically reorganized and centralized. New labor reserve schools were based on compulsory drafting of young men and women in the 14 to 17 age group. Each collective farm was to send two youths per 100 adult members to these schools each year; in urban communities, all secondary school pupils of the required age whose marks were below "good" were subject to the draft. Training in labor reserve schools lasted from one-half to two years, depending on the type of the school. After graduation, students were obliged to work in places to which they were assigned by the Ministry of Labor Reserves in Moscow. They did not complete their formal general education, and they could not change jobs without permission. The compulsory aspects of labor reserve schools were not eased until after 1950. In March 1955 the draft was abolished altogether. Instead, new methods combining pressure and incentives known as "organized solicitation" (*orhnabir*) were introduced to lure young people into vocational training. In July 1959, the whole system of vocational training was transferred to the jurisdiction of a state committee of the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, which is directed in its work by a corresponding committee in the Council of Ministers of the USSR. The labor reserve schools were transformed into urban and rural professional-technical schools (*uchylyshcha*) with one to three years of study.

**Educational Methods**

In its resolution of October 5, 1931, the CC CPSU condemned all previous experiments in education based on the utopian assumption of the "withering away" of the school as an institution. A gradual return to the old time-tested methods of education followed in subsequent years. First the subject system was firmly re-established and rigorous

examinations were reintroduced. In 1935 each type of school began to operate according to unified programs of instruction and standardized textbooks, screened and approved by the appropriate government commissariats. As a result, the quality of education improved considerably, especially in the mathematical, natural, and technological sciences. The humanities and social sciences continued to lag behind world standards for obvious political reasons. There was also a marked qualitative difference between urban and rural schools; the latter were usually small, underequipped, and underfinanced.

Communist indoctrination permeated all lectures in secondary schools in the 1930's. Even in biology and mathematics classes, ideological postulates of the CPSU and Stalin's personal pronouncements had to be evoked time and again. In the humanities and history, xenophobia was fostered; mistrust and suspicion of everything "foreign" and "capitalist" was emphasized. The extracurricular activities were channeled through the Young Pioneers organization and the Komsomol. Most of the pupils in grades IV–VI had to belong to the "pioneers"; those in grades VII–X were selected for membership in the Komsomol. Throughout the 1930's members of these organizations were systematically indoctrinated in Communist hero worship, vigilance against alleged spies and saboteurs, denunciation of every one who looked politically suspicious or disloyal, including one's own parents, neighbors, and friends. Such psychoneurotic behavior was openly conditioned by assorted rewards and punishments, with publicity an added inducement.

An innovation in the curriculum in the middle of the 1930's was the introduction of physical education as a compulsory subject in grades V–X and in all establishments of higher education. In the course of time, physical education acquired clearly militaristic features and by 1939–40 students were being taught sharpshooting, throwing hand grenades, etc. for two hours each week.

Higher education became further centralized after 1930, when the rectors of the institutes were replaced by directors who were made personally responsible for the conduct of their schools. Institute directors were appointed by the corresponding people's commissariats. Rectors remained only in the universities. The deans of faculties were also appointed by the corresponding people's commissariats. Autonomy and academic freedom of any kind were not recognized as far as higher educational institutions were concerned. The educational processes in the latter were methodologically the same as in the secondary schools: instructors had to teach in strict accordance with the course programs and textbooks approved by the appropriate people's commissariats. Almost simultaneously all over the Soviet Union a course of the same title was taught in the same way and according to the same textbook. All final examinations, called "state examinations," have been prepared by the USSR Committee for Higher Education since 1936. There were no elective courses, and the attendance at the institutes was as strictly disciplined as in the secondary schools. There was no student self-government. No student organizations were allowed to function, with the exception of a few sports organizations. All extracurricular activities were conducted and supervised by the Komsomol.

This educational system was also imposed on the occupied western Ukrainian territories in 1939–40. As a result of the annexation of Western Ukraine, the number of universities increased by two: one at Lviv and one at Chernivtsi.

*I. Bakalo*

## FROM 1941 TO 1958

The retreat of the Communists from Ukraine in the wake of the German attack in 1941 generated genuine expecta-

tions among Ukrainians that education would now improve qualitatively and be allowed to develop freely. Indeed, in the first few months of German military occupation, the school system at all levels (including universities) was partially restored by the spontaneous action of the local population, aided in some cases by political émigrés returning from exile in Western Europe. However, the German civilian administration soon shattered all hope. Most of those Ukrainians who initiated the reopening of schools and higher educational establishments were confined in jails and concentration camps, and some of them were shot by the Nazis [Vol. I, pp. 880b–882a]. All schools above the four-grade level were closed immediately and their pupils were permitted to enroll only in the vocational training schools. Beginning in March 1942, some as young as fourteen were drafted for forced labor in Germany. During the war and the occupation, many school buildings (7,616) were demolished or burned to the ground (for schools in Western Ukraine under the Germans, see p. 388).

In order to placate the Ukrainians evacuated to the eastern parts of the USSR, the Moscow government opened some schools in these areas with Ukrainian as the language of instruction and placed them under the jurisdiction of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR in exile. During 1942 and 1943, there were 71 such schools and individual Ukrainian classes in the RSFSR, with a total of 7,810 pupils; there were also 64 Ukrainian schools and classes in Kazakhstan, a few in Uzbekistan and other eastern republics.

Thirty-two of the higher educational institutions evacuated to the eastern regions of the USSR continued to function as separate establishments (including the United Ukrainian State University at Kzyl-Orda, Kazakhstan, which united Kiev and Kharkiv universities). Seventeen others were attached to local institutions in the RSFSR and the central Asian republics. However, after the return of these institutions to Ukraine, Ukrainian education in the RSFSR and other Soviet republics was discontinued in 1944.

Upon the return of the Soviets to Ukraine, reconstruction of the school system proceeded rapidly along prewar lines. Because of the shortage of state funds, the population was called upon to rebuild many schools at their own expense. By 1950 the government had built 982 new schools, the population 741, and the collective farms 1,662. Some 26,000 school buildings were also repaired by the people. School absenteeism and drop-outs, which amounted to almost 400,000 or 7 per cent of the total number of pupils in 1947–8, were gradually eliminated. There were plans for the attainment of general seven-grade education by 1950, but the goal came close to being reached only in the urban areas. Enrollment in grades VIII–X increased from 8.4 per cent of the total number of pupils in 1940–1 (4.0 per cent in 1950–1) to 13.8 per cent in 1958–9. The number of complete secondary schools increased from 3,223 to 6,667 between 1950 and 1958.

During this difficult postwar period, a large proportion of young people passed the regular school age without completing a normal education. For them night schools were organized by the government decrees of September 1943 and August 1944. Urban night schools are called Schools for Workers' Youth, and those in rural areas, Schools for Peasant Youth. There were 876 urban schools in 1950–1 with 158,200 students, and as many as 2,070 with 654,000 students in 1964–5; in rural areas there were 4,020 and 3,536 schools, respectively, with 128,400 and 179,300 students, respectively. The growth of these schools in modern times reflects the difficult social position of young people, who must work during the day to earn their living. Some 77 per cent of students in these schools were enrolled in grades IX–XI in 1964–5,

which means that they were striving to obtain secondary education (there were also, in 1964–5, 445 night schools for adults with an enrollment of 428,600, some 70 per cent of them in grades IX–XI).

As before the war, tekhnikums continued to lead among the secondary professional institutions. There were 532 secondary professional schools with 164,100 students in 1946, and 588 with 351,100 students in 1959. Night and correspondence secondary professional schools represented a new postwar development with enrollments of 13.8 and 24.7 per cent of the total number of students, respectively, in 1958.

In terms of student enrollment, the system of higher education attained the prewar level by 1950–1. The number of higher educational institutions decreased, however, from 173 in 1940–1 to 160 in 1950–1, and 140 in 1958–9 (enrollment

FIGURE 137. A BUILDING OF THE IVAN FRANKO UNIVERSITY IN LVIV

was 196,800, 201,500, and 381,100, respectively). Many similar institutes were merged and consolidated. One new university—in Uzhhorod—was established in 1945, thus increasing the total in the Ukrainian SSR to seven. As in the case of secondary professional education, night and correspondence departments in the institutes and universities grew in importance. Of the total number of students in 1958–9, 7.3 per cent were enrolled in night and 37 per cent in correspondence departments. These were students who worked during the day. Only 55.7 per cent were able to attend day classes.

The period 1946–53 was characterized by an unusually intensive, officially sponsored propaganda campaign of Russian chauvinism in the USSR, associated with the activities of the second secretary of the CC CPSU, Andrew Zhdanov, in Moscow, and the first secretaries of the CC CPU, N. Khrushchev, Lazar Kaganovich, and Leonid Melnikov in Ukraine [Vol. I, pp. 896–8, 904–5]. All things Russian, especially culture and language, were pronounced "superior" to everything non-Russian not only inside the USSR but the world over.

There was a severe teacher shortage, especially in the upper grades of the secondary schools and in institutions of higher learning. In 1946, only 72 per cent of the prewar teachers were still available. There was also an acute shortage of textbooks, especially for Ukrainian schools. Stalin's overt glorification of the "great Russian people" facilitated and pushed Russification of the schools in Ukraine. The percentage of pupils studying in Russian schools increased from 14 per cent in 1938–9 (i.e., when Western Ukraine was not part of the Ukrainian SSR) to 17.6 per cent in 1950–1 (i.e., including Western Ukraine, but without the Crimea), and to 24.8–26.3 per cent in 1955–6 (with the Crimea, where Russian schools predominate). (The variance in the 1955–6 data is due to confusing official reporting on the types of schools included in the totals. Some statistics include the "schools for workers and peasant youth," others do not.) In addition to 2,836 Russian schools in 1950–1, there were also 319 Moldavian (Rumanian), Hungarian, and Polish schools, whereas all of the 231 Jewish schools which had functioned mostly

in Western Ukraine, in 1940–1 were abolished.

Statistics on the degree of Russification in the higher and special educational institutions have not been published. It can be assumed that the number increased considerably, especially after the 1946 centralization of decision-making powers in Moscow. In March 1946, the USSR Ministry of Higher Education was created in Moscow. As a result, all universities, polytechnical, engineering, agricultural, and economic-financial institutes in Ukraine were placed under its jurisdiction. The Kiev government retained jurisdiction only over the pedagogical, medical, and art institutes. Moscow seems to have discriminated against higher education in Ukraine in this period: while the total student enrollment here only increased from 196,775 to 201,544 between 1940–1 and 1950–1 (in the RSFSR, from 478,077 to 796,744), the number of applicants for admission was 63 per cent greater than the number admitted in 1950–1, in spite of the fact that the admission quota was actually exceeded by more than 35 per cent. The low quality of instruction in Ukraine was evident from the fact that more than 60 per cent of the faculty had neither degrees nor professorial rank. In January 1955, the Ministry of Higher Education was reestablished in the government of the Ukrainian SSR, but its powers were greatly curtailed.

**Sovietization of Western Ukraine**

The incorporation of Western Ukraine constituted a difficult problem for the Soviet regime in the postwar period, not only because of the activities of the anti-Soviet guerrillas (the Ukrainian Insurgent Army [Vol. I, pp. 900–3]), but also because the Soviet way of life was entirely alien to the local population. The school system was assigned the specific task of re-educating, if not the old, then at least the young generation. However, the school system itself needed revamping first. According to official statistics, as many as two-thirds of all the teachers in Western Ukraine employed in the 1945–6 school year did not qualify under accepted Soviet standards. They had to undergo a thought reform, as it were, to purge themselves of the philosophy of pre-Soviet education and of their nationalistic and religious beliefs. The teachers were required to attend special courses and pass various examinations. But, even after such thorough retraining, many of them were dismissed or retired after a few years, and in their place—to expand the school system as a whole—35,399 new teachers were brought into Western Ukraine from the east between 1945–6 and 1950–1. In the meantime, the children's attendance at school was poor, as was the quality of instruction. The percentage of Ukrainian-language schools increased between 1940–1 and 1946–7 from 86 to 93.3 per cent (excluding the Transcarpathian *oblast*). The exchange of population between Poland and the Ukrainian SSR reduced the number of Polish schools in the area, while the need to placate Ukrainian nationalists and to reeducate their children contributed to this increase.

In higher education, instead of the less than a dozen institutions before 1939 most of which Ukrainians were not allowed to attend, 22 were created after 1945, most of which initially offered courses in Ukrainian. However, during 1949–52 these, too, were staffed chiefly with Russians and Russian became the language of instruction. During a brief period of the post-Stalin "thaw," L. Melnikov was censured and dismissed for fostering Russification of the educational system in Western Ukraine [Vol. I, pp. 905–7].

Of practical consequence was the Soviet government's successful campaign to eliminate illiteracy among the adults in western Ukraine. This campaign, started in 1948, aimed only at adults who were under 50 years of age. By 1954 illiteracy in this age group was largely

eliminated by means of compulsory attendance of night schools and special courses. The number of those affected was about 750,000.

## FROM 1959 TO 1969

Towards the end of the 1950's, pressures to reform the existing school system were strongly expressed in various ways in the USSR. Only 35–40 per cent of the graduates of the fast-growing system of secondary education could be absorbed by the existing establishments of higher education. The remaining graduates were neither willing nor prepared to enter productive employment in factories and on farms. Under Stalin, secondary schools tended more and more towards the standards of the tsarist gymnasiums. Formal polytechnical education prepared students for advanced studies, but failed to teach them the realities of life and a practical attitude towards work. Nor did it furnish them with any useful skills or profession.

FIGURE 138. KIEVAN POLYTECHNICAL INSTITUTE

### The 1959 School Reform

On April 17, 1959, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR passed the law "On Strengthening the Ties between School and Life, and on Further Developing the System of Public Education," which was based on a similar federal law passed by the USSR Supreme Soviet in December 1958. On the basis of this law, the seven-year incomplete secondary (grades I–VII) and the ten-year complete secondary (grades I–X) schools were to be transformed into eight-year and eleven-year "general education labor-polytechnical schools with production training." Universal compulsory education was to be extended through grade VIII (fulfilled in 1960–1). Complete secondary education, grades IX–XI, was to be obtained in either the new eleven-year schools, evening schools for workers and peasant youth, or secondary specialized schools and tekhnikums, all providing access to higher education. The added year, however, was to be allotted to several semester courses (two days per week) teaching the fundamentals of industrial and/or agricultural production techniques either in schools or in factories and on farms. The graduates of such an extended secondary education were supposed to acquire industrial or agricultural skills in such courses and to be able to work productively upon graduation.

The law also provided that up to 80 per cent of students completing secondary education should work for not less than two years in some productive employment before entering institutions of higher learning. Their admittance would be based not only upon their performance at the entrance examinations, but also upon the recommendations of the Communist party, trade union, and/or the factory management for which they had worked. The remaining 20 per cent of the graduates, to be admitted directly from the secondary to higher schools, would be the most talented students, generally in scientific and technological fields.

The reform was almost completely abandoned after a trial of several years. Grade XI in the secondary schools was abolished in August 1964 because it was found to be too burdensome for the pupils. Vocational training in industrial and agricultural jobs was made voluntary and elective largely because it did not produce the expected results. Even those few pupils who were trained in the fac-

tories as part of their secondary school curriculum failed to acquire the necessary skills, while those who were required to learn the skill in school laboratories showed no progress at all.

In 1966–7 the prerequisite of two-year employment before admission to higher education was also declared no longer obligatory (but desirable), thus giving preference for admission to those candidates who did not work. Emphasis on extension and correspondence education was also officially admitted to be wrong, and schools were instructed to foster and develop regular daytime, full-time education. Two important elements of the 1959 reform remained intact, however: universal compulsory education was extended to eight years, instead of seven; and tuition fees in secondary schools, tekhnikums, and higher education establishments were not reinstated.

The 1959 school reform law provided for the first time that Ukrainian language and literature need no longer be a compulsory subject in the Russian schools of the Ukrainian SSR. It left the decision to the parents. Thus Ukrainian was no longer an obligatory language of the republic. On the other hand, there was no question as to whether or not Russian language and literature should be a voluntary, elective subject in Ukrainian schools. In the public debate preceding the passing of the law, many leading Ukrainians (among them the poet Maksym Rylsky) spoke in favor of preserving both languages as compulsory subjects in all schools, but with Khrushchev's aid the Russian chauvinist line won out. At the same time, a propaganda campaign was launched by the Communist party insisting that the Ukrainians had two mother tongues—Ukrainian and Russian.

In this atmosphere the pressure for the Russification of schools increased. Presumably, parents and local government councils were free to decide in which language the newly constructed schools should be conducted. In the school system administered by the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, the proportion of schools conducted in Ukrainian declined from 85.3 per cent in 1955–6 to 81.1 per cent in 1967–8. The proportion of Russian schools probably increased accordingly. Protests and demands for Ukrainian schools were qualified as "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism," and sometimes brought punishment.

The proportion of pupils now attending Ukrainian schools must be considerably smaller than the proportion of Ukrainian schools, because schools outside the system of the Ukrainian SSR's Ministry of Education as well as most complete secondary and workers' youth schools in urban centers are probably conducted in Russian, while schools in Ukrainian are for the most part the incomplete secondary type located in rural areas. However, official statistics on this subject have not been released since 1956.

Of much greater practical consequence than the danger of Russification is the qualitative discrimination against Ukrainian schools. Since they predominate in rural areas and in small towns, their finances are meager, and the quality of their teachers, laboratories, and equipment is poor. It is very difficult for their graduates to compete for admission to schools of higher education, which are conducted for the most part in Russian and are open to candidates from the entire Soviet Union, even to those from abroad. As a rule, Moscow and other Russian universities administer their entrance examinations a month or so earlier than those in the Ukrainian SSR. Russian students not admitted to Moscow University have ample time to apply to Kiev University and other Ukrainian institutions of higher learning. Since most of them come from urban centers and relatively better financed secondary schools, they often outscore Ukrainian candidates arriving from villages and small towns. Statistics on the nationality of advanced students in the Ukrainian SSR are very

scarce. The last set published in detail and referring to the year 1955–6, showed that in the day-session courses Ukrainians made up only 61.5 per cent of all registered students (in science and technology-oriented institutions only 51.8 per cent). Russian students made up 29 and 36.3 per cent, respectively, Jews 6.2 and 8.4 per cent, respectively.

In 1938, Ukrainians made up 54.2 per cent of the total student enrollment in the Ukrainian SSR; in 1960–1, the percentage was 67.1, while their proportion in the Ukrainian SSR's population in 1959 was 76.8 per cent. In the USSR as a whole the percentage of Ukrainian among students was 14.5 per cent in 1960–1, their proportion in the population 17.8 per cent.

Since local government in the USSR lacks taxing powers, schools are financed from the centralized state budget allotted in strictly limited quotas to the local school boards.

**Preschool Child Care**

The facilities on this level consist of crèches and nurseries for children from a few months to three years of age, and nursery schools and kindergartens for those up to six years of age. Most of these establishments operate on a full-day schedule of nine to twelve hours; some are boarding schools operating five or six days a week. Parents are required to pay about one-third of the actual cost of maintenance; the balance is covered by the enterprise operating the nursery—usually the factory, plant, or collective farm in which the parents are employed. Some nurseries are also maintained by the trade unions, local educational authorities, cooperatives, etc. In 1966, there were 10,612 establishments of this type in the Ukrainian SSR, with 1,086,500 children in attendance; of these, 6,979 with 925,200 children were located in the urban centers, the rest in rural areas. During the summer, however, the number and size of the rural establishments usually increase. Guidance and instruction in these establishments are directed by the Ukrainian SSR's Ministry of Education. Development of the spoken language, singing, drawing, and learning various Communist slogans and poems by heart are stressed. Most urban nurseries are conducted in Russian. The ministry's periodical for preschool-age children, the illustrated magazine *Maliatko* (The Baby), appears in Ukrainian.

**Elementary and Secondary Schools**

Schools at this level consist of (1) regular day schools, some with alternating shifts, which subdivide into three categories: (a) complete secondary or ten-year schools (grades I–X), (b) incomplete secondary or eight-year schools (grades I–VIII), and (c) elementary or four-year schools (grades I–IV); (2) night-shift secondary schools for (a) workers and (b) peasant youth, each lasting three-years (grades IX–X); (3) boarding eight- and ten-year schools; (4) special secondary ten-year schools for (a) military and naval cadets, (b) training in foreign languages and/or specialized sciences and arts, and (c) defective children. Basic statistics for these schools are shown in Table VI. (It can not be ascertained whether these statistics include military cadet schools. Schools for workers and peasant youth are not included.) The distribution of students by grades in the above table in 1964–5 was as follows: in urban areas, grades I–IV—42.75 per cent, grades V–VIII—41.6 per cent, grades IX–XI—15.65 per cent; in rural areas, grades I–IV—46.7 per cent, grades V–VIII—44.56 per cent, grades IX–XI—8.73 per cent. (Grade XI, although abolished, had a graduating class in 1964–5.)

Boarding schools were started in 1956. There were 545 in 1964–5 with 221,000 pupils. For the most part, they resemble private schools in the West: they charge tuition; children stay in them through the whole semester; they are very often located in resort environments. Demand for them is very high, but the supply is

TABLE VI

| School year | Number of schools: Total number | Elementary | Incomplete secondary | Secondary | For defectives |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1950–1 | 31,055 | 14,776 | 12,951 | 3,223 | 105 |
| 1958–9 | 30,705 | 12,990 | 10,880 | 6,667 | 168 |
| 1967–8 | 29,267 | 10,487 | 11,517 | 6,930 | 333 |

| School year | Number of pupils (in thousands): Total number | Elementary | Incomplete secondary | Secondary | For defectives |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1950–1 | 6,841.9 | 981.3 | 3,715.3 | 2,127.1 | 18.2 |
| 1958–9 | 5,573.9 | 543.1 | 1,766.8 | 3,244.4 | 19.6 |
| 1967–8 | 7,495.5 | 422.9 | 2,704.3 | 4,313.1 | 55.2 |

| School year | Number of teachers (in thousands): Total number | Elementary | Incomplete secondary | Secondary | For defectives |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1950–1 | 283.5 | 36.2 | 157.3 | 88.5 | 1.5 |
| 1958–9 | 362.1 | 28.3 | 125.9 | 205.0 | 2.9 |
| 1967–8 | 447.7 | 22.6 | 178.6 | 239.9 | 6.6 |

TABLE VII

| School year | Number of schools: Total | Workers' youth | Peasant youth | Adults |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1950–1 | 4,906 | 876 | 4,020 | 10 |
| 1958–9 | 3,761 | 1,483 | 2,238 | 40 |
| 1967–8 | 3,591 | 1,823 | 1,263 | 505 |

| School year | Number of students (in thousands): Total | Workers' youth | Peasant youth | Adults |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1950–1 | 291.8 | 158.2 | 128.4 | 5.2 |
| 1958–9 | 361.0 | 272.1 | 71.2 | 17.7 |
| 1967–8 | 1,026.9 | 522.3 | 70.0 | 434.6 |

strictly limited. In 1960, semi-boarding schools, called "schools with a prolonged day," were introduced in some cities. Their students remain in school all day, study, play, and prepare their homework there, and go home only in the evening. However, because of lack of space, equipment and personnel, the organization of these schools has not been very successful; they have often become only second-shift classes in the same buildings. There were approximately 200 special secondary schools conducted partly or wholly in foreign languages (English, German, French, Chinese) to train language specialists at an early age. Other special schools were designed for bright youngsters, talented in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, or various arts. One such physico-mathematical preparatory school is attached to the Kiev state university.

The night-shift secondary schools for workers' and peasant youth and for adults are characterized by the data in Table VII.

**Curriculum, Theory, and Methods**

The basic curriculum in Soviet Ukrainian schools, with 24 periods a week in elementary and 30 to 34 periods in secondary schools, is standardized and demanding. The programs are essentially the same throughout the country, with variations deliberately minimized. All final examinations are prepared by the Ministry of Education. All textbooks must be published with the ministry's explicit approval. Mathematics, the heart and soul of Soviet education, is studied for ten years, physics and a foreign language (German, English, or French—in this order of frequency) for six, and chemistry for four. In addition, there is a heavy load of the Ukrainian and Russian languages and literatures, USSR and Ukrainian SSR history, geography, biology, some astronomy, sociology, music, art, mechanical drawing, and physical education. In 1968, military training was added to the curriculum as a compulsory one-year subject.

Soviet educational theory emphasizes learning and knowledge rather than the development of capacity for independent, creative thought. The curriculum is compulsory. In 1966–7, for the first time, pupils in grades IX and X were allowed four hours of elective courses. Nevertheless, the Soviet school is well known for its ability to inspire love of learning in youngsters. The main reason seems to be its deliberate preference and incentive for erudition, voracious reading, and exclusive sports such as chess. On the other hand, the written word is neglected in the Soviet school. Long hours are allocated to the fine points of grammar, but little time is spent on composition.

The urge to learn fostered in the schools is reinforced by their constant appeal to the parents. If the pupil's efforts lag, the parents are called to the school by the principal or his assistants and lectured. Parents as a group meet periodically with their children's teachers. The progress and failures of pupils are openly discussed and parents are criticized in such assemblies. Students failing the examinations are left for the second and even third year in the same grade. They pass—or else! Drop-outs are persuaded by all means to return to school, sometimes even by prosecuting the parents in court.

The school system also generates pressure on teachers for maximum performance. Each school principal has sweeping powers of hiring and dismissal, limited only by the veto of the teacher's trade union. In spite of their high status in Soviet Ukrainian society, teachers' salaries are very low—about $80–100 per month, or about five times less than the salary of a university professor (before 1966, a teacher's salary was 20–25 per cent lower). Basic classroom teaching requires eighteen hours a week, plus long hours of overtime for extra pay. Conditions in rural schools are considerably worse than in urban schools.

Seventy per cent of the total teaching body of the Ukrainian SSR were women in 1964–5.

**Vocational and Semi-Professional Schools and Tekhnikums**

There are three types of school in this category. The lowest type—skilled-labor training schools, called *uchylyshcha*—accept graduates of the eight-year school, and train them for two–three years in the cities and one–two years in the country in vocational and technical skills such as operating a lathe, driving a truck or tractor, baking bread, cutting garments, taking care of calves and pigs. Regular tekhnikums, which are in the second category, accept graduates of the eight-year school and train them for two–four years in somewhat more complicated professions (electrician, hospital nurse, linotypist, laboratory technician). Secondary professional schools are tekhnikums of the advanced category. They accept graduates of the ten-year school and train them for approximately two years to become elementary school teachers, computer programmers, labora-

FIGURE 139. POLYTECHNICAL INSTITUTE IN KHARKIV

tory technicians, or bank clerks. Tekhnikums and vocational training schools are operated, administered, and financed by the numerous ministries having jurisdiction over a particular segment of the economy or public service. However, all their programs, teaching methods and aids, curricula, and enrollment plans are determined and controlled by the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education.

In 1967–8, there were 740 such tekhnikums and schools in the Ukrainian SSR with 755,700 students enrolled, compared to 588 and 351,100, respectively, in 1958–9. Only 50 per cent of the total number of students studied full time in day sessions; the other half were night-school and correspondence students. The student body was divided into the following specialized categories: various industries and construction, 45.3 per cent; agriculture and forestry, 15.20 per cent; commerce, business, government, and law, 13.35 per cent; health services and sports, 9.57 per cent; transportation and communications, 9.24 per cent; education and library service, 4.8 per cent; applied arts, 2.59 per cent.

**Professional Military and Party Education**

In accordance with the new Military Draft Law of October 12, 1967, obligatory predraft military education has been introduced in all general secondary, professional, and vocational training schools. Comprising the principles of military science, tactics, logistics, and civil defense, it starts in the ninth grade and lasts for two years. All male students 17 years of age and over are required to attend classes, which are conducted by professional instructors appointed by the USSR Ministry of Defense. Furthermore, upon graduation from the secondary schools and other educational institutions, all males 18 years of age and over are obliged under the law to serve in the armed forces (two years in the army and air force, three years in the navy). Students in the higher educational establishments are either deferred until graduation or attend parallel schools for noncommissioned officers. The avoidance of draft is severely punished in the USSR as a criminal offense against the State.

Military education in the Ukrainian SSR is available in three types of schools. There are special secondary schools named after General Suvorov and Admiral Nakhimov (both Russian imperial heros) for boys entering officer careers in ground, air, and naval forces. For all practical purposes, these schools are equivalent to the regular ten-year school, although there is no first grade and a considerable part of the curriculum is devoted to special military subjects and intensive physical and military training. These schools are known as "schools of closed access" (*zakryti shkoly*). Theoretically entrance to them is restricted to the descendants of members of the Soviet armed forces killed-in-action, but practically and predominantly they are for sons of the Soviet military élite. All classes are conducted in Russian.

The second type of military school is the semi-professional military tekhnikum which prepares company-level commissioned officers and admits graduates from the eight-year schools. Security police also operate a network of schools at this level.

The third type, called *uchylyshcha*, provide training regarded as fully equivalent to higher education. At least nine such military schools were known to exist in Ukraine in 1966, specializing in the preparation of officers for various branches of the armed forces (tank, artillery, rockets, navy, fighter aviation, engineering and communications). Military academies, however, are all located in Russia.

The Communist party operates a network of schools of its own. Graduates do not obtain ranking degrees but are eligible for important positions in the management of enterprises and institutions and in government. These schools also graduate personnel for the Party's own apparatus, as well as numerous professional propagandists. The highest Party schools are located in Moscow; the Ukrainian CP has in Kiev a party school preparing second-echelon cadres.

**Higher Education**

The system of higher education is made up at present of three types of institutions: (1) universities, (2) specialized institutes, and (3) the so-called *aspirantura* at the universities and scholarly research centers, such as the institutes of the Academy of Sciences. There were eight universities in Ukraine in 1964–5, with 77,000 students (the eighth was the University of Donetske, established in 1964). With several colleges and scores of departments, these universities do not differ essentially from similar institutions abroad. The course of study lasts on the average five-and-a-half years (in some departments five, in others six). Upon graduation, however, diplomas or certificates, not degrees, are granted. The first degree—that of a "candidate" in one of the sciences or arts, an approximate equivalent of the British M.A. and/or American and German Ph.D.—can be earned only after the additional postgraduate study at the *aspirantura* for approximately three years in day sessions and four years while working at a job, and successful defense of a dissertation. For the highest Soviet degree—that of "doctor" of some science —no study at school is required. Since this is a scholarly degree, equivalent to a British doctorate, and usually qualitatively higher than a Ph.D., it requires high-quality, original, and independent research and publication of a number of studies, papers, and monographs. A doctoral student is allowed a year or two of fully paid vacation from his job. The degree is granted in recognition of a contribution to learning. There were only 23 institutions in the Ukrainian SSR in 1959 with the right to grant doctorates and "candidate" degrees, and 37 others which could grant the "candidate" degree only.

Ultimate control over the granting of titles of docents and professors as well as the degrees of candidates and doctors in Ukraine is vested, according to the USSR law of August 20, 1956, in the Supreme Accreditation Commission—the notorious VAK (Vsesoiuznaia Attestatsionnaia Komissiia)—of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education. Ukrainian institutions may formally elect faculty members to their ranks and may grant academic degrees, but the VAK in Moscow has the ultimate right of approval.

The institutes as a rule are much more specialized than the universities. There were 124 of them in the Ukrainian SSR in 1964–5, with about 566,800 students. Some of them, such as the polytechnical institutes, have many different departments; others may specialize narrowly on some sector of the national economy (e.g., transportation), public service (e.g., law), or field of science (e.g. ophthalmology). There are no similar

establishments in the West to which they can be compared. Only the medical institutes may resemble the medical colleges in the West. The engineering colleges of the western world usually offer more instruction in social sciences and humanities than do the Soviet engineering institutes, which specialize strictly in technology, science, or art.

The institutes in Ukraine train professional specialists in all fields. They graduate engineers of various types, physicians, economists, agronomists, business executives, biologists, movie directors, newspaper editors, theater actors, a wide range of teachers, etc. Persons who have successfully completed the required span of training (usually four to six years) must either pass state accrediting examinations or defend a thesis or a research project before a specially appointed board (sometimes both). If successful, they receive a diploma or certificate of accreditation in the specified profession. This gives them the right to work in this field.

Higher educational establishments in the Ukrainian SSR offer either regular programs of training or extension-correspondence training. Regular programs are offered either in day sessions or in the evenings. The total student body in 1967–8 in the Ukrainian SSR by programs follows: in regular day sessions, 41.42 per cent; in regular evening sessions, 15.72 per cent; in extension-correspondence divisions, 42.86 per cent. The corresponding percentages for 1958–9 were 55.71, 7.21, and 37.08 per cent.

The goal of Soviet higher education is usually defined in various authoritative statements (e.g., in the 1959 school reform law) as follows: "Training of highly qualified specialists, educated in the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, mastering the latest achievements of domestic and foreign science and technology, capable not only of utilizing contemporary technology but creating the technology of the future." There is little doubt that the goal is being achieved in the training of highly qualified technological specialists and scientists. Soviet Ukrainian schools train good engineers and medical specialists, biology and mathematics teachers. In the case of the social sciences, philosophy, humanities, and arts, the situation is radically different. Both general knowledge and methodological training are very poor. These disciplines are distorted and manipulated to maintain strict accordance with the current ideological policies and pronouncements of the Communist party. Students are prevented from learning facts which might be unpleasant for the Party. They are taught history and other subjects in which whole chapters are deliberately excluded, and sometimes skillfully falsified to a greater or lesser degree. Access to historical archives and to non-Soviet source material is limited to select individuals, working perhaps for a postgraduate degree. Libraries as a rule contain some closed stacks and files. The prospective user must fill in appropriate permission forms for entry.

The goal of educating all Soviet specialists in the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism is important. Indeed, in the total of curriculum hours in all fields of higher education, from 10 to 15 per cent of the time is devoted to compulsory courses in Communist ideology. At present, in all the higher educational institutions in Ukraine there are four compulsory courses in this field, viz., history of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, political economy, and the principles of scientific communism. In addition, some institutions offer as electives the principles of scientific atheism, ethics, and esthetics. (In tekhnikums, some 10 per cent of the curriculum time is taken up by obligatory courses of this kind.)

The methods employed in higher education in the Ukrainian SSR are basically similar to those employed in secondary education, already discussed. They guide the student to the maximization of knowledge and to the minimization of

independent or creative thinking. Curricula are standard and compulsory. The ten elective courses have been offered only since 1966. Instruction covers 34 weeks in a calendar year and consists for the most part of lectures or laboratory work. Seminars and discussions are held but are used considerably less than in the West. There are textbooks for almost all courses and all levels; free reading lists are given only in the *aspirantura*. Textbooks are highly standardized and published with the explicit approval of some ministry or university faculty; very seldom do they express the author's distinctive point of view. Examinations are held at the end of the spring and winter terms. Almost all engineering and technical institutes, not to mention the medical and pedagogical, require the students to take study-practice assignments of from two to six weeks at a factory or other establishment in his field of specialization.

A modern innovation, programmed teaching methods, began to spread through the Ukrainian SSR in 1965. By 1966, there were 13 establishments with teaching machines to aid instruction in some courses. Ukraine was producing its own machines of the Lastivka (Swallow) type, and, presumably, led the USSR in their application. Instruction by TV was also introduced at the universities of Kiev and Donetske in 1966. However, plant and equipment in most Ukrainian higher educational establishments was obsolete and overcrowded at that time. The university libraries and institute laboratories especially were poorly equipped.

**Planning of Admissions and the Allocation of Graduates**

Enrollment quotas for each profession and each educational establishment in the Ukrainian SSR, as throughout the USSR, are determined by the national economic plans drawn up by the state planning commissions of the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR, and handed down to the institutions by the respective ministries of higher and specialized secondary education. They are further determined and limited by appropriations from the state budget to the given institution. The applicants are free to choose their future professions and their place of study, but their choice is limited by the enrollment quota for the given profession at the given institution. Usually the number of applications is considerably larger than the facilities available.

The distribution of students according to specialization was as follows in 1967–8: various industries and construction, 41.87 per cent; education, 28.04 per cent; agriculture and forestry, 8.81 per cent; transportation and communications, 7.41 per cent; business, economics, and law, 6.89 per cent; health services, 5.63 per cent; arts and cinematography, 0.77 per cent; sports, 0.52 per cent; others, 0.06 per cent. The distribution of students admitted in 1967 to higher educational institutions of the Ukraine SSR according to nationality was as follows: Ukrainians, 61.0 per cent; Russians, 32.0 per cent; Jews, 3.8 per cent; others, 3.2 per cent. Thirty per cent of all those admitted came from parts of the USSR outside the Ukraine SSR.

Some categories of applicants enjoy special privileges. As of 1967, all demobilized and retired officers and even soldiers who re-enlisted for additional service in the armed forces and the security police and had an incomplete higher education could be admitted to higher educational establishments in unlimited numbers and without the entrance examinations. Other applicants without any higher education had to take the entrance examination, but upon passing it satisfactorily were to be admitted without competitive comparisons with other applicants.

The distribution of graduates of the higher educational institutions is also planned. According to a decree of the USSR government of May 22, 1948, all

individuals who complete higher studies are assigned to appropriate jobs by the Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education of the USSR. Before being assigned they are given one chance to choose the job from the choices offered by the ministry. If they fail to choose voluntarily, they are assigned to a job and are obliged to take it. Whether in a chosen or an assigned job, the graduate must remain for three consecutive years, whereupon he may transfer to any other job of his own choosing. The official explanation of this policy is that, since the graduate learned at the government's expense; it is his duty to work for the government for at least three years. In practice this allocation policy is used to send the graduates to unattractive jobs and areas (Siberia, the north, etc.). It is also used to intermix the nationalities, for example, Ukrainians are sent to Russia or Kazakhstan, Russians are sent to work in Ukraine.

The compulsory allocation policy applies also to the tekhnikum and other specialized secondary school graduates. Since 1955, the government of the Ukrainian SSR has acquired the right to allocate on its own the graduates of tekhnikums and higher educational institutions which are subject to the Ukrainian Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, with only a certain percentage of the total to be allocated outside the Ukrainian SSR by decision of the ministry in Moscow. However, since almost a half of all higher and specialized secondary educational institutions in the Ukrainian SSR are directly under the USSR Ministry of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education, it is Moscow which places graduates all over the USSR.

**Students and Faculty**

The student body in higher education has been growing rapidly in recent years (see Table VIII). Soviet Ukrainian sources claim that, per each 10,000 of the population, Ukraine has now three times more students in higher education than France, West Germany, or Italy. This may be true in part, although the exact comparability of the Soviet and West European statistics has not yet been demonstrated. On the other hand, the number of students in the RSFSR (per 10,000 of population) is one-fourth larger than in the Ukrainian SSR.

TABLE VIII

| | Total number of registered students | Number of newly admitted students | Number of graduates |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1958–9 | 381,117 | 76,394 | 55,866 |
| 1960–1 | 481,748 | 100,461 | 67,034 |
| 1964–5 | 643,803 | 144,943 | 66,053 |
| 1967–8 | 766,850 | 153,022 | 92,800 |

Only about half of all students in the Ukrainian SSR live in dormitories, the supply of which is inadequate. From 85 to 90 per cent of all students receive scholarships during their course of study. Some of the scholarships are provided by the factories and collective farms which sponsored the student and to which he is obliged to return after graduation. Most students, however, receive their scholarships from the government. The funds are allocated from the state budget to each educational institution and distributed on the spot by a special committee of the student trade union, dominated by Komsomol members. The scholarships are awarded for each semester. Scholarship students are required to pass examinations with "good" or "excellent" marks, to be active in public and political affairs, and to need financial assistance. The average scholarship is, however, quite small—about 30–35 rubles a month ($27–32). (The stipends of the industrial establishments are slightly higher than those of the government, and amount to about 40 rubles a month.) For those who do not live in dormitories the scholarship must also cover rent; for all others it pays for food, clothing, recreation, and books. The Komsomol has the right to raise and lower the scholarship amounts.

The social and political activities of students in the Ukrainian SSR are strictly limited. They are permitted to belong to professional societies and poetry clubs, but there are no fraternities and no legal political discussion clubs except the Komsomol, and the student trade union controlled by it. Student self-government in the Western sense is non-existent. Nevertheless, during the 1960's many Ukrainian students took part in a number of spontaneous demonstrations with political overtones in Kiev, Lviv, Odessa, and other cities. Arrests of students for Ukrainian "nationalism" and similar "sins" increased in frequency towards the end of the 1960's.

The faculty of Soviet Ukrainian establishments of higher learning has five ranks (approximate equivalent to the U.S. ranks in parentheses): professor (full professor), docent (associate professor), assistant (assistant professor), senior lecturer (instructor), and lecturer. Faculty vacancies are filled through competition, which is announced in the press. Candidates for a vacancy in the Ukrainian SSR may come from any part of the USSR. Voting by the faculty members is secret. Since 1965, members of the faculty have acquired right of tenure for the first time in many years. Before that (from 1953), all staff positions were considered vacant every five years, and competitions and elections followed.

Salaries of faculty members are fixed by the government. Compared with those of the rest of the society, they are high. A senior lecturer may receive $133 a month as the base rate; a docent, $255. The salary of any member who obtains a "candidate" degree is automatically doubled. Faculty members are permitted and even encouraged to solicit research and consulting jobs with industry and other outside employers.

The social status of faculty members in the Ukrainian SSR is of the highest order and most prestigious. Relations between faculty and students are formal and conservative compared to those in the West. The teaching load of the faculty is heavy. As a rule, assistants and senior lecturers teach up to 20–24 hours a week and have classes of over 100 students.

**Extracurricular Activities**

Political education is conducted by means of agitation and propaganda in cultural institutions, the cinema, and the press.

Development of these institutions is illustrated in Table IX below.

The cultural-educational institutions, even more than the establishments of professional education, are used by the Communist party to implement the policy of Russification. Thus, the supply of Ukrainian language books and publications is wholly inadequate to satisfy the needs of the Ukrainian population

TABLE IX

| Number | 1914 | 1927 | 1940 | 1950 | 1958 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mass libraries | 3.153 | 8.072 | 22.295 | 34.913 | 33.895 | 29.235 |
| Book volume (millions) | 1,9 | 16,6 | 36,7 | 42,9 | 170,6 | 228,7 |
| Clubs | — | 11.289 | 25.030 | 28.733 | 28.677 | 26.025 |
| Museums | 36 | 146 | 174 | 137 | 124 | 131 |
| Visitors (millions) | — | — | 5,4 | 3,9 | 6,1 | — |
| Theaters | 47 | 74 | 140 | 81 | 80 | 60 |
| Attendance (millions) | — | — | 14,2 | 20,8 | 14,3 | 15,5 |
| Movies | 265 | 1.860 | 5.822 | 7.188 | 12.776 | 26.271 |
| Viewers (millions) | — | — | 274,5 | 212,1 | 656,0 | 827 |
| Newspaper editions (millions) | 0,8* | 1,7† | 6,9 | 4,6 | 8,2 | 13,5 |
| Of these, in Ukrainian | — | — | — | 3,3 | 5,9 | 9,95 |

*Data for 1918.
†Data for 1928.

(see Books and the Press). Of 79 theaters, only 56 staged plays in Ukrainian. The dominant language in films is Russian.

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# 7. EDUCATION IN WESTERN UKRAINE IN 1919–44 AND ABROAD

## UKRAINIAN LANDS UNDER POLAND

### General Characteristics of the School System

In Ukrainian lands occupied by Poland in 1919, school and educational conditions varied from area to area: in Galicia [Vol. I, p. 835, ff.], Ukrainian schools were relatively well organized and the Ukrainian community exerted considerable influence on the form and content of education. In the northwestern lands (Volhynia, the Kholm region, Podlachia, and Polisia), which were formerly under Russian occupation, the level of education, especially the elementary, was quite low, Ukrainian schools were non-existent, and the Ukrainian community had no voice in educational matters.

Conditions in the northwestern lands changed during World War I. Some Ukrainian schools were opened in the territories occupied by the central powers and during the brief period of Ukrainian statehood. The organization of Ukrainian schools was begun during the German-Austrian occupation in 1916–18 by the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (Ukraïns'ki Sichovi Stril'tsi) in Volhynia, and by the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine in Podlachia and Polisia. The teaching personnel of these schools consisted of the members of the Syniozhupannyky units taken prisoner by the German armies, and the local intelligentsia. A number of schools appeared during the period of Ukrainian statehood. Between the winter of 1916 and the autumn of 1918 there were approximately 250 Ukrainian schools in the northwestern lands occupied by the Austrians. In order to provide teachers for these schools, the Commissariat of Education for the Kholm region, Podlachia, and Polisia, headed by Karpo Dmytriuk, organized special training courses in Berestia.

When Galicia and the northwestern lands were occupied, the Polish government found an extensive network of Ukrainian schools: 2,500 elementary schools in Galicia (1914 statistics); 500 elementary schools in the northwestern lands, mainly in Volhynia; and approximately 25 secondary schools. The policy of the Polish government was aimed at full centralization and Polonization of the schools under its jurisdiction. Towards this end, school administrations were centralized and community influence eliminated; Polish was introduced as the language of instruction; the use of Ukrainian was curtailed, and Ukrainian teachers were replaced by Polish. The entire history of Ukrainian education in the lands occupied by Poland presents a continuous struggle for the preservation of Ukrainian content.

The Polish assault had several phases. In the early 1920's, the government centralized the school administrative system, removed all community group and organization influence, and developed a network of Polish schools; it did not attempt to encroach upon the existing network of Ukrainian schools. In the mid-1920's, Ukrainian schools were changed into bilingual schools. Finally, in the 1930's, a new system of education was introduced: schools in Ukrainian territories were staffed by Polish teachers and full-scale Polonization of Ukrainian schools was implemented by force.

### Educational System

During the first years of occupation, the Polish government retained the Austrian system of education in Galicia, with the Lviv Land Board of Education at the top of the organizational structure.

A unified system of education and administration was introduced in Poland in 1921. For administrative purposes the country was divided into school districts (*okruhas*) or curatoriums, whereby Ukrainian lands were included in the following curatoriums: Lviv (three eastern Galician *voievodstvos* (provinces), Volhynia, and Polisia; westernmost areas were included in the curatoriums of Cracow (western part of the Lemkian region), Lublin (Kholm region and Podlachia), and Bialystok (Bilsk area). The Land Board of Education in Lviv was abolished. The Ministry of Education and Religious Denominations was in charge of the entire educational system in Poland, while curatoriums were second-ranking school-governing organs from which community representatives were excluded. The former county boards of education were retained in Galicia. However, they lost their significance with the transfer of actual power to the administrative powers (school superintendents). In 1933, the county boards of education were abolished and replaced by larger school circuits with district superintendents (one for several counties). The term of compulsory education in Poland was set at six years.

The school law of March 11, 1932, changed the entire educational system in Poland. Compulsory education in elementary schools was extended to seven years (7–14 years of age). Elementary education was subdivided into three levels: (1) grades 1–4, (2) grades 5–6, (3) grade 7. Supplementary education was provided for young people up to 18 years of age. Admission to secondary schools, general or vocational, was dependent upon completion of the second level of elementary education.

The same law provided for a significant change in secondary education. Four-year gymnasiums were established (corresponding to 3–6 grades of the pre-reform gymnasium). Additional two-year general education secondary schools and professional lyceums, which admitted students upon graduation from gymnasiums, were also set up. Special emphasis was placed on physical and political education, and in Polish schools, on the military training of young men and women.

**School Network**

The Polish government developed an extensive network of schools, particularly in the northwestern lands where the level of education prior to World War I was very low. The increase in the number of elementary schools is shown in Table X and in schools of various types in Table XI.

The number of students increased, as did the percentage of children of school age in attendance. In the Ukrainian lands under Poland during the school year 1937–8, 85 out of 100 children between seven and thirteen years of age attended schools. For the whole of Poland the ratio was 90 out of 100.

The percentage of literates ten years old and over increased from 50.5 per cent in 1921 to 64.7 per cent in 1931. The increase was especially substantial in the northwestern lands. Nevertheless, one third of the total population was illiterate. It should be noted that a large part of those classified as literate could barely write their name.

TABLE X

| Years | 1911–12 | 1922–3 | 1927–8 | 1937–8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Galicia | 4,030 | 4,689 | 4,782 | 4,998 |
| Volhynia, Polisia | 1,000[1] | 1,838 | 2,209 | 3,101 |
| TOTAL | 5,000[2] | 6,527 | 6,991 | 8,009 |

[1]All parts of Polisia, including those in Belorussia.
[2]Approximate.

TABLE XI
Number of schools in the school year 1937–8

| | Pre-school | Elementary | Secondary Gym. | Secondary Lyc. | Secondary Vocational | Vocational supplementary | Pedagogical |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | A. Number of schools | | | | |
| Galicia[1] | 126 | 4,998 | 138 | 127 | 91 | 93 | 15 |
| Volhynia, Polisia[2] | 57 | 3,101 | 40 | 34 | 55 | 26 | 2 |
| TOTAL | 183 | 8,099 | 178 | 161 | 146 | 119 | 17 |
| | | | B. Students in thousands | | | | |
| Galicia[1] | 5.0 | 802.3 | 33.1 | 8.7 | 14.7 | 17.3 | 0.9 |
| Volhynia, Polisia | 1.8 | 459.9 | 9.6 | 1.7 | 6.8 | 4.7 | 0.1 |
| TOTAL | 6.8 | 1,262.2 | 42.7 | 10.4 | 21.5 | 22.0 | 1.0 |

[1]All three *voievodstvos*, including the ethnically Polish part.
[2]All parts of Polisia, including those in Belorussia.

**Elementary schools** in Ukrainian lands, particularly in the northwestern regions, were mainly of the first level, with one or two teachers. Schools of the second level, with three to four teachers, and third level, with five or more teachers were considerably less in number.

Of the total number of schools, in Galicia 13.5 per cent were of the highest level, in the northwestern lands, 8.5 per cent (in all of Poland, 16.0 per cent). The percentage of second level schools was 19.5 in Galicia and 15.0 in the northwestern lands (17.0 in all of Poland). The percentage of schools of the lowest level was 67.0 in Galicia and 76.5 in the northwestern lands (67.0 in all of Poland).

Schools did not have enough teachers. In 1937–8, there were 57 children for every elementary school teacher (35 in England, 30 in Belgium, 32 in Bavaria). There was also a shortage of school buildings, and those available were usually in poor condition.

**Secondary schools** developed more slowly. In the school year 1937–8, the number of students attending gymnasiums and lyceums in Ukrainian lands under Polish occupation was approximately 45,000. Attendance at pedagogical schools did not exceed 1,000. The network of professional schools, with a total enrollment of approximately 20,000 students, was not sufficiently developed. The number of Ukrainian students attending these schools was negligible because the transition from rural elementary to professional and secondary schools was difficult. Moreover, the poverty of the Ukrainian population and the Polonizing methods in education had a depressing effect on school attendance.

**Polonization of Ukrainian Schools**

During the early years of Polish occupation, as already mentioned, the language of instruction in the existing Ukrainian schools was not changed to Polish. Instead, the government proceeded with the intensive development of Polish schools. Some changes occurred as a result of the school law of 1924 (*lex Grabski*) which was passed in spite of the objections of the Ukrainian parliamentary representation. According to this law, Ukrainian and Polish schools were unified and changed into bilingual schools. The language of instruction in the Lviv school district and in Volhynia and Polisia was to be determined by a referendum submitted to the parents of school children, provided that the population census of a given community

showed at least 25 per cent Ukrainians and that parents (or guardians) presented a notarized petition on behalf of at least 40 school children of Ukrainian nationality. In the first such school referendum conducted in 1925, Ukrainian parents in Galicia alone submitted nearly 100,000 petitions on behalf of 130,000 children of school age, and in the second referendum in 1932 nearly 250,000 petitions on behalf of 350,000 children. Abuses such as tampering with statistics of the referendum, illegal decisions of the boards of education which were subject to numerous interpolations and debates in the diet (*Sejm*) and the senate, and appeals to the League of Nations resulted in the transformation of almost all Ukrainian schools in Galicia and Volhynia into Polish or bilingual schools. Changes in the number of Ukrainian schools in Galicia within the boundaries of the three *voievodstvos* (which accounts for the difference in statistics as given above) are shown in Table XII. It should be noted that in all Polish elementary schools located on the ethnically Ukrainian territory of Galicia, the Ukrainian language was taught as a subject.

In northwestern lands the situation was even worse. There were 22 Ukrainian elementary schools in Polisia in 1922–3, all of which were closed in the following year. Bilingual schools were not established here, and the Ukrainian language was not even taught as a subject. On the basis of the school law of 1924, the teaching of the Ukrainian language was banned in the schools of Podlachia and the Kholm region.

In Volhynia, the number of schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction decreased from 443 in 1922–3 to eight in 1937–8, while at the same time the number of schools where teaching was in Polish increased from 546 to 1,559, those with both languages of instruction from 89 to 520, and others from 80 to 100. It should be noted that in 853 of the 1,559 schools which were neither Ukrainian nor bilingual Ukrainian was taught as a subject.

It can be estimated that towards the end of the 1930's for every 100 Ukrainian children in Poland barely 7 per cent attended Ukrainian schools, about 45 per cent attended bilingual schools, and the remaining 48 per cent attended Polish schools in which approximately half of them had the opportunity to study the Ukrainian language.

The bilingual schools were actually Polish in character. Instruction was given mostly in Polish and the teachers were almost invariably Poles who often had no knowledge of Ukrainian. In general, it was the Polish teaching force that spearheaded the campaign of Polonization. They stood at the helm of the Polish organizations, particularly the infamous *Strzelec* (Sharpshooter group) [Vol. I, p. 846b]. They looked with hate and contempt at everything Ukrainian. Thus, from the pedagogical point of view, the teachers could exert no influence on the children. The teacher-pupil relationship was one of complete alienation and outright animosity.

At the same time, Ukrainian teachers were being transferred *en masse to* western Polish regions or dismissed. The

TABLE XII

| Schools | School year 1911–12 | 1921–2 | 1927–8 | 1937–9 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ukrainian | 2,420 | 2,426 | 745 | 352 |
| Polish | 1,590 | 2,247 | 2,325 | 2,127 |
| Bilingual | — | — | 1,635 | 2,485 |
| Others | 20 | 16 | 77 | 197 |
| TOTAL | 4,030 | 4,689 | 4,782 | 5,161 |

young graduates of teachers' seminaries could obtain employment only in Poland proper, and in the 1930's the influx of new Ukrainian teachers was stopped.

In Podlachia, Polisia, and the Kholm region, even Orthodox religious instruction given by priests was to be in the Polish language.

Conditions in the secondary schools were slightly different. Initial attempts to introduce bilingualism were discontinued. However, the teaching of Polish history, geography, related subjects concerning Poland, and military training were introduced in Ukrainian gymnasiums, and were taught by teachers of Polish nationality.

Ukrainian state-operated secondary and professional schools were to be found only in Galicia. In Volhynia, Ukrainians had only three private gymnasiums.

Table XIII shows the number of secondary schools of various types and their division into Polish and Ukrainian in 1937–8 (private schools in parentheses).

TABLE XIII

| | 1937–8 | |
|---|---|---|
| Type of school | Total | Ukrainian |
| Gymnasiums | 138 | 24 (19) |
| Lyceums | 127 | 21 (16) |
| Pedagogical | 15 | 1 (1) |
| Professional | 91 | 5 (4) |

Ukrainian gymnasiums and lyceums were attended in 1937–8 by nearly 6,000 students, slightly more than half of all Ukrainians attending secondary schools. Only 600 students attended Ukrainian professional schools.

As shown in the table above, the majority of Ukrainian secondary and professional schools were privately operated. The only public gymnasiums were those which functioned during the period of Austrian rule, although in 1930 the Ministry of Education closed the Ukrainian gymnasium in Ternopil. In the category of professional schools there was only one Ukrainian public institution, the agricultural lyceum in Chernytsia. All Ukrainian secondary schools were strictly controlled by the school authorities. In each several Poles were employed in various capacities. There was almost a perennial shortage of textbooks, instructional programming was inadequate, and permission to open private schools was difficult to obtain.

### Struggle for Ukrainian Schools

The efforts of Ukrainians were directed not only towards the preservation of Ukrainian content in public schools, but also towards the development of their own private schools and the education of youth in pre-school and extracurricular programs.

In 1920, leadership in matters pertaining to Ukrainian schools and education was assumed by the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society (after 1926, Ridna Shkola (Native School)). The activity of the Native School society was limited to Galicia, since the Polish government barred it from expanding into the northwestern Ukrainian lands. In 1938, the society had 2,077 branches with a total membership of 104,000 (in 1914, only 59 branches and 5,000 members). It financed a number of schools, courses, and dormitories, published pedagogical periodicals (biweekly *Ridna Shkola* starting in 1932), and organized conferences and exhibits. The society's funds were obtained from the voluntary contributions of Ukrainians.

As compared to the pre-war period, Ukrainian private schools expanded both in number and in quality. In 1937–8, there were 41 elementary schools with 6,400 students, all in Galicia, except for one in Berestia and another in Rivne. Apart from several schools maintained by the Sisters of the Order of St. Basil the Great, all these schools were operated by the Native School society. One third of all Ukrainian private elementary schools consisted of seven grades (third level schools) and were located in the cities, especially in Lviv. Since permis-

sion to open new schools was extremely difficult to obtain, Ukrainian parents frequently opened so-called group lessons, and from 1932 on, they took advantage of the right to conduct "home tutoring." Yet even in Galicia, attendance in Ukrainian private elementary schools did not exceed two per cent of all Ukrainian children.

FIGURE 140. TITLE PAGE OF THE JOURNAL *Ridna Shkola*

Ukrainian private secondary schools were much better developed. The number of private schools increased from 9 in the mid-1920's to 13 in 1931–2, and eventually to 22 gymnasiums and 16 lyceums in 1939, with approximately 4,000 students or nearly 40 per cent of all Ukrainians attending secondary schools.

The activity of Ukrainian private schools was constantly impeded by both school and administrative authorities. From 1932 the procedure for establishing and conducting private schools and the selection of teachers was highly complex, and thus the authorities closed some schools and dismissed a number of teachers. Only a few Ukrainian private schools were granted official recognition by the Ministry of Education. Graduates of non-recognized private schools were screened by specially appointed boards of examiners before their diplomas could be fully accredited.

In the 1920's, Ukrainians in Galicia for the first time recognized the importance of private vocational schools of lower and secondary levels. Ukrainian private vocational schools conducted by the Native School society were for the most part commercial. There were also some trade schools and a number of agricultural schools. The Land Audit Union of Cooperatives operated a three-year cooperative lyceum. The Native School society also conducted 65 vocational and general educational courses in various localities throughout the land, and established an advisory guidance committee to assist students in the selection of schools suited to their interests and abilities. But Ukrainian schools constituted only seven per cent of all vocational schools in Galicia.

In the early 1930's there were eight teachers' seminaries and courses in Galicia, but with the passage of the new reform law all were closed. In 1934, the Sisters of the Order of St. Basil the Great opened a seminary in Lviv for training teachers of the preschool level.

Ukrainian private preschool education was widely developed. Particularly well organized were seasonal kindergartens for the summer work season. In 1937–8, there were 16 permanent children's nurseries in Galicia attended by approximately 500 children, and close to 700 seasonal kindergartens.

The struggle in education extended into the spiritual training of youth. The government strove to impose Polish educational values on Ukrainian schools, disregarding the Ukrainian spiritual heritage, culture, and history. Ukrainians opposed these efforts most vehemently. The negative influence of the Polish teachers was counteracted in Ukrainian homes

and churches and by the Ukrainian environment. Children's publications also played an important part in the preservation of Ukrainian mental and spiritual values, for example, *Svit Dytyny* (Child's World), *Nash Pryiatel'* (Our Friend), *Dzvinochok* (Bell), *Ranok* (Dawn), and hundreds of children's books published by the Native School society and the publishing houses of M. Taranko and I. Tyktor. This literature reached Ukrainian children in areas where Ukrainian schools were not permitted by the Polish authorities. The Ridna Shkola society succeeded in organizing 700 children's libraries totaling 40,000 books in Galicia.

A significant positive influence was exerted by youth organizations on education in the 1920's and 1930's. The Ukrainian Scout organization Plast grew rapidly after 1920, including not only teenagers and older youths, but also children from seven to 12 years of age. Units of Plast were established in all large cities and villages in Galicia, and to a lesser extent in Volhynia. The rapid growth of Plast (6,000 members in 1929–30) was halted when the Polish administration outlawed its activity in 1930. The education of young people then continued under the auspices of such newly formed organizations as the Commission for Educational Campgrounds and Hiking and Youth of Ridna Shkola. Ideological-sports organizations also promoted education: Kameniari (Stone Cutters), Obnova (Rebirth), Orly (Eagles), which, like Plast, published separate journals and newspapers for youth. Cultural-educational activity among peasant youth was carried on by sports organizations such as Sokil, Sich, and, after 1925, Luh.

As in the pre-World War I period (see p. 332), there were two Ukrainian teachers' organizations, the Mutual Aid Society of Ukrainian Teachers, which, in 1938, had 44 branches with a membership of 1,160 elementary school teachers, and the Teachers Association with 14 branches and 420 members.

**Schools of Higher Learning**

After the occupation of Lviv, the Polish government abolished all Ukrainian chairs and teaching appointments at the university. In accordance with the order of August 14, 1919, the university admitted only persons who had served in the Polish army. The Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Mohyla Society of Ukrainian Scientific Instruction, and the Stavropygian Institute then organized university courses for Ukrainians. In 1920, however, the government banned these courses, and they had to be continued in secret. Consisting of philosophy, law, and medicine, they became in July, 1921, the underground Ukrainian university patterned on West European schools of higher learning. The first rector of the university was Basil Shchurat, followed by Marian Panchyshyn and Eugene Danyliak, the last rector. In 1921, this university had 54 chairs and 1,260 students, and in the academic year 1922–3, 65 chairs and 1,500 students. The medical faculty offered only two years of theoretical studies, thus forcing the students to continue their education abroad. Credits acquired were recognized by universities in other countries. The Curatorium of Ukrainian Schools of Higher Learning, headed by Volodymyr Detsykevych, was in charge of all Ukrainian establishments of higher education in Lviv.

Teachers and students of the Ukrainian underground university were constantly persecuted by the Polish authorities. Numerous protests, including a memorandum to the League of Nations in 1922, as well as efforts to legalize the university did not bring any positive results. On the other hand, by a law of September 26, 1922, on provincial self-government [Vol. I, p. 834], the Polish regime was obligated (articles 24 and 25 of the law) to establish a Ukrainian state university by 1924 at the latest. This legal obligation was never carried out by the Polish government. Following the decision of the Council of Ambassadors

on the incorporation of Galicia into the Polish state (1923), and as a result of constant Polish pressures, the university discontinued its activity in mid-1925.

The Ukrainian Higher School of Polytechnics, founded at the beginning of the 1921–2 academic year, operated on a much smaller scale. Lacking proper facilities and equipment, this institution offered only one year of technical studies, after which the students pursued their education abroad, mostly in Danzig. Victor Luchkiv was rector of the school, which was attended by 64 students in the academic year 1922–3. It was closed in 1925.

The Catholic (Byzantine rite) Theological Academy of Lviv was the only legal Ukrainian institution of higher learning in Poland. It was founded by Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky in 1928 on the basis of the already existing Ukrainian Catholic (Byzantine rite) Theological Seminary in Lviv. Organized on the pattern of Western Catholic universities, the Academy had two faculties, theological and philosophical. Several non-theological subjects were included in the curriculum. The course of study was five years and during the period 1934–9, attendance was 350–400 students. It had 30 professors and lecturers, and the number of graduates per year was 50–65. The rector of the Academy was the Rev. Josyf Slipyj, who later rose to the rank of metropolitan, and more recently, cardinal. There were also Ukrainian Catholic theological seminaries in Peremyshl and Stanyslaviv and a faculty of Orthodox theological studies at the University of Warsaw, with Polish as the language of instruction, and an Orthodox theological seminary in Kremianets.

In the first half of the 1920's large numbers of Ukrainian youth from Galicia and Volhynia studied at various Ukrainian schools of higher education in Czechoslovakia (Ukrainian Free University, Ukrainian Technology and Husbandry Academy, Drahomanov Higher Pedagogical Institute: see p. 282), at Czechoslovakian higher schools (mainly in Prague), in Vienna, Berlin and Danzig. Before 1925 Ukrainians boycotted all Polish schools of higher education. But, as a result of the discontinuation of underground Ukrainian schools of higher learning in Lviv, difficulties in obtaining accreditation in Poland for studies completed abroad coupled with financial difficulties forced Ukrainian youth to study in Polish schools. However, a percentage limit was placed on enrollment of Ukrainians in Polish institutions of higher learning, especially in medical and technical departments. Many Ukrainian students attended universities, in addition to that at Lviv, and colleges in Warsaw, Cracow, Poznań, and Wilno.

It should be noted that chairs of Ukrainian language and literature were established at the University of Cracow, and a chair of Ukrainian history in Warsaw.

During the academic year 1937–8, there were approximately 3,000 Ukrainian students, or 6 per cent of all students in Poland. Of these students, approximately 800 studied theology, 650 law and the social sciences, more than 500 humanities, approximately 400 technology, and over 200 each medicine and commerce.

Ukrainian student organizations played a significant role in organizing and maintaining Ukrainian underground schools of higher learning in the early 1920's. After Polish authorities disbanded the Ukrainian Student Union and Academic Society, which had been renewed after the National War of Liberation, the Professional Organization of Ukrainian Students (Proforus) became the new center for students. It was headed by a Ukrainian national student council, which encompassed ten regional student councils and five district ones. After the closing of Ukrainian schools of higher learning in 1925, organized student life was channeled in newly formed or revitalized general and professional stu-

dent associations such as Students'ka Hromada (Student Society), Medychna Hromada (Medical Society), Osnova (Foundation; society of engineers), and Vatra (Bonfire, society of veterinarians). In March 1931, student organizations of Lviv and other university cities in Poland united into the Union of Ukrainian Student Organizations Under Poland (first president Volodymyr Yaniv). The 65 district sections which comprised the Union carried on a lively cultural-educational activity: lectures, discussions, exhibits, and concerts.

**Extracurricular Education**

The programs of extracurricular education varied in Galicia and in the northwestern lands because of differences in their histories (there had been no Ukrainian educational organizations in the northwestern lands during the tsarist period) and as a result of restrictions imposed upon Galician educational and cultural societies, which were barred from extending their activities to the northwestern lands.

The Prosvita society continued to lead in promoting educational work in Galicia (see p. 336). But World War I and the early period of Polish occupation almost completely destroyed the achievements of previous years. For example, the number of reading rooms operated by the Prosvita society decreased from 2,944 in 1914 to 50 in 1920. Eventually, however, the trend turned upward, as shown in Table XIV.

The activity of the Prosvita society broadened and became more varied. After 1924, however, the Prosvita society concentrated solely on educational matters. The cultural-educational work centered around the society's reading rooms. It organized numerous courses, directed educational work in individual localities, and established choirs and theatrical groups which staged plays in cities and villages. After the war the Prosvita society spread into cities and towns and took a special interest in the nationally backward areas of Galicia (e.g., special committee on the Lemkian region created by the central organization). The publication activity of the society was renewed. In addition to *Pys'mo z Prosvity* (Letter from Prosvita) which was renamed *Narodna Prosvita* (National Prosvita) and books, the society began to publish *Amators'kyi Teatr* (Amateur Theater), and a monthly magazine *Zhyttia i Znannia* (Life and Knowledge) after 1927. But from the organizational point of view, the achievements were undeniably great: with the exception of some mountainous areas and localities where the Polish authorities dissolved local branches and reading rooms, each Ukrainian village had its own Prosvita reading room and library. The Prosvita society, like other Ukrainian organizations of the time, employed an increasing number of professional workers, particularly educational instructors in its branches.

Another educational organization, the Skala (Rock) society, founded and headed by Bishop Gregory Khomyshyn, worked in the Stanyslaviv area. Its reading rooms were usually headed by local priests. The number of branches of the Russophile Kachkovsky Society (mainly

TABLE XIV

| | | | Members (in M's) | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year | Branches | Reading rooms | Central organ. | Central rooms | Libraries | Books | Copies (in M's) | Bldgs |
| 1914 | 77 | 2,944 | 36.4 | 197 | 2,664 | 16 | 150 | 504 |
| 1920 | 8 | 50 | 0.5 | 25 | 10 | 8 | 35 | 45 |
| 1925 | 81 | 2,020 | 6.9 | 121 | 978 | 10 | 48 | 395 |
| 1930 | 87 | 2,630 | 14.8 | 206 | 2,215 | 24 | 95 | 914 |
| 1935 | 83 | 3,071 | 31.1 | 275 | 2,915 | 16 | 129 | 1,301 |

in the Lemkian region) decreased considerably from that of the prewar years.

Other institutions and professional organizations such as Ridna Shkola, Soiuz Ukraïnok (Union of Ukrainian Women), the Teachers Association, the Mutual Aid Society of Ukrainian Teachers, the Mohyla Society of Ukrainian Scientific Instruction, the Lysenko Musical Society, the Zoria (Star) artisans' society, Burghers brotherhoods in Lviv and elsewhere, the Vidrodzhennia (Rebirth) anti-alcoholic society, student groups, former Besida societies and social clubs engaged in extracurricular educational activity. A certain amount of educational work was also accomplished by athletic associations, particularly the Sokil, Luh, and Kameniari groups (see Physical Culture, pp. 1038 ff.).

In the northwestern lands, the Ukrainian educational movement did not begin until the period of German-Austrian occupation. The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (Soiuz Vyzvolennia Ukraïny) was particularly active in Podlachia. This organization provided the initiative for the establishment of the Prosvita society in Berestia and the Ukraïns'ka Hromada (Ukrainian Community) in Bila. The latter published a weekly and an almanac, *Ridne Slovo* (Native Word). A unit of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen organized cultural and educational activities in Volhynia (Volodymyr Volynsky). In the early 1920's, cultural-educational life in the northwestern lands accelerated, mainly as a result of the growing sense of Ukrainian national consciousness among the masses, but also because of the return of 40,000 Ukrainians evacuated by the Russian armies in 1915.

In 1920 a Prosvita society was formed in Lutsk. By 1932 it had 134 branches. Its activities covered a broad field—cultural-educational, economic, and charity. Two Prosvita society congresses were held in Lutsk in 1921–2, at which it was resolved to create the Volyns'ka Prosvita (the Volhynian Prosvita) for the entire region of Volhynia. The Polish authorities, however, refused to legalize the organization. Similar Prosvita activity was promoted in Kremianets (April, 1917), Ostrih (1918), Dubno (1920), Rivne, Volodymyr Volynsky, and Kovel. As a result of intensified Polish pressure [Vol. I, p. 843 ff.), all these branches of the Prosvita society were closed in the years 1928–32, but their work was continued by the Ukrainian national homes, cooperatives, bookstores, reading rooms, and branches of the Association of Ukrainian Women, various clubs and groups. Despite constant harassment by the Polish government, all cultural-educational organizations of the northwestern lands maintained close ties with Galicia.

Diversified activity in the field of cultural-educational work in Podlachia and the Kholm region was pursued by the Ridna Khata (Native Home) society, founded in Kholm in 1918. It succeeded in establishing some 300 branches and continued its activity through the 1920's until its dissolution by the Polish government, which suppressed all cultural endeavors of the Ukrainian population.

A similar fate befell the Ukrainian movement in Polisia. The Berestia Prosvita center, which had developed a network of wide-ranging activities over the entire area, was closed by the Polish authorities.

An upsurge in publishing and the increasing strength of the Ukrainian press contributed a great deal to the growth of education in the Ukrainian lands under Polish occupation. Books and newspapers began to be produced on a mass scale to supplement and even replace the work of educational organizations, especially in the northwestern lands. The number of press organs increased in Galicia from 70 in 1913 to nearly 100 in 1937, and that of non-periodical publications from 360 to more than 400. The circulation showed a much greater increase. Numerous publications were of a general educational character (those from the publishing houses of I. Tyktor and

Samoosvitnyk), including children's literature (see Book Publishing and Press).

In their educational efforts, Ukrainian organizations met with strong competition from Polish groups such as the Polish national homes, the Strzelec organization, and public school societies, all government supported.

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## TRANSCARPATHIA 1919–39

Incorporation of Transcarpathia into the democratic and culturally developed state of Czechoslovakia resulted in significant advances in schools and education.

### Schools

Soon after Czechoslovakia's occupation of Transcarpathia, compulsory education for children up to 14 years of age was introduced throughout the country. Courses for illiterates were opened and schools of all types were rapidly developed. The status of education in Transcarpathia within the boundaries of the so-called Pidkarpats'ka Rus' (Subcarpathian Ruthenia), that is, exclusive of eastern Slovakia, is shown in Table XV below.

In comparison with the pre-war years, the number of elementary schools increased from 525 to 861, that of gymnasiums from 3 to 11, and teachers seminaries from 3 to 5. The number of students more than doubled. In 1938, Ukrainian elementary schools were attended by 113,000 pupils. There was a large increase in the number of schools of higher rank, mainly the so-called citizens' (*horozhans'ki*) or burgher schools, that is, elementary schools of higher rank, vocational schools, and gymnasiums. The number of elementary schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction increased from 34 in 1916 to almost 400 in 1921–2 and 492 in 1938. The unusually high number of Czechoslovakian schools can be explained by the fact that they were attended by Jews. In general, the Ukrainian population of Transcarpathia was adequately provided with native schools. But there was only one school of higher learning, a Ukrainian Catholic (Byzantine rite) theological seminary in Uzhhorod.

In the Priashiv area (eastern Slovakia),

TABLE XV

| Language of instruction | Kindergartens | | Elementary schools | | Citizens' schools | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1931–2 | 1938 | 1931–2 | 1938 | 1931–2 | 1938 |
| Ukrainian | 45 | 132 | 438 | 469 | 16 | 23 |
| Czechoslovakian | 43 | 101 | 147 | 182 | 14 | 24 |
| Hungarian | 13 | 16 | 107 | 123 | 4 | 4 |
| Other | 1 | 3 | 23 | 35 | 1 | 1 |
| TOTAL | 102 | 252 | 715 | 809 | 35 | 53 |

| Language of instruction | Gymnasiums | | Teachers' seminaries | | Vocational schools | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1931–2 | 1938 | 1931–2 | 1938 | 1931–2 | 1938 |
| Ukrainian | 4 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 121 | 138 |
| Czechoslovakian | 3 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 12 | 13 |
| Hungarian | 1 | 1 | — | — | 24 | 25 |
| Other | — | 2 | — | — | 3 | 3 |
| TOTAL | 8 | 11 | 4 | 5 | 160 | 179 |

there were 113 elementary schools (including two citizen's schools) with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, a teachers' seminary, three agricultural public schools, and a Ukrainian Catholic (Byzantine rite) theological seminary in Priashiv. There were also 253 Ukrainian Catholic parochial schools with Slovakian as the language of instruction. In Slovakia, 57 per cent of Ukrainian children attended Ukrainian schools, 27 per cent attended Ukrainian Catholic parochial schools with Slovakian as the language of instruction (Ukrainian language taught as a subject), and 16 per cent attended public schools with Slovakian as the language of instruction.

The problem of language presented one of the greatest difficulties in the development of education. The Czechoslovakian government favored the so-called Ruthenian trend (neither Russian nor Ukrainian). Hungarian and Polish propaganda, the Russian émigrés, and some Czechoslovak circles supported and financed the Russophile trend. Both of these anti-national movements gained considerable ground in the 1920's. But in the prevailing climate of freedom, the initial apathy and indifference of the population gradually disappeared, and after 1931 the Ukrainian movement in the schools dominated. The level of education was quite good. The older teachers, educated in Hungarian schools, had good professional and administrative training. Ukrainian language and studies were taught mostly by specialists from Galicia and central Ukrainian lands. Young aspiring teachers could acquire professional knowledge at the two teachers' seminaries in Uzhhorod, and potential secondary school teachers could pursue their studies at the University of Prague, which had a chair of Ukrainian language and literature.

The question of language was usually decided by school principals and superintendents in elementary schools. All schools, except vocational were under the jurisdiction of the Educational Administration in Uzhhorod. The position of the chairman, as well as that of the land school superintendent, was always occupied by a Czech. Elementary schools were subdivided into 13 school districts, each headed by a school superintendent. There were four Ukrainian, four Russian, three Ruthenian, and two Czechoslovakian superintendents.

On October 28, 1938, the Ukrainian government headed by the Rev. Augustine Voloshyn transformed the Educational Administration into the Ministry of Education. Augustine Stefan, director of the Trade Academy, was appointed head of the ministry. After the German-Italian arbitration of Vienna [Vol. I, p. 854a] all Uzhhorod, Mukachiv, and Berehiv secondary schools were evacuated to larger villages. The Ministry of Education in Khust reduced the number of Czechoslovakian elementary schools to 20, citizens' schools to 3 and gymnasiums to 1. All Jewish children were transferred to Ukrainian schools, and the number of Hungarian schools fell to 30 as a result of the cession of territories populated by Hungarians.

FIGURE 141. AUGUSTINE STEFAN

An important part in the cultural revival of Carpatho-Ukraine was played by the Ukrainian Teachers' Society founded in 1929, which published two newspapers, *Uchytel's'kyi Holos* (Teachers' Voice) and *Nasha Shkola* (Our School).

### Extracurricular Education

Prosvita was the first cultural society in Transcarpathia (1920) to organize reading rooms (167), amateur stage plays, national choirs and orchestras, a museum and a library. It published books for the general reading public, a

children's magazine *Pchilka* (Bee), and *Naukovyi Zbirnyk* (Scholarly Symposium). The Pedagogical Society of Subcarpathian Ruthenia, founded in 1924, concerned itself with purely educational matters and the publication of textbooks. It also published the newspaper *Pidkarpats'ka Rus'* (Subcarpathian Ruthenia), *Rus'ka Shkil'na Matytsia* (Ruthenian School *Matytsia*) dealt with matters of schooling. The Russophile trend was represented by the Obshchestvo im. Aleksandra Dukhnovycha (Alexander Dukhnovych Society, 1923) which was engaged in activities similar to those of the Prosvita society and published a monthly *Karpats'kyi Svit* (Carpathian World), 1928.

The Ukrainian cultural movement was totally suppressed by the Hungarian government which occupied Transcarpathia in 1939. The Soviet educational system was introduced in 1945.

Ukrainian youth organizations exercised considerable influence on education in Transcarpathia. Primary among them was Plast, which from 1920 formally carried on a broad program of activities within the framework of the Czech Scout organization. The Union of Carpathian Ruthenian Students concerned itself with many areas of cultural and educational life.

*A. Stefan*

## UKRAINIAN LANDS UNDER RUMANIA

Bukovina, which in prewar years had had the most advanced educational system of all Ukrainian lands, experienced its worst period under Rumanian occupation, especially as regards the teaching of the Ukrainian language.

### Schools

Abolition of Ukrainian schools began early in 1919 with the transfer of Ukrainian teachers from the northern part of Bukovina and the transformation of 38 Ukrainian schools (5,500 pupils) into Rumanian schools. On the basis of official Rumanian statistics, there were still 255 Ukrainian schools in Bukovina in 1922–3, compared to 391 Rumanian, 47 German, 27 Jewish, 23 Polish, and 2 Hungarian. But Rumanian as the language of instruction was already being partially introduced in Ukrainian schools. The state of siege imposed on the Ukrainian part of Bukovina in 1919 prevented Ukrainians from protesting against the Rumanianization of schools, which was said to be conducted "with the express consent of the people." Before 1924, Ukrainians were still officially considered a national minority with the right to maintain their own schools (constitutional provisions of December 1, 1919, and March 29, 1923). However, the law of July 26, 1924, classified Ukrainians as "Rumanians who had forgotten their native tongue." Beginning on October 1, 1925, Rumanianization of schools was intensified and by 1927 the process was complete (all teachers were required to pass a state board examination on their knowledge of Rumanian).

It was not until the abolition of the state of siege in November 1928 that Ukrainians resumed the struggle for reinstatement of Ukrainian elementary schools. Between July 20, 1928, and January 3, 1929, a number of popular meetings demanding restitution of the Ukrainian language in schools (94 communities collected nearly 10,000 signatures), were held throughout the Ukrainian part of Bukovina. This action spread into Bessarabia which enjoyed educational autonomy in 1920–7 and had 120 Ukrainian schools. But, in response to this action, the government merely issued a law (December 31, 1929) permitting eight periods of instruction in Ukrainian (six regular periods and two of Orthodox religious instruction) in the lower grades of schools with a majority of Ukrainian children and six periods (four regular and two for religion) in the higher grades. These periods were included in the school curriculum in 1931,

and two special superintendents of Ukrainian language studies were appointed. But even these small gains were nullified by the liberal government which assumed power in 1934. The Ukrainian language was taught secretly by Ukrainian teachers in a few remote villages. At the same time, Ukrainian secondary and vocational schools were also closed.

**Extracurricular Education**

Cultural-educational activity in Bukovina was also suppressed by the Rumanian government. Of the 590 societies active before World War I, only 14 remained. The Ruthenian Society (Rus'ka Besida), the oldest and the most active Ukrainian organization, barely survived the confiscation of its assets and closing of its reading rooms by the government. Its work was assumed in part by the National Home, financed by the Fedkovych dormitory with some 210 members, and the Ukrainian School (Ukraïns'ka Shkola), with 435 members. The latter group published several textbooks, conducted Ukrainian language courses during summer vacations (abolished by the government in 1934), and published the children's magazine *Ukraïns'ka Lastivka* (Ukrainian Swallow); it was barred by the government from opening any branches. Some cultural-educational activity was also conducted by other prewar (see p. 339) and newly organized societies and by the local Ukrainian intelligentsia who organized theatrical groups, village choirs, and Ukrainian language courses. All these efforts came to an end with the Soviet occupation.

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## 8. ABROAD FROM 1919 TO THE 1950's

During World War I, in the years 1915–18, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine [Vol. I, p. 714] organized cultural and educational activities among Ukrainian prisoners of war interned in Austria (Freistadt) and Germany (Rastatt, Salzwedel, and Wetzlar). This work, as well as formal instruction, was conducted by teachers from among the prisoners of war or by Ukrainians living in Austria who were members of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. Hundreds of active, nationally conscious Ukrainians were produced by these schools.

### BETWEEN WORLD WARS I AND II

Cultural and educational life among Ukrainian political refugees after World War I was well developed [Vol. I, pp.

859 ff.]. Various courses and schools were organized in the internment camps of the Ukrainian Galician Army in Czechoslovakia and the army of the Ukrainian National Republic in Poland. Ukrainian officers conducted secondary school courses in Deutschgabel (Nemecke Jablonne) in 1920–3, Liberets in 1920–1, and Josefov in 1921–4; there were also several reading and writing schools and the like. Similar schools and courses were organized in the internment camps in Poland. A school for Ukrainian youth (1921–4) and a gymnasium were opened in the Kalisz internment camp.

A realgymnasium, opened in Prague, was transferred to Řevnice in 1925 and later to Modřany near Prague. Elementary schools, or at least supplementary schools for children of Ukrainian refugees, functioned in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, and France. A board of examiners for secondary school students, appointed by the government of the Ukrainian National Republic, operated in Berlin in 1921–6.

The Ukrainian institutions of higher learning in Czechoslovakia were especially important—the Ukrainian Free University in Prague, the Ukrainian Academy of Technology and Husbandry in Poděbrady, and the Drahomanov Pedagogical Institute in Prague. These schools were the result of the influx of a vast number of Ukrainian refugee students and teachers, and the favorable attitude and even material assistance of the Czechoslovak government [Vol. I, pp. 865 ff.]. For some time, these educational establishments were the only Ukrainian schools of higher learning in the world. They produced hundreds of professional specialists and contributed to the general development of Ukrainian scholarship (see Scholarship pp. 280–3). Like all other areas of Ukrainian refugee life, the Ukrainian schools of higher learning attained the peak of their activity in the mid-1920's. They curtailed their activity in the 1930's because of financial difficulties, a decrease in the number of students, and the departure of a number of professors.

FIGURE 142. CASTLE IN PODĚBRADY, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, WHICH HOUSED THE UKRAINIAN ACADEMY OF TECHNOLOGY AND HUSBANDRY IN THE 1920's

The Ukrainian Free University was founded in Vienna in 1920 through the efforts of the Union of Ukrainian Writers and Journalists. It was transferred to Prague in 1921. The university consisted of departments of philosophy and of law and social sciences. In Prague it was organized on the pattern of the King Karl Czechoslovakian State University, with which it maintained close relations. Its average number of students during the first ten years was 385 (226 in the department of philosophy, 164 in the department of law). The highest enrollment (874 students) was reached in the 1922–3 academic year; later, the number of students decreased considerably. While in Prague, the faculty of the Ukrainian Free University totalled 80 professors, assistant professors, and lecturers. By 1939, the university had conferred 109 doctoral degrees.

The Ukrainian Academy of Technology and Husbandry was founded in Poděbrady in 1922 on the initiative of the Committee of the Ukrainian Community (Ukrains'kyi Hromads'kyi Komitet) in Prague. It was a higher polytechnical school consisting of three departments—agronomy and forestry, economics and cooperatives, and engineering. The academy was under the direct

jurisdiction of the Czechoslovakian Ministry of Agriculture. During the ten years of its existence, 800 students were graduated; peak attendance was reached in the 1926–7 academic year, when 613 students registered. In 1935, the Czechoslovak government abolished the academy, and in its place the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute was established with a faculty consisting of professors and lecturers formerly at the Ukrainian Academy of Technology and Husbandry, which continued to function as a technical correspondence school (10,000 students, mostly from western Ukrainian lands). The maximum number of professors, assistant professors, and lecturers at the two schools was 70. By 1935, the Ukrainian Academy of

FIGURE 143. MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY OF THE UKRAINIAN ACADEMY OF TECHNOLOGY AND HUSBANDRY IN PODĚBRADY (1930)

Technology had granted 565 degrees in engineering. Its students were Ukrainians from all areas of the country, mostly soldiers engaged in the war for liberation. Some of them eventually returned to the western Ukrainian lands and made important contributions to the improvement of economic conditions (especially in the field of agronomy and the cooperative movement).

The Drahomanov Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute, which functioned in Prague from 1923–33, was a four-year higher school of pedagogy whose main objectives were the training of Ukrainian secondary school teachers and the organization of Ukrainian schools and educational activities. It consisted of three departments: history and literature, mathematics and natural sciences, music and education. The Institute graduated 116 students; 86 received degrees in secondary school education and 30 were granted doctoral degrees.

These three schools of higher learning also played an important part as centers for advanced scholarship and research. Each school issued its own scholarly publications (see Scholarship, p. 282).

The Ukrainian School of Plastic Art was organized in Prague in 1922 on the pattern of an academy of fine arts, with a four-year course of study. Graduates of this school were granted the degree of Master of Fine Arts.

The maintenance and development of Ukrainian schools of higher learning abroad was assisted by student organizations. The oldest of these was Sitch (founded 1868) in Vienna. After the Ukrainian Free University was transferred to Prague and other Ukrainian universities had been founded in Czechoslovakia, the Third Ukrainian All-Student Congress was held in that city in 1922. As a result of this congress, based in Prague from 1922 until 1934, and in Vienna from 1934 until 1935, the Central Union of Ukrainian Students which united student organizations both abroad and in Western Ukraine was formed. In 1923, the Central Union represented 15 member organizations with 4,650 members. It was active also in the international arena, participating in 1921–37 in 28 international student congresses and contributing significantly to the recognition and popularization of Ukrainian schools of higher learning in Ukraine and abroad.

## AFTER WORLD WAR II

As a result of the presence of a large number of Ukrainian refugees in various camps in Germany and Austria [Vol. I, pp. 911 ff.], Ukrainian schools and cul-

tural-educational organizations developed rapidly. (However, they declined just as quickly with the resettlement of the refugees in other parts of the world.) Schools, courses, educational societies, theaters, and choruses began to appear in refugee camps and centers for Ukrainian emigrants. The émigré press and publishing activities also grew rapidly (see Scholarship, Theater, Book Publishing and Press).

The great number of youth, the availability of teachers, and the relatively favorable material conditions all contributed to the development of schools, although the shortage of textbooks and equipment and the lack of uniform programs of teaching and of supervisory personnel had an adverse effect on education. The number of schools in Germany at the height of their development (1947–8) is shown in Table XVI.

TABLE XVI

| Type | Schools | Students | Teachers |
|---|---|---|---|
| Preschool level | 72 | 3,835 | 170 |
| Elementary | 104 | 4,966 | 488 |
| Secondary | 36 | 3,814 | 533 |
| Professional schools and courses | 26 | 1,163 | 137 |

In 1947–8, there were 29 Ukrainian gymnasiums in Germany and Austria, 80 elementary schools (8 in Austria), 8 secondary professional schools (mainly commercial), 140 professional courses of various types, 50 courses in foreign languages, 30 courses for illiterates, and 9 kindergartens. The ratio of teachers to students (one teacher for 8–10 students) was relatively high.

The Ukrainian Free University and the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute resumed their active work in Germany. Several new schools of higher education were opened, e.g., the Ukrainian Higher School of Economics, the Ukrainian Orthodox Theological Academy, and the Ukrainian Catholic (Byzantine rite) Theological Seminary. All were in Munich, which became the center of Ukrainian refugee life. As in Czechoslovakia, Ukrainian schools of higher learning developed because of the concentration of a great number of refugee students and teachers. However, these schools, unlike those in the previous period of Ukrainian emigration, suffered from inadequate facilities (e.g. libraries with a sufficient number of publications on Ukrainian subjects), comparatively low faculty salaries, and

FIGURE 144. FACULTY AND STUDENTS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LAW AND SOCIAL-ECONOMIC SCIENCES OF THE UKRAINIAN FREE UNIVERSITY IN MUNICH (1948)

the dispersion of refugees. Thus, after a brief period of rapid development, especially in 1946–7, students and professors began to leave for resettlement in other places, mainly the United States and Canada. Only two schools of higher learning continued to function in Munich —the Ukrainian Free University and the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute (part of its faculty founded the Ukrainian Technical Institute in New York City). In 1951, after its transfer to Kulemborg, Holland, the Ukrainian Catholic Theological Seminary closed. The Institute of Correspondence Studies, established in 1948 at the Ukrainian Free University, lasted for only a few years. The Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute and the Ukrainian Free University are still active, concentrating primarily on research and publishing.

With the reopening of Ukrainian schools of higher learning in Germany, the Central Union of Ukrainian Students again became a living force. It was reinstituted formally in June 1947 at the Fourth Student Congress and by the end of that year represented 2,721 students of 31 student organizations in 10 nations.

Since the resettlement of Ukrainian refugees from Germany and Austria, the educational activity of the remaining Ukrainians, as well as of those living in other countries, has been limited to local needs: pre-school education, schools of Ukrainian studies, and many Ukrainian full-time (mainly parochial) elementary schools in the United States (and in Rome, the Ukrainian Papal Seminary) in which instruction in Ukrainian is limited to two subjects (religion and Ukrainian language).

Many Ukrainian students attended German schools of higher learning. In 1947–8, 1,893 Ukrainians studied in Germany, 495 in Austria, 15 in France, 26 in Belgium, 35 in Italy, 29 in Spain, 10 in Switzerland, 5 in Holland (see Ukrainians Abroad).

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# 9. THE PERIOD OF WORLD WAR II

## GENERAL REMARKS

Fundamental changes in the field of education occurred in western Ukrainian lands as a result of World War II.

Initial changes were precipitated by the Soviet occupation of almost all these lands in 1939 and 1940 (Bukovina and Bessarabia). The Soviet system of education was introduced in the occupied lands, and schools of all levels were thoroughly Ukrainianized. Schools with Polish as the language of instruction were retained for the Polish population. Established institutions of higher learning in Lviv were partially Ukrainianized and several new ones were opened. The University of Lviv was renamed Ivan Franko University. Only in the Ukrainian part of Polisia, incorporated into the Belorussian SSR, were Belorussian schools introduced contrary to the desires of the population, and despite numerous petitions.

## IN THE GENERAL-GOUVERNEMENT

Conditions were completely different in the westernmost areas of Ukraine, which were occupied by the Germans in September 1939 and incorporated into the so-called *Generalgouvernement* [Vol. I, pp. 874 ff.]. After the German occupation in 1941, incorporation of Galicia into the *Generalgouvernement*, and the creation of the so-called Reichskommissariat Ukraine, the conditions in western Ukrainian lands included in the *Generalgouvernement* differed from those prevailing in the eastern and central lands. Whereas in the western lands some cultural activity was permitted, in the central and eastern territories Ukrainian schools and education were totally suppressed [Vol. I, pp. 879 ff.].

The German authorities allowed some cultural and educational activity in the *Generalgouvernement*, although they maintained strict control and supervision. Ukrainian groups were limited to auxiliary functions (preschool education, dormitories, scholarships), although in some cases they were permitted to participate directly in educational affairs. Former societies and organizations were dissolved and all activity was concentrated in the Ukrainian Central Committee and its sections [Vol. I, p. 887]. The committee maintained a separate section in charge of educational matters and a section on cultural affairs in charge of educational activity outside the schools. The Ukrainian Teachers Labor Union which had to some extent replaced the two former professional teachers' organizations, was closely associated with the Ukrainian Central Committee. Textbooks were published by the Ukrainian Publishing House. A teachers' journal, *Ukraïns'ka Shkola* (Ukrainian School), also appeared. It should be noted that the large network of Ukrainian elementary and particularly vocational schools existing at this time was unprecedented in the entire history of western Ukrainian lands.

The German government was interested primarily in skilled farmers, craftsmen, and laborers to supply the military needs of the Reich. The regime, therefore, concentrated on the development of professional and elementary schools (the latter solely to provide general education for further specialization in professional schools). It also assisted in the establishment of kindergartens for utilitarian reasons, namely, to increase the productive output of the children's parents. Permission to open gymnasiums and the so-called professional public courses was actually a political concession to Ukrainians, and attempts were soon made to eliminate these schools.

### Kindergartens

The Ukrainian Central Committee financed kindergartens and conducted courses to train women as instructors (three courses attended by 100 women) and kindergarten teachers (160 courses attended by 4,500 women). In the summer of 1943, there were 2,696 seasonal kindergartens (770 during Polish occupation) attended by 114,100 children, and 241 permanent kindergartens with 13,900 (in 1937, 16 kindergartens with 500 children). Thus, 70 per cent of all populated centers had kindergartens attended by 60 per cent of the children.

### Elementary Schools

In the fall of 1939, Ukrainians residing in the areas west of the rivers Sian and Buh organized their own elementary schools. The teaching staffs consisted of specialists in various professions, all of them refugees from the territories occupied by the Bolsheviks. The Polish government gave permission to open Ukrainian public schools if there were at least 40 Ukrainian children of school age in attendance. In Polish schools attended by at least 20 Ukrainian children the Ukrainian language was taught as a sub-

ject, or permission could be secured to open a private school. The ratio of teachers to pupils was 1:70. In June, 1941, there were 911 Ukrainian schools (5 of them private) with 91,300 pupils and 894 teachers, 483 of whom lacked the necessary professional qualifications.

In 1942–3, with Galicia included, there were 4,173 Ukrainian schools with 601,000 pupils and 8,711 teachers in the *Generalgouvernement*, as compared to 2,510 prior to World War I and 453 schools with 57,600 pupils prior to World War II.

**Gymnasiums**

Through the efforts of the Ukrainian Central Committee, the German authorities granted permission to open gymnasiums in Yaroslav and Kholm in 1940–1, and 10 gymnasiums in Galicia in 1941–2. In June 1942, there were 12 gymnasiums, with 90 regular and 72 parallel classes attended by 7,020 students (4,880 boys and 2,140 girls) and a professional staff of 256 teachers. Upon liquidation of parallel classes by the German authorities in 1942–3, the number of students decreased to 5,700 (in 1932, there were 21 Ukrainian gymnasiums and 18 lyceums with an enrollment of nearly 5,000 students).

**Teachers Seminaries**

Seminaries were first opened in Krynytsia in 1940–1 and several more were established in the following years. During the school year 1943–4, there were 9 teachers seminaries attended by 2,320 students (900 boys and 1,420 girls)–355 women attended seminaries for kindergarten instructors. The total number of teachers was 114 (during the Polish occupation, there was only one seminary for kindergarten teachers).

**Professional Schools**

These schools were exceptionally well developed. The status of professional education in June 1943 was as follows: 172 general-compulsory schools with 62,621 students (one day per week for studies, five days for vocational training); 22 one-year secondary schools with 1,186 students; 2 professional schools with 142 students; commercial-trade schools: 4 vocational-compulsory schools with 170 students; 34 three-year secondary schools with 7,768 students; 7 one-year professional schools with 460 students. Of the commercial-craft schools for boys there were 19 vocational-compulsory schools with 1,488 students; 28 secondary schools with 4,037 students; 6 professional schools with 1,046 students; of the commercial-craft schools for girls there were 2 vocational-compulsory schools with 117 students; 31 secondary schools with 2,501 students, 3 vocational schools with 221 students. The total number of professional schools was 330, with 81,885 students and 1,828 teachers (during the Polish occupation, there were less than 20 Ukrainian professional schools).

**Public Professional Courses**

These courses were actually schools of higher education for both Ukrainians and Poles, with German as the language of instruction. In 1941–2, there were departments of medicine, veterinary science, pharmaceutical science, technology, agronomy, and forestry (1942–3). The purpose of the courses was to train highly qualified specialists in the fields listed. In 1942–3, they were attended by 1,776 Ukrainian students (in 1932, about 300) and 600 Polish students. The teaching staff was made up of Ukrainian, Polish, and German professors. Close to 1,000 Ukrainian students were enrolled at institutions of higher learning in Germany and Czechoslovakia. Approximately one-half of all Ukrainian students received scholarships from the Commission to Assist Ukrainian Students (Komisiia Dopomohy Ukrains'komu Studentstvu) established in 1940 at the Ukrainian Central Committee.

**Other Education**

The Central Committee's section on cultural work and its subsections in the district and county relief committees concentrated on mass education projects. The former Prosvita reading rooms (Ridna Khata society in Podlachia and the Kholm area) were replaced by Ukrainian educational societies. Cultural educational activities were hampered by the limited publication of books, the frequent destruction of libraries by the Bolsheviks, unstable conditions as a result of the war (especially the mass recruitment of youth for work in Germany), and strict controls by the occupation authorities.

The Central Committee's section on cultural work established two organizations, the Institute of National Education and the Institute of Folk Arts, which provided social, educational, and cultural programs for the individual branches of the Ukrainian Educational Society consisting of popular lectures, material for amateur theatrical groups, and choruses. Several correspondence courses were conducted, as well as a series of contests for choruses and theatrical groups, first on the district level and later on the provincial level (all-provincial contest of choruses in July, 1943).

The Ukrainian Educational Society established almost 4,000 branches. The society's cultural and educational work in the westernmost areas was particularly important since it contributed in large measure to the development of national consciousness among the Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainian Publishing House, which promoted the advancement of education inside and outside the schools, was primarily concerned with school needs, youth, and the masses of Ukrainian peasantry (see Book Publishing).

*P. Isaïw*

# V. Libraries, Archives, Museums

## 1. LIBRARIES

### TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The existence of libraries in Ukraine was noted in chronicles as early as the eleventh century. The first library of which historical note was taken was founded by Prince Yaroslav the Wise as part of Saint Sophia's Cathedral built in Kiev in 1037. Prince Sviatoslav, son of Yaroslav (1027–76), was renowned to have "filled his chambers with books"; manuscript books were also collected by other Princes—Nicholas Sviatosha in Chernihiv, Volodymyr Vasylkovych in Volyn, and the boyars. Their collections, bequeathed or donated to churches and monasteries, became the nuclei of church and monastery libraries. The oldest was the library of the Kievan Cave Monastery, founded around 1050 and burned in 1718. Some of these libraries grew in size and survived even the Tatar invasions.

Priceless collections of manuscripts and, later, of printed books were being established by the church brotherhoods [Vol. 1, p. 629] which began to appear in parts of western Ukraine in the fifteenth century. The most prominent was the library of the Stavropygian Brotherhood in Lviv, which survived until 1939. With the growth of higher education, libraries were being established at the Greek-Slavonic School in Ostrih, the Mohyla Academy in Kiev, and in other cities. There is evidence that there were numerous libraries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, owned by high church dignitaries: Peter Mohyla, Lazar Baranovych, Ioannikii Galiatovsky, Stephen Yavorsky, Daniel Tuptalo, Theophan Prokopovych, Feofilakt Lopatynsky, as well as many priests and monks, for example, Basil Boiarsky, Jacob Susha, Yeronim Striletsky, Augustine Slavynsky, and others. There were also private libraries owned by Kozak officers and nobles (Nicholas Khanenko, Jacob Markovych, the Kochubei and Myloradovych families, Cyril Rozumovsky, Alexander Bezborodko, Gregory Poletyka, Alexander Rigelman, and others). The wealthy merchants also had their own libraries (Sylvester and Ivan Kulabka, Simon and Stephen Lashkevych, and others).

### FROM 1800 TO 1917 IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN UKRAINE

The Kievan Mohyla Academy, reorganized in 1819 as the Kievan Theological Seminary, and the colleges in Kharkiv and other cities laid the groundwork for the establishment of libraries in the true sense of the term—for the use of teachers and students. Such libraries were attached to the universities: Kharkiv (library comprised 250,000 volumes by 1917); Kiev (library developed from the nucleus of the Kremianets Lyceum Library and grew to over 500,000 volumes by 1913); Odessa (library began with the collection of the Richelieu Lyceum and grew to 314,000 volumes by 1915). There were also large libraries connected with the Kiev Theological Seminary, the Kiev Polytechnical Institute, and other higher educational establishments in Kiev and other cities. During the nineteenth century, many valuable libraries appeared in secondary schools.

Also during this period, special libraries began to appear for scholarly

research. Libraries were maintained by archive committees in *guberniya* capitals and by scientific societies, for example,

FIGURE 145. ODESSA PUBLIC LIBRARY

the Odessa Historical Society, the Nestor-Chronicler Society in Kiev, the Society for the Study of the Kuban-Black Sea Area in Katerynodar, the Society for the Study of Volhynia in Zhytomyr, and in scholarly associations attached to universities, archaeological and art museums. Public libraries were being established in the large cities, some of which had valuable collections of scholarly significance, as for example: the Odessa Public Library, the oldest and largest public library in Ukraine (founded in 1839, with 60,000 volumes in 1890 and 162,000 in 1911); the Kiev City Library, founded in 1866, with a rich Ukrainian division established by Michael Yuzefovich (56,000 volumes in 1917); the Kherson City Library (1872); the Chernihiv City Library (1877); the Kharkiv Community Library, founded in 1886 by Nicholas Sumtsov, Dmytro Bahalii, and others (160,000 volumes in 1911); the Katerynoslav Community Library (1887). There were also city libraries in Poltava, Kamianets Podilsky, and Zhytomyr. After the revolution of 1905, some of these libraries established separate divisions for books printed in Ukrainian. The general public enjoyed the benefits of libraries organized by the *zemstvos* and civic clubs in provincial and county seats.

The first completely Ukrainian libraries came into existence in the central and eastern parts of Ukraine only after the revolution of 1905, attached to Prosvita societies (for example, in Kiev) and Ukrainian Clubs. Their activities were curtailed following the dissolution of these societies by the Russian government in 1912. The foundation of the first Ukrainian scholarly library was laid by Michael Hrushevsky in the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Kiev in 1907.

## THE PERIOD OF UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD

Following the March 1917 revolution and the reestablishment of Ukrainian statehood under the Central Rada, steps were taken to establish a large Ukrainian National Library as early as 1917. The government of Hetman Paul Skoropadsky issued an act on August 2, 1918 establishing the National Library of the Ukrainian State in Kiev. This library was organized under a provisional committee appointed by the government which included Ukrainian scholars and civic leaders. During the Bolshevik occupation of Ukraine, the committee changed the name of the library to the All-People's Library of Ukraine on May 2, 1919. In spite of numerous difficulties due to the war and changes of the political regime, the library grew in size, mainly through donations and the nationalization of private libraries. In August 1919 the library had 40,000 volumes, by the middle of 1920, 500,000, and in June 1921, one million volumes.

The revolution of 1917–18 and the Ukrainian-Russian war of 1918–21 had an adverse effect on many libraries in Ukraine, particularly in locations remote from Kiev where, as a result of the revolutionary chaos and frequent indifference of the Ukrainians themselves, many valuable book collections, both privately owned and in institutions, were simply

lost. Great havoc was wrought on the libraries of monasteries, churches, and landowners, often with the acquiescence and even participation of the Bolshevik authorities. Many libraries were lost as a result of direct orders issued by the Council of People's Commissars in Moscow to seize libraries and bookstores and to transfer the libraries of all institutions, societies, and civic organizations "under the protection and filing" of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Russian SFSR.

The existence and survival of libraries and collections during this period must be credited to the efforts of Ukrainian scholars and educators, who often risked their lives to salvage books which were being dispersed or savagely destroyed. The first decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR with regard to historical and cultural monuments was issued on April 1, 1919 and referred merely to their transfer, including libraries, to the care of the People's Commissariat of Education. Libraries were dealt with in greater detail in the decree of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, issued in November 1922, on "the Establishment of a Unified System of Libraries" under the Supreme Political-Educational Committee and on the maintenance of academic (scientific) libraries by the People's Commissariat of Education. Later the same year, in accordance with the Code of Public Education of the Ukrainian SSR, the libraries, which were heretofore public, were declared state libraries: the Ivan Franko Library in Kiev, the Odessa Library, the Volodymyr Korolenko Central Library in Kharkiv, the October Revolution Library in Katerynoslav, and the Central Public Library in Kherson. In addition, the following libraries were established from different nationalized book collections: Central Children's Library in Mykolaïv; The Morris Vinchevsky Central Jewish Library in Kiev; The Mendele Moicher-Sforim Jewish Academic Library in Odessa; and the Polish State Central Library established in Kiev in 1924. In addition to the above-named central libraries, there was also a network of the so-called "mass" or local libraries—city, *raion*, and village libraries, whose main purpose was to disseminate "political education among the workers of the Ukrainian SSR."

## FROM 1920 TO THE PRESENT

The largest library in Ukraine during this period was the above-named All-People's Library of Ukraine, which grew in size from large book collections of the dispersed or reorganized libraries. In 1923 this library obtained the entire collection of the Kiev Theological Academy (more than 150,000 volumes), in 1925 the libraries of Saint Sophia Cathedral and of the Kiev monasteries (52,000 volumes), and in 1927 the bulk of the library of the Kiev University (nearly 500,000 volumes). The All-People's Library of Ukraine had a branch in

FIGURE 146. ALL-PEOPLE'S LIBRARY OF UKRAINE IN KIEV (1920's)

Vinnytsia, established on the base of the Scientific Library of Podilia, founded in 1920. In 1932 the library had 2,503,500 books in Kiev and 125,000 in Vinnytsia, and the following additional items: 118,100 manuscripts, 88,100 music scores, 36,700 maps, and 1,852,500 newspapers and leaflets. Following the reorganization of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences by the Soviet authorities into the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, the All-People's Library was consolidated with the libraries of the departments, chairs, commissions, and

institutions of the academy into a single Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, which had a collection of 7,097,000 volumes on January 1, 1936, and was the largest library in the world at the time. In the late 1920's the Library maintained a special Scientific Research Committee of Library Science and Bibliography, which published professional symposia and journals, as well as individual library textbooks. Through the efforts of the library and the Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Bibliology established in Kiev in 1923, the First All-Ukrainian Conference of Library Workers met in 1923, and the First-All-Ukrainian Conference of Scientific Libraries and Bibliographic Institutions in 1925. A convention of librarians was held in 1926, which reviewed the activities of city, *raion*, and village libraries during the 1921–5 period.

Except for the All-People's Library of Ukraine, the academic (former university) libraries, and the five largest libraries enumerated above (Kiev, Kharkiv, Odessa, Katerynoslav, and Kherson) which were financed out of the state budget, all other libraries were placed on the budgets of local administrative and community organs, which contributed to a marked deterioration of their activities. The network of local libraries developed right after the revolution. As of November 1, 1921 this network consisted of 4,211 libraries; it dropped to 3,067 in 1922, but then rose again to 5,154 on January 1, 1924.

As a result of the reorganization of higher learning in 1920 and the substitution of Institutes of Public Education for the universities, their basic book collections were turned over to the All-People's Library or to local scholarly libraries, leaving with the Institutes of Public Education only scientific and educational textbooks for the students and faculty. The Odessa State Library thus became the second largest library in Ukraine, with 2,300,000 volumes as of January 1, 1932. The Kharkiv Central Library had 300,000 volumes. Among the lesser libraries of this period, the following were important: The Nizhyn Institute of Public Education Library (163,000 volumes), Central Scientific Library in Poltava (150,000 volumes), Central Library of the Crimean South Coast in Yalta (100,000 volumes), the Mining Institute Library in Dnipropetrovske (134,000 volumes); Kamianets' Podilsky Institute of Public Education (100,000 volumes); Zhytomyr Pedagogical Institute (200,000 volumes); the Poltava State Museum (100,000 volumes); the Central Museum of the All-Ukrainian Cooperative Council in Kiev (90,000 volumes), and others.

Further reorganization of tertiary education involved the rebuilding of several university libraries. This was accomplished not only by returning their own former book collections to the universities but also by merging other libraries with the university libraries. By 1935 the Kharkiv University Library had 740,000 volumes, Kiev University –700,000, Odessa University–1,250,000, and Dnipropetrovske University–131,000 volumes. As a result of the abolition of a number of Institutes of Public Education in smaller cities, their book collections were transferred to the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (for example, the Nizhyn Institute of Public Education Library) or merged with other local libraries.

In KUBAN the city of Krasnodar was a major library center where, in addition to the libraries of three institutions of higher learning and two museum libraries, the following libraries were active until 1932: Krasnodar Institute of Public Education–50,000 volumes, the Kuban Medical Institute–21,000 volumes, and the Kuban-Black Sea Scientific Research Institute–18,000 volumes.

The development of libraries in the Ukrainian SSR and the Kuban region, and progress in other sectors of science and culture, were hampered by the repressions and reforms of the Soviet regime in the period 1934–7. A "purge" of book collections, which began in the late 1920's, was intensified, and all books

which were in any way unfavorable to Communist ideology and the Soviet order were removed from libraries, and either destroyed or transferred to collections of prohibited books. Scores of library directors and workers were discharged, being accused of "nationalist deviation," and a large number were imprisoned or exiled. Some librarians went into hiding and later took positions in "safer" cities, such as Moscow, Leningrad, and other cities of the Russian SFSR.

This reorganization and continued repression affected adversely the number of mass libraries: of the 25,808 village and town libraries which were in operation at the beginning of 1934, only 11,139 remained by the end of the year. Ukrainian libraries suffered great losses during the German-Soviet war 1941–5. Hundreds of libraries perished as a result of the hurried and chaotic evacuation of Ukraine by the Soviet authorities, and even more were destroyed by military action and the German occupation (1941–4). Some 700,000 books were shipped to Germany from the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, as well as almost the entire Communist Party Library (former City Library) of Kiev. The special collections of the Korolenko Library in Kharkiv were shipped to Germany, and the University Library was also seriously depleted. Out of 22,295 mass libraries in Ukraine in 1940 (including western Ukraine) with total holdings of 36,728,000 volumes, only 4,844 libraries were left in 1945 with 8,663,000 volumes.

## FROM 1800 TO 1945 IN WESTERN UKRAINIAN LANDS

Large collections of *Ucrainica*, including old prints, manuscripts and material in German, Polish, and other languages, were kept in state and city, as well as Polish public and private libraries in Galicia. The most important among these libraries were, as of 1936: University Library, founded in 1784 (339,420 volumes), the Ossolinski National Institute, founded in 1817 (297,460 volumes and 6,270 manuscripts), Polytechnical Institute Library, founded in 1844 (83,450 volumes), Count Victor Baworowski Foundation Library, founded in 1856 (55,000 volumes), City Library, founded in 1917 (20,000 volumes)—all in the city of Lviv. An important depository of Jewish history in Galicia was the Jewish Religious Community Library founded in Lviv in 1901 (17,000 volumes).

The first Ukrainian Library in Lviv was the National Home Library. Founded in 1849, it ultimately came under the control of the so-called Russophiles [Vol. I, pp. 700–1). At its opening to the general public late in the nineteenth century, the library had 100,000 volumes, and by 1924, about 120,000 volumes. The library also had a large collection of old manuscripts and documents (more than 5000), a collection of maps, and so on. The most valuable was the book and manuscript collection of the Galician historian and leader, Anthony Petrushevych.

The Library of the Shevchenko Scientific Society ultimately became the most important and the largest Ukrainian library in Galicia. Founded in 1894 and supplemented with Ukrainian publications and *Ucrainica* in foreign languages, the library grew to 70,000 volumes in 1914 and to 207,900 volumes on the eve of World War II (as of January 1, 1939), with an additional 2,250 geographic and historical charts and maps and more than 1,500 catalogued manuscripts. Until 1917 this library was the largest and most orderly collection of *Ucrainica* and Ukrainian publications of nineteenth and twentieth centuries both at home and abroad, with complete sets of Ukrainian newspapers of that period, as well as a sizeable collection of old books of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries and manuscripts of the fourteenth through the twentieth centuries. The library also kept archive materials

FIGURE 147. INSIDE THE LIBRARY OF THE SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY IN LVIV

of Ukrainian societies, organizations, institutions, and editorial offices, and material and documents on the history of the Ukrainian armed forces.

Other important Ukrainian libraries in Lviv were: the National Museum Library with a large collection of old books (about 2,400 in 1920), old manuscripts (more than 1,600 items), archival material (more than 5,000 items), and a collection of books on the history of Ukrainian and world art (about 20,000 volumes); the Prosvita Society Library (20,000 volumes in 1937); State Academic Gymnasium Library (19,200 volumes in 1932); and the library of the Greek-Catholic Theological Academy (founded in 1783, with 8,500 volumes in 1936). Valuable book and manuscript collections were maintained by the monasteries of Saint Basil the Great. The largest among the order's libraries were, as of 1936: Lviv library (42,000 volumes), Krekhiv (over 15,000 volumes including a large number of old books and manuscripts), and Buchach (15,000 volumes). The Ukrainian Catholic (Byzantine rite) Diocese of Peremyshl had a library (and archives) founded early in the nineteenth century.

The network of the Prosvita Society and of the Michael Kachkovsky Society (founded in 1874) had cultural and educational libraries all over the country. They were usually attached to reading-rooms. The Prosvita Society, for example, had 3,208 reading-rooms early in 1939 with 2,997 libraries.

In BUKOVINA, the largest library of *Ucrainica* was the Chernivtsi University Library (420,140 volumes in 1936). The Ruska Besida Society, founded in 1869, had a network of cultural-educational libraries attached to reading-rooms. There were 150 of them in 1914. All were disbanded following the Rumanian occupation of Bukovina in 1919.

In TRANSCARPATHIA, in addition to the Library and Archives of the Basilian Fathers at Chernecha Hora founded in 1720 (8000 volumes in 1932) and the Library of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Diocese founded in 1775 (more than 15,000 volumes in 1931), there was a small but valuable Library of the Prosvita Society founded in 1921 (8,000 volumes in 1936). This society also had a network of reading-room libraries (235 in 1935).

Following the Soviet occupation of Galicia and Volhynia in 1939 and of Bukovina in 1940, all the existing public and scholarly libraries were nationalized and reorganized. Out of the collections of the libraries of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the National Home, Ossolinski, Baworowski, Dzieduszycki and seventy-nine other state, public, and private libraries, the Soviet authorities opened the Branch Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Lviv in December 1939. Only the

Lviv University Library was left as a separate institution. The remaining libraries in Lviv and other cities of Galicia and Volhynia were reorganized into a network of *oblast* and city libraries with departments of children's literature. The libraries of the Prosvita Society and of other institutions in the towns and villages were reorganized into mass libraries. In 1940 there were 2,189 such libraries in Galicia and Volhynia, which is fewer than the libraries of the Prosvita alone in 1939.

In 1941–2 the German occupation authorities transformed the Branch Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR into the Lviv State Library (Lemberger Staatsbibliothek). The retreating German forces took with them to Germany in 1944 a great part of the book collections of the former libraries of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the National Home, particularly *incunabula* and old Ukrainian books, many of which were not returned after the war.

## THE 1946–66 PERIOD IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR

A gradual restoration of the damaged and destroyed libraries of Ukraine began with the end of hostilities. The Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR recovered its old books and manuscripts which had been evacuated to Ufa in 1941, as well as part of the book collections sent to Germany. In connection with the restoration of the network of mass libraries, the academy's library was made responsible for the methodical supervision of their activities, and in 1948 it was renamed the State Public Library of the Ukrainian SSR. In May 1964 this library suffered a serious damage when, as a result of arson committed by a Russian employee, Pogruzhalsky, about 600,000 items were lost in a fire, mainly publications and manuscripts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Soon thereafter, early in 1965, the library was again renamed: the Central Scientific Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. As of January 1, 1965 this library had about 7,000,000 books and 7,000,000 newspapers and other printed matter. It is the largest library in the Ukrainian SSR, fourth in the entire USSR, and fifth largest in the world. Its department of old prints had 300,000 books in 1959, including 522 *incunabula*, and the manuscript department had 270,000 items in 1965. The Lviv Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR of 1939 was renamed the Scientific Library and, as of January 1965, it had an inventory of 4,000,000 items.

Central libraries in Kiev and other cities were also revived. The Republic Library of the Communist Party, formed from the former Kiev Public Library (founded in 1866), became a scientific research institution in library science and bibliography. Its building and collections, amounting to 440,000 items in 1941, were destroyed during the war but as of January 1, 1965 it had two million books. The State Historical Library of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev, founded in 1939 as a special scholarly research library on problems of history, had part of its collection of 500,000 volumes in 1941 destroyed and pillaged. It renewed its activities in 1952 and by 1964 its collections comprised 519,800 volumes, including 6,250 old books. The Republic Medical Science Library founded in 1932, which was burned during the war, grew to 250,000 volumes by 1959 and 520,000 by 1965. The restored Gorky State Scientific Library in Odessa (formerly City Public Library, founded in 1830), had 2,700,000 items as of January 1, 1965, including priceless collections of manuscripts of the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries, *incunabula*, and old prints. The largest among the central scientific libraries in Kharkiv is the V. Korolenko State Scientific Library (former Kharkiv Community Library, founded in 1886). After recovering from its war losses, it grew to 3,600,000 items as of January 1, 1965 (compared with

2,300,000 in 1941). It is also a scientific research institution in library science and bibliography. The Kharkiv State Medical Science Library (formerly Library of the Kharkiv Medical Society) which was partially burned in 1941, held 600,000 items on January 1, 1963. The Central Agricultural Science Library in Kharkiv, founded in 1921, had 327,600 items in January 1965. In addition to the above, other important libraries are to be found in universities and other higher educational establishments.

There is also a separate network of technical and engineering science libraries in the Ukrainian SSR attached to different institutions and enterprises. There were 3,346 such libraries in 1957. The largest among them are: the Central Scientific Technical Library in Kharkiv, with more than 600,000 volumes in January 1965, and the Scientific Technical Library in Kiev (restored after being destroyed during the war), which now has 387,000 volumes.

The network of mass libraries under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture of the Ukrainian SSR comprises trade union libraries, collective farm libraries, and others. There were 29,235 such libraries in 1965 with an inventory of 228,722,000 volumes. The public which is not within reach of any library is served by tens of thousands of mobile libraries (bookmobiles). The growth of mass libraries is shown in Table I, which lists under (a) the number of libraries, and under (b) the number of books and journals at their disposal (in thousands). The distribution of mass libraries according to type and administrative supervision in 1965, is shown in Table II.

In the Ukrainian SSR, the training of librarians is conducted by library schools, institutes, and courses, as well as library science departments in institutions of higher learning. In the early 1930's the main training center for mass libraries (political education libraries) was the Kharkiv All-Ukrainian Institute of Communist Education with a separate department of library science. This department served as a base for the establishment of the Kharkiv Institute of Library Science in 1935, but its activities were interrupted by the war. It was restored in 1947 as part of the Gregory Skovoroda Pedagogical Institute in Kharkiv. This

TABLE I

| | 1950 | | 1958 | | 1965 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | a | b | a | b | a | b |
| Total number of libraries | 34,913 | 42,945 | 33,985 | 170,593 | 29,235 | 228,723 |
| Including village libraries | 29,426 | 18,982 | 25,941 | 89,805 | 19,763 | 108,419 |

TABLE II

| | Number of libraries | Inventory of books and journals in thousand copies |
|---|---|---|
| Libraries of the Ministry of Culture of the Ukrainian SSR | 18,817 | 173,739 |
| *Oblast* | 24 | 10,223 |
| *Raion* | 539 | 812 |
| City | 1,039 | 25,395 |
| Village | 14,103 | 91,011 |
| Children's | 924 | 24,602 |
| Club | 2,188 | 7,696 |
| Collective farm libraries | 1,672 | 2,562 |
| Trade Union libraries | 6,650 | 2,196 |
| Libraries under other administrative bureaus | 991 | 8,960 |

institute, now renamed the Institute of Culture, has three departments: library science, cultural education, and general education. During the 1962–3 academic year the institute had a faculty of 118 and an enrollment of 2,611 (including correspondence students). Secondary education in library science is provided by departments of library science of Technical Institutes of Communist Education, which numbered twenty-three in 1957. Practical professional training of library workers, including library scientists, is provided in post-graduate courses given by the large libraries of the Ukrainian SSR, such as the Academy of Sciences Library in Kiev, Scientific Library in Lviv, and the Central Libraries of Kharkiv and Odessa.

## ABROAD

Ukrainian libraries abroad have come into existence through the efforts of emigrants and Ukrainian political exiles. The oldest of them is the Library (and Archives) of the Greek-Catholic Diocese for Ukrainian emigrants in Bačka and Srem in Križevci (Yugoslavia). The diocese was established in 1777.

The largest Ukrainian libraries were founded by Ukrainian émigrés in Czechoslovakia: Ukrainian Free University Library (established 1922) with 10,000 volumes in 1938; the Ukrainian Academy of Technology and Husbandry Library in Poděbrady (established in 1922) with 29,260 volumes in 1931; Michael Drahomanov Ukrainian Higher Institute of Education in Prague (established in 1923) with 11,000 volumes in 1936; Museum of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle Library (established in 1925) with over 10,000 volumes in 1936, and thirty-five separate collections kept in the museum, as well as a priceless collection of the Ukrainian press from all over the world (more than 1,000 complete sets); Library of the Ukrainian Historical Chamber in the Foreign Ministry of Czechoslovakia (founded in 1931, with 17,000 volumes in 1936). With the dispersal of the Ukrainian Academy of Technology and Husbandry in 1931, its library collections were taken over by the Czechoslovak government institutions. Other Ukrainian libraries in Czechoslovakia were liquidated as a result of the war. There was an important library of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin (founded in 1926, with 31,600 volumes in 1937) and of a similar institute in Warsaw (founded in 1930, with over 6000 volumes in 1936 and a valuable archive of M. Drahomanov). Both were destroyed in the war. The Simon Petliura Library in Paris, founded in 1929, with more than 15,000 volumes in 1936, was shipped to Germany by the German occupation army and perished without a trace.

After World War II new libraries were established by Ukrainian scholarly institutions and societies, the most important being: Library of the Basilian Fathers in Rome, Ukrainian Free University Library and the Shevchenko Scientific Society Library in Munich, the latter transferred to Sarcelles (France) with 13,000 volumes in 1967; Museum and Archives of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences, originally in Augsburg, Germany, and since 1950 in New York, with over 13,000 volumes in 1965. After the bulk of Ukrainian émigrés had settled in the United States, Canada, and other countries of the free world, Ukrainian libraries were established as part of institutions founded by them, or as separate units, often associated with archives and museums [p. 407, also, Ukrainians Abroad, pp. 1148–9, 1187].

Many Ukrainian publications and material dealing with Ukraine are kept in numerous libraries all over the world. The greatest number is in the central libraries of the USSR: the Lenin Library of the USSR in Moscow, the Saltikov-Shchedrin Library in Moscow, and the Libraries of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Moscow and Leningrad. Valuable book collections on Ukrainian history and Ukrainian culture can be found in the libraries of Warsaw, Cra-

cow, Prague (Slavic Library and University Library), Vienna (the Austrian State Library is very important in this respect, since up to 1918 it received a copy of every Ukrainian publication printed in Austria, and the Vienna University Library), Helsinki (National Library), Paris (National Library), Munich (State Library), Berlin, Gotha, Kiel, London (British Museum Library), Rome (Vatican Library), and others.

The following libraries in the United States have a wealth of Ukrainian literature: the Library of Congress, New York Public Library, Columbia and Harvard University Libraries, Batelle Memorial Library (Columbus, Ohio). Since 1945, Stanford University in Palo Alto (California) has had a separate Ukrainian Library (as part of the Hoover Library). In Canada, libraries for Ukrainian studies have been established at the universities of Manitoba, Edmonton, Toronto, and others.

In 1961–2 associations of Ukrainian librarians were established in the United States and Canada, with a membership of about 200, employed professionally by American and Canadian public, university, and other libraries.

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# 2. ARCHIVES AND ARCHAEOGRAPHY

## TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Written sources from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries indicate that important historical documents, chronicles, and similar materials were preserved in church vestment closets and in treasury-rooms of monasteries and princely courts. From the fourteenth to

the seventeenth centuries archives were to be found in the castles of independent princes, in the residences of Lithuanian and Polish provincial governors (*voievody*), and later in town courts, magistrates' offices, and on the estates of magnates and nobles.

The archive of the Kozak Host, established in Terekhtemyriv in the first half of the seventeenth century, and the Ukrainian state archive of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and his successors in Chyhyryn, were largely destroyed. What remained of them became, together with the archives of Left Bank hetmans, the core of a state archive in Baturyn at the time of hetmans Samoilovych and Mazepa. After the destruction of this hetman capital by Muscovite armies in 1708, a state archive was organized in Hlukhiv, the new capital of the Kozak Hetman state. This archive was called General'naia Malorossiiskaia Arkhiva (General Little Russian Archive), and in it were collected all the papers of the Hetman government and the existing governmental offices—General Military Offices, General Military Court, Little Russian College, and so on. In addition to this main state archive, smaller archives existed at regimental and company army offices, as well as at town magistrates' courts and town halls. Churches, monasteries, and some private individuals also collected archives. Archival materials which were saved from the great Hlukhiv fires of 1748 and 1784 were eventually transferred to Chernihiv, where they remained until the latter half of the nineteenth century. In the late seventeenth century new official archives began to be organized by central and later by provincial Russian government organs. Important documents were also preserved in the archives of the Kievan metropolitans and in the Kievan Mohyla Academy. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many archival collections and documentary material relating to the history of Ukraine were transferred to Poland or Muscovy, where they were incorporated in the state archives of those countries. From 1772 many historical documents bearing on the history of Galicia, Transcarpathia, and Bukovina were deposited in the state archives in Vienna.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries also saw the beginnings of Ukrainian archaeography—the research and publication of archival materials. Among the materials thus studied were collections of deeds, charters, diplomatic documents (the collection of falsified "articles" of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, dated 1654, and of George Khmelnytsky, dated 1659, published in Kiev in 1660). The first archaeographic works began to appear in Russia in the second half of the eighteenth century, written particularly by the Ukrainians Basil Ruban and Theodore Tumansky; they included the publication of chronicles, and collections of historical documents from Russian (state) and Ukrainian (private) archives. In Galicia and Transcarpathia also the first publications of documents, for the most part relating to the history of the church, began appearing in the second half of the eighteenth century.

## THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

### Central and Eastern Lands

The publication of Ukrainian historical materials in the nineteenth century was connected with the work of Russian archives and institutions of learning, particularly the Archaeographic Commission, established in St. Petersburg in 1834. Owing to the efforts of this commission, the *Polnoie Sobraniie russkikh lietopisei* (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles, I–XXX, 1841–1965) was published, as well as *Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii zapadnoi Rossii* (Documents Relating to the History of Western Russia, I–V, 1846–53), containing documents on the history of Ukraine, Belorussia, and Lithuania from 1340–1699, and *Akty, otnosiashchiesia k istorii yuzh-*

*noi i zapadnoi Rossii* (Documents Relating to the History of Southern and Western Russia, I–XV, 1863–92), edited by Nicholas Kostomarov and Hennadii Karpov. Ukrainian historian and philologist Joseph Bodiansky was active in the field of archaeography in Moscow, publishing such Kozak chronicles as *Litopys Samovydtsia* (Chronicle of an Eyewitness) and *Istoriia Rusov* (History of the *Rus'* People).

Scientific archaeography and the organization of scholarly archives began in Ukraine in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1843 an archaeographic commission was set up in Kiev under the name Interim Commission for the Study of Ancient Documents, and in 1862 a Central Archive of Ancient Documents was established at Kiev University, in which registers, charters, and other documents from town, *zemstvo*, and magistrate courts of Right-Bank Ukraine of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries were collected.

The Kiev Archaeographic Commission was active in publishing historical source material and collections of documents, in particular a series under the title *Pamiatniki* (Monuments, I–IV, 1845–59), the chronicles of Velychko (1848–64), Hrabianka (1853), Samovydets (1878), and others, as well as an important series, *Arkhiv yugo-zapadnoi Rossii* (Archives of Southwestern Russia, 35 vols., 1859–1914). In 1888 an Historical Archive was created at Kharkiv University for the preservation of archives of government offices of Left-Bank Ukraine and the archives of Slobids'ka Ukraïna of the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries. In addition to those named above, archives existed at *guberniya* offices, containing important material relating to the history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Such archives in Kiev had documents on the history of the Haidamak uprising, the Decembrist movement, the Polish uprisings of 1831 and 1863, the archive of the Kievan Mezhyhiria factory, and the like. The archive of the Zaporozhian Sich (eighteenth century) was situated in Odessa. Archives were also maintained by consistories, monasteries, and organizations of nobles and townspeople, as well as public and private institutions and individuals.

At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries Learned Archival Commissions were established in some *guberniya* cities in Ukraine (Simferopol, 1887; Chernihiv, 1896; Poltava, 1903; Katerynoslav, 1903). These were official organizations whose duties included the protection and research of monuments of antiquity and art, and especially the care of archives. These commissions published their *Trudy* (Works; in Chernihiv, Poltava), *Izvestiia* (News; in Tavria), and *Letopis'* (Chronicle; in Katerynoslav), with archaeographical material and scholarly research studies. Other archival commissions existed in Kiev, Kherson, and Kholm, but were not involved in publishing.

**Western Ukrainian Lands**

The most important archives in Galicia were: the State Archive in Lviv, founded at the end of the eighteenth century, housing documents of state offices of the kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria; the District Archive, established in Lviv in 1784, containing legal documents of the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries; the Archive of the City of Lviv, opened in 1891. The most valuable archaeographical publications were *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie* (Town and Land Documents), a collection of documents and materials of the Lviv district archive of the Bernardine monks (25 volumes, 1868–1935). Much material pertaining to the history of Galicia, Volhynia, and other parts of Ukraine was preserved in the archives of Polish dioceses, monasteries, magnates, landlords, and scholars.

In Galicia, the Archaeographic Commission of the Shevchenko Scientific

Society carried on important activity, particularly in publishing the series *Zherela do istorii Ukraïny-Rusy* (Sources on the History of *Rus'*-Ukraine; 11 volumes, 1895–1919) compiled by Michael Hrushevsky, with documents of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, as well as the series *Pamiatky ukraïns'ko-rus'koï movy i literatury* (Monuments of *Rus'*-Ukrainian Language and Literature; 7 volumes, 1896–1913), and *Ukraïns'ko-Rus'kyi arkhiv* (Ukrainian-*Rus'* Archive; 14 volumes, 1905–1923). Denis Zubrytsky and Anthony Petrushevych also published some important historical material in Galicia.

## THE PERIOD OF UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD

With the emergence of a Ukrainian state in 1917, national archives began to be organized in Ukraine. In Kiev in 1918 a separate Archival-Library Division, under the direction of Vadym Modzalevsky, was created as part of the Supreme Administration of Art Matters and National Culture. Modzalevsky proposed a plan to open in Kiev a national archive both for the preservation of documents of great scholarly value and general national importance and the housing of archives of former and future government offices of Ukraine as a sovereign state, but the events of the time prevented him from realizing these plans. On the initiative of the Archival Division, remnants of the Ukrainian documentary heritage began to be salvaged and collected either in newly established archives or in the archives of former *guberniya* governments. The two existing central archives (in Kiev for Right-Bank Ukraine and in Kharkiv for Left-Bank Ukraine) were supplemented by *guberniya* archives, and some new archives were set up in large localities.

Archives of Ukrainian offices and governmental institutions existing at the time of the rebirth of Ukrainian statehood (1917–20) were partially evacuated and preserved in Lviv, Warsaw, and other cities outside Ukraine. Archives of the Central Rada and of the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic, some of which had remained in Kiev and Kamianets Podilsky, were later transferred to Moscow.

### 1920's–30's

**Ukrainian SSR**

Soviet authorities in Ukraine at first did not pay much attention to archives, which were in large measure destroyed during the revolution and the war, and occasionally even hindered attempts by Ukrainian scholars and community leaders to save the repositories. In January 1919 an Archival Division was created at the All-Ukrainian Committee for the Preservation of Monuments of Antiquity and Art (VUOKOPSM). In March 1920 a Special All-Ukrainian Archival Commission was established at the All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee (Vseukrevkom), not so much for the "protection of archival materials valuable in a scholarly sense," but rather to "sort out and utilize all archival material of no specific and historical value"—a need aroused by a severe paper shortage. Archives outside of Kharkiv and Kiev remained for the most part uncared for, without funds for their maintenance and management. In some localities they were even destroyed; in many cities archival materials were despoiled or put up for sale. The archives of various institutions and private individuals were greatly depleted. A decree of the Council of People's Commissars of April 20, 1920 concerning the nationalization and centralization of archival matters in the Ukrainian SSR did nothing to improve the situation.

All further policies of the Soviet regime concerning archives were at first directed at securing and eventually centralizing matters under the control of governmental and party organs. The Archival Division of the All-Ukrainian Committee for the Preservation of Monu-

ments of Antiquity and Art was reorganized in November 1922 and became the Main Administration of Archives (Holovarkh) within the People's Commissariat of Education. In January 1923 a Central Archival Administration of the Ukrainian SSR (Ukrtsentrarkhiv) was created within the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee (VUTsVK) of the Ukrainian SSR (eventually it was placed under the jurisdiction of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR). Subordinate to the Central archival Administration were Central Historical Archives in Kharkiv and Kiev and the Central Archive of the Revolution in Kharkiv; its *guberniya* (later regional, *oblast*) organs had jurisdiction over *guberniya* historical archives with departments devoted to the history of the revolution. In 1925 the so-called Sole State Archival Fundamental Stock of the Ukrainian SSR was created. The first head of the Archival Administration of the Ukrainian SSR was academician Dmytro Bahalii, shortly to be followed by a succession of various administrators drawn from the party apparatus.

Between 1925 and 1931 the Central Archival Administration published its organ *Arkhivna Sprava* (Archival Matters, with a supplement *Chervonyi Arkhiv* [Red Archive]); in 1939 this journal was reorganized into *Radians'kyi Arkhiv* (Soviet Archive) and in 1932 into *Arkhiv Radians'koï Ukraïny* (Archive of Soviet Ukraine). There also appeared separate works and textbooks on archival studies (by Victor Romanovsky for example), and instructions in the more technical aspects of archival work.

The center for archaeographic work at this time was the Archaeographical Commission of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, founded in 1922 as an extension of the Kiev Archaeographical Commission. It issued an irregular series under the title *Ukraïns'kyi Arkhiv* (Ukrainian Archive) and *Ukraïns'kyi Arkheohrafichnyi Zbirnyk* (Ukrainian Archaeographic Symposium), as well as other archaeographic publications (*Litopys* [Chronicle] of Velychko, *Opys Novhorodsivers'koho Namisnytstva 1779–1781* [Description of Novgorod-Siversky Administration, 1779–1781], *Materiialy do Istoriï Kartohrafiï Ukraïny* [Materials to the History of Ukrainian Cartography]).

Subordinated to the Central Archival Administration in Kharkiv, according to statistical data of 1932, were: six central archives (historical, revolutionary, ancient documents, state, labor, and Hebrew culture), two in Kiev (historical and ancient documents), six regional historical archives in larger cities, 27 state historical and 20 municipal archives in smaller cities. In addition, the Main Archive of the Autonomous Republic of Moldavia fell under its jurisdiction. A total of 15,600 archival stocks were deposited in all the archives supervised by the administration. The most important archives at this time were: the Kiev Central Archive of Ancient Documents (from 1852), in which reposed 5,886 registers from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, as well as 498,000 deeds and documents of the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries; the Volodymyr Antonovych Kievan Central Historical Archive

FIGURE 148. ANTONOVYCH CENTRAL HISTORICAL ARCHIVE IN KIEV

(in the 1920's); the Kharkiv Central Historical Archive; and the Odessa Regional Historical Archive.

The repression of Ukrainian scholarship and culture, begun by the Soviet

regime in the early 1930's, severely impeded the progress of archival work in the Ukrainian SSR. Many archivists were arrested and many died in prisons and concentration camps. In 1933 the publication of the archival journal stopped completely. The Archaeographic Commission of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was disbanded, as was the Archaeographic Commission formed in 1928 at the Ukrainian Central Archive. The reorganization of the archival system was climaxed in 1938 with the subordination of all archives exclusively to the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVS) of the Ukrainian SSR, thus placing it in fact in the hands of the NKVD (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs) of the USSR in Moscow. Archives were made inaccessible except for trusted party members, and the publication of documents virtually stopped.

Archival matters were similarly reorganized in Kuban. The State Archive of the Krasnodar region (with two branches, in Novorossiisk and Armavir), the successor of the former Kuban Military Archive of the Black Sea and Kuban Kozak Hosts (1787–1917), became the main archive of the area. In Maikop there exists a regional archive of the Adigei Autonomous Region.

**Western Ukrainian Lands**

In western Ukrainian lands under Poland, the main archives before 1939 were the above-mentioned regional and city archives in Lviv. Numerous archival materials were preserved in municipal archives in the larger cities of Galicia and Volhynia and especially in private Polish archives. Materials relating to the history of Transcarpathia reposed in the Regional Archive in Uzhhorod, as well as in state archives in Budapest and Prague. Work on Ukrainian archives in Galicia during the period between the two World Wars progressed very slowly. Archival materials of importance in the field of Ukrainian studies were to be found in the archives of the Stavropygian Institute, the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Consistory in Lviv, the Greek-Catholic Chancery in Peremyshl, the Basilian Fathers in Krekhiv, and also in such private archives as those of the Fedorovych family in Vikno and the Sheptytsky family in Prylbychi. After the Soviet occupation of western Ukrainian lands, all archives there were nationalized and reorganized in accordance with the compulsory system prevailing in the USSR.

## AFTER 1940

During the German occupation, all archival matters were placed under the jurisdiction of German authorities. The activity of Ukrainian archivists was limited to salvaging and reassembling archives dispersed and destroyed by the Soviet occupation and the ravages of war. The retreating Soviet troops carried away all secret and important historical archival collections and burned all classified material. The Germans during their retreat in 1943, took the most valuable materials from the Kievan Archive of Ancient Documents, especially those dealing with the Magdeburg Law, and burned the university building which housed the archive, thus destroying most of the remaining material. There is no exact information as to the restitution of archival materials taken to Russia or Germany from Ukraine during the war.

After the war, work on archives in the Ukrainian SSR remained for a time at a complete stand-still. Some activity resumed in 1947, with the renewal of publication of an archival journal, the *Naukovo-informatsiinyi biuleten' arkhivnoho Upravlinnia URSR* (Scientific-Informative Bulletin of the Archival Administration of the Ukrainian SSR, renamed *Arkhivy Ukraïny* [Archives of Ukraine] in 1965). Archives which had escaped destruction during the war suffered from lack of satisfactory housing and competent workers. On January 1, 1949 almost half of all the documentary

material in state archives of the Ukrainian SSR was in complete disorder. Publication of archival materials was wholly dependent on the demands of official and party politics. The organization and scientific and methodical management and control of all archives in Ukraine has been exclusively in the hands of the Archival Administration of the Ministry of the Interior Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR (from 1959 under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR). In 1958 under its jurisdiction fell: five central republican state archives—the October Revolution and Socialist Construction of the Ukrainian SSR Archive in Kharkiv, Historical Archive of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev, with a branch in Kharkiv, Historical Archive of the Ukrainian SSR in Lviv, and the Archive of Photo-, Phono-, and Cinematographic Documents in Kiev. Branches of the Archival Administration, active in twenty-five Executive Committees of *Oblast* Councils of Workers' Deputies have jurisdiction over: 25 *Oblast* archives with eight branches, 622 *raion* archives, and 83 municipal state archives. Regional committees of the CPU have their party archives, the focal point of which is the Party Archive of the Institute of History of the Party Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

Since 1957 there has been some improvement in the archaeographic output of archives in the Ukrainian SSR. Catalogues of some of the larger archives were published in 1959–62, and the publication of archival materials of the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries—deed registers, charters, and other documents—also gradually began.

## Abroad

During the war, the Museum of the Ukraine's Struggle for Liberation in Prague (see p. 422) became the central archive abroad, but after 1945 its archival collections were taken to the Soviet Union. Archival materials of the S. Petliura Library in Paris were taken to Germany and vanished there. In 1945 the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences began the organization of a central archive, first in Augsburg, later in New York. Since the late 1940's, Ukrainian archives have come into existence, usually connected with libraries or museums, in various cities of the United States, Canada, and Europe (see Ukrainians Abroad, pp. 1148–9, 1187, 1248). An archive of the Greek-Catholic Diocese in Križevci, Yugoslavia, established in the late eighteenth century, continues to exist.

*B. Krawciw*

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# 3. MUSEUMS, CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL LANDMARKS

## TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Ukrainian museums began simply as collections and preservations of cultural monuments and natural landmarks at the time of the emerging statehood of *Rus'*-Ukraine and the adoption of Christianity. Vestment closets and libraries of the St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev (eleventh century), the Kievan Cave Monastery, the Mykhailivsky Monastery, the Spaso-Preobrazhensky Cathedral of Chernihiv, as well as the treasuries of the great Kievan, Galician-Volhynian, and independent princes, were the first depositories of valuable historical material and art pieces. Attacks on Kiev by princes from the northern lands (particularly the sacking of Kiev by Andrew Boholiubsky, Prince of Rostov-Suzdal, in 1169), and later the Mongol-Tatar invasions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, destroyed the oldest existing collections of Ukrainian museum pieces. Only individual items, now mostly outside of Ukraine, escaped destruction.

A flowering of national life during the Kozak period (the Hetman state) from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries spurred the collection of painting, goldsmithery, ceramics, and other examples of art. Manuscripts, early editions, incunabulas, engravings, and the like, were collected on the estates of Kozak officers and the wealthier merchants, as well as in monasteries and churches.

Valuable collections were established in the palaces of Ukrainian hetmans, notably that of Ivan Mazepa who was a famed patron of the arts and of scholarship. Despite the fact that hetman-instituted collections in Chyhyryn and Baturyn were destroyed by the Russians in 1678 and in 1708, many historical monuments and art objects have been preserved from that period, known as Ukrainian Baroque. Interest in relics of Ukrainian antiquity and art, and collections of them, developed notably in the eighteenth century among the educated Ukrainian officers (Poletyka, Myklashevsky, Skoropadsky, Apostol, Lyzohub, Rozumovsky, Kapnist, Khanenko, Sudiienko, and many other families), as well as among Russian nobles in Ukraine (Alexander Rigelman among others.) Large monasteries, for instance the Kievan Cave Monastery, the Mykhailivsky Monastery in Kiev, Troïtsky Monastery in Chernihiv, and monasteries in Kharkiv and Poltava, had very valuable collections of museum pieces.

## THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

### Central and Eastern Lands

Organized museology in the central and eastern Ukrainian lands began in the first half of the nineteenth century in conjunction with the literary and cultural revival. In the absence of an independent Ukrainian state, initiative in establishing museums rested with various civic organizations, organs of urban and rural self-government and private patrons. As a result of intensified archaeological excavations and research, the first museums in Ukraine consisted of collections of archaeological objects. The oldest of these museums was the Archaeological Museum in Theodosia (Feodosiia) in the Crimea, founded in 1811. (It has been renamed the Museum of Regional Studies and now has only local significance.) Scientifically, the most prominent museum with the most valuable collections was the historical-archaeological museum in Odessa,

founded in 1825 as the Odessa City Museum of Antiquities, which from 1858 until its nationalization in 1920 belonged to the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities. Founded almost simultaneously, in 1826, was the Museum of Antiquity in Kerch. Another museum of archaeological findings was the Museum of Antiquities of Kiev University, the first museum in Kiev, founded in 1837 through the efforts of the Committee for Collecting Monuments of Antiquity. A parallel institution at the University was the Numismatic Cabinet (Müntz Kabinett), founded in 1834 on the basis of the numismatic collections of the Lyceum of Kremianets, later also the Lyceum of Vilnius, the Basilian school in Uman, and schools in Lutsk and Pochaïv.

In the nineteenth century, collectors and patrons in the main cultural centers of Ukraine worked at founding museum collections of various kinds. This private initiative was supported by local self-government organs. Thus up to the revolution of 1917, a number of museums were established, not only of an historical-archaeological character but also in art, natural history, and regional studies.

The Historical-Archaeological Museums were the most numerous and had the largest and most valuable collections. In addition to the archaeological museums mentioned above, others came into existence in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. For the most part, they had a broader historical range. Owing to the efforts of the Church-Archaeological Society of the Kievan Theological Academy, the Museum of Church Antiquities was opened in 1878 with more than 20,000 items on display. In 1898 the Museum of the Taurian Archival Commission was founded in Symferopol in the Crimea, with archaeological, art, ethnographic, and natural history divisions. Through the efforts of archaeologist Victor Hoshkevych, a City of Museum of Antiquities was founded in Kherson in 1890, with valuable collections of antique objects and Kozak weapons. The Podilian Eparchial Historical-Statistical Committee was instrumental in establishing a Historical-Archaeological Museum in Kamianets Podilsky in 1890, which was headed by Yukhym Sitsinsky. A museum of the same type was established in 1891 in Poltava, with archaeological, ethnographic, and natural history departments, and with a separate art gallery. A storehouse of local antiquities, later renamed the Khersones Archaeological Museum and Excavations Field, was founded in 1892 near Sevastopol in the Crimea, on the site of the ancient city of Khersones.

FIGURE 149. KHERSONES ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM AND EXCAVATIONS FIELD

The Museum of Ukrainian Antiquity in Chernihiv, founded in 1896 by Basil Tarnovsky, was subsidized by the provincial *zemstvo* from 1898 in a building constructed especially for it. In addition to a collection of Kozak and Hetman antiquity of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this museum contained a collection of manuscripts and drawings by Taras Shevchenko, and material on the life and work of Ukrainian writers of the nineteenth century. The idea to establish a national museum of Ukraine in Kiev evolved as early as 1884, and was initiated with the collection of funds and museum articles in 1888. It was realized in 1899 with the establishment of the City Industrial Arts and Science Museum. The official opening of the museum building, financed by the Tereshchenko family and the government, took place in

December 1904. The sections of the museums were: archaeological, historical, numismatic, industrial arts, and fine arts. Material exhibited in the museum was important not only to the history of the Ukrainian people, but also to that of other nationalities, particularly the Poles and Jews in Ukraine.

Of the Historical-Archaeological Museums that came into being at the beginning of the twentieth century (up to 1917), the more important ones are: the Historical-Archaeological Museum in Katerynoslav, established in 1902–5 under the direction of Dmytro Yavornytsky from the merger of the Katerynoslav City Museum (established as the General Museum in 1849) and the Alexander Pol Museum of Archaeological - Natural History; the Museum of Antiquity and Art in Hlukhiv (founded in 1903), with its valuable collections of porcelain; the Archaeological Museum, established at Kharkiv University in 1904; in Chernihiv, a museum of the Learned Archival Commission, founded in 1908; the Archaeological Museum in Mykolaïv, established in 1913 from the valuable collections of Borys Farmakovsky.

FIGURE 150. DMYTRO YAVORNYTSKY

FIGURE 151. HISTORICAL-ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM IN KATERYNOSLAV (NOW DNIPROPETROVSKE)

Along with historical-archaeological museums, museums of art began to appear in Ukraine in the nineteenth century. First in this category was the art museum of Kharkiv, begun in 1804 with collections of the Kharkiv University and opened in 1886 as the City Museum of Art. The collection of western and eastern art assembled by B. and V. Khanenko in 1870 was museum-like in character. An art museum was founded in Theodosia in the Crimea in 1880, based on the painting collection of Ivan Aivazovsky, the seascape painter. After it had been acquired by the city, the museum was renamed the Aivazovsky Picture Gallery. In 1891 Nicholas Tereshchenko started a collection of ancient and contemporary Ukrainian and Russian art. In 1899 the City Museum of Fine Arts was established in Odessa (in 1917 renamed the National Art Museum). At the beginning of the nineteenth century art museums were opened in Sevastopol (where the panoramic "Defense of Sevastopol" was unveiled in 1905), in Yalta in 1913, and in Katerynoslav and Mykolaïv in 1914.

FIGURE 152. ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM IN MYKOLAÏV

A few regional studies museums began to appear towards the end of the nineteenth century. They include: the Volhynian Museum, established in Zhytomyr in 1864, which in 1895 became the property of the Society of Researchers of Volhynia and in 1914 began functioning

as an independent institution, and the Museum of the Black Sea Fleet, founded in 1869 in Sevastopol. The first regional studies museum to be called thus was the Museum of Regional Studies in Yalta, founded in 1891. In the 1910's, regional studies museums were established in Derhachi in the Kharkiv region (founded in 1910 by biologist B. Mykolaïv), in Ostrih (founded in 1911 by the Ukrainian Orthodox Brotherhood), and in Oster in the Chernihiv region (1911).

Among natural science museums were the following: the Natural-Historical Museum in Kherson (established in 1897 as an Entomological Cabinet), the Museum of Living Nature (Aquarium) in Mykolaïv (founded in 1898 on the basis of a collection of M. Leontovych), and the Mykola Pyrohiv Pedagogical Museum in Kherson (established 1912).

In KUBAN, the Kuban Historical-Scientific Museum was established in Katerynodar in 1897 by the local Statistical Commission. The exhibits included material dealing with the history of Ukrainian colonization and local ethnography, archaeology, and nature. Novorossiisk had a Natural Museum founded in 1894, renamed in 1916 the Museum of Natural History of the Black Sea Coast of the Caucasus. A regional studies museum also existed, established in Armavir in 1904. There were more than a dozen eparchial and church archaeological museums founded by individual bishops (for example, Filaret Humilevsky, archbishop of Chernihiv), eparchial consistories, and church brotherhoods (in Kiev, Chernihiv, Kharkiv, Poltava, Kamianets Podilsky, Zhytomyr, Lutsk, Volodymyr Volynsky, and other cities.)

At the time when Ukrainian civic organizations and private individuals were working to open museums in Ukraine, Russian government officials sought to remove from Ukraine the more valuable museum pieces and collections (particularly of archaeological findings) to museums in Russian territory. In this manner, fine collections of Ukrainian material were established in the Hermitage (especially Scythian gold treasures and relics of ancient art), in the Russian-Historical Museum in St. Petersburg (ethnographic collection), in the Historical Museum in Moscow, in the Armory Chamber in the Kremlin, and in the Artillery Museum in St. Petersburg (notably the collection of N. Brandenburg).

**Western Lands**

In western Ukrainian lands within Austria-Hungary, the most valuable Ukrainian material was initially found in state and private Polish museums. The largest and most significant among them were the Museum of the Lubomirski princes, existing since 1823 at the Ossolinski National Institute, and the Dzieduszycki Museum in Lviv, founded in 1845 with a wealth of material pertaining to the archaeology, ethnography, and nature of Ukraine. Equally prominent were the Lviv Museum of Art Crafts, established in 1873, the Historical Museum of the City of Lviv (established in 1892), and the King Jan III National Museum in Lviv (founded in 1908), exhibiting portraits and weapons. The first valuable Ukrainian museum collection in Lviv was founded in the 1870's and this became the basis for two museums—the archaeological-historical museum and the museum of natural history, both opened at the National Home in 1902. In addition, many societies collected relics of Ukrainian antiquity: the Lviv Prosvita Society began its collection in 1868, the Stavropygian Institute, in 1888 (owing to the efforts of Isidore Sharanevych), and also the Shevchenko Scientific Society. In 1895 Michael Hrushevsky, with the cooperation of Theodore Vovk, Ivan Franko, and Volodymyr Hnatiuk, founded the museum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, which was later divided into the archaeological-ethnographic section and

a natural science section. Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky established a church museum in Lviv in 1905, directed by Hilarion Svientsitsky. It was reorganized into the National Museum in 1908, and

FIGURE 153. NATIONAL MUSEUM IN LVIV (NOW STATE MUSEUM OF PICTORIAL ART)

in 1911 it acquired a separate building to house its collections of manuscripts and early editions, ikons, portraits, exhibits of applied and national art, archaeology, and numismatics. In Peremyshl there was an art gallery in the Greek-Catholic bishop's palace and a Museum of the Greek-Catholic Diocese. A Museum of the Theological Seminary existed in Stanyslaviv. Valuable Ukrainian collections were found also in the Pokutia Museum in Kolomyia (with an outstanding Hutsul exhibit), in the Podilian Museum in Ternopil (established 1906), and in the Peremyshl Museum (1909). Many Ukrainian historical and art objects could be found in private Polish collections, as for example those of Zdzislaw Tarnowski in Dykiv, Maria Tarnowska in Sniatynka, in the castle of the Sanguszko princely family in Pidhirtsi, and in the collections of the Pawlikowski family, Leon Pininski, and Rudolph Mękicki in Lviv. Other valuable collections were housed in the museums of scholarly institutions and universities, such as Lviv University, the Lviv Polytechnical School, and the Academy of Veterinary Science.

In BUKOVINA, collections of Ukrainian studies materials were found in the Bukovina Regional Museum and in the museums of the Chernivtsi University (established in 1776–7). In addition, a Ukrainian ethnographic museum collection was established at the National Home in Chernivtsi.

Museum collections in TRANSCARPATHIA were housed in monasteries on Chernecha Hora near Mukachiv and in Krasnyi Brid near Laborets. A Regional Studies Museum existed in Bardiïv from 1906.

## FROM 1917 TO THE PRESENT

### Central and Eastern Lands in 1917–32

The revolution of 1917 and the struggle for independence by the Ukrainian people intensified the development of museums in central and eastern Ukrainian lands. After the nationalization of landed property, those private collections which had escaped the ravages of the war and revolution were transferred to museums, or became the nucleus of newly founded museums. Large private collections, as well as museum treasures and church and monastery collections, were also nationalized and, if not destroyed or despoiled, turned over to museums. The network of museums in Ukraine was broadened and their scope expanded through the initiative of Ukrainian scholars and civic leaders, along with a general upsurge of cultural life in the 1920's. This was often accompanied by obstacles and prohibitions imposed by the Soviet authorities.

The more important historical-archaeological museums in the larger cities of Ukraine were reorganized and given a more national Ukrainian character, both in the nature of exhibits and in name. The Kiev City Museum of Industrial Arts was renamed the first State Museum in 1919, and in 1924 it received the title Shevchenko All-Ukrainian Historical Museum. At the same time its collections were significantly extended. In 1920, in Kharkiv, the Gregory Skovoroda Museum of Slobids'ka Ukraïna (eventually

FIGURE 154. SHEVCHENKO ALL-UKRAINIAN HISTORICAL MUSEUM IN KIEV

renamed the All-Ukrainian Historical Museum) was founded on the basis of ethnographic collections of the former Kharkiv Historical-Philosophical Society and the historical collections of the City Art Museum and the Museum of Church History. After nationalization in 1920, the City Museum of Antiquities in Odessa was reorganized as the Ukrainian Historical Museum. The first All-Ukrainian Museum of Hebrew Culture, named in honor of Mendele Moikher Sforim, was established in Odessa in 1917, with exhibits relating to the history of Jews in Ukraine. The Chernihiv State Museum was opened in 1923 with exhibits formerly in the V. Tarnovsky Chernihiv Museum, the museum of the Archival

FIGURE 155. CHERNIHIV STATE MUSEUM

Commission, and three other local museums. In Bakhchisarai in the Crimea, the former palace of the Khan (built in 1503) and the Khan's mosque (built 1740) were transformed into the Bakhchisarai State Court-Museum. A Museum of the Kuban and the North-Caucasus Foreland Regions was established in Krasnodar in 1923. A peculiar historical museum of the new type was the Artem All-Ukrainian Social Museum, established in Kharkiv in 1922 for the purpose of studying the social and economic development of Ukraine.

At the same time, new art museums were being opened, mainly built around art collections that had been nationalized or transferred to institutions of learning and museums. A collection of Western European art, donated by Mrs. Bohdan Khanenko to the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1919, was set up as the Museum of Art of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1920. The Poltava Picture Gallery was separated from

FIGURE 156. POLTAVA PICTURE GALLERY

the Poltava Historical-Archaeological Museum in 1919. In the same year, a Museum of Arts came into being in Nykopil in the Kryvyi Rih region. A Museum of Ukrainian Art (in 1927 renamed the State Art-Historical Museum) was created in Kharkiv in 1920 on the basis of the collections of Kharkiv University's Museum of Fine Arts and Antiquities, the City Art Museum, and other art collections. Nationalized collections of western and eastern art were used to make up the Gallery of Ancient Pictorial Art, established in Odessa in 1920. The collection of the Kharytonenko family

was formed into a Museum of Ancient and Modern Art, founded in Volodymyrivka (near Bohodukhiv) in 1920. In November, 1922, the Kiev Picture Gallery was established, mainly from collections of Ukrainian and Russian paintings begun by art patron Nicholas Tereshchenko.

At this time, a number of museums came into being at scholarly institutions, particularly at the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. A Museum (later Cabinet) of Anthropology and Ethnology, named in honor of Theodore Vovk, was established at the academy in 1919–21; a Museum of Prominent Ukrainians (eventually limited to Ukrainians active in the fields of scholarship and art) was founded at the Historical-Philological Section, while botanical (1921), zoological (1919), and geological (1921) museums were opened by the Physical-Mathematical Section. Under the direction of Peter Rulin, the Ukrainian Theatrical Museum was opened at the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1923.

The collections and treasures of the Kievan Cave Monastery were organized into a Lavra Museum in 1923, which was transformed in 1927 into a state cultural-historical landmark—the All-Ukrainian Museum Town. It was extended to cover the complete territory of the Cave Monastery (twenty *desiatynas*), and included seventy-two buildings. A complex of museums, libraries, archives, and similar institutions was housed here. Museums found within this complex were the Museum of Lavra History, Portrait Gallery (1925), Museum of Paintings (from 1925), Ukrainian Museum of Sewing and Weaving (from 1925), Museum of Ukrainian Writing and Printing (from 1925), Ukrainian Museum of Metal Sculpture (from 1926), Museum of Comparative Cultural History (from 1927), Ukrainian Numismatic Museum of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (from 1927), Casting Museum (from 1927), Ukrainian Museum of Architecture (from 1927), Ukrainian Theatrical Museum (from 1928), Ukrainian Ethnographic Museum (from 1928), Museum of Archaeology of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Museum of Ukrainians Prominent in Scholarship and Art, the Paul Pototsky Museum of Ukrainian Antiquity (from 1926). The T. Vovk Cabinet of Anthropology and Ethnology was housed here also. Centralization of Ukrainian art and historic treasures, promoted by enthusiasts of Ukrainian museum science, offered the sole means of saving the ancient architectural complex of the Kievan Cave Monastery and its valuable historical possessions from the constant attempts of Soviet authorities to confiscate museum pieces and use them for their own economic-political purposes. Despite all efforts, a number of the most valuable museum pieces were none the less expropriated and sold at antique auctions in Europe and the Americas.

Several other church and monastery museums were permitted to remain open in the first years after the Bolshevik Revolution, among them the Church-Archaeological Museum of the Kievan Theological Academy, the Volhynian Eparchial Museum in Zhytomyr, museums of the Berestovo-Spasivsky, Vydubetsky, Kyrylivsky, and Troïtsky monasteries in Kiev, the Church Museum in Kharkiv, and many others. All were abolished in the early 1930's.

Rather typical of the time were so-called museums of the revolution, generally subsidized by the Communist regime for the purpose of explaining and propagandizing the history of Communism and the revolutionary movement. Such "museums of the revolution" arose in Kharkiv (1922), Odessa (1922), Mykolaïv (1923), Dnipropetrovske (1923), Kiev (1925), Zaporizhia (1927), and other cities. All these museums were to have been eclipsed by a projected All-Ukrainian Central Museum of the Revolution (1932), but in connection with the general reorganization of the late 1930's,

they were successively closed and their collections transferred to existing or newly created state historical museums.

In the livelier cultural and community activity of the first post-revolutionary years, many specialized technical and professional museums were founded by various institutions, societies, and bureaus. Prominent among them were the All-Ukrainian Central Cooperative Museum of the All-Ukrainian Cooperative Council, begun as early as 1913, established in Kharkiv in 1923, and eventually transferred to Kiev; the All-Ukrainian Commerce Museum (1926); and the Pedagogical Museum (1929)—all in Kiev; the All-Ukrainian Agricultural Museum (1924) in Kharkiv; the M. Frunze Armed Forces Historical Museum (1921), All-Ukrainian Import-Export Museum (1927), Odessa Museum of the Merchant Marine and Ports (1928)—all in Odessa; and the Dniprelstan Museum in Zaporizhia. In addition, numerous museums were operated by educational institutions (universities, institutes, and other schools of higher learning).

The fastest growing network was that of district and *raion* regional studies museums, whose exhibits and collections reflected the nature of the given territory and the history of its inhabitants from earliest times to the present. Of the many regional and natural museums (fifty-seven) established after the revolution, the more important ones were: the Historical-Ethnographic District Museums (later renamed the Podilia *Oblast* Industrial Arts and Scientific Museum), founded in Vinnytsia in 1917; the Taras Shevchenko Scientific Historical-Pedagogical Museum in Cherkasy, founded in 1918; the Lebedyn *Raion* Art-Historical Museums (later the T. Shevchenko National Museum), founded in Lebedyn in the Sumy region; the regional museum in Pereiaslav, from 1919; and from 1920, museums in Lokhvytsia (Skovoroda Museum), Luhanske (Donbas Social Museum), Romny, and Sumy (Art-

FIGURE 157. DONBAS SOCIAL MUSEUM IN LUHANSKE (NOW REGIONAL STUDIES MUSEUM)

Historical Museum); from 1921, in Okhtyrka; from 1922, in Zvenyhorodka (*Raion* Shevchenko Historical Museum, later renamed Ethnographic-Historical Museum); from 1923, in Korsun in the Cherkasy region; from 1924, in Bila Tserkva (District Geological-Archaeological-Ethnographic Museum, with collections from Countess Maria Branytska's castles in Aleksandria).

After 1917 the first historical-literary and memorial museums were established in the Ukrainian SSR. In 1920 a Drahomanov Museum was established in Hadiach (in Michael Drahomanov's former home), in 1926, in Vinnytsia, a Michael Kotsiubynsky House-Museum was opened (in the house in which he was born), a Shevchenko House Museum was opened in Kiev in 1927 (in the building in which Shevchenko had lived), a House-Museum of Volodymyr

FIGURE 158. SHEVCHENKO HOUSE MUSEUM IN KIEV

Korolenko was opened in Poltava in 1927, while a Memorial Museum and Picture Gallery of Shevchenko's works were established in Kharkiv in the late 1920's (later transferred to Kiev) at the Shevchenko Institute of Literature. A Nicholas Hohol (Gogol) Museum was opened in Sorochyntsi in the Poltava region in 1929. Organization of an All-Ukrainian Central Literary Museum was begun in Kharkiv in the early 1930's, while the House-Museum of Anton Chekhov, founded as early as 1904 in Yalta, continued.

In the years 1917–32, there were 136 museums in the Ukrainian SSR, 16 of them in the Crimea. Of this number, 27 were historical museums, 7 "museums of the revolution," 23 fine arts museums, 8 literary-historical and memorial museums, 57 regional and natural history museums, 13 urban and local museums. In addition, there were 84 museums devoted to individual professions, 45 of them maintained by various institutions and societies, and 39 by schools. Almost all of these museums printed good catalogues of their exhibits, and some of the state museums even published respectable scholarly works. Especially fine publications were issued by the All-Ukrainian Institute Museum in Kiev, the Lavra Museum Town, Odessa Historico-Archaeological Museum, Museum of Slobids'ka Ukraïna, Odessa State Art Museum, Chernihiv State Museum, Izium Regional Studies Museum. State museums in Kiev, Kharkiv, Odessa, Poltava, Katerynoslav, and Zhytomyr initiated postgraduate courses to prepare youth who had completed higher education for further scholarship. These museums had cadres of excellently qualified scholars in such fields as archaeology, art criticism, ethnography, and natural study.

The administrative-historical, regional studies, memorial-literary, and some other museums functioned under the control of the People's Commissariat of Education. The art museums (including theater museums) and some landmarks were controlled by the Arts Administration of the People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR. During these years, limits were placed on museum exhibits of religious articles or monuments of the Ukrainian national liberation movement. Elements of "socialist struggle" were overemphasized, especially those referring to the workers' movements and the activity of the Communist party. However, there was as yet no constant interference with the internal functioning of museums, which were for the most part left in the care of professional museologists.

### 1933–9

Beginning in 1933, Ukrainian museums suffered some heavy blows. The majority of museologists were arrested and sent either to distant concentration camps or out of Ukraine; many were executed. The basis for these attacks was usually accusation of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." A number of museums, especially regional and district museums, were discontinued, which often meant the destruction of valuable exhibits. The Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of Ukraine appointed party members with little education to be directors of museums, and these began a planned "reorganization" of museums, which amounted to utter destruction. In the Kievan Cave Monastery the existing Museum Town, including museums of art, church, and monastic antiquities, was abolished in 1934. It was replaced by a Central Anti-Religious Museum for the dissemination of anti-religious propaganda. The most valuable objects (ancient gold and silver articles, works of art) were sold abroad in order to secure funds for "socialist construction." Some museums were deprived of their buildings to fill agricultural needs, and the articles were transferred to inferior quarters (as in the Chernihiv State Museum), or thrown into cellars as useless trash

(for example, the Ukrainian Museum of Architecture and the Agricultural Museum in Kiev). The campaign against Ukrainian museums was accompanied by flagrantly barbaric destruction of monuments of Ukrainian culture not stored in museums (the Mykhailivsky monastery, the Cathedral of St. Nicholas, built by Mazepa in Kiev, a seventeenth century Kozak church in Kharkiv, and many others). Members of the Committee to Protect Historical Monuments were arrested when they tried to protest against these activities.

By the mid-1930's, virtually all of the museums of the Ukrainian SSR had lost their true character as depositories of valuable cultural and historical material. A resurgence of museology in the late 1930's was characterized by the exclusion of Ukrainian materials from museums. This was especially evident in the Lenin museums (Kiev, Lviv after the war), which became mere copies of the Lenin museums in Russia, as well as in the "Museums of the Revolution." Museums of art exhibited Ukrainian objects only together with Russian art, with a heavy preponderance of the latter. Among museum employees only a very few were Ukrainians.

Of the 120 museums in the Ukrainian SSR exclusive of the Crimea in the years 1917–32, only 79 remained under the jurisdiction of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR after the reorganization ordered by the Council of People's Commissars on March 7, 1939. Of this number, 13 were "Museums of the Revolution"; 6, historical museums; 46, regional studies museums; 7, literary-memorial museums (including the T. Shevchenko grave landmark in Kaniv); 3, anti-religious museums; and 1 museum of Hebrew culture in Odessa. Sixteen museums of art (including the St. Sophia landmark in Kiev) functioned within the system of the Art Administration of the Council of People's Commissars, bringing the total of museums in Ukraine to 95.

It is necessary to mention those museums outside of the Ukrainian SSR in the Soviet Union which preserved valuable collections of Ukrainian material. In addition to the Ukrainian Museum in Krasnodar (Kuban region), others included the Don Region Museum in Novocherkask, the church-historical museum in Starocherkask (1921), Museum of the Taman (1922), Temriuk District Museum of Regional Studies and Natural History (1920), North-Caucasus Regional Museum in Stavropol, and Maikop Regional Museum.

**Western Ukrainian Lands in 1918–45**

In western Ukrainian lands, after the destruction of the war years, museums were rebuilt through the efforts of energetic individuals. The Museum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society continued to operate in Lviv, as did the National Museum, and the National Home and Stavropygian Institute museums. The Shevchenko Scientific Society Museum was reorganized in 1918 to form the Cultural-Historical Museum (directed by Yaroslav Pasternak), the Natural History Museum (reorganized in 1927 by George Poliansky), and the Museum of Historical War Monuments (founded in 1937 by the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Moloda Hromada Association, and the Ukrainian Society of Aid to Invalids), with a separate subdivision of Plast youth organization memorabilia.

Without any external financial support, interesting regional studies museums were opened, among them the Hutsul'shchyna Museum in Kolomyia (1926), under the leadership of Volodymyr Kobrynsky; the Boikivshchyna Museum in Sambir (1927), owing to the work of Volodymyr Kobilnyk, Volodymyr Hurkevych, and Anthony Kniazhynsky; the Lemkivshchyna Museum in Sianik (1931), on the initiative of Leo Gets and others; the Sokal'shchyna Museum in Sokal (1937), through the efforts of B. Chaikovsky; also the Stryvihor Museum in Peremyshl, Verkhovyna Museum in

FIGURE 159. DEPARTMENT OF FOLK WEAR IN THE LEMKIVSHCHYNA MUSEUM IN SIANIK

Stryi, Ukrainian Podilian Museum in Ternopil (1932), Ukrainian Museum in Chortkiv (1932), and Yavorivshchyna Museum in Yavoriv. These museums amassed large exhibits in the fields of ethnography, church art, archaeology, documents, and the like, concentrating on regional elements. They became centers of regional studies, and some published scholarly works, notably *Litopys Boikivshchyny* (Boikian Region Chronicle), a collection published intermittently by the Sambir Museum.

### 1939–45

After the occupation of Galicia and Volhynia, and later Bukovina, by Soviet armies in 1939–41, all existing museums, both Polish and Ukrainian, private and community, were nationalized and reorganized according to the system prevalent in the USSR. In some places they were merged with the existing state and city museums. In accordance with the decision of the Council of People's Commissars on May 8, 1940, state *oblast* or city historical museums were established on the territory of Western Ukraine, in Lviv, Volodymyr Volynsky, Drohobych, Kremianets, Dubno, Ostrih, and Stanyslaviv. *Oblast* and city ethnographic museums were opened in Lviv, Yavoriv, Peremyshl, and Sambir; a museum of industrial arts and a picture gallery was founded in Lviv. State district or city museums of regional studies were opened in Sokal, Lutsk, Stryi, Ternopil, Rivne, Kolomyia, Rohatyn, Chernivtsi, and Bilhorod Dnistrovsky. In addition, a literary-memorial Ivan Franko Museum was created in Lviv, as well as a Lviv Branch of the V. I. Lenin Central Museum. Part of the collections of the museum and archive located in the Ossolinski National Institute was given over to Poland, where it served as the basis for a new institution of the same name in Wrocław.

The extent of the destruction of museums in Ukraine in 1941–5 as a result of the war is shown by official Soviet statistics. In 1940, there was a total of 174 museums in the Ukrainian SSR, including the Crimea and western Ukrainian lands. At the end of 1945, only 119 museums remained. Ten museums survived in Kiev out of 15 in 1940; in the Crimean *oblast*, 15 out of 24; in the Vinnytsia *oblast*, 3 out of 6; in the Odessa *oblast*, 7 out of 11; in the Poltava *oblast*, 7 out of 10; and in the Kharkiv *oblast*, 7 out of 12.

### 1945–65

After the war, work on Ukrainian museums in the Ukrainian SSR was resumed, and by 1950 their number had increased from 119 to 137. Newly established museums, for the most part named after events or figures of the "great Fatherland War," or the wars of the preceding century, included the State Museum of the Korsun-Shevchenkivsky Battle (1945), the Battle of Poltava State Museum (Poltava, 1949), Museum of the Great Fatherland War in Sevastopol (1950), the State Historical Museum Marking the 300th Anniversary of the Union of Ukraine with Russia (Pereiaslav, 1954). According to official directives, the main function of museums is "the propagation of political and scientific knowledge among the members of the working class." In this respect, the "historical-revolutionary" and "political-educational" museums are of special importance. Consequently, the collections and exhibits of all museums, including

the historical-archaeological and fine arts museums, are organized to serve that purpose.

The number of museums and their division according to type is shown in Table III. The total number of visitors in museums rose from 3,943,000 in 1950 to 7,890,000 in 1960, and 11,120,000 in 1964.

TABLE III

| | 1950 | 1964 |
|---|---|---|
| Historical-revolutionary | 2 | 2 |
| Historical | 21 | 22 |
| Memorial | 25 | 27 |
| Regional Studies | 58 | 51 |
| Natural History | 9 | 1 |
| Art | 22 | 27 |
| TOTAL | 137 | 130 |

Among the most prominent historical museums in the Ukrainian SSR are the Kievan State Historical Museum (until 1934 known as the Shevchenko All-Ukrainian Museum); the Kharkiv Museum (founded in 1920 out of two former museums and, until 1933, called the All-Ukrainian Historical Museum); the Dnipropetrovske Museum (formerly the Regional Historico-Archaeological Museum); the Chernihiv Museum (created in 1925 out of two local historical museums); and the Lviv Museum (organized in 1940 on the basis of collections from the Museum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Lviv Historical Museum, and other Lviv museums). The oldest historical-archaeological museums in the Ukrainian SSR are in Odessa (until 1933 the All-Ukrainian Historical Museum), in Kerch, Khersones (established at the site of Khersones excavations), Bakhchisarai (founded in 1920 on the basis of the Palace-Museum and the Archaeological Museum Pecherni Mista [Cave Cities]). Historical-cultural landmarks can also be classified among the historical museums, including the Kievan Cave Monastery, the Cathedral of St. Sophia and the St. Cyril Church in Kiev, Olvia in the Mykolaïv *oblast*, and a castle with an historical museum in Kamianets Podilsky.

Museums of fine arts and art galleries in the Ukrainian SSR are distinguished by the wealth of their collections. Of the 27 such museums existing in 1964, outstanding were: three Kievan State Art Museums—the Museum of Ukrainian Art

FIGURE 160. KIEVAN STATE MUSEUM OF UKRAINIAN ART

(1936), the Museum of Eastern and Western Art (formerly Khanenko Museum), and the Museum of Russian Art (formerly Nicholas Tereshchenko Museum); the Kharkiv State Museum of Pictorial Art (established on the basis of collections assembled by Kharkiv University, begun in 1804, and the City Art Museum); the Lviv State Museum of Pictorial Art (formerly the National Museum); the Lviv State Gallery (established in 1940 from Ukrainian and Polish museum art collections); the Poltava State Art Museum (founded in 1918 from the collections of Nicholas Yaroshenko and others); the Odessa State Gallery; and the Odessa State Museum of Western and Eastern Art (established 1945 on the basis of the former Gallery of Ancient Painting). Picture Galleries are found in Theodosia (the Ivan Aivazovsky Gallery founded in 1880), in Simferopol (founded 1920 as the Crimean Gallery), in Sevastopol (established 1927 on the basis of the Yalta Art

FIGURE 161. ODESSA STATE MUSEUM OF WESTERN AND EASTERN ART

Museum), and other places. A special place among art museums is occupied by the Kievan State Museum of Theatrical Art of the Ukrainian SSR, founded in 1923 on the initiative of the "Berezil'" Theater, and the Museum of Architecture at the Academy of Building and Architecture of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev, established in 1946.

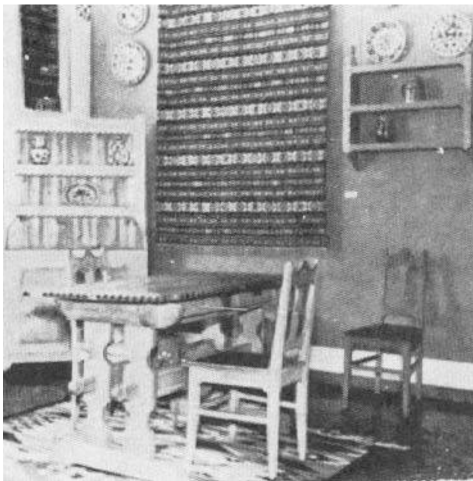

FIGURE 162. WOOD-CARVING DEPARTMENT IN THE STATE MUSEUM OF UKRAINIAN DECORATIVE FOLK ARTS IN KIEV

Ethnographic museums, which constitute a separate group of art museums, are found only in Galicia. These are the Ukrainian State Museum of Ethnography and Industrial Art (established in 1951 from the collections of the Ethnographic Museum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Lviv Museum of Industrial Art) and the Museum of National Creativity in Kolomyia (formerly Hutsul'shchyna Museum). A separate museum in this group is the State Museum of Ukrainian Decorative Folk Arts recently opened in Kiev.

Among branch museums of the Ukrainian SSR, museums of natural history constitute a relatively large group. There were 23 such museums in 1964, including one independent and 22 supported by institutions of higher learning. The oldest and best-endowed among them is the Lviv Natural History Museum of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, established from the collections of the Dzieduszycki Museum and the Natural Museum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. The largest of such museums is the Central Scientific Museum of Natural History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev. In addition, there are botanical, zoological,

FIGURE 163. THE CENTRAL SCIENTIFIC MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN KIEV

mineralogical, paleontological, and other museums established for the most part in the nineteenth century. These are also attached to universities and other institutions of higher learning.

The literary-memorial museums represent a large and diversified group in the Ukrainian SSR. There were 27 such museums in 1964. They are connected with the life and work of Ukrainian writers and artists, for example T. Shevchenko

(in addition to those mentioned above, a Shevchenko Literary-Memorial Museum was established in Cherkasy in 1939), Ivan Franko (in Lviv from 1949, in Nahuievychi from 1946), Michael Kotsiubynsky (in Chernihiv from 1935),

FIGURE 164. MICHAEL KOTSIUBYNSKY HOUSE MUSEUM IN VINNYTSIA

Lesia Ukraïnka (in Kolodiazhne from 1957), Ivan Kotliarevsky (in Poltava from 1950), Basil Stefanyk (in Rusiv from 1940), Marko Cheremshyna (in Sniatyn from 1949), Olha Kobylianska (in Chernivtsi from 1944), George Fedkovych (in Chernivtsi from 1945). Similar literary-memorial museums exist outside of the Ukrainian SSR, as for example Shevchenko's Museum in Fort Shevchenko (in the Khazakh SSR), Marko Vovchok's in Nalchyk (in the Caucasian Foreland), Lesia Ukraïnka's in Surami (in the Georgian SSR).

The most prevalent type in the Ukrainian SSR is the regional studies museum. They were established for the most part on the basis of various regional collections or even museums whose number had decreased considerably in comparison with the 1920's. The most important among them are those in Poltava (1891), Zhytomyr (formerly the Volhynian Scholarly Museum founded in 1864), Simferopol (1889), Mykolaïv (from 1913, and Konotop (from 1923). Regional museums operated by regional historical studies groups in various rural areas also come in this category. There were 200 such "museums" in 1959, and by 1964 their number had grown to about 1,000.

Of the total 130 museums in the Ukrainian SSR, 11 are in Kiev, 7 in Lviv, 6 in Poltava, 14 in the Crimea. All museums in the Ukrainian SSR are under

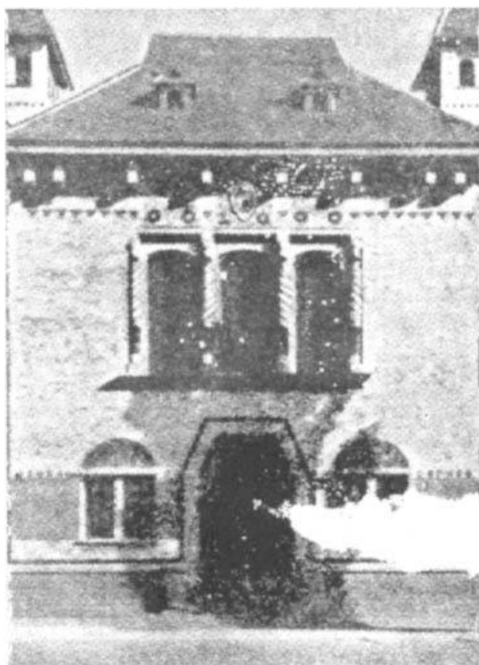

FIGURE 165. ENTRANCE TO THE REGIONAL STUDIES MUSEUM IN POLTAVA

the jurisdiction of the Administration of Museums and Preservation of Cultural Landmarks, an organ of the Ministry of Culture of the Ukrainian SSR.

In the KUBAN region, there are historical-regional studies and art museums in Krasnodar, and regional studies museums in smaller cities. Ukrainian regional studies museums exist also outside of the Ukrainian SSR, for example, Horlytsi, in the Lemkian region (currently part of Poland), and in Svydnyk (Priashiv region, Czechoslovakia).

### Beyond the Borders of Ukrainian Territory

Outside of Ukrainian territory, a great deal of Ukrainian material can be found

in foreign museums. The most important of these are the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in Leningrad, the National Museum of Antiquities in Bucharest, the Museum in Suceava, the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, the National Museum, the Czartoryski Museum, the Ethnographic Museum, and the Anthropological Museum—all in Cracow, the National Museum in Warsaw with its iconographic section, the Ethnographic Museum (1896) with a very valuable Ukrainian section, and the Museum of Natural History in Vienna.

To preserve articles, documents, and other materials connected with the Ukrainian national liberation movement and the activity of émigré centers of various Ukrainian organizations and institutions, a Museum of Ukraine's Struggle for Liberation was established in Prague in 1925. Its directors were Dmytro Antonovych and Simon Narizhnyi. The museum, consisting of four sections (diplomatic, military, émigré, and miscellaneous), amassed a collection of unique importance. It also carried on publishing activity (*Visti* [News], bibliographic publications, and the like). It existed until 1945. After the building that housed it had been partially destroyed during the war, the Czech administration dissolved the museum. Its archival materials were taken to Moscow, and other collections were transferred to the Slavic Library in Prague.

The library and museum collections of the Simon Petliura Library, established in Paris in May, 1929 were transported to Germany by the German authorities in 1941, and disappeared without trace. After World War II a number of small Ukrainian archives-museums appeared in the West, usually connected with libraries. Among such depositories are the Archive-Museum of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences, founded in 1945 in Augsburg, Germany, others in the USA and in Canada (see Ukrainians Abroad, pp. 1148–9, 1187).

## HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LANDMARKS AND THE PRESERVATION OF HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL MONUMENTS

The care of cultural and historical monuments outside of museums was closely connected with the development of museums in Ukraine. Before the revolution, there were no laws regulating the care of historical monuments. Ancient buildings and archaeological stations were sporadically overseen by the so-called *guberniya* learned archival commissions, which supervised the upkeep of both museum pieces and archival material. An enormous amount of historical material which was not stored in museums was destroyed during the revolutionary events of 1917–20. Especially hard hit were the palaces of nobles (for example, the Palace of Alexander Rigelman in the village of Andriïvka, Chernihiv district, the palace in Kachanivka, Skoropadsky's palace in the Sokyryntsi village. These were often built in the Ukrainian baroque and empire styles, and housed immense quantities of antiques and art objects. After the revolution, valuable historical monuments not housed in museums came under the care of museum sections in the departments of national education, museums themselves, and the Archaeological Committee of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Still, the efforts lacked systematization.

The efforts of the Soviet government in this area were sporadic and largely inadequate. In 1920, the excavation site of the former city of Olvia was pronounced an archaeological-historical reservation, and in 1925 T. Shevchenko's grave in Kaniv, with the surrounding territory, became a State Historical-Cultural Landmark. Only in June of 1926, following demands from Ukrainians active in scholarly and cultural fields, did the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee issue a resolution concerning the protection of historic

monuments and natural landmarks in the Ukrainian SSR. According to this resolution, the territory of the Republic was divided into four inspectorships of

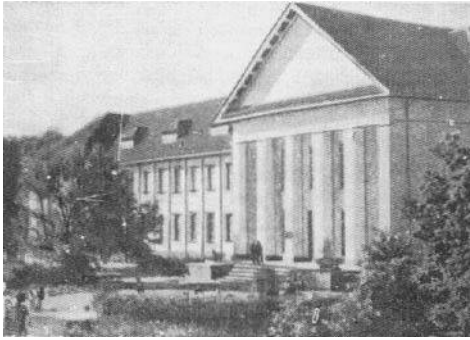

FIGURE 166. KANIV STATE MONUMENT MUSEUM "T. SHEVCHENKO'S GRAVE"

the preservation of cultural and natural landmarks (Kiev, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovske, and Odessa), all of the landmarks were registered, assigned to categories according to Republican and local importance, placed under protection, and the most prominent among them proclaimed state landmarks.

Landmarks were divided into two categories: historical-cultural and natural. The former group included, in addition to Olvia and T. Shevchenko's grave, the Kievan Cave Monastery All-Ukrainian Museum Town founded in 1926, the St. Cyril Church in Kiev (1929), Spas-Preobrazhensky Monastery in Novhorod Siversky (1929), the castle of the Ostrih princes in Starokonstiantyniv (1929). At the end of the 1920's, the following were also proclaimed historical-cultural landmarks: the Spaso-Preobrazhensky and the SS. Borys and Hlib Cathedrals, the Piatnytska Church, and the Yeletsky and Troïtsko-Illinsky monasteries in Chernihiv, the Carmelite Monastery and the seventeenth-century synagogue in Berdychiv (officially known as a Landmark of Hebrew Material Culture), the estate of the Tarnovsky family in Kachanivka in the Chernihiv region, the site of the ancient town of Usativ near Odessa, Perokop in the Crimea. Monuments of Republican importance were proclaimed to be the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev, Brotherhood Monastery in the Podilia region, Mazepa's building in Chernihiv, the wooden Kozak church of St. Catherine, the Bernardine cloister in Vinnytsia, the archaeological remains on the island of Berezan, the Kozak monastery of the Intercession in Kharkiv, the site of an ancient town in Donets.

The body which administered the protection of museum material was the Ukrainian Committee for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, attached to the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, which published the journal *Zbirnyk okhorony pamiatnykiv kul'tury na Ukraïni* (Collection of Works on the Preservation of Cultural Monuments in Ukraine). A National Commission for the Preservation of Monuments of Material Culture and Nature was active in Kiev (from 1926), directed by Theodore Ernst, Nicholas Sharleman, and Basil Bazylevych. This commission was connected with the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and had sixteen representatives in various cities of Ukraine. In the Kuban region and the Crimea, the regulations, procedures, and supervising organs were those of the Russian SFSR. In many respects, the arrangements here were similar to those prevailing in the Ukrainian SSR.

In the 1930's, the protection of historical and cultural monuments was wholly neglected. The Committee for the Protection and Preservation of Historical-Cultural, Architectural, and Archaeological Monuments of the Ukrainian SSR, created by a resolution of the Council of People's Commissars on August 31, 1940, and administered by the People's Commissariat of Education, remained dormant both prior and during the war. It was not until December 1966 that a Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments was formed in the wake of recurring protests

from localities where numerous architectural monuments were being destroyed. The activity of the Society is limited mostly to the protection of monuments of the revolutionary period, the civil war, and the period of Communist construction.

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# 4. RESERVATIONS AND CONSERVATION

## BEFORE 1920

Conservation efforts in the Ukrainian lands before 1920 were sporadic (for example, measures to preserve forests and protect wildlife in the Hetman state). Legal means of forest conservation were introduced only in the second half of the nineteenth century, but these were inadequate, particularly in those Ukrainian lands which were part of the Russian empire (see Forestry, p. 896). The first reservations were established through private efforts: the Askaniia Nova reservation was founded in the Kherson steppe by its owner, E. Falzfein (1883), a German colonist. Strict conservation of forests and wildlife was enforced in tsarist forests in the mountains of the Crimea and the Bilovezha Forest between Polisia and Podlachia.

FIGURE 167. RESERVATION CHAPLI, ASKANIIA NOVA

## 1920 TO 1940

The campaign for conservation and nature reserves became more efficiently organized only in the early 1920's, when a Ukrainian Committee for Conservation of Natural Landmarks was formed as

part of the People's Commissariat of Education, and the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences also applied itself to the task of conservation. On June 17, 1926, the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR issued a resolution "Concerning Landmarks of Culture and Nature," which dealt with the organization of reservations. The largest number of preserves and reservations was instituted in the 1920's. In 1919 the Askaniia steppe was proclaimed a state reservation, as was Koncha Zaspa, a water-meadow of the Dnieper River near Kiev. Also established were the Crimean reservation (in 1920), the State Shevchenko Forest-Steppe reservation in Kaniv (in 1924; later joined with the T. Shevchenko grave landmark), the Caucasian reservation (1924), Hola Prystan' (Bare Harbor) on the Dnieper River, state seashore reservations on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov (1927), and Sofiïvka, the Uman state reservation (1929). Also proclaimed to be nature reserves of republican importance were the Provalsky steppe in the Donbas, the Kamiani Mohyly (Stone Graves) near Mariupil in the Azov Upland, the Starobilsky virgin steppe, the Korosten beaver preserve. In 1928, the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR approved the project for a large reservation, the "Dnieper Lowlands." Many illustrated booklets were published about the more important reservations in the Ukrainian SSR. The governing organ responsible for the protection of nature landmarks was the Ukrainian Committee of Nature Conservation at the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, which published a journal, *Okhorona pamiatok pryrody na Ukraïni* (The Protection of Nature Landmarks in Ukraine, Kharkiv, 1927–28).

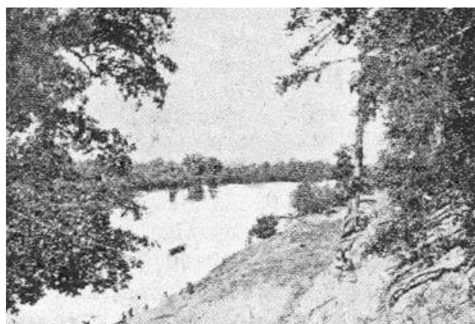

FIGURE 168. LAKE KONCHA IN THE RESERVATION KONCHA ZASPA

The persecution of Ukrainian culture in the 1930's arrested for a time efforts to improve conservation and establish reserves. The area set aside for reservations was decreased and they came increasingly under the control of Moscow.

In Western Ukrainian lands, particularly in Galicia, a number of smaller reservations was established in the period between the two world wars. In the Carpathian Mountains, they included the Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky cedar reserve on the Yaitse Mountain in the Central Gorgans and the Chornohora reserve in the upper Prut basin in the vicinity of Hoverlia. In Subcarpathia, a yew reserve was established in Kniazhdvor, near Kolomyia. Remnants of steppe flora in Podilia and gypsum caves in Bilche Zolote and Kryvche near Borshchiv also came under the conservation program.

## FROM 1940 TO THE PRESENT

Conservation efforts in Ukraine were discontinued during the war (1941–5) and for some time after the war. Carpathian forests suffered most as a result of ruthless exploitation by Soviet authorities after 1945 (in the central Gorgans alone, 1,470 hectares of stony ridges were created). A decree of the government of the Ukrainian SSR in 1946, ordering the regulation of state reservations, did not appreciably remedy the situation; neither did the creation of a Ukrainian Society for Conservation and

the Development of Natural Resources. At the present time, conservation of nature in the Ukrainian SSR is carried out according to laws passed in 1958 and 1960, and supplemented in 1964.

Included in the conservation program are reservations and hunting preserves (zapovidno-myslyvs'ki hospodarstva), small reserve strips, smaller landmarks, dendrological parks, and botanical gardens. There also exist some so-called zakaznyky or game preserves (strips in which no hunting is allowed for a number of years), and some hunting lodges. A number of rare plants and animals were placed under conservation (beaver, steppe marmot, muscrat, swans, eagles, owls, and so on).

The area of reservations in the Ukrainian SSR in 1960 constituted 80,000 ha., which barely accounts for 0.13 per cent of all territory (compared with 0.5 per cent in the European sections of the Soviet Union, 0.4 per cent in Poland, 1.1 per cent in Czechoslovakia, 4 per cent in Great Britain). According to plans, reserved land was to be increased to almost 160,000 ha. (0.26 per cent), but there is little chance that these plans will be realized.

The greatest number of reservations is found in the steppe belt and along the seacoast. In the steppe region, there is a small reservation called the Striletsky Steppe (525 ha., established in 1948); others are found in southeastern Slobids'ka Ukraïna and the Khomutiv Steppe (1,028 ha., from 1956) in the Azov Lowland—both with remnants of virgin, colored fescue-feather grass steppe—and the rocky steppe Kamiani Mohyly (356 ha., established in 1927) in the Azov Upland. These reservations and the Mykhailiv Virginland in the forest-steppe were joined in 1961 into the Ukrainian State Steppe Reservation of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, and became the center for scientific research of the Botanical Institute. Askaniia Nova (38,500 ha., mostly virgin steppeland), formerly a large steppe reservation, is today a small reserve strip (500 ha.) and is the center for the Michael Ivanov Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute for acclimatization and hybridization of animals.

FIGURE 169. BIRDS ON THE ORLIV ISLAND AT THE BLACK SEA RESERVATION

On the seacoast lie the Black Sea reservation (9,420 ha. of land and 24,700 ha. of water south of the mouth of the Dnieper, founded in 1927) and the Azov-Syvash reservation (6,850 ha.) in dry coastal steppe with its characteristic coastal vegetation. Their main function is the protection of birds during migrations, winterings, and nestings. The latter is now a hunting preserve.

In the forest-steppe belt of Slobids'ka Ukraïna there is, as mentioned above, a small reserve—the Mykhailiv Virginland (200 ha.). A large reservation near Kaniv has not been conserved.

There are no reservations in the forest belt of the Ukrainian SSR, but the oldest reservation, Bilovezha Forest, lies on the border between Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Polish ethnographic territory, which today belongs to the Belorussian SSR and Poland (74,200 ha. and 5,030 ha. respectively). This reservation is primarily a hunting preserve, protecting the European bison, deer, wild boar, and elk.

In the mountain areas are the Crimean and the Caucasus reservations located on the edges of the Ukrainian ethnographic territory. The Crimean Reservation (from 1920; 30,200 ha.) is located in the central, most elevated part of the

Crimean mountains, with the special function of protecting the great forest massif, which serves both as protection against floods and a water reservoir, and its rich fauna—deer, chamois, acclimatized moufflon. In 1927, it was changed into the Crimean hunting preserve. A proposed Carpathian reservation, which was to embrace the highest forest massif in the Carpathian Mountains, was never realized (although large reservations exist in the Polish, Slovakian, and Rumanian sections). There are, however, small preserves and reserve strips in Uholka and Chornohora. Some reserves, which existed until 1939, have been destroyed.

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# VI. Book Publishing and the Press

## 1. SURVEY OF BIBLIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

### CENTRAL AND EASTERN UKRAINE

Bibliology, as a separate scientific discipline dealing with the theory and history of book publishing and periodicals, did not develop in Ukraine until the late nineteenth century. However, early in that century a number of Ukrainians (scholars of St. Petersburg and Moscow who were natives of Ukraine and graduates of Ukrainian schools of higher learning) played an important role in the development of Russian bibliology. The first theoretician of bibliology in Russia was Basil Anastasevych (1775–1845), born in Kiev, graduate of the Kievan Mohyla Academy, author of many bibliographical guides,—articles in which he stressed the need for the compilation of bibliographies of magazine articles and called for the establishment of a bibliographical society. Another outstanding scholar who played an important part in the development of Russian bibliology was Peter Keppen (1793–1864), a native of Kharkiv and graduate of Kharkiv University, geographer, statistician, and bibliographer. Paul Yarkovsky, librarian of the Kremianets lyceum and later of Kiev University, was the first theoretician of bibliology in Ukraine. As early as 1809–32, he offered a course on bibliology in Kremianets, in which he treated various problems related to the discipline.

Ukrainian research in this field began in the second half of the nineteenth century. Dmytro Bahalii, Stephen Golubiev, Volodymyr Ikonnikov, Michael Hrushevsky, and Volodymyr Peretts, were involved in the treatment, discussion, and solutions of bibliological questions.

Since there were no Ukrainian bibliological publications, articles in this area of study were published in scientific periodical publications of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Scholars from Ukraine also participated in the work of the Russian Bibliological Society in St. Petersburg which functioned from 1899 to 1930. In 1910–14, the journal *Iskusstvo i pechatnoe delo* (Art and Printing) appeared in Kiev; it contained valuable information on bibliology. The Odessa Bibliographical Society, founded at Novorossiisk University in 1911, devoted much of its attention to the problems of bibliography. It published its own *Izvestiia* (News, 1911–16) which carried many articles on bibliology.

Works on the history of Ukrainian book publishing, written by Ukrainian and Russian scholars active in Ukraine in the early twentieth century, represented significant contributions to the development of Ukrainian bibliology. Among these scholars were: Theodore Titov, an authority on the history of the Ukrainian church; Ivan Kamanin, historian, archivist, author of descriptions of the manuscripts in the collections of the St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev (1906), Nestor the Chronicler Society (1908), and the St. Volodymyr University Library (1910); Serhii Maslov, author of studies on incunabula (1910) and the library of Stephen Yavorsky (1914).

Ukrainian bibliology did not develop into a distinct branch of science with its own institutions and publications until after the March revolution of 1917, which led to the establishment of the Ukrainian independent state. The peri-

odical *Knyhar* (Bookseller, 1917–20, 31 issues), published in Kiev by the Chas (Time) Publishing House and edited originally by Basil Koroliv-Staryi and later by Nicholas Zerov, became the first Ukrainian organ of bibliology. In addition to bibliographical reviews, it contained articles on the theory of bibliography (S. Kondra, A. Bem), history of book publishing (Serhii Panochini), distribution of books, and related subjects. *Holos Druku* (Voice of Printing), published in 1921 by the All-Ukrainian State Publishing House in Kharkiv (only one issue appeared), was similar in content, as were the subsequent periodicals *Knyha* (Book, 1923–6) and *Nova Knyha* (New Book, 1924–5). All were chiefly bibliographical in character.

Systematic scientific research was initiated by the Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Bibliology (UNIK) founded in Kiev in October 1922 and headed by George Mezhenko (pseudonym of George Ivanov-Mezhenko). It was under his editorship that the scientific journal *Bibliolohichni Visti* (Bibliological News) appeared in 1923, first as a non-periodical publication and later (1926) as a quarterly. The Institute also published four volumes of *Trudy UNIK* (Transactions, 1923–30) and seven separate historico-bibliographical works. The Ukrainian Bibliological Society (founded in 1928) began functioning in Kiev along with UNIK.

Among scholars whose works appeared in the publications of UNIK in 1923–30 were: Volodymyr Peretts, Yukhym Sitsinsky, Paul Popov, Constantine Koperzhynsky, Serhii Maslov, Victor Romanovsky, Volodymyr Barvinok, Hrytsko Tysiachenko (pseudonym of Gregory Salyvon), and Ivan Krypiakevych. Articles on the art design of Ukrainian books were written by Nicholas Makarenko, Philip Klymenko, Peter Kurinnyi, and Daniel Shcherbakivsky.

This rapidly growing research and publishing activity in the realm of bibliological science declined sharply after

FIGURE 170. PAUL POPOV

FIGURE 171. SERHII MASLOV

1930 in the wake of repressions initiated by the Bolshevik régime against Ukrainian scholarly institutions, publishing houses, and individual scholars. Publication of *Bibliolohichni Visti* was discontinued late in 1930 because of "alienation from concrete tasks of the building of socialism and because of nationalist deviations." The Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Bibliology was reorganized into a Cabinet of Marxist-Leninist Bibliology in May 1931. G. Mezhenko, director of the Institute and editor of *Bibliolohichni Visti*, was dismissed from his posts and, like many other researchers, was compelled to move to Leningrad. V. Barvinok, B. Ihnatiienko, and P. Klymenko were persecuted. D. Shcherbakivsky committed suicide in 1927.

FIGURE 172. GEORGE MEZHENKO

In 1936, the Institute of Bibliology was reorganized, this time into the Scientific-Methodological Cabinet of Library Science and Mass Bibliography attached to the library administration of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR. After several more reorganizations, the remnant of the original institution was transformed into the Scientific-Methodological Division of Library Science and Bibliography at the republic

CPSU Library. The Kiev Bibliological Society and other similar groups throughout Soviet Ukraine were abolished along with UNIK.

Research on the history of Ukrainian book publishing was discontinued, with limited work being carried on at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Of Ukrainian scholars, only Gregory Koliada, who was deported to Stalingrad in the Uzbek SSR, was active in this area of research in the 1950's.

Works of the following Ukrainian bibliologists appeared in the symposia entitled *Kniga* (17 issues up to 1968), published since 1959 in Moscow by the All-Union Book Chamber: G. Mezhenko, G. Koliada, I. Kahanov, O. Molodchikov, Y. Isaievych, and Y. Dashkevych. Studies of these and other scholars on the history of Ukrainian book printing were published in the two-volume work *40 let russkogo knigopechataniia* (Forty Years of Russian Book Printing, Moscow, 1964); these works were translated into Ukrainian and published under the title *Knyha i drukarstvo na Ukraïni* (Books and Printing in Ukraine, Kiev, 1964). More intensive research in this area did not begin in the Ukrainian SSR until the late 1950's when studies by Y. Zapasko and I. Kahanov appeared. The Book Chamber of the Ukrainian SSR published a collection of articles on the history of book printing in Ukraine under the title *Ukraïns'ka knyha* (Ukrainian Book) in 1965.

The main centers of research at the present time are: the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev, the Book Chamber of the Ukrainian SSR and the Institute of Culture in Kharkiv, and the I. Fedoriv Ukrainian Polygraphic Institute in Lviv. As yet, there is no periodical publication in bibliology in Ukraine.

## WESTERN UKRAINE AND ABROAD

During the nineteenth century, bibliological research in Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia was concerned almost entirely with the recording and description of published books and periodicals, i.e., with bibliography (see p. 431) and the history of book publishing. Among the more significant contributions in the latter category were the works of historian Denis Zubrytsky and Anthony Petrushevych.

In the early twentieth century, the following were engaged in bibliological studies and research: Ivan Franko, Ivan Levytsky, Hilarion Svientsitsky, Ivan Krevetsky, Michael Vozniak, I. Krypiakevych, Ivan Ohiienko, and Nicholas Holubets. The Lviv National Museum founded in 1905 was the main center of bibliological research. The results of these studies are to be found in a series of bibliographical and bibliological works produced by H. Svientsitsky, especially his *Pochatky knyhopechatania na zemliakh Ukraïny* (Origins of Book Printing in the Lands of Ukraine, Lviv, 1924), and in *Prykrasy rukopysiv XV–XVII vv. Stavropihiis'koho museiu u L'vovi* (Ornamentation of Manuscripts from the Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries of the Stavropygian Museum in Lviv, 1923) by Modest Sosenko. It was on the basis of research conducted in the National Museum and other libraries and museums that I. Ohiienko published the *Istoriia ukraïns'koho drukarstva* (History of Ukrainian Printing, Lviv, 1925).

Another center of bibliological studies was the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, with its library and Bibliographical Commission, renamed after World War I Bibliological Commission. In 1937–9, through the efforts of the Bibliological Commission in cooperation with the Ukrainian Society of Bibliophiles, the monthly *Ukraïns'ka Knyha* (Ukrainian Book), was published in Lviv under the editorship of Eugene Julian Pelensky (1906–56). Substantial contributions to bibliological research were made by the journals: *Knyzhka* (Book, 1921–3), which appeared in Stanyslaviv under the editorship of Ivan Chepyha; *Ukraïns'ke Kny-*

*hoznavstvo* (Ukrainian Bibliology), published by a group of bibliologists at the Ukrainian Academy of Technology and Husbandry in Poděbrady, Czechoslovakia; and the non-periodical bibliological and bibliographical journal *Knyholiub* (Booklover, 1927–32), published by the Ukrainian Society of Bibliophiles in Prague, under the editorship of Stephen Siropolko. Bibliologist Lev Bykovsky (*b.* 1895) did outstanding work on the theory of bibliology, e.g., in *Ukraïns'ke knyhoznavstvo* (Ukrainian Bibliology, 1922), *Zamitky pro knyhoznavstvo ta knyhovzhyvannia* (Remarks on Bibliology and Utilization of Books, 1923), and other titles published abroad.

During World War II, as a result of Soviet and later German occupation, bibliological research in Lviv was discontinued. Published abroad by E. J. Pelensky were *Ukraïns'ka Knyha* (two issues) and several issues of *Ukraïns'ka Knyhoznavcha Biblioteka* (Ukrainian Bibliological Library), both in Cracow in 1939–44. In the United States, substantial research on early book printing in Ukraine has been done by Lubomyr Wynar.

*B. Krawciw*

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# 2. BIBLIOGRAPHY

## BEGINNINGS OF UKRAINIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY

The pattern of development of Ukrainian bibliography was similar to that of western Europe, at times based on the lists of books approved by church and library catalogues. The first such "index of legitimate and apocryphal books" could be found in the *Izbornyk* (Chronicle) of 1073, titled "Books Which Should Be Read and Apocryphal Books Which Should Not Be Read." Actually this was a translation adapted to the prevailing conditions of the Slavic world. Brief bibliographical notes appear in the chronicles as early as the Princely period. The most interesting among them is the reference to the libraries of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev (1041) and Prince Volodymyr Vasylkovych. In listing the books donated by the prince to various churches (noted under the year 1289), the chronicler called him "a great booklover and philosopher." Many more book catalogues of various libraries, particularly those of the monasteries, have been preserved, e.g., those of the Slutsk monastery (fifteenth century), Suprasl monastery (sixteenth century), and the

Lviv Stavropygia (1619). The catalogues of the Kiev Academy (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) and those of private libraries (especially of Ukrainian bishops and Kozak officers) have also been preserved. With the introduction of printing, the published price catalogues assumed important bibliographical significance (those of the Lviv Stavropygia, the Kievan Cave Monastery, Chernihiv, for example, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries).

The first serious attempt at compiling a bibliographical index of Ukrainian and east European books was *Ohlavleniie knyh, kto ikh slozhyl* (Contents of Books and Who Compiled Them) of the late seventeenth century, arranged presumably by Epiphanii Slavynetsky, who is considered the father of Ukrainian bibliographical science.

## DEVELOPMENT IN THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

As in general bibliology, Ukrainians played a significant part in the development of Russian bibliography. The first Russian bibliographer was Nicholas Bantysh-Kamensky (1737–1814), a Ukrainian from Nizhyn, who compiled the index "Denotitia librorum Rossicorum systematice expositorum" published in Moscow in 1776 in *Burgii elementa oratoria.* This index included publications of the third quarter of the eighteenth century, which appeared in the Russian empire in Russian and other languages. Bantysh-Kamensky also compiled a file of publications of the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries (until 1805), which was published in part in 1894 in the journal *Knigovedenie* (Bibliology). Another Ukrainian who played an outstanding part in the development of Russian bibliography was B. Anastasevych of Kiev, who compiled the first index of periodical literature in Russia (1707–1820) and a bibliographical list of all lay writers from Rurik up to the early nineteenth century (both published in 1822). Equally prominent among Russian bibliographers of the first half of the nineteenth century was P. Keppen of Kharkiv, a geographer and statistician, the editor of the first bibliographical journal in Russia, *Bibliograficheskie listy* (Bibliographical lists, St. Petersburg, 1825–6), in which he published his bibliographical compilation "Spisok Pervopechatnym Slovenskim Knigam" (List of Incunabular Slavonic Books) and an article entitled "O sostavlenii slovaria Khar'kovskikh pisatelei" (On the Compilation of an Index of the Kharkiv Writers, 1828). These works may be said to have marked the beginning of Ukrainian bibliography.

Ukrainian book publishing of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries was also included in the index of incunabula, collected and published by the Russian bibliographers Basil Sopikov (1765–1818), Ivan Karataiev (1817–86), and Vukol Undolsky (1815–64). Important supplements to these indexes were provided by Jacob Holovatsky's (1814–88) *Dopolnenie k ocherku slaviano-russkoi bibliografii V.M. Undol'skago* (Supplement to the Slavic-Russian Bibliography of V. M. Undolsky, St. Petersburg, 1874) and Hilarion Svientsitsky's *Katalog knig tserkovno-slovianskoi pechati* (Catalogue of Books by the Church-Slavic Press, Zhovkva, 1908).

A prominent Ukrainian bibliographer of the first half of the nineteenth century was Michael Maksymovych (1804–73), a natural scientist, philosopher, historian, author of the bibliographical survey *Knizhnaia starina yuzhno-russkaia* (South Russian Book Antiquity, 1849). Others who published bibliographical works in the first half of the nineteenth century, mainly in the newspaper *Chernigovskie Gubernskie Vedomosti* (Chernihiv Provincial News), were Alexander Lazarevsky (1834–1902), historian and author of the first bibliographical index of Ukrainian studies titled *Opyt ukazatelia istochnikov dlia izucheniia Malorossiiskogo*

*Kraia* (An Attempt at Compilation of an Index of Sources for the Study of the Little Russian Land, 1853) and other works, and historian Gregory Mylorадovych (1839–1905), author of "Ukazanie

FIGURE 173. ALEXANDER LAZAREVSKY

FIGURE 174. MICHAEL KOMAROV

biograficheskikh svedenii o zamechatel'nikh liudiakh Malorossii" (Index of Biographical Information about Prominent Persons of Little Russia, 1858–9) and "Inostrannye Sochineniia o Malorossii" (Foreign Works on Little Russia, 1859). Also active in the field of bibliography was Alexander Kotliarevsky (1837–81), a historian, archaeologist, ethnographer, and author of articles on the functions of bibliography, who also compiled a bibliography on archaeology (1866) and a bibliographical index on the history of literature. The first bibliography on the history of Ukraine, *Opyt russkoi istoriografii* (Survey of Russian Historiography), was produced by Volodymyr Ikonnikov (1841–1923) and published in two volumes (four books) in Kiev in 1891–1908. Information on Ukraine was also included in the works of such famous Russian bibliographers as Vladimir Mezhov (1830–94), author of bibliographical book indexes and articles concerning Ukraine, published both separately and in the periodical *Osnova* (Foundation) in 1861–2; Nicholas Lisovsky (1854–1920), leading Russian bibliologist and bibliographer who compiled the most thorough index of Russian periodical literature (including Ukrainian publications), *Russkaia periodicheskaia pechat'* (Russian Periodical Publications, four editions, St. Petersburg, 1895–1915).

The first scholar to work exclusively on Ukrainian bibliography was Michael Komarov (1844–1913), author of the most thorough bibliographical compilations of Ukrainian literature, *Bibliograficheskii ukazatel' novoi ukrainskoi literatury 1798–1888* (Bibliographical Index of New Ukrainian Literature 1798–1888, Kiev, 1883), and *Ukrainskaia dramaturgiia; Sbornik bibliograficheskikh posobii do istorii ukrainskoi dramy i teatra ukrainskogo (1815–1906)* (Ukrainian Dramaturgy; Collection of Bibliographical Sources on the History of Ukrainian Drama and Ukrainian Theater [1815–1906], Odessa, 1906), republished with emendations and supplements under the title *Do ukraïns'koï dramaturhiï* (On Ukrainian Dramaturgy, Odessa, 1912). Komarov also compiled bibliographies of the works of individual writers and prominent figures in the arts and literature, such as Ivan Kotliarevsky, Taras Shevchenko, and Nicholas Lysenko.

In Western Ukraine, the work on bibliographies of books published in Galicia and other Ukrainian lands under Austrian jurisdiction were centered mainly in the library of the Ukrainian National Home in Lviv. The leading bibliographers here were Jacob Holovatsky, author of "Bibliografiia Galitsko-Russkaia s 1772 do 1848" (Galician-Ruthenian Bibliography from 1772 to 1848, Lviv, 1863), published in the newspaper *Halychanyn* (The Galician) and, particularly, Ivan Levytsky (1850–1913), author of a series of general bibliographical works of Western Ukraine from 1772 to 1893: *Halyts'ko-rus'ka bibliohrafiia za roky 1772–1800* (Galician-Ruthenian Bibliography for

FIGURE 175. IVAN LEVYTSKY

the Years 1772–1800, Lviv, 1903); *Halytsko-Ruskaia bibliohrafiia XIX st. z uzhliadneniem ruskykh izdanii, poiavyvshykhsia v Uhorshchyni i Bukovyni za rr. 1800–1886*, (Galician-Ruthenian Bibliography of the Nineteenth Century Including Ruthenian Publications Appearing in Hungary and Bukovina for the Period 1880–1886, Lviv, 1888–1895), and "Ukraïns'ka bibliohrafiia Avstro-Uhorshchyny za roky 1887–1900" (Ukrainian Bibliography of Austro-Hungary for the Years 1887–1900), actually up to 1893 only, published in *Materiialy do ukraïns'koï bibliohrafiï* (Materials on Ukrainian Bibliography, Vols. I–III, Lviv, 1909–11).

Contemporary literary and scholarly journals devoted much space to Ukrainian bibliography of the nineteenth century. Such periodicals as *Osnova* (Foundation), *Kievskaia Starina* (Kievan Antiquity), *Zapysky* (Memoirs) of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, *Zhytie i Slovo* (Life and World), *Pravda* (Truth), *Zoria* (Star), and *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk* (Literary and Scientific Herald) published a number of bibliographical lists and surveys of Ukrainian book publishing. The only bibliographical journal in Ukraine was the Russian language *Bogoslovskii Bibliograficheskii Listok* (Theological Bibliographical Leaflet, 1883–94).

A number of important works in biobibliography and bibliography of regional studies also appeared in the nineteenth century. In 1836, historian Dmytro Bantysh-Kamensky (1788–1850), son of Nicholas Bantysh-Kamensky, published in Moscow the *Slovar' dostopamiatnykh liudei russkoi zemli* (Dictionary of Prominent Persons of the Russian Land) and in St. Petersburg a separate supplement to this work in 1847. In 1855–6, the Russian bibliographer Gregory Gennadi (1826–80) published "Ukazanie biograficheskikh svedenii o zamiechatel'nykh liudiakh Malorossii (Index of Biographical Information about Prominent Persons of Little Russia) in *Chernigovskie Gubernskie Vedomosti.* "Biografii znamenitykh kievlian" (Biographies of Prominent Kievans) was published in 1857 and 1858 in the symposium *Pamiatnaia knizhka Kievskoi gubernii* (Commemorative Book of the Kiev *Guberniya*) edited by N. Chernyshev. P. Bodiansky published "Biograficheskii ukazatel' urozhentsev Poltavskoi gubernii" (Bibliographical Index of the Natives of the Poltava *Guberniya*) in the symposium *Pamiatnaia knizhka Poltavskoi gubernii za 1865 god* (Commemorative Book of the Poltava *Guberniya* for the Year 1865). "Biograficheskii ukazatel' zamechatel'nykh urozhentsev i deiatelei Khar'kovskoi gubernii" (Bibliographical Index of Prominent Natives and Leaders of the Kharkiv *Guberniya*, Kharkiv, 1883) was published in the *Kharkovskii Kalendar na 1884 god* (Kharkiv Almanac for the Year 1884). This index appeared with supplements in the 1885 and 1886 editions of the almanac also. In addition, a number of biobibliographical indexes of professors and instructors of the Kiev, Kharkiv, and Novorossiisky (Odessa) universities were published in various years, as were other guides to prominent leaders of Ukrainian descent.

Guidebooks on the bibliography of regional studies were published by G. Gennadi (on the Crimea, 1855–6), Zinaida Penkina (on Polisia, 1883), Ivan Ustinov (on the Kharkiv area, 1886), A. Leonov (on the Kherson area, 1890), Alexander Markevych (on the Crimea and Tavria, 1804–1902), Eugene Felitsyn and Bazil Shamrai (on Kuban, 1899–1916).

In Western Ukraine, I. Levytsky worked on the compilation of an extensive biobibliographical index (approximately 2,000 biographies) titled *Prykarpatskaia Rus' v XIX v. v biohrafiiakh* (Nineteenth-century Carpathian Ruthenia in Biographies). However, only four issues of this index appeared (up to and including the letter "B").

## EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

In addition to M. Komarov and I. Levytsky, others preoccupied with the compilation of bibliographical indexes in the early twentieth century were Borys Hrinchenko (1863–1910), author of *Literatura ukrainskogo fol'klora 1777–1900* (Literature of Ukrainian Folklore, Chernihiv, 1901), the first bibliographical index in this field, and Dmytro Doroshenko (1882–1951), author of a bibliographical index of Ukrainian studies, titled *Ukazatel' istochnikov dlia oznakomleniia s Yuzhnoi Rus'iu* (Index of Sources for Familiarization with Southern *Rus'*, St. Petersburg, 1904), the second edition of which appeared in Prague in 1925 under the title *Pokazhchyk novoï ukraïns'koï literatury v Rosiï za 1798–1897 rr.* (Index of New Ukrainian Literature in Russia for the years 1798–1897). Serhii Yefremov's (1876–1937) index, "Biblioteka po Ukrainovedeniiu" (Library of Ukrainian Studies), appeared in 1917 in the magazine *Ukrainskaia Zhizn'* (Ukrainian Life).

The establishment of the first bibliographical institutions in eastern and Western Ukraine also dates back to the early twentieth century. A separate bibliographical commission was organized within the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv in 1909. Headed by I. Levytsky, its main function was the compilation of a full bibliography of Ukrainian publications. It published *Materiialy do ukraïns'ko-rus'koï* (later, *ukraïns'koï*) *bibliohrafiï* (Materials on Ukrainian-Ruthenian [later, Ukrainian] Bibliography, three volumes in 1909–11, additional three volumes in 1918–39) which included works of I. Levytsky, Volodymyr Doroshenko, and E. J. Pelensky. In 1910, on the initiative of M. Hrushevsky, a bibliographical bureau was created within the commission, headed by V. Doroshenko (1879–1963), to compile Ukrainian bibliography from 1911 on, to continue I. Levytsky's bibliographical work for the years 1900–10, and to catalogue all foreign language publications on Ukraine. In 1912, a commission was established at the Kiev Agronomical Society for the purpose of reviewing the popular literature on agriculture.

Among biobibliographical works published in the early twentieth century, the index *Koryfeï ukraïns'koï stseny* (Coryphaei of the Ukrainian Stage, Kiev, 1901) is of considerable importance in the history of the Ukrainian theater. "Biograficheskii slovar' professorov i prepodavatelei Khar'kovskogo Universiteta (1805–1905) (Biographical Index of Professors and Lecturers of Kharkiv University, 1805–1905), published in a series of monographs on the individual departments of this university (1905–8) and compiled by Dmytro Bahalii and other bibliographers, also represented a significant contribution to the history of Ukrainian scholarship. Of equal importance was the *Kratkii biograficheskii slovar' uchenykh i pisatelei poltavskoi gubernii s poloviny XVIII v.* (Brief Biographical Index of Scholars and Writers of the Poltava *Guberniya* from the Mid-Eighteenth Century, Poltava, 1912, with supplements in 1913 and 1914).

Important regional biographical works were produced by Paul Tutkovsky (on Polisia, 1910), P. Draganov (on Bessarabia, 1912), Alexander Prusiewicz (on Podilia, 1912–14).

## AFTER 1917

After the March revolution of 1917 and the subsequent establishment of the Ukrainian independent state, great progress was made in bibliographic work in Ukraine. The journal *Knyhar* (Bookseller) published in Kiev became the focal point of all bibliographical pursuits.

It was during the immediate post-revolutionary period that the first attempts were made at institutionalizing bibliography in Ukraine. On July 1, 1918, the Administration in Charge of Publica-

tion was created within the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian Hetman State, with the specific functions of maintaining a general record of all book publishing and compilation of bibliographical indexes. The Administration functioned also during the period of the Ukrainian National Republic (1918–19) and for a short time during the Soviet occupation under the name Central Administration in Charge of Publication. By a law of January 24, 1919, adopted by the Council of People's Ministers of the Ukrainian National Republic, the Supreme Book Chamber was created to maintain records of all published books and their systematization. The chamber began functioning during the Soviet occupation on the basis of a law of June 7, 1919. It was composed of four departments, bibliography, records, book stock, and library, and had branches in Vinnytsia, Kamianets Podilsky, and Katerynoslav.

As a result of the political events towards the end of 1919, the work of the Supreme Book Chamber was temporarily discontinued. During the Soviet occupation it was subjected to various changes and was later reorganized into the Central Bibliographical Department of the All-Ukrainian State Publishing House with headquarters in Kharkiv. In June, 1922, this department was again transformed into the Ukrainian Book Chamber attached to the State Publishing House of Ukraine and later to the Chief Administration of Literary Affairs in the Ukrainian SSR (Ukrholovlit). After 1930, following the persecution of Ukrainian scholarship, the chamber was reorganized into the State Bibliographical Institute. In 1938 it was renamed the Book Chamber of the Ukrainian SSR by a joint order (June 27, 1938) of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR and is still functioning under this name.

In addition to the Supreme Book Chamber in Kiev, the following bibliographical institutions were established: the Library and Bibliographical Bureau (1919) attached to the Agricultural Scientific Committee of Ukraine in Kharkiv; a commission for the description of publications of the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries (1925) attached to the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev; the Ukrainian Bibliographical Society in Odessa (1925); and the Bibliographical Commission of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (1926). Research in bibliography was conducted by the Scientific Research Commission of the All-Ukrainian National Library, the Ukrainian Scientific Institute of Bibliology in Kiev, the Scientific Research Department on the History of Ukrainian Culture in Kharkiv headed by D. Bahalii, and the Central Scientific Library in Odessa. In Kuban, a bibliographical section was created in 1917 within the Council of Study and Research of the Kuban Land in Katerynodar which functioned until 1923, and the Institute of Bibliology established in 1919, also in Katerynodar.

The following bibliographical journals, in addition to *Knyhar*, devoted a great deal of space to the treatment of theoretical and practical questions of bibliography, and recorded all current book and periodical publications: *Knyzhnyi Vistnyk* (Book Herald, Kiev, 1919) published by the National Library of Ukraine; *Holos Druku* (Voice of Printing, Kharkiv, 1921) published by the Central Bibliographical Department of the All-Ukrainian State Publishing House; *Knyha* (Book, Kharkiv, 1923–4) published by Knyhospilka and edited by Serhii Pylypenko; *Nova Knyha* (New Book, Kharkiv, 1924–5) published by Chervonyi Shliakh (Red Pathway) and edited by S. Pylypenko and Hordii Kotsiuba; and *Litopys Ukraïns'koho Druku* (Chronicle of Ukrainian Publication, from 1924), the organ of the Ukrainian Book Chamber for recording all Ukrainian printed publications. Bibliographical reviews of works in various branches

of scholarship appeared also in the scholarly journal *Ukraïna* (Kiev, 1924–31) edited by M. Hrushevsky. Problems of bibliography were treated in such publications as *Zhurnal Bibliotekoznavstva ta Bibliohrafiï* (Journal of Library Science and Bibliography, Kiev, 1927–30), *Bibliotechnyi Zbirnyk* (Library Symposium) of the National Library of Ukraine, particularly its third issue titled "Bibliohrafiia na Ukraïni" (Bibliography in Ukraine, Kiev, 1927); *Ukraïns'ka Bibliohrafiia* (Ukrainian Bibliography, No. 1, Kiev, 1928) published by the Bibliographical Commission of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences; *Zapysky Ukraïns'koho Bibliohrafichnoho Tovarystva v Odesi* (Transactions of the Ukrainian Bibliographical Society in Odessa, 1928–30), *Materiialy do ukraïns'koï istorychnoï bibliohrafiï* (Materials on Ukrainian Historical Bibliography, 1929–30), a publication of the chair of History of Ukrainian Culture in Kharkiv; *Tekhniko-bibliograficheskii biulleten'* (Technical Bibliography Bulletin, 1925–8) published by the All-Ukrainian Association of Engineers in Kharkiv.

All of the above-mentioned bibliographical institutions and publications were either abolished or discontinued during the early 1930's by the Soviet régime.

Before 1930, the following men were preoccupied with bibliographical research and the compilation of bibliographical indexes and surveys: George Mezhenko, Anthony Prykhodko, George Kovalevsky, Lev Kohan, Michael Yasynsky, Victor Romanovsky, Constantine Koperzhynsky, Sergei Rubinstein, Saul Borovyi, Nicholas Saharda, Michael Hodkevych, Bartholomew Ihnatiienko. Almost all of them suffered persecution and were forced to leave Ukraine and seek employment in other republics.

Some of the more significant bibliographical indexes were compiled and published in the twenties by: Paul Tutkovsky (1858–1930), *Materiialy dlia sil's'ko-hospodars'koï bibliohrafiï Ukraïny* (Materials for Agricultural Bibliography of Ukraine, Kiev, 1924) and *Materiialy dlia bibliohrafiï mapoznavstva Ukraïny* (Materials for the Bibliography of Cartography of Ukraine, Part I, Kiev, 1924); Alexander Andriievsky (1869–1930), *Bibliohrafiia literatury z ukraïns'koho fol'kloru* (Bibliography of Literature on Ukrainian Folklore, Kiev, 1930); Alexander Leites (*b.* 1901) and Nicholas Yashek (*b.* 1883), *Desiat' rokiv ukraïns'koï literatury, 1917–1927* (Ten Years of Ukrainian Literature, 1917–27, State Publishing House of Ukraine, 1928); B. Ihnatiienko (*b.* 1892), *Bibliohrafiia ukraïns'koï presy za sto lit 1816–1916* (Bibliography of Ukrainian Press in One Hundred Years, 1816–1916, Kiev, 1930); Theodore Maksymenko (*b.* 1897), *Materiialy do kraieznavchoï bibliohrafiï Ukraïny, 1847–1929* (Materials on the Bibliography of Regional Studies of Ukraine, 1847–1929, published in 1930); M. Yasynsky (*b.* 1889), author of works on the history of Ukrainian bibliography and first indexes of Ukrainian bibliographies (before 1924 and for the years 1926–8).

In addition, a number of more or less extensive bibliographies appeared in the twenties with the publication of literary and scholarly works and studies on the creative productions of leading Ukrainian literary figures.

In Kuban, Borys Horodetsky (1876–1941) made several outstanding contributions to bibliography, among them *Bibliografiia kubanskogo kraia* (Bibliography of the Kuban Land, I–IV, Katerynodar, 1918–19).

Ukrainians, as well as Russians born in Ukraine, played a leading role in the development of Soviet Russian bibliography. Bohdan Bodnarsky (born in 1874 in Radyvyliv, Volhynia) was the founder and long-time editor of the leading Russian bibliographical journal, *Bibliograficheskie Izvestiia* (Bibliographical News, 1913–25, 1929). He was also the first director of the Russian Book Chamber (1920–1) and author of numerous works

on the theory and history of bibliography and library science. It was through his efforts that the decimal bibliographical classification was adopted in Russia as early as 1909. Nicholas Matsuiev (born in 1894 in the village of Blystiv, Chernihiv area) also contributed significantly to Russian literary science bibliography. Employed in various libraries of Ukraine from 1917 to 1923, Matsuiev began his monumental multi-volume work *Khudozhestvennaia literatura russkaia i perevodnaia* (Russian and Translated Art Literature) while still in Ukraine. Started in 1926, this work includes Ukrainian literary productions translated into or reviewed in Russian.

In Polish-occupied Galicia after World War I, bibliographical research slowed down considerably. The Shevchenko Society's Bibliographical Commission managed to publish only three volumes of *Materiialy do ukraïns'koï bibliohrafiï* (Materials on Ukrainian Bibliography) including two issues of "Spys Tvoriv Ivana Franka" (List of Works by Ivan Franko) compiled by V. Doroshenko. The journal *Knyzhka* (Book, Stanyslaviv, 1921–3) devoted much space to the problems of bibliography. In a special supplement the journal carried the "All-Ukrainian Bibliography" compiled by Ivan Kalynovych (1885–1927), author of a bibliography of historical works published in *Materiialy do ukraïns'koï bibliohrafiï* and many indexes in various branches of knowledge. The journal *Ukraïns'ka Knyha* (Ukrainian Book) also devoted space to contemporary western Ukrainian bibliography. A significant achievement of western Ukrainian bibliographical research was the publication of E. J. Pelensky's *Bibliohrafiia ukraïns'koï bibliohrafiï* (Bibliography of Ukrainian Bibliography, 1934), which contained a list of 2,393 published works. A vast bibliography on the Ukrainian press was compiled and published by Arkadii Zhyvotko (1890–1948), who worked in Prague. Bibliographies of works dealing with Ukrainian subjects as well as books published abroad were recorded in the émigré bibliological journals (see p. 431). After the Soviet occupation of western Ukrainian lands, bibliographical work in Lviv was discontinued, and such outstanding bibliographers as V. Doroshenko and E. J. Pelensky emigrated to the West.

FIGURE 176. VOLODYMYR DOROSHENKO

FIGURE 177. ARKADII ZHYVOTKO

## IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR, 1932–66

After the dispersal of Ukrainian bibliographical institutions, publications, and bibliographers, systematic work in this field was not revived until the late 1930's. It was concentrated mainly in the State Bibliographical Institute, which was again renamed in 1938 the Book Chamber of the Ukrainian SSR. The organ of this institution, *Litopys Ukraïns'koho Druku* (Chronicle of Ukrainian Printing), published since 1924 and containing catalogue cards as well as other supplements (e.g., "Bulletin of the Ukrainian Book Chamber," "Supplements for Publications Beyond the Borders of the Ukrainian SSR," "Press," and "Statistics on Book Production of the Ukrainian SSR") appeared periodically through 1930 only. In 1931–4, it appeared in the form of yearbooks under the title *Litopys druku URSR* (Chronicle of Printing of the Ukrainian SSR). Separate publications began appearing in 1935: *Litopys Knyh* (Chronicle of Books from 1935, almost every month), *Litopys Retsenzii* (Chronicle of Reviews, from 1936), *Litopys Zhurnal'nykh Stattei* (Chron-

icles of Magazine Articles, biweekly from 1936), *Litopys Hazetnykh Stattei* (Chronicles of Newspaper Articles, bimonthly from 1937), *Litopys Obrazotvorchoho Mystetstva* (Chronicle of Fine Arts, from 1937), *Litopys Muzychnoï Literatury* (Chronicle of Musical Literature, from 1954). *Litopys Periodychnykh Vydan' USSR za Rik 1934* (Chronicle of Periodical Publications of the Ukrainian SSR for the Year 1934) started as a yearly compilation in 1934 but was not published again. *Litopys druku URSR* was renewed in 1946.

The main centers of bibliographical research in the Ukrainian SSR at the present time are: the Book Chamber of the Ukrainian SSR in Kharkiv, subordinate to the Ministry of Culture of the Ukrainian SSR; the Central Scientific Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev; and the V. Korolenko Scientific Library in Kharkiv. A number of bibliographical indexes published in 1957–66 have been compiled by research workers engaged in these institutions: *Khudozhnia literatura vydana na Ukraïni za 40 rokiv, 1917–1957* (Art Literature Published in Ukraine during the Forty Years from 1917 to 1957, Part I, Kharkiv, 1958); *Fizychna heohrafiia URSR* (Physical Geography of the Ukrainian SSR, Kiev, 1960); *Knigi grazhdanskoi pechati XVIII veka* (Books Printed in *Grazhdanka* Type in the Eighteenth Century, Kiev, 1956) and *Knigi pervoi chetverti XIX veka* (Books of the First Quarter of the Nineteenth Century, Kiev, 1961); *Ukraïns'ka matematychna bibliohrafiia 1917–60* (Ukrainian Mathematical Bibliography, 1917–60, Kiev, 1963). The five-volume biobibliographical index *Ukraïns'ki pys'mennyky* (Ukrainian Writers, Kiev, 1960–5) was published by the State Publishing House of Art Literature. A number of bibliographical indexes on the creativity of Ukrainian writers, both contemporary and classical, also appeared in 1957–66, among them, *T. H. Shevchenko—bibliohrafiia literatury pro zhyttia i tvorchist'* (T. H. Shevchenko—Bibliography of Literature Dealing with His Life and Work, 2 Vols., Kiev, 1963) and *Ivan Franko—bibliohrafiia literatury* (Ivan Franko—Bibliography of literature, Kiev, 1966).

Individual areas of Ukrainian studies are treated in Russian-language indexes published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR: biobibliography in I. M. Kaufman's *Russkie biograficheskie i biobibliograficheskie slovari* (Russian Biographical and Biobibliographical Dictionaries, Moscow, 1956); archaeology in the bibliography *Sovetskaia arkheologicheskaia literatura 1941–1957* (Soviet Archaeological Literature 1941–57, Moscow-Leningrad, 1957) and a similar index for the years 1918–40 published in 1965; ancient history and history of literature in L. P. Dmitrieva's *Bibliografiia russkogo letopisaniia* (Bibliography of Russian Chronicle Writing, Moscow, 1962) and I. U. Budovnits' *Slovar' russkoi, ukrainskoi, belorusskoi pismennosti i literatury* (Dictionary of Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian Writing and Literature, Moscow, 1962); linguistics in the seventh volume of the index *Bibliograficheskii ukazatel' literatury po russkomu yazykoznaniiu s 1825 po 1880 god* (Bibliographical Index of Literature on Russian Linguistics from 1825 to 1880, Moscow, 1958) and in the bibliographical index of linguistic literature published in the Soviet Union from 1918 to 1960, *Slavianskoe yazykoznanie* (Slavic Linguistics, I–II, Moscow, 1963), in which the section on Ukrainian literature has been prepared by A. S. Salomashenko.

## ABROAD SINCE 1945

Ukrainian bibliographers continued their work abroad under adverse conditions, deprived of access to libraries and archives in Ukraine, and out of touch with publishing activity in their native land. Since the scope of their activities was thus limited, they concentrated on describing and cataloguing Ukrainian

publications appearing abroad and foreign language publications which dealt with Ukraine and its people. Bibliographical work was centered in the bibliological sections of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Academy of Art and Sciences in the United States and Canada. Its foremost representative was Volodymyr Doroshenko (1879–1963), the author of "Pokazhchyk Vydan' Shevchenkovykh Tvoriv" (Index of Editions of Shevchenko's Works). Appearing as the sixteenth volume of *Povne vydannia tvoriv Taras Shevchenka* (Complete Edition of Works by Taras Shevchenko, Warsaw-Lviv, 1939), the index contained entries up to and including 1938. The supplemented edition of this index (up to 1960) was published in 1961 in Chicago as the fourteenth volume of *Povne vydannia tvoriv T. Shevchenka* (Mykola Denysiuk Publishing House, Chicago, U.S.A.). Doroshenko also compiled a number of indexes of Ukrainian periodical literature published abroad from various newspapers, journals, and symposia. The Bibliological Commission of the Ukrainian Academy of Art and Sciences in the United States, headed by Doroshenko, started work on a catalogue of contemporary Ukrainian publications abroad and published an index, *Richnyk ukraïns'koï bibliohrafiï 1957* (Annals of Ukrainian Bibliography 1957, New York, 1960), compiled by Osyp Danko and Myroslav Labunka. As a separate edition of its *Annals* (New York, 1957), the Ukrainian Academy of Art and Sciences in the U.S. published Dmytro Doroshenko's *A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography* with the supplement *Ukrainian Historiography 1917–1956* by Alexander Ohloblyn. The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Canada has been publishing yearly two bibliographical indexes, *Slavica Canadiana* (since 1950) compiled by Jaroslaw Rudnyckyj, and *Ucrainica Canadiana* (since 1953). The monthly *Biblos*, a journal devoted to bibliography and book reviews, has been appearing in New York since 1955 under the editorship of Nicholas Sydor-Chartoryisky.

A series of bibliographical indexes compiled by Leonid Bachynsky (*b.* 1896) was published by the Ukrainian Museum in Cleveland (e.g., works on Shevchenko published in the U.S. and Canada, Ukrainian publications printed in Cleveland, etc.).

A number of Ukrainian bibliographers in the United States and Canada are engaged in research on and compilation of bibliographies of foreign language publications dealing with Ukraine: George Fedynsky, Lubomyr Wynar, Ivan Luchkiv, George Gerych, Roman Weres, Dmytro Shtohryn, Alexander Sokolyshyn, Andrew Fessenko, Peter Goy, Andrew Gregorovich, and Alexander Fedynsky.

*B. Krawciw*

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# 3. THE BEGINNINGS OF PRINTING

## SZWAJPOLT FIOL'S PRINTING IN CRACOW

The history of early Ukrainian printing begins with the publication of the first books printed in *kyrylytsia*, the Cyrillic alphabet, in Cracow. These earliest printed books are connected with the name of a Cracow artisan and inventor, Szwajpolt (Schweitpold) Fiol (or Viol, Veyl, Feyl), (*ca.* 1460–1525), a German from Neustadt in Franconia, but a citizen of Cracow since 1479. Probably on the order of Ukrainian Orthodox hierarchs, possibly the Lviv Brotherhood of the Assumption, Szwajpolt established a printing shop in Cracow in the early 1480's and printed five books in the "Ruthenian language" (*ruthenae literae libri*). These books were *Osmohlasnyk* or *Octoechos*, *Chasoslovets* (prayer book), *Triod' postna* (Lenten Triodia) and *Triod' tsvitna* (Palm Sunday Triodia), and a *Psaltyr* (Book of Psalms). The Cyrillic-Ruthenian type (*rewsische Schrift der Buchstaben*) in which these books were printed was prepared for Fiol by Rudolph Borsdorff, a German from Braunschweig, who in 1485 studied astronomy at the University of Cracow. Numerous Ukrainianisms—words and phrases taken from everyday spoken Ukrainian—evident in the texts of these editions, lends support to the belief that Ukrainians, of whom there were many in Cracow at the time, participated in editing and correcting the books.

In 1491, soon after publishing *Osmohlasnyk* and *Chasoslovets*, persecution by the Catholic Inquisition in Cracow forced Szwajpolt Fiol to stop printing church books for Orthodox Ukrainians. Arrested for the propagation of "heretical ideas" and for insubordination to the church authorities, he was freed in March, 1492. The editions of his "Ruthenian books" already printed but not yet in circulation were probably burned.

## BELORUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN PRINTING

After Szwajpolt Fiol, the printer of Church Slavonic books in Cyrillic type destined for circulation not only in Belorussia-Lithuania but also in Ukrainian territory and other Slavic countries, was the Belorussian monk Francis Skoryna (*ca.* 1490–1540), born in Polotsk (Franciscus Scorina de Poloczko Ruthenus), a doctor of medicine from the University of Padua (1512), a humanist and printer. Skoryna established a printing shop in Prague and printed a *Psaltyr* (Book of Psalms, 1517). In 1518–19 he published twenty-two books of the Bible in separate editions "fully translated into the Ruthenian tongue." With the help of Wilno burghers, Skoryna moved his printing

FIGURE 178. TITLE PAGE OF FRANCIS SKORYNA'S *Bibliia Ruska*

presses from Prague to Wilno, where he published his *Apostol* (Book of the Apostles) in 1525, and eventually an undated prayer book—*Malaia podorozhnaia knyzhytsia* (Small Portable Book).

The printing-publishing activity of Belorussian Simeon Budnyi (*ca.* 1595) is also a factor in the growth of Belorussian-Ukrainian printing. Budnyi was a student at the University of Cracow, a Calvinist and eventually a Socinian, and the works he printed in Nesvizh-*Kathekhizys dlia prostykh liudei yazyka russkoho* (Catechism for Common Ruthenian-speaking People, 1562) and *O opravdanii hrishnoho chelovika pered Bohom* (On a Sinner's Justification Before God, 1562), helped the spread of Protestantism in Ukraine. To answer the needs of Ukrainian churches, brotherhoods, and schools, some "traveling printing shops" became active in Ukrainian-Belorussian territory. The most important of these was the itinerant printing shop of Basil Tiapynsky, publisher of an *Evanheliie* (Gospel) printed in Church Slavonic with a parallel Belorussian-Ukrainian text. The publishing activity of the printing press founded in 1567–8 at the expense of Lithuanian Hetman Gregory Khodkevych in Zabludov (northern Podlachia) was also related to Belorussian-Ukrainian book production. Here two refugees from Muscovy, Ivan Fedorov and Peter Mstyslavets, in 1568–9 printed *Evanheliie uchytel'noie* (The Teaching Gospel) and in 1589–70 *Psaltyr z Chasoslovtsem* (The Book of Common Prayer) which some scholars consider the first Ukrainian printed books.

## IVAN FEDOROVYCH AND HIS ACTIVITY IN UKRAINE

The undeniable and generally acknowledged beginnings of Ukrainian printing are associated with Lviv, and with the name of printer Ivan Fedorov. Having printed an *Apostol* (Book of the Apostles) in Moscow in 1564, the printers—Moscovite Ivan Fedorov and

FIGURE 179. ST. LUKE, WOODCUT FROM I. FEDOROVYCH'S *Apostol*, LVIV, 1574

Belorussian Peter Mstyslavets—were forced to flee by the enraged Muscovite clergy. At first they found shelter and the opportunity to practice their printing trade in Zabludov. After four years there they separated: Peter Mstyslavets went to Wilno and Ivan Fedorov, who in Zabludov had changed his surname to Fedorovych, to Lviv where in 1573 he established the first permanent printing shop in Ukrainian territory. The first edition prepared by this shop was an *Apostol* (Book of the Apostles) in 1574, the first book produced by Ukrainian printing presses. This same year, an eighty-page primer was printed in Fedorovych's shop, the first printed school handbook for beginners in writing and grammar in Ukraine and other east Slavic lands.

Finding himself in financial difficulties after printing these two books, Ivan Fedorovych was forced to give up his

FIGURE 180. COLOPHON FROM IVAN FEDOROVYCH'S *Apostol*, LVIV, 1575

FIGURE 181. FIRST PAGE OF THE OSTRIH BIBLE, 1581

Lviv printing shop and the books already printed to pay his debts. In 1575 he accepted a position offered him by Prince Constantine Ostrozky as bailiff of a monastery in Derman, near Ostrih in Volhynia. Probably in 1575, Fedorovych moved to Ostrih and there founded a new printing shop financed by Prince Ostrozky. After lengthy preparation, especially careful editing by a group of Ostrih scholars with the cooperation of Fedorovych himself, an edition of the Bible was completed in 1581. This monumental printing work was preceded by publication of *Psaltyr i novyi zavit* (Book of Psalms and New Testament) in 1580. After these accomplishments Ivan Fedorovych returned to Lviv and attempted unsuccessfully to buy back his former printing shop. He died in Lviv in December 1583.

The printing shop he founded and developed in Ostrih continued to publish new books even after its founder's departure. In the years 1582–1600 it published over twenty volumes.

*B. Krawciw*

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## 4. BOOK PRINTING IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

At the time when book printing was introduced into Ukraine and its neighboring lands—Poland, Belorussia, and Muscovy—the printers were also the publishers of the books released by their shops. The founders, owners, and managers of printing shops did not merely supervise the technical format of the books printed by them, but also searched for appropriate texts, edited them, and added their own foreword or postscript to the edition.

### PRINTING IN LVIV

The first Ukrainian publishing house, communal in character, was that operated by the Brotherhood of the Assumption—later the Stavropygia Brotherhood—in Lviv. Its publishing activity began in 1591 and lasted almost 350 years (until 1939). The printing shop of the Brotherhood, established in 1586 partly from I. Fedorovych's printing press, was both a printing shop and a publishing-editing center; it published numerous liturgical and theological-polemical texts as well as school textbooks. Among its early achievements was *Hramatyka dobrohlaholyvoho ellynoslovenskaho yazyka* (A Grammar of the Correct Greek-Slavic Language) printed under the name *Adel'fotes* and published in 1591.

Thirteen of the editions published by this press in the first twenty-five years of its activity (1591–1616) have been preserved—for the most part educational texts and schoolbooks. In the production of succeeding decades of the seventeenth century, similar texts were published, as were panegyrics and works representing the dramatic and poetic literature of the time. During the years 1630–48, the Brotherhood published eleven liturgical books whose texts had been thoroughly prepared. This shop's production in the years 1650–1750 was predominantly liturgical and included a major number of reprints of earlier publications. In this period, the Brotherhood also published ten primers (*hramatychky*, or "little grammar books") for school use of which seven have been preserved. The printings of these primers increased from 600 copies in 1662 to 5,900–7,000 copies in 1698–1720. The total of the *hramatychky* published over fifty-eight years was 24,900 copies.

Among the Brotherhood's publications in the second half of the eighteenth century the most significant are: an illustrated book on moral theology entitled *Ifika Iieropolitika* (1760) and *Bohosloviia Nravouchytel'naia* (Moral Theology, in two editions, 1752 and 1760). In the next twelve years the publishing activity of the Brotherhood declined somewhat, but with the annexation of Galicia by Austria in 1772 their printing shop took on fresh vigor; new editions of textbooks and first works of a secular character were published: a philosophical textbook by Christian Baumeister translated by P. Lodii, panegyrics, etc.

Private and bishop-owned publishing-

printing houses also existed in Lviv in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Most prominent among those privately owned was that of Michael Sliozka, which published forty-two different works in the years 1638–67. Three books were published in 1645–6 in the printing shop of Bishop Arsenii Zheliborsky, later transferred to Univ; in 1687–8 two books —*Metryka* and *Psaltyr*—came from the press of Lviv bishop Joseph Shumliansky which was later acquired by the Stavropygia Brotherhood. Bishop Shumliansky also established a printing press in St. George's church in Lviv which published only one book, the *Irmolohion* (Music for Liturgy) in 1700—the first example of Ukrainian printed music notes.

Lviv publications were to be found in all Ukrainian lands: Galicia, Right-Bank Ukraine, Left-Bank Ukraine, Transcarpathia, and Bukovina. They were circulated in Belorussia, Muscovy (Russia), Wallachia, Moldavia, Bulgaria, and Serbia. Printers from Lviv were co-founders of printing shops in Moldavia and Wallachia. Ivan Kunotovych worked in Dovhopole (Kimpolung) and Basil Stavnytsky in Jassy.

There were also Armenian and Polish printing houses in Lviv. The Armenian printing establishment there published three books in Armenian in the years 1616–18, *Psaltyr* (Psalter), *Molytvoslov* (Prayer Book), and *Likuval'nyk* (Medicine Book). Polish printing began in Lviv in 1578 in the royal itinerant printing press of G. Szarfenberger. The first permanent Polish printing press was that of the Jesuits in Lviv in 1642–1773. Private Polish printing shops were operated by P. Holczewski in 1738–51 and J. Szlichten and his heirs, 1755–85. For the most part, these shops published religious literature and panegyrics and some literary or scholarly works in Polish and Latin.

After the annexation of Galicia by Austria in 1772, Anthony Piller established a printing shop in Lviv which his heirs continued to operate. In the closing decades of the eighteenth and throughout the nineteenth century, this press published books in German, Latin, Ukrainian, and Polish.

## ITINERANT PRINTING-PUBLISHING SHOPS

In addition to the permanent printing establishments found generally in the larger towns, itinerant printing shops also played a part throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. Included in their number were shops organized by Bishop Gedeon Balaban in Stratyn near Rohatyn, which published two books in 1604–7, and in Krylos near Halych, where the Krylos- or Halych-*Uchytel'noie Evanheliie* (Teaching Gospel) was printed in 1604. The equipment of the Stratyn printing house was later moved

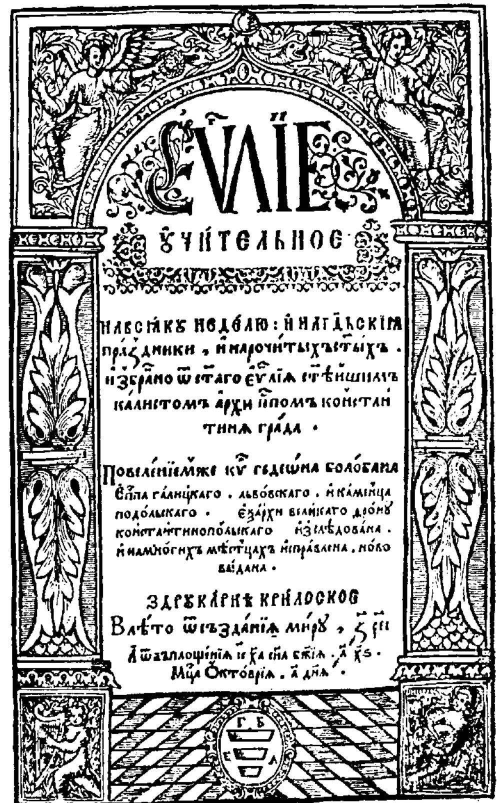

FIGURE 182. TITLE PAGE OF *Uchytel'noie Evanheliie*, KRYLOS, 1606

by Y. Pletenetsky to Kiev, where it formed the nucleus of a printing house of the Kievan Cave Monastery. A printing press in Rokhmaniv in Volhynia (near Kremianets) transferred from Pochaïv in 1619 printed two books: *Uchytel'noie Evanheliie* (Teaching Gospel) and *Zertsalo bohosloviia* (Mirror of Theology), both through the efforts of Cyril Tranquillion Stavrovetsky, who eventually moved this shop to Chernihiv and there in 1646 printed *Perlo mnohotsennoie* (Pearl of Inestimable Value). The printing press established by hieromonk Paul Domzhyva-Liutkovych-Telytsia and hierodeacon Sylvester in Uhertsi in the Sambir region was itinerant in the full sense of the term. In the years 1617–25, this press moved to Minsk, and from there to the village of Chetvertyn near Lutsk. After the death of the founders, it was given to the Lutsk Brotherhood. Itinerant printing presses were also active in Univ (transferred from Lviv), in Kremianets (from 1636), and in Kostiantyniv (until 1688).

FIGURE 183. TITLE PAGE OF *Chasoslov*, KIEV, 1616

## BOOK PRINTING IN KIEV

Once its printing shop was established and supplemented with the furnishings of the Stratyn printing house by the archimandrite of the Cave Monastery, Yelysei Pletenetsky, the Kievan Cave Monastery became the leading publishing house in Kiev. The first editions to be published by it (1616–19) were: *Chasoslov* a panegyric honoring Pletenetsky), *Vizerunok tsnot* (Ornament of Virtues), and *Anfolohion Mineia prazdnychna* (Holiday *Mineia*). It is estimated that in its first fifteen years this printing press produced about forty books. An important publication of this period was Pamvo Berynda's *Leksykon slavenoroskii* (Slavic-Ruthenian Lexicon, 1627), the first Ukrainian dictionary.

The further development of book printing in Kiev took place under the leadership of Peter Mohyla 1596–1647, who became metropolitan of Kiev in 1632 and for more than twenty years directed publishing activity in Ukraine. Under Peter Mohyla collections of verse and panegyrics, in addition to liturgical books, theological tracts, and polemical literature, were published. Important works of the time were *Ekzegezis* and *Paterykon* (1638) by Sylvester Kosiv, *Teraturgema* (1638) by Athanasius Kalnofoisky, *Lithos* (1644) and the huge 1,760-page *Evkholohion al'bo Molytoslov* (Prayer Book, 1646) by Peter Mohyla. Peter Mohyla established a separate press at the Cave Monastery for the printing of Polish books, of which the first was *Panegyric* (Eulogy) published in 1633. During the wars of Khmelnytsky, the Cave printing press, under archimandrite Joseph Tryzna (1647–56), published very little, limiting itself mostly to reprints. Production increased under archimandrite Innocent Gizel (1656–83)

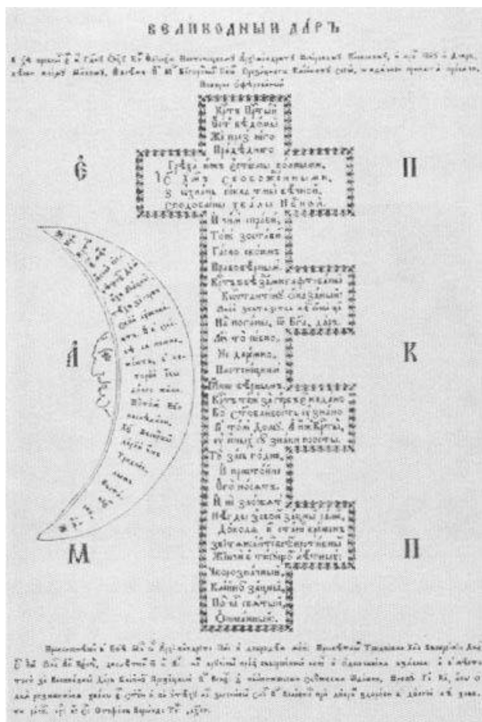

FIGURE 184. VERSES OF PRINTER, STEPHEN BERYNDA, DEDICATED TO YELYSEI PLETENETSKY, IN THE FORM OF THE LATTER'S COAT OF ARMS (1623)

FIGURE 185. ENGRAVING FROM THE KIEVAN *Pateryk*, 1631

when such works as *Kliuch Razuminiia* (Key to Understanding, 1659) were published, reprinted many times, and translated into Russian and Rumanian; among other works printed was the widely known Kievan Cave *Pateryk* (Patericon, 1661). An especially important work printed initially in 1674 and then reprinted some thirty times was *Synopsis*—the first textbook of the history of *Rus'*-Ukraine.

At the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, the Cave Monastery printing shop was active in a wide range of subjects; special attention was paid to the artistic appearance of the volumes, and the whole project was under the guidance of the master engravers of the time. Many liturgical books, school textbooks, calendars, and odd jobs for the civilian Muscovite authority in Ukraine were handled. As a result of the publication in January 1718 of *Mynolohion* or *Misiatseslov* (Book of Saints), the printing shop was persecuted and cheated by the Muscovite government and suffered ecclesiastical censorship for affirming the Kievan Cave Monastery's dependence on the patriarch of Constantinople instead of the patriarch of Moscow. Within a very short time (the same year) the Cave printing shop, the Monastery's main church, its library, archives, and workshop mysteriously caught fire and burned down.

From 1718 to 1720 the Cave Monastery printing shop was inactive. It began work again in 1721, but was prohibited from publishing books other than liturgical reprints. Even these could be printed only "after an examination and

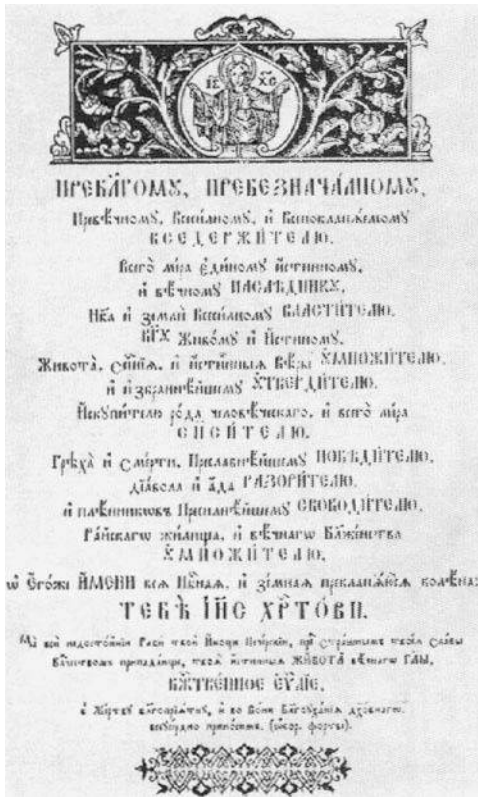

FIGURE 186. SECOND PAGE OF THE GOSPEL FROM 1707

comparison with Great Russian liturgical texts, so that there should be no difference in text or dialect between them." Copies of *Misiatseslov* which had been preserved since 1718 were confiscated. The Moscow Most Holy Synod undertook the control and censorship of all Kievan publishing. The Kievan Cave Monastery and its archimandrites were suppressed, circumscribed, and fined for even suspected deviations from the synod's decrees. Consequently the publishing program began to decline rapidly: once a publishing center, it became merely a printing establishment for various odd jobs. Even the reprinting of its own old editions was transferred to Moscow.

The books printed at the Cave Monastery were circulated in Rumania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Albania, and other south Slav countries, as well as in Belorussia and Muscovy. A paper factory operated by the monastery supplied the needs of its printing press.

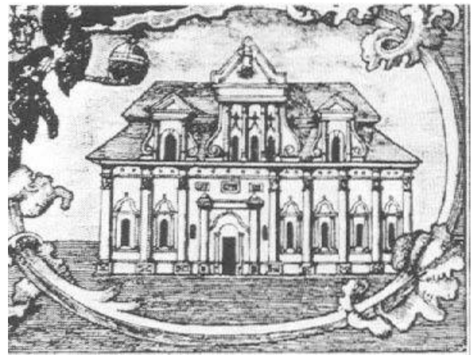

FIGURE 187. THE BUILDING OF THE KIEVAN CAVE MONASTERY'S PRINTING HOUSE (ENGRAVING, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY)

In 1620, two private printing shops in Kiev were also under the jurisdiction of the Kievan metropolitanate. The owner of the first was Timothy Verbytsky, who succeeded in publishing only one *Chasoslov* in two editions (1625 and 1626) before moving to Moldavia where he continued to print books. Verbytsky's shop was bought by Spyrydon Sobol, who in 1628–30 published four books in a total of seven editions. In 1778 and 1792, Kievan burghers Jacob Serbyn and George Denbrowsky attempted to operate small private printing shops producing a variety of engraved texts and pictures, but the Cave Monastery put an end to these ventures. For a long time it also objected to a proposal to establish a printing press using the civil alphabet to meet the needs of the Kievan Mohyla Academy. Finally this was accomplished at the old Kievan Cave Monastery printing shop in 1787 through the efforts of Metropolitan Samuel Myslavsky, who in 1786 assumed authority over both the Kievan metropolitanate and the Kievan Cave Monastery. From

that time, the Cave printing shop turned out books mostly in Russian, handbooks and texts in various fields of knowledge, and translations from other languages to fill the needs of schools. During its entire operating period it published over 250 books.

## BOOK PRODUCTION IN POCHAÏV, CHERNIHIV, AND OTHER UKRAINIAN CITIES

A permanent printing shop, founded by the archimandrite of Pochaïv Monastery, Theodosius Lubenetsky-Rudnytsky, Bishop of Lutsk, was established in the monastery at Pochaïv around 1630. Upon receiving a royal charter in 1632, it began to operate officially. In its publishing-printing activity, the printing shop had to meet the competition of the much older and stronger printing establishment of the Lviv Brotherhood of the Assumption, which fiercely defended its sole right to print books for all Ukrainian lands under Poland. The Pochaïv printing press was concerned for the most part with theological and church books, and to a lesser degree with polemical works and school textbooks. From 1618–1800, this press produced 187 books.

In Left-Bank Ukraine, the most prominent printing establishment was that founded by Lazarus Baranovych, writer and ecclesiastical dignitary, in Novhorod Siversky. After Baranovych became archbishop in Chernihiv in 1657, the printing press was transferred to that city where it began printing in 1659. The number of books published during its existence in Novhorod Siversky is thought from the evidence to be twenty. In Chernihiv, more than forty different books, of which thirty-eight are known, were printed in its first twenty years there. The best contemporary masters of engraving worked on the decorative format of the books.

In the first decade of the eighteenth century, translations from Latin, including poems of a secular nature, were among the books printed by the Chernihiv press. After *Bohomyslie* (Theology) by the Protestant writer Johann Gerhardt was printed, the Moscow Holy Synod began an investigation of the printing shop, as a result of which Gerhardt's book was banned. New works could be printed only after approval by the synod. The printing shop, however, did not obey this decree, and consequently suffered renewed persecution—inspections and confiscation of books, printing instruments, engravings, and ornaments. These pressures on the part of the synod and the government caused the Chernihiv printing shop to lose its technical and artistic individuality.

## PRINTING IN THE *HRAZHDANKA* TYPE IN UKRAINE

By destroying Ukrainian subject matter and style, especially in Kiev and Chernihiv, Moscow prevented the development of civil printing in Ukraine as well, i.e. publications printed in the *hrazhdanka* introduced at the beginning of the eighteenth century and more secular in character and usage.

A ukase of Peter I introduced *hrazhdanka*, a new, supposedly Russian print in 1710. The new lettering was suggested and worked out on the basis of the type used on the title pages of works published by the Lviv Stavropygia Brotherhood. It was reminiscent of the antique type found also on some "popular" drawings or engravings widely circulated in Ukraine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In Ukraine, the *hrazhdanka* came into use with the establishment of a new administrative division of Moscow. The first civil printing house appeared in 1764 in Yelysavethrad in the Novorossiiskaia *guberniya*. This printing press was eventually transferred to Kremenchuk and then to Kherson, where it ceased to exist. In Kremenchuk and other Ukrainian cities, as well as in Ben-

dery and Jassy, the itinerant printing press of General Field Marshal Gregory Potiomkin was sporadically active in the years 1788–93. Later it settled in Katerynoslav. After the liquidation of the hetmanate in Ukraine and the revival of the "Little Russian College" in Hlukhiv, a printing shop to meet its needs was established in 1764. The first civil printing shop in Kharkiv was opened in 1793 to serve the *guberniya* administration. Civil printing shops existed in Chernihiv, Berdychiv, Mykolaïv, Kamianets Podilsky, and Zhytomyr, as well as in the cities mentioned and Kiev. Not all were publishing centers or establishments: some did only printing jobs for administrative offices and occasionally filled private orders. The production of the civil printing press of the Kievan Mohyla Academy was more impressive; a new civil printing press was established in Kiev by the *guberniya* authorities in 1791. No material in Ukrainian was printed.

The first Ukrainian book printed in civil Ukrainian type was published in 1798, not in Ukraine but in St. Petersburg. This was Ivan Kotliarevsky's *Eneida* (Aeneid), and its appearance marked a turning point in the history of Ukrainian literature.

*B. Krawciw*

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# 5. NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

## EASTERN AND CENTRAL LANDS BEFORE 1917

After the publication of *Eneida* [Vol. I, p.1003] literary works in Ukrainian could be published without difficulty, but towards the middle of the nineteenth century the Russian administration put a stop to the further development of Ukrainian publishing. From 1798, the year Kotliarevsky's *Eneida* appeared, until 1840, 44 Ukrainian books were published in the Russian empire, 7 of them in Ukraine. From 1841 to the 1905 revolution, 1,250 Ukrainian books were published in Russia (919 in Ukraine), and from 1905 to 1917, 1,920 books (1,595 in Ukraine). In the 118-year (1790–1916) history of modern Ukrainian publishing within the territory of tsarist Russia, 3,214 books were published (2,531 in Ukraine).

*Eneida* was first published in St. Petersburg by Maksym Parpura, a wealthy landlord from the Chernihiv area. The first Ukrainian book printed in Ukraine in the nineteenth century was a story by Peter Hulak-Artemovsky, *Solopii ta Khivria* (Solopii and Khivria, 1819), in Kharkiv in the 1840's. Books appeared in the 1840's in Kiev, Chernihiv, Poltava, and Odessa, although the

major publishing centers at the time were Moscow and Petersburg. It was in the latter city that T. Shevchenko's *Kobzar* and other works appeared in 1840, as well as works of other Ukrainian writers. Ukrainian works were for the most part published by patrons of individual authors.

The dissolution of the SS. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood [Vol. I, pp. 675a–6b] put an end to all Ukrainian publishing until the death of Tsar Nicholas I. After the Crimean War, which had weakened the imperial régime, the Ukrainian printed word regained its vigor. A Ukrainian press emerged and various books were published (textbooks, religious books, and collections of verse). An important book series of the 1860's was *Sil's'ka Biblioteka* (Village Library) edited in St. Petersburg in 1860–2 in the printing shop of Panteleimon Kulish and aimed at the literate peasants. This printing press issued thirty-nine booklets including the works of T. Shevchenko, P. Kulish, Hanna Barvinok, Marko Vovchok, and Alexis Storozhenko. At the same time, Alexander Konysky printed a series of primers in St. Petersburg.

The first private publishing houses were opened in Ukraine during the populist period [Vol. I, p. 677] by F. Piskunov in Kiev and Rozpopov in Odessa.

However, the restrictions of tsarist censorship (Valuev's edict [Vol. I, p. 684]) directed primarily against popular literature for children and books designed for mass consumption placed insurmountable obstacles in the way of book publishing. It is true that the early 1870's brought some slackening of controls and several Ukrainian books were published in Kiev. But this was only a short interlude. A secret tsarist ukase of June 18, 1876 (issued in Ems [Vol. I, p. 684]) prohibited Ukrainian printing in the Russian empire. As a result, Ukrainian writers in central and eastern Ukraine published their works in Western Ukraine or abroad. Lviv became the main publishing center at this time, with the Prosvita (Enlightenment) and Shevchenko Scientific societies (see p. 249) spearheading the efforts.

The prohibition of 1876 led to the establishment of the first émigré publishing houses: Michael Drahomanov's and Serhii Podolynsky's in Geneva and Vienna, respectively.

The reign of Tsar Alexander III (1881–94) was a harsh period for Ukrainian publishing. In central Ukraine, censorship did not permit even the most innocent of works to appear in print. Manuscripts had to be sent to the Central Office of Printing in St. Petersburg, where they remained for years. If they were published at all, it was in an unrecognizable form. The years 1881–3 saw a brief period of liberalization, and during this time Ukrainian books or booklets appeared, chiefly in Kiev, published by Luke Ilnytsky and S. Smolynsky.

After the death of Alexander III, some restrictions were abolished and the number of Ukrainian books increased immediately. In 1900, the censors began to allow the publication of fiction and popular literature. In place of the suppressed journals, various almanacs and collections of fiction were published. Despite continued restrictions, the first major publishing houses were established at this time, e.g., those of Borys Hrinchenko, Olena Pchilka, and Michael Starytsky. Hrinchenko's publishing house (supported by Ihor Cherevatenko) in Chernihiv (1894–1902) became a self-sustaining commercial establishment and published some 50 books, each with a run of 5,000–10,000 copies. Hrinchenko's example was followed by the publishing house Vik (Age), established in Kiev in 1896 through the efforts of Alexander Lototsky, Serhii Yefremov, Theodore Matushevsky, Basil Domanytsky, Volodymyr Durdukivsky, and Viacheslav Prokopovych. By 1918, Vik had published 140 titles in 560,000 copies. It gained fame especially for its reprints of Ukrainian classics which had become a biblio-

graphic rarity and the publication of the valuable three-volume *Antolohiia ukraïns'koï literatury* (Anthology of Ukrainian Literature) drawn from all lands of Ukraine.

At this time, the Hromada associations of Kiev (under the auspices of the printing shop – bookstore Kievskaia Starina [Kievan Antiquity]) and Odessa [Vol. I, p. 682–5] turned to publishing. The Societies of Literacy in both Kiev and Kharkiv and the group of Ignatius (Hnat) Khotkevych (1901) in Kharkiv all became involved in publishing. In St. Petersburg the Philanthropic Society for Publishing Useful and Inexpensive Books (1898–1918) founded by General Nicholas Fedorovsky and Daniel Mordovets published eighty popular Ukrainian books in excess of one million copies.

The Revolutionary Ukrainian party [Vol. I, p. 686] printed the first Ukrainian socialist brochures (1900–5) and circulated them throughout Ukraine (a total of forty-eight titles).

The revolution of 1905 and the subsequent lifting of restrictions on Ukrainian printing contributed to a rapid rise in publishing activity. In 1909 there were already 17 Ukrainian publishing houses; a total of 34 publishing houses were established in the years 1894–1914, with the hub of publishing activity located in Kiev. The largest publishing house was Chas (Time) founded by a group of writers (Basil Koroliv, Modest Levytsky, Makarii Synytsky) in Kiev in 1908. In its first year, *Chas* published 32 books, with a total of 160,000 copies. In 1909 it printed 50,000 copies of a popular biography of Taras Shevchenko, and in subsequent years continued to publish Shevchenko's works. Other publishing houses which opened after the revolution of 1905 were: Krynytsia (The Well), which in 1912–14 published the works of Shevchenko, Drahomanov, and other writers, and an inexpensive series; it continued to operate even after the revolution of 1917 until it was closed in 1920 by the

FIGURE 188. TITLE PAGE OF THE HISTORY OF UKRAINE-*Rus'* BY N. ARKAS, KIEV, 1908

Bolsheviks; Oleksa Kovalenko's Ranok (Morning) which published some 40,000 copies of books and pamphlets, including anthologies and collections of verse; Ukraïns'kyi Uchytel' (Ukrainian Teacher), operated by Gregory Sherstiuk and Spyrydon Cherkasenko, which in 1907–8 published 16 titles in a total of 60,000 copies; Dzvin (The Bell), the publishing association formed by V. Vynnychenko, George Tyshchenko, and Levko Yurkevych in 1907 which published an anthology and, in 1913–14, a journal; Lan (The Meadow), operated by Michael and Alexander Hrushevsky, which during 1909–14 published popular literature for children and youth, with George Siryi as editor; Eugene Vyrovyi's Ukrainian Publishing House in Katerynoslav; Dnister (headed by V. Sochynsky) in Kamianets Podilsky, 1911–20, which published cooperative literature and school textbooks. Among the

smaller publishing houses were Shliakh (The Way), Zoria (The Star), Den' (The Day), Nasha Kooperatsiia (Our Cooperatives), and Nashym Ditiam (For Our Children).

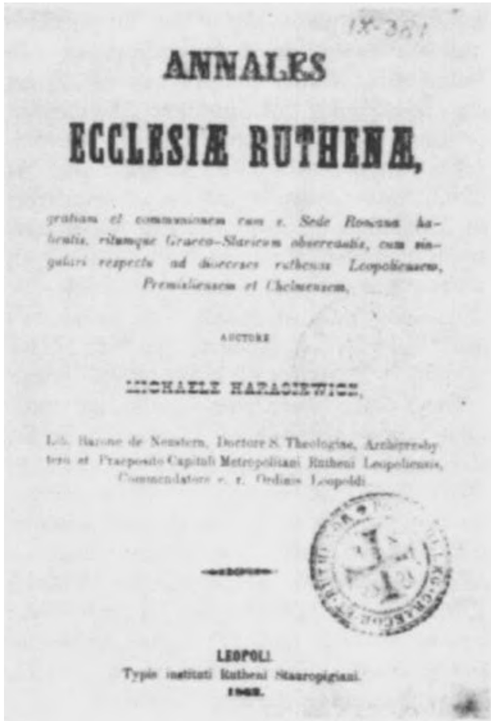
Cultural educational organizations and societies, such as the Katerynoslav and the Kiev Prosvita, undertook large-scale publishing activity at this time. In 1906–8, the Kiev Prosvita printed 150,000 copies of popular semi-scholarly works. Also in Kiev, the Ukrainian Publishing Association (from 1907) published the *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk* (Literary-Scholarly Herald) and other books. In addition, cooperatives, *zemstvos*, bookstores, and private individuals were engaged in publishing. Gregory Markevych ran the Ukrainian Bookstore, which had its own printing shop in Poltava; Eugene Cherepovsky in Kiev published twenty-four books during 1906–8 including the anthology *Dosvitni vohni* (Fires At Dawn), five volumes of the works of Ivan Nechui-Levytsky, and textbooks, totaling some 100,000 copies. Also active in this field were Basil and S. Kulzhenko, M. Ohloblyn, the Polish publisher Leon Idzikowski, who published Ukrainian music literature, in Kiev; Eugene Fesenko in Odessa; and Valentine Yakovlenko in St. Petersburg. Ukrainian books were also published in Katerynodar in Kuban. Occasionally, Russian publishing houses brought out Ukrainian books: Ivan Sytin, Posrednik (Middleman) in Moscow, T. Gubanov, F. Yohanson-Idzikowski in Kiev, Editor in Vilnius, etc. Among books published at the time, works of literature had by far the largest representation (nearly 50 per cent), followed by books on music and other popular subjects.

The main publishing center at the beginning of the twentieth century was Kiev, followed by Poltava, Katerynoslav, and Katerynodar in Kuban. Kharkiv lost its importance in this field. Because of lenient censorship requirements, St. Petersburg became an important publishing center. The following statistics indicate the extent to which the publishing movement was dependent on the policies of the Russian government. From the beginning of modern Ukrainian writing to the dissolution of the SS. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood in 1847 approximately 100 titles appeared in Ukrainian. In 1847, not one Ukrainian book was published; in 1848–3; 1849–2; 1850–1; and then in 1857–12; 1860–24; 1861–33; 1862–41; 1863–15 (Valuev's edict); 1864–11; 1865–5; 1870–5; 1875–30; 1877–2 (ukase of 1876); 1880–none; 1881–3–75. Thereafter, until the mid-1890's, the number of Ukrainian books declined sharply; in 1896–23 and in 1913–264. The number of copies printed in the first half of the nineteenth century was usually small. The average number of P. Kulish's *Sil's'ka Biblioteka* (Village Library) was 3,000 copies. Later editions ran from 2,000 to 5,000 copies, with the exception of Shevchenko's poems which were printed in greater numbers.

## IN WESTERN UKRAINIAN LANDS BEFORE WORLD WAR I

Although there were no official restrictions on printing in Galicia, publishing houses were not established until the 1830's and 1840's, and with a great deal of difficulty at that. Their establishment and activity were closely related to the Ukrainian national renaissance.

After some sporadic attempts, a collection, *Rusalka Dnistrovaia* (The Nymph of the Dniester) was published in Pest in 1837 [Vol. I, p. 699]. The Galician-Ruthenian Matytsia was founded in 1848 for the purpose of publishing books for the masses, and by 1885 it had issued over eighty books, mainly textbooks and popular literature. As a result of Russophile reaction [Vol. I, p. 700], publishing suffered a setback in the 1850's. With the founding of Prosvita in 1868 and the Shevchenko Literary Society in 1873, publishing activity was renewed on a large scale. Prosvita began publishing books in 1877. The Michael Kachkovsky


ANNALES

ECCLESIÆ RUTHENÆ,

LEOPOLI

FIGURE 189. TITLE PAGE OF M. HARASEVYCH'S HISTORY OF THE UKRAINIAN CHURCH, LVIV, 1862

Society (founded in 1874) was also active in publishing and served mainly Russophile circles.

Newspapers (*Pravda* [Truth, 1867], *Hazeta Shkil'na* [School Newspaper, 1875], *Bat'kivshchyna* [Fatherland, 1879], *Dilo* [The Deed, 1880]), and various societies were active in publishing. Included in the latter group was the Ruthenian Pedagogical Society, which started by publishing books for children, then the journal *Uchytel'* (Teacher, from 1889). The Kraievyi, Reviziinyi Soiuz (Audit Union of Cooperatives), Sil's'kyi Hospodar (Village Farmer), the Order of St. Basil the Great (from 1895), and political parties, etc. eventually turned to publishing.

Various western Ukrainian publishing houses which began in the 1860's (Xenofont Klymkovych's *Rus'ka Chytal'nia* [Ruthenian Reading Room, 1864]) and in the 1870's (Hnat Onyshkevych's *Rus'ka Biblioteka* [Ruthenian Library, 1877–8, 3 volumes], *Dribna Biblioteka* [Small Library, 1878–81, edited by I. Franko, 14 books]), continued to grow. Those that emerged in the 1880's survived longer: the Library of Outstanding Fiction (1881–1906), a supplement of *Dilo*, published 74 books; the Scholarly Library (1887–8) continued as the Literary-Scientific Library (1889–92) headed by I, Franko; the Ruthenian Historical Library, founded by Alexander Barvinsky in Ternopil in 1894 and transferred to the Shevchenko Scientific Society, published 24 books in 1883–1904; the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Library, headed by Eugene Olesnytsky in 1884–6; the Small Library, managed by Constantine Pankivsky 1894–7; the Universal Library of Denis Lukianovych, 1895–9; Michael Yatskiv's National Library, 1900; Modern Library, founded by Theodore Fedortsiv and subsequently managed by the publishing house Novi Shliakhy (New Pathways) published some 50 books in 1912–23. These and other publishers paved the way for broader development, although not all of them survived. Jacob Orenstein's Zahal'na Biblioteka (1903–32, 230 books) was very successful, as was the Zahal'na Bi-

ПЕРШИЙ ВІНОК

FIGURE 190. TITLE PAGE OF THE WOMEN'S ALMANAC *Pershyi Vinok*, LVIV, 1887

blioteka of Dmytro Nykolyshyn (1914–33).

Most of the publishing houses were privately owned, although individual societies or associations were also active. The largest of them was the Ukraïns'ko-Rus'ka Vydavnycha Spilka (Ukrainian-Ruthenian Publishing Association) headed by M. Hrushevsky, I. Franko, and Volodymyr Hnatiuk; beginning in 1899 it published 310 volumes of fiction and scholarly works, and from 1905 edited the *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk* (Literary-Scientific Herald). A similar publishing program was followed by the Society of Friends of Ukrainian Scholarship, Literature, and Theater, founded by M. Hrushevsky in 1904. The Shevchenko Scientific Society and Prosvita were both very productive. The former published a series called the Ukrainian-Ruthenian Library containing poetry, prose, and drama as well as periodical literature in many fields of scholarship; its general production reached some 1,200 publications, including copies of scholarly works (see Scholarship). The Prosvita society published a series of Ukrainian classics under the name *Rus'ka Pys'mennist'* (Ruthenian Literature, 1904–22) edited by Julian Romanchuk—27 volumes and 172,000 copies in all—plus many works of fiction and popular literature. In its first fifty years, from 1868–1918, Prosvita published 348 popular books—calendars, handbooks, etc., totaling 2,941,115 copies.

The Ivan Kotliarevsky Society and the Ukrainian Students' Union also published books sporadically. Music sheets were published by the Lysenko Music Society, the Boian and the Bandurist societies in Lviv and Stanyslaviv, and by private individuals.

Textbooks for elementary and secondary schools were published by the official Publishing House of School Books, which used the Shevchenko Scientific Society's printing press. Prosvita and the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society, which was granted official permission to print textbooks for secondary schools, also contributed in this field.

The publishing houses (Ivan Naumovych and Michael Bilous in Kolomyia) of the Russophile movement printed books in almost pure vernacular (although eventually it became adulterated with *yazychiie* [dialect]) until just before World War I when they began using Russian.

Ukrainian books were published by foreign speculators who circulated cheap literature on a mass scale (e.g. dream books, prophecies). A German publishing house in Winterberg published a variety of calendars in the languages of the Austro-Hungarian empire for the Galician-Bukovinian book market: *Pryiatel' Zhovnira* (The Soldier's Friend), *Khliborob* (The Farmer), *Mariis'kyi* (Marian) calendar, etc.

From the 1860's to the end of 1890's (until the establishment of the Ukrainian Publishing Association), eleven book publishers were active in East Galicia, including nine in Lviv. On the eve of World War I there were twenty-four publishing houses in Lviv alone, not counting Russophile and foreign publishers.

In 1875, a total of 62 titles were published in East Galicia (42 in Lviv, 17 in Kolomyia, 3 in Peremyshl); in 1894 the total rose to 177 books (136 in Lviv, 21 in Kolomyia, 7 in Peremyshl, 6 in Stanyslaviv, 5 in Ternopil, 1 each in Berezhany and Stryi); 1913—362 (238 in Lviv, 37 in Zhovkva, 28 in Kolomyia, 20 in Peremyshl, 19 in Stanislaviv, 4 in Ternopil, 3 in Stryi, and 1 each in 13 other cities).

The number of copies printed was relatively small and the books sold slowly since buyers were mainly in Galicia and Bukovina. The market in the Ukrainian lands under Russia was inaccessible because of censorship, and after 1905 because of customs difficulties.

Book publishing in BUKOVINA was started in 1869 by the Rus'ka Besida (Ruthenian Club), which eventually fol-

lowed the pattern set by the Lviv Prosvita. It began by publishing popular literature for mass consumption through its monthly editions in the Library for Youth, Peasants, and Townsfolk series (in 1885–96, 120 books were published). An Orthodox almanac was also published each year. By 1918 production totaled 270 titles. The society Rus'ka Shkola (Ruthenian School, founded in 1887) published text and non-text books (by 1914, it had printed 40 books). Almanacs were published by the Soiuz society (1875–1903, 1905–22).

Ukrainian student societies in Bukovina published their own book series, e.g., Moloda Ukraïna and Sich, publisher Lev Kohut (*Kreitsarova Biblioteka* [Penny Library]). The political society Rus'ka Rada (Ruthenian Council) also brought out several books. In 1911–13, the central office of Ukrainian Cooperatives in Bukovina, Selians'ka Kasa (Peasant Bank), produced newspapers and books dealing with the cooperative movement. Joseph Bezpalko's establishment concentrated on social-democratic literature and publications for youth, edited by Basil Simovych. Books printed in Galicia were widely circulated throughout Bukovina.

In the 1890's and the 1900's, many writers and scholars from central and eastern parts of Ukraine especially those constrained by Russian censorship published their works in Bukovina. Bukovinian printing presses also handled the material of organizations banned by the Russians, e.g., the Revolutionary Ukrainian party (RUP).

In CARPATHO-UKRAINE, publishing activity was initiated by Alexander Dukhnovych [Vol. I. p. 711], who in 1850 established the Priashiv Literary Institute, which published three almanacs. The Society of St.Basil the Great (1864–1902) published textbooks for schools.

The popular national movement did not reach Carpatho-Ukraine until the 1890's. This was largely due to the efforts of the Rev. Augustine Voloshyn (editor of the newspapers *Nauka* [Scholarship] and *Selo* [The Village], and schoolbooks). Among the publishing houses active at the time were those of the Basilian Fathers and of G. Feldeshii, which printed calendars and booklets, primarily religious in character.

The pattern of book publishing in Carpatho-Ukraine prior to World War I can be seen from the following figures: in 1875, 4 books (3 in Uzhhorod); in 1894, 3 (2 in Uzhhorod); in 1913, 22 (20 in Uzhhorod).

Altogether, a total of 5,593 books, 870 books Ukrainian, were published in 1913 on the territory which comprises the Ukrainian SSR today.

## DURING WORLD WAR I

With the outbreak of war in 1914, Ukrainian publishing came under increasingly stronger restrictions. Only a few periodicals outside the Kievan military district were allowed to appear. Illegal hectographic publications and newspapers (see Press) circulated in spite of the restrictions. The publishing house of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (1914–18) abroad (in Vienna) and illegal publishing houses run by Ukrainian political parties (the Ukrainian Social Democratic Revolutionary party in Kiev, the Ukrainian Social Democratic party in Petrograd), nevertheless, managed to distribute their publications. Through the efforts of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, which published books on current political problems in various languages, mainly German, as well as the literary works and Ukrainian studies by such writers as M. Hrushevsky, Stephen Rudnytsky, Myron Korduba, Longin Tsehelsky, the following were founded: the Franko Publishing Society in Freistadt (1916), the Hrinchenko Publishing Society in Wetzlar (1916), Ukraïns'kyi Rukh (Ukrainian Movement) in Rastatt (1917), and the Kulish Publishing Society in Saltzwedel (1917).

In addition to newspapers, these publishing houses printed books, some of which were widely circulated, e.g. B. Simovych's *Hramatyka ukraïns'koï movy* (Grammar of the Ukrainian Language) and the German-Ukrainian dictionary of P. Lysetsky.

Prominent in Vienna in 1915–16 was the publishing house of the Ukrainian Party of Social Revolutionaries (Nicholas Zalizniak, publisher). It brought out socialist brochures and popular books of Michael Drahomanov. Some publishing activity was carried on under the auspices of the Ukrainian Cultural Council, the General Ukrainian Council, and the National-Democratic party in Galicia; the Ukrainian National Democrats in Bukovina published calendars. Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation in Vienna published several informative pamphlets in Ukrainian.

Ukrainian publishing houses flourished again after the Russian retreat from Galicia and Bukovina.

In Carpatho-Ukraine, the Hungarian government placed obstacles in the way of Ukrainian publishing; it prohibited printing in the Cyrillic alphabet and ordered that Ukrainian publications must appear in Hungarian-Latin type.

## THE YEARS OF UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD, 1917–20

After the 1917 revolution, Ukrainian publishing houses increased in quality and quantity. In 1917 there were 78 publishing houses, in 1918, 104. In addition to those of private publishers (Adrian Kushchenko, Kreveniuk, Eugene Cherepovsky), many houses were owned by Prosvita and various community and cooperative societies. In the central and eastern lands of Ukraine there were about thirty publishing centers. Despite the fact that the circulation of printed material reached thousands of copies, the demand for Ukrainian books could not be satisfied. Ukrainian publications became more varied in content (scholarly works began to appear in vast numbers). However, the occupation of Ukraine by White Russian and Bolshevik armies arrested the growth of Ukrainian publishing.

Publishing was at its peak in 1918. Among the older publishing houses intensely active at the time were: Chas, Vik, Dzvin, Krynytsia; more recent ones were Vernyhora, Serp i Molot (Hammer and Sickle), and from August 1918 Knyhospilka (the Ukrainian Cooperative Publishing Union) which adopted the methods of prominent European publishers. Other publishing houses were: in Kiev—Vseuvyto (All-Ukrainian Pedagogical Publishing Society) and Ukraïns'ka Shkola (Ukrainian School), Dniprosoiuz, and Drukar (The Printer), established in Petrograd in 1917 and later transferred to Kiev; in Kharkiv—Soiuz (Union); in Cherkasy—Siiach (The Sower); in Smila—Promin' (The Ray); in Vovcha—Rukh (The Movement), later brought to Kharkiv; in Odessa—Narodnyi Stiah (The National Banner), Ivan Lypa, publisher, and Selians'ka Samoosvita (Peasant Self-Education); in Poltava—the Pedagogical Bureau of the National Council and Union of Consumer Societies.

Most of the publishing houses were in Kiev (nearly forty); Katerynoslav had six and Odessa five. The Kuban Central Union of Small Credit Institutions supervised publishing matters in Katerynodar. Outside Ukraine, a Ukrainian publishing association was established in the Far East in Harbin. The most serious barriers to book publishing were the great scarcity of paper and the lack of adequate communication. Many books, especially textbooks, were printed outside Ukraine (in Austria and Germany). Ukrainian titles published in Ukraine numbered 747 in 1917, 1,084 in 1918, 665 in 1919.

In the Western Ukrainian National Republic, book publishing suffered because of the war. After the Ukrainian Galician army crossed the Zbruch river, its Press and Information Headquarters

published the *Strilets'* (Rifleman) series in 1919 in Kamianets Podilsky, edited by Joseph Nazaruk and Ivan Krevetsky. Twenty issues appeared.

Among publications printed in Kamianets Podilsky (the seat of the UNR government in 1919–20) were those of the ministries of the UNR government, particularly Press and Propaganda and Military, of the Podilian Provincial National Board, and of private publishing firms such as Dnister, Horytsvit (Lychnis), Satyra i humor (Satire and Humor).

The publishing house Buduchchyna (The Future) was active in Ostrih. Finally, the armies of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Ukrainian Galician Army published propaganda brochures such as *Biblioteka Kozaka* (The Kozak's Library) series in the various towns in which they were quartered.

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# 6. BOOK PUBLISHING 1919–66

## BETWEEN TWO WORLD WARS

### Ukraine under Soviet Occupation

The establishment of Soviet rule in Ukraine was accompanied by the gradual liquidation of private Ukrainian and Russian publishing houses and the replacement of their output with Bolshevik publications, mostly in Russian, e.g., *Proletarii* (The Proletarian) in Kharkiv, *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata* (Voice of the Social-Democrat) in Kiev, and *Zvezda* (Star) in Katerynoslav. In May 1919, the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee issued the decree on the "Unification of all Individual Soviet Publishing Houses into the All-Ukrainian Publishing House" (abbreviated Vsevydav). All printing equipment and paper stock was turned over to this central publishing house and its eighteen branches in Ukraine. All current publishing houses

were ordered to register in Vsevydav and were then given paper stock and permission to print. Vsevydav also had a monopoly on distribution of all printed matter. By a decree of August 18, 1920, it was renamed Vseukraïns'ke Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo (All-Ukrainian State Publishing House) and in 1922, Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Ukraïny (State Publishing House of Ukraine [DVU]). Other publishing establishments besides DVU were Komunist Newspaper Publishing House, established in 1920; Molodoi Rabochyi (Young Worker)—the Komsomol Publishing House; Shliakh Osvity (The Pathway of Education) Publishing House of the People's Commissariat of Education; Yurvydav (Legal Publications) of the People's Commissariat of Justice. In 1923 the Kharkiv publishing house Proletarii was limited to publishing socioeconomic literature. In addition to the above, there was also the VUAN (All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences) Publishing House, and the newly established or re-established during the NEP period Rukh (Movement, 1921), Knyhospilka (Book Company, 1923), Chas (Time), and the privately owned Slovo (Word), Siaivo (Brightness), and Drukar (Printer). The total number of registered publishing houses in 1922–3 was 49, of which 23 were state owned, 10 cooperative, 4 Party, 5 trade-union, and 7 private.

Despite persistent efforts of the Soviet authorities to monopolize the entire book production in Ukraine, it kept growing throughout the late 1920's (see Table I). From 1925–6 on, the number of books published in Ukrainian exceeded those in Russian in the Ukrainian SSR although the number of Russian titles was still the higher. Ukrainian books gained first place in 1927–8. In 1931 Ukrainian book production reached 80 per cent in titles and 84.5 per cent in copies of all books printed in the Ukrainian SSR.

The DVU was the most important publishing house in the late 1920's. It printed a large number of books in Ukrainian, particularly textbooks and literature, including series of Ukrainian classics, numerous translations from west European languages, and specialized and technical literature. DVU also published several dozen periodicals, among them literary and art magazines. The VUAN publishing house list grew rapidly, particularly in scientific publications, and 380 scholarly works were produced between 1918 and 1928.

FIGURE 191. BUILDING OF THE KIEVAN CAVE MONASTERY PRINTING HOUSE IN THE 1920's

Another house noted for its book production was Knyhospilka (Book Publishing Company), a publishing and book distributing organization which had been active in 1918–20. After renewing its activities in Kiev in 1923, it opened branches in Kharkiv and Odessa. Knyhospilka printed more Ukrainian literature than any other Ukrainian publishing house (Russian and other books about 10 per cent), particularly a valuable series of Ukrainian classics under the title *Literaturna Biblioteka* (Literary Library), a series of translations *Svitova Literatura* (World Literature), music, textbooks, handbooks, books on science, and art, and books for children and young people. After its reorganization in 1930 as a distributing firm, Knyhospilka was renamed Vukoopknyha (All-Ukrainian Book Cooperative) and its publishing activities were discontinued. Knyhospilka published 3,096 titles for a total of 40 million copies.

The official Party publishing house Chervonyi Shliakh (Red Pathway) played a fairly important part. It was established in 1924 as a merger of six smaller enterprises – Shliakh Osvity, Znannia, Hart (Firmness), Kosmos, and two others. The publishing house Radians'kyi Selianyn (Soviet Peasant) was established by the People's Commissariat of Education in Kharkiv in 1924 to compete with Knyhospilka in the production of popular literature. The trade union publishing house Ukraïns'kyi Robitnyk (Ukrainian Worker), founded in 1924, published books and periodicals on the labor movement and labor safety, as well as literature for workers' libraries and a series of Ukrainian authors and translations. Publishing houses in specialized fields were operated by such government agencies as the People's Commissariat of Public Health (Naukova Dumka [Scientific Thought, established in 1922]), People's Commissariat of Justice (1923), Ukrainian Scientific Institute of Library Science (1922), for example.

FIGURE 192. M. KOTSIUBYNSKY'S WORKS, KIEV, 1927 (cover design by L. Lozovsky)

Some publishing houses were still able to operate as private enterprises in the 1920's; One of these was Rukh (Movement), a prominent publishing firm founded in Kharkiv in 1921, which printed the works of pre-revolutionary Ukrainian writers exclusively in Ukrainian and such series as *Bibliotechka Ukraïns'koï Literatury* (Pocket Library of Ukrainian Literature), *Frankivs'ka Biblioteka* (Franko Library), *Teatral'na Biblioteka* (Theater Library), *Iliustrovana Biblioteka dlia Ditei* (Illustrated Library for Children), etc. The Soviet régime put Rukh out of business in 1933. Similar work, mostly in literature, was performed by the Slovo (Word) Publishing House of neoclassicists in Kiev (1923) and by the prerevolution publishing house Siaivo which was reestablished in Kiev.

As Moscow's attack on Ukrainian literature and science mounted, publishing in the Ukrainian SSR was reorganized. DVU was dissolved in 1930 along with other publishing houses and replaced by Derzhavne Vydavnyche Obiednannia Ukraïny (DVOU, State Publishing Union of Ukraine) operated by the People's Commissariat of Education and combining ten former publishing houses. Production of industrial and technical literature was concentrated in Derzhavne Obiednannia Naukovo - Tekhnichnykh Vydavnytstv Ukraïny (DONTVU, State Union of Scientific and Technical Publishing Houses of Ukraine) under the Ukrainian SSR's Council of National Economy. After further reorganization in 1932, the following publishing houses were released from the union and set up as separate organizations: Partvydav (Party Publishing House of Political Literature), Derzhtekhvydav (State Publishing House of Technical Literature), Sil'hospvydav (Agricultural Publications), and the publishing house of military literature Na Varti (On Guard) which was placed under the jurisdiction of the Red Army. In the course of the continuing struggle against "nationalist deviations," the decree of the Council of Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR of March 21, 1934, dissolved the DVOU, but in addition to the above named political and technical publishing houses, sanctioned the following: Literatura i Mystetstvo (LiM, Literature and Art), Ditvydav (Children's Publishing House), Vydavnytstvo AN URSR (Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian RSR), and Radians'ka Shkola (Soviet Education). Ditvydav carried on the work of the former publishing house of children's and youth literature Molodyi Bilshovyk (Young Bolshevik) Litera-

FIGURE 193. PUBLICATIONS OF THE ALL-UKRAINIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES IN THE 1920's

tura i Mystetstvo was again reorganized in 1935 into two separate units: Derzhlitvydav (State Publishing House of Literature) and Mystetstvo (Art).

The constant reorganizations of publishing enterprises which accompanied the persecutions (arrests, deportations, and executions) began to affect both the quality and the quantity of book production as early as 1932, particularly in literature, art, and science, and led to the reduction of publications in Ukrainian, as shown in Tables I and II.

As indicated in the Tables, the decline of book publishing in the Ukrainian SSR started as early as 1934 in conjunction with the assault of the Communist régime on Ukrainian culture. At the same time Russian books increased at the expense of Ukrainian publications. In 1939 books printed in Ukrainian dropped to 31 per cent of the 1931 figure, and their percentage of the total from 80 to 43. The percentage of Ukrainian books published during this period in the USSR was much lower than the percentage of the

TABLE I

DEVELOPMENT OF BOOK PRODUCTION IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN UKRAINE 1918–39

| Number of titles | 1918 | 1921 | 1923 | 1924–5 | 1928 | 1931 | 1934 | 1939 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| All languages | 1,526 | 667 | 2,461 | 4,508 | 5,695 | 8,086 | 4,711 | 3,369 |
| Ukrainian | 1,084 | 214 | 385 | 1,813 | 3,220 | 6,455 | 2,750 | 1,895 |
| Ukrainian (% of all books) | 71 | 3 | 16 | 40 | 57 | 80 | 58 | 43 |

TABLE II

BOOK PRODUCTION ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR 1928 AND 1934

| | 1928 | | 1934 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Language | Number of titles | Copies (thousands) | Number of titles | Copies (thousands) |
| Ukrainian | 3,201 | 27,018 | 2,750 | 55,285 |
| Russian | 2,216 | 10,360 | 1,459 | 17,197 |
| Yiddish | 96 | 331 | 147 | 693 |
| Polish | 50 | 174 | 60 | 329 |
| Bulgarian | 38 | 72 | 63 | 98 |
| German | 77 | 364 | 82 | 792 |
| Moldavian | 8 | 12 | 118 | 434 |
| Others | 9 | 5 | 32 | 68 |
| TOTAL | 5,695 | 38,336 | 4,711 | 74,996 |

Ukrainian population (16.5 per cent of the USSR total): 1928–9.3 per cent, 1931–11.7 per cent, and 1939–only 4.3 per cent. While Ukrainian books were being relegated to a minor role, a swelling tide of Russian books printed in the Russian SFSR flooded Ukraine (see Tables III and IV).

The tables indicate that beginning in the second decade of the 1920's the emphasis shifted from literature and the humanities to the social and political sciences (mostly in the form of mass propaganda) and to matters of production and engineering. The number of books devoted to the study of Ukraine dropped steadily. Biased in content, they followed the official line of "friendship among nations" and the primacy of the Russian people and their culture.

### Western Ukrainian Lands

World War II and the Ukrainian-Polish war of 1918–19 had an adverse effect on the development of cultural life in Galicia, including book production. The unfavorable political conditions of Polish occupation, administrative pressure, and censorship, blocked the development of a Ukrainian publishing movement. The greatest difficulties arose in Volhynia: it was almost impossible to publish anything in the Kholm and Podlachia regions.

TABLE III

BOOK PRODUCTION IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR ACCORDING TO SUBJECT AND PURPOSE

| | 1928 | | 1934 | | 1928 | | 1934 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Groups | Titles | Per cent | Titles | Per cent | Folios (thousands) | Per cent | Folios (thousands) | Per cent |
| Children and youth | 650 | 11.4 | 397 | 8.4 | 14,264 | 6.5 | 14,456 | 4.0 |
| Popular | 1,591 | 27.9 | 1,676 | 35.6 | 45,070 | 14.2 | 109,776 | 26.8 |
| Textbooks | 393 | 6.9 | 667 | 14.2 | 116,289 | 35.6 | 234,389 | 57.3 |
| Science | 1,210 | 21.3 | 643 | 13.6 | 9,638 | 13.6 | 22,584 | 5.5 |
| Program and method | 383 | 6.7 | 485 | 10.3 | 6,208 | 10.3 | 7,914 | 1.9 |
| Official documentation | 1,033 | 18.2 | 187 | 4.0 | 6,955 | 4.0 | 1,929 | 0.5 |
| Cyclopedic | 435 | 7.6 | 656 | 13.9 | 20,643 | 13.9 | 16,266 | 4.0 |
| TOTALS | 5,695 | 100 | 4,711 | 100 | 219,067 | 100 | 408,474 | 100 |

TABLE IV

BOOK PRODUCTION IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR ACCORDING TO CONTENT AND NUMBER OF COPIES PRINTED

| | 1928 | | 1934 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Content | Copies (thousands) | Per cent | Copies (thousands) | Per cent |
| Politics, economics, social sciences | 8,668 | 22.6 | 26,183 | 35 |
| Technical subjects | 809 | 2.1 | 3,386 | 4.5 |
| Agriculture | 1,392 | 3.5 | 10,846 | 14.5 |
| Pure and applied science | 4,177 | 10.8 | 12,915 | 17.3 |
| Linguistics | 6,062 | 15.8 | 11,142 | 14.8 |
| Fine literature | 13,778 | 36.1 | 9,905 | 13.1 |
| Others | 3,450 | 9.0 | 618 | 0.8 |
| TOTALS | 38,336 | 100 | 74,996 | 100 |

In spite of all obstacles and difficulties, book production in Galicia became richer and more varied. The number of Ukrainian publishing houses, including specialized types, increased and there was a marked rise in titles and number of copies printed.

In the production of scholarly books (see Scholarship, pp. 278 ff.), the Shevchenko Scientific Society led the field (as it did prior to 1914), followed by the Ukrainian National Museum in Lviv and the newly established Catholic Theological Academy (see p. 279) and the Theological Scientific Society. A number of scientific works were published by the Prosvita society in a separate series of popular books under the name *Uchitesia braty moï* (Study my Brethren).

The Ukrainian Publishing Institute established in 1937 by Basil Mykytchuk, Basil Vytvytsky, and Ihor Fediv, among others, published the *Atlias Ukraïny* (Atlas of Ukraine) and *Heohrafiia ukraïns'kykh i sumezhnykh zemel'* (Geography of Ukrainian and Neighboring Countries) by Volodymyr Kubiiovych. Through the efforts and sponsorship of individuals, including B. Mykytchuk, the Ridna Shkola (Our School) Cooperative Society published the first *Zahal'na ukraïns'ka entsyklopediia–Knyha Znannia* (General Ukrainian Encyclopedia–Book of Knowledge), with Ivan Rakovsky as chief editor. A number of scientific works, as well as the scholarly journal *Zapysky ChSVV* (Transactions of the Order of Saint Basil the Great), were published by the Basilian Fathers' press in Zhovkva, which specialized in popular religious literature.

The Ukrainian Pedagogical Society (subsequently Ridna Shkola) published a number of works on the theory and history of education. It concentrated on textbooks and literature for youth. Other publishers in this field were Uchytel'ska Hromada (Teachers' Association), Vzaïmna Pomich Ukraïns'koho Uchytel'stva (Ukrainian Teachers' Mutual Aid Society), and Nicholas Matviichuk's Nova Ukraïns'ka Shkola (New Ukrainian School), a private enterprise (see Education pp. 298–9).

FIGURE 194. POEMS OF IVAN FRANKO, *Iz dniv shurby*, LVIV, 1922 (cover design by P. Kovzhun)

The publishing house Chervona Kalyna (est. 1919) specialized in publishing memoirs and other works from the period of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation. A number of large popular historical works were published by Ivan Tyktor: *Velyka istoriia Ukraïny* (Great History of Ukraine), *istoriia ukraïns'koho viis'ka* (History of the Ukrainian Armed Forces), *Istoriia ukraïns'koï kul'tury* (History of Ukrainian Culture), and *Vsesvitnia istoriia* (World History), all edited by I. Krypiakevych.

Literary works were also published by the daily newspaper *Dilo*, which continued to turn out original and translated belles-lettres in the series *Biblioteka Dila* (*Dilo* Library) Khortytsia, an association of émigrés from central and eastern Ukraine, and such private publishing houses as Rusalka (Mermaid, Gregory Hanuliak), Izmarahd (Emerald, Michael Matchak), and Dobra Knyzhka (Good Book, Nicholas Mokh) were also engaged in this work.

Ukrainian cooperative and economic institutions were also involved in publishing: Revizyinyi Soiuz Ukraïns'kykh Kooperatyv (Auditing Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives), Maslosoiuz (Dairy Union), and the Sil's'kyi Hospodar (Village Farmer) society which published popular trade books on economic subjects.

Sociopolitical literature was published by the political parties: Ukrainian National-Democratic Union (UNDO); the Ukrainian Socialist-Radical party, whose newspaper *Hromads'kyi Holos* (Voice of the Community) published a book series *Samoosvita* (Self-Education), the Front of National Unity, the Ukrainian Catholic party (the book series of the newspaper *Nova Zoria* [New Star, edited by Joseph Nazaruk]). Private publishers issued *Knyhozbirnia Vistnyka* (Herald Book Collection, Dmytro Dontsov) and *Desheva Knyzhka* (Low-Priced Book, Roman Paladiichuk). The publications of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) were printed abroad or clandestinely at home, and were aimed primarily at Western Ukraine. Communist literature was published by the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (KPZU) and its legal publishing houses, Nova Kul'tura (New Culture), subsequently renamed Kul'tura (Culture), and Vikna (Windows) under Basil Bobynsky.

FIGURE 195. BOOK COVER OF MARKO CHEREMSHYNA'S WORKS, VOL. I, LVIV, 1937 (design by N. Butovych)

In order to counter the influence of Polish education on Ukrainian youth, literature for children and young people was developed on a large scale. Prominent in this field were: the Shevchenko Scientific Society Bookshop, publishing a series *Dlia Shkoly i Domu* (For School and Home); the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society Ridna Shkola, and I. Tyktor Publishing House (the *Ranok* [Morning] series), the Marian Youth Society, and some smaller publishing enterprises. The best work in this field came from Michael Taranko whose firm published not only periodicals for children and youth (see The Press, p. 501) but also the series *Dytiacha Biblioteka* (Children's Library) and *Biblioteka Molodoï Ukraïny* (Library of Young Ukraine).

Popular literature on a variety of subjects for mass circulation, particularly in the countryside, was published by the Prosvita society, the Michael Kachkovsky Society, the I. Tyktor Publishing firm, all in Lviv and Kolomyia, and Ridnyi Kolos (Our Awn of Grain) in Lutsk.

Table V shows the figures for Ukrainian book production in Poland during the 1924–37 period:

TABLE V

UKRAINIAN BOOK PRODUCTION IN POLAND 1924–37

| Year | Number of titles | Copies printed (in thousands) |
|---|---|---|
| 1924 | 195 | 478,0 |
| 1926 | 207 | 545,5 |
| 1928 | 229 | 914.1 |
| 1932 | 187 | 510.9 |
| 1936 | 305 | 722.5 |
| 1937 | 448 | 1,362.2 |

According to subject matter, popular and popular science publications were in first place, with 738,900 out of a total

of 1,362,200 books printed in 1937, and belles-lettres in second place with 468,800, followed by reference- and textbooks (122,400 including 72,400 on linguistics) and scholarly works (40,200). Production of Ukrainian books in all of Poland constituted 5.6 per cent of all titles and 4.7 per cent of the number of copies printed.

The city of Lviv occupied first place in Ukrainian publishing, with about 75 per cent of all Ukrainian printed material in Poland. Just as prior to 1914, other cities followed far behind: Zhovkva, Stanyslaviv, Kolomyia, Peremyshl, Ternopil, and Kholm, Kremianets, and Lutsk in the northwestern area.

Ukrainian books published in Poland in 1937 constituted 22 per cent of all Ukrainian books produced in the Ukrainian SSR.

Following the occupation of Bukovina by Rumania in 1918, all cultural, educational, and particularly publishing activities declined as a result of severe censorship and the government policy of "one Rumania." During the 1921–8 period, only 39 books were published, totaling 200 printed sheets. George Hlynka's Publishing Company which brought out six books, and Samostiina Dumka (Independent Thought) Publishing House, which came out with about a dozen books of belles-lettres and memoirs were the most active. The center of Ukrainian publishing in Bukovina was the city of Chernivtsi.

Carpatho-Ukraine, which became part of Czechoslovakia following the disintegration of Austria-Hungary, offered the best opportunities for the development of Ukrainian cultural and educational activities. The Prosvita society, founded here in 1920, played a leading role in publishing a number of popular publications and fourteen yearbooks of the *Naukovyi Zbirnyk* (Scientific Symposium). Many textbooks and literary works for young people were published by the Teachers' Association in Mukachiv and by the Pedagogical Society of Transcarpathian *Rus'* (Ukraine) between 1924 and 1936. Textbooks for schools were also supplied by the school board in Uzhhorod and the State Publishing House in Prague. The Nash Ridnyi Krai (Our Native Land) Publishing House in Tiachevo published a youth monthly and a belles-lettres series for children from 1922 to 1938. The Pchilka (Bee) Publishing House, founded by Paul Kukurudza (originally as part of the Uzhhorod Prosvita), published children's books, plays, and books on nature study and bee-keeping. The Plast publishing house Vatra (Campfire), founded by Leonid Bachynsky, published the series *Plastova Biblioteka* (The Plast Library, 1924–30). The Library of the Labor Academy in Uzhhorod published popular books for workers. For apiarists, there was a series called "Library of News for Bee-Keepers." Some agricultural books were published by the Bureau of Land Redistribution. Other important book series were: the drama series *Nova Stsena* (New Stage) and *Knyzhky Rusyna* (Books of the Ruthenian) edited by a Czech, F. Tlohe. The Basilian Fathers published popular religious literature. The Russophile trend was represented by the popular publications of the Alexander Dukhnovych Society in Uzhhorod. The number of Ukrainian books published in Carpatho-Ukraine reached several hundred titles, including the so-called Carpatho-Ruthenian publications, which were printed in Ukrainian but with some local peculiarities incorporated. The total number of titles published in Carpatho-Ukraine before 1939 was over one thousand. Uzhhorod was the main publishing center, followed by Mukachiv, Sevliush, Berehovo, Tiachevo, and Priashiv. During the period of Ukrainian statehood there was no time to develop book publishing, only newspapers and magazines.

**Ukrainian Publications Abroad**

Ukrainian political émigrés who left their homeland following its occupation

by the Bolsheviks, Poland, and Rumania and settled in other European countries made an important contribution to the publishing of Ukrainian books. A start was made in Austria, specifically in Vienna where numerous printing shops equipped with Ukrainian type were established. Newspapers, journals (see Press, pp. 503–4), and a considerable number of books were published.

During this period, the Kiev publishing houses Vernyhora, Dzvin, and Chas printed their books in Vienna. They established contacts with the Austrian printers as early as 1918 and published many textbooks and works on Ukrainian history. Only a small part of the printed material could be sent to Ukraine, the rest was distributed among Ukrainians abroad. The publishing houses Chaika (Gull) and Zemlia (Earth) founded by Anthony Krushelnytsky published several dozen titles of original and translated literature as well as a few dozen textbooks. The missions and legations of the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic and later the Government-in-Exile of the Ukrainian National Republic published political literature and information books.

A number of scholarly treatises, mainly on sociology and history, including works by M. Hrushevsky, Michael Lozynsky, Volodymyr Starosolsky, and Paul Khrystiuk, were published by the Ukrainian Institute of Sociology in Vienna (see Scholarship, p. 281). Other émigré publishing houses active during this period in Vienna were: Volia (Freedom) Journal Library of Victor Pisniachevsky; Nasha Volia (Our Freedom) of Nicholas Levytsky; library of the organ of the foreign branch of the Ukrainian Communist party Nova Doba (New Era, edited by Volodymyr Vynnychenko and Volodymyr Levynsky), and the Ukrainian Social-Revolutionary party's publishing house Boritesia-Poborete (Fight and You Shall Win), founded by M. Hrushevsky.

Ukrainian publication in Czechoslovakia began in 1923–4. The main centers

FIGURE 196. BOOK COVER OF TARAS SHEVCHENKO'S WORKS I–V, BERLIN, 1919–20

were Prague and Poděbrady, where textbooks of Ukrainian higher educational establishment were being published (see p. 282). The Ukraïns'kyi Hromads'kyi Vydavnychyi Fond (Ukrainian Community Publishing Fund) developed a lively publishing program. There were also such privately owned publishing houses as Vsesvit (Universe) of Basil Koroliv, Dniprovi Porohy (Dnipro Cascades) of Eugene Vyrovyi, and Proboiem (Fighting Wedge) of Stephen Rosokha—all in Prague. During the 1920–30 period, there were 143 active Ukrainian publishing houses in Czechoslovakia, with a total output of 734 book titles.

Emigré publications in Germany were concentrated in Berlin and Leipzig. *Ukraïns'kyi Prapor* (Ukrainian Banner), *Ukraïns'ka Molod'* (Ukrainian Youth, 1923), *Khliborobs'ka Ukraïna* (Farmer's Ukraine) of the Hetman party, and others were active in Berlin. The Ukrains'ke Slovo (Ukrainian Word) Publishing House was very productive, and between 1921 and 1924 brought out over fifty works from the Ukrainian classics, plus new editions of the dictionaries of Borys Hrinchenko and Michael Umanets. The Ukrainian Scientific Institute founded in 1926 (see p. 284) was also prominent in the field of publishing. Jacob

Orenstein, a Ukrainian publisher of Jewish origin, started publishing under the name Ukraïns'ka Nakladnia (Ukrainian Press) in Leipzig in 1918. He continued the *Zahal'na Biblioteka* (General Library) series which was begun before World War I, and, in addition, published several dozen volumes of both original and translated literature including the three-volume and five-volume editions of the works of T. Shevchenko. Orenstein also published sheet music and musical literature. Books published by E. Vyrovyi under the name Ukrainian Publishing house of Katerynoslav were printed in Leipzig.

Publishing flourished under Ukrainian émigrés in Poland, particularly in Kalisz and Warsaw. The publishing house of the Ukrainian Military History Society, headed by Colonel Michael Sadovsky,

FIGURE 197. BOOK COVER OF TARAS SHEVCHENKO'S WORKS, VOL. XI, WARSAW, 1935

published symposia on the history of the liberation struggle under the title *Za Derzhavnist'* (For Statehood) and a number of individual works on the same subject. Between 1930 and 1935 the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw published 47 volumes of treatises and materials, and 11 volumes of a 16-volume complete edition of the works of Shevchenko, edited by Paul Zaitsev. The Ukrainian Economic Bureau published four volumes of the Ukrainian Statistical Yearbook. The *Ridna Mova* (Native Language) and *Nasha Kul'tura* (Our Culture) periodical publications founded by Ivan Ohiienko published books on linguistics and the history of culture. The Ukrainian Central Committee in Warsaw, which represented the interests of Ukrainian political émigrés in Poland, operated a publishing house Visti (News). The publishing houses Variah (Varangian) and My (We) both produced a number of literary and journalistic works.

Ukrainian publishing also developed in Paris, France, where several newspapers and a number of scholarly works were published.

Some Ukrainian books were also published in Switzerland (publications of the Ukrainian-Swiss Chamber, Eugene Bachynsky, and Michael Yeremiïv) and in Finland (publications of Bohdan Kentrzhynsky).

## DURING WORLD WAR II

### Ukrainian Territories

World War II damaged Ukrainian book production even more than World War I. During the first Soviet occupation (1939–41) all publishing houses of the western Ukrainian lands were abolished. Books ready for printing, printed stock, and partly printed books, along with many valuable manuscripts, were destroyed. The publishing houses established by the Communists printed mostly fiction.

A more serious publishing movement developed only in the part of western Ukrainian lands within the so-called *Generalgouvernement*. Late in 1939, by permission of the German authorities, the Ukrainian Publishing House (Ukraïns'ke Vydavnytstvo) was established in Cracow, in close association with the Ukrainian Central Committee [Vol. I, p. 875]. The Ukrainian Publishing House had the exclusive right to publish Ukrainian newspapers, journals, and books

within the *Generalgouvernement.* During its early stages (up to the summer of 1941), it provided publications for the Ukrainians of the Kholm, Podlachia, Lemkian, and Sian areas, which had previously had very few publications, and thus contributed to the development of Ukrainian national life in these border areas [Vol. I, pp. 874–6]. In 1940 the Ukrainian Publishing House brought out 106 books with a total printing of 435,000 copies (including 161,000 copies of textbooks).

Following the annexation of Galicia to the *Generalgouvernement* [Vol. I, p. 887], the Ukrainian Publishing House opened a branch in Lviv. Despite strict German censorship, it published 420 books totaling 3.2 million copies during 1940–4. The average annual book production in 1941 and 1943 was higher than in Ukraine under Poland before the war. In addition to periodicals (see Press, p. 505), the Ukrainian Publishing House printed textbooks (mainly for public schools), books for children and youth, popular literature (historical and professional), and belles-lettres, including reprints of the works of authors executed by the Communists during the purges of the 1930's and new works by I. Bahrianyi, B. Lepkyi, T. Osmachka, and B. Chaplenko. The output of scholarly works was small because of German restrictions.

As the struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Ukraine under the USSR and Poland spread, the OUN and UPA also engaged in wide publishing and propaganda activities. During the period from 1945 to 1950, 21 periodicals, 60 books and pamphlets, and 103 other printed items appeared from the clandestinely operated presses.

Matters were much worse outside Galicia. At first, after the flight of the Communists, new Ukrainian publishing firms appeared in the cities of eastern and central Ukraine. But the German civilian administration ruthlessly blocked all these attempts and the Gestapo often executed both publishers and editors. Such was the fate of Olena Teliha, Ivan Rohach, and Orest Chemerynsky, who attempted to establish a Ukrainian publishing house in Kiev and bring out the Ukrainian national newspaper, *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* (Ukrainian Word). A Ukrainian publishing firm started by I. Tyktor and Ulas Samchuk in Rivne was thwarted. Other publishing attempts met with a similar fate. No Ukrainian books with the exception of a few chance printings, mostly collections of poetry, were published in central and eastern Ukraine during the German occupation. Germans and Communists both destroyed many printing shops; a number of printed or nearly completed books were lost.

**Abroad**

During the war, only two Ukrainian firms were permitted to publish in Germany: the Ukrainian National Alliance (UNO), which published its newspaper from 1936 together with a series of books, and *Ukraïns'ka Diisnist'* (Ukrainian Reality), the organ of the Hetman movement. There were several German publishing firms which printed books and periodicals in Ukrainian: the Holos (Voice) Publishing House, established by Bohdan Krawciw and subsequently nationalized, in Berlin; Fremdsprachendienst (Foreign Language Service) and W. Graefe in Berlin; Herrose and O. Harrasowitz in Leipzig; and Osteuropaeisches Wirtschaftsinstitut in Koenigsberg.

In German-occupied Czechoslovakia, several Ukrainian publishing houses were quite active in the early stages of occupation: Proboiem of S. Rosokha, Kolos (Awn) of Ivan Roman, and that of George Tyshchenko-Siryi. The first two were closed down by the German authorities in 1944. The Ukrainian Free University, the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute, and the Historical-Philological Society continued publishing some scholarly works and symposia in Prague during the war.

## THE POST-WORLD WAR II PERIOD

### In Ukraine

Following the second Soviet occupation of 1944–45 and subsequent incorporation of all Ukrainian lands in the USSR, all book publishing (see Table VI) was concentrated in official state publishing houses, reorganized or established in the late 1930's.

Only after the death of Stalin was there a temporary increase in the number of Ukrainian books published (in comparison with Russian). Since 1960, however, the number of Russian books published in the Ukrainian SSR has been growing and the number of Ukrainian books declining, as indicated by Table VII.

The total printing of books published in the Ukrainian SSR (in millions of copies) is shown in Table VIII.

For purposes of comparison, the total printing of Ukrainian books was about 30 million copies in 1928 and 56 million in 1934. Simultaneously with the increase of the total printing, there was also an increase of the average printing of each title published in the Ukrainian SSR from 11,600 in 1940 to 18,800 in 1950, with a subsequent gradual drop to 17,600 in 1958.

During the period from 1918 to 1966, a total of 17,343 titles of Ukrainian literature was published in the USSR, with a total printing of 434,430 million copies. Out of 761 literary books and pamphlets (29,436 thousand copies) published in the Ukrainian SSR in 1966, 482 (70 per cent) were in Ukrainian. For purposes of comparison it should be noted that during the same year 3,182 works of Russian literature were published in the USSR, with 275.3 million copies, i.e., twelve times the total of Ukrainian belles-lettres (22.3 million), although according to official statistics the number of Russians in the USSR is only three times the number of Ukrainians.

On the basis of subject-matter figures

TABLE VI

Development of Book Production in the Ukrainian SSR (within current boundaries)

| Titles | 1940 | 1946 | 1950 | 1955 | 1958 | 1960 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| All languages | 4,836 | 2,151 | 4,136 | 4,821 | 6,618 | 7,889 | 7,251 |
| Ukrainian | 4,012 | 1,311 | 1,865 | 2,378 | 3,975 | 3,844 | 2,998 |
| In proportion to all others | 41.5 | 61 | 45 | 49 | 60 | 49.8 | 41.4 |

TABLE VII

Comparison in Numbers of Ukrainian and Russian Books Published in Ukrainian SSR

| Titles | 1960 | 1961 | 1962 | 1963 | 1964 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ukrainian | 3,844 | 4,041 | 3,824 | 3,321 | 3,261 | 2,998 |
| Russian | 3,893 | 4,416 | 4,284 | 4,094 | | 4,023 |
| Other languages | 152 | 252 | 198 | 174 | | 4,230 |
| Dictionaries | | 9 | 7 | 10 | | |

TABLE VIII

| | 1940 | 1950 | 1958 | 1960 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| All languages | 51.4 | 77.6 | 116.2 | 113.1 | 110.7 |
| Ukrainian | 41.3 | 62.2 | 88.4 | 79.0 | 77.5 |
| Ukrainian in proportion to others | 80.4 | 80.2 | 76.0 | 70.0 | 70.0 |

for 1966 alone (see Table IX), there is an evident disproportion of political, social, and economic literature—941 books or 12.6 per cent of all titles (7,486). These were mostly propaganda pamphlets (reports of Party conventions, Party and government resolutions, antireligious publications, etc.). The majority of books on natural science, mathematics, engineering, medicine, etc. were printed in Russian. The works of Ukrainian classic literature published in the Ukrainian SSR are mostly "selected works," frequently distorted and with conspicuous omissions of those which the party deems unfavorable to communism. Propaganda literature includes the works of modern Soviet writers, which often come out in large editions. Translations of Western literature are very limited in the Ukrainian SSR.

During forty-five years of Soviet rule (1918–63) the number of books and brochures published in the Ukrainian SSR was 210,000 in 2,821,500,000 copies. The USSR total during the same period was 1,825,800 in 27,500,000,000 copies.

FIGURE 198. TARAS SHEVCHENKO'S COLLECTED WORKS IN 6 Vols., KIEV, 1964

The number of publishing houses in

TABLE IX

BOOK PRODUCTION IN UKRAINIAN SSR IN 1966

| | Number of titles | Printing (thous. copies) | Folios (thous.) |
|---|---|---|---|
| By subject matter: | | | |
| Politics, sociology, economics | 941 | 13,425 | 119,998 |
| Natural sciences, mathematics | 653 | 19,436 | 220,172 |
| Engineering, industry | 2,098 | 6,699 | 52,687 |
| Agriculture | 673 | 4,243 | 30,213 |
| Transportation, communications | 282 | 2,589 | 26,701 |
| Commerce, procurement, food | 82 | 667 | 7,270 |
| Public utilities | 69 | 699 | 2,903 |
| Public health and medicine | 429 | 3,077 | 20,340 |
| Physical culture, sports | 66 | 968 | 5,062 |
| Culture, education, scholarship | 514 | 6,651 | 37,343 |
| Linguistics | 268 | 11,641 | 146,716 |
| Literary studies | 164 | 6,985 | 115,766 |
| Literature (incl. children's) | 761 | 29,436 | 257,231 |
| Arts | 206 | 1,355 | 7,707 |
| Book printing, bibliology, library science, bibliography | 249 | 1,339 | 4,759 |
| By purpose: | | | |
| Mass political literature | 443 | 8,810 | 47,649 |
| Scholarly works | 829 | 1,196 | 17,143 |
| Popular science | 246 | 3,982 | 19,939 |
| Production manuals | 2,155 | 12,439 | 105,383 |
| Textbooks | 1,309 | 39,649 | 534,440 |
| Program and method | 1,100 | 8,200 | 39,593 |
| Literature (excl. children) | 576 | 12,846 | 179,293 |
| Children's books | 242 | 18,054 | 88,932 |
| Official documentation | 59 | 76 | 142 |
| Cyclopedic literature | 520 | 4,393 | 30,404 |
| TOTAL BOOK PRODUCTION | 7,486 | 109,732 | 1,065,115 |

the Ukrainian SSR totaled thirty in 1966, each with an assigned field of activity.

Social and political literature is published by Politvydav Ukraïny (Political Literature Publishing House of Ukraine); science by Naukova Dumka (Scientific Thought); classics of Ukrainian, Soviet, and foreign literature by Dnipro; books for young people by Molod' (Youth); children's books by Veselka (Rainbow); new works by Soviet Ukrainian authors by Radians'kyi Pys'mennyk (Soviet Writer); agricultural subjects by Urozhai (Harvest); educational by Radians'ka Shkola (Soviet School); engineering by Tekhnika; construction by Budivel'nyk (Builder); medicine by Zdorov'ia (Health); art by Mystetstvo (Art); music by Muzychna Ukraïna (Musical Ukraine). Works on national economy, fiction by local authors, etc. are published by the following houses: Kameniari (Stonecutters) in Lviv; Promin' (Ray) in Dnipropetrovske; Donbas in Donetske; Krym (Crimea) in Symferopol; Maiak (Lighthouse) in Odessa;

FIGURE 199. BOOK COVER OF B. S. BUTNYK-SIVERSKY'S MONOGRAPH *Ukrains'ke radians'ke narodne mystetsvo, Kiev, 1966*

Prapor (Banner) in Kharkiv; Karpaty (Carpathians) in Uzhhorod; the Republic newspaper and journal publishing house Radians'ka Ukraïna (Soviet Ukraine). The state universities of Kiev, Lviv, Kharkiv, etc. also publish books.

The main center of book production in the Ukrainian SSR is Kiev, where 4,441 titles out of a total of 7,486 were published in 1966, i.e., 59.3 per cent of all books published in the Ukrainian SSR, and 95,290 copies printed out of a production of 109,732 thousand for Ukrainians. Following Kiev in importance are: Kharkiv, 952 titles; Lviv, 506; Donetske, 367; Dnipropetrovske, 297; Odessa, 293; Crimea, 180; and Transcarpathia, 138. Kharkiv lost the importance it had in the 1920's as a center of book publishing, especially Ukrainian. In the western lands, such former publishing centers as Zhovkva and Kolomyia ceased to function, while Uzhhorod expanded in this field. Chernihiv and Chernivtsi declined as publishing centers to a low of 11 and 32 titles, respectively.

Several Ukrainian publishing houses operate in the satellite countries, where Ukrainians live in more or less compact settlements. The Ruske Slovo publishing house in Kerestur, Yugoslavia, publishes a newspaper, two magazines, and books. Similar in nature is the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society in Warsaw, which publishes a newspaper and books for Ukrainians in Poland. In Rumania, there is a Ukrainian newspaper and book publishing enterprise, Novyi Vik (New Age). Most active is the Ukrainian branch of the Slovak Publishing House of Fine Literature in Bratislava, which has already published several dozen books on different subjects for the Ukrainians of the Priashiv region.

**Abroad**

After World War II, Ukrainian book publishing flourished for a short time in Germany and Austria, and on a lesser scale in France, Great Britain, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy. A total of 2,104 books were published in these countries between 1945 and 1950, including 96 in foreign languages. Out of this number, 577 were on social and political subjects; 557 on literature and the study of literature; 295 on religion; 172 on history and geography; 135 on pure and applied

science; and 93 on linguistics. After most of the refugees moved overseas, the main Ukrainian publishing centers outside the Ukrainian SSR were: the United States (New York, Philadelphia, Chicago), Canada (Toronto, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Yorkton), Argentina (Buenos Aires), to a lesser extent Brazil (Prudentopolis and Curitiba), and Australia. Ukrainian publishing houses continue to operate in Germany (Munich, Neu Ulm), Italy (Rome), France (Sarcelles), and Great Britain (London). Most of the publishing houses in Europe and South America distribute their publications among Ukrainians in the United States and Canada.

There is no accurate count on Ukrainian book production abroad after 1950; data are available only for some countries and for some years. *Richnyk ukrains'koi bibliografiï 1957* (Yearbook of Ukrainian Bibliography, 1957) reported that the number of Ukrainian books printed that year outside the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Rumania was 275 titles. The number of books and brochures printed in Ukrainian in Canada in 1953–67 was 1385.

The number of Ukrainian publishing houses abroad is quite large. However, they are all financially weak, treating a variety of subjects for a variety of people with differing interests. In the publication of scholarly works, the Shevchenko Scientific Society is most active both in Europe and the United States, the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States and Canada, the Order of Saint Basil the Great and the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome, the Molode Zhyttia (Young Life) publishers of the *Entsyklopediia ukraïnoznavstva* (Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies) and other scholarly publications, the publishing enterprises of the Ukrainian Free University and the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute in Munich, the Orthodox scholarly societies in Winnipeg and in Bound Brook, N.J. English-language publications on Ukrainian subjects (including *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*) are published by the Ukrainian National Association and its Svoboda Press in Jersey City, N.J. German-language publications are coming from the Ukraine publishing house in Munich. Political literature and some belles-lettres are published by the Prolog Research and Publishing Association (New York), the Ukrainian Publishing House in Munich, the Publishing House of the Organization of the Defense of Four Freedoms of Ukraine in New York, the First Ukrainian Printing Co. in Paris; historical books by Chervona Kalyna in New York and the Ukrainian Military Institute in Toronto; and religious books by Dobra Knyzhka (Good Book) in Toronto and the Order of Saint Basil the Great in different countries of both North and South America. The following specialize in fiction and other types of writing: Nicholas Denysiuk in Chicago, Dniprova Khvylia (Dnipro Wave), and Suchasnist' (Present Time) in Munich, Julian Serediak in Buenos Aires (Argentina), Homin Ukraïny (Echo of Ukraine) in Toronto. Original and translated literature is published by the Na hori (On Top) publishing house in Munich. Children's books are published by Yevshan-Zillia. Various newspaper publishers and bookstores also publish books.

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# 7. THE SALE AND DISTRIBUTION OF BOOKS

## TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Book distribution in Ukraine began at the same time as book printing. At first, the printers themselves took care of the distribution and sale of the books they printed, e.g., Ivan Fedorovych in Lviv and Ostrih at the end of the sixteenth century and Michael Sliozka in Lviv in the seventeenth century. Later, church brotherhoods and monasteries which operated printing shops undertook the distribution of books. They were sold at fairs and markets or by itinerant salesmen who traveled from town to town and from village to village.

The first bookstore was established by the Lviv Brotherhood of the Assumption (later Stavropygian Brotherhood). During the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries it sold books throughout Ukraine, including Bukovina, Transcarpathia, and even Left-Bank Ukraine, where the Brotherhood was permitted to sell books by a special edict of Peter I. In the eighteenth century the bookstore of the Kievan Cave Monastery, located in Podil (the lower part of the city), enjoyed a monopoly on the sale of books throughout the Kiev region and Left-Bank Ukraine. Its representatives covered the larger markets of Kiev and other cities and exported books to Moldavia, Wallachia, Serbia, and even Muscovy, to the Caucasus and Siberia. In the second half of the eighteenth century, despite specific prohibitions, individual Kievan printers carried on trade in books (Jacob Serbyn and Yehor Dembrovsky, among others). At the end of the eighteenth century, Russian publisher and bookdealer Nicholas Novikov promoted the sale of his books, printed in *hrazhdanka*, in Kharkiv, Kiev, Poltava, Hlukhiv, and Nizhyn. A project suggested in 1779–80 by the learned Ukrainian statistician and editor-publisher of Russian journals, Theodore Tumansky, regarding the establishment of an academic bookstore in Hlukhiv was not realized.

## NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

The establishment of bookstores in central and eastern Ukraine began in Odessa; at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were three book

stores in that city, two of them founded by foreign dealers and one by a Russian. By 1846 there were six bookstores in Odessa. A prominent role in distributing Ukrainian books was played by the publishers of the *Osnova* (Foundation) journal in St. Petersburg (1861–2), and by seminarians who organized the sale of books in the bazaars and markets of many Ukrainian cities. At this time, the first bookstores were also founded in Kiev, which had nearly twenty by the 1870's. Most of them dealt in Russian books; a few carried Ukrainian books. At about the same time, the first store selling Ukrainian books was opened in Kiev by the company of Mykyta Levchenko and Luke Ilnytsky. The Kievan bookstore of Seminsky, specializing in Ukrainian material, also began operating. When L. Ilnytsky's bookshop was forced to close in 1885, the Ukrainian bookstore and publishing house of S. Homolynsky replaced it in 1886. A truly Ukrainian bookstore was opened in Kiev around 1884 under the auspices of Kievskaia Starina (Kievan Antiquity), founded through the efforts of the Kiev *Hromada* (Community). Some bookstores in Odessa, Kiev, and Chernihiv dealt in Ukrainian books at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, especially the Polish bookstore of Leon Idzikowski in Kiev, which specialized in Ukrainian song and music literature.

After 1905, the sale of Ukrainian books increased. The bookstore of Kievskaia Starina was reorganized in 1907 and renamed the Ukrainian Bookstore. Bookshops with the same name arose eventually in such cities as Poltava (operated by Gregory Markevych), Zhytomyr, Odessa (run by Ivan Lutsenko), and Kremenchuk. Also in 1907, the publishing house Chas (Time) and the publishers of *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk* (Literary-Scientific Herald) established bookstores in Kiev. The latter was actually founded by George Tyshchenko as a branch of the Lviv Bookstore of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, similar to other Ukrainian bookstores opened by him in Kharkiv (1909) and Katerynodar in Kuban (1911). The Bookstore of the Literary-Scientific Herald was the main storehouse of Ukrainian publications printed in central Ukraine and in Galicia.

In western Ukrainian lands the oldest bookshop, at the Stavropygian Institute in Lviv, dated from the late sixteenth century. It dealt primarily in church books, religious pictures, and school textbooks, and from the second half of the nineteenth century in books of Russophile publishers. The Prosvita (Enlightenment) society's participation in bookselling started in the 1870's with their first bookstore in Lviv. Eventually the bookstore of the Shevchenko Scientific Society became the center for Ukrainian books sold throughout Galicia and Bukovina, and in the central and eastern Ukrainian lands. In the Galician provinces, there were bookstores in some smaller cities, including Peremyshl, Stanyslaviv, and Kolomyia (operated by Jacob Orenstein and Michael Bilous).

In Bukovina the sale of books was conducted by the bookselling section of Selians'ka Kasa (Farmers Bank) in Chernivtsi and by local foreign-owned bookstores.

### 1917–65

After the March revolution of 1917, Ukrainian book trade flourished. Dozens of Ukrainian community and private bookshops arose in Kiev and other larger and smaller Ukrainian cities. This growth was arrested by the Soviet occupation. Following the prohibition of private sale of books in May 1920, all bookstores were nationalized. The dissemination of all printed matter was placed under the jurisdiction of the Vsevydav (All-Ukrainian Publishing House), the official organ of the All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee. During the NEP period [Vol. 1, p. 814b–15a], the sale of books was again permitted, and many private and community bookstores were

established. Simultaneously, the Derzhavne Vydavnytstvo Ukraïny (State Publishing House of Ukraine), formerly Vsevydav (All-Ukrainian Publishing House), organized a network of book warehouses and stores. The Kievan Knyhospilka (Book Union), closed in 1920, reopened as a book center in 1921. With a main office in Kharkiv and branches in Kiev and Odessa, it developed a wide network of bookstores (over 6,000), including in its book-trade system 75 per cent of all regional consumer unions. In addition, the All-Ukrainian Actionary Society Selo-Knyha (Village-Book) was active for a time in the distribution of books. After the abolition of NEP, private bookstores were again prohibited and the activity of community and cooperative bookselling organizations was limited.

Following the reorganization of the State Publishing House of Ukraine into the State Publishing Association of Ukraine (DVOU) in 1930, the sale and general distribution of all books was centralized in a single state agency, Ukrknyhotsentr (Ukrainian Book Center). Yet another reorganization of the book business took place in March 1934 when DVOU was liquidated, the activities of Ukrknyhotsentr were cancelled, and Ukrknyhotorhivlia (Ukrainian Book Trade) was created as an office of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR. In 1938 this institution was reorganized as Ukrknyhokul'ttorh (Ukrainian Cultural Book Market) at the Ukrpolihraftrest (Ukrainian Polygraphic Trust). In November 1943, Ukrknyhokul'ttorh was made subordinate to the bureau responsible for matters dealing with printing and publishing attached to the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR. After reorganizations of this department in 1949 and again in 1953, supervision of the sale of books was transferred to the Ministry of Culture of the Ukrainian SSR, and Ukrknyhokul'ttorh was changed into Ukrknyhotorh (Ukrainian Bookselling). Eventually this institution was reorganized into a Republican Association of Book Trade, Ukrknyha (Ukrainian Book). In 1956 the sale of books in *raion* centers and villages was placed under the jurisdiction of the cooperative organization Ukoopspilka (Ukrainian Co-op Association). In addition to Ukrknyha and Ukoopspilka, the all-union book-trading center Soiuzdruk (Union Printing) and individual all-union book-selling organizations, such as Voienknyha (Military Book), were involved in selling books in Ukraine. In 1956 there was a total of 1,097 bookstores and 2,785 book stalls in the Ukrainian SSR. The number of stores increased to 2,375 in 1962, and the number of book stalls rose to 5,891. The sale of books in the Ukrknyha system brought in 48,200,000 karbovantsi in 1964, in the Ukoopspilka system 23,400,000, and in Soiuzdruk 16,400,000. Libraries in the Ukrainian SSR are systematically supplied with books by *raion* library distributors. Ukrainian books are supplied to Soviet bookstores abroad by the book bureau of the Ukrainian SSR, Ukrknyhotorh, through Mezhdunarodnaia kniga (International Book) in Moscow.

In western Ukrainian lands the main book-trading organization before September 1939 was the bookstore of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, with its five branches in other cities of Galicia and Volhynia. In addition, Lviv had the bookstore of Ridna Shkola (Native School) and several private stores owned by Isidore Hromnytsky, Michael Taranko, and Michael Matchak (Izmarahd-Beryl), among others. There were also bookstores in some of the smaller cities of Galicia and Volhynia. Individual publishers (I. Tyktor, Chervona Kalyna, Basilian Fathers, Desheva Knyzhka [Low-Priced Book], etc.) as well as publishing institutions (RSUK, Audit Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives, Sil's'kyi Hospodar [Village Farmer]) employed the widely accepted system of using salesmen to sell their books and publications.

In Carpatho-Ukraine there were small

bookstores in Uzhhorod, Mukachiv, Khust, and other cities. Czech bookstores also sold Ukrainian books (e.g. Unio in Uzhhorod). In 1935–8, George Tyshchenko founded Ukrainian bookstores in Mukachiv, Uzhhorod, and Perechyn. After the Hungarian occupation of Carpatho-Ukraine in 1939, the activity of Ukrainian bookstores was curtailed. In 1945, Transcarpathis was included in the bookselling network of the Ukrainian SSR.

### ABROAD

The first Ukrainian bookstores outside the borders of Ukraine were founded in the United States and Canada before 1914 and served Ukrainian immigrants. Rus'ka Knyharnia (Ruthenian Bookstore) in Scranton, Pa., and Sichovyi Bazar (Sich Bazaar), later Surma (The Bugle) in New York, were among the first Ukrainian bookstores in America. One of the oldest bookstores in Canada was founded in 1910 by Michael Ferbei in Edmonton (since 1915 the Ukrainian Bookstore, run by Dmytro Ferbei). During World War I, the bureau of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine in Vienna undertook the distribution of books. It supported libraries in prisoner of war camps in Rastatt, Wetzlar, Salzwedel, and Freistadt. In this same period the bookstore of Theodore Savula was established in Vienna, and J. Orenstein was a prominent bookdealer in Berlin.

After World War I, other Ukrainian bookstores were established in Prague, (S. Lavriv, G. Tyshchenko), in Berlin (Andrew Serbinenko), in Paris, and in other western cities.

During World War II, the Ukrainian Publishing House (in Cracow and Lviv) became very active in bookselling, with a network of stores at branch offices of the Ukrainian Central Committee throughout the country. In 1945–9 a number of private Ukrainian bookstores were established in Germany (Munich, Augsburg, Regensburg, Hanover), reaching a total of eight in 1948, all united under the book-trade division of Knyhotsentr (Book Center). After the resettlement of refugees in the United States, Canada, and other countries, a wide network of Ukrainian bookstores evolved in the United States (25 bookstores in 1964) and Canada. There are separate Ukrainian bookstores in the various countries in which Ukrainians settled in Western Europe, South America, and Australia.

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## 8. THE PRESS

### GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The origin and development of the Ukrainian press were affected by the incorporation of Ukrainian lands in several countries, first in Russia and Austria-Hungary, then in the USSR, Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia, and finally in the USSR only. Consequently, the development of the Ukrainian press shows differences not only in the regional character of the newspapers and magazines published under various conditions of political occupation but

also in their content, which corresponded to the social and political order in the given country, and finally in the cultural and educational development and national consciousness of the given reader group. The Ukrainian press was not merely a means of disseminating information. It was also an important factor of national and political education, playing a leading role in informing the Ukrainian people who were deprived of their own schools. The development of the Ukrainian press and its various adaptations are closely associated with the development of political thought and the growth of Ukrainian activities in differing spheres of cultural and economic life.

Established by the efforts of Ukrainians themselves, without adequate financing and in the absence of any large private or state publishing houses, constantly in difficulties and subject to censorship and even administrative restrictions, the Ukrainian press grew in number of publications, content, and number of copies printed. Gradually it encompassed all facets of national life. It mirrored the struggle among various shades of opinion, ideas, and political trends and increasingly gained prestige and influence among the Ukrainian people. The attempts of governmental circles of the occupying powers to undermine this prestige by means of a subsidized press in the Ukrainian language proved a dismal failure.

The development of the independent Ukrainian press suffered a setback in the central and eastern Ukrainian regions following their conquest by the Communists in the early 1920's, and in the western Ukrainian regions in 1939. Newspapers and journals published by the Communist régime, although numerous and varied, are primarily organs of the Communist party and government and of institutions under their control. Opportunities for free development are open only to the Ukrainian press in the free countries of the world.

## BEGINNINGS OF THE UKRAINIAN PRESS

Even before any Ukrainian newspapers emerged in Ukraine, a number of Ukrainian cultural leaders of the eighteenth century settled in St. Petersburg and Moscow and engaged in publishing. They also contributed to Russian periodicals which treated Ukrainian themes and were distributed in the Ukrainian lands of the Russian empire. The eminent Ukrainian writer and subsequently Ukrainian and Russian church leader Theophan Prokopovych [Vol. I, p. 1002a] contributed to one of the oldest Russian newspapers *Sankt-Peterburgskie Vedomosti* (St. Petersburg News). A Ukrainian from Chernihiv, Hippolytus Bohdanovych, was the chief editor of this newspaper for a time. The Ukrainian historians Basil Ruban and Theodore Tumansky played an important part in the development of Russian journalism. They devoted much space to Ukrainian history in their publications.

The first newspapers to come out in Ukrainian territories were in the official languages of Russia or Austria-Hungary. The first one published was the weekly *Gazette de Léopol* published in French by Chevalier Ossoudi in Lviv in 1776. The first daily newspaper in Galicia was the *Lemberger Zeitung* in German and later in Polish as *Gazeta Lwowska*, edited by the historian and Greek Catholic church leader Michael Harasevych; between 1890 and 1914 and again in 1918 it carried a Ukrainian supplement called *Narodna Chasopys'* (The People's Newspaper). The first newspapers in Ukrainian under Russian rule were the Russian-language *Khar'kovskii Yezhene-*

FIGURE 200. TITLE PAGE OF THE *Gazette de Léopol*, LVIV, 1776

*del'nik* (The Kharkiv Weekly) started in 1812, the French-language *Méssègere de la Russie Méridionale* (South Russian Messenger) begun in Odessa in 1820 and changed to the Russian *Vestnik Yuzhnoi Rossii* (South Russian Herald) in 1821, the first daily in eastern Ukraine *Odesskii Vestnik* (Odessa Herald) published from 1827 to 1893, and *Kievskie Ob'iavleniia* (The Kiev Advertiser). All these newspapers, as well as the *Gubernskie Vedomosti* (Provincial News) which began publication in all the provincial capitals in 1838, were far removed from Ukrainian problems, being mostly carriers of official news. Somewhat later, the *Gubernskie Vedomosti* published in Chernihiv and Kamianets Podilsky began to show an interest in Ukrainian history and geography. The Kharkiv weekly *Kharkovskie Izvestiia* (Kharkiv News) published by Andrew Verbytsky (1817–23) was to a certain degree Ukrainian in character, printing some articles in Ukrainian. The first newspaper in Transcarpathia was the Hungarian-language *Ungvari Ertisitö* (1845–9), and the first newspaper in Bukovina was *Bucovina* published in Rumanian and German in Chernivtsi (1848–50).

The beginnings of Romanticism and of the Ukrainian cultural and national renaissance marked an attempt to publish magazines of a local nature. This attempt was associated with the cultural center established at Kharkiv University [Vol. I, p. 673 and Vol. II, p. 315]. The literary scientific journal *Ukrainskii Vestnik* had a circulation of 350 to 500 copies in Kharkiv from 1816 to 1819. Yevhraf Filomatytsky, Rozumnyk Honorsky, Alexander Sklabovsky, Gregory Kvitka-Osnovianenko, and Peter Hulak-Artemovsky were instrumental in publishing it. The magazine published articles in Russian on Ukrainian historical subjects, and poems and special columns in Ukrainian. The magazine was suspended by the Russian censors in 1820 and subsequently reestablished as *Ukrainskii Zhurnal* (Ukrainian Journal, 1824–5). *Khar'kovskii Demokrit,* published in Kharkiv in 1816 and edited by Basil Maslovych, was devoted to literature and satire.

The reigns of Nicholas I in Russia and Franz I and Ferdinand I in Austria were unfavorable to the Ukrainian press which was limited to non-periodicals, mainly literary almanacs, bilingual, but with the Ukrainian language predominant. The following periodicals appeared in Ukraine under Russia: *Ukrainskii Almanakh,* published by Ivan Roskovshenko and Izmail Sreznevsky (1831); *Utrennaia Zvezda* (Morning Star, two volumes, 1833), initiated by Kvitka-Osnovianenko; *Zaporozhskaia Starina* (Zaporozhian Antiquity, 1833–8) and *Ukrainskii Sbornik* (Ukrainian Symposium, 1838–41) by Sreznevsky; *Kievlianin* (The Kievite) by Michael Maksymovych (three volumes

FIGURE 201. ALMANAC *Snip,* KHARKIV, 1841

FIGURE 202. ALMANAC *Molodyk,* KHARKIV, 1843

published in Kiev in 1840–1) and in Moscow in 1850; *Lastivka* (The Swallow, 1841) of Eugene Hrebinka; *Snip* (The Sheaf, 1841) by Alexander Korsun; *Molodyk* (The Youngster, four volumes, 1842–4) by Ivan Betsky; *Yuzhnyi Russkii Sbornik* (South Russian Symposium) 1848, by Ambrose Metlynsky; *Khata* (The Home, 1860) by P. Kulish (1860). In Galicia, Markian Shashkevych, Ivan Vahylevych, and Jacob Holovatsky published the almanac *Rusalka Dnistrovaia* (Nymph of the Dniester, Budapest, 1837) and J. Holovatsky two issues of *Vinok Rusynam na obzhynky* (Harvest Wreath for the Ruthenians, 1846–7). The

ideology of Ukrainian romantic populism was fairly clearly formulated in these almanacs. In the Transcarpathian city of Priashiv, an almanac *Pozdravleniie Rusynov* (Greetings from Ruthenians) came out in three editions between 1850 and 1852.

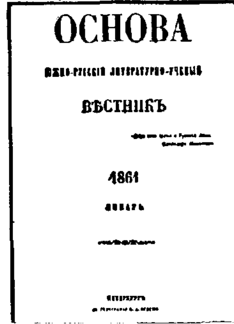
Conditions changed in Austria following the revolution of 1848. The first Ukrainian weekly, *Zoria Halytska* (Galician Star, 1848) was the organ of the Supreme Ruthenian Council in Lviv [Vol. I, p. 699]. Edited by Anthony Paventsky, it came out in 4,000 copies. The very first issue printed a declaration of Ukrainian separatism and national unity (May 15, 1848). *Zoria Halytska* outlived the pro-Polish *Dnevnyk Ruskyi* (Ruthenian Daily) founded in 1849, under the editorship of Ivan Vahylevych, but following the reactionary trend after 1848 it was taken over by the Russophiles

ЗОРѦ ГАЛИЦКА

Число 1

FIGURE 203. TITLE PAGE OF THE NEWSPAPER *Zoria Halytska*, LVIV, 1848

in 1850. It confined itself to literary subjects, and eventually ceased publication in 1857. The *Halycho-Ruskii Vistnyk* (Galician-Ruthenian Herald) founded by Nicholas Ustyianovych in 1849 had a longer life. Transferred from Lviv to Vienna under Ivan Holovatsky, its editor from 1866 was George Vyslobotsky. Its significance diminished, particularly after 1850, when it became the semi-official *Vistnyk dlia Rusynov Avstriiskoi Derzhavy* (Herald for the Ruthenians of the Austrian State). The life of the Russophile newspapers *Novyny* (News) and *Pchola* (The Bee) published by the Rev. Ivan Hushalevych in 1849 was short. Official newspapers were published by the government: *Tserkovnaia Gazeta* (Church Gazette) in Budapest for Transcarpathia (1856–8) and *Vistnyk Zakoniv* (Law Herald) in Vienna (1854–8, 1872–1918). The first magazine for women in Ukraine was *Lada* (1853), published by Severyn Shekhovych.


ОСНОВА

ВѢСТНИКЪ

1861

FIGURE 204. THE MONTHLY *Osnova*, ST. PETERSBURG, 1861

## THE 1860's THROUGH THE 1880's

The monthly *Osnova* (Foundation, 1861–2), founded in St. Petersburg on the initiative of Panteleimon Kulish and edited by Basil Bilozersky [Vol. I, p. 681b], had a decisive effect on the development of Ukrainian national consciousness and the crystallization of Ukrainian ideology in the second half of the nineteenth century. In addition to providing a series of excellent literary works, the journal provided a broad treatment of the Ukrainian national movement in literary and critical articles by P. Kulish, historical studies by Nicholas Kostomarov, socioeconomic essays by Thaddeus Rylsky, bibliographical reviews and comments, etc. *Osnova* was highly regarded by both Ukrainians and foreigners. Its program was continued on a smaller scale by *Chernigovskii Listok* (The Chernihiv Newsletter) founded in Chernihiv by Leonid Hlibiv (1861–3).

Under the new Austrian constitution, the Ukrainian press had a chance of freer development in Galicia, the short-lived journals published by the populists between 1862 and 1865 were directly

FIGURE 205A. THE WEEKLY *Pravda*, LVIV, 1870

FIGURE 205B. THE MONTHLY *Pravda*, LVIV, 1894

affected by the views of *Osnova*. These journals were: *Vechernytsi* (Social Evening), *Meta* (Goal), *Nyva* (Field), and *Rusalka* (Nymph), among others. *Pravda* published by the same group in Lviv had a longer life (1867–80, and 1884). It was a literary and civic journal edited in turn by Anatole Vakhnianyn, Omelian Ohonovsky, and Volodymyr Barvinsky, which gradually assumed national importance. Besides the newspapers of the populists, there were Russophile periodicals, the most important of which was *Slovo* (Word) published between 1861 and 1887, edited by Bohdan Didytsky. It initially came out twice a week; later three times. The popular scientific and literary magazine *Nauka* (Scholarship) was founded and edited by Ivan Naumovych (1872–1902). In addition to the periodicals mentioned above, in the western Ukrainian territories there were newspapers and magazines devoted to problems of agriculture, industry, and commerce: *Nediliа* (Sunday), *Hospodar* (The Husbandman); the educational *Uchytel'* (Teacher) and *Gazeta Shkol'na* (School Gazette); the satirical *Strakhopud* (Scarecrow) and *Kropylo* (Sprinkler.)

The first Ukrainian newspaper published in Bukovina was *Bukovyns'ka Zoria* (Bukovinian Star, 1870–1) published by Ivan Hlibovytsky in Chernivtsi.

Simultaneously with the publication of *Pravda* in Lviv, attempts were made to establish a Ukrainian press in Kiev, if not Ukrainian in language, then at least Ukrainian in spirit. In 1874, George Tsvitkovsky became the editor of the newspaper *Kievskii Telegraf* (The Kiev Telegraph, 1859–76). The editor was closely associated with Kyïvs'ka Hromada [Vol. I, p. 683]. Under his supervision the newspaper became the organ of Hromada, with such contributors as Volodymyr Antonovych, Michael Drahomanov, Paul Zhytetsky, Paul Chubynsky, Alexander Rusov, and Theodore Vovk. Attacks by the reactionary newspaper *Kievlianin* (1864–1920) led to the closing of *Kievskii Telegraf* in 1875. The prohibition of any Ukrainian printing in the Russian empire was decreed in 1876 (the Ems ukase [Vol. I, p. 684]). Belles-lettres only, which had to be printed in Russian orthography, were excepted. It became necessary to revert to the publication of almanacs: *Luna* (Echo, Kiev, 1881), *Rada* (Council, Kiev, 1883–4), *Nyva* (Field, Odessa, 1885), *Step* (Steppe, Kherson-Petersburg, 1886) and *Skladka* (Collection, four volumes, Kharkiv-Petersburg, 1887–97).

The monthly journal *Kievskaia Starina* (Kievan Antiquity, 1882–1907) became a true spokesman for Ukrainian culture. It was sponsored by Basil Semyrenko and Basil Tarnovsky, Jr. and edited by Theophan Lebedyntsev (1882–8), Alexander Dashkevych (1888–9), Alexander Lazarevsky (1890–1), Eugene Kyvlytsky (1891–2), and Volodymyr Naumenko (1892–1906). Starting with Lazarevsky, *Kievskaia Starina* became the organ of *Hromada* and a scholarly journal of Ukrainian studies (see Scholarship, p. 247). The last volume of *Kievskaia Starina* came out in 1907 under the name *Ukraïna*. During its last ten years this journal devoted much space to literary

FIGURE 206. TITLE PAGE OF THE MONTHLY *Kievskaia Starina*, KIEV, 1882–1906

works in Ukrainian and to journal articles.

During this period, a number of Russian newspapers were favorably disposed towards the Ukrainian problem and some had Ukrainians on their editorial staffs: *Yuzhnyi Krai* (The Southland, 1881–1918), *Volyn'* (1882–early 1900's), and *Kuban'* (1882–5).

## FROM 1880 TO 1906

The development of the Ukrainian press at this time was exclusively confined to Western Ukraine and foreign countries. The principal Galician and émigré newspapers and magazines partially fulfilled the role of nationwide Ukrainian press organs. In the struggle with the Russophile trend and its press, the populist press began to gain the upper hand. In addition to the popular rural newspaper *Bat'kivshchyna* (Homeland, 1879–96) founded by Julian Romanchuk and the Lviv *Pravda* (1888–98) which was revived by a pro-Polish faction sponsored by Alexander Konysky and edited by Alexander Barvinsky, *Dilo* (Deed) became the most prestigious and influential newspaper after 1880. First appearing semiweekly, then every other day, it became a daily in 1887 and survived with some interruptions until 1939. Volodymyr Barvinsky was its founder and editor until 1883. From that year until 1914 its editors were: Ivan Belei, Eugene Levytsky, Longin Tsehel-

FIGURE 207. MASTHEADS OF THE NEWSPAPER *Dilo*, LVIV, 1880–1939

FIGURE 208. MASTHEADS OF THE NEWSPAPER *Svoboda*, LVIV, 1897–1939

sky, Yaroslav Vesolovsky, Volodymyr Kushnir, and Basil Paneiko. *Dilo* printed contributions by authors from all parts of Ukraine. It was close to the populist movement headed by Omelian Ohonovsky and later became associated with the Ukrainian National Democratic party, whose official organ was the weekly *Svoboda* (Liberty, 1897–1939) read mainly by the rural population.

In Bukovina, the newspaper resembling *Dilo* in form and content was *Bukovyna*, published semimonthly in Chernivtsi (1885–1918). Joseph Fedkovych was its first editor, followed by Omelian Popovych who worked closely with Stephen Smal-Stocky. Changing subsequently into a weekly and finally a daily, it reached its peak under the editorship of Joseph Makovei. *Rus'ka Rada* (Ruthenian Council, 1898–1908) of Chernivtsi

was similar to the Lviv *Svoboda*. There were also Russophile newspapers such as *Pravoslavna Bukovyna* (Orthodox Bukovina, 1893–1903) and the weekly *Bukovinski Vedomosti* (Bukovinian News, 1895–1909).

The leading newspaper in Transcarpathia to follow the national trend was the semimonthly and later weekly *Nauka* (Scholarship, 1897–1914) published in Uzhhorod. A popular newspaper in Transcarpathia was *Nedelia* (Sunday) published in Budapest. A pro-Hungarian attitude was promoted by the Russophile *Karpat* (Carpathians, 1873–86) published by M. Homychkov and *Lystok* (Leaf, 1885–1903) published by Eugene Fentsyk.

In the late 1870's, when the populists split into moderates and socialists, attempts were made, mainly through the efforts of M. Drahomanov [Vol. I. p. 703b] to establish socialist newspapers and journals. The forums of Drahomanov's and socialist ideas were: *Druh* (Friend, 1874–7) published in collaboration with Ivan Franko and Michael Pavlyk, which gradually abandoned its Russophile position; *Hromads'kyi Druh* (Civic Friend, 1877), a monthly edited by Franko and Pavlyk, which continued in the form of an almanac under the title *Dzvin* (Bell) and *Molot* (Hammer, 1878–9), and the journals *Svit* (World, 1881–2) edited by I. Belei, and *Tovarysh* (Comrade, 1888) edited by Franko. At the same time, in order to disseminate his ideas which bordered on socialism, Drahomanov founded the journal *Hromada* (Community, 1878–82) in Geneva (Switzerland) in cooperation with M. Pavlyk and Serhii Podolynsky. This journal had considerable influence on the development of Ukrainian political thought in all Ukraine, contributing to the crystallization of both the socialist-radical and the national-democratic trends. All these for the most part short-lived publishing efforts culminated in the establishment of a strictly political newspaper, the official organ of the Ruthenian-Ukrainian Radical Party (founded in 1890), *Narod* (The People, 1889-95) edited by I. Franko and M. Pavlyk. It subsequently continued as the weekly (later semiweekly) *Hromads'kyi Holos* (Community Voice, 1895–1939) edited by Viacheslav Budzynovsky, I. Franko, and M. Pavlyk, to mention only some. In 1897, *Hromads'kyi Holos* merged with the Chernivtsi weekly *Pratsia* (Labor). The rural newspaper *Khliborob* (Farmer, 1891–3) published in Lviv and Kolomyia and the shortlived *Radykal* (1895–6) edited by V. Budzynovsky were also allied with the Radical party.

A more outspoken socialist press appeared in Galicia and Bukovina in the 1900's, mainly through the efforts of the Ukrainian socialist parties in the central and eastern Ukrainian territories. The Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, founded in Lviv in 1899 [Vol. I, p. 704b], published its organ *Volia* (Freedom, 1900–7) in Lviv. Sponsored by Basil Simovych and Lev Kohut, the publication of the Revolutionary Ukrainian party (RUP [Vol. I, p. 686a]) *Haslo* (Password, 1902–3) was published in Chernivtsi, but its editors, headed by Dmytro Antonovych, remained in Kiev. Later, the RUP organ *Pratsia* (Labor) was published in Lviv (1904–5).

The labor newspapers with a socialist outlook were: the Polish language *Praca* (Labor, 1878–83) published in Lviv with the collaboration of I. Franko and the semimonthly *Robitnyk* (Worker, 1897) printed in Latin script, the voice of the Marxist group of Nicholas Hankevych and Julian Bachynsky.

In addition to the Lviv *Pravda*, which spoke for the moderate conservatives in the 1888–98 period and which had as contributors prominent writers from eastern Ukraine, there was also the clerically oriented organ of the Christian Social Party, *Ruslan* (1897–1914) edited by Alexander Barvinsky.

The Catholic press was represented by papers for the clergy such as *Ruskii Sion* (Ruthenian Zion, 1871–85) and *Dush-*

*pastyr* (Shepherd of Souls, 1887–98); the civic-religious semimonthly *Nyva* (Field, 1904–14 and 1916–39), and for laymen the journals *Poslannyk* (Emissary, 1889–1911) and *Misionar* (Missionary, 1897–1944).

РУСЛАН

РУСЛАН

FIGURE 209. MASTHEADS OF THE NEWSPAPER *Ruslan*, LVIV, 1897–1914

The student press made its appearance with *Moloda Ukraïna* (Young Ukraine) published in Lviv in 1900–1 and revived in 1905 and 1910. The editors of this socialist-oriented monthly, which advocated an independent Ukraine, enjoyed great prestige among young people and maintained contacts with students in central and eastern Ukraine, were: Longin Tsehelsky, Volodymyr Starosolsky, Volodymyr Temnytsky, and Stephen Baran.

Problems of the national economy, particularly of agriculture, were discussed by such periodicals as *Hospodar i promyshlennost* (Husbandman and Industry, 1879–87), *Providnyk Ril'nychykh Kruzhkiv* (Farm Club Members' Guide, 1886–1914), *Hospodar* (Husbandman, 1898–1913), and *Ekonomist* (1904–14) published by the National Cooperative Association.

The publications of the Prosvita society were in a special category [Vol. I, p. 702]: *Pys'mo z Prosvity* (Letter from *Prosvita*, 1877–9) edited by Omelian Partytsky and Anatole Vakhnianyn, the semimonthly *Chytal'nia* (Reading Room, 1893–4), and again *Pys'mo z Prosvity* (1907–16); there was also a Russophile semimonthly *Beseda* (Talk, 1887–98).

Journals of satire and humor were: the Russophile *Strakhopud* (Scarecrow, 1880–1905), and the populist *Zerkalo* (Mirror, 1882–93 intermittently and 1906–8), and *Nove Zerkalo* (New Mirror, 1884–5).

Literary and scholarly journals constituted a large and important group of periodicals during this period. They engaged as contributors many writers, publicists, and scholars from central and eastern Ukraine, thus assuming an all-Ukrainian character and contributing to the development of Ukrainian literature and scholarship.

Initially, literary activities were concentrated around *Zoria* (Star) published in Lviv by Omelian Partytsky (1880–97). After the establishment of closer contacts with writers of central and eastern Ukraine in 1883, and its acquisition by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in 1885, *Zoria* became a general journal representative of Ukrainian literature in the 1890's particularly under the editorship of Volodymyr Levytsky (pseud. Vasyl Lukych).

*Zoria*'s conservative orientation and somewhat limited range of ideas and subjects compelled the writers and scholars with radical and socialist ideas to organize a separate magazine, the monthly *Zhytie i Slovo* (Life and Words, 1894–7) published and edited by I. Franko. Since it paid considerable attention to the problems of scholarship and politics as well as to literature, and gathered as contributors prominent writers and scholars from all parts of Ukraine, *Zhytie i Slovo* won recognition and respect among the west European slavists.

ЗОРЯ

РОЧНИКЪ ШЕСТЫЙ

1885.

FIGURE 210. TITLE PAGE OF THE JOURNAL *Zoria*, LVIV, 1880–97

Both *Zoria* and *Zhytie i Slovo* ceased publication in 1897 as part of the efforts of Michael Hrushevsky to establish a single literary-scientific journal uniting all Ukrainian literary trends and leading

critics and scholars from all Ukrainian territories. This journal, *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk* (Literary-Scientific Herald) began publication in 1898 and played a leading role in Ukrainian literary development until 1919. Besides

FIGURE 211. TITLE PAGE OF THE *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk*, LVIV-KIEV, 1898–1919

Franko, who was actually editor-in-chief, its editorial board included M. Hrushevsky, Alexander Borkovsky, Joseph Makovei, and Volodymyr Hnatiuk. The journal had 800 subscribers in its very first year. Its contents were rich and varied, including literature, criticism, politics, and economics. In many respects it formulated the general trends of public opinion.

Among scientific publications, after *Naukovyi Sbornik Halytsko-Ruskoi Matytsi* (1865–8), the leading scholarly journal in all Ukraine was the periodical *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka* (Memoirs of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, see scholarship p. 249), which appeared in 1892. A legal periodical *Chasopys' Pravnycha* (Law Journal, 1889–1900) was published and edited by Constantine Levytsky (publication was taken over by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in 1893). It was continued as *Chasopys' Pravnycha i Ekonomichna* (Journal of Law and Economics, 1900–12) under the editorship of Stanyslav Dnistriansky.

The central and eastern territories of Ukraine had no Ukrainian-language press between 1880 and 1905. Some Russian-language journals partially filled the gap particularly *Kievskaia Starina*, and some newspapers published in Kiev and other cities which employed Ukrainians. There were also Galician, Bukovinian, and foreign (Geneva) periodicals which found their way into central and eastern Ukraine with great difficulty. Following the relaxation of censorship in the early 1900's, it was possible to publish a series of non-periodic symposia *Khvylia za khvyleiu* (Wave After Wave, 1900), *Z-nad khmar i dolyn* (From Clouds and Dales, 1902), *Dubove lystia* (Oak Leaves), *Literaturnyi zbirnyk pamiati O. Konys'koho* (O. Konysky Literary Symposium, 1903), *Na vichnu pamiat' Kotliarevs'komu* (In Perpetual Memory of Kotliarevsky, 1904), among others.

In order to inform the West about Ukrainian affairs, Roman Sembratovych published and edited the German-language periodicals *X-Strahlen* (X-Rays) and *Ruthenische Rundschau* (Ruthenian Review) in Vienna (1903–5).

### 1906–14

The Russian revolution of 1905 swept away the prohibitions against Ukrainian publications and removed censorship, thus creating opportunities for the establishment and development of a Ukrainian press in central and eastern Ukraine.

The first newspaper in the Ukrainian language was published by Volodymyr Shemet in Lubny without the permission of the authorities and closed after five issues; it was a rural weekly called *Khliborob* (Farmer)–5,000 copies printed. The weekly *Ridnyi Krai* (Native Land) began publication in Poltava with the permission of the authorities pursuant to the provisional rules for periodicals of November 24, 1905. It was edited by Olena Pchilka and was later

transferred to Kiev. The daily *Hromads'ka Dumka* (Community Thought) began publication in Kiev on December 31, 1905, on the initiative and with the financing of Eugene Chykalenko, Basil Symyrenko, and Volodymyr Leontovych, and edited by Theodore Matushevsky. However, publication was suspended by the authorities in August 1906 and it was replaced by the new daily *Rada* (Council) which continued from September 15, 1906 until August 1914 and was the leading Ukrainian newspaper providing broad coverage of Ukrainian life throughout the world. *Rada* was financed by E. Chykalenko, its publisher and editor-in-chief, and was cosponsored by B. Symyrenko and Leonid Zhebuniov. T. Matushevsky was also editor of *Rada*, as was Andrew Nikovsky from 1913. Among its contributors were Simon Petliura, Basil Koroliv-Staryi, and Dmytro Doroshenko. In spite of interference with distribution and censorship on the part of the Russian administration, *Rada* won an ever-increasing popularity and by 1914 had 4,000 subscribers.

ХЛІБОРОБ.

FIGURE 212. NEWSPAPER *Khliborob*, LUBNY, 1905

ГРОМАДСЬКА ДУМКА

ГРОМАДСЬКА ДУМКА

FIGURE 213. MASTHEADS OF THE NEWSPAPER *Hromads'ka Dumka*, KIEV, 1905–6

There were also many provincial newspapers published in various cities outside of Kiev, e.g. *Desna* in Chernihiv (1906) and *Poltavshchyna* in Poltava (1904–6). Most of them were short-lived. They lacked financial backing and suffered administrative restrictions and censorship. More permanent were the rural *Svitova Zirnytsia* (World Lightning, 1906–14) published by Joachim Voloshynovsky in Mohyliv and in the village of Penkivtsi (after 1911 in Kiev) and the illustrated weekly *Dniprovi Khvyli* (Waves of the Dnieper, 1910–13), in Katerynoslav, edited by Dmytro Doroshenko and later by Basil Bidnov. The rural weekly *Selo* (Village, 1909–11) founded through the efforts of M. Hrushevsky won wide popularity, but its publication was suspended after 18 months because of administrative pressure. Its replacement was *Zasiv* (Seeding, 1912), followed by *Maiak* (Lighthouse) 1913–14).

РАДА

РАДА

FIGURE 214. MASTHEADS OF THE NEWSPAPER *Rada*, KIEV, 1906–14

The political press was represented by the social-democratic weekly *Slovo* (Word, 1907–9) published in Kiev under the editorial board of S. Petliura, Nicholas Porsh, Valentine Sadovsky, and Yakym Mikhura. Other parties, mostly socialist, published their organs in Galicia and Bukovina.

Several literary, scholarly, and professional journals were also established in this period. The monthly *Nova Hromada* (New Community) edited by Borys Hrinchenko and Volodymyr Leontovych appeared in Kiev in 1906, but it lasted only to the end of the year, because *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk* was transferred from Lviv to Kiev. Publication of the *LNV* (starting in 1907 in Kiev) made

FIGURE 215. PUBLISHERS, EDITORS, AND CONTRIBUTORS OF THE NEWSPAPER *Rada* IN KIEV, 1914 (Seated, in the front row, from the left: I. Soletsky, I. Malych, E. Chykalenko, A. Nikovsky, S. Yefremov, and O. Kuzmynsky.)

it possible to bring together a staff of prominent writers and publicists, thus adding to the prestige and importance of this leading journal. Nevertheless, with a change in the literary process and the emergence of new literary trends, another literary journal was established in Kiev, *Ukraïns'ka Khata* (Ukrainian Home, 1909–14). With Paul Bohatsky and Mykyta Shapoval as its editors, this journal became the forum for new ideas. It opposed the traditional Ukrainophilism and conservative populism, engaging in sharp polemics with *Rada*. The following journals began publication in Kiev in 1913: the literary monthly of Marxist leanings *Dzvin* (Bell) edited by Volodymyr Levynsky and the art monthly *Siaivo* (Radiance) under Paul Kovzhun. Both ceased publication with the outbreak of World War I. The first professional educational journal, *Svitlo* (Light) edited by Gregory Sherstiuk was published in Kiev between 1910 and 1914.

As a supplement to the newspaper *Ridnyi Krai* (Native Land) the monthly *Moloda Ukraïna* (Young Ukraine) edited by Olena Pchilka was published between 1906 and 1914.

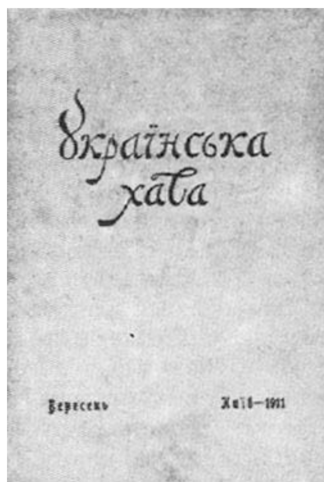



FIGURE 216. TITLE PAGE OF THE MAGAZINE *Ukraïns'ka Khata*, KIEV, 1909–14

The agricultural press of this period was represented by the newspapers *Rillia* (Plowed Land) and *Nasha Kooperatsiia* (Our Cooperatives) in Kiev, and *Ukraïns'ke Bdzhil'nytstvo* (Ukrainian Apiculture) in St. Petersburg.

In Lviv, the earlier National Democratic newspapers *Dilo* and *Svoboda* continued publication, as did the conservative clerical *Ruslan*, the radical *Hromads'kyi Holos*, the Russophile *Halychanyn* (the Galician 1893–1913), *Russkaia Rada* (Russian Council, 1871–1912), and *Russkoie Slovo* (Russian Word, 1890–1913). The Ukrainian newspapers displaying a nationalist trend were joined in 1912 by the popular daily *Nove Slovo* (New Word). There were several other rather insignificant weekly newspapers in Lviv and in the provincial towns. The majority of Ukrainian newspapers were engaged in an anti-Polish campaign. They furnished information about Ukrainian life in general but devoted much space to current political events (the struggle for reform of the election law of the Galician Diet and the Austrian Parliament, land reform, etc.).

Party publications of importance in this period included: the organ of the Ukrainian National Party *Samostiina Ukraïna* (Independent Ukraine, 1905); the social-democratic weekly first published in Chernivtsi and later in Lviv, *Zemlia i Volia* (Land and Freedom, 1907–13) edited by Volodymyr Levynsky; the Chernivtsi socialist monthly *Borot'ba* (Struggle, 1908–11) edited by Joseph Bezpalko; and the organ of the Radical Party *Hromadianyn* (Citizen, 1909–11). The magazine for high-school students, *Zhytie* (Life, 1912–14), was also politically oriented.

New literary and art magazines were joining *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk* in Lviv. Founded by followers of modernist trends they included the monthly *Rus'ka Khata* (Ruthenian Home, 1905) edited by Roman Sembratovych and continued by Viacheslav Budzynovsky as *Svitlo* (Light, 1906–8). Resembling the latter were the shortlived *Svit* (World, 1906–7) and *Buduchnist'* (Future, 1909–10). The first Ukrainian art magazine *Artystychnyi Vistnyk* (Art Herald) was published in Lviv during the years 1905–7 and edited by Ivan Trush. A literary-art magazine (*Iliustrovana Ukraïna* (Illustrated Ukraine, 1912–13) was published and edited by Ivan Krypiakevych.

Professional journals which continued publication in Lviv were: *Uchytel'* (Teacher, see Education, p. 294), and as a publication of Uchytel's'ka Hromada (Teachers Association) *Nasha Shkola* (Our School) 1909–15; the legal profession published its journal *Pravnychyi Vistnyk* (Law Herald), and the medical profession founded its periodical *Zdorovlia* (Health, 1912–14). Women's publications which had been represented only by almanacs were now enriched by the appearance of the newspaper *Meta* (Goal) edited by Daria Starosolska. Sports newspapers also appeared: *Visti z Zaporozha* (News from Zaporozhe, 1910–14) as a supplement to the Lviv *Narodne Slovo* (National Word) and *Sokil's'ki Visti* (Sokil News, 1912–14) as a separate newspaper published in Lviv. The children's magazine *Dzvinok* (Bell, 1890–1914) edited by Catherine Hrynevych and Constantina Malytska won wide popularity.

ДЗВІНОК

FIGURE 217. TITLE PAGE OF THE CHILDREN'S MAGAZINE *Dzvinok*, LVIV, 1890–1914

Outside Ukraine, a magazine *Ukrainskii Vestnik* (Ukrainian Herald), edited by Maxim Slavinsky, was published in Russian in St. Petersburg. Founded in 1906, it was shut down by the Russian authorities after 14 issues. A Ukrainian monthly journal in Russian, *Ukrainskaia Zhizn'* (Ukrainian Life), published in Moscow by S. Petliura had a longer career. *Ukrainische Rundschau* was published in German by Volodymyr Kushnir in Vienna as a continuation of *Ruthenische Revue*.

Overseas, in the United States, Canada, and South America, the Ukrainian

immigrant press was developing in quantity and quality. The organ of the Ruthenian (subsequently Ukrainian) National Association, *Svoboda*, founded in 1893, continued publishing as a weekly. Taking a clearly nationalist position, *Svoboda* provided broad news coverage of Ukrainian activities at home and abroad, promoted the establishment of Ukrainian national organizations, and combated pro-Russian and pro-Polish trends. Additional Ukrainian newspapers were established in the United States in the late 1900's: the organs of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association *Shershen'* (Hornet, 1910–11) and *Narodna Volya* (People's Will, since 1911); the weekly of the Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics, *Ameryka* (founded in 1912); and several more shortlived newspapers and magazines published by Ukrainian organizations and individual publishers. A Ukrainian-language newspaper of the Canadian Liberal party, *Kanadiiskyi Farmer* (Canadian Farmer) began publication in 1903, followed by a similar, but shortlived paper of the Conservative party, *Slovo* (Word, 1904–5). The first Ukrainian independent newspaper was the Winnipeg *Ukraïns'kyi Holos* (Ukrainian Voice), founded in 1910. Other newspapers with differing points of view were published in Canada between 1907 and 1914 (see Ukrainians Abroad, pp. 1178 ff.). The first Ukrainian newspaper in Brazil, *Zoria* (Star), was started by the Prosvita society in Curitiba (1907–10). In 1913, the Basilian Fathers founded the newspaper *Pratsia* (Labor) in Prudentopolis.

In 1913, out of a total of 141 Ukrainian periodicals published throughout the world, only 19 originated in the Russian empire, whereas 234 were Polish, 13 Jewish, and 21 Armenian. In Ukraine alone 226 Russian periodicals were published in 1913. Ukrainian periodicals in Austria-Hungary numbered 80, of which 66 came out in Galicia, 8 in Bukovina, 2 in Transcarpathia, and 4 outside Ukrainian territories (Vienna, Budapest).

The figures below indicate the number of Ukrainian periodicals published throughout the world.

| | 1848 | 1861 | 1881 | 1890 | 1900 | 1906 | 1913 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Whole world | 2 | 4 | 28 | 33 | 40 | 97 | 141 |
| Russian empire | — | 1 | — | 1 | 1 | 17 | 19 |

The first Ukrainian news agency, the Information Committee in Lviv, came into being in 1912. It was founded by Roman Zalozetsky and Andrew Zhuk mainly for the purpose of informing the outside world about Ukraine.

In spite of the constant growth of the Ukrainian press at home and abroad, the quality of the newspapers in this period was not high: there were only three dailies, very few weeklies, and the editors were for the most part without professional training. A majority of the periodicals were financially unstable: there were no private benefactors, no state or municipal subsidies, and very little advertising revenue. The number of readers was limited, especially under Russia, where the Russian press held first place.

## WORLD WAR I (1914–18)

The onset of World War I was catastrophic for the Ukrainian press. The Russian authorities discontinued *Rada*, *Maiak*, *Ukraïns'ka Khata*, and all other papers and magazines on the second day of the war. The ukase of 1876 was reinvoked on January 3, 1915, and all Ukrainian publications with the exception of the newspaper *Ridnyi Krai* which had to use Russian type, were prohibited within the Kiev military district. A literary monthly, *Osnova*, organized by Andrew Nikovsky in Odessa was shut down after three issues. Other newspapers in various cities of Ukraine which began legal pub-

lication in 1915 and 1916 met a similar fate. The only surviving Ukrainian organ was *Ukrainskaia Zhizn'* in Moscow (see above) edited by S. Petliura and Alexander Salikovsky. Under these circumstances, the political parties had to resort to such clandestine publications as *Borot'ba* (Struggle) of the social revolutionaries in 1915 and *Vil'na Dumka* (Free Thought) of the radical democrats.

The occupation of Galicia and Bukovina by Russian armed forces caused a complete dissolution of the Ukrainian press. Only Russophile and Polish publications were allowed to appear. Following the retreat of the Russians from Lviv in June 1915, the Ukrainian press staged a comeback in Galicia. Theodore Fedortsiv, Stephen Charnetsky, and Longin Tsehelsky published *Nove Slovo* (New Word), called *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* (Ukrainian Word) from 1915 to 1918. Fedortsiv and Dmytro Dontsov revived the semimonthly *Shliakhy* (Pathways) which had been a student organ in 1913 and 1914, and now (until 1918) became the spokesman for the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen. Mimeographed issues of the Sich Riflemen came out at the front lines. Newspapers published by the Austrian government for Ukrainian soldiers serving in the Austrian Army were used partly for promoting Ukrainian ideas: *Vidrodzhennia Ukraïny* (Rebirth of Ukraine, 1918) edited by Ivan Nimchuk; and *Nedilia* (Sunday, 1916–18) published in Russian for Russian prisoners of war and edited by Ivan Krevetsky.

The Ukrainian newspapers *Dilo*, *Svoboda*, and *Bukovyna* were transferred to Vienna during the war and played an important part in Ukrainian journalism, as did the anti-Russian newspaper *Vistnyk Soiuzu Vyzvolennia Ukraïny* (Herald of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, 1914–18) edited by Volodymyr Doroshenko, A. Zhuk, and Michael Vozniak. In addition to these newspapers, *Vistnyk Derzhavnykh Zakoniv* (Herald of State Laws) was published in Ukrainian in Vienna, as well as two newspapers for Ukrainian soldiers and noncommissioned officers in the Austrian armed forces. During the years 1915–18, a series of newspapers was published for Ukrainians who were Russian prisoners of war in Austria and Germany. These papers were mostly educational and included *Prosvitnyi Lystok* (Educational Letter) and *Rozvaha* (Entertainment) in Freistadt, *Rozsvit* (Dawn) in Rastadt, *Hromads'ka Dumka* (Community Thought) in Wetzlar, and *Vil'ne Slovo* (Free Word) and *Selianyn* (Peasant) in Salzwedel.

A number of Ukrainian periodicals in other languages were circulated to disseminate information about Ukraine and the Ukrainian cause. The foreign-language bulletins of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine were published in Vienna and Berlin, *La Revue Ukrainienne* (The Ukrainian Review) in Lausanne in French (1915–16), and *The Ukraine* in English, also in Lausanne. In Budapest, in addition to the official *Negyilya* (Sunday) printed in Hungarian script, there was the Hungarian-language *Ukrania* (1916) edited by Hiiador Strypsky.

## WAR OF LIBERATION (1917–20)

The revolutions in Russia and later in Austria-Hungary and the establishment of Ukrainian statehood created favorable conditions for the development of a Ukrainian press. Its influence, however, diminished because of continued military action, economic chaos, lack of paper, and inadequate transportation and communications. Several dailies came into being in Kiev in March and April 1917: *Nova Rada* (New Council), edited by A. Nikovsky was actually a continuation of *Rada* and was closely allied to the Ukrainian Socialist-Federalist party; *Robitnycha Hazeta* (Worker's Gazette) edited by Volodymyr Vynnychenko was the organ of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Workers party; *Narodna Volia* (People's Will) represented the Peasant

Union; *Borot'ba* (Struggle) edited by Nicholas Shrah was the organ of the Ukrainian party of Socialist-Revolutionaries (subsequently it was taken over by the party's left wing, the so-called Borotbists). Additional dailies in Kiev were *Hromads'ke Slovo* (Community Word) published by A. Salikovsky and *Promin'* (Ray) by Valentine Sadovsky. In 1918 Kiev had a non-partisan democratic daily *Vidrodzhennia* (Rebirth) edited by P. Haienko, and in 1918 and 1919 a semi-official organ of the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic, *Trybuna* (Tribune) edited by A. Salikovsky. There were also the Russian-language *Kievlianin* (The Kievan) and other Russian, Jewish, and Polish newspapers.

Ukrainian newspapers were also published in provincial centers and in many county seats. These papers were predominantly partisan, reflecting the political division of Ukrainian society. Thus, for example, the Social Democrats had the following papers: *Robitnyk* (Worker) in Kharkiv, *Holos Robitnyka* (Voice of the Worker) in Katerynoslav, *Vil'nyi Holos* (Free Voice) in Poltava, *Borot'ba* (Struggle) in Kamianets Podilsky. The Social Revolutionaries published: *Rukh* (Movement) in Kharkiv, *Sotsiialist-Revoliutsioner* (The Socialist Revolutionary) in Poltava, *Zemlia i Volia* (Land and Freedom) in Katerynoslav. The Autonomists-Federalists published *Vil'na Ukraïna* (Free Ukraine) in Uman. The *Samostiinyky* Socialists briefly published *Samostiinyk* (The Independent) in Kiev (1919) and later the daily *Ukraïna*.

The Peasant Union, the Prosvita society, the cooperative associations, and the so-called people's councils (former *zemstvos*) organized a great number of newspapers in provincial and county seats outside Kiev in 1917 and 1918.

Literature, science, and art were represented by the following publications: *Nashe Mynule* (Our Past) edited by Paul Zaitsev, *Knyhar* (Bookseller, 1917–20) edited by Basil Koroliv-Staryi and later Nicholas Zerov, *Teatral'ni Visti* (Theater News, 1917), and *Mystetstvo* (Art, 1919–20) edited by Michael Semenko and Ignatius Mykhailychenko. In addition to the revived *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk* in Kiev, there were the *Universal'nyi Zhurnal* (Universal Journal) and the monthly *Shliakh* (Pathway) which appeared in Moscow in 1917 and was transferred to Kiev in 1918, where it continued in the tradition of *Ukraïns'ka Khata*. The Symbolists were represented by the almanac *Muzahet*. Humor and satire had their outlets in *Gedz* (Gadfly), *Repiakh* (Burdock), and *Budiak* (Thistle), the most successful, edited by Serhii Panochini.

Among specialized and professional journals were: in education, *Vil'na Ukraïns'ka Shkola* (Free Ukrainian School, a continuation of *Svitlo*) in Kiev, *Osvita* (Education) in Kamianets Podilsky, and *Pedahohichnyi Zhurnal* (Pedagogical Journal) in Poltava; for students and children, *Sterno* (Stubble), *Kameniari* (Stonecutters), and *Voloshky* (Cornflowers) in Kiev, and *Yunak* (Youth) in Pereiaslav. Other journals were: *Zhinochyi Vistnyk* (Women's Herald), *Ukraïns'ka Viis'kova Sprava* (Ukrainian Military Affairs), *Ukraïns'ki Medychni Visti* (Ukrainian Medical News), *Zakon i Pravo* (Law and Justice), and *Vistnyk Hromads'koï Ahronomiï* (Herald of Community Agronomy), most of them published in Kiev.

A number of official publications appeared in Kiev during the period of Ukrainian statehood under the Central Rada, the Hetmanate, and the Directory: *Visti z Ukraïns'koï Tsentral'noï Rady* (News of the Ukrainian Central Rada), later *Vistnyk Heneral'noho Sekretariiatu Ukraïns'koï Narodnoï Respubliky* (Herald of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian National Republic), and journals of various ministries and bureaus. Under the Hetman state, the monthly *Viis'kovo-Naukovyi Vistnyk* (Military Science Herald, 1918) was published in Kiev. After the Directory abandoned

Kiev, some of its publications came out in Vinnytsia and Kamianets Podilsky.

When the government administration moved to Podilia, a number of newspapers sprang up: *Nova Ukraïna* (New Ukraine), *Respublikans'ki Visti* (News of the Republic), *Zhyttia Podillia* (Podilian Life), *Trudovyi Shliakh* (The Path of Labor), and *Nash Shliakh* (Our Pathway). Military newspapers of the Army of UNR and of the Ukrainian Galician Army, such as *Strilets'* (Rifleman), were published in Kamianets Podilsky and elsewhere.

In the western Ukrainian lands which were included in the territory of the Western Ukrainian National Republic, following the Polish occupation of Lviv in November 1918, the city of Stanyslaviv became the center of publishing. The following appeared there: *Svoboda* (Liberty), the organ of the National Committee; *Narod* (People), the organ of the Ukrainian Radical party; *Respublika*, *Nove Zhyttia* (New Life), *Volia* (Freedom), and others.

Altogether, whereas only 19 periodicals appeared during the period of the Russian occupation in 1913 (10 in 1916), in 1917 there were 98; in 1918, 174; and in 1919, 144 (excluding Western Ukraine). Of 50 newspapers in Galicia in 1918 and 1919, 15 were published in Stanyslaviv.

More than a dozen Communist Russian-language newspapers were published in Ukraine 1917–18. The most important were: *Proletarii* (The Proletarian) in Kharkiv, *Proletarskaia Mysl'* (Proletarian Thought) in Kiev, and *Zvezda* (The Star) in Katerynoslav. The only Communist paper in Ukrainian at that time was the shortlived *Vistnyk Ukraïns'koi Narodnoï Respubliky* (Herald of the Ukrainian People's Republic). It lasted from late December 1917 to March 1918 in Kharkiv as the organ of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies of Ukraine.

Many Ukrainian newspapers and journals began appearing in 1917 in other parts of the Russian empire, notably in the Subcaucasus and Siberia, and in the Far East—e.g., *Ukraïns'ka Amurs'ka Sprava* (The Ukrainian Amur Cause) in Blagoveshchensk on the Amur River, *Zasiv* (Sowing) in Kharbin, and *Ukraïnets'* (The Ukrainian) in Vladyvostok.

The growth of the Ukrainian press during the War of Liberation was much greater than that in any other field of cultural endeavor (education, scholarship, and even book publishing). Despite a shortage of paper, newspapers came out in large editions. The chaos in transportation and communications provided the impetus for numerous newspapers and journals in the provinces. From 1917 until 1919 newspapers appeared fairly regularly. In 1919, however, because of political and military events, newspapers were often forced to change their publishing locale and to suspend printing. Functioning primarily as a source of information, the Ukrainian press of this period was also an important factor in forming political opinion, particularly in the countryside, and it replaced not only books but even schools.

The Ministry of Propaganda of the Ukrainian National Republic, along with the Ukrainian Telegraph Agency established in 1918 under the supervision of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and headed by Dmytro Dontsov (during the Directory by Volodymyr Kalynovych), played an important part in the development of the press. *Vistnyk Zakordonnoï Presy* (Herald of the Foreign Press) was published in Kiev in 1918.

A number of press bureaus were active in 1918–20. These bureaus were attached to the Ukrainian legations in Berlin, Paris, London, Rome, Washington, Prague, Copenhagen, and Vienna, where there was also a Western Ukraine press agency. All published information bulletins. The Ukrainian governments also sponsored individual foreign-language journals: *Die Ukraine* in Berlin (1918), *Ukrainische Blätter* (Ukrainian Letters)

in Vienna (1918), *L'Ukraine* in French in Lausanne (1919), *France et Ukraine* in Paris (1920), *La Voce dell Ukraina* in Rome (1919); and newspapers in Greek published in Athens and in Bulgarian in Sophia (1919–20).

## UNDER SOVIET OCCUPATION (1919–45)

The first attempts to publish Communist newspapers in Ukrainian were made in 1919: the Kiev *Bil'shovyk* (The Bolshevik) and *Selians'ka Bidnota* (The Rural Poor); and *Halyts'kyi Komunist* (The Galician Communist) for propaganda in Galicia. In 1921 *Visti TsK KP (b) U* (News of the Central Committee of the Communist Party [Bolsheviks] of Ukraine) began publication in Kharkiv. Other important Communist newspapers and journals were: *Komunist* founded in 1918 in Moscow and published in Kharkiv from 1919 through 1921 and a magazine under the same title (1920–1), *Proletarskaia Pravda* (Proletarian Truth) in Kiev, and numerous other Russian-language publications. Upon establishing their control over Ukraine, the Communists gradually discontinued all non-Communist publications in 1919–20. A temporary respite was granted only to the Ukrainian Communist party [Vol. I, p. 801–2], which collaborated with the Bolsheviks. They continued the publication of *Borot'ba* (Struggle) in 1920 edited by Basil Ellanskyi (pseud. Vasyl Ellan-Blakytnyi), *Chervonyi Prapor* (Red Banner) in Kiev and later in Kharkiv, *Chervonyi Shliakh* (Red Pathway) in Kamianets Podilsky, among others. Altogether, in 1920, there were 151 newspapers and journals published in Russian in Communist-occupied Ukraine and only 82 in Ukrainian. By 1922 there was no non-Communist press in Ukraine and only 69 Ukrainian-language publications.

With the introduction of Ukrainization [Vol. I, p. 809b–811b] a new stage, which lasted from 1923 to 1931, began in the development of the press in the Ukrainian SSR. A majority of newspapers and journals even outside Kiev and Kharkiv (e.g., in Odessa and Katerynoslav) began to publish in the Ukrainian language, often under a new title. The appointment of Basil Ellanskyi as editor-in-chief of *Visti VUTsVK* (News of the All-Ukrainian Executive Committee), published with the supplement *Kul'tura i Pobut* (Culture and the Mode of Life) which printed the polemics of Nicholas Khvylovyi, and of Gregory Hrynko as editor of the literary-political monthly *Chervonyi Shliakh* (1923–36), which replaced the previous *Shliakhy Mystetstva* (Pathways of Art), resulted in a new life for these publications. Their staffs were increased, and a number of Ukrainian cultural leaders who had remained in Ukraine were gradually absorbed. The subsequent editors of these publications, Eugene Kasianenko of *Visti* and Alexander Shumsky of *Chervonyi Shliakh*, continued this policy.

During this period the literary rather than the political press played the leading role. The latter was completely centralized and served to spread party propaganda. Ukrainian cultural leaders could express themselves in the daily press on a very limited scale, and on the back pages at that (e.g., the columns of Ostap Vyshnia and George Gedz, and the reviews of Constantine Burevii and V. Khmuryi, to mention a few). The daily press was often the forum for the criticism and condemnation of literary journals for their "nationalist" deviations (articles by Andrew Richytsky, F. Taran, and Andrew Khvylia). The newspapers of this period with the largest number of readers were the official party dailies *Komunist* (in Ukrainian after 1928) and *Visti VUTsVK*. Among the prominent provincial publications were *Proletars'ka Pravda* and *Bil'shovyk* in Kiev, *Kharkovskii Proletar* in Kharkiv, and *Chornomors'ka Komuna* (Black Sea Commune)

in Odessa. There was a special newspaper for youth, *Komsomolets' Ukraïny* (The Young Communist of Ukraine).

Newspapers for the peasants with their own distinctive character appeared during this period, for example, *Selians'ka Pravda* (Peasants' Truth, 1921–5) edited by Serhii Pylypenko, which was later merged with the mass circulation paper *Radians'ke Selo* (Soviet Village, 1924–33). These newspapers were adapted to the conditions of the Ukrainian countryside, dealt with its culture and needs, and published a large amount of agricultural news. In general, the Ukrainian newspapers at this time were not yet simple copies of their Russian counterparts. This was to come later. The press devoted some space to Ukrainian themes, both in the Ukrainian SSR and in the western Ukrainian areas. However, their selection of material usually followed the party line.

Party control over the literary and art journals was also quite firm, although the régime did not succeed in taking them over completely. Even *Chervonyi Shliakh* sometimes voiced veiled opposition. A monthly, *Zhyttia i Revolutsiia* (Life and Revolution), was published in Kiev between 1925 and 1934 (edited by Alexander Doroshkevych and later by Ivan Lakyza). It was the least Communist-oriented of all publications and recruited contributors from many groups, including the Ukrainian MARS group and the Neoclassicists [Vol. I, p. 1046 ff.]. It also devoted some space to the cultivation of Ukrainian traditions and cultural ties with the West. Khvylovyi's group published the bimonthly *Vaplite*, beginning in 1926 [Vol. I, p. 1048] and forced to close in 1927. Since a bold tone in literature and journalism was no longer possible, publishers resorted to the language of fables in the monthly *Literaturnyi Yarmarok* (Literary Bazaar, 1928–30, 12 issues) edited by Khvylovyi. *Vaplite* and *Literaturnyi Yarmarok* exerted considerable influence on the development of Ukrainian journalism and public opinion. Ukrainian groups who had joined the Communists revised their position and came out with sharp, albeit veiled, criticism of the political régime, exposing its Russian imperialist nature. Critical articles pointed to possible ways of maintaining Ukrainian traditions in art and literature, and a Western, rather than a pro-Moscow orientation was emphasized.

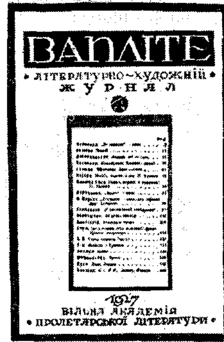



FIGURE 218. TITLE PAGE OF THE MAGAZINE *Vaplite*, KHARKIV, 1927

The Ukrainian Futurists, organized in the Association of Communist Culture (*Komunkul'tivtsi*), published *Gong Komunkul'ta* (Gong of the Communist Culture) in 1924 and the monthly *Nova Generatsiia* (New Generation, 1927–30) edited by Michael Semenko. The Association of Revolutionary Peasant Writers (Pluh, The Plow) published its journal *Pluzhanyn* (Plowman, 1925–7), subsequently renamed *Pluh* (1925–33). For most of its publishing life the editor of *Pluh* was Serhii Pylypenko. Emigré writers from Western Ukraine published *Zakhidnia Ukraïna* (Western Ukraine) edited by Basil Atamaniuk and Dmytro Zahul, among others (four volumes published, 1927–9; and as a monthly, 1930–3). The Constructive Dynamists (leftist writers close to the Futurists) were organized in the *Avangard* group and published a bulletin, *Biuleten' Avangardu* (Bulletin of the Avant-garde), edited by Valerian Polishchuk (three issues, 1928–9). The most prestigious forum of literature, art, criticism, and political opinion was the monthly *Chervonyi Shliakh* published in Kharkiv between 1922 and 1936 which united writers of all persuasions. Among more popular publications were: *Universal'nyi Zhurnal* (Universal

Journal, 1928–9); the semimonthly *Selian-s'kyi Zhurnal* (Peasants' Journal, 1929–31); the monthly of the Association of the Proletarian Literary Front, *Prolitfront* (1930); the literary monthly for agricultural workers *Traktor* (Tractor); the semimonthly of the All-Ukrainian Association of Proletarian Writers *Literaturnyi Pryzov* (Literary Call, 1931–2)—all published in Kharkiv. The Association also published the most important Russian-language literary journal *Krasnoe Slovo* (Red Word, 1927–32), changed to *Litstroi* (Literary Endeavor) in 1933, and to *Sovetskaia Literatura* (Soviet Literature) in 1934. In addition to the monthly *Zhyttia i Revolutsiia* the following were published in Kiev: the journal of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of Ukraine *Molodniak* (Youth, 1927–37) and the literary art magazine *Nova Hromada* (New Community, 1923–9) edited by Alexis Varavva. As a supplement to the Odessa *Chornomors'ka Komuna*, there was a literary journal *Shkval* (Squall, 1924–33) and the literary, art, and critical *Metalevi Dni* (Metal Days, 1930–3). The latter two merged into *Literaturnyi Zhovten'* (Literary October, 1934–5). Literary magazines published in other cities were: *Chervonyi Krai* (Red Land, 1927–8) in Vinnytsia; the monthly *Zoria* (Star, 1925–34) in Dnipropetrovske, renamed *Shturm* (Attack, 1935–7); the monthly *Tempy* (Tempos, 1931) in Zaporizhia; the monthly *Kryvbas* (1931–3) in Kryvyi Rih; the monthly *Stapeli* (Slips, 1931–2) in Mykolaïv; and *Zaboi* (Coalface, 1923–32), renamed *Literaturnyi Donbas* (Literary Donbas) in 1933.

There were very few magazines and symposia dealing with literary criticism and study. The bibliographical journals *Knyha* (Book, 1923–4) and *Nova Knyha* (New Book, 1924–5) performed some critical function and also recorded current book production. In the late 1920's there were the bimonthly of literary studies *Literaturnyi Arkhiv* (Literary Archive, 1930–1) published by the Shevchenko Institute of Literature, and the Marxist journal of literary criticism *Krytyka* (Criticism, 1928) renamed *Za Markso-Lenins'ku Krytyku* (For Marxist-Leninist Criticism) in 1932 and *Literaturna Krytyka* (Literary Criticism) in 1935. (Bibliographical publications are listed in greater detail in the subchapters Survey of Bibliological Research and Bibliography.)

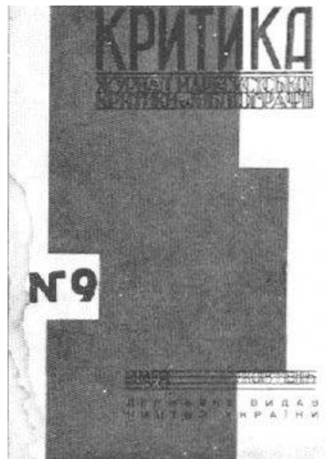



FIGURE 219. TITLE PAGE OF THE JOURNAL *Krytyka*, KHARKIV, 1928–32

Scholarly journals gained great popularity in the 1920's and early 1930's. They were published mostly by the institutions of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev. The most important was the quarterly (later bimonthly) *Ukraïna* (1924–33) devoted to Ukrainian studies and edited in 1924–31 by Academician M. Hrushevsky.

Art magazines included: *Shliakhy Mystetstva* (Paths of Art, 1921–3), *Nove Mystetstvo* (New Art, 1925–6), and the semimonthly *Mystets'ka Trybuna* (Art Tribune, 1930–1), all published in Kharkiv; the popular art magazine *Radians'ke Mystetstvo* (Soviet Art, 1928–32), and *Maliarstvo i Skul'ptura* (Painting and Sculpture), the organ of the Union of Soviet Artists and Sculptors of the Ukrainian SSR. Musical journals were repre-

sented by the bimonthly *Muzyka* (Kiev, 1923–5 and Kharkiv 1927); the popular journal *Muzyka Masam* (Music for the Masses, Kharkiv, 1923–30), renamed *Muzyka Mas* (Music of the Masses). Since 1933 *Radians'ka Muzyka* (Soviet Music) has been the journal of the Union of Soviet Composers of Ukraine. Theatrical journals were: the weekly *Teatr-Muzyka-Kino* (Theater, Music, Cinema, 1925–7); *Sils'kyi Teatr* (Village Theater, 1926–30), subsequently renamed *Masovyi Teatr* (Theater of the Masses, published until 1933); and the monthly *Radians'kyi Teatr* (Soviet Theater, 1929–31, under the editorship of Dmytro Hrudyna), which was the voice of the Bureau of Art of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR (1936–41). The semimonthly *Kino* (Cinema) was published between 1925 and 1933 by *Ukrainfilm* in Kharkiv and was revitalized in 1935 under the title *Radians'ke Kino* (Soviet Cinema) as the bulletin of the All-Ukrainian Bureau of Photography and Cinema.

During this period the following popular science illustrated magazines circulated widely: *Hlobus* (The Globe, Kiev, 1923–35); the organ of the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, *Znannia* (Knowledge, 1923–35); and the Kharkiv illustrated semimonthly *Vsesvit* (The Universe, 1925–34), which merged with the popular illustrated magazine *Dekada* (Decade) in December 1933. The Kharkiv magazine for collective farm youth, *Molodyi Bil'shovyk* (Young Bolshevik, 1925–33), was also in the popular science field. For women there were *Komunarka Ukraïny* (The Communist Woman of Ukraine, Kharkiv, 1920–34) and *Selianka Ukraïny* (Farm Woman of Ukraine), founded in August 1924 and renamed *Kolhospnytsia Ukraïny* (The Collective Farm Woman of Ukraine) in 1931.

There were numerous publications for children in the Ukrainian SSR in the 1920's. Among the more important were: *Chervoni Kvity* (Red Flowers, 1923–31, Kharkiv); the organ of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League of Ukraine, *Pioneriia* (Pioneers), which merged with *Vesela Bryhada* (The Gay Brigade) in 1937. *Pioneriia* had been a magazine of extracurricular education in 1931–7. The monthly for small children, *Zhovtenia* (Baby Bird, 1928–41), was transferred from Kharkiv to Kiev in 1929 and merged with the magazine *Tuk-Tuk* (Knock-Knock, 1929–35); there was also a magazine for "activist children," *Na roboti* (At Work, 1930–33).

Among satirical magazines the semimonthly *Chervonyi Perets'* (Red Pepper, Kharkiv, 1927–34) lasted for a fairly long time.

The activity of Ukrainian cultural and political forces, although headed by Marxists-Communists, became a threat and a thorn to the Soviet régime in its policy of denationalization. Simultaneously with the attack upon Ukrainian scholarship and culture, a dissolution of Ukrainian scholarly and literary newspapers and magazines was initiated. Following a thorough purge of scholarly institutions and editorial offices, Party members, often non-professional dilettantes in journalism and literature, were appointed as chief editors. Nearly all magazines and periodical publications which had appeared up to 1933–4 were discontinued. Ukrainian magazines published in the USSR beyond the borders of Ukraine, e.g., *Chervona Hazeta* (Red Gazette) in Rostov, *Novym Shliakhom* (On the New Pathway) in Krasnodar, *Sotsiialistychna Perebudova* (Socialist Reconstruction) in the far east were banned and closed down.

Following the critical years of mass purges (1933–7), only a very small number of magazines and symposia were left. Most of the journals and serial publications of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences were suspended, as a number of literary, art, popular science, and other magazines, including even the official magazine of humor and satire *Chervonyi Perets'*. Many other magazines

suspended publication at the outbreak of the German-Soviet war in June 1941.

The mid-1930's marked the beginning of the current completely centralized press. The network of newspapers grew to extraordinary proportions (county newspapers, factory mass newspapers, and organs of the political departments of motor tractor stations and state farms), the total number reaching 1,120 in 1940, 6,143,000 copies. The newspapers, however, give little information on Ukrainian life; and international news, since it is subject to strict censorship, is very limited. There are two levels of censorship, one by the so-called Glavlit (Main Administration of Literature) and one by the Party, exercised by chief editors who are all Party members. Newspapers devote most of their space to propaganda centering on increased labor productivity, love for Russia, and adulation of the Communist party leaders.

Most of these newspapers were in the form of periodical leaflets. About 80 per cent of them were printed in Ukrainian (1930, 85 per cent; 1933, 84.9 per cent; 1934, 80 per cent) and 20 per cent in other languages, including Russian (1933, 10 per cent; 1934, 15.8 per cent; 1940, over 22 per cent). *Komunist* and *Visti* (News) had the largest circulation (about 305,000 and 375,000 copies, respectively). In the mid-1930's the circulation figures for all newspapers were between 3.75 and 5 million. More than fifty newspapers were published in Kiev, Kharkiv, and Odessa.

The Communist party is in charge of all journalistic training and education in Ukraine. The first school of journalism was organized at the Artem Communist University in Kharkiv, which in 1929 had an enrollment of 74 per cent Ukrainians, 16 per cent Jews, 8 per cent Russians, and 2 per cent others. A separate Communist Institute of Journalism was established in 1930, which also engaged in the study of the history, theory, and practice of journalism.

In addition to periodicals in Ukrainian and Russian, many newspapers and magazines were published during this period in the Ukrainian SSR in Polish, Hebrew, and other languages. Most of them were suspended during the persecutions and purges of the late 1930's. The number of Russian-language newspapers and magazines increased in 1938: the republic-wide *Pravda Ukrainy*, *Stalinskoe Plemia* (The Stalinist Tribe), *Yunyi Pioner* (Young Pioneer), and *oblast* papers in Kharkiv, Odessa, Dnipropetrovske, Mykolaïv, Zaporizhia, and other cities.

Following the occupation of Galicia, Volhynia, and subsequently Bukovina by the Soviet armed forces in 1939, all Ukrainian publications (political, literary, and even professional) were discontinued. The daily *Vil'na Ukraïna* (Free Ukraine) was started in Lviv in 1939 and the magazine *Literatura i Mystetstvo* (Literature and Art) in 1940. The newspaper *Radians'ka Bukovyna* (Soviet Bukovina) and the magazine *Vil'na Bukovyna* (Free Bukovina) began publishing in Bukovina in 1940. An additional fifteen *oblast* and forty-nine *raion* newspapers also appeared. In central and eastern Ukrainian lands a series of scholarly and literary journals sprang up.

All the newspapers and magazines, including prewar publications which had been reorganized or renamed after the purges of 1933–7, were suspended as a result of the war between Germany and the USSR in June 1941. Such publications were *Literaturnyi Zhurnal* (Literary Journal, 1936–41), which was a continuation of *Chervonyi Shliakh*, *Narodna Tvorchist'* (People's Creativity, 1939–41), which replaced *Ukraïns'kyi Fol'klor* (Ukrainian Folklore, 1937–8), and the magazine *Molodyi Bil'shovyk* (Young Bolshevik 1937), reorganized from *Molodniak* (1927–37).

## THE PRESS IN WESTERN UKRAINE 1918–39

With the occupation of western Ukrainian lands, the Polish authorities prohibited publication of *Dilo*, which, however, continued under the titles of *Ukraïn-*

*s'ka Dumka* (Ukrainian Thought), *Hromads'ka Dumka* (Community Thought), *Ukraïns'kyi Vistnyk* (Ukrainian Herald), and *Svoboda* (Liberty). Its former title was resumed only in 1923. *Dilo* was the leading Ukrainian daily newspaper in Poland. After 1925 it became the organ of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO). Between 1923 and 1936 its chief editors were: Dmytro Levytsky, Volodymyr Okhrymovych, Theodore Fedortsiv, and Basil Mudryi. After 1936 *Dilo* was edited by an editorial board consisting of Ivan Kedryn-Rudnytsky, Volodymyr Kuzmovych, and Ivan Nimchuk.

FIGURE 220. EDITORS OF THE DAILY *Dilo*, LVIV, 1926 (B. Mudryi, T. Fedortsiv, R. Kupchynsky, M. Rudnytsky, and I. Kedryn-Rudnytsky)

Ukrainian newspapers under Poland were subject to prohibitions, censorship, seizures, imprisonment of editors, etc. The position of the Ukrainian press was particularly difficult in the northwestern Ukrainian territories—Volhynia and Kholm. In addition to business, religious, and educational publications, some political newspapers were published in this area in 1920, for example, *Hromada* (Community) in Lutsk, with Michael Cherkasky as editor from 1920. *Hromada* became the organ of UNDO in 1925 and continued under the title *Ukraïns'ka Hromada* (Ukrainian Community) with Serhii Vyshnivsky as editor from 1926 to 1929. *Nashe Zhyttia* (Our Life) was published and edited by the brothers Anthony and Paul Vasynchuk in Kholm from 1921 to 1928. These publications were so financially weak that their survival was limited. The newspaper *Ukraïns'ka Nyva* (Ukrainian Meadow) was subsidized by the Polish authorities and was consequently more stable; published in Warsaw (1926–8), it was later transferred to Lutsk. There were also some Communist-oriented Ukrainian weeklies, e.g., *Nove Zhyttia* (New Life, 1928–9) published in Kholm. The more important Ukrainian journals in Volhynia were: the journal of the cooperative associations *Nova Skyba* (New Furrow, in Lutsk, 1933), the Orthodox religious *Na Varti* (On Guard, 1925–6, in Volodymyr Volynsky), and *Tserkva i Narid* (Church and People, 1935). The position of the Ukrainian press became difficult in Volhynia in the 1930's and it ceased publication completely in the Kholm and Polisia areas.

Conditions were more favorable, although equally restrictive, in Galicia. All the main political groups had their press organs. The newspaper *Vpered* (Forward), published between 1918 and 1922, while *Dilo* was under suspension, by the Ukrainian Social Democratic party under the editorship of Lev Hankevych and Porphyrii Buniak, was a national newspaper. This political party also published *Zemlia i Volia* (Land and Freedom, 1919–24) which in 1923 was taken over by the Shumsky group (Stephen Volynets) and limited itself to party matters. The Ukrainian National Democratic Union published the weekly *Svoboda* [Vol. I, p. 838] and the Socialist Radicals continued their weekly *Hromads'kyi Holos* (Community Voice, edited by Ostap Pavliv and Matthew Stachiw) and began publication of the journals *Proty Khvyl'* (Against the Waves, 1921–9) and *Zhyve Slovo* (The Living Word, 1939). The nationalist press was represented by the semimonthly *Zahrava* (Glow, 1923–4) edited by Dmytro Dontsov in Lviv, the weekly *Ukraïns'kyi Holos* (Ukrainian Voice) in Peremyshl, previously Hetman in tone, and edited by Zenon Pelensky (1929–32); also the Lviv weeklies *Nash Klych* (Our

Call, 1933), *Visti* (News, 1934), *Holos Natsiï* (Voice of the Nation, 1936), and *Holos* (Voice, 1938–9); the last-named

FIGURE 221. MASTHEADS OF THE WEEKLY *Ukraïns'kyi Holos*, PEREMYSHL, 1922–32

group was actually one paper which had to change titles and editors (Volodymyr Yaniv, Osyp Boidunyk, Bohdan Krawciw) as a result of restrictions and arrests. Other nationalist papers were *Ridnyi Grunt* (Native Soil, 1935), *Frontom* (Onward, 1936), and *Avangard* (Avant garde, 1937–8) in Kolomyia. The Front of National Unity founded by Dmytro Paliïv [Vol. I, p. 847] published the daily *Ukraïns'ki Visti* (Ukrainian News, 1933–9) edited by its founder with the assistance of Nicholas Shlemkevych, the weekly *Bat'kivshchyna* (Fatherland), and the quarterly *Peremoha* (Victory), all moderately nationalistic. Catholic political newspapers of

FIGURE 222. MASTHEADS OF THE WEEKLY *Nova Zoria*, LVIV, 1926–39

conservative-Hetman trend were the organs of the Ukrainian Catholic National party, later Ukrainian Catholic Organization [Vol. I, p. 839a], *Nova Zoria* (New Star) published twice a week in Lviv (1926–39) and edited by Roman Haiduk and Alexander Mokh. The weekly *Meta* (Goal, 1931–9) represented a more liberal Catholic outlook; its editors were Volodymyr Kuzmovych and Nicholas Hnatyshak; the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic diocese in Peremyshl published the weekly *Beskyd* (1928–33). The adherents of the Hetman movement started publication of the monthly *Khliborobs'kyi Shliakh* (The Farmer's Pathway). A pro-Polish conciliatory viewpoint was represented by *Ridnyi Krai* (Homeland, 1920–3), published by Sydir Tverdokhlib and Michael Yatskiv. The pro-Soviet and Communist press was quite strong in the 1920's, with the newspapers *Nasha Zemlia* (Our Land), *Sel'-Rob* (Peasant Worker), and the clandestine *Volia Naroda* (People's Will), edited by Cyril Valnytsky appearing between 1927 and 1932. There were also the Russophile *Zemlia i Volia* and the moribund *Russkii Golos* (Russian Voice) printed in a patois of mixed Russian, Ukrainian, and Old Slavonic.

FIGURE 223. MASTHEAD OF THE WEEKLY *Meta*, LVIV, 1931–9

Among strictly INFORMATIVE NEWSPAPERS not associated with any political party or movement were: the family weekly *Nedilia* (Sunday, 1926–39) edited by Roman Holian; the shortlived *Chas* (Time, 1931–2) edited by Nicholas Holubets; and particularly the newspapers and magazines published by Ivan Tyktor's first western Ukrainian newspaper chain *Ukraïns'ka Presa* (Ukrainian Press). This chain included: the daily *Novyi Chas* (New Time) edited by Dmytro Paliïv and Myron Konovalets among others; the farmer's weekly *Narodna Sprava* (The People's Cause); the

illustrated semiweekly *Nash Prapor* (Our Banner) edited by Gregory Stetsiuk and Basil Kachmar. All these papers came out between 1928 and 1939. A semimonthly *Nash Lemko* (Our Lemko, 1934–9) edited by Julian Tarnovych was

FIGURE 224. MASTHEADS OF THE NEWSPAPER *Novyi Chas*, LVIV, 1928–39

also published by this chain. The Tyktor publishing concern, founded on business principles (advertising and subscriptions), strove to please its readers by offering interesting materials and premiums and prizes of all kinds. Its circulation was good and it began publishing magazines as well: *Dzvinochok* (Bell, 1931–9) edited by Yura Shkrumeliak, the popular *Ukraïns'ka Iliustratsiia* (Ukrainian Illustration, 1934), and the satirical *Komar* (Mosquito, 1935–9) edited by Edward Kozak.

Women's newspapers and magazines were similar to the publications of *Ukraïns'ka Presa*. Those close to the UNDO party were *Zhinocha Dolia* (Woman's Lot, 1925–39) published and edited by Olena Kysilevska; the organ of the League of Ukrainian Women, *Zhinka* (Woman, 1935–9) edited by Milena Rudnytska and Olena Sheparovych; *Zhinochyi Holos* (Woman's Voice 1936–9) siding with the Radical party and edited by Frances Stachiw. The magazine *Nova Khata* (New Home, 1925–39) was concerned with home life and was edited by Maria Hromnytska and Lidia Burachynska.

LITERARY, ART, and SCHOLARLY publications reached a high level of development in Galicia. The first literary magazine to appear after World War I was *Mytusa* (1922) edited by Basil Bobynsky, Roman Kupchynsky, and Paul Kovzhun, which favored east Ukrainian modernist trends. The *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk* (Literary-Scientific Herald), which was reestablished in 1922 and edited by Dmytro Dontsov, initially united all the outstanding literary forces of Western Ukraine and among émigrés, and even printed works by writers from the Ukrainian SSR. Subsequently, it assumed a narrower nationalistic position and after being renamed *Vistnyk* (Herald) in 1933 it became the spokesman of nationalism as propounded by D. Dontsov. This magazine exerted considerable influence on the Ukrainian youth of that period in Western Ukraine and abroad. The magazines *Dazhboh* (1933–5) edited by Eugene Pelensky and B. Krawciw, *Obrïi* (Horizons, 1936–7), and *Naperedodni* (On the Eve, 1937–8) edited by B. Krawciw were close nationalist allies of *Vistnyk*. The Catholic monthly *Dzvony* (Bells, 1931–9) edited by Peter Isaïv was a serious literary magazine. The semimonthly *Nazustrich* (Encounter, 1934–9) was an important illustrated literary-art magazine edited by Basil Simovych, Michael Rudnytsky, and Osyp Bodnarovych. Magazines of the Marxist trend were: the literary-political monthly *Nova Kul'tura* (New Culture, 1923–6, continued as *Kul'tura* 1927–31) edited by Stephen Rudyk, which began opposing the Stalinist policy in Ukraine in 1928; and the monthly of literature, art, and criticism, *Vikna* (Windows, 1928–32) edited by Basil Bobynsky. The short-lived pro-Soviet orientation in Western Ukraine was represented by the monthlies *Novi Shliakhy* (New Pathways, 1929–32) and *Krytyka* (Criticism, 1933) published and edited by Anthony Krushelnytsky.

Among the art journals worthy of mention are: *Ukraïns'ke Mystetstvo* (Ukrainian Art, 1926) edited by Nicholas Holubets; *Mystetstvo* (Art, 1932–7), the

organ of the Association of Independent Ukrainian Artists edited by P. Kovzhun; *Ukraïns'ka Muzyka* (Ukrainian Music, 1935–8); and the journal of photography, *Svitlo i Tin'* (Light and Shadow, 1932–6).

СТАРА УКРАЇНА
ЧАСОПИС ІСТОРІЇ І КУЛЬТУРИ

1925 ЛЬВІВ І—ІІ

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The RELIGIOUS PRESS also flourished. In addition to the Orthodox papers in Volhynia, the following were published in Galicia; the quarterly *Dobryi Pastyr*

FIGURE 226. COVER OF THE MAGAZINE *Litopys Chervonoï Kalyny*, LVIV, 1929–39

FIGURE 227. TITLE PAGE OF THE MONTHLY *Zhyttia i Znannia*, LVIV, 1927–39

(The Good Shepherd, 1930–9) in Stanyslaviv; *Katolyts'ka Aktsiia* (Catholic Action, 1935–7) in Lviv; the monthly of the Order of Saint Basil the Great, *Misionar* (Missionary) founded in 1897 in Zhovkva; and the very popular (circulation 85,000) *Khrystos Nasha Syla* (Christ is Our Strength).

ECONOMIC AND COOPERATIVE publications were also popular in western Ukrainian lands. The Audit Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives published: the monthly *Hospodars'ko-Kooperatyvnyi Chasopys* (Economic-Cooperative Newspaper, 1921–44); the scientific-ideological journal of the Ukrainian cooperative movement, *Kooperatyvna Respublika* (Cooperative Republic, 1928–39) edited by Carl Kobersky; and the mass-circulation monthly *Kooperatyvna Rodyna* (1934–9) edited by Ostap Lutsky and Roman Kupchynsky. The Union of Dairy Cooperatives published the monthly *Kooperatyvne Molocharstvo* (Cooperative Dairy Farming, 1926–39). *Ukraïns'kyi Agronomichnyi Visnyk* (Ukrainian Agronomical Herald, 1934–7) edited by Eugene Khraplyvyi was the most important farm journal. There were also trade journals and publications of professional groups.

Several EDUCATIONAL NEWSPAPERS were also published: *Svitlo* (Light), *Uchytel's'ke Slovo* (Teacher's Word), and the journal of methodology, *Shliakh Vykhovannia i Navchannia* (The Road of Education and Training) (for further details see Education). The Ridna Shkola society published a semimonthly under the same title (Native School, 1932–9). Adult education was encouraged by the reestablished *Pys'mo z Prosvity* (Letter from Prosvita) in 1921, and the subsequent *Narodna Osvita* (National Education) edited by Volodymyr Doroshenko, which was transformed into an educational monthly in 1936.

CHILDREN'S PUBLICATIONS, extremely widespread and popular at this time, often took the place of Ukrainian schools which were restricted in their activities. The most important children's magazines were: *Svit Dytyny* (Child's World, 1919–39) published by Michael Taranko; *Moloda Ukraïna* (Young Ukraine, 1923–6) for an older age group, *Dzvinochok*

FIGURE 228. MASTHEAD OF THE CHILDREN'S MAGAZINE *Svit Dytyny*, LVIV, 1919–39

(Bell), the Catholic *Nash Pryiatel'* (Our Friend, 1922–39); the Plast group had its *Molode Zhyttia* (Young Life, 1921–30) and, following the dissolution of the Ukrainian scout organization, the semimonthly *Vohni* (Fires, 1931–9).

The STUDENT PRESS was also subject to the new differentiation of opinion and politics. The Association of Ukrainian Nationalist Youth published a monthly called *Smoloskypy* (Torches, 1927–8). Catholic youth was represented by a monthly, *Postup* (Progress, 1921–7), and later the magazines *Ukraïns'ke Yunatstvo* (Ukrainian Youth) and *Lytsarstvo Prechystoï Divy Mariï* (Knights of the Blessed Virgin Mary). The radical youth journal was the monthly *Kameniari* (Stone Cutters, 1932–9). With the ascendance of the nationalist movement, the central organs of professional student organizations began to spread nationalist ideology, e.g., *Students'kyi Shliakh* (Student's Pathway, 1931–4) and after its closing by the Polish authorities *Students'kyi Visnyk* (Student's Herald, 1938), both published in Lviv.

Most significant among SPORTS PUBLICATIONS were: *Visti z Luhu* (News from the Luh, 1925), *Sokil's'ki Visti* (News from the Sokil, 1928), the weekly *Hotovi* (Prepared, 1934–5), all in Lviv, and the weekly *Zmah* (Match, 1938–9) in Peremyshl.

The total number of Ukrainian periodicals appearing in Ukrainian lands under Poland was 143 in 1936, more than half of them magazines.

Despite adverse political conditions in Poland at this time, the Ukrainian press improved considerably, growing stronger financially and in popularity with its readers. A marked variety of both political opinion and subject-matter was evident. Some newspapers and magazines reached relatively high circulation figures. The number of dailies increased from one to three. Weeklies were the most widespread, gaining the largest number of readers in rural areas. In contrast with the numerous Polish papers (the dailies *Gazeta Lwowska*, *Wiek Nowy* [New Age], and *Gazeta Poranna* [Morning Gazette], which were sensational in style) and the Jewish daily *Chwila* (Moment), the Ukrainian press was characterized by idealism and patriotism on the one hand and inadequate news coverage on the other. This shortcoming was a direct result of two factors—lack of a Ukrainian press agency and shortage of professionally trained newspapermen. A noteworthy event of this period was the establishment of the Association of Writers and Journalists in Lviv.

Conditions were very unfavorable in Ukrainian lands under Rumania. The only Ukrainian daily in BUKOVINA was *Chas* (Time, 1928–40), published by Theodosius Hlynsky and edited by Lev Kohut. The first political party newspapers were published in Chernivtsi: *Hromada* (Community, Social-Democratic, 1921) edited by Serhii Kaniuk; *Robitnyk* (Worker, 1921), replaced by the pro-Soviet *Borot'ba* (Struggle, 1925–8); and later *Nove Zhyttia* (New Life, 1931). Nationalist ideas were propounded by *Samostiinist'* (Independence, 1934–7). Other shortlived newspapers published in Chernivtsi were the weeklies *Zoria* (Star), *Zemlia* (Land), and *Ridnyi Krai* (Native Land); the latter appeared from 1926 to 1930 and was edited by L. Kohut. Among the journals the most important was the literary monthly with nationalist leanings *Samostiina Dumka* (Independent Thought, 1931–7) edited by Sylvester Nykorovych, which had a wide circle of contributors mainly from abroad and Transcarpathia. There were also the student journal *Promin'* (Ray, 1921–3) and *Lastivka* (Swallow, 1938–9) for children. Ukrainian periodicals in Bukovina totaled 10 in 1936. The Rumanian press predominated; Bessarabia had no Ukrainian periodicals.

The democratic government of Czechoslovakia did not oppose development of the Ukrainian press in TRANSCARPATHIA. Overcoming the gap in national consciousness, the Ukrainian press of this region gradually became stronger and more influential, displacing periodicals with Russophile leanings. By 1936 Ukrainian periodicals numbered twenty-three. The leading newspaper was the weekly *Nauka* (Scholarship) reestablished by the Rev. Augustine Voloshyn in 1919, renamed *Svoboda* (Liberty) in 1922 and published as a weekly and semimonthly. It became a daily in 1938 under the name *Nova Svoboda* (New Liberty, 1938–9) as the voice of the Ukrainian National Alliance, and gained considerable popularity under the editorship of Spyrydon Dovhal and later Basil Grendzha-Donsky. Other important papers were: *Rusyn* (1920–3) in Uzhhorod under Theodore Zhatkovych; the organ of the Ruthenian Peasant party *Rus'ka Nyva* (Ruthenian Meadow, 1920–4) edited by Michael Brashchaiko; the representative of the Ukrainian Social Democratic party, *Narod* (People, 1920–2), renamed *Vpered* (Forward, 1922–38), edited by Stephen Klochurak and later by S. Dovhal; the organ of the Republican-Peasant party, *Zemlia i Volia* (Land and Freedom, 1934–8), *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* (Ukrainian Word, 1932–8); and the nationalist *Nastup* (Attack) edited by Stephen Rosokha. The dailies, *Russkii Vestnik* (Ruthenian Herald) and *Karpatorusskii Golos* (Carpatho-Ruthenian

Voice), and the weekly *Russkaia Zemlia* (Ruthenian Land) continued publication, as did several lesser Russophile and Magyarophile periodicals.

Among the fairly numerous literary, educational, cultural, and youth magazines, the most important were: the literary monthly *Nasha Zemlia* (Our Land, 1927–8) edited by B. Grendzha-Donsky; the geographic *Pidkarpats'ka Rus'* (Carpathian *Rus'*, 1924–6); the educational *Uchytel'* (Teacher, 1920–36) and *Uchytel'skyi Holos* (Teacher's Voice, 1930–8); the educational-economic *Svitlo* (Light, 1933–8); the religious *Blahovisnyk* (Blessed Messenger, 1921–39) in Uzhhorod and Khust, later transferred to Priashiv; and the children's *Pchilka* (Little Bee, 1923–34) and *Nash Ridnyi Krai* (Our Native Land, 1922–38).

During Carpatho-Ukraine's independence in 1938–9, there were fourteen Ukrainian periodicals, three Russian, and one Czech-Ukrainian.

## UKRAINIAN PRESS ABROAD (1920–45)

The development of the Ukrainian press in Europe outside Ukraine was connected directly with the great wave of emigration following the War of National Liberation. At first leaflets were printed mostly on duplicating machines and distributed among refugees living in camps. Soon, however, printed newspapers and magazines published by political parties and organizations began to appear.

With unlimited freedom, but under the difficult conditions of émigré life and lacking funds, the Ukrainian press abroad was widely dispersed and shortlived. But it still managed to exert considerable influence on developments and events in occupied Ukraine, penetrating the borders by legal and illegal means.

The organ of the Ukrainian National party, *Nove Slovo* (New Word) edited by Zenon Kuzelia was published in Berlin for a short time in 1920. In January 1921, Kuzelia became editor of *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* (Ukrainian Word), a weekly of Hetman leanings which came out as a daily in 1923 with Dmytro Doroshenko as co-editor. The *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* publishers also sponsored a weekly *Litopys Polityky, Pys'menstva i Mystetstva* (Chronicle of Politics, Literature, and Art, 1923–4) edited by Stephen Tomashivsky. The Hetman movement's organ was the non-periodic symposium,

FIGURE 229. MASTHEADS OF THE NEWSPAPER *Ukraïns'kyi Prapor*, VIENNA-BERLIN, 1919–31

*Khliborobs'ka Ukraïna* (Farmer's Ukraine, 1920–5) published in Vienna under the editorship of Viacheslav Lypynsky. The newspaper *Ukraïns'kyi Prapor* (Ukrainian Banner) was founded in Vienna in 1919 and transferred to Berlin in 1923, where it continued publication until 1931; it presented the views of the government of the Western Ukrainian National Republic [Vol. I, p. 868a]. The foreign sector of the Ukrainian Communist party published the newspaper *Nova Doba* (New Era) in Vienna (1920–1) edited by Volodymyr Vynnychenko and Volodymyr Levynsky. Michael Hrushevsky published the nonperiodical organ of the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary party, *Boritesia-Poborete* (Fight and You Shall Win) in Vienna (1920–2). *Sotsiialistychna Dumka* (Socialist Thought, 1922–3) was published in Prague to promote the Ukrainian Socialist Democratic Workers party.

An important social-political and cultural magazine was the non-political weekly *Volia* (Freedom, 1919–21) published in Vienna under the editorship of

Victor Pisniachevsky and with contributors from all political groups. In Warsaw, Eugene Lukasevych (with some help from the government of the UNR) published the daily *Ukraïns'ka Trybuna* (Ukrainian Tribune, 1921–3) with Alexander Salikovsky as editor. Its circulation was wide among Ukrainians in Poland, where Ukrainian newspapers were faced with difficulties.

Between 1920 and 1930, publications for covert distribution in Ukraine also came out abroad. The underground newspaper of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), *Surma* (The Bugle, 1927–39), was published in Lithuania and subsequently in Germany. The ideological publication of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), *Rozbudova Natsiï* (Development of the Nation, 1928–38), was based in Prague and edited by Volodymyr Martynets. The Communists published the organ of KPZU (Communist Party of Western Ukraine) *Nasha Pravda* (Our Truth), in Vienna in 1921 and in Czechoslovakia after 1934.

Ukrainian periodicals also came out in other European countries, the largest number being published in France. Simon Petliura, who was living in Paris, initiated the semi-official newspaper of the UNR, the weekly *Tryzub* (Trident, 1925–39). The semimonthly (later weekly) *Ukraïns'ki Visti* (Ukrainian News, 1926–9) and the nationalist weekly *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* (Ukrainian Word, 1932 to date) edited by Alexander Boikiv were also published in Paris.

The shortlived émigré literary journals such as *Na Perelomi* (At the Turning Point) edited by Alexander Oles (1920) and *Vyzvolennia* (Liberation, 1923) published in Vienna included the most prominent and richest in content, *Nova Ukraïna* (New Ukraine, 1922–8) published in Prague as a journal of politics, literature, and art and edited by Mykyta Shapoval and Volodymyr Vynnychenko among others. In addition to a number of scholarly periodicals and series publications (see Scholarship, p. 282) published in Czechoslovakia, there were the student journals *Ukraïns'kyi Student* (Ukrainian Student, 1920–4) and *Students'kyi Vistnyk* (Student Herald, 1923–31), which provided some space for literary works.

The publications printed in Poland, particularly in Warsaw and Kalisz for Ukrainian readers in Galicia, Volhynia, and abroad were of special significance. In addition to the already mentioned daily *Ukraïns'ka Trybuna*, a bimonthly magazine of literature and art, *My* (We), came out in Warsaw between 1933 and 1939, with Ivan Dubytsky as editor. Mention must also be made of the monthlies published and edited by Ivan Ohiienko: the scientific-literary *Nasha Kul'tura* (Our Culture, 1935–7) and the philological *Ridna Mova* (Native Language, 1935–9). Military matters were the subject of the magazine *Tabor* (Camp, 1923–38) published in Kalisz and later in Warsaw under the editorship of Gen. Victor Kushch.

Ukrainian political, civic, and scholarly organizations also published a number of periodicals in foreign languages. Reports and transactions of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute were published in German in Berlin (1927–39, see Scholarship, p. 284). *L'Ukraine Nouvelle* (1928–9) was published in French in Paris, *Investigator* in English in London in the 1920's, and *Natio* in Warsaw in English, French, German, and Polish (1926–7). During this period the first Ukrainian press agencies came into being abroad to serve Ukrainian and other newspapers. *Osteuropaeische Korresspondenz* appeared in Berlin (1926–30) twice a month under Z. Kuzela and the nationalist *Ukraïns'ka Presova Sluzhba* (Ukrainian Press Service) under Volodymyr Stakhiv in the late 1930's: *Ukraïns'ka Korespondentsiia* (Ukrainian Correspondence, 1930–1) was published in Prague in Ukrainian and Czech. Similar publications came out in Switzerland (*Ofinor*) and France.

Newspapers published by the Cossack émigrés, such as *Kubans'kyi Krai* (Land of Kuban, 1929–33), *Kubans'ki Dumky* (Kuban Thoughts, 1928), and other publications printed in Ukrainian and Russian also constitute a part of the Ukrainian press.

The total number of émigré periodicals was 55 in 1936, of which 6 were newspapers and 49 magazines, with an additional 2 in Asia. By 1939 the number had dropped to 37.

## UKRAINIAN PRESS IN WORLD WAR II (1939–45)

Following the occupation of Western Ukraine by the Soviet armed forces, the only remaining legal Ukrainian national press was in the *Generalgouvernement* and abroad. The Ukrainian Publishing House in Cracow published two editions

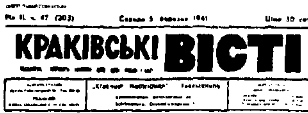


FIGURE 230. MASTHEAD OF THE NEWSPAPER *Krakivs'ki Visti*, CRACOW, 1940–45

of *Krakivs'ki Visti* (Cracow News, 1940–5), a daily and a weekly, edited by Michael Khomiak, with a circulation of 18,000–26,000 copies. The same publishing enterprise brought out the weekly *Kholms'ka Zemlia* (Kholm Land, 1942–4) under Stephen Baran. These newspapers were distributed mainly in the Ukrainian territories within the *Generalgouvernement*, the Lemkian, Sian, Kholm, and Podlachia regions, and after the expansion of the *Generalgouvernement* in 1941, in Galicia as well. Starting in Cracow and later moving to Lviv, the Ukrainian Publishing House printed a magazine for young people, *Doroha* (The Road, 1940–4), a story magazine *Vechirnia Hodyna* (Evening Hour, monthly, 1942–4), the literary monthly *Nashi Dni* (Our Days, 1942–4) edited by Maria Strutynska, with a circulation of 18,000, and a magazine for children *Yuni Dni* (Young Days), edited by Bohdan Hoshovsky. The German authorities published *Ukraïns'ki Visti* (Ukrainian News),

FIGURE 231. MASTHEAD OF THE MAGAZINE *Nashi Dni*, LVIV, 1942–4

renamed *L'vivs'ki Visti* (Lviv News, 1941–4) under Osyp Bodnarovych. These newspapers were not allowed to circulate beyond the border of the *Generalgouvernement*.

The early phase of the German occupation of Ukraine's central and eastern lands in 1941 saw a great upsurge in publishing activity. Ukrainian newspapers began to appear in virtually every provincial and county seat. Started and edited by Ukrainians, they were strongly nationalist in content, expressing the Ukrainian people's desire for political independence. With the establishment of the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* and the transfer of power to civilian authorities, the Ukrainian newspapers were either shut down or turned into press bulletins of the provincial and county commissars (*Gebiets- und Kreiskommissaren*). This was the fate of the strongly nationalist Kiev daily *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* (The Ukrainian Word) and the literary magazine *Litavry*. After the arrest and execution of the editors Ivan Rohach, Olena Teliha, Ivan Irliavsky, and many others in February 1942, *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* was renamed *Nove Ukraïns'ke Slovo* and changed into a pro-German organ under the editorship of Constantine Shtepa, a Russophile. The initially independent newspaper *Volyn'* (1941–4) published in Rivne under the editorship of Ulas Samchuk (1941–2) was also discontinued. Greater freedom of publication was allowed in areas close to the battlefront. Kharkiv, for example, had the pro-Ukrai-

FIGURE 232. MASTHEADS OF THE UKRAINIAN NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED DURING THE GERMAN OCCUPATION OF UKRAINE IN 1941–3

nian *Nova Ukraïna* edited by Victor Tsarynnyk and the literary magazine *Ukraïns'kyi Zasiv* (Ukrainian Sowing, 1942–3) edited by Victor Domontovych.

There was no Ukrainian press in the Rumanian occupation zone, only Rumanian and Russian newspapers.

Most of the Ukrainian newspapers and magazines published abroad were discontinued during the war (1939–45). The Germans suspended publication of all Ukrainian periodicals within their zones of occupation, including Warsaw and Paris. The periodicals published in Berlin and Prague were banned in the *Generalgouvernement* and *Reichskommissariat* Ukraine. The papers were: the nationalist organ of the Ukrainian National Alliance, *Ukraïns'kyi Vistnyk* (Ukrainian Herald, 1938–45), published in Berlin under Volodymyr Yaniv and Volodymyr Marunchak and the Hetman-oriented *Ukraïns'ka Diisnist'* (Ukrainian Reality, 1940–6) in Berlin and later in Prague under Ivan Kalynovych. The nationalist journal *Proboiem* (The Flying Wedge) edited by S. Rosokha continued publication in Prague until it was closed down by the Germans in 1943.

The employment of millions of Ukrainians in factories, farms, and prisoner-of-war camps compelled the German authorities to provide Ukrainian newspapers. This was the motive for the Ukrainian newspaper *Holos* (Voice) edited by B. Krawciw in Berlin (1940–5) which reached a circulation of 250,000 in 1944. The publishers of *Holos* also printed a weekly for workers from the eastern part of Ukraine, *Ukraïnets'* (1941–4), edited by Andrew Lutsiv, and for workers in the *Generalgouvernement, Visti* (News, 1942–4) edited by Gregory Stetsiuk. The Germans published the following as well: a newspaper for miners in the Ruhr, *Na Shakhti* (In the Shaft, 1942–4) edited by B. Krawciw; a weekly for farm workers, *Zemlia* (Land, 1942–5) in Plauen, edited by Sylvester Nykolyshyn; the magazine *Dozvillia* (Leisure, 1943–4) in Berlin and later in Plauen under Spyrydon Dovhal; a newspaper for prisoners of war, *Nova Doba* (New Era), edited by Hennadii Kotorovych; newspapers for units of the Ukrainian Free Armed Forces and of the Ukrainian National Army, *Ukraïns'kyi Dobrovolets'* (Ukrainian Volunteer); and *Za Ukraïnu* (For Ukraine).

The only truly free Ukrainian press during this period consisted of clandestine publications of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, particularly the official organ of OUN, *Ideia i Chyn* (Idea and Deed), and publications of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR).

Between 1945 and 1950 there were twenty-one underground nationalist periodicals published in Ukraine. These included political and military journals,

БЮРО ІНФОРМАЦІЇ
УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ГОЛОВНОЇ ВИЗВОЛЬНОЇ РАДИ
(УГВР)

FIGURE 233. TITLE PAGES OF THE UNDERGROUND BULLETIN *Biuro Informatsiï UHVR*, 1944–5

magazines for young people, and the satirical *Ukraïns'kyi Perets'* (Ukrainian Pepper).

Some newspapers which had been published in the Ukrainian SSR prior to June 1941, such as *Radians'ka Ukraïna* (Soviet Ukraine), *Pravda Ukraïny*, *Literatura i Mystetstvo* (Literature and Art), which replaced the earlier *Literaturna Ukraïna* (Literary Ukraine), and some magazines were allowed to continue during the German occupation of Ukraine in Ufa (Bashkir ASSR), to which the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR from Kiev and some publishing houses such as Radians'kyi Pys'mennyk (The Soviet Writer) had been evacuated. The magazine *Ukraïna* was published in Moscow during the war. A number of Soviet underground and guerrilla papers and bulletins were distributed in German-occupied Ukraine during the war.

## THE PRESS IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR AFTER 1945

The development of the press in the Ukrainian SSR during the postwar period continued along the lines laid down in 1938, tending towards complete centralization and unification. In spite of a short period of comparative liberalization during the first years after the war and a similar but longer period after the death of Stalin, which manifested itself in a greater variety of form and content in periodicals, and even a change from purely Communist to more patriotic or professional titles, the press in the Ukrainian SSR (just as in the entire USSR) has been reduced to a puppet of the Communist party. In accordance with the established line, the press is the tool of the Party in the building of communism, and its main purpose is to combine the functions of propagandist, agitator, and organizer. Usually limited in size to four pages, Soviet newspapers are not allowed to give their readers objective information about world or even local events. They merely report statements of official agencies, which are scrupulously selected, censored, and written in the proper Communist spirit. Moulding of public opinion is limited to the publication of official pronouncements and resolutions, or the reprinting of articles issued by the central organs of the Party and government. Generally, Soviet newspapers do not carry paid advertisements.

All newspapers and magazines in the Ukrainian SSR are official publications of the Central Committee of the CP of Ukraine, or the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, or the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League (*Komsomol*), individual ministries, trade unions, or other state or public organizations. The press is under the supervision of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Central Committee of the KPU and the Press Committee of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR. Editors-in-chief act as censors; they are appointed exclusively from Party ranks and are trained at special journalism seminars.

Newspapers form the largest and the most important group of periodical publications in the Ukrainian SSR. They are divided into Republic, *oblast*, city, *raion*, local, and collective farm papers and are printed in Ukrainian, Russian, and other languages. Local editions of central Russian newspapers are reprinted in the Ukrainian SSR.

The present state of newspaper publication in the Ukrainian SSR is illustrated by the data contained in Tables X and XI.

Table X does not include the so-called collective farm newspapers, of which there were 2,074 in 1960, 1,662 in 1962 and 1,269 in 1965.

TABLE X

TOTAL NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR (EXCLUDING COLLECTIVE FARM PUBLICATIONS) ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE (1950–65)

| Year | All newspapers | Ukrainian | Russian | Others |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1950 | 1,192 | 972 | ? | ? |
| 1960 | 1,206 | 814 | 378 | 14 |
| 1962 | 934 | 580 | 345 | 9 |
| 1965 | 1,104 | 742 | 353 | 9 |

TABLE XI

NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED IN 1965 SHOWING GROUPS AND CIRCULATION FIGURES

| Group | Number of newspapers | Copies printed (thousands) | Average printing of one newspaper (thousands) | Annual circulation (millions) | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Republic | 16 | 5,391 | 270 | 782.5 | 37.7 |
| *Oblast* | 56 | 2,971 | 53.6 | 659.1 | 31.3 |
| City | 75 | 1,113 | 16.9 | 236.2 | 11.7 |
| *Raion* | 361 | 2,371 | 6.7 | 339.9 | 16.4 |
| Local | 596 | 765 | 1.6 | 45.9 | 2.2 |
| Collective farm | 1,269 | 910 | 0.7 | 13.7 | 0.7 |

In terms of content, the Republic newspapers are either general-political or trade (for individual trades and professions). Among the sixteen Republic newspapers published in the Ukrainian SSR there is not a single daily. The only such newspaper in the entire USSR is *Pravda* of Moscow. Five newspapers come out six times a week (300 issues a year); two, five times a week (256 issues a year); six, twice or three times a week; and three are weeklies. The total printing is less than 5.5 million copies, approximately equal to the single edition of an average All-Union daily newspaper. The average circulation of a Republic daily in the Ukrainian SSR is 270,000 copies. Nearly every Republic newspaper published in the Ukrainian SSR in Ukrainian has a parallel in Russian.

The more important Republic newspapers are: the general political organ of the Communist Party, the Supreme Soviet, and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR *Radians'ka Ukraïna* (new title given in 1943 to the former *Komunist*), with its counterpart *Pravda Ukrainy* (this title replaced *Sovetskaia Ukraina* in 1944); the organ of the Central Committee KPU, *Robitnycha Hazeta* (Workers' Gazette) and the Russian-language *Rabochaia Gazeta* (both founded in 1957); the newspaper for agricultural workers *Sil's'ki Visti* (Village News) with a Russian counterpart, formerly titled *Kolhospne Selo* (Collective Farm Village); the organ of the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Ukraine, *Molod' Ukraïny* (Youth of Ukraine, changed in 1943 from *Komsomolets'*

FIGURE 234. MASTHEADS OF THE NEWSPAPERS *Radians'ka Ukraïna* AND *Molod' Ukraïny*

*Ukraïny*), with its Russian counterpart *Komsomol'skoe Znamia* (Komsomol Banner, founded in 1938). Professional newspapers are: the organ of the Union of Writers of Ukraine, *Literaturna Ukraïna* (Literary Ukraine, renamed in 1962

FIGURE 235. MASTHEADS OF THE LITERARY NEWSPAPER *Literaturna Ukraïna*, PUBLISHED IN KIEV SINCE 1927

from *Literaturna Hazeta*); the organ of the Ministry of Culture, *Kul'tura i Zhyttia* (Culture and Life, called *Radians'ka Kul'tura* until 1955); and the organ of the Ukrainian SSR's Ministry of Education, *Radians'ka Osvita* (Soviet Education, founded in 1940). There are also the following weeklies: *Zirka* (Star), founded in 1943, and *Yunyi Leninets'* (Young Leninist, founded in 1944), both *Komsomol* organs; *Sportyvna Hazeta* (Sports Gazette), founded in 1949, and originally named *Radians'kyi Sport* (Soviet Sports).

The latest circulation figures for most of the Ukrainian Republic newspapers are unknown. Only the following are available: in 1966 *Radians'ka Ukraïna* printed 485,000 copies per issue, *Pravda Ukrainy* 440,000, *Molod' Ukraïny* 440,000; the Komsomol *Zirka* had a circulation of 2,200,000 early in 1967, *Yunyi Leninets'* 1,100,000; *Literaturna Hazeta* 40,000, and *Radians'ka Osvita* 100,000.

The *oblast* newspapers, which numbered fifty-six in 1965, are mostly general political organs of the *oblast* and city Soviets of Workers' Deputies, the KPU, and the Komsomol. They resemble the Republic newspapers in form and content, but put more emphasis on local affairs. None can be sent abroad. Most *oblast* newspapers come out five times a week. Their circulation averaged 53,600 copies per newspaper in 1965. Nearly all Ukrainian *oblast* newspapers as listed have parallel Russian editions: *Sotsiialistychna Kharkivshchyna* (The Socialist Kharkiv Region, founded in 1934, originally named *Kharkivs'kyi Proletar* [Kharkiv Proletarian]) and *Krasnoe Znamia* (Red Banner, founded in 1938); *Zoria* (Star) and *Dneprovskaia Pravda* in Dnipropetrovske; in Odessa *Chornomors'ka Komuna* (Black Sea Commune, founded in 1929) and *Znamia Kommunizma* (Banner of Communism); in Lviv *Vil'na Ukraïna* (Free Ukraine, 1939) and *L'vovskaia Pravda* (1946); in Uzhhorod *Zakarpats'ka Pravda* (and its Russian counterpart); in Simferopol in the Crimea two *Pravdas*, *Kryms'ka Pravda* (1959) and *Krimskaia Pravda* (1942). The circulation of *Vil'na Ukraïna* in 1967 was 145,000, with the same figure for *Chornomors'ka Komuna* and the Russian language *Znamia Kommunizma*.

In 1966 there were seventy-five city newspapers. These papers are more locally oriented than the *oblast* papers, limiting their news reports to a given city. The average circulation of a city newspaper is 16,900 copies. The largest city newspaper *Vechirnii Kyïv* (The Evening Kiev) founded in 1951; it appears six times a week and in 1965 had a circulation of 150,000. It also serves as the official organ of the Kiev City Committee of the KPU and the City Soviet of Workers' Deputies. The city newspapers in some cities act as the mouthpieces of these councils and committees. In others, it is the *oblast* and *raion* newspapers which serve that purpose.

*Raion* newspapers, numbering 361 in 1965, are published in each *raion* seat. In some localities two papers are published. They appear in Ukrainian, Russian, Hungarian, Moldavian, and other languages and have an average circulation of 6,700 copies. Published twice or three times a week, they usually consist of two pages, carrying chiefly bulletins of city and *raion* Party committees.

Local newspapers (596 in 1965) are published weekly by factories, students, and other groups. Usually multigraphed

and posted on walls, they are not registered in the *Letopis periodicheskikh izdanii* SSSR (Chronicle of Periodical Publications in the USSR).

Collective farm newspapers are similar to the local papers in both form and content. They generally appear as bulletins of collective farm management, sometimes illustrated and containing poems and jokes. Long intervals, usually a month, elapse between issues. In relation to the entire USSR, the largest number is published in the Ukrainian SSR, 1,269 as against 65 in all other republics together. No records are kept of these newspapers in chronicles or registers of periodicals. The ratio of daily and annual circulation figures of Ukrainian to Russian newspapers is indicative of the state of newspaper publishing in the Ukrainian SSR. Table XII shows the daily and annual circulation figures for the period between 1955 and 1965.

The daily printing of Ukrainian newspapers in the Ukrainian SSR amounted to 72 per cent in 1965 and the annual to 71 per cent while the Russian percentages were 28 and 29, respectively. The Ukrainian population of the Ukrainian SSR, according to the 1959 census, was 76.8 per cent whereas the Russians constituted only 16.9 per cent. The discrimination becomes even more apparent when a comparison is drawn between circulation figures for the Ukrainian and the Russian language press in the entire USSR. Thus the daily printing of all newspapers in the USSR was 101,461,000 copies in 1965, of which 80,115,000 were in Russian and only 9,088,000 in Ukrainian, a ratio of 77 to 8.8 per cent. The annual printing for the same year totaled 23,013,000,000 copies, of which 19,299,000,000 (83.5 per cent) were in Russian and 1,465,600,000 (6.4 per cent) in Ukrainian. The population ratio for the entire USSR, on the other hand, was 54.9 per cent Russian and 17.7 per cent Ukrainian. Outside the Ukrainian SSR, i.e. in the Russian SFSR and other republics where there were 5.1 million Ukrainians according to the census of 1959 (the actual figure is 10 to 12 million [Vol. I, p. 244a]), not a single Ukrainian newspaper or magazine is being published at the present time.

The Russian-language press is distributed widely in the Ukrainian SSR. It is printed from matrices in Kiev, Kharkiv, and other cities. In 1962, when the total number of newspapers published in the Ukrainian SSR was 107 with a daily circulation of 12,847,000 copies, the Russian-language newspapers had an additional circulation of ten million copies.

The geographic distribution of newspapers published in Ukrainian (including collective farm papers) is more or less even over the whole area. However, a different picture emerges when the daily circulation figures are considered. The Kiev region accounts for 50 per cent of the daily printing, Donetske with 4.4 per cent, Lviv and Odessa 3.8 per cent each, Dnipropetrovske 3.1 per cent, Luhanske 3 per cent, and all other *oblasts* combined 31.9 per cent.

TABLE XII

| Year | Total daily printing (thousands) | | | Annual number of copies (millions) | | | No. of newspapers (per 100 population) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Ukrainian | Russian | Total | Ukrainian | Russian | |
| 1955 | 5,593 | 3,801 | 1,764 | 1,078.7 | 699.8 | 372.2 | 15 |
| 1958 | 7,006 | 4,811 | 2,154 | 1,336.2 | 866.4 | 440.2 | 17 |
| 1960 | 8,948 | 6,209 | 2,693 | 1,600.7 | 1,082.0 | 508.0 | 21 |
| 1962 | 10,034 | 6,806 | 3,186 | 1,656.1 | 1,104.2 | 542.1 | 27 |
| 1965 | 12,611 | 9,088 | 3,547 | 2,063.5 | 1,465.6 | 583.8 | 30 |

Journals, or magazines, make up the second group of periodicals published in the Ukrainian SSR. This group includes, as do figures for the entire USSR, not only journals as such, but typically Communist publications as well, the so-called notebooks for agitators, bulletins, reports, and transactions of scholarly and other institutions, and even non-periodical publications, i.e., serial editions. Journals, like newspapers, are organs or publications of the Communist party, trade unions, government agencies, scholarly institutions, and other public organizations.

The number of journals and other periodicals is shown in Table XIII (figures for the Ukrainian SSR, 1955–65).

The figures for Russian journals and other publications include periodicals in other languages, of which there were only two in 1962.

The annual printing of journals and other publications (including serial editions) and distribution figures (according to language) are shown in Table XIV.

Journals, other periodicals, and serial editions published in the Ukrainian SSR in 1965 constituted 4.4 per cent of the USSR total (journals alone 4.8 per cent). The percentage of Russian-language publications for the same year was 91.2 and 92.3 per cent, respectively.

Out of the total of 78 journals in the Ukrainian SSR in 1965, there were 1 weekly, 3 semimonthlies, 45 monthlies (including 3 published 8 to 10 times a year), 21 bimonthlies, and 8 quarterlies. Other publications included: 3 weeklies, 5 semimonthlies, 3 monthlies, 3 bimonthlies, 3 semi-annuals, and the remaining 159 published non-periodically.

Political, social, and economic journals enjoyed the most important and widest circulation, with an annual printing of 32,041,000 copies in 1965. The leading publication in this category is the monthly *Komunist Ukraïny* (Communist of Ukraine), the theoretical and political journal of the Central Committee of the KPU (called *Bil'shovyk Ukraïny* [Bolshevik of Ukraine] before 1952), which had a circulation of 113,400 copies in January 1967. It has a Russian counterpart *Kommunist Uk-*

TABLE XIII

| Year | Number of Publications | | | Ukrainian | | Russian | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Journals | Others | Journals | Others | Journals | Others |
| 1955 | 245 | 46 | 199 | 34 | 84 | 12 | 117 |
| 1958 | 488 | 64 | 324 | 47 | 168 | 17 | 156 |
| 1960 | 369 | 80 | 289 | 54 | 139 | 16 | 150 |
| 1962 | 348 | 78 | 270 | 52 | 107 | 26 | 161 |
| 1965 | 256 | 78 | 178 | 49 | 59 | 29 | 119 |

TABLE XIV

| Year | All publications | | | Journals | | | Number of copies (per 100 population) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Ukrainian | Russian | Total | Ukrainian | Russian | |
| 1955 | 22,983 | 19,309 | 3,674 | 12,398 | 11,417 | 981 | — |
| 1958 | 31,746 | 26,418 | 5,328 | 17,008 | 15,419 | 15,587 | 5 |
| 1960 | 44,809 | 37,814 | 6,995 | 22,769 | 20,832 | 1,937 | 6 |
| 1962 | 49,555 | 41,161 | 8,394 | 27,378 | 25,303 | 2,075 | 7 |
| 1965 | 77,710 | 67,588 | 10,122 | 53,393 | 49,782 | 3,611 | 10 |

FIGURE 236. TITLE PAGE OF THE MAGAZINE *Vitchyzna*, PUBLISHED IN KIEV SINCE 1946

FIGURE 237. TITLE PAGE OF THE MAGAZINE *Prapor*, PUBLISHED IN KHARKIV SINCE 1956

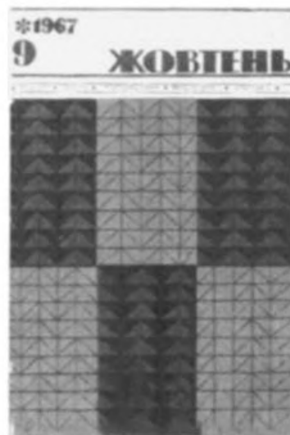


FIGURE 238. TITLE PAGE OF THE MONTHLY *Zhovten'* PUBLISHED IN LVIV SINCE 1950

*raïny*. Another publication in the same category is the Ukrainian and Russian semimonthly *Bloknot Ahitatora* (Agitator's Notebook) published by the ideological department of the Central Committee of the KPU.

Another large group of journals consists of literary and sociopolitical magazines. The printing for 1965 was 24,021,000 copies, or 31 per cent of all journals and periodicals. The mass circulation journal in this category (210,000 copies in January 1967) is the illustrated weekly *Ukraïna* founded in 1941 and published by the *Radians'ka Ukraïna* Publishing House. This periodical is similar to the Moscow *Ogoniok* (Flame), which has a circulation of 2 million copies.

The Union of Writers of Ukraine publishes the monthly *Vitchyzna* (Homeland), which was called *Ukraïns'ka Literatura* until 1946 and now has a circulation of 18,369 (January 1967). The Union also publishes the Russian-language *Raduga* (Rainbow), so renamed in March 1963 as the successor to *Sovetskaia Ukraina* (1951–63), with a circulation of 19,531 copies. *Vsesvit* (Universe) began publication in 1958 as a monthly devoted to art and literature abroad. Edited by Alexander Poltoratsky, it has a circulation of 47,045 copies. All of the above periodicals are published in Kiev. *Prapor* (Banner), the 1955 successor to the almanac *Kharkiv*, is published in Kharkiv with a circulation of 12,300, and *Zhovten'* (October), succeeding *Radians'kyi Zhovten'* (Soviet October) in February 1951 in Lviv, has a circulation of 15,400. Literary-art and sociopolitical monthlies of the Central Committee of Komsomol have higher circulation figures: *Ranok* (Morning), which was called *Zmina* (Change) until 1966, has a circulation of 60,000, and is similar to the All-Union *Smena* (Change) published in Moscow with a circulation of 1,100,000. *Dnipro* (until 1944 *Molodyi Bil'shovyk* [Young Bolshevik]) has a circulation of 60,000 and resembles the Moscow *Yunost'* (Youth) with a circulation of 2 million; both *Zmina* and *Dnipro* are published in Kiev. Periodicals, non-periodicals, and almanacs are published by *oblast* chapters of the Union of Writers of Ukraine.

The third large group of periodicals and serial editions consists of publications in various branches of science—the

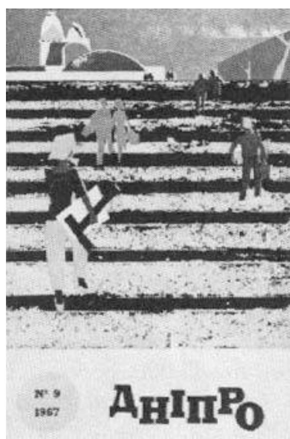


FIGURE 239. TITLE PAGE OF THE MAGAZINE *Dnipro*, PUBLISHED IN KIEV SINCE 1944

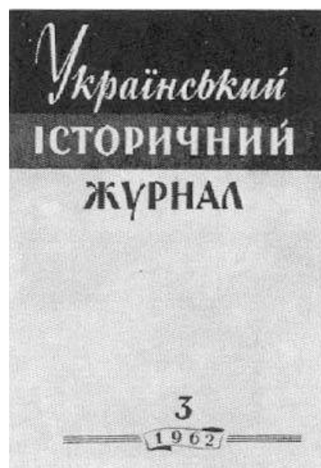


FIGURE 240. TITLE PAGE OF THE JOURNAL *Ukraïns'kyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal*, PUBLISHED IN KIEV SINCE 1957

natural sciences, mathematics, engineering, industry, transportation, and communications. They total 105 with an annual printing of 10,874,000 copies. Most important in this category is a series of journals of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, published mostly in Russian: *Avtomaticheskaia Svarka* (Automatic Welding), *Gidrobiologicheskii Zhurnal* (Hydrobiological Journal), *Kibernetika* (Cybernetics), *Poroshkovaia Metallurgiia* (Powder Metallurgy), *Prikladnaia Mekhanika* (Applied Mechanics), *Ukrainskii Matematicheskii Zhurnal* (Ukrainian Mathematical Journal), *Ukrainskii Fizicheskii Zhurnal* (Ukrainian Journal of Physics), (see Scholarship, p. 266). Nearly all of the twenty-two journals in the field of medicine, public health, etc. are also printed in Russian, e.g., *Vrachebnoe Delo* (Medical Matters) and *Klinicheskaia Khirurgiia* (Clinical Surgery).

The fourth group is composed of journals and serial publications in the social sciences and humanities, including politics, linguistics, literature, education, and culture. Their total number is thirty-four with an annual circulation of 3,595,000 copies (in 1965). This group is comprised mainly of journals published by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and its institutes, in some instances co-sponsored by the Ministries of Education and Culture. Most of them were founded during the de-Stalinization period of 1957–8: monthlies *Ukraïns'kyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal* (Ukrainian Historical Journal), *Radians'ke Literaturoznavstvo* (Soviet Literary Studies), *Radians'ke Pravo* (Soviet Law), and *Ekonomika Radians'koï Ukraïny* (Economics of Soviet Ukraine); and bimonthlies *Narodna Tvorchist' ta Etnohrafiia* (Folk Art and Ethnography) and *Movoznavstvo* (Linguistics), the latter started in 1967. With the exception of *Radians'ke Pravo*, which had a circulation of 24,612 in January 1967, they appear in editions of 2,000 to 8,000 copies. This group also includes *Radians'ka Shkola* (Soviet School, so renamed in 1945 as the successor to the journal *Komunistychna Osvita* [Communist Education]), circulation 29,650 copies in 1967, and journals treating the methodology of education, such as the monthlies *Doshkil'ne Vykhovannia* (Preschool Education) and *Ukraïns'ka Mova i Literatura v Shkoli* (Ukrainian Language and Literature in Schools), which was started in 1963 after a merger of

two periodicals and now has a circulation of 45,700 copies. Since 1965 a general popular science monthly *Nauka i Suspil'stvo* (Science and Society) has

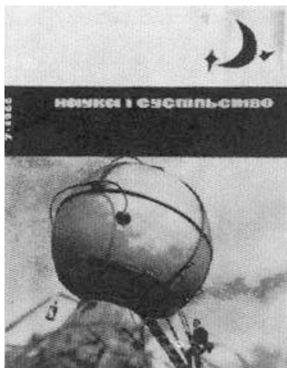

FIGURE 241. TITLE PAGE OF THE MAGAZINE *Nauka i Suspil'stvo*, PUBLISHED IN KIEV SINCE 1951

appeared as the successor to *Nauka i Zhyttia* (Science and Life) with a circulation of 45,000 copies. The journal of atheism *Liudyna i Svit* (Man and the World) was originally established in 1960 under the title *Voiovnychyi Ateist* (The Militant Atheist); it has a circulation of 25,000 copies.

The fifth group consists of agricultural periodicals and publications, totaling 26, with an annual circulation of 1,355,000 copies (in 1965). Most important are: *Visnyk Sil's'ko-Hospodars'koï Nauky*

FIGURE 242. MASTHEAD OF THE SATIRICAL MAGAZINE *Perets'*, PUBLISHED IN KIEV SINCE 1941

(Herald of Agricultural Science) published by the Ukrainian Academy of Agricultural Science, and the monthlies *Sil's'ke Budivnytstvo* (Rural Construction), *Tvarynnytstvo Ukraïny* (Ukrainian Animal Husbandry), and *Khliborob Ukraïny* (Ukrainian Farmer).

The leading art journal was the bimonthly *Mystetstvo* (Art) founded in 1954 (circulation 19,200) with a supplement *Novyny Kinoekranu* (News of the Screen).

The only magazine of humor and satire in the Ukrainian SSR is *Perets'* (Pepper) founded in 1941 and selling 1,100,000 copies per issue. There is also one sports magazine, *Start* (renamed in 1965 and succeeding *Fizkul'tura i Sport* [Physical Culture and Sports]) with a circulation of 45,000 copies. The only women's magazine, *Radians'ka Zhinka* (Soviet Woman), was established in 1946 and had a circulation of 1,130,000 copies, as of January 1967.

In 1965 there were nine magazines for children and youth including *Barvinok* (Periwinkle, 1945) printing 370,000 copies in 1967, with a Russian-language counterpart of the same title; *Pioneriia* (Pioneering) in Ukrainian and Russian since 1950, and *Maliatko* (Toddler) for children of preschool age. All are published by the Central Committee of the Komsomol.

Millions of Ukrainians serving in the Soviet armed forces (about 20 per cent of the total) are not provided with any periodical reading matter in Ukrainian.

Table XV illustrates the distribution of journals, periodicals, and series editions and the percentage ratio of this group of publications in the Ukrainian SSR to that in the Russian SFSR.

The statistics indicate that journals in the Ukrainian SSR are poor not only in quantity, but also in quality, since 41.4 per cent serve only as propaganda. This group in the Russian SFSR (including central publications) constitutes 24 per cent. There are very few publications in the natural sciences and mathematics (35, mostly in Russian) compared with 386 in the Russian SFSR. The ratio of medical journals is extremely low, the Ukrainian SSR having 0.6 per cent (nearly all in Russian) compared with 3.0 per cent of all publications in the Russian SFSR. The discrepancy is even

TABLE XV

| Subject-Matter | Number | Annual printing (thousands) | Annual printing (%) UkSSR | Annual printing (%) RSFSR |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Political and socio-economic | 28 | 32,041 | 41.4 | 24.0 |
| Military | — | — | — | 2.6 |
| Natural sciences, mathematics | 35 | 121 | 0.2 | 3.1 |
| Engineering, industry, transportation, communications, etc. | 70 | 10,753 | 13.1 | 15.5 |
| Agriculture | 26 | 1,355 | 1.8 | 2.6 |
| Commerce and food distribution | 2 | 5 | 0.1 | 0.4 |
| Public health and medicine | 22 | 477 | 0.6 | 3.0 |
| Physical culture, sports | 1 | 578 | 0.8 | 6.0 |
| Culture, education, scholarship | 21 | 3,564 | 4.6 | 3.3 |
| Linguistics, literary studies | 3 | 31 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Art-Literature | 17 | 24,021 | 31.0 | 26.5 |
| Art | 5 | 3,513 | 4.6 | 5.8 |
| Atheism, religion | 2 | 1,026 | 1.3 | 0.2 |
| Printing, libraries, bibliography | 16 | 188 | 0.3 | 0.8 |
| Miscellaneous | 8 | 37 | 0.1 | 6.1 |
| TOTALS | 256 | 77,710 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Children | 5 | 8,472 | 10.9 | 6.0 |
| Youth | 4 | 2,788 | 3.7 | 7.1 |
| Women | 1 | 10,220 | 12.0 | 11.0 |

more evident in sports—one journal in the Ukrainian SSR (0.8 per cent) compared with 27 in the Russian SFSR (6.0 per cent). The Ukrainian SSR surpasses the Russian SFSR only in atheistic periodicals (1.3 per cent of the total to 0.2 per cent) and in the ratio of art-literature journals (31 per cent against 26.5 per cent). The ratio of annual printings of periodicals for children and youth in Ukraine is very low (four of the nine publications for children in the Ukrainian SSR are printed in Russian). As regards youth journals, the annual figure for the Russian SFSR is 7.1 per cent of the total but only 3.7 per cent for the Ukrainian SSR.

Russification of Ukraine is proceeding with the aid of locally published Russian periodicals and serial editions, particularly in the field of science, as well as by mass distribution of central Russian publications throughout the Ukrainian SSR. The circulation of these Russian publications exceeds the total circulation of all periodical publications printed in the Ukrainian SSR. Other Soviet republics, in which more than ten million Ukrainians live, mostly as a result of forced resettlement [Vol. I, p. 244], do not have a single journal in the Ukrainian language.

The geographic distribution of journals, periodicals, and serial editions in the Ukrainian SSR is very sporadic. Of the total of 256 publications, 206 (76 per cent) are published in Kiev. The Kharkiv area has 32 (15.5 per cent), Lviv 12 (5.5 per cent), and others 6 per cent. In magazine publication the situation is even worse: 76 out of a total of 78 were published in Kiev in 1965.

## UKRAINIAN EMIGRATION AFTER WORLD WAR II

The Ukrainian émigré press, mainly in Germany and Austria but also in France, Belgium, and England, was the only free expression of Ukrainian thought during the postwar years. New Ukrainian publications free from German control began appearing in 1945, but the prevailing conditions were far from favorable for the development of the Ukrainian press: first, there were no Ukrainian printing shops; secondly, as a

result of the military occupation of Germany and Austria, the authorities restricted the publication of new press organs by requiring a license. Thus the first newspapers—the nationalist-oriented *Chas* (Time, Fürth, 1945–9) edited by

FIGURE 243. UKRAINIAN NEWSPAPERS IN WEST GERMANY AFTER WORLD WAR II

Roman Ilnytsky and the socialist-oriented *Nashe Zhyttia* (Our Life, Augsburg, 1945–8) edited by Paul Kotovych—appeared either in mimeographed form (with the exception of the Regensburg *Slovo* [Word] edited by S. Dovhal) or in the Latin alphabet (e.g., *Nedilia* [Sunday], Schweinfurt, later Aschaffenburg, 1945 and on, edited by H. Kotorovych). It was only later that these and other newspapers began appearing in the customary printed form. Among them were: *Ukraïnski Visti* (Ukrainian News, Ulm, from 1945) edited by Ivan Bahrianyi; *Ukraïns'ka Trybuna* (Ukrainian Tribune, Munich, 1946–9); *Khrystiians'kyi Shliakh* (Christian Pathway, Mittenwald, 1946–7) edited by Ivan Nimchuk; *Khrystians'kyi Holos* (Christian Voice, Munich, from 1949) edited first by Roman Danylevych and later by Myron Konovalets; *Ukraïns'kyi Samostiinyk* (Ukrainian Independent, Munich, Munich, from 1950) edited by Constantine Kononenko and Stephen Lenkavsky.

At the same time a number of literary-artistic journals sprang up: collections of MUR (*Mystets'kyi Ukraïns'kyi Rukh* [Ukrainian Artistic Movement], Munich, Regensburg, 1946–7) edited by Yurii Sherekh; *Ridne Slovo* (Native Word, Munich, 1945–6) edited by Theodore Kurpita; *Ukraïns'ke Mystetstvo* (Ukrainian Art, Munich, 1947) edited by Michael Dmyterko; *Arka* (Arc, Munich,

FIGURE 244. UKRAINIAN MAGAZINES IN WEST GERMANY AND AUSTRIA AFTER WORLD WAR II

1947–8) edited first by Victor Domontovych (V. Petrov) and later by Yurii Sherekh; *Litavry* (Kettle Drums, Salzburg, 1946–7) edited first by Yurii Klen and later by Bohdan Romanenchuk. Women's journals were represented by *Hromadianka* (Female Citizen, Munich, 1947–50) edited first by Liudmyla Ivchenko and later by Maria Dontsov. *Ïzhak-Komar* (Hedgehog-Mosquito, Munich 1947–9) was a journal of humor and satire edited by Theodore Kurpita. In other categories, the following appeared: the illustrated magazines *Pu-Hu* (Augsburg, 1947–9), *Zhyttia* (Life, Munich, 1949), the non-periodical scientific-literary journal *Ukraïna i Svit* (Ukraine and the World) edited by Elias Sapiha, *My i Svit* (We and the World, Mitten-

wald, from 1950); the scientific journal *Siohochasne i Mynule* (The Present and the Past, Munich, from 1948) edited by Z. Kuzelia; the student magazine *Studentskyi Visnyk* (Student Herald, Munich, from 1947); *Molode Zhyttia* (Young Life, 1946–9), a magazine for the Plast youth edited by B. Krawciw, *Avanhard* (Avant-Garde, Munich), the organ of the Ukrainian Youth Association [SUM]; *Do Zbroï* (To Arms, from 1948), a journal of Ukrainian military-political thought; *Surma* (Bugle) and *Vyzvol'na Polityka* (Liberation Politics), both published by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN); *Orlyk* (Little Eagle, Berchtesgaden, 1946–8) edited by Thomas Lapychak; the workers' newspaper *Vpered* (Forward, from 1949); and many others, particularly religious, professional, and popular science magazines. By 1950, a total of 275 more or less continuous periodical publications were operative in Germany and Austria.

The resettlement of Ukrainian refugees from Germany and Austria sharply reduced the number of émigré publications in these countries. At the end of 1950, there were only fourteen Ukrainian publications (seven newspapers) in Germany and Austria. However, this was more than offset by a vast increase in publishing activity in the countries of new settlement: Ukrainian newspapers, mainly weeklies, were founded in England (*Ukraïns'ka Dumka* [Ukrainian Thought], London), Australia (*Vil'na Dumka* [Free Thought]), France (*Ukraïns'ke Slovo* [Ukrainian Word], *Ukraïnets'-Chas* [Ukrainian-Time], *Hromada* [Community], and others, in Paris), Belgium, the United States of America, Canada, and Argentina. These publications represented all segments of Ukrainian political thinking and reflected the cultural life of the emigrant. Literary-artistic and scientific trends were not so well represented, although two publications deserve mention: *Zapysky Chyna sv. Vasyliia V.* (Notes of the Order of St. Basil the Great) and the non-periodical magazine of Ukrainian studies, *Ukraïna* (1949–53) published in Paris under the editorship of Elias Borshchak.

Following the early stages of adjustment and stabilization of Ukrainian emigrants in the countries of Europe and in Australia after 1950, the volume of periodical publication began to increase gradually. A number of new newspapers and magazines were established: the political weekly *Suchasna Ukraïna* (Contemporary Ukraine, from 1951), the organ of the foreign representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (ZP UHVR), which appeared in western Germany until 1961 under the editorship of Volodymyr Stakhiv; the newspaper *Ukraïns'ka Literaturna Hazeta* (Ukrainian Literary Gazette) established in 1955 and associated with *Suchasna Ukraïna*, edited by Ivan Koshelivets and, in the early stages, by George

FIGURE 245. MASTHEADS OF UKRAINIAN NEWSPAPERS, PUBLISHED IN THE USA, CANADA, EUROPE, LATIN AMERICA, AND AUSTRALIA IN THE 1960's

TABLE XVI

| Country | Total | Newspapers (biweekly and weekly) | Journals (monthly, bimonthly, quarterly) | Scientific publications | Bulletins | Others (occasional publications) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Australia | 10 | 2 | 2 | — | 5 | 1 |
| Austria | 1 | — | — | — | 1 | — |
| England | 14 | 1 | 8 | — | 2 | 3 |
| Belgium | 4 | — | 2 | — | 1 | 1 |
| Italy | 4 | — | 1 | 2 | — | 1 |
| Germany | 29 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 13 | 5 |
| France | 13 | 1 | 4 | — | 7 | 1 |
| TOTAL | 75 | 7 | 22 | 5 | 29 | 12 |

Dyvnych-Lavrinenko (in 1961, these newspapers combined into a literary-artistic and social monthly *Suchasnist'* (Our Times) edited by Ivan Koshelivets); the nationalist monthly *Shliakh Peremohy* (Pathway of Victory, Munich, from 1954), the organ of the Foreign Branch of the OUN, edited by S. Lenkavsky and Daniel Chaikovsky, in conjunction with the *Ukraïnets'-Chas*, which had appeared in Paris under the editorship of Borys Vitoshynsky. The weekly *Ukraïns'kyi Samostiinyk* was changed in 1957 into a monthly under the editorship of Lev Rebet. The newspaper *Ukraïnets' v Australii* (Ukrainian in Australia) began appearing in Australia in 1956. Journals published at that time were: the non-periodical youth journal *Feniks* (Phoenix, Munich, from 1951); the literary-scientific and social monthly *Vyzvol'nyi Shliakh* (Liberation Path, London, from 1953); the children's magazine *Yuni Druzi* (Youthful Friends, London); the scholarly publications *Naukovi Zapysky UVU* (Scientific Notes of the Ukrainian Free University), *Naukovi Zapysky UTHI* (Scientific Notes of the Ukrainian Technical Husbandry Institute), and *Pratsi Ukraïns'koho Bohoslovs'koho Tovarystva* (Works of the Ukrainian Theological Society, from 1961).

In 1961–2, a total of 75 periodicals appeared in various countries of Europe and in Australia, including 7 newspapers, 22 journals, 5 scientific journals and collections, 29 bulletins, and 12 other publications. These periodic publications are shown in Table XVI by country.*

Of the publications appearing in England, two were published in English; in Argentina, one in Spanish; in Germany, one in English and one in German; in France, four in French.

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*This and other tables (the Press in the U.S.A.) are based on the bibliographical index "Ukraïns'ka presa u Vil'nomu Sviti v 1961 i 1962 rokakh" (Ukrainian Press in the Free World in 1961 and 1962) by Volodymyr Doroshenko, published in the Svoboda almanac for 1963, Jersey City, 1963, pp. 53–75, and as a separate reprint by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. in 1964.

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# 9. RADIO AND TELEVISION

## RADIO

Throughout the Ukrainian SSR as well as the Soviet Union and other Communist countries, radio exists only to serve the state. Apart from its function as a news service, it is used for educational purposes, particularly for political indoctrination and the propagation of ideas necessary for the "building of communism." In the selection of topics and in their technical presentation, all programs are geared to the objectives of Soviet internal and external policy. The state censorship committee Golovlit and organs of the State Security Committee (KGB) are in charge of all programming. Radio, together with the post office, the telegraph, and the telephone is subordinate to the Soviet Ministry of Communications and to the respective committees of the councils of ministers of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR.

### The Development of Radio Broadcasting in Central and Eastern Ukraine before 1945

Radio was used in Ukraine for radiotelegraphic communication as early as 1902. However, radio broadcasting as such had its beginnings in 1924 when, four years after powerful radio stations went into operation in Moscow, Leningrad, and Kazan, radio transmission, using low-power transmitters, was started in Kharkiv. The first powerful

broadcasting stations were built in Kharkiv and Kiev in 1925 by the Moscow Shareholders Society for Radio Communication. Radio stations were also set up in Odessa, Dnipropetrovske, Donetske, and other cities. The station built in Kharkiv in 1927 was the fourth most powerful in the Soviet Union. Until just before the war (1941), the most powerful station in the Ukrainian SSR, which was used partially for broadcasting propaganda overseas, was located in Kiev. The radio network, began in 1928, was developed by building relay centers or hubs and relay lines and connecting them to loudspeakers. The method which is common throughout the world was seldom used and radios utilizing this method were produced in very small numbers, generally only for official and Party use. The objective of the régime was to prevent the population from listening to foreign broadcasts.

The number of ordinary radios began to increase towards the end of 1930. By this time methods of jamming foreign broadcasts had been perfected, and the radio factory in Odessa was producing sets which could pick up Soviet broadcasts only. In 1940 there were 1,047,000 relaying stations or centers in the Ukrainian SSR, of which 137,200 were in rural areas. At the same time there were only 255,400 radio sets.

From 1928 to 1930, the construction of radio stations and broadcasting were under the jurisdiction of the People's Commissariat of Postal and Telegraphic Communication of the USSR. In August of 1930, by decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR, an All-Ukrainian radio administration was set up under the above-mentioned commissariat with jurisdiction over the radio center in the Moldavian Autonomous SSR and local radio centers. In 1932, the name of the All-Ukrainian Radio Administration was changed to the All-Ukrainian Committee of Radio Networks and Broadcasting under the jurisdiction of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR, and in 1938 to the Ukrainian Radio Committee. In 1930 the Radio Society of the Ukrainian SSR, comprising local organizations of radio fans and supporters, was set up. Also active in the 1930's was the Committee to Assist Radio Construction and Radio Amateurs, under the Central Committee of the Komsomol of Ukraine. Questions concerning radio technology and broadcasting were dealt with in a magazine called *Radio* (1930–41).

With regard to radio programs, the Ukrainian SSR was within reach of broadcasts emanating from Radio Moscow and other powerful stations in the Russian SFSR. Programs of Ukrainian radio stations were limited in time, content, and sophistication. In the late 1920's and early 1930's, more than 70 per cent of all broadcasts were political (political education and agitation). The program of the Kharkiv radio station, in addition to "radio gazettes"—labor, agricultural, Party, Komsomol, Pioneer, and some newscasts in Yiddish and Esperanto—consisted of lectures, debates, late news, and reports from meetings and conferences. Only three to four hours out of a total of eighteen were devoted to broadcasts concerned with the arts. In the second half of the 1930's music and drama were included in the programs of the Ukrainian radio stations. There were separate programs for children and young people. Approximately 30–40 per cent of the available time was scheduled for mandatory broadcasts emanating from Moscow in Russian, including twelve news broadcasts for every twenty-four-hour period. During World War II, when the majority of radio stations in the Ukrainian SSR were destroyed, the population of Ukraine received broadcasts originating with the German occupation forces or Radio Moscow and Soviet army stations. From 1941 to 1944 Ukrainian-language programs were broadcast by Shevchenko

Radio Station in Saratov, to which some of the installations from the Ukrainian SSR had been evacuated.

**In the Ukrainian SSR from 1945 to 1966**

Since the end of the war all matters pertaining to radio broadcasting have been handled by the Radio of the Ukrainian Republic, a government agency under the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Radio Committee, renamed in the mid-1950's the Committee of Radio and Television Broadcasting under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR. Since February 1957 this committee has been broadcasting daily under the heading "Kiev Speaks."

At the beginning of 1965 there were more than fifty powerful long, middle, short, and ultra-short wave radio stations in the Ukrainian SSR.

Tables XVII–XX compare radio broadcasting in the Ukrainian SSR with that of the Soviet Union.

It is evident from the above figures that the relaying system of transmitting radio programs by means of wires connected to loudspeakers is still the prevalent method in the Ukrainian SSR. The recent decrease in the number of relaying stations is due for the most part to the discontinuance of smaller centers. Most of the sets used in the Ukrainian SSR are produced outside the Republic.

Because of the increasing number of radio-wave radio sets (the common type) and radiophonographs, the production of loudspeakers, although still greater than that of radios, has declined in recent years. The number of ether-wave radio sets among the rural population is still quite limited.

Whereas in the United States there were 172 million radio sets in households and 55 million in automobiles in 1965 (1.2 sets per person), in the Ukrainian SSR there was only one set per 6.9 persons in the country as a whole and one set per 14.4 persons in rural areas.

Radio broadcasting in the Ukrainian SSR has grown markedly since the 1930's. At the beginning of 1965, the Republic's radio stations had a total broadcast time of thirty hours for every twenty-four-hour period. In addition to ten late news broadcasts beamed by Kiev Radio in a period of twenty-four hours, the programs of Ukrainian stations include lessons, discussions, consultations, general education, literature, and music. There are also programs for children and young people, as well as broadcasts in Ukrainian and in various foreign languages which are beamed abroad. The people are not able to listen to all the programs broadcast by the Ukrainian SSR stations. Broadcasting is divided into three programs. The first

TABLE XVII

RELAYING STATIONS

| | 1950 | 1960 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ukrainian SSR | 3,055 | 5,870 | 5,464 |
| Rural areas | 1,910 | 3,655 | 3,168 |
| USSR | 18,919 | 39,003 | 34,206 |

TABLE XVIII

RELAYING POINTS (in thousands)

| | 1950 | 1960 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ukrainian SSR | 1,482 | 7,203 | 8,356 |
| Rural areas | 334 | 4,419 | 4,850 |
| USSR | 9,685 | 30,837 | 35,638 |

TABLE XIX

RADIO RECEIVING SETS (in thousands)

| | 1950 | 1960 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ukrainian SSR | 528 | 4,431 | 6,571 |
| Rural areas | 158 | 1,101 | 1,535 |
| USSR | 3,643 | 27,811 | 32,228 |

TABLE XX

PRODUCTION OF RADIOS, RADIOPHONOGRAPHS, AND LOUDSPEAKERS IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR (in thousands)

| | 1950 | 1960 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Radios and radiophonographs | 85 | 231 | 553 |
| Loudspeakers | 165 | 899 | 700 |

program is transmitted by the relay stations and thus reaches the masses of the people. The second and third programs can only be picked up on ether wave radio sets. Topics dealing with local, Party, and agricultural life constitute 20–25 per cent of the first program's time; the rest is devoted to broadcasts from Moscow. The second and third programs focus attention on general Ukrainian affairs, including literature and art.

There are no Ukrainian magazines dealing with radio. Since 1958 the Kiev Polytechnic Institute has published a magazine called *Radiotekhnika* (Radio Technology) in Russian (published bimonthly with a total printing of 3,500–5,000) which is an organ of the Soviet Ministry of Higher Education.

Radio ham groups in the Ukrainian SSR work within the Soviet Society of Volunteers for Cooperation with the Army, Navy, and Air Force. In 1961 there were 220 independent clubs with a total membership of 24,000 radio hams. There are more than 2,500 radio ham stations in the Ukrainian SSR.

**In Western Ukraine from 1918 to 1945, and Abroad since 1945**

In Western Ukraine under Polish occupation radio broadcasting was included in the general system of communications, and radio listeners had to register and pay a monthly fee at the post office. It was not until the 1930's that separate Ukrainian-language programs were started by the Lviv state radio. Broadcasting was sporadic and time (15 to 30 minutes) and content were limited. Religious services were broadcast from Ukrainian churches on Sundays and important holidays.

During the 1930's, Ukrainian programs were included in Czechoslovak broadcasts for the people of Transcarpathia. A fifteen-minute program in the Ukrainian language was presented five days a week. During the period of Carpatho-Ukraine's independence, Ukrainian language broadcasts were transmitted from Banska Bystrytsia in Slovakia. In January-March of 1939, a short wave radio station operated in Khust.

During World War II (1939–1941) Ukrainian language broadcasts were transmitted by the Soviets from Lviv, Stanyslaviv, and Ternopil. During the German occupation of Western Ukraine (1941–1944) only one German station broadcast from Lviv, presenting thirty-minute Ukrainian-language programs three times a week.

Outside Ukraine, radio broadcasting in the Ukrainian language is carried on daily by the Voice of America from Washington, the Voice of Canada from Ottawa, and the privately operated Radio Liberty from Munich. Ukrainian programs are also broadcast by stations in Italy, Spain, and Argentina. American and Canadian radio stations in major centers of Ukrainian settlement carry many Ukrainian programs.

## TELEVISION

The first television broadcasts utilizing the electron tube (with the image distributed into 500 "lines" with a frequency of 50 frames per second) were started by a group of radio hams in Kharkiv early in 1951. In November of the same year, five years after regular television broadcasting was begun in Moscow (with a distribution of 625 "lines" and a frequency of 25 frames per second), a television broadcasting center using the same system went into operation in Kiev. In 1965, of the 121 television broadcasting centers in the USSR, there were 12 powerful stations in the Ukrainian SSR (Kiev, Kharkiv, Luhanske, Donetske, Dnipropetrovske, Zaporizhia, Mykolaïv, Kherson, Odessa, Lviv, Symferopol, and Chernivtsi), 8 powerful transmitters, 4 micro-television centers, and some 75 low-power transmitters. In every twenty-four-hour period, from seven to ten hours are devoted to Ukrainian programs. All programs are

in black and white since color television is still in the planning stages. Residents of Kiev and Donetske only have access to more than one channel. The Kiev and other television centers relay Russian broadcasts from Moscow and Leningrad.

Television and radio form part of the communications system and are under the jurisdiction of the Union and Union-Republic Ministries of Communications. Television programs are supervised by State Committees for Radio and Television of the Councils of Ministers of the USSR and of the Ukrainian SSR.

The production of television sets in the Ukrainian SSR was started in 1951. Sets are made by plants in Lviv, Dnipropetrovske, and Kharkiv. The number of sets produced in 1954 was 1,700, rising to 519,000 in 1965. Most of the television sets used in the Ukrainian SSR are made outside in the RSFSR and other Soviet republics.

The number of television sets now being used by the people of the USSR and Ukrainian SSR (in thousands) is shown below:

| | 1958 | 1960 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|---|
| USSR | 2,539 | 4,788 | 15,693 |
| Ukrainian SSR | 322 | 745 | 2,979 |
| of this, in Rural areas | 7.6 | 27.7 | 673 |

In the United States in 1965 there were 80 million television sets in a population of 195 million (including 5 million color sets), i.e., one set for every 2.4 persons. During the same year the Ukrainian SSR had 2,797,000 sets for 45 million people, or one set for every 16.1 persons. There were 673,000 television sets for 22 million rural inhabitants, or roughly one television set for every 32.8 persons.

*B. Krawciw*

# VII. The Arts

## 1. UKRAINIAN ART RESEARCH

### THE BEGINNINGS

In Ukraine the history and theory of art and research in the various branches of art are relatively recent fields of study and came into being in the middle of the nineteenth century, although descriptions of Ukrainian monuments appeared far earlier. Because of the political situation in Ukraine, the first historians of Ukrainian art were mostly the representatives of the ruling states—Russian, Polish, and German—and even the works of Ukrainian scholars were often written in those languages. Originally, art did not appear as an independent discipline but in connection with archaeology, religion, history, and ethnography. In the indexes of the *Kievskaia Starina* (1882–1906) are listed over a hundred articles on such various subjects as old Ukrainian portraits, the Kievan Academy and its pupils, drawings by Ukrainian masters, Greek Muses in Ukrainian representation, Kozak churches, ancient engravings, iconography, and archaeology, by such Ukrainian scholars as Volodymyr Antonovych, Theophanes Lebedyntsev, Nicholas Petrov, Basil Horlenko, Alexander Lazarevsky, Andrew Loboda, Nicholas Biliashivsky, Dmytro Bahalii, and Nicholas Sumtsov. Numerous similar articles appeared in diocesan almanacs and scholarly journals, especially in the *Trudy* (Works) of the archaeological congresses (the first in Moscow in 1869, then in Kiev, 1874 and 1889, Odessa, 1884, Kharkiv, 1902, Katerynoslav, 1905, Chernihiv, 1908). Because of the enthusiasm for the Kozak period, the Princely period (tenth to fourteenth centuries) suffered some neglect, and the fundamental studies into the art of that period were made by Russian scholars (Dimitr Ainalov, Peter Lashkariev, Ivan Tolstoi, Adrian Prakhov, Egor Redin, Nikodim Kondakov, and others) who considered it part of early Russian art.

### THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Systematic Ukrainian art research began to develop in the beginning of the twentieth century with the scholarly activities of such historians and theoreticians as Nicholas Makarenko, Vadym Modzalevsky, Ipolit Morhylevsky, Alexander Novytsky, Gregory Pavlutsky, Nicholas Petrov, Hilarion Svientsitsky, Yukhym Sitsinsky, Constantine Shyrotsky, Theodore Shmit, Vadym and Daniel

FIGURE 246. ALEXANDER NOVYTSKY

FIGURE 247. THEODORE SHMIT

Shcherbakivsky, George Lukomsky, and Basil Krychevsky, among others. The historian Michael Hrushevsky wrote a penetrating history of Ukrainian art up to the sixteenth century. The centers of Ukrainian art research were the Kiev and Kharkiv universities, the Church-Archaeological Society, the Kiev Theo-

logical Academy, the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Kiev, and various historical museums in Odessa, Poltava, Chernihiv, and Lviv. The importance of this research lies in defining Ukrainian art as a separate entity and in tracing its origins to ancient Ukrainian tradition[illegible] [illegible]d folk art forms.

These national traits of Ukrainian artistic discipline were predominant in the years of struggle for independence (1917–20) and in the 1920's. From 1917 on, synthesizing, compendious works on Ukrainian art began to appear: *Ukrainskoe iskusstvo* (Ukrainian Art) by Vadym Modzalevsky, *Starovynne mystetstvo na Ukraïni* (Ancient Art in Ukraine) and *Kyïv* (Kiev) by Constantine Shyrotsky, *Khrestomatiia istoriï ukraïns'koho mystetstva* (Chrestomathy of the History of Ukrainian Art) by Alexander Doroshkevych and Theodore Ernst, *Mystetstvo staroï Rusy-Ukraïny* (The Art of Ancient *Rus'*-Ukraine) by T. Shmit, Nicholas Makarenko's study on ancient Kievan art, Stephen Taranushenko's studies on peasant secular and church architecture (1922–3), the history of Ukrainian ornament by Gregory Pavlutsky (1927), and the history of Ukrainian painting of the seventeenth to twentieth centuries and a monograph on George Narbut (1926) by T. Ernst.

These studies may serve as a cross-section of critical and historical works on Ukrainian art in the 1920's. Until the early 1930's Ukrainian art research centered at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev (chair of art history), at the universities and art institutes, and at museums and national monuments. There appeared various collections devoted to history, archaeology, and art as well as several art reviews. A typical publication at that time, edited by the authoritative Ukrainian scholars, was *Ukraïns'kyi Muzei* (Ukrainian Museum, Kiev, 1927), a review of the Ukrainian culture of the past. Devoid of propaganda, this publication soon became a cause for the indictment of the art historians for their alleged "bourgeois nationalism" and their work on it subjected them to many years of concentration camps and even to loss of life. A series of individual art monographs was published in 1929–32 by the Rukh publishing house in Kharkiv, then the capital of Soviet Ukraine. Although they were edited from a Marxist viewpoint, they were soon classified as "Nationalistic."

In WESTERN UKRAINE, until 1918 under Austrian and later under Polish rule, most active in this field was the Ukrainian National Museum in Lviv under the direction of Hilarion Svientsitsky (1876–1956). He was the author of works dealing with the beginning of book printing in the Ukrainian lands (1924) and two well-illustrated collections of Galician icons of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Under his initiative the museum published works on various subjects: several volumes of manuscript illuminations, drawings of ancient wooden churches in Ukraine, *Ukraïns'kyi kylym* (Ukrainian Rug) by Volodymyr Peshchansky, studies on Ukrainian wooden churches and iconostases by Michael Dragan, and various papers on ancient architecture by Volodymyr Sichynsky, one of the most active and versatile art historians in Western Ukraine. Sichynsky wrote also many retrospective studies on Ukrainian art in foreign publications such as the Czech *Umění Slovanů*, the German *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, and the polish *Grafika*. Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, the founder and sponsor of the National Museum of Lviv, himself took an active interest in art development, sponsored important art publications, and personally taught art history in the Lviv Art School.

FIGURE 248. VOLODYMYR SICHYNSKY

Prominent also among art historians and critics was Nicholas Holubets (1892–1942) whose specialty was Galician art. He wrote a comprehensive outline of Ukrainian art in the *Istoriia ukraïns'koï kul'tury* (History of Ukrainian Culture, Lviv, 1937). Dmytro Antonovych (1877–1945) compiled a shortened course of Ukrainian art in Prague (1923), which he later amplified several times. Volodymyr Zalozetsky (1896–1959), a Byzantine scholar of European renown, wrote about Gothic and Baroque architecture in Carpatho-Ukraine, and on the relation of ancient Ukrainian architecture to that of Byzantium. His works were mostly in German and were published abroad. Before World War II he held the chair of art history at the Ukrainian Theological Academy in Lviv, directed by Rev. Josyf Slipyj, the present Cardinal. Yaroslav Konstantynovych in his *Iconostasis* (Lviv, 1939) demonstrated the development of the Ukrainian altar screen. New tendencies in art were propagated in Lviv by a group of modern artists who in 1932–6 published the almanac *Mystetstvo* (Art) edited by Paul Kovzhun.

FIGURE 249. DMYTRO ANTONOVYCH

## UNDER SOVIET PRESSURE

In the 1930's art scholars and critics in eastern Ukraine fell under official Soviet pressure. Although this pressure was felt in the entire Soviet Union, it took the distinctly severe form of complete destruction of true art and art scholarship in Ukraine. According to the 1953 edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia (Vol. XVIII, p. 514), the founders of Soviet art discipline were Lenin, Stalin, Kalinin, Molotov, Kirov, Zhdanov, Malenkov, Voroshilov, and Kaganovich. It is of no importance here that in time some of these men fell into disfavor; the fact remains that some of them did control Ukrainian art. For example, this same encyclopedia in its 1939 edition states, "Stalin charted the course of Ukrainian art once and for all." After the liquidation of all Ukrainian art organizations on April 23, 1932, a veritable persecution of all forms of Ukrainian art was set in motion. Prominent Ukrainian artists and critics were labeled "fascists, nationalists, and spies." Nicholas Skrypnyk, Minister of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, became the victim of particularly virulent attacks. Although his platform was Marxist, he nevertheless endeavored to preserve the national traits of Ukrainian art; but seeing the bankruptcy of the Soviet national policy he took his own life in 1933. His views on art were collected in the fifth volume of his *Statti i promovy* (Papers and Speeches, Kharkiv, 1930–1). The theoretician Ivan Vrona (b. 1897), party director of the Kiev Institute of Art (the former Academy), was imprisoned for his defense of formal topics in art and the right of Ukrainian artists to study and learn from Western art.

Socialist realism became the only permissible form of art. The wave of arrests disrupted work in the museums where the true scholars and experts were replaced by official appointees who were often illiterates. Professor Nicholas Makarenko, former associate of the Leningrad Hermitage, was arrested and liquidated for sending a letter to Stalin protesting the destruction of historical monuments of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Kiev. By the second half of the 1930's not one outstanding active scholar of art remained in Ukraine. It is the irony of history that the most ardent destroyers of Ukrainian art, the Party Secretary of Ukraine, Pavel Postyshev, and the Marxist theoreticians Volodymyr Zatonsky and Andrew Khvyla, were soon liquidated in wholesale repressions in the Ukrainian SSR.

## FROM 1945

After World War II the situation improved somewhat. A significant factor was the pressure of public opinion among the Ukrainian masses, who, at a time of general decolonization in Asia and Africa, began to demand their rights more and more insistently. The death of Stalin and the subsequent thaw brought further changes for the better. Art publications began to appear again, usually dealing, however, with folk art, an impersonal and thus safe topic. But the scholars and critics could not be replaced at once; only a few survived the terror and returned from concentration camps, among them Taranushenko and Vrona.

In the 1950's and 1960's art publication was centralized in the Academy of Sciences and its institutes. The Art Institute in Kiev was directed by the engraver Basil Kassian, and the eminent poet Maksym Rylsky became director of the Institute of Ethnography, which after his death in 1965 was named after him. An important publication of the latter Institute is a four-volume collection of the paintings and drawings of Taras Shevchenko. The State Museum of Ethnography and Crafts in Lviv published good monographs on folk art: for example, *Narodnyi odiah zakhidnykh oblastei URSR* (Folk Costumes of western *oblasts* of the Ukrainian SSR) by Olena Kulchytska, as well as works on woodcarving, weaving, embroidery, and pottery. The Institute of Architecture published a study of folk creativeness in the architecture of the peasant house by Victor Samoilovych (1961) and a two-volume, richly illustrated history of Ukrainian architecture by a group of authors (1957). The State Publishing House of Art and Music Literature issued monographs on Ukrainian peasant art: embroidery, costume, decorative wall painting, and so on. The Archeological Institute published in 1959 *Narysy starodavnioï Ukraïns'koï RSR* (The Outline of Ancient History of the Ukrainian SSR), in which prehistoric art and the art of the Princely period were finally included in Ukrainian history. From 1954 on the Art Institute of the Academy has issued *Materiialy z etnohrafiï ta mystetstvoznavstva* (Materials on Ethnography and the Study of Art) where too often valuable material is mixed with shallow propaganda.

It is characteristic that for long there was no complete history of Ukrainian art in the Ukrainian SSR because the Communist party feared that the knowledge of ancient Ukrainian culture might revive nationalist feelings among the masses. Even the first history of Soviet Ukrainian art was written by two Russian authors, Valentina Kuriltseva and Nina Yavorskaia, and published also in Russian in Moscow (1957). Only then, on the basis of this political preparation, was a similar history written by P. Hovdia allowed to be printed in the Ukrainian SSR. But it is also true that serious Russian scholars in Moscow had more freedom to deal with such subjects as the old religious art which is still viewed with great suspicion by the party functionaries in Ukraine. Thus, important works on Ukrainian art were published in Moscow and Leningrad, among them *Mozaiki Sofii Kievskoi* (The Mosaics of St. Sophia, 1960) and *Mikhailovskie mozaiki* (St. Michael's Mosaics, 1966) by Victor Lazarev and *Ukrainskoe iskusstvo* (Ukrainian Art, 1963) by Gregory Logvin who prepared also a volume on art in Chernihiv and other northern Ukrainian cities (1966). There is no doubt that these works gave the green light to the six-volume history of Ukrainian art compiled by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Soviet Revolution in 1967.

Published under the direction of Nicholas Bazhan and featuring the articles of the most prominent Soviet Ukrainian art scholars (among them also previously repressed ones) this history

gives a valuable review of ancient Ukrainian art. It is nevertheless marred by numerous distortions, omissions, and naive political propaganda.

Very popular in the Ukrainian SSR are the album types of monographs composed of separate reproductions of works of noted artists together with social-realist creations of Soviet propaganda. Among these albums the following merit mention: an album of color reproductions, *Ukraïns'ke mystetstvo* (Ukrainian Art, with the exception of the Kievan period, eleventh to fourteenth centuries), an album of Ukrainian Soviet art; and albums dedicated to important Ukrainian art collections—the Kievan Museum of Art, the Art Gallery of Kharkiv, and the Lviv Museum of Ukrainian Art. A monograph on the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev by Nicholas Kresalnyi (1960) was published with the obvious purpose of counterbalancing a similar edition by Oleksa Povstenko published in New York in 1954. There is an almost complete lack of material on the Ukrainian icons published in Ukraine; in Moscow have been published several albums of Russian iconography, which included among others the mosaics of Kiev, although the mosaic art was unknown on Muscovian territory during the Princely period. Among rare and very recent (1966) exceptions are a study by Vira Svientsitska of the seventeenth-century painter Ivan Rutkovych, and a publication of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences on medieval frescoes in Crimea by Oleh Dombrovsky.

Already a sizable number of individual art monographs have been published in the Ukrainian SSR. In particular, much was written about Shevchenko on the occasion of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his birth (1964) and the hundredth anniversary of his death (1961). There are also publications on artists who formerly were regarded as "enemies of the people," for example, Platon Biletsky's book on the master of Ukrainian graphic art, George Narbut. Nothing positive has been written in the Ukrainian SSR about Ukrainian artists abroad; Alexander Archipenko was mentioned only after his death. There is only one art magazine—the official and very conservative bimonthly *Mystetstvo* (Art).

## ABROAD

Works on Ukrainian art outside the Ukrainian SSR are still relatively few because of the lack of direct contact with original material and sources. After the war, Ukraïns'ka Spilka Obrazotvorchykh Mysttsiv (Union of Ukrainian Artists) in Munich published several art books and in 1947 the almanac *Ukraïns'ke Mystetstvo* (Ukrainian Art). Among recent publications in the United States and Canada are: *The Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev* by O. Povstenko (1954), *Arkheolohiia Ukraïny* (Archaeology of Ukraine) by Yaroslav Pasternak (1961), *Istoriia ukraïns'koho mystetstva* (History of Ukrainian Art) by V. Sichynsky (1956), *Fifty Creative Years* by A. Archipenko (1960), *Alexis Gritchenko, sa vie, son oeuvre* (Paris, 1964), a monograph on Taras Shevchenko by Ivan Keivan, and shorter studies and monographs on Serhii Lytvynenko, Nicholas Butovych, Peter Mehyk, Myroslav Radysh, Jacques Hnizdovsky, and M. Osinchuk. The Philadelphia branch of the Ukrainian Artists Association in the United States publishes the journal *Notatky z mystetstva* (Ukrainian Art Digest) in which longer art studies are also printed, such as Damian Horniatkevych's article about the Ukrainian medieval frescoes in Poland.

A small encyclopedia, *Ukrainian Arts*, was published by the Ukrainian Youth League of North America in 1955. Of particular interest are the catalogues of Ukrainian art exhibitions which give a brief but broad review of Ukrainian art abroad.

*S. Hordynsky*

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# 2. ARCHITECTURE

## WOODEN ARCHITECTURE

### Early Periods

The earliest wooden constructions in Ukraine, known from archaeological excavations, have already been mentioned in the chapter about the Neolithic age [Vol. I, pp. 532–6]. Wooden structures of the periods closer to our time are known to us from the descriptions of Greek, Roman, and Arabic authors; however, their architectural forms can only be surmised. We have a far clearer picture of the architecture of the Princely period, although because of the instability of the material no buildings have been preserved. However, taking into consideration the oldest preserved wooden structures—churches and belfry towers reaching as far back as the beginning of the sixteenth century—a relatively close reconstruction can be made of the wooden architecture, the churches, fortresses, and palaces of that period. We know also that in the Princely period there were professional architects and city planners (*hradnyky* and *ohorodnyky*) who built cities and fortifications mostly of wood, as stone was not available everywhere. Even in Kiev in the sixteenth century a castle with fifteen towers was erected in wood. There were also *mostnyky*—the bridge and road builders—and a bridge over the Dnieper River was erected in 1115.

Very little is known about artistic features of these ancient constructions; they can be only deduced from the oldest preserved specimens of wooden architecture and old drawings. But it is certain that the architectural forms were very persistent and were subjected to

few changes during the centuries. Even at the beginning of our century folk builders in Ukraine erected wooden churches basically of the same form as four centuries ago, and by similar methods, often without a single nail.

Thus, it is not an exaggeration to assert that the preserved specimens of wooden architecture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are similar to the structures of the Princely period, and even to the pre-Christian ones. There is no doubt that at the time of the introduction of Christianity in the Kievan Realm at the end of the first millenium there already existed highly developed local forms of wooden architecture, otherwise it would be difficult to explain all the peculiar changes to which the Byzantine style was subjected on Ukrainian territory. The Tale of Bygone Years mentions that, after the Christianization of the Kievans, Prince Volodymyr gave orders "to hew out the churches and to install them on the sites where the idols stood." The event took place before the coming of the Greeks, who constructed the first stone church in Kiev, and indicates that indigenous building techniques in wood already existed in pre-Christian Ukraine.

**Church construction.** Wooden churches are known to have existed on the territory of Ukraine as early as the beginning of the tenth century. Nothing is known about their appearance beyond the fact that their roofs were pyramidal in form. Of course, the adoption of Christianity gave rise to large-scale construction of wooden churches in Ukraine. Thus, according to the chroniclers, in 1016 there were four hundred churches in Kiev alone (it is possible that many of them were small, single-frame wooden structures). It is known that in 1124 close to six hundred churches were destroyed in Kiev as a result of a fire.

History furnishes only fragmentary and scattered information on the character of the early Ukrainian wooden church architecture. The available sources attest to a highly developed building technique as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries, acquired, no doubt, in the construction of pre-Christian cult structures. Unfortunately, there is no information on the architectural features of these structures among eastern Slavs.

Thus as early as 988–9, at the time of the official introduction of Christianity, a huge oak wood church of St. Sophia with thirteen tops (cupolas) was built in Novgorod, then part of the Kievan Realm. In 1026, the architect (*hradnyk*) Myronih built the large SS. Borys and Hlib church in Vyshhorod. Made of wooden logs, this edifice had five tops and was "colored and embellished in all beauty." The construction of the church took only several months. In 1072, the masterbuilder Zhdan-Mykola also built there a wooden frame church with one top. Miniature drawings on manuscripts of this period as well as documents of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries indicate that churches with three and five tops were most popular at the time.

The basic features of the Ukrainian folk wood architecture, and particularly the elements of wooden church architecture which have survived until the present day, developed during the Princely period. Such peculiarities as did evolve in the course of subsequent centuries were rather regional in character, owing their appearance and development to differences in tribal traditions, climatic conditions, and available construction material as well as the changing political and economic conditions.

### The Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries

Ukrainian folk architecture of wooden churches acquired a number of characteristic features, such as the organic relationship between external appearance and internal construction (for example, absence of false exterior cupolas and the corresponding absence of the ceiling inside, whereby the space of the cupolas blends with that of the interior structure), subordination of individual parts to the general ensemble, composition of

shell with emphasis on the structure's silhouette, absence of an accentuated façade which would be the main attraction, and instead an architectural composition that can be viewed from any vantage point. These characteristics had a profound effect on the Ukrainian stone church construction from the eleventh and twelfth centuries on.

In addition, Ukrainian wooden churches and belfries (as a rule, the latter were built apart from the church but next to it) frequently show a concentral inclination of the walls, not necessarily caused by structural considerations, which creates an illusion of a much greater height, particularly when viewed from the inside. Among other features worthy of mention are the so-called *opasannia*–covered arcades or galleries supported by posts–and *piddashshia* –wide eaves supported by brackets or consoles around the church or the belfry. Closely related to them are arcades and wide porches attached to the façades of residential and public buildings.

There are three distinct geographical areas which have evolved certain local features of the Ukrainian folk architecture, particularly in the realm of church construction.

The first area embraces the mountainous regions and slopes of Western Ukraine, stretching from Transcarpathia to western Podilia and Bukovina. There the architectural style was characterized by a wealth and diversity of art forms and creative technical methods, while preserving many of the archaic features. The churches were 15–18 meters (50–60 feet) in height (to the top of the cross), which in comparison to the dimensions of the plan made them rather thickset in appearance. The horizontal lines were frequently accentuated by several tiers of recesses (*zalomy*) in the upper part of the structure and wide application of arcades, eaves, galleries, and porches.

The second area includes the marshlands and wooded parts of Volhynia and the northern Kiev region. There, the churches are also small in size. The art forms and building technique are rather limited and archaic.

The third area embraces the *Slobozhanshchyna* (Chernihiv, northern Poltava, and Kharkiv regions), southern Volhynia, eastern Podilia, southern Kiev, and Poltava regions, and the steppe to the south and southeast of these regions. Intensive building activity in these areas during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notably in the south and southeastern steppe regions, contributed markedly to the development of diverse architectural forms and building techniques. Characteristic of the churches were their relatively large dimensions – up to 30–36 meters (100–118 feet) in height – with a rather tall base frame, which often comprised half the total height, thus making the structures tall and steep in appearance. The tops, mostly octagonal, had several tiers of high recesses. Base frames were also frequently octagonal in plan, thus increasing the structure's capacity with the same length of wooden beams used.

**Basic types of churches.** The single-frame church is the simplest type with regard to plan and construction. Neither the single-frame church nor the two-frame church, representing the second stage in the development of the structural plan, has been preserved to our time. The type most popular in Ukraine was the three-frame church, with the central frame slightly larger than the two adjacent ones. The addition of two more frames transformed this plan into a cross-like five-frame structure which was also quite popular in Ukraine. The addition of two tower-like frames on the western (entrance) side resulted in a rare type of a seven-frame church. Four smaller frames, added to the cross-like frame around the central unit, produced a nine-frame structural plan.

Roof finishing plays an important part in the general appearance of Ukrainian wooden churches. In some cases, mostly in Bukovina, three-frame churches were

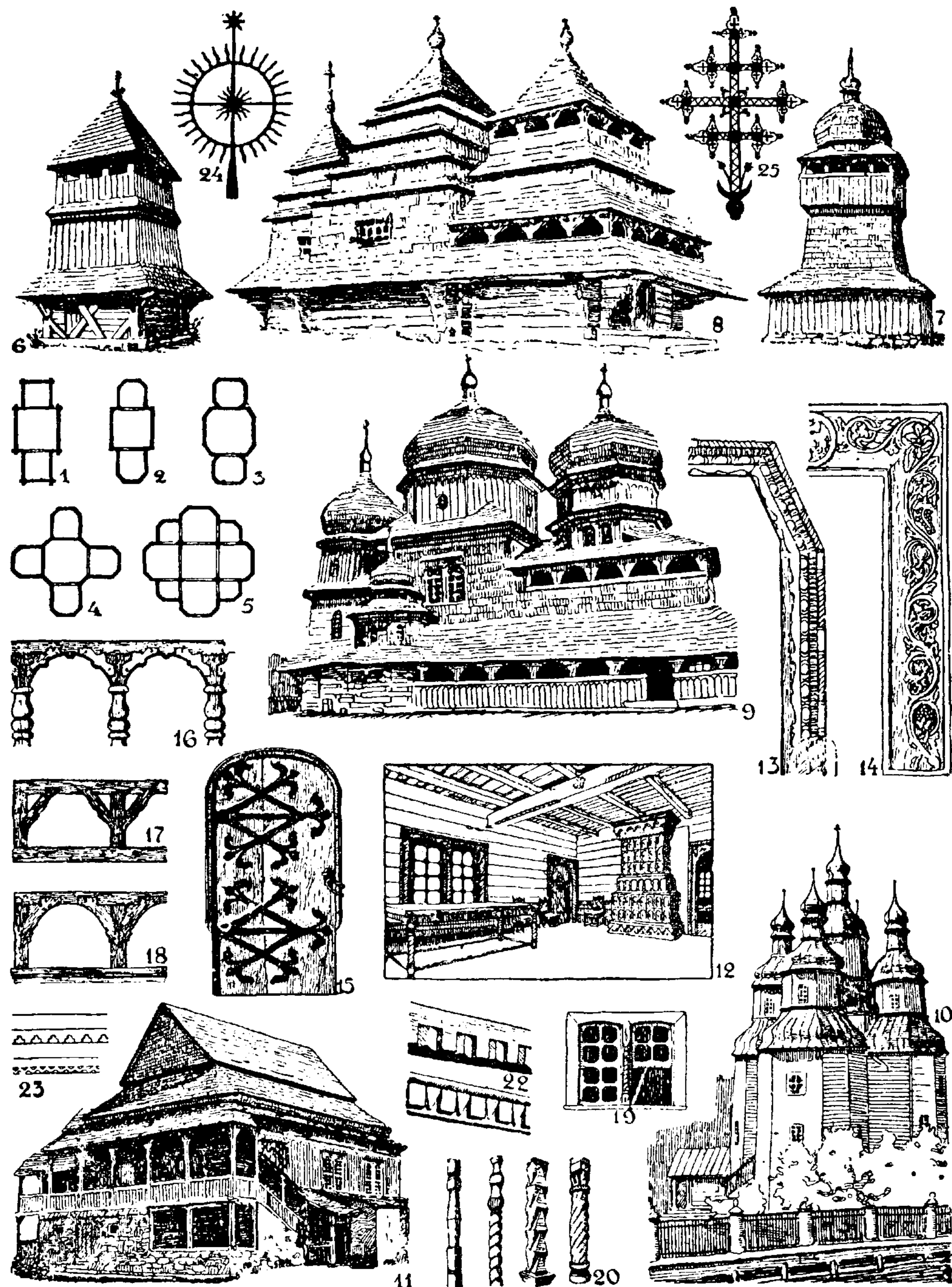


FIGURE 250. WOODEN ARCHITECTURE

(1–5) plans of wooden churches with three, five, and nine frames; (6) common type of belfry, Potylych, 1731; (7) belfry with a dome, Yavoriv, seventeenth century; (8) Boikian church, Turka, 1700; (9) Church of St. George, Drohobych, *ca.* 1600; (10) five-domed church, Romny, 1764; (11) synagogue in Yavoriv, eighteenth century; (12) interior of the Halahan house, Lebedyntsi, 1884; (13–14) carved door frames; (15) iron door hinges, Potylych, sixteenth century; (16) detail of a gallery; (17–18) gallery ballustrades; (19) twin windows, Halahan house; (20) carved columns; (21–23) carved beams; (24) "sunflower" usually placed on top of domes and belfries; (25) iron cross. (Drawings by V. Sichynsky.)

covered with solid (or divided) domeless roofs with crosses only (Assumption Church in Chernivtsi built in 1713). More frequently, one top was erected over the central frame, and the adjacent frames were covered with plain roofs (Annunciation Cathedral in Kovel, 1505; also, a church in Pidlisky Village, Drohobych region, 1655, and others). Most popular in Ukraine was the three-frame church with three tops, one to each frame (Krekhiv, 1658). Five-frame churches were often built with but one top over the central frame, the adjacent frames being covered with two- or three-sloped roofs (St. Nicholas Church in Lebedyn, Sumy region, built in the early eighteenth century). There were also churches with three tops placed side by side over the main axis of the structure (St. Nicholas Church in Vinnytsia, 1746), and churches with five tops (Assumption Church in Yaryshiv, Vinnytsia region, 1786). The five-top type was particularly popular in the central and eastern lands of Ukraine.

The best known specimen of a seven-frame structure was the church in Berezna, Chernihiv region, by the folk master-builder Panas Sheludko, erected in 1761. Two tower-like frames, erected at the main entrance and connected by a wooden arch, spanned the full height of the central frame. They corresponded to the flanking towers of the western façade of the eleventh-century stone churches in Kiev and Chernihiv. The church had seven tops. One of the tallest churches in Ukraine (approximately 38 meters or 125 feet in height) it was built of pine beams, the thickness of the walls not exceeding 16 centimeters (6¼ inches). Another seven-frame church was built in the village of Novi Mlyny near Chernihiv. Both these churches were destroyed by the Soviets.

Nine-frame churches have five tops spanning the principal frames (church in Romen, Poltava region, 1764, later moved to Poltava; also St. Nicholas Cathedral of the Medvediv Monastery near Chyhyryn, Kiev region, 1785). Holy Trinity Church in Novomoskovske (for-

FIGURE 251. SEVEN-DOMED CHURCH OF THE ASCENSION IN BEREZNA, 1761

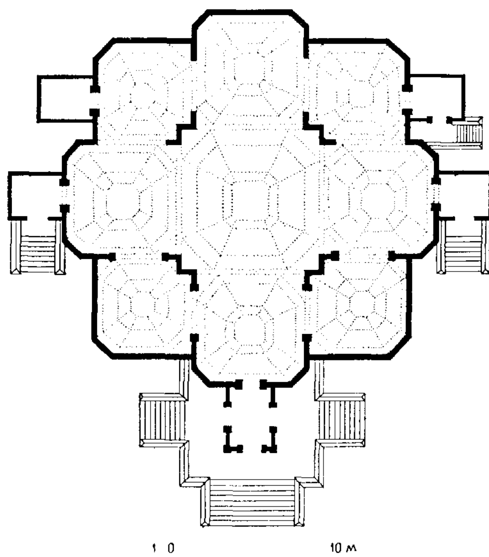


FIGURE 252. GROUND PLAN OF THE HOLY TRINITY CHURCH IN NOVOSELYTSIA (NOVOMOSKOVSKE), 1733–81 (Plate I, 7)

mer Novoselytsia, Dnipropetrovske region), built in 1773, has nine tops. It is technically one of the most complex structures: approximately 37 meters (103 feet) in height, the church is built as one solid framework without any kind of iron fastenings. It was designed and erected by the folk master-builder Yakym Pohrebniak, who also built several other churches in the Kharkiv region.

The construction of tops (cupolas) of the Ukrainian wooden churches was extremely diverse and frequently of great excellence in technical execution. The simplest and, presumably, the oldest method of erecting cupolas consisted of superimposing a relatively short rectangular truncated pyramid over the rectangular frame topping the main structure. A subsequent step in the development of this basic type was the addition of the so-called *zalom* (recess) formed by the combination of another smaller frame with a second truncated pyramid placed over it. A cupola can contain several such tiers of recesses, for example, churches of the Boikian type with as many as five tiers (Matkiv Village) and occasionally even six Mokhnate Village). One of the finest examples of this type is the pagoda-like church of Kryvka Village, 1763, transferred to Lviv in 1930.

The rectangular truncated pyramid is frequently joined to the smaller octagonal frame at the first (or second) recess from the bottom. All subsequent recesses are octagonal in form. Developed by Ukrainian folk architects long before the outset of the sixteenth century, this structural technique continues to enrich the builder's scope of artistic expression and gives the structure a richly picturesque effect. Usually, only octagonal recesses were placed over octagonal base frames. A round or faceted decorative head, shaped like a helmet or a pear, was frequently placed atop the upper pyramid.

The so-called Lemkian churches on both sides of the Carpathians constitute a separate group. The influence of the architecture of the neighboring peoples is apparent. The belfry was built as a composite part of the church. Shaped like a high tower, the belfry was placed over the western frame (opposite the altar), although structurally it was not a part of that frame. In contrast to the restrained symmetrical composition of Ukrainian churches, the Lemkian churches create a dynamic impression reminiscent of the Gothic style of architecture.

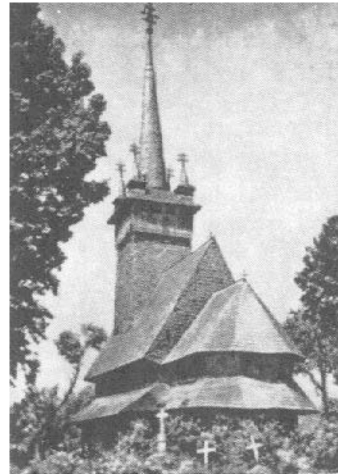

FIGURE 253. CHURCH IN STEBLIVKA, TRANSCARPATHIA, 1784

These churches always consisted of three frames. The vaulting was either concealed in the roof (church in Steblivka, 1784) or else consisted of two tops with several recesses, in addition to the belfry. Quite often, the churches of this type have a decorative Baroque-style head topped with a cross (church in Mukachiv, 1777).

**Belfries.** The architecture of many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century wooden belfries reflects their essentially military value as defensive and observation towers. Certain structural characteristics of the early defensive works, such as machicolations and loop-holes, were retained in the form of decorative features long after they had outlived their prac-

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PLATE I. WOODEN CHURCHES

(1) Annunciation Church in Kovel, Volhynia (1505). (2) Three-frame Assumption Church in Chortkiv, Galicia, seventeenth century. (3) Ascension Church in Chortkiv, eighteenth century. (4) Elevation of Holy Cross Church in Drohobych, Galicia, first half of the seventeenth century. (5) Five-frame Hutsul-type church in Vorokhta, eighteenth century. (6) Boikian-type church from Kryvka (1763), transferred to Lviv. (7) Nine-domed Holy Trinity Church in Novoselytsia (now Novo-Moskovske), built by Yakym Pohrebniak (1773–81).

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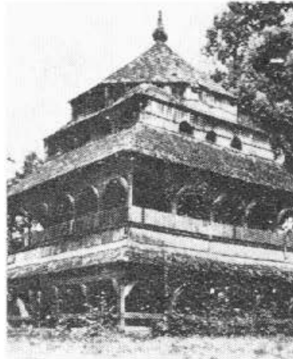
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PLATE II. WOODEN BELFRIES

(1) Lulyntsi, Kiev district, end of the seventeenth century. (2) Vodotyia, Kiev district, eighteenth century. (3) Pechenizhyn, Galicia, eighteenth century. (4) Topilnytsia, Galicia, seventeenth century. (5) Yasenytsia, Galicia, eighteenth century. (6) Bystrets, Hutsul region. (7) Dobrotiv, Galicia, eighteenth century. (8) Stari Mamaïvtsi, Bukovina, eighteenth century. (9) Drohobych, Galicia, belfry of St. George Church, beginning of the seventeenth century.

tical application. The belfries were normally carcass-like structures, often placed over a frame, particularly if the ground story was designed to serve as a storeroom for supplies. Galleries and decorative machicolations were erected

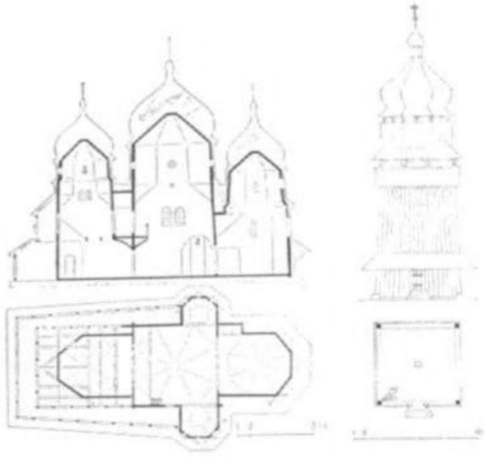

FIGURE 254. CROSS-SECTION AND GROUND PLAN OF THE ST. GEORGE CHURCH AND BELFRY IN DROHOBYCH, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

on the framework of the structure, as in the belfry of St. George Church in Drohobych, built *ca.* 1600. The lower parts of the structure contained loopholes for firearms (Krekhiv Monastery and others). In some cases the belfry had a gateway flanked by small loopholes (Potylych, built in 1593). As a rule, the framework of the structure was covered with wooden slabs and shingles. In the eighteenth century, solid-framed belfries with uncovered framework were being erected in Volhynia and in the Kiev region.

Other architectural features of the belfries, as well as their dimensions, corresponded in general to those of the churches they belonged to. Arcades, eaves, rectangular and octagonal pyramidal roofs or faceted tops were widely used. The tops in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were sometimes built in Baroque style, as in Yavoriv.

Wooden belfries were often erected near stone churches; for example, St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev had a belfry built in the first half of the seventeenth century, and it is known that Assumption Church in the Cave Monastery in the twelfth century also had such a belfry.

The churches and the belfries were usually built of hewed wooden beams placed horizontally. This was a characteristic feature of the Ukrainian architecture. As construction material, oak, beech, cedar, fir, and pine were used. The exterior of the walls was either left uncovered or covered with shingles, or, as in Volhynia, Podilia, and areas further to the east, with vertical wooden slabs. The tops were usually covered with shingles, sometimes with wooden slabs, and in the east (nineteenth century) with sheet iron. The columns and the consoles of the arcades, the entrance doors, the edges of the rafters, and interior structural details such as beams, girders, and catches, were often embellished with decorative carving. The iconostasis, an indispensable part of the churches of the Eastern rite, was also profusely ornamented with carvings.

**Other building.** The art of wooden architecture was not limited to the churches. Synagogues also were built according to the same architectural methods, although they had their own forms, common to the Jewish religious structures in Ukraine, Poland, Belorussia, and Lithuania. However, the builders were always Gentiles: Jewish art historians were unable to find a single Jewish builder, although there were Jewish painters. Thus, numerous synagogues in Ukraine possessed all the features of Ukrainian wooden architecture, but they were closer to the civil than to church structures. They were embellished with open entrance-halls, porches, sculptured columns, and so on, and were usually decorated inside with painted ornaments and symbols. One of the oldest such structures was in Zabludiv, dating from the sixteenth century. Others worthy of mention were in Yabloniv, 1659, Pechenizhyn, Hvozdets, Roz-

dil, Zhydachiv, Felshtyn, Khodoriv, Kaminka Strumilova—all in Galicia; in Yaryshiv, Ostropil, Mykhalkiv, Lantskorun—all in Podilia; and in Volhynia —in Lutsk.

After the two world wars that raged in Ukraine not many of the wooden buildings are preserved. Up to 1914 there were entire towns built of wood, such as Potylych in Galicia. Wooden small-town inns were frequent in Galicia, Podilia, and Volhynia, and some of them still exist. Here local folk traditions were often influenced by the stone architecture, Renaissance and Baroque, but these influences usually affected the general plans of the buildings, the structural and decorative features remaining unchanged. These features were taken over by the modern professional architects and already at the beginning of our century Ivan Levynsky, Basil Nahirnyi, Alexander Lushpynsky, Serhii Tymoshenko, and others started to adapt the methods of traditional folk building to new requirements. They built churches, schools, sanatoriums, villas, railroad stations, and so on in this style, often combining wood with masonry. This architectural movement was noticeable especially in the Carpathian region, which was rich in wood and in locally skilled builders. Today this modernized folk architecture is widely employed, and it blends well with the Ukrainian landscape and with older preserved structures. Because of its closer affinity to Ukrainian tradition, this modern wooden architecture has a more distinctly national character than the more cosmopolitan stone-iron-glass buildings of our time.

*V. Pavlovsky*

## STONE ARCHITECTURE

### The Princely Era

The people of *Rus'*-Ukraine were familiar with stone building, and particularly with Greco-Roman architectural forms, long before the introduction of Christianity. Many Greek colonies were situated on the northern shores of the Black Sea, like Olbia (not far from modern Odessa), or Khersonesus and other cities in the Crimea. Cultural centers with rich Hellenic tradition, they were intermediaries between *Rus'*-Ukraine and the Hellenic world. Stone was their natural building material both for housing and for civic buildings and temples. Crimea fell into the orbit of Christianity very early, and by the tenth century all basic types of Byzantine churches were represented there: the Greek-cross form, basilica, rotunda with apses, and single-nave chapel. A local variety of a cross-shaped plan, with a central dome and additions resembling a three-nave basilica, developed there in the eighth and ninth centuries; an example is the still existing tenth-century church of St. John the Baptist in Kerch.

Thus, as a result of lively and diverse relations with the cities of the northern Black Sea and the Sea of Azov area and also with the Bulgarian kingdom on the Danube, the people of *Rus'*-Ukraine became acquainted quite early with Roman and Byzantine building techniques. The most typical technique employed in Crimea was *opus mixtum*, alternating layers of squared stones and bricks, held together by a mixture of mortar and powdered bricks. The latter addition gave a rosy color to the whole of the masonry. This type of construction also became the typical building technique of the Kievan *Rus'*, as Greek builders were invited to work in the Kievan Realm with the introduction of Christianity there.

The earliest allusion to stone building found in the Chronicle dates back to the year 945 A.D. It refers to a stone princely palace in Kiev which was probably erected at an earlier date than that of the recording.

Three palace buildings whose groundwork has been found in Kiev, in the so-called Volodymyr's *Horod* (city), date back to the second half of the tenth century. The rubble of which the foun-

dations were made rested on a thick layer of mortar, mixed with powdered bricks, inside of which was a framework of several wooden beams; between the beams a great number of small wooden stakes were driven deep into the subsoil. This unique method was also used in the construction of the Church of the Tithes (Desiatynna), as well as in the construction of other churches in Kiev at the end of the tenth and during the eleventh centuries.

Another known civil stone structure of the time was the so-called Gate of Batyi, a tower with a gate in the ramparts surrounding Volodymyr's City in Kiev. Approximately fifty years younger than Batyi's Gate is the Golden Gate, a defensive tower with a "triumphal entrance" and a church above it, built in the Kiev ramparts during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise in 1037. The remains of the Golden Gate, which was constructed of *opus mixtum* with recessed plinth, have been preserved to the present day.

With the official acceptance of Christianity in 988, the Kievan *Rus'* erupted with artistic activity, and new stone architecture, more durable than wood, came into full bloom.

According to medieval beliefs, especially in Byzantium, God was the Ruler of Heaven, and the ruling King or the Great Prince was His representative on the earth. Rulers built sumptuous cathedrals and churches as visual images of the heavenly and the earthly authority.

After the introduction of Christianity into the Kievan *Rus'*, Prince Volodymyr the Great followed this practice. He engaged craftsmen from Greece, probably from Byzantium, for the construction of the Church of the Tithes, which was the first stone church built in Kiev (989–96). Not only Greek, but also local builders and craftsmen participated in this undertaking. The structure of the church had a number of features not at all characteristic of Byzantine architecture, for example, numerous secondary cupolas, cluster type columns, and recessed plinth in the walls. These features are apparent in other churches of the eleventh-century Kievan *Rus'*, and, as such, they can be said to have reflected the already developed local building tastes and traditions.

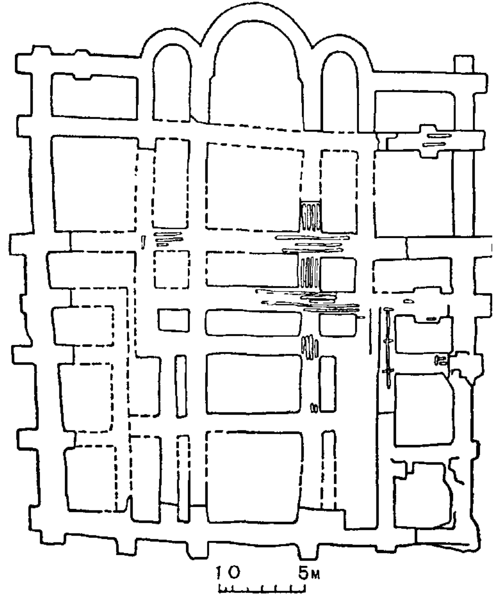


FIGURE 255. GROUND PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF THE TITHES (DESIATYNNA) IN KIEV, 989–96

The Church of the Tithes was originally a six-column structure (85 × 52.5 feet, 26 × 16 meters) with three naves and three apses, a central cupola, and a number of smaller cupolas. Later additions of side galleries and an extension on the western side have made its plan so complex that its original form has not been definitely ascertained. The walls of this church, as well as of later churches of the same period, consisted of flat brick on thick layers of mortar with inlaid clay vessels which served as sound amplifiers. On the outside, the walls were covered, in part, by rosy mortar painted in red and yellow. The window openings were covered with frames of square pieces of glass, each one prepared separately. Some parts of the roof were tiled.

The interior of the Church of the Tithes was richly decorated. The altar floor was of colored marble and colored glass plates. The rest of the floor was made of painted and glazed ceramics. The walls and the columns had carved marble panels and cornices of marble and schist. The walls were also decorated with frescoes and mosaics and the columns had carved marble capitals. The architecture of the Desiatynna Church, which was destroyed by the Tatars in 1240, was emulated by other churches built in the eleventh century in Kiev, Vyshhorod, Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, and other cities. The model which was most popular in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries was based on the cross-domed plan, with three naves, three apses, and six columns, four of which supported the central dome.

A worthy successor of the Church of the Tithes, the St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev, which was started in 1037 and completed by the end of the 1040's, is characterized by a far more developed and complex plan. The most important church in Ukraine measuring 119 × 180 feet (36.3 × 54.9 meters), St. Sophia is a five-nave, five-apse, twelve-column structure, with one large central cupola and twelve smaller ones; two towers, with winding stairs leading up to the choir gallery and open arcades on three sides, were added later. The arcades, generally used in wood architecture in Ukraine, were also frequently added to medieval stone churches. In the interior, the decor of the St. Sophia Cathedral is quite similar to that of the Desiatynna Church. As usual, the external contours of the church structure corresponded to its inner spaces and the exterior arrangement of the wall panels was, in most cases, determined by the logic of the construction. Although, during its more than eleven centuries of existence, the Cathedral of St. Sophia was often rebuilt and its present exterior appearance is Baroque, it has well-preserved ancient features, including its world-famous mosaic and fresco decorations of the interior. This church, built by the Great Prince Yaroslav the Wise, remains a palladium of the Ukrainian people. Transformed into a museum, it escaped anticipated destruction by the Soviet regime in 1934 and in 1941.

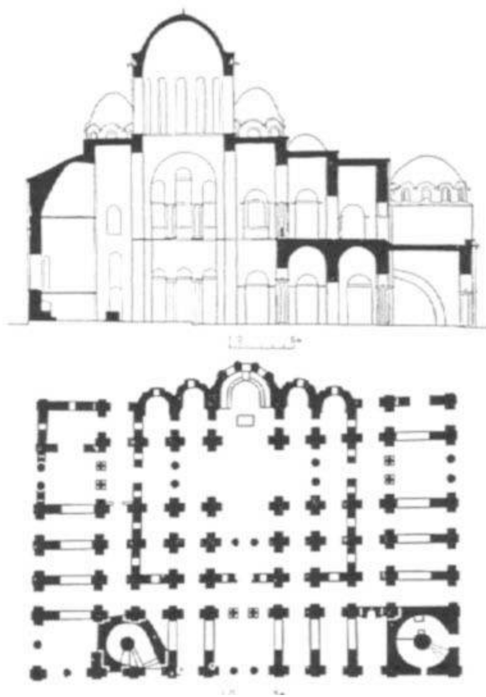

FIGURE 256. CROSS-SECTION AND GROUND PLAN OF THE ST. SOPHIA CATHEDRAL IN KIEV, 1037, DESIGN BY M. KRESALNYI, V. VOLKOV, AND G. ASEEV (Plate III, 1)

Other eleventh-century churches of Kiev built in a style similar to that of the Church of the Tithes were the Church of St. Irene and the Church of St. Demetrius Monastery (neither preserved), the Church of the Assumption in the Kievan Cave Monastery, 1073–8 (destroyed by a Soviet time-mine in 1941), the preserved Church of Our Savior in Berestiv, 1113–25, and the remains of a church whose groundwork was unearthed on the premises of the Art Institute. The following important churches were built in the twelfth century: the no longer existing Church of Our Lady of Piro-

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PLATE III. ARCHITECTURE OF THE PRINCELY PERIOD

(1) St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev, eleventh century (present view). (2) Savior's Cathedral in Chernihiv, eleventh century. (3) St. Michael's Golden-Domed Church, Kiev, early twelfth century (destroyed by the Soviets).

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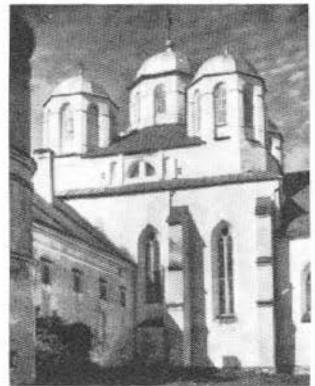
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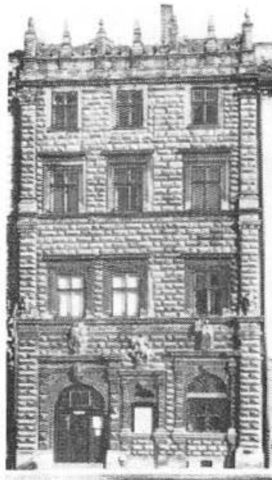
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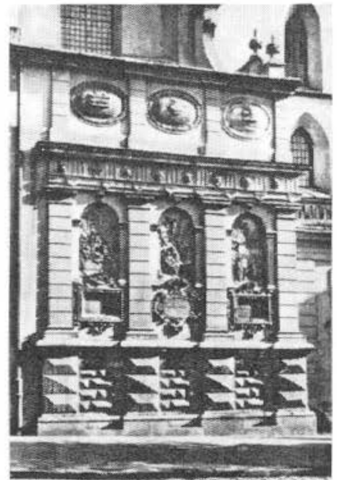
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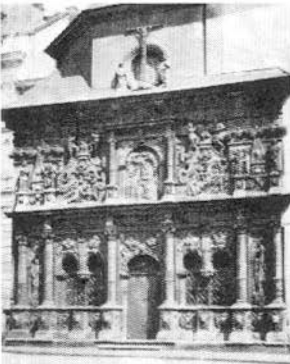
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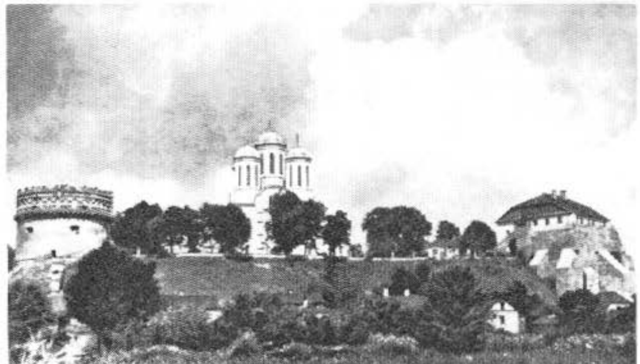
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PLATE IV. GOTHIC AND RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURE

(1) Castle in Khotyn on the Dniester, thirteenth century (rebuilt in fifteenth–sixteenth century). (2) Fortress Church in Sutkivtsi (1467). (3) Holy Trinity Church in Mezhyrich, fifteenth–seventeenth century. (4) Church of the Assumption in Lviv, by P. Romano, P. Barbon, and A. Prykhylnyi (1598–1631); belfry 1573–78. (5) The Black House in Lviv, sixteenth century. (6) Campian Chapel in Lviv, by P. Romano, end of the sixteenth century. (7) Boim Chapel in Lviv (1609–11). (8) Castle and Church of the Epiphany in Ostrih, Volhynia, fourteenth–sixteenth century.

hoshcha (the Defender of Walls), St. Cyril's Church in Kiev, and the Church of the Assumption in Kaniv, 1144, both quite well preserved. Here belong also important churches in Chernihiv: the

FIGURE 257. CATHEDRAL OF THE ASSUMPTION OF THE YELETSKY MONASTERY IN CHERNIHIV, MID-TWELFTH CENTURY

SS. Borys and Hlib Cathedral, the Cathedral of Annunciation, 1186 (ruined), and the Assumption Cathedral of the Yeletsky Monastery. The Apostles' Church in Bilhorod and the church of an unknown saint in Pereiaslav were not preserved. The Cathedral of the Assumption in Volodymyr Volynsky, 1160, although it still exists today, is heavily restored.

The addition of a narthex (vestibule) to the plan of the Church of the Tithes resulted in a three-nave, three-apse, and six- or eight-column church. Churches built according to this plan were the Cathedral of the Savior in Chernihiv in 1036, the Church of St. Michael the Archangel of the Vydubychi Monastery in Kiev (1070–88), and the grandiose SS. Borys and Hlib Cathedral in Vyshhorod (late eleventh century), known only from chronicles and excavations. The magnificent golden-roofed St. Michael's Cathedral in Kiev, built in 1108, belonged to this group. It was torn down by the Soviet regime during the anti-religious campaign in Ukraine.

In the eleventh century some five-nave churches were built, with three apses and six columns. To this group belonged the church of an unknown saint, the foundation of which was discovered in the courtyard of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev, St. George's Church in Kiev, and St. Michael's Cathedral in Pereiaslav (1089).

Churches erected in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, after the break-up of the Kievan Realm into smaller principalities, were smaller in size and their architectural ornamentation consisted mainly of frescoes, carved stone, and majolica plates. Construction of churches became simpler in style. A number of them were built with single naves (e.g., some churches in Pereislav and the Church of Elias the Prophet in Cherni-

FIGURE 258. THE HOLY FRIDAY (*Piatnyts'ka*) CHURCH IN CHERNIHIV, LATE TWELFTH CENTURY

hiv). Among three-nave, three-apse churches, with four columns were the Holy Trinity Church of the Cave Monastery and the Church of St. Basil (Three Saints) in Kiev, the small church of the Monastery in Zarub, the Holy Friday Church in Chernihiv, and the Church of St. Basil in Ovruch. In the western lands of Ukraine, round churches were occasionally built in this period: for example, a church-rotunda in the village of Poberezhzhia near Halych; in the village of Horiany near Uzhhorod, with apses embedded in the thickness of the walls; in Volodymyr Volynsky, and elsewhere.

At this time, individual schools of architecture developed in the largest political centers of Ukraine: the lands of Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, Kiev, Volhynia, and Galicia. Influences of the Romanesque style began to appear in the western parts of Ukraine, for example, in the manner of handling façades, portals, and capitals of columns and in the use of stained glass and painted sculptures in stone (for example, in Kholm). A fine example of Byzantino-Romanesque style is the relatively well-preserved Church of St. Panteleimon in Halych from the second part of the twelfth century. Romanesque influences were also apparent in some churches of Chernihiv, along with eastern influences brought in from the Caucasus.

House building in Ukraine in the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries was of wood, even as regards princely palaces, although exceptions could be found. For example, the chronicles mention a grand palace of white stone in Halych, built during the first half of the twelfth century, the groundwork of which has yet to be investigated.

The high level of development of stone church buildings in Ukraine during the Princely period had a considerable influence on the architecture of the neighboring countries: Belorussia, Poland, and the lands of Novgorod and Vladimir-Suzdal. Among architects of the Princely period, the chronicles mention the names of Mylonih, who built in Kiev and presumably in Chernihiv, Ovruch, Bilhorod, and other cities (about the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries), the builder and sculptor Avdii of Kholm (thirteenth century), and Oleshko in Volhynia (thirteenth century).

**Transitional Period (End of the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries)**

After the invasion of the Tatars, who in 1238–41 seized most of the Ruthenian territory, political and cultural life was preserved only in the west, that is, in the Galician-Volhynian state. The ruling princes began erecting defensive stone castles with high walls and towers, as, for example, in Kholm (in 1231), Volodymyr Volynsky, Kremianets, and a number of other locations. Many castles of that period were eventually destroyed; others remain with later reconstructions, for example, the castles in Lutsk, the huge Akkerman (Bilhorod Dnistrovsky) castle at the mouth of the Dniester, in Khotyn on the Dniester River, and in Khust in Transcarpathia. Also built at this time were separate defensive towers of wood on high stone foundations; later, massive stone towers, like those in Horodno and Berestia (Brest-Litovsk), were constructed. Fully or partially, the following towers have been preserved until the present time: two rectangular towers in Bilavyne and Stolpie, and another rebuilt into a church, all near Kholm; a round tower, the Bila Vezha, built 1271–89, 95 feet (29 meters) in height, in Kamianets Lytovsky.

In the construction of these towers, square bricks rather than plinth were already being used. The structures had no architectural decoration, with the exception of the *porebryk*, traditionally used in the Kievan *Rus'*: a decorative laying of bricks placed on edge.

Defensive castles and fortresses constituted the largest stone structures of the Lithuanian-Polish period (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries); Ruthenian, Lith-

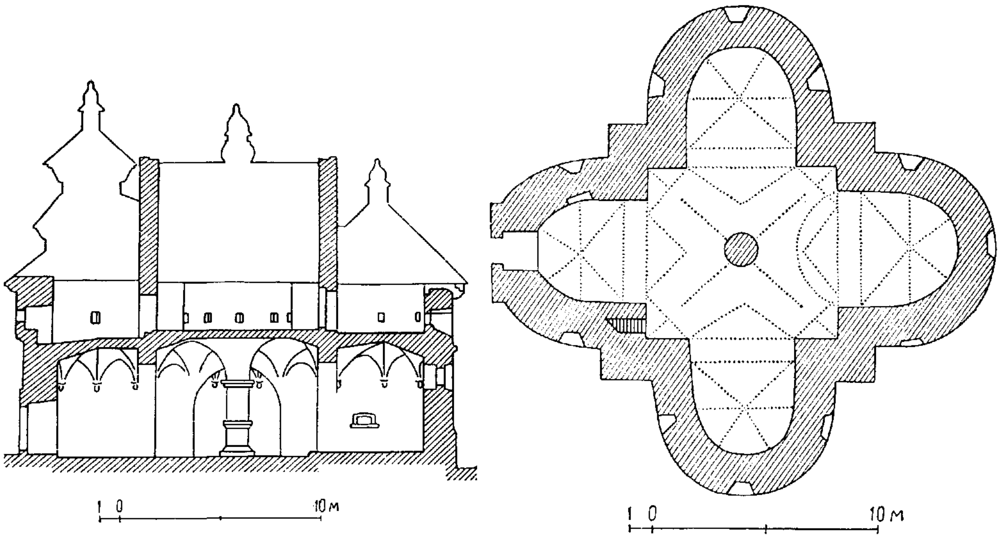


FIGURE 259. CROSS-SECTION AND FIRST FLOOR PLAN OF THE FORTRESS-CHURCH IN SUTKIVTSI, LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

uanian, and Polish princes either erected new defensive castles or rebuilt the ones existing throughout their domains. The architecture of such structures in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was frequently marked by Gothic influences, although the building technique was essentially a continuation of the traditions of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. Among the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century castles in various states of preservation are those built in Buchach, Klevan, Lutsk, Mezhybizh, Mukachiv, and Terebovlia. The castles of Dubno, Ostrih, Kamianets Podilsky, Sataniv, Sutkivtsi, and Zinkiv belong to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

In these times, churches were frequently adapted to defensive purposes or built in such a manner as to provide shelter and to be able to stand a siege. The best-known examples are the Church of St. Mary the Protectress in Sutkivtsi (1476), the Church of the Annunciation in Zymne (1495), and churches in Rohatyn and Ostrih. They had thick walls, loop-holes, machicolate parapets, towers, and other similar defensive devices.

In church architecture, the Roman Catholic churches of that time simply imitated Gothic styles, as, for example, the cathedrals in Lviv (1360) and in Peremyshl (1460), and churches in Drohobych (fourteenth century), Vyzhniany (1400), Nyzhankovychi (fifteenth century), and a number of others built later. Orthodox churches frequently retained plans and dimensions established during the Princely period (same height of naves in three-nave churches, cupolas, and the like), but often in combination with elements of the Gothic style (pointed portals and arches, star-shaped vaulting, counterbalancing buttresses, upward extended windows). Examples are the Armenian cathedral in Lviv (1363), the Church of the Nativity of Christ in Halych (late fourteenth century), and the Church of the Holy Trinity in Mezhyrichia (middle of the fifteenth century).

Old engravings of the cities of Western Ukraine (Lviv, Peremyshl) indicate that, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, their general appearance was Gothic in character, with tall façades and spires. However, the Gothic style, whose influences came mostly from Silesia and Czechia, did not have time to penetrate

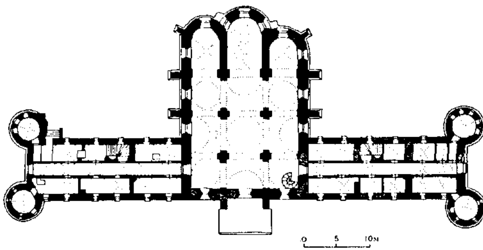


FIGURE 260. GENERAL PLAN OF THE HOLY TRINITY MONASTERY IN MEZHYRICHIA, FIFTEENTH CENTURY (Plate IV, 3)

deep into eastern Ukraine, for by the time building began to revive in these areas, the Renaissance had already replaced the Gothic period. To this transitional period belong the early sixteenth-century synagogues in Lviv and in Sataniv, near the Zbruch River.

New Byzantine influences from neighboring Moldavia in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries stimulated the building of churches with three conchae, as, for example, the churches in Kamianets Podilsky, Khotyn, Zinkiv, Putnia, Seret, as well as the St. Onuphrius Church in Lavriv and the Holy Trinity Church in Derman. The side conchae in the Ukrainian churches, unlike those in Moldavian churches, were smaller than the central concha and, like the narthex, were not separated from the core of the structure.

At the same time, an original type of stone church developed, usually erected by local builders engaged by parishioners or church brotherhoods. In its plan, this type of church was an elaboration of the single-nave, columnless edifice of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with traces of influence of traditional Ukrainian wooden church architecture. It was a structure usually divided in both plan and space into three, sometimes two, parts with vaulting. In the oldest churches of this type—St. Demetrius Church (fourteenth century) and the Church of St. Mary Protectress (fifteenth century), both in Lutsk, and a church in Luzhany near Chernivtsi (fifteenth century)—the division into three parts was only hinted at. Soon, the central part—the nave—became wider than the other two, while the narthex was found to be frequently superseded by a defensive tower. Among churches of this type were the Church of the Holy Trinity in Zinkiv (Podilia region, 1521), the Church of the Ascension in Vyshnivets (1530), and, in its original appearance, the Church of the Assumption in Mezhybizh (early sixteenth century). In most cases, they were built without cupolas, which did not come into use on a large scale in this type of church until the middle of the sixteenth century, when each of the three parts of the edifice was topped with a cupola. As a result, in silhouette form, these churches began to resemble the Ukrainian wooden churches.

**The Renaissance style** was introduced in Ukraine quite early by Italian and Swiss architects employed by magnates, rich burghers, and church brotherhoods. These visiting architects tried to reconcile the architectural forms of the Renaissance with the strongly entrenched Ukrainian traditions of building, an effort which was even more apparent in the creative work of the Ukrainian builders of the time. It was revealed in the construction of covered galleries and arcades around the buildings, in the working of door and window sills and supports, in the composition of volumes, in the positioning of spherical church domes on drums, and so forth.

In the sixteenth century, Lviv was the center of cultural and economic life in Ukraine. Vast Renaissance construction was started here soon after the fire which destroyed the Gothic city in 1527. The most interesting examples which have been preserved to date are the house of Hepner (1570), the "Black building" (1577) built by the Ukrainianized Swiss-Italian Peter Krasovsky, and the house of Korniakt (1580) built by an Italian, Peter Barbon. A new Church of the Assumption was constructed on the site of the old one ruined by fire. This church is a complex of structures which include the church proper (known also as *Vo-*

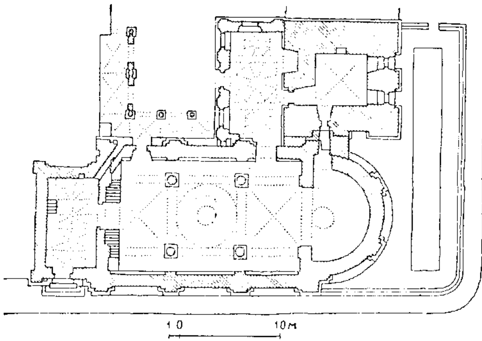


FIGURE 261. GENERAL PLAN OF THE ASSUMPTION CHURCH IN LVIV, 1578–1631 (Plate IV, 4)

*los'ka* Church), erected from 1598 to 1631 after the design of Paul Rymlianyn (Romano); the belfry ("The Tower of Korniakt"), one of the finest in Eastern Europe, the creation of Peter Barbon and built between 1573 and 1578; and the Chapel of Three Saints, built by P. Krasovsky in 1578. The church and the chapel conform to the established Ukrainian type of three-domed church. Built in Lviv in the early seventeenth century also were the burial chapel of the Boim family, probably built by the German architect Scholtz in 1617, and the burial chapel of the Kampian family, completed ca. 1619, by P. Rymlianyn, both in the complex of the Roman Catholic cathedral; as well as the Church of the Roman Catholic Order of St. Bernard (1600–30) by P. Rymlianyn and the local architect Ambrose Prykhylnyi.

A number of castles were built or rebuilt in the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth centuries under the influence of the Renaissance: in Lviv, Peremyshl, Stare Selo, Pidhirtsi, Korets, Ostrih, Olyka, Starokonstantyniv, Zaslav, Berezhany, and other cities of Galicia, Volhynia, and Podilia. This style left its imprint on the building of monasteries (for example, in Univ and Volodymyr Volynsky), of synagogues (in Husiatyn and Lutsk), and of many other public and private buildings.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, stone construction was revived, after a long interval, in the Dnieper region and areas east of it, especially in Kiev, Pereiaslav, and Chernihiv. It was limited, at first, to reconstruction of church ruins from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. This construction contained some traces of the late Renaissance influence, although adjustments had to be made to the local architectural tastes. In adapting traditional forms of wooden church construction to stone structures, Ukrainian architects began replacing the semi-spherical domes of Byzantine origin with tower-like "tops" or pinnacles, formed by superimposing truncated pyramids and many-sided prisms over the cut-outs in the vaulting. As in wooden churches, the space of these pinnacles continued into the space of the basic structure.

FIGURE 262. CASTLE IN STARE SELO NEAR LVIV, SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Many churches of this type were finished in the Baroque style toward the end of the seventeenth century.

*V. Pavlovsky*

**The Baroque Period**

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can be said to represent the golden age in the development of Ukrainian art. Not since the Princely period had Ukrainian art experienced such flowering and growth. It was at this time of national struggle that the original style of Ukrainian or Kozak Baroque developed. The center of art life again shifted to the

Dnieper area. The Kozak leaders, particularly Hetman Ivan Mazepa, donated large sums for cultural and educational purposes. In spite of intensification of Western European art influences, original forms developed on the basis of the established traditions of Ukrainian art.

The early beginnings of Baroque can be traced to the first half of the seventeenth century in the buildings of Lviv (the Holy Friday Church) and of the Kiev region (Church of St. Elijah in Subotiv by Hetman Khmelnytsky in 1653, and others), which show singular transitional characteristics. But the real flourishing of Ukrainian Baroque does not begin until the second half of the seventeenth century. Among structures with a predominance of Western influences (as a result of combination of the former Ukrainian three-nave church with the Western European basilica) were: the Holy Trinity Church in Chernihiv (1679), the church in Berezhany, the cathedral of the Mharsky Monastery near Lubni (1684), and two superb edifices built by Hetman Mazepa in Kiev, the St. Nicholas Cathedral (1696), in the Pecherske section of the city, and the Bohoiavlenska Church (1695) in the Podil section. The last two churches were destroyed by the Soviet regime. A number of old reconstructed edifices were of the same type: in Kiev, the St. Sophia Cathedral (1691–1705), the main Church of the Assumption in the Cave Monastery (1695 and 1722), St. Michael's Monastery, and St. Michael's Church of the Vydubetsky Monastery. These structures are characterized by a unique form of domes with pinnacles in addition to fanciful pediments and lavish details.

Another type of structure was based on more original models of the Ukrainian wooden churches with a central plan. These were three-domed and five-domed edifices. Some of the best-known examples of tripartite and three-domed structures are the Cathedral of St. Mary Protectress in Kharkiv (1689), two churches of the Kievan Cave Monastery, the cathedral in Romny, and smaller edifices in Sumy, Bohodukhiv, and Slovianske. The five-domed structures of cross-like plan represent the highest achievement in terms of artistic expression and purity of form: the Church of the Savior in the Berestiv section of Kiev, reconstructed (1638–43) by Metropolitan Peter Mohyla; the church founded by Adam Kysil in Nyskynychi, Volhynia (1653); and a church in Liutenka, in the Poltava region. Other beautiful examples of Ukrainian Baroque are the Church of All Saints (1696), the Church of the Resurrection, and the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, all in the Kievan Cave Monastery, and the Church of St. George in the Vydubetsky Monastery, Kiev; there were examples also in Chernihiv, Pryluky, Poltava, Sorochyntsi, Baturyn, and Izium. Nine-part structures with five domes represented a subsequent development in architecture: the Holy Trinity Church of the Hustyn Monastery, built (1672–4) by Hetman Ivan Samoilovych; the Church of Transfiguration in Pryluky (1716); and the cathedral in Nizhyn.

The architecture of eighteenth-century Kiev was fashioned to a large degree by Ivan Barsky (1713–85), who combined the traditions of the Mazepa period with the influences of Rococo. Some of his creations in Kiev were "Samson's fountain," the gate and the church of the St. Cyril Monastery, the belfry of the SS. Peter and Paul Monastery, and the Church of Saint Mary Protectress in Podil. Other leading Ukrainian architects of the period were Stephen Kovnir and Theodore Starchenko, and foreign architects included Adam Zernikav, Johann Baptist, and others.

In the building of castles, palaces, primarily in western Ukrainian lands (Zbarazh, Berezhany, Pidhirtsi, Bar), and Roman Catholic churches (Lviv, Peremyshl, Kamianets Podilsky), the Western European features of the Baroque were more apparent. Jewish synagogues erected by Ukrainian builders

(in Sharhorod and Zhovkva toward the end of the seventeenth century, Ternopil in 1672) were much more similar in style to the Ukrainian Baroque. Valuable creations of this style in the realm of civil construction were: the military chancery in Chernihiv from the Mazepa period; the residential buildings of Jacob Lyzohub in Sedniv, and of Hetman Daniel Apostol in Sorochyntsi; the extensively reconstructed house of Basil Kochubei in Baturyn; the so-called Polubotok building in Pidusivka near Chernihiv; smaller structures in Kozelets and Nizhyn; the "Treasury" in Lubny; the "Galagan Arsenal" in Pryluky. Among the most beautiful creations of the Ukrainian Baroque were: service buildings of the Kievan Cave Monastery designed by the architect S. Kovnir in the first half of the eighteenth century; the house of the Kievan Metropolitan and the Metropolitan Zaborovsky gate (1746), both near St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev; and, especially, the interesting surface decorations in the main church of the Kievan Cave Monastery, dating from the period of its reconstruction in 1722–29, by the architect T. Starchenko, which represent a mixture of the original Baroque and local folk motif (the church was destroyed in 1941).

The highly developed culture of the Ukrainian Baroque exerted a great deal of influence on the neighboring countries. Particularly in Muscovy, where many Ukrainian architects, including Starchenko and Ivan Zarudnyi, were engaged, a number of structures were erected in the Ukrainian Baroque. Especially notable was the impact of the single-, three-, and five-domed Ukrainian wooden church types; their influence could be noticed in many Russian churches of Moscow, Vladimir, Uglich, and elsewhere.

Because of political circumstances beginning with the middle of the eighteenth century, building declined in Ukraine. Still a number of monumental structures were erected in the Rococo style, which already contained transitional forms of Classicism; the belfries of St. Michael's Monastery and St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev, completed in 1748; buildings designed by the architect Johann Gotfried J. Schaedel in Kiev (reconstruction of the Academy, 1736–40), the famous belfry of the Cave Monastery, 1736–40; the picturesque St. Andrew's Church, 1744–67, and a royal palace by the architect

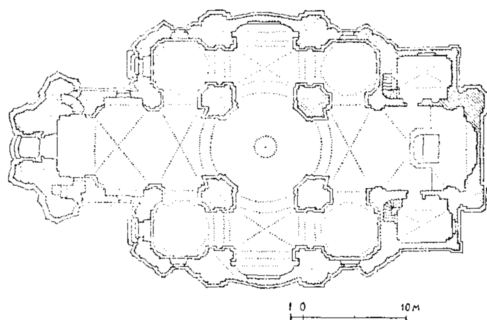


FIGURE 263. GROUND PLAN OF ST. GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL IN LVIV, 1744–70 (Plate V, 2)

FIGURE 264. CITY HALL IN BUCHACH, 1751, BUILT BY B. MERDERER-MERETINI

Bartholomeo-Francesco Rastrelli in Kiev, 1700–71; the Church of St. Mary the Protectress in Podil, Kiev, 1722; the famous St. George's Cathedral in Lviv, 1744–64, and the city hall in Buchach, 1730, by the architect Bernard Merderer-Meretini; the cathedral in Kozelets, 1752–63, and the main church in Pochaïv, 1771–91, built by H. Hoffman. In adapting to Ukrainian local traditions, the Rococo style rendered a central type of plane, while the Roman Catholic churches, for example, the Dominican church in Lviv, 1749–64, in Ternopil, and a church in Kholm, were elliptic in plan. All these churches have distinct Western European features, but at the same time they conform to age-old Ukrainian building traditions.

**Architecture of the Nineteenth Century**

Classicism, known in Ukraine as early as the first half of the eighteenth century (buildings in Vyshnivka, Volhynia, in 1730; in Lviv, particularly the museum of the Lubomirski family; in Kamianets Podilsky and Sataniv), attained the height of its development in the grand palaces of Cyril Rozumovsky, the last Ukrainian Hetman, in Pochep (1796, designed by J.-B. M. de Lamothe-Vallin and built by the Ukrainian architect Aleksii Yanovsky), in Yahotyn (project by Meneles), in Hlukhiv (Andrew Kvasov), and, the best example, in Baturyn (1799, project of the British architect Charles Cameron). Other outstanding buildings of the period were the palace of Zavadovsky in Lialychi, built in 1794 after the plans of the architect Giacomo Quarenghi, a theatre in Odessa by Thomas de Thomon, and the Kiev University, 1837–43, by Vincent Beretti. In church construction of the late eighteenth century, Ukrainian traditional forms were largely retained in combination with elements of the style of Louis XVI, for example, buildings founded by C. Rozumovsky, and some churches in the Poltava region.

Early in the nineteenth century, the Empire style replaced Classicism in Ukraine, where it evolved certain original forms, particularly in the construction of large provincial buildings. Outstanding architects of this period were Peter Yaroslavsky (buildings in Kharkiv and the Kherson region) and Andrew Melensky in Kiev (constructed the Fair Building, developed the Podil and Lypky sections, and designed the monument to Kiev self-government in the form of a classic column).

The greatest number of churches in the Empire style have been preserved in the Kharkiv and Poltava areas (Khorol, Romny, Lubny, Pyriatyn, Pryluky), most of them with central plans characteristic of Ukrainian construction. Fine examples of this style are the cathedral in Khorol of 1800, and the interesting belfry of the Kharkiv cathedral (Constantine Ton, 1844). Urban construction also developed at this time, particularly the erection of city halls in Kharkiv, Poltava, Kiev, Lviv, Chernivtsi, and Kamianets Podilsky, signifying the last efforts of self-government in Ukrainian cities.

After the abolition of autonomy in Ukraine and the later ban on construction of churches in the Ukrainian style (Russian edict of 1801), free and unfettered creations were replaced by new structures erected according to stereotype projects sent from St. Petersburg and Moscow. Examples are buildings of government institutions in Kiev, Poltava, Odessa, and other cities of southern Ukraine, as well as huge temples in Odessa, Kherson, and Kremenchuk. Also quite popular at the time was the rotunda model with classical columns (churches of Podilia, St. Nicholas Church on the Mound of Askold in Kiev built in 1810 by the architect A. Melensky, and the church in Hoshiv in Galicia). The Ukrainian national style survived longer in western Ukrainian lands (for example, the cathedral in Chernivtsi built in the 1850's).

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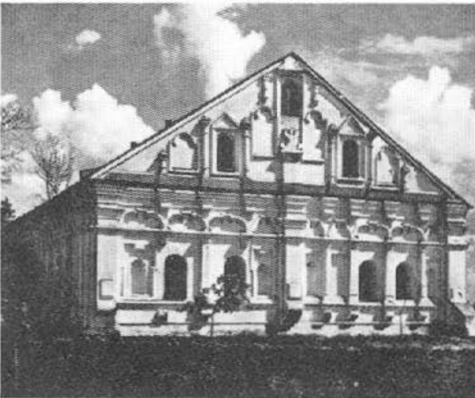

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PLATE V. BAROQUE AND ROCOCO ARCHITECTURE

(1) Church of the Assumption in the Kievan Cave Monastery, eleventh century (rebuilt in Baroque style in 1695 and 1722; demolished by a mine in 1941). (2) St. George Cathedral in Lviv, by B. Merderer (1744–70). (3) House of Lyzohub (regimental office) in Chernihiv, end of the seventeenth century. (4) St. Nicholas Military Cathedral in Kiev, founded by Hetman I. Mazepa, architect Joseph Startsev (1690), torn down by the Soviets (1935). (5) Church of St. Andrew in Kiev, built after plans by B. Rastrelli (1747–53).

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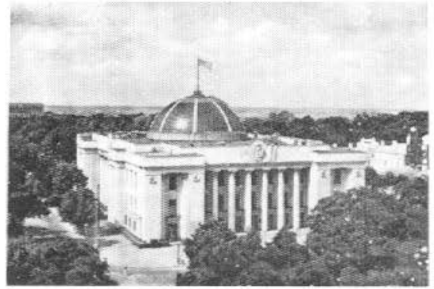

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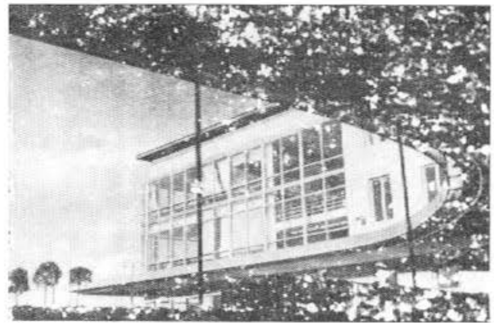

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PLATE VI. ARCHITECTURE IN SOVIET UKRAINE

(1) Building of State Industry in Kharkiv (1925–9). (2) Building of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev (1936–9). (3) New university, Kharkiv (1960–2). (4) Bus terminal in Kiev, 1961. (5) Khreshchatyk rebuilt (1949–56). (6) Hotel in Kaniv (1961). (7) Summer recreation building in Chortoryia, near Kiev (1962). (8) Cinema and Concert Hall in Kharkiv, 1963.

ing and public construction developed according to an eclectic diversity of styles. Among the various trends, the so-called Vienna Neo-Renaissance became particularly widespread, without regard to political boundaries. This style left its imprint on all major cities of Ukraine: Kiev, Odessa, Kharkiv, Lviv, Chernivtsi, Peremyshl, and Kherson. Among the most typical structures were city theaters in Kiev, Lviv, and Odessa, and other public buildings.

Russian domination of the economic and cultural life of Ukraine in the nineteenth century and the persecution of the guild system (guilds were finally abolished in 1900) led to the decline of the traditional art of building evolved during the Baroque period. Meanwhile, no suitable replacement was provided by the Russian regime, which did not open any modern technical or artisan schools in Ukraine. Ukrainian youth, compelled to study in Russia, brought back alien trends and influences. In the second half of the nineteenth century, a nationalist trend appeared in Russia, which eventually gave rise to various offshoots of the "Russian" and "Byzantine-Russian" style. The latter were particularly fostered in the church construction of Ukraine.

It was at this time that the government undertook a series of "restorations" of valuable monuments of Ukrainian architecture from the Princely period. This involved erecting insignificant and architecturally valueless structures, supposedly in the Byzantine style, from or on the remains of ancient ruins (St. Volodymyr's Church in Kherson, the new Church of the Tithes in Kiev, the cathedral in Volodymyr Volynsky, and others). Among the best-known new structures were St. Volodymyr's Cathedral in Kiev, St. Alexander's Church in Kamianets Podilsky (destroyed by the Soviets in 1934), and the Cathedral of the Annunciation in Kharkiv. The so-called "Vienna Secession" and French "Modernism" appeared briefly late in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among larger structures built in these styles, with application of modern technical methods, were the railroad stations in Zhmerynka (by Valerian Rykov), Lviv (by Ivan Levynsky) and Kharkiv (George Zaune), and to some extent buildings erected by Paul Alioshyn.

*Volodymyr Sichynsky*

## NATIONAL TRAITS IN ARCHITECTURE

In 1854, Gregory Galagan built a wooden home on his estate in the village of Lebedyntsi, Poltava region, in which the architect Eugene Chervinsky combined the most characteristic features of the Ukrainian folk architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This was the first attempt at reviving the ancient and already forgotten traditions of Ukrainian folk art. Studies of the Ukrainian traditional art, particularly folk architecture, began toward the end of the nineteenth century, in the wake of a general growth of Ukrainian national consciousness. In 1902–6, the architect I. Kuznetsov, engaged by Bishop Parthenii Levytsky, erected a nine-domed stone church in the village of Plishivtsi, Poltava area, which was modeled after a wooden church built in 1773 in Novomoskovsk. In 1902–3, the architect Basil Krychevsky started a new era in Ukrainian architecture by designing a project of the Provincial Zemstvo (Land Administration building in Poltava, 1903–6). Much as the architects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had done, Krychevsky utilized in his design, forms and elements of the folk art of wooden construction for a creative synthesis of new forms in stone-work, thus giving rise to the modern Ukrainian style of architecture. Later, Krychevsky designed a number of other structures in the same style: residential buildings, a national home in Lokhvytsia (1904), a school in Kiev (1910), public elementary

schools for the Chernihiv area (1912), a hospital in Vinnytsia (1913), a city library in Lebedyn (1914), and, jointly with his assistant, the architect Peter Kostyrko, a museum near Taras Shevchenko's memorial grave (1933–8).

Krychevsky's style was emulated by other architects and artists: Eugene Serdiuk (Ivan Kotliarevsky School in Poltava, 1904–8); Constantine Moshchenko (popular auditoriums, schools, buildings of village cooperative unions, etc.); the painter Opanas Slastion (three elementary public schools for Lokhvytsia county, Poltava region, 1911, and buildings for agricultural societies in the villages of Velyki Sorochyntsi and Khomutets, Poltava region), and others.

Among younger architects who also adopted this style were: Constantine Zhukiv (projects of the Art School in Kharkiv, 1912, the Popular Auditorium in Vovchansk, 1913), Alexander Trokal, Victor Trotsenko, and F. Shumov; and, in the Ukrainian lands under Austria, Leo Levynsky, Alexander Lushpynsky, and Basil Nahirnyi, who utilized particularly the features of the Carpathian folk architecture. In the Ukrainian lands under Russia, the administration of Kaniv county, Kiev area, decided in 1913 that all *zemstvo* schools be built in the Ukrainian style; this was followed by the Katerynoslav city administration, which also decided to build a stone church in this style.

Russian architects also became interested in the new trend. One of the projects for the Kiev railroad station designed by the architect Vladimir Shchuko was conceived in the Ukrainian style (1921–3).

In 1912–13, some Russian architects and students of art (George Lukomsky among others) tried to prove that it was the Kozak Baroque which constituted the true Ukrainian style, and began propagating it on a large scale, particularly in Kiev. The result was the work of Paul Alioshyn (seven-story apartment building, 1912–14), G. Lukomsky (project of a printing school, 1913), Theodore Lidval and V. Shchuko (projects of the Kiev railroad station, submitted for competition in 1913), as well as Shchuko's project of the Kiev Land Administration building (1913), and others. These trends were developed further by the younger Ukrainian architects completing their studies in Russia, who in their projects began combining elements of Ukrainian folk architecture with those of the Baroque style.

Serhii Tymoshenko adhered to this view in designing buildings, including office and railroad service buildings, in Kharkiv, Kiev, and other cities (1912–14). Dmytro Diachenko, the leading protagonist of this trend, who started out by combining elements of folk architecture with those of the Baroque (hospital in the town of Lubni, Poltava region, museum in Kamianets Padilsky, 1913, village schools in the Kiev region), later reverted solely to the Baroque style (project of the façade of a four-story apartment building for scholars in Kiev, 1926; entire complex of buildings of the Agricultural Academy and Forestry Institute in Kiev, (1926–30); and others). Later, S. Tymoshenko, Volodymyr Sichynsky, Roman Hrytsai, and other architects attempted to find a creative synthesis of the elements of wooden folk architecture and the Baroque style, at times combining them with elements of Byzantine architecture, especially in church construction throughout Western Ukraine.

In 1924, in Soviet Ukraine, the Kiev Institute of Architecture, founded in 1918 during the period of Ukrainian independence, became a department of the Kiev Art Institute and during the 1920's and 1930's graduated a number of young Ukrainian architects who were also preoccupied with further developing the genuine Ukrainian national features at a time when this was not yet forbidden by Soviet authorities. Such architects as Peter Holovchenko, Renata Kramer, Constantine Kunytsia, Eugene

Nakonechnyi, Alexander Povstenko, and Peter Yurchenko designed, in this style, buildings for workers' settlements, collective farm clubs and theaters, stores, administrative buildings, local museums, provincial hotels, sanatoriums, and resorts. This was more difficult in larger cities, where application of the modern Ukrainian style was limited to smaller structures, or to mere utilization of traditional ornamentation for interior decoration of public buildings. After World War II, there was a tendency to blend Ukrainian features with other architectural styles. There appeared classical buildings richly decorated with Ukrainian traditional ornamentation, which was frequently misplaced and taken from sources totally incompatible with both the material and the form of the building (e.g., embroideries). Such structures are now also considered to have been erected in the "Ukrainian style."

## ARCHITECTURAL TRENDS IN UKRAINE UNDER THE SOVIET REGIME

In the 1920's, the functional-constructive style, popular in the West, became widely accepted in Ukraine. Among the best-known structures fashioned in this style were the grandiose complex of buildings of the State Commerce and Projects in Kharkiv (architects Serhii Serafimov, Samuel Kravets, and Mordechai Felger); the Main Post Office in Kharkiv (architect Arkadii Mordvinov, 1927–9); the Kiev District Power Plant (architect M. Parusnikov and others); the filming pavilion of the Kiev Film Studio (architect Valerian Rykov, 1926–8); a shoe factory in Kiev (1929); the Kiev Railroad Station with a pediment of slightly Baroque contour (architect Alexander Verbytsky, 1928–32); administrative buildings of the Dnieper Hydroelectric Station (brothers Alexander and Victor Vesnin from Moscow). Among structures outside of Soviet Ukraine before 1939, the buildings of the State Medical Insurance, the dormitories of the School of Polytechnics in Lviv, and the city hall in Stanyslaviv deserve to be mentioned. The architect V. Sichynsky built an interesting church in Mykhailivtsi in the Ukrainian-populated eastern Slovakia, subordinating Byzantine elements to the new functional forms in steel and concrete.

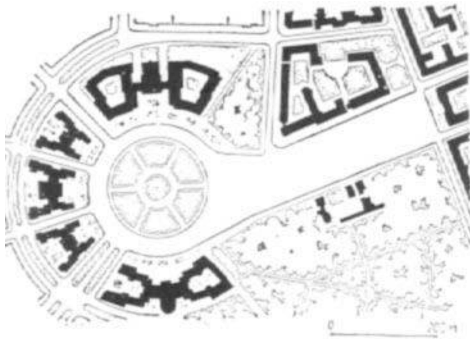

FIGURE 265. GROUND PLAN OF THE DZERZHYNSKY SQUARE IN KHARKIV

In the Ukrainian SSR with the influx of contemporary trends, control over architectural planning was centralized in two newly established organs in 1932. Along with others, the Association of Modern Ukrainian Architects was liquidated by the Soviet regime in 1932, under the pretext of promoting "nationalistic tendencies" in architecture, and the Ukrainian architects were put under the control of the All-Union Association of Soviet Architects with headquarters in Moscow (1932) and the All-Union Academy of Architecture (1933). The functional constructive style was prohibited. Instead, these institutions fostered, in Ukraine and other non-Russian republics, the officially accepted style, which consisted of a pompous mixture of Classicism, Renaissance, and the Empire style, with occasional additions of Constructivism and Baroque, in undisguised pretentiousness to grandeur and monumentalism. This was to have been the highest expression of social-realistic art and the only one officially sanctioned in the USSR. Among the most typical structures fashioned in this style in Kiev were

the building of the Council of Ministers, originally intended to be the seat of NKVD (architects Ivan Fomin and Paul Abrosimov of Moscow, erected in 1935–7); the building of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR (architect Volodymyr Zabolotnyi, 1936–9), the building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (architect Joseph Langbard of Leningrad, 1936–9); the Staff Building of the Ukrainian Military District (at the present time, Central Committee of Ukraine, architect Serhii Hryhoriïv, 1938–40); a number of administrative buildings, schools, stadiums in Kiev and other cities, huge sanatoriums, for example, in Odessa and Mariupil (or Zhdanov).

Inclination toward eclecticism in the planning of large buildings was particularly in evidence after World War II in the course of reconstruction of entire areas in central parts of large cities such as Kiev and Kharkiv. The reconstruction was supervised by the Architectural Planning Administration of the Ukrainian SSR which was completely subordinated to the Committee on Architecture (created in 1943) attached to the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR in Moscow. All controls over reconstruction were centralized in this committee, which imposed on Ukrainian cities a style that gave them a totally alien appearance, combining incompatible architectural styles.

The reconstruction of the central sections of Kiev, ruined by Soviet mines during the retreat of 1941, can be cited as the most typical example of this process. The planning was directed by Alexander Vlasov, of Moscow, in cooperation with Victor Elizarov, Alexis Zavarov, and other Russian architects, while the Ukrainian architects were relegated to secondary rôles. The newly erected massive and multi-storied buildings, decorated excessively with towers, peaks, arcades, colonnades and pilasters with rich capitals, Baroque pediments, sculptured (mostly ceramic) dadoes, huge rusticated and polished granite socles, and so forth, do not form a single, well-proportioned architectural ensemble. After the death of Stalin such excessive decoration was abandoned. The buildings, however, remained, giving the Ukrainian capital a strange aspect. In general, the influence of centralized control was constantly increasing. There was a marked tendency to emulate the designs of structures erected in Moscow during the postwar period; for example, some new buildings of Kiev (the hotel "Moskva," and others) are similar in their structural composition, silhouette, and architectural details to the buildings of the Moscow University (1949–53), a skyscraper on the Kotelnichesky quay in Moscow (1952), and other similar structures.

The architecture of administrative and public buildings in the countryside shows a general tendency toward massive and heavy forms of Classicism; for example, theaters in Vinnytsia, Ternopil, and Chystiakovo (Donbas), the concert hall and the building of the water-power technical school in Zaporizhia, the gymnasium of the Shakhtar (Miner) Athletic Club in Donetske, the building of the regional Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR in Mykolaïv, the Home of Culture in Pochaïv (Ternopil *oblast*), and the student Palace of Culture in Dnipropetrovske.

The mass buildings of apartments and industrial complexes called for more economical and simplified forms, and these functional features brought Ukrainian architecture closer to the Western types of building art. The centers of large cities in the Ukrainian SSR were mostly rebuilt, and in the 1960's many more modern structures appeared. Among them are the Sport Palace in Kiev by Michael Hrechyna and Alexis Zavarov; a hotel in Kaniv on the Dnieper, 1961, by a group of architects; an annex to the Lviv Polytechnical Institute by Nicholas Mykula, 1963; the hotel "Dnipro" in Kiev, 1961–4, and one of the largest

modern structures, the Kiev Airport in Boryspil, 1961–5, by Anatole Dobrovolsky, Alexander Malynovsky, and Dmytro Popenko. Into the new structures, especially schools and theaters, modern painting (mosaic, majolica) and decorative sculpture were introduced, far more interesting than works of art seen in Soviet Ukrainian exhibits.

*V. Pavlovsky*

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# 3. SCULPTURE

## TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

### The Greek Era

Numerous examples of figural sculpture exist from the times of the Greek colonization of the northern shores of the Black Sea. To date almost all that has been discovered has been fragments not older than the fifth century B.C. These works are of both Greek and local artists. Some of the finer examples found in Olbia (heads of Aphrodite, Zeus, and Eros) and in Chersonesus date back to the Hellenistic period, in the style of Praxiteles (head of the Greek goddess of health, Hygeia, found in Olbia). Most numerous are terra-cotta figurines connected with the cult of Demeter, Aphrodite, and Astarte, and with episodes of

everyday life. The famous Kul-Oba and Nikopol vases are decorated with fine bas-reliefs representing lifelike Scythian scenes. An example of pre-Christian sculpture found in Ukraine is the stone idol called Svitovyd (or Sviatovit) executed in primitive relief, now in the Krakow Museum. The massive stone figures, called *baby*, possibly belong to the same time (Museum of Odessa and others). Nothing remains of the wooden gold-adorned idols, whose names are recorded in ancient chronicles.

**Era of the Princes**

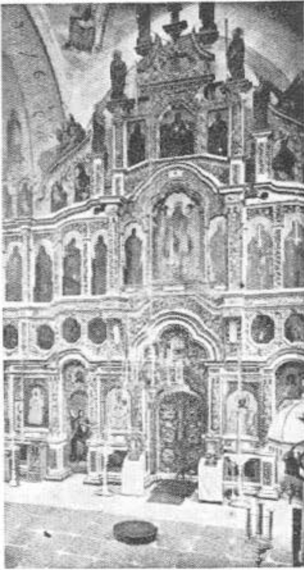
Sculpture of this period, the tenth to twelfth centuries, is represented by very few examples: two reliefs from the Monastery of St. Michael in Kiev, called the "Holy Riders," and two others with scenes which supposedly depict "Hercules Fighting a Lion" and "Cybele on a Chariot" from the catacombs of

FIGURE 266. RELIEF REPRESENTING SS. NESTOR AND DEMETRIUS ("HOLY RIDERS"), FROM THE GOLD-ROOFED CATHEDRAL OF ST. MICHAEL IN KIEV, ELEVENTH CENTURY

FIGURE 267. RELIEF REPRESENTING HERCULES(?) FIGHTING WITH A LION, AT THE KIEVAN CAVE MONASTERY, ELEVENTH CENTURY

FIGURE 268. CORNERSTONE WITH THE REPRESENTATION OF A BIRD, SS. BORYS AND HLIB CATHEDRAL IN CHERNIHIV, LATE TWELFTH CENTURY

the Kievan Cave Monastery. They indicate both Greek and Eastern influences. Other examples, mostly decorative, in the form of filigree carving, various crosses, and Christian symbols reflected the early Christian Syrian and Byzantine styles, as seen in the tombs of the Church of the Tithes and the St. Sophia Cathedral (the sarcophagus of Prince Yaroslav the Wise) in Kiev, and reliefs on marble tablets from St. Sophia in Kiev. Romanesque influence appeared in the twelfth century in Kiev, Chernihiv, and especially in Halych, in Galicia. The main portals of St. Panteleimon Church in Halych with its Romanesque capitals and chimeras is particularly beautiful. Generally sculpture was more developed in the west, as proved by references in the chronicles to the polychromatic carvings of the sculptor Avdii in the Church of St. John Chrysostom in Kholm from the first half of the twelfth century. Various small ivory carvings, such as the Lion from Bilhorodka, found their way beyond the boundaries of Ukraine. The prejudice to sculpture in the Eastern Church, emphasized by the openly hostile attitude of the iconoclasts, did much to retard the development of sculpture in Ukraine.



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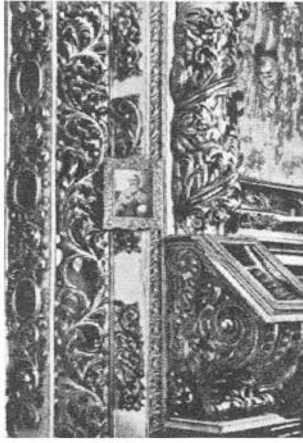

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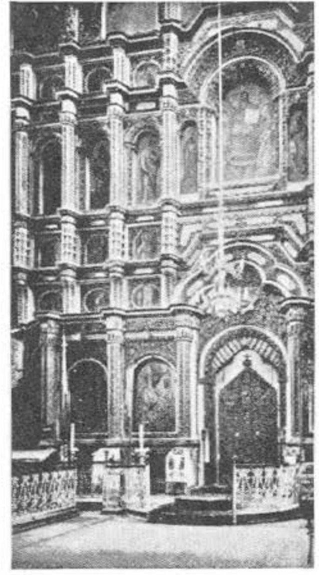

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PLATE VII. BAROQUE ICONOSTASES IN KIEV (SEVENTEENTH–EIGHTEENTH CENTURY)
(1) St. Nicholas Military Cathedral. (2) St. Michael's Golden-Domed Monastery (detail). (3) Church of the Vydubetsky Monastery. (4) St. Sophia Cathedral.

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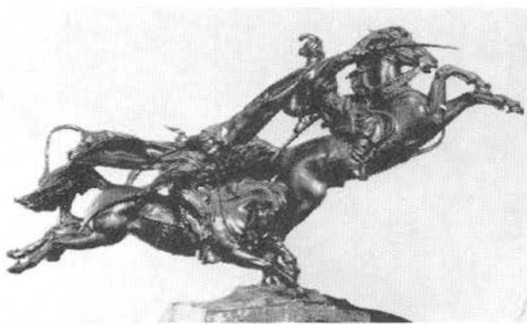
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VIII. SCULPTURE I

(1) I. Martos: Monument of Duke Richelieu, Odessa (1826). (2) L. Pozen: "Trojans," relief, monument to I. Kotliarevsky in Poltava (1903). (3) P. Viitovych: Statue. (4) M. Parashchuk: Portrait of the writer Basil Stefanyk (1906). (5) B. Masiutyn: Head of a Kozak, end of the thirties. (6) N. Pysarenko: Harvest. (7) T. Yemets: Woman with Child. (8) B. Mukhyn: Glory (wax, 1946). (9) A. Pavlos: Field Worker (1940).

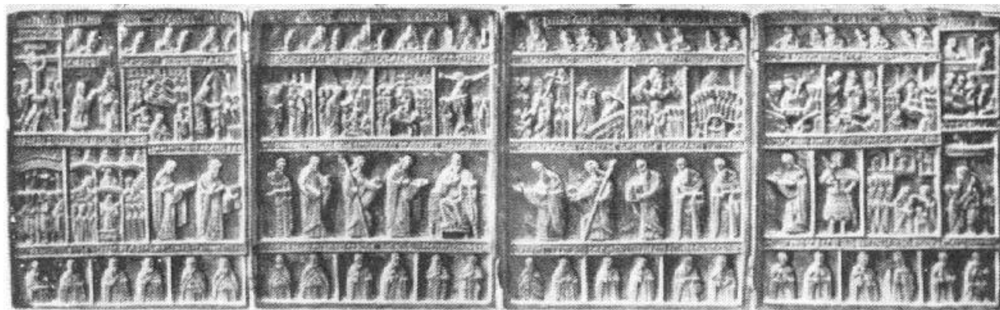

FIGURE 269. MINIATURE ICONOSTASIS (WOOD) FROM KAMIANETS PODILSKY, FIFTEENTH CENTURY

**Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries**

Some relief sculptures that survived from these centuries were, until recently, in Kiev: the triptych of the Mother of God, St. Theodosius, and St. Antonius from the belfry of the Cave Monastery, and St. Sophia, an icon carved on wood. An interesting work is a miniature multi-figural iconostasis carved in wood from Kamianets Podilsky. They were made in traditional Byzantine style but some of them already bear traces of Gothic naturalism. During these centuries Ukrainian sculptors were employed in decorating churches in Poland.

**The Renaissance**

Existing examples of Renaissance sculptures, mostly tombs, are generally in the conventional style: figures in armor reclining in traditional architectural frames, such as are often found in Venice and northern Italy. The most characteristic works of this period are memorial tombs: that of Prince Constantine Ostrozky in the Kievan Cave Monastery (1579); of Nicholas Herburt in the Latin Cathedral in Lviv by the Nuremberg master Pancratius Labenwolf; of Alexander Lahodovsky in Univ (1573); of the Syniavsky family in Berezhany by Jan Pfister (or, Fister, 1573–*ca.* 1642). There are also memorial tablets in relief: the Ostrozky monument near Bardiïv in Transcarpathia (1590), and the gravestone of Catherine Romult in Drohobych (1572) by Sebastian Chesek of Lviv.

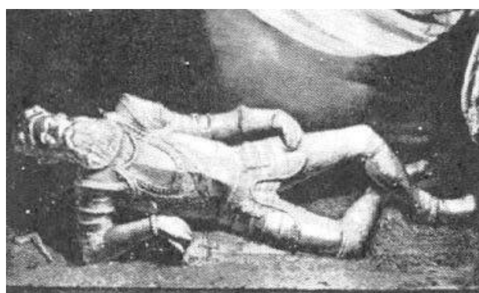

FIGURE 270. TOMB OF PRINCE CONSTANTINE OSTROZKY IN THE KIEVAN CAVE MONASTERY, 1579

**Baroque**

The Baroque style continues the same type of tomb sculpture, for example, the tomb of Adam Kysil (1554). Decorative sculpture developed mainly along the lines of architectural ornamentation, memorial tablets, and, above all, the iconostases. Baroque iconostases are elaborate, constructed in several tiers, sumptuously carved and polychromed, richly ornamented with motifs in local Ukrainian character developed from the native flora (stylized grape-vine, sunflower, and others). One of the finer examples is the iconostasis of Bohorodchany (seventeenth century) by Yov Kondzelevych (National Museum in Lviv). The magnificent iconostases in the main church of the Cave Monastery in Kiev by Yakym Hlynsky of Chernihiv,

in the St. Nicholas Church in Kiev by Sozon Balyka (1690), and in the gold-roofed St. Michael Monastery in Kiev were demolished by the Soviets.

Rococo introduced lighter and more sophisticated forms, as seen in the iconostases of the St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev (1746), St. Andrew in Kiev, the church in Kozelets, the Church of the Assumption in Podil in Kiev (1778), and others.

Still more original and closer to folk art are the iconostases in peasant churches. They combine ornamental motifs with a harmonious polychromy and gilding in schemes of red-ochre, blue-gold, green-silver, or green-blue on a dark blue background. Among the minor carvings the most interesting are hand crosses reaching in style far back into ancient traditions. These were usually carved in monasteries, and as a rule were seven-armed with ornamental and figural workmanship. Here in the treatment of the Crucifixion Western influences are often combined with the traditional Byzantine. These artifacts are mostly from the right bank of the Dnieper and from Western Ukraine.

Figural sculpture in the Classical style appears in the second half of the eighteenth century: "Justice" from the Municipal Hall of Kiev; "St. George" from the cathedral in Lviv (the 1770's); "Hercules" from the City Hall in Buchach; figures of the Muses and hetmans from the so-called Little Russian College in Hlukhiv. During the period of the Empire style in Ukraine it became a custom to decorate churches, public buildings, and squares with statues and monuments; for instance, the fountains of the market in Lviv (1818–28) and the twelve apostles in the church of Kukavka in Podilia (1818). However, a great number of the religious statues in Ukrainian churches were destroyed by the Russian regime in the nineteenth century; only a few remain in the museums of Kiev, Kharkiv, Kamianets, Poltava, and Lviv.

## THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

### Classicism

Important representatives of the Classical style who inaugurated a new era in the development of sculpture in Eastern Europe were Michael Kozlovsky (1753–1802), sculptor of portrait busts; Ivan Martos (1754–1835), the creator of numerous monuments; and Constantine Klymchenko (1816–49), who worked in Rome and was under the influence of Martos. The political and economic situation in Ukraine, after the liquidation of the last traces of the local hetman authority, was such that the most talented Ukrainian artists were compelled to emigrate to St. Petersburg. Thus Martos, a pupil of Canova and Thorwaldsen, became the rector of the Art Academy in Petersburg and a pioneer of the new Russian sculpture.

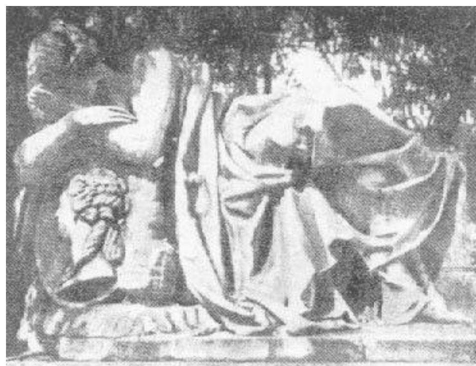

FIGURE 271. GRAVESTONE OF I. KURAKINA, BY I. MARTOS, ST. PETERSBURG, 1792

### Realism

Romantic Realism replaced Classicism in the second half of the nineteenth century. Among the representatives of that style were: the portraitist Parmen Zabilo or Zabila (1830–1917, the bust of Shevchenko); Leonid Pozen (1849–1921, Kotliarevsky's and Hohol's monuments in

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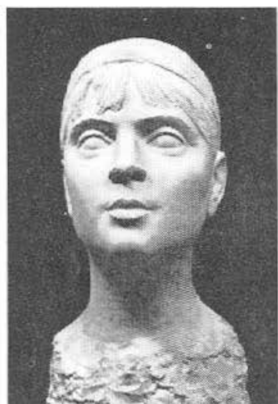
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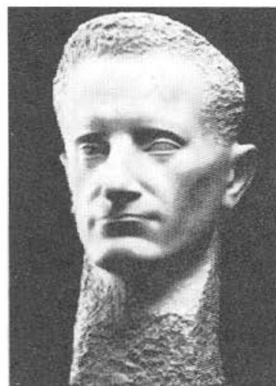
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PLATE IX. SCULPTURE II

(1) I. Znoba: Logger (wood, 1957). (2) I. Kavaleridze: Don Quixote (1950). (3) A. Kovaliov: bust of Academician V. Filatov (marble, 1952). (4) S. Lytvynenko: Portrait of a Poetess (plaster, 1962). (5) M. Chereshniovsky: General Taras Chuprynka (1954). (6) G. Kruk: Sewing Woman (bronze, 1946). (7) Leo Mol: Taras Shevchenko Monument in Washington, D.C. (1964). (8) G. Pyvovarov: Portrait of Movie Producer Alexander Dovzhenko (1940).

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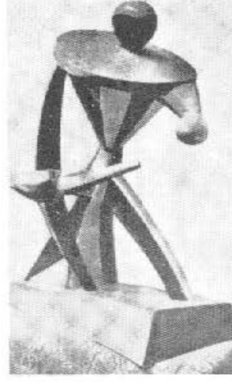
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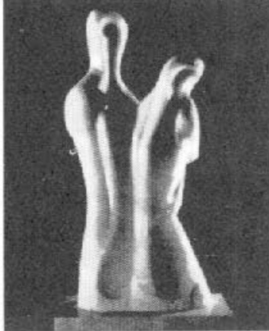
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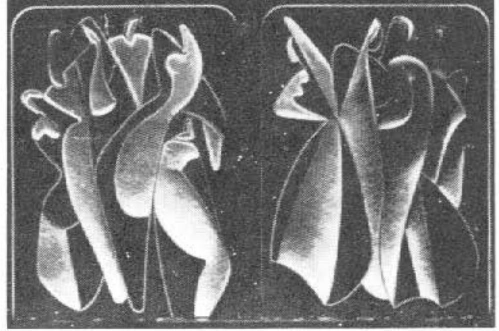
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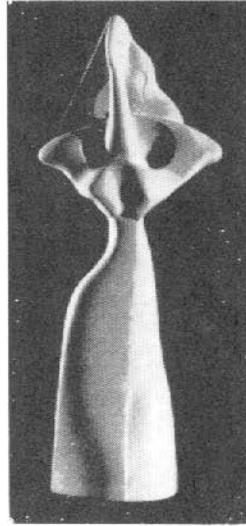
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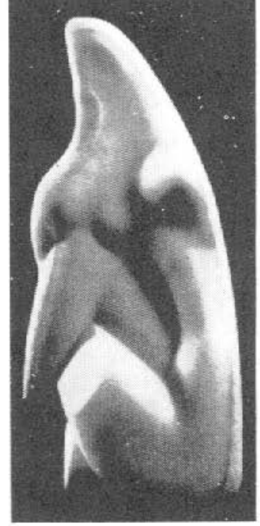
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PLATE X. SCULPTURE III: ALEXANDER ARCHIPENKO

(1) Suzanne (1909). (2) Medrano (1912). (3) Carousel Pierrot (1913). (4) Walking (1912). (5) Woman Combing Hair (1915). (6) Two Friends (1933). (7) People (1950). (8) Heroica (1930). (9) Fiancée (1936). (10) Seated (1935).

Poltava); Theodore Kamensky (1838–1913, from 1871 in New York); Michael Mykeshyn (1836-96, Khmelnytsky's monument in Kiev); and Volodymyr Beklemishev (1861–1920, "Early Christian Woman").

**Modern Sculpture**

Theodore Balavensky (1864-1943) can be considered the founder of modern Ukrainian sculpture. He combined Classicism with Ukrainian ethnographic elements, thus initiating a new trend; his main works were busts of Ukrainian writers and social leaders, and allegories such as "Life," "Charity," and so on. Among his followers, albeit under the influence of Rodin, was Basil Ishchenko (b. 1883). Other artists often combined their sculpture with architecture. Outstanding among them are Peter Viitovych (1862–1936), creator of the statues for the Municipal Theater in Lviv; Gregory Kuznevych (1871–1936), master of the large-scale figure; Michael Parashchuk (1880–1967), who later became a professor in the Academy of Arts in Sophia in Bulgaria; the impressionist Bernard Kratko (b. 1884); and Michael Brynsky (1883–1957), sculptor of the stone memorial to the victims of September 17, 1911, in Vienna.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the national trend absorbed all sculpture, which by this time had a marked tendency toward impressionism. The most important representatives of this trend are the romanticist Michael Havrylko (1882–1919), the sculptress Elizabeth Trypilsky (ceramics), and Rodin's pupil Eleanor Blokh (1881–1943), whose works include a portrait of Shevchenko and the statue of Korolenko in Poltava.

**From 1917**

Among the best-known sculptors of the twenties are portraitist Serhii Zhuk (1885); the monument designer Andrew Koverko (b. 1893); Eugene Sahaidachnyi (1896–1961, majolica and busts in wood); Andrew Darahan (b. 1901, creator of monuments in Ukraine and the Shevchenko statue in Winnipeg, Canada, 1961); and the realist Volodymyr Klymiv (b. 1889, wood and miniature decorative sculptures). Representatives of the more academic trend are Ivan Severa (b. 1891) and Serhii Lytvynenko (1899–1964, sculptor of numerous monuments and of a gallery of prominent Ukrainians).

The famous innovator of world sculpture, Alexander Archipenko (1887–1963), was in his early period under the influence of the primitive sculpture found on the Ukrainian steppes. Later

FIGURE 272. SERHII LYTVYNENKO

FIGURE 273. BASIL MASIUTYN (PORTRAIT OF HIMSELF)

FIGURE 274. A. ARCHIPENKO AND HIS SCULPTURE OF TARAS SHEVCHENKO AT SOYUZIVKA

he experimented in various styles, going through cubism, of which he was one of the pioneers, to constructivism, expressionism, surrealism, and so on, always searching in his idealistically dreamy forms for the solution of problems of space and volume. He exerted great influence on European art in the 1920's. He created also a series of more realistic portrait sculptures, among them the busts of two Ukrainian poets, Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko, now in the Garden of the Nations in Cleveland. Represented in leading museums throughout the world, he is the most important personality Ukraine gave America where he had resided since 1923.

Theodore Yemets (b. 1894, now in Venezuela), a specialist in bronze casting, was professor in the Berlin Academy; Basil Stakhivsky (b. 1882) specialized in sculpture of the animal world; Basil Masiutyn (1885–1955), master of medallions and engraving, worked in Berlin after 1922.

In the 1920's and 1930's a group of talented and capable artists emerged in Soviet Ukraine: the neo-classicist Marko Novoselsky (b. 1900, monument of the writer Michael Kotsiubynsky in Kharkiv); a group of sculptors known as Monumentalists—Marian Panasiuk, Gregory Tenner (1889–1943) of Odessa, Yustyn Pysarenko (1892–1941), and Ivan Kavaleridze (b. 1887, statues of Shevchenko and Hetman Khmelnytsky). Two sculptresses, Josephine Dindo (b. 1902) and Oksana Laturynska (b. 1902, since 1950 in the United States), created numerous works on Ukrainian folk subjects. The postwar years brought to the fore the portraitist Gregory Kruk (b. 1910) working in Munich, Germany, and a group of sculptors working in America: the figural sculptor Anthony Pavlos (1905–54); Bohdan Mukhyn (1912–62), sculptor of dynamic compositions from the history of Ukraine; Michael Chereshniovsky (monument of the poetess Lesia Ukraïnka in Cleveland and a series of Madonnas); the abstractionist Constantine Milonadis of Chicago (b. 1926); and Alexander Hunenko (b. 1936). Leonid Molodozhanyn (Leo Mol) of Winnipeg (b. 1915), is the creator of the Shevchenko monument in Washington, D.C. (1964), and numerous portraits, among them of Pope Paul VI, General Dwight D. Eisenhower, John Diefenbaker, Cardinal Joseph Slipyi, and Cardinal Eugene Tisserant.

FIGURE 275. ANTHONY PAVLOS, 1942

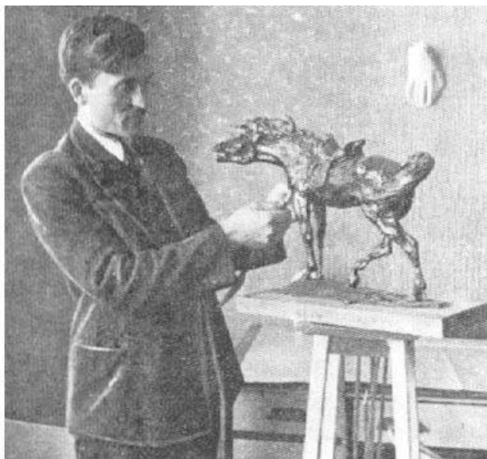

FIGURE 276. BOHDAN MUKHYN, 1946

In the Ukrainian SSR sculpture was subject to the dictates of politics and

propaganda. The so-called socialist-realism was the official and enforced style, implying the mass production of idealized "monumentally heroic" statues and portrait busts. In the Stalin era, sculpture developed a particularly pompous style in keeping with a parallel pomposity in architecture. The avenues and squares of Ukrainian cities were populated with a flock of bronze, stone, and plaster statues of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Gorky, Belinsky, and bemedalled Soviet generals and "heroes," who often had nothing in common with Ukraine. It is characteristic of this time that even the task of producing the monuments to the Ukrainian national poet, Shevchenko, in Kharkiv, in Kiev, and on his grave in Kaniv were given to a Stalin laureate, the sculptor Matvei Manizer of Moscow, as the Soviet government did not trust Ukrainian artists.

Among the sculptors worthy of mention in Soviet Ukraine are Michael Lysenko (b. 1906), Jacob Razhba (b. 1904), Yukhym (b. 1893) and Anatole Bilostotsky (b. 1921), Gregory Pyvovarov (1908–42), Alexander Kovaliov (b. 1915), Ivan Znoba (b. 1903), Oksana Suprun (b. 1924), Ivan Honchar (b. 1911), and Theodosia Bryzh (b. 1926). A monument of Shevchenko in Moscow, erected in 1964 in order to counterbalance a similar one in Washington, D.C., is the work of three Kievan sculptors—Michael Hrytsiuk, Julius Sinkevych, and Anatolii Fuzhenko. Numerous sculptures in Ukraine are the works of imported artists and cannot be included in the list of works by Ukrainian sculptors.

*V. Sichynsky* supplemented by *S. Hordynsky*

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# 4. PAINTING

## TO THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

### Antiquity

Beginning with the seventh century B.C. the Greek colonies of the northern Black Sea shores developed their own culture when the original Greek art merged with the local trends of Scythian and later Sarmatian art. This development can be easily traced through the study of Greek painted vases, thousands of which were found in southern Ukraine, some imported, some made locally. But although works of sculpture, pottery, and jewelry, being more durable, were preserved in relatively large numbers, few paintings survived. Ancient painting is known therefore only from murals in ancient tombs, such as the tomb in the *kurhan* (barrow) of Taman (Velyka Blyznytsia) in Crimea from the fourth century B.C., where on the cupola the goddess Demeter and her daughter

Kore, adorned with a floral crown, are depicted. Another tomb in Kerch (ancient Panticapea), on the slope of the Mitridate Hill (second century B.C.) shows the battle of human pygmies with a flock of herons. Demeter, the goddess of abundance and fertility, was the most venerated deity of that agricultural country, which was the Bosphorian Kingdom. A Kerch tomb from the first century A.D. discovered 1895, shows besides the painted medallion of the goddess Demeter a scene of Pluto on a quadriga abducting her daughter. The tomb is richly decorated with painted flowers, plants, and birds. In the Anphesterios tomb in Kerch riders and a tent are painted. The second-century A.D. tomb of Vladimir Stasow (the discoverer's name) presents murals of the warrior life as well as animals, lion, panther, ram, peacock, and so on.

Little is preserved from the painted portraits of that time. The finest example is the head of a young man from Chersonesus painted in the fourth century B.C. with encaustic on a stone slab. On one of the Kerch sarcophagi from the first century A.D. a painter is represented, dressed in local costume, in the process of melting his wax paints while the finished portraits hang on the wall. A number of decorative floors made of mosaic with human and animal figures from the third and second centuries B.C. were discovered in ancient houses of Chersonesus and Olbia.

For a long time nothing was known about Scythian painting; recently several murals have been discovered in the tombs of Scythian Neapol, near the present Symferopol in Crimea. Among the subjects is a hunting scene and a lyre-playing Scythian.

With the beginning of the third century Christian symbols—crosses and monograms—are found in the murals of Crimea, where Christianity took root long before Kievan *Rus'* became a part of the Christian culture at the end of the tenth century.

**The Princely Era**

The high level of painting achieved in the time of the Princes owes much to the fine artistic heritage of the preceding cultures on Ukrainian lands: painted Trypilian pottery of the Neolithic era, Greek and Scythian frescoes in Crimean tombs, ornamentation on Greek vases, early Christian art in Chersonesus, Kerch, and other centers of Hellenistic colonial culture.

The monumental painting in the tenth to thirteenth centuries, particularly mosaics, is counted among the best examples of medieval art. The oldest fragments of frescoes from the Church of the Tithes (end of the tenth century) in Kiev, the Savior Cathedral in Chernihiv, and the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev prove by their firm modeling and realistic treatment of light and shadow their antique Hellenistic heritage. The later frescoes and mosaics of the eleventh and twelfth centuries belong to the middle period of Byzantine art, the period of the grand decorative type, somewhat synthetic and stylized. Among the best-preserved mosaics of St. Sophia is the Pantocrator in the main dome, the apostles and saints, the nineteen-foot-high Orante in the main apsis, and the mosaics on the pilasters and on the main arch. Stylistically, the mosaics of St. Sophia stand between the early eleventh-century Greek mosaics of St. Luc in Phocide and the mosaics of Daphni near Athens from the second part of that century. This stylistic relationship shows that the artists of St. Sophia were Greek masters, but already in the frescoes appear some folk elements which would point also to local artists. Among the St. Sophian frescoes, of particular interest is a series of secular paintings in the two towers from the eleventh century depicting hunting scenes, musicians, acrobats, and dancers. In the nave among religious paintings there are figural portraits of Prince Yaroslav's family, including his daughter Anne who later became queen of France.

COLOR PLATE I. KIEV MOSAICS
Orant and the scene of Eucharist, St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev (first half of the eleventh century).

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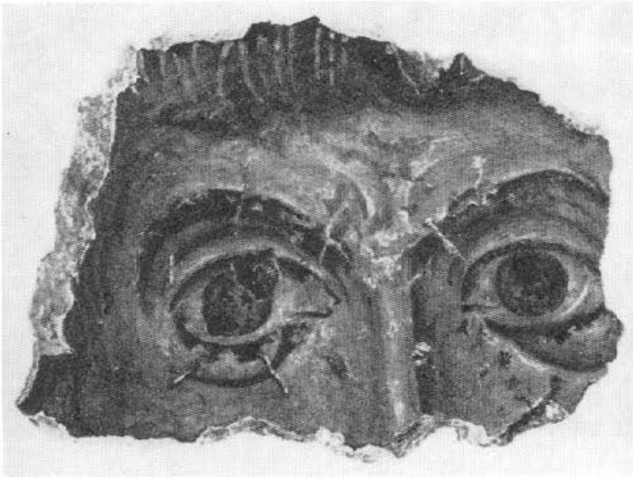
COLOR PLATE II. ICON AND MINIATURE PAINTING (ELEVENTH–FOURTEENTH CENTURIES)

(1) Our Lady of Vyshhorod, known also as Vladimir' (twelfth century), Tretiakov Gallery in Moscow. (2) St. Demetrius (twelfth century), Tretiakov Gallery in Moscow. (3) St. George from Stanyl, Galicia (fourteenth century), Museum of Ukrainian Art, Lviv. (4) Christ Crowning Prince Yaropolk and his wife Irene, miniature in the Trier Psalter (*ca.* 1080).



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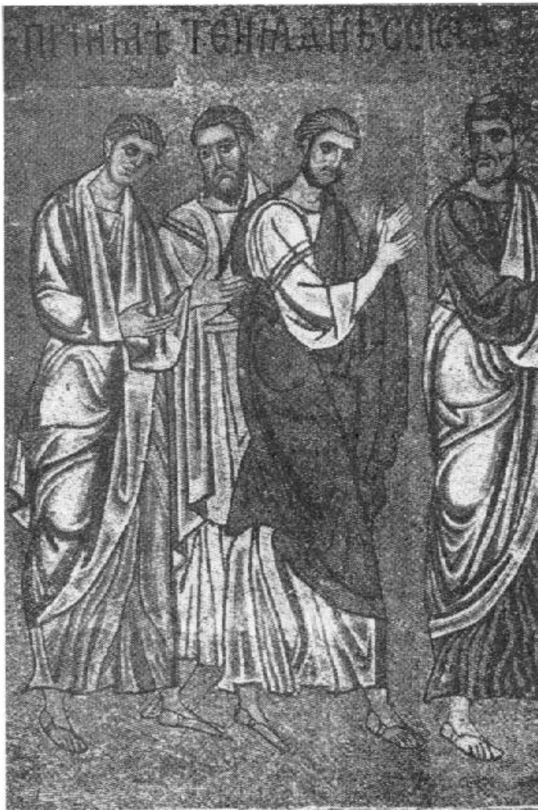

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PLATE XI. FRESCOES AND MOSAICS, TENTH–TWELFTH CENTURY

(1) Fragment of the head of a saint (*Desiatynna*) Church of the Tithes in Kiev, end of the tenth century. (2) St. Teklia, detail of a fresco in the Savior's Cathedral, Chernihiv, first part of the eleventh century. (3) Apostles, detail from the Eucharist mosaic in St. Michael's Golden-Domed Church, Kiev (*ca.* 1108), now in Sophia Museum, Kiev. (4) St. Demetrius, mosaic from the same church, taken to the Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow, after the demolition of the church (1934).

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PLATE XII. ICONS

(1) Our Lady, called Prince Ihor's, thirteenth century, formerly Pechersky Museum in Kiev. (2) St. Michael, from Daleva, Galicia, fifteenth century. (3) SS. Andrew and Mark, from Rohatyn, sixteenth century. (4) Our Lady of Krasiv, fifteenth century. (5) Christ in Glory, from Shkliary, sixteenth century. (6) St. Paraskeva, from Krushelnytsia, mid-sixteenth century. (7) "Poles, Hungarians, Germans, Valachians, Greeks," detail of the Last Judgment from Bahnovate, sixteenth century (Nos. 2–8 in the Lviv Museum). (8) Votive icon (1668). (9) Kozak Mamai, eighteenth century (folk painting, reminiscent of ancient iconographic forms).

The hand of local artists is still more evident in the mosaics and frescoes of the golden-roofed St. Michael Monastery (supposed by some historians to be the Church of St. Demetrius) in Kiev built in the second part of the eleventh century. The figures of the apostles here are less schematic and more vivid, and the inscriptions are in Slavonic. This historical church was demolished by order of the Soviet regime in 1934–5 along with other Ukrainian national and artistic shrines; however, it was possible to remove in time valuable mosaics and most of the frescoes. They are now in the St. Sophia museum. The Cathedral of St. Sophia was also on the demolition list, but because of world-wide protests the plan was abandoned and the cathedral was transformed into a museum (see Sir William Milner's letter of protest in *The Times*, London, Feb. 27, 1935).

The frescoes from St. Cyril's Church in Kiev from the mid-twelfth century indicate a further development in painting with possible Balkan and Mt. Athos influences. A few fragments of frescoes are found in the Yurii Chapel in Oster in the Pereiaslav region (1098) and in the Yeletsky monastery in Chernihiv. Architecture and painting in such Russian centers as Novgorod, Suzdal, Vladimir, and Pskov show strong influence of Kiev, which at that time was a metropolis of arts for all northeastern Europe.

Besides mural painting, portable icons on wooden panels were widely known. However, almost nothing remained in Ukraine from the pre-Mongolian times, that is up to the mid-thirteenth century. The icons fell prey to vandalism and fire, as often mentioned in ancient chronicles. *Povist' vremennykh lit* (The Tale of Bygone Years) describes, for example, how the Suzdalian Prince Andrew Bogolubsky and his son Mstyslav sacked Kiev in 1169, stripping the churches of their gold and icons.

We also know from the old chronicles that Kievan princes on many occasions donated valuable icons to northern churches. Thus, the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow now possesses some of the most important icons of the Kievan school, among them Our Lady of Vyshhorod near Kiev from the early twelfth century, known also as Our Lady of Vladimir. This venerated icon of Greek origin was appropriated by the Suzdalian Prince Andrew Bogolubsky in 1155 and transferred to Vladimir, hence the new name. Three other icons in this museum are: Our Lady called the Great Panagia (Orante), St. Demetrius of Saloniki, and Our Lady of Pechersk (*ca.* 1288) with two Kievan saints, Antonius and Theodosius.

One of the best icon painters at the end of the eleventh century was the Kievan monk Alipii (Olimpii) who died in 1114. He worked on the decoration of the Assumption Cathedral in Kiev, built in 1073–8, and his detailed biography can be found in the chronicle of the Kievan Cave Monastery, where another icon painter, Gregory, is also mentioned. For a long time we had nothing that could have been ascribed with certainty to Alipii. But the Cave Monastery Chronicle recorded that Prince Volodymyr Monomakh of Kiev donated to a Rostov church a great icon of Our Lady painted by Alipii, and recent research showed that it may be the Great Panagia. Discovered in 1919, it was classified for a time as a work of the Suzdal school, but Russian scholars proved that this school did not exist in the early twelfth century and that such accomplished work with pure classical forms was possible only in Kiev. Further research of styles indicates that Alipii may also be the creator of the mosaics in the St. Michael Monastery in Kiev.

The impact of Kievan art on Novgorod was so great that today even the Russian scholars regard such important icons as the Ustiug Annunciation of the twelfth century and the still older icon of SS. Peter and Paul (now in Novgorod museum) as work of the Kievan School. Among the icons that were preserved in

Ukraine, the Ihor's Mother of God of the thirteenth century should be mentioned. This icon was originally in the Kievan Cave Monastery (transformed into a museum) but disappeared during World War II. A fine example of an icon of the popular SS. Borys and Hlib, painted near the end of the thirteenth century, is now in a Kiev museum.

**Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries**

Not many paintings remain from the turbulent fourteenth century. Among the frescoes the best known are in the rotunda chapel of Horiany in Transcarpathian Ukraine; these show marked Italian influence. Another important group of frescoes was discovered in the 1920's in the Armenian Cathedral in Lviv built in 1363. Here especially the figure of St. John the Theologue is painted with great force and expression in the Byzantine style with possible traces of Gothic. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the level of Ukrainian (Ruthenian) icon painting was such that Lithuania, White Ruthenia, and Poland invited Ukrainian artists to their lands, where they successfully competed with western and central European artists. The Polish kings Kazimir and later Jagiello commissioned Ruthenian painters to decorate churches in the royal castle of Wawel in Cracow and the Holy Cross Church in Lysa Gora (1393–4). The painter Vladyka from Peremyshl worked there with a group of Ukrainian painters at the end of the fourteenth century. At the beginning of the fifteenth century the priest Hail from Peremyshl decorated several churches in Poland. Other Ukrainian masters painted frescoes in the Wislica Collegiate, the cathedral of Gniezno, the Lithuanian royal castle in Nowe Troki near Vilna, and the church of Vitebsk. In the well-preserved Sandomir frescoes from the first half of the fifteenth century, late Gothic influence can be traced. The fine frescoes in the castle chapel of the Holy Trinity in Lublin, painted by Andrew in 1415, are of particular importance. Here we see the full cycle of paintings from the New Testament. Andrew took a long step forward in freedom of composition, movement, realism, and harmony of color. The color scheme with its rich scale may be studied still better in the frescoes of the Chapel of the Holy Cross in the Wawel Cathedral in Cracow, executed by Ruthenian artists in 1470, with early Renaissance traits of the type of Giotto and Duccio. The frescoes in Lavriv in Galicia, from the fifteenth century, bear the more austere character of the Byzantine Renaissance imported from Mt. Athos via the Balkans.

One of the great achievements of Ukrainian art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the Galician icon. We know that on the basis of the prevailing Byzantine style various nations developed their own icon art marked with their national features. In this manner developed the typical school of Greek iconography, the schools of the Balkan Slavs—Bulgarian and Serbian—and the Russian schools of Novgorod, Suzdal, and Pskov. The same applies to the iconographic school of Galicia. Iconography developed because of changes in church building: impoverished communities were unable to build in stone and had to use the less expensive and more readily obtainable wood, which did not lend itself to mural painting. Thus icons—paintings on separate movable boards—appeared. These were displayed mostly on the iconostasis—the altar screen —a structure of several rows of paintings in carved wooden framework. The Galician icons were firm in composition, often almost formalistic by the standards of modern art, and ranged from the primitive to the highly refined. Thousands of them are in the Ukrainian Art Museum in Lviv, the earliest preserved specimens being from the fourteenth century (St. George of Stanyl). There are icons of the fifteenth century in which Byzantine and Gothic styles mingle, as in the icon of SS. George and Friday of Korchyn. Everywhere the

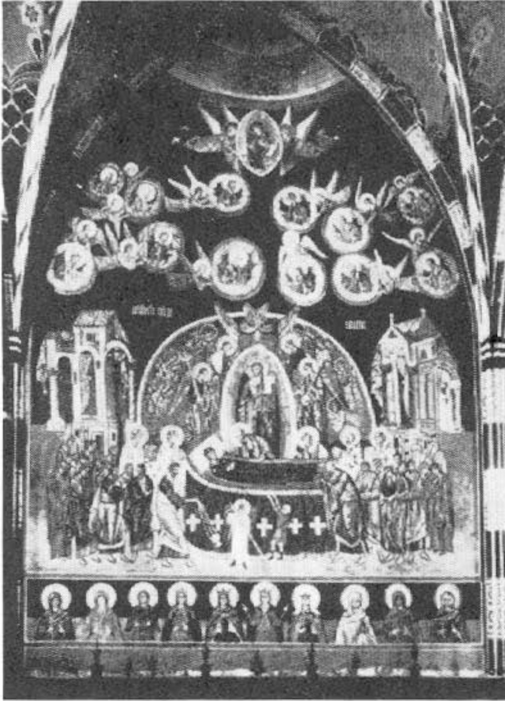

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PLATE XIII. FRESCOES, FIFTEENTH CENTURY

(1) Assumption Cathedral in Sandomierz, Poland, third decade of the fifteenth century (after restoration in 1932–4). (2) Holy Eucharist, detail, Holy Trinity Chapel in Lublin, Poland (1418). (3) Last Supper, Holy Cross Chapel in Wawel Cathedral, Cracow (1470). (4) St. John Chrysostome, Armenian Cathedral, Lviv, probably the end of the fifteenth century.

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PLATE XIV. ART OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

(1) Paradise, mural painting in Assumption Church on the Gate in Lavra, Kiev. (2) Protection of BVM; detail of an icon from Sulymivka, first half of the eighteenth century. (3) Unknown: portrait of Kozak Hamaliia. (4) Unknown: portrait of P. Sulymykha. (5) I. Paievsky: portrait of Yevdokiia Zhuravko, end of the eighteenth century. (6) A. Losenko: Zeus and Themis, Academy of Art, Leningrad. (7) V. Borovykovsky: Archangel Michael. (8) V. Borovykovsky: Portrait of Mrs. Rodzianko.

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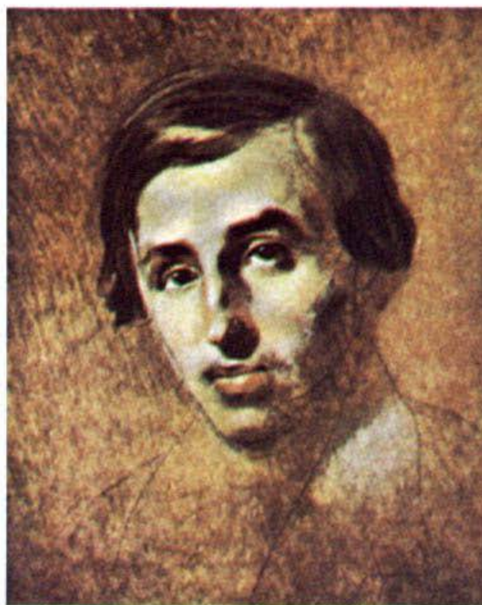

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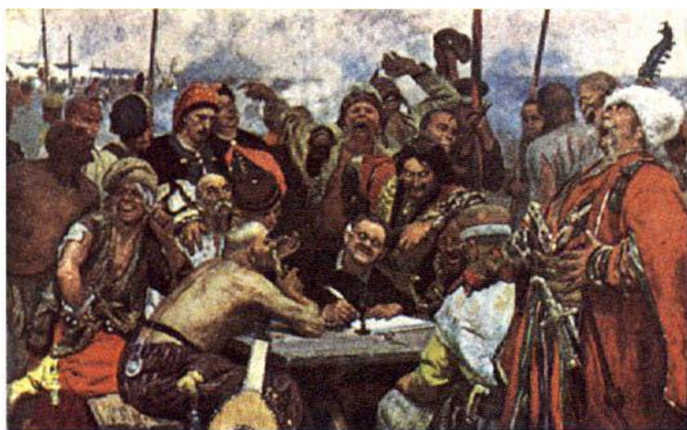
COLOR PLATE III. PAINTING (SEVENTEENTH–NINETEENTH CENTURIES)

(1) The Protectress, with a portrait of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky (end of the seventeenth century). (2) Portrait of the *Otaman* Daniel Yefremovych (1752). (3) D. Levytsky: Portrait of Diderot (1773), Geneva Museum. (4) T. Shevchenko: Portrait of the writer P. Kulish (1847).



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COLOR PLATE IV. REALISM

(1) E. Repin: Kozaks Writing a Letter to the Turkish Sultan (1880–91). (2) T. Krasytsky: Guest from Zaporozhe (1901), Lviv Museum. (3) J. Bokshai: Loggers (oil, 1947).

Byzantine style is already transformed, and the icons bear typical national features: the Holy Virgin from Krasiv (fifteenth century) is a type of the Ukrainian peasant woman, Christ in an icon from Yabloniv (sixteenth century) wears a robe with folk embroidery, and the background of many icons has rather a local than semi-abstract Greek landscape. Gradually realism was introduced during the Renaissance, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Western influences became wide and varied, but the feeling for the decorative persists. Finally, however, the westernizing trends of the Baroque prevail. Some art historians hail this fact as a victory over the Byzantine "rigidity" and "lack of life," others, such as the Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, deplored it as the end of a great era of national art.

## BAROQUE AND CLASSICISM

During the Baroque period (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) a new Ukrainian school of art developed, mainly under the influence of Flemish painting. The most important works are the murals in the Trinity Church of the Kievan Cave Monastery, in the Borys and Hlib Church in the Podil section of Kiev painted by Theodore Kaminsky and Basil Romanovych in 1737–9, in the Main Church in the Cave Monastery painted by Stephen Kamensky and others (paintings destroyed in the nineteenth century), and the decorative "Paradise" in the Holy Cross Church in the same monastery. The finest examples of the Baroque iconostases are those of the Holy Friday Church in Lviv, 1644, Rohatyn, 1649, Buchach, 1661, and Bohorodchany by Yov Kondzelevych (active 1698–1705), all in Galicia. In eastern Ukraine the iconostasis was an important feature of Orthodox churches and there were numerous structures sumptuously built. The finest were in the Assumption Cathedral in Chernihiv (1670), in the Cathedral of St. Nicholas in Kiev built at the end of the seventeenth century by Hetman Ivan Mazepa (demolished by the Soviets), in the Vydubetsky Monastery in Kiev, in the church of Sorochyntsi, 1732, in the Saint Trinity Church in Chernihiv, 1740, in the church in Kozelets, 1763, and in the Assumption Cathedral in Kharkiv, 1780. Numerous icons collected before World War I in the museums of Kiev, Lviv, Kharkiv, Kamianets, and Chernihiv give testimony to the large number of schools dedicated to icon painting. Here often Ukrainian life is depicted, as well as public figures connected with community and political activities—the hetmans and their officers, founders, and donors. Examples are "The Crucifixion" (seventeenth century) with the portrait of the donor Kozak Colonel Leontii Svichka; St. Mary Protectress (eighteenth century), with the portrait of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky; and an icon from the church in Sorochyntsi with the portrait of Hetman Daniel Apostol. On the whole the traditional iconographic heritage was preserved with such decorative elements as the abstract gilded background, while in the portrait realistic elements were combined with sumptuous, solemn, and purely Baroque relativity, particularly in murals.

The most active portrait center was Kiev, especially the Cave Monastery school. The finest portraits of that time are of Michael Myklashevsky, the Kozak officer Hamaliia, the adjutant general Ivan Rodzianko, Colonel Semen Sulyma and his wife, the Kiev burgher Hudyma, 1775, and the Otaman D. Yefremovych, 1752. Among the painters the best known were Nicholas Petrakhnovych-Morakhovsky, Theodore Senkovych, Basil of Lviv who worked at the court of the Polish King Jan Sobieski, and Ivan Rutkovych. From the Cave Monastery school of art, reformed in 1763, came such painters as S. Kamensky, Ivan Zarudnyi, Semen Malyi, Semen Halyk, Zakharia Holubovsky, Opanas Irkliievsky, Samuel Nedilka, and Paul Kazanovych. Numerous Ukrainian artists worked in Moscow,

among them Stephen Zarutsky, Ivan Makhovsky, Ignatius Polonsky, Basil Puzarevsky, Ivan Refuzhynsky, Ivan Ondolsky, Andrew Zhyvotkevych, and Anthony Homnadsky. In folk painting of this period the favorite subjects were the legendary Kozak Mamai and the Kozak Banduryst (minstrel). Here the ancient Byzantine icon traditions were happily combined with the popular primitive.

With the abolition of Ukrainian autonomy in the middle of the eighteenth century Ukrainian artists sought better working conditions in St. Petersburg where the "all-Imperial" artistic center—the Academy of Arts—was in the process of organization (1758). During the period of Classicism the following Ukrainian artists worked in St. Petersburg: Anthony Losenko (1737–73) who was the first rector of the Academy; Cyril Holovachevsky (1735–1823); Ivan Sablukov (Sabluchok, *ca.* 1735–?) who in 1767–73 headed the Department of fine Arts in the Kharkiv College; Dmytro Levytsky (1735–1822) of Kiev who was a professor in the St. Petersburg Academy, and one of the favorite portraitists of his time. Volodymyr Borovykovsky (1757–1825), another outstanding portraitist, started his own school of portrait painting; among his followers was Ivan Buhaievsky-Blahorodnyi (1773–1859). These artists brought the Kozak Baroque period to a close and at the same time inaugurated a new era in Russian art by breaking through the rigid laws of Muscovite-Byzantine iconography and introducing into Ukrainian and Russian art the trends of Western Europe.

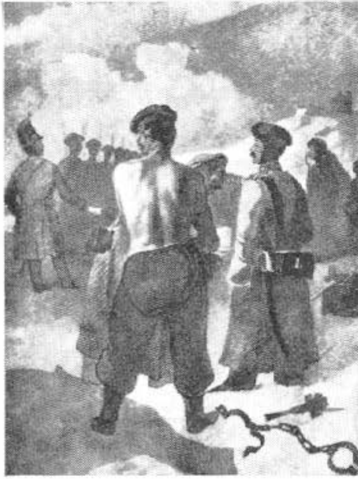
*V. Sichynsky and S. Hordynsky*

## THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

### Realism

The emigration of the most prominent Ukrainian artists to St. Petersburg in the eighteenth century deprived Ukrainian art of its most creative talents. Artists of Ukrainian birth had no opportunity to develop their talents in the national and economic circumstances then prevailing in Ukraine. From the great number of Ukrainian artists born in serfdom only a few names came down to us: Gregory Lapchenko (Lapa), Ivan Usenko, Peter Zolotukha. The majority of Ukrainian artists either emigrated, or worked in Ukraine but for non-Ukrainian art. Poland acquired a well-known painter of horse and battle scenes in Julian Kossak (1824–99), a portraitist in Raphael Hadzevych (1803–86), and a painter of classical scenes in Henryk Siemiradzki (1843–1902). Theodore Yakhymovych (Jachimowicz, 1800–70) worked in Vienna as a portraitist and decorator of the State Opera. Russian painting was enriched by such Ukrainians as Elias Repin (1844–1928), popular painter of Kozak scenes; the marine artist Ivan Aivazovsky (1817–1900) whose parents came originally from Galicia; and Alexander Lytovchenko (1835–90) who became one of the leading creators of the Russian academic historical school where he continued the traditions of his compatriot Losenko. And there were many others. Although they occasionally worked on Ukrainian subjects, their connections with Ukrainian culture were few and far between.

Taras Shevchenko (1814–61), the national poet of Ukraine and a painter by profession, may be considered as the father of the new Ukrainian painting. Academic at first, in keeping with the predominant style of the Academy in St. Petersburg, he gradually developed a free realistic style and substituted subjects from life for the contrived historical themes. He painted genre scenes from Ukrainian, and later in exile from Kirgiz life, and he was one of the first in the Tsarist Empire to depict the horrors of Russian prisons in his "Parable of the Prodigal Son." His work was extremely varied: oil and water-color portraits, landscapes, genre and historical scenes, architectural drawings, etchings (see



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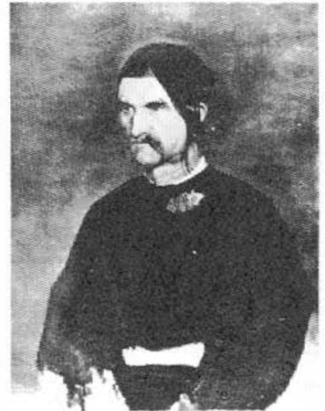

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PLATE XV. PAINTING: REALISM

(1) T. Shevchenko: Running the Gauntlet (1856–7). (2) T. Shevchenko: Self-portrait (1840). (3) T. Shevchenko: In the Dungeon (1857). (4) D. Bezperchyi: Self-portrait. (5) O. Slastion: Bandura Player Amidst the Kozaks, illustration for a Shevchenko poem. (6) P. Martynovych: Portrait of a Kozak. (7) S. Vasylkivsky: Kozaks in the Steppe (after 1890). (8) N. Ivasiuk: Entrance of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky into Kiev, 1649 (1912).

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PLATE XVI. MONUMENTALISM AND NEO-BYZANTINISM

(1) T. Krychevsky: Family (1927). (2) B. Sedliar: Execution (1926). (3) M. Boichuk: Harvest Festival, fresco in the Kharkiv Opera House (1933), demolished on the orders of the Communist party. (4) P. Kholodny, Sr.: Opening of the Grave (1928), Ukrainian Catholic University Museum, Rome. (5) I. Padalka: In the Orchard. (6) M. Osinchuk: Head of Christ (1956). (7) P. Kholodny, Jr.: Holy Virgin with Child (1960). (8) M. Dolnytska: Last Judgment (enamel).

Graphic Arts). Besides experimenting in subject matter he also tackled purely formal problems, especially the play of light and shade. Not fully appreciated in the nineteenth century, he at last found his rightful place in the history of Ukrainian art through the efforts and detailed research of modern Ukrainian scholars.

Shevchenko had a numerous following: his younger Academy colleague Basil Sternberg (1818–45), who faithfully painted Ukrainian landscapes and genre scenes; Leo Zhemchuzhnikov (1828–1912); Constantine Trutovsky (1826–93); Opanas Slastion (1855–1933); Porphiry Martynovych (1856–1933); and Ivan Izhakevych (1864–1962). All these painters showed a tendency toward ethnographic subjects.

Still the academic style predominated and counted many representatives. In the field of portraiture were Gabriel Vasko (1820–65), Apollon Mokrytsky (1810–70), and Michael Briansky (1830–1908), also Paul Schleifer (1814–79) and Heinrich Holpein (1811–58), both of German descent. Many of their paintings are now in the Kiev Museum. Painters of historical and genre scenes were Constantine Flavytsky (1830–1916) and Paul Svidomsky (1849–1904) who with the Russian painter Michael Vrubel decorated the newly built St. Volodymyr's Cathedral in Kiev. Ukrainian folk genre subjects were painted by Dmytro Bezperchyi (1825–1913) and the landscape by Leo Lagorio (1826–1905) and Kyriak Kostandi (1852–1921). Some of these painters show a marked naturalistic trend.

A specific form of realism called "idea-realism" was developed by members of the Russian Association of Travelling Exhibitions (Peredvizhniki). Artists of Ukrainian descent played an important role in this group, and Repin was regarded as their leader. Other prominent painters of this group were the author of psychological and religious compositions Nicholas Gai (1831–94) who was one of the first to turn the tide of artistic emigration to Russia back to Ukraine; Nicholas Bodarevsky (1850–1921); Nicholas Yaroshenko (1846–96); and Nicholas Pymonenko (1862–1912). Yaroshenko painted prison scenes, and Pymonenko was very popular for his pictures from Kozak life as well as from such social scenes as the "Victim of Fanaticism." Well known in Paris in the 80's was the talented and ambitious Mary Bashkirtseva (1860–84).

Very important for Ukrainian art were those artists who once more endeavored to find their way back to the fountainhead of Ukrainian tradition. Foremost among them was Serhii Vasylkivsky (1854–1917), who made a thorough study of Ukrainian costume and ornament. His historical and period pictures in the building of the Poltava *Zemstvo* were a revelation to his contemporaries. The same problems also interested Nicholas Samokysha (1860–1944), one of the foremost military painters in Eastern Europe. Ambrose Zhdakha (Smahlii) (1855–1927) worked along the line indicated by Vasylkivsky; a subtle miniaturist and illustrator, he was extremely popular for historical scenes reproduced on postcards.

In Western Ukraine in the first quarter of the nineteenth century the most active was Luke Dolynsky (*ca.* 1745–1824) who, after spending some years in the Kiev Academy, finished his studies in Vienna and worked mostly on religious themes. New talents began to appear in the 60's. Cornelius Ustyianovych (1839–1903) waged a tragic struggle with the primitivism of his surroundings; his "Moses" in the Church of the Transfiguration in Lviv symbolized this struggle with his own community. His contemporary was Theophile Kopystynsky (1844–1916), a portraitist and religious painter. The paintings of Nicholas Ivasiuk (1865–1930) were on the borderline between academism and realism. He is best known for his large historical composition "Hetman Khmelnytsky's

Entrance into Kiev." Realism persisted in Galicia well into the 1920's. Its representatives were Anthony Manastyrsky (b. 1878) and Osyp Kurylas (1877–1943). In 1898 the first Galician art group, the Association for the Development of Ruthenian Art, came into being. It held two expositions in 1898 and 1900.

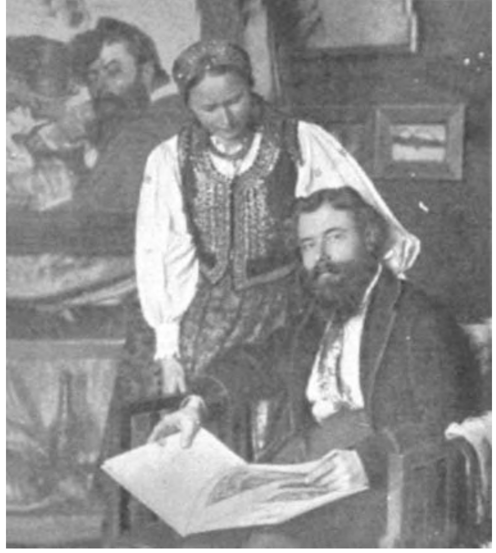

FIGURE 277. ALEXANDER NOVAKIVSKY AND HIS WIFE

## New Trends

Impressionism let in a breath of new life. It is felt already in the works of such realists as Ivan Pokhytoniv (1850–1923), Peter Levchenko (1869–1917), Arkhyp Kuindzhi (1842–1910), Joseph Bokshai (b. 1891), Fotii Krasytsky (1873–1944), and especially Alexander Murashko (1875–1919) who brought an elegant and refined style of painting from Paris and Munich.

At the turn of our century Ukrainian artists began to depart from the St. Petersburg artistic traditions and to study art in the West—in Cracow, Munich, and Paris. In the Cracow Art School (since 1900 the Academy of Fine Arts) Jan Stanisławski, a Polish landscape painter born in Ukraine, trained such Ukrainian painters as Ivan Trush (1869–1941) from Lviv and Nicholas Burachok (1871–1942) from Kiev—two impressionists who later themselves became masters of Ukrainian landscape. Michael Zhuk (1883–1964), painter of symbolical portraits, Ivan Severyn (b. 1881), and Alexander Novakivsky (1872–1935) also studied in Cracow. Novakivsky was the strongest personality of them all. Under the influence of war experiences his impressionism changed into symbolic expressionism. Powerful, dramatic, dynamic in form and color, Novakivsky's painting is regarded in Ukraine as one of the top achievements of Ukrainian art. In the years 1923–35 a large number of young painters studied in his school in Lviv sponsored by the Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky.

In the period before and after World War I two brothers, Basil (1872–1952) and Theodore (1879–1947) Krychevsky, left their mark on Ukrainian national art. Basil, an exceptionally versatile artist, architect, and pedagogue, became one of the professors of the Kiev Academy of Arts established by the Ukrainian government in 1917. Theodore taught in the same academy and helped train a generation of young Ukrainian artists. The decorative art of Olena Kulchytska (1877–1967), who found her inspiration in folk art, and the symbolistic compositions of Yukhym Mykhailiv (1885–1926), who was fascinated by motifs from fable and mythology, are still within the boundaries of impressionism. The most

FIGURE 278. BASIL KRYCHEVSKY

FIGURE 279 IVAN TRUSH, 1939

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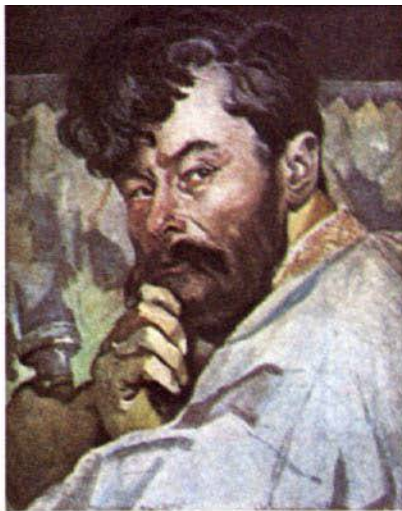
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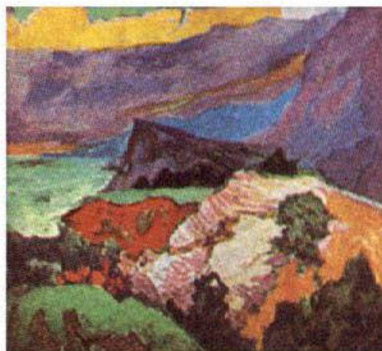
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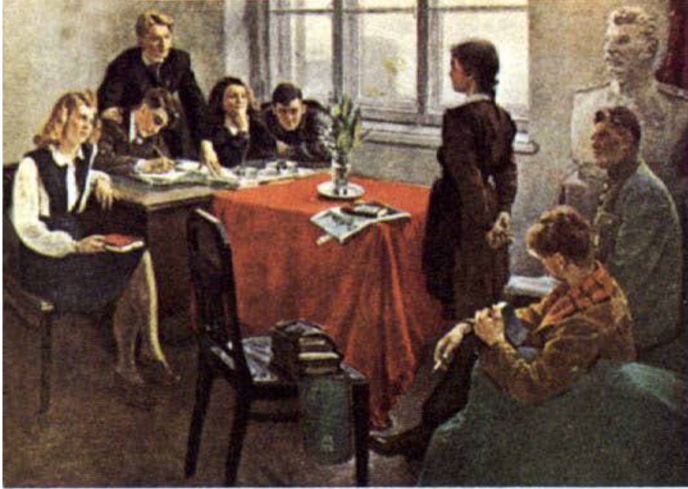
COLOR PLATE V. IMPRESSIONISM AND EXPRESSIONISM

(1) A. Murashko: Girl in Red Hat (oil). (2) A. Novakivsky: Self-portrait (oil, 1911). (3) I. Trush: "Hahilky" (Easter games) (oil, 1905). (4) N. Hlushchenko: Crimean Landscape (1967). (5) N. Butovych: Wedding Trip (oil). (6) M. Moroz: River Gorge (oil, 1960).



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COLOR PLATE VI. SOCIALIST REALISM IN SOVIET UKRAINE

(1) S. Hryhoriïv: Entrance into Komsomol (1949), Kiev Museum. Bust of Stalin, upper right, was painted over in 1957. (2) M. Khmelko: Fatherland Salutes a Hero (Khrushchev salutes a cosmonaut). (3) O. Basanets: Spring in Collective Farm (1947).

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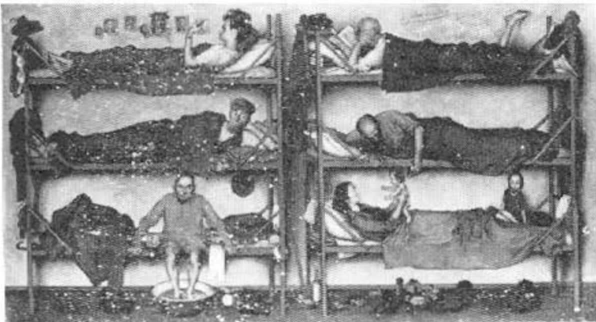
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PLATE XVII. MODERN PAINTING

(1) A. Novakivsky: Moses, portrait of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky (1925). (2) A. Petrytsky: Invalids (1926). (3) V. Meller: Cart (*ca.* 1930). (4) B. Khmeliuk: Flowers (1965). (5) E. Kozak: Companions (1965). (6) J. Hnizdovsky: Displaced Persons (1948). (7) M. Selska: Violin Player (1966).

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PLATE XVIII. SOVIET ART IN UKRAINE

(1) A. Oliinyk: Portrait of the Hero of Soviet Labor, L. Vodolaha (1951). (2) M. Manizer: detail of the Shevchenko Monument in Kharkiv (1935). (3) V. Chekaniuk: Whalers. (4) M. Chepyk, High-altitude Workers (oil, 1960). (5) M. Vronsky and A. Oliinyk: Shevchenko Monument for Canada (1960). (6) Ceiling of the vestibule in the building of the Supreme Soviet in Kiev, by V. and B. Shcherbakov (1936–41). (7) B. Kasiian: Brigade leader H. Zamkovy (lino. 1960). (8) A. Koziurenko and V. Hlyvenko, "What is Corn?," Poster (1955). (9) V. Seleznev: "Come with us!," poster encouraging young people to volunteer for work in Siberia (Russian language).

characteristic trait of Ukrainian impressionism is a certain decorative element particularly noticeable in the predominancy of line over color—a trait found also in the iconography.

Modest Sosenko (1875–1920) was one of the first to introduce intentional stylization on the basis of Byzantine examples. He was followed by another Galician, Michael Boichuk (1882–1939),

FIGURE 280. MICHAEL BOICHUK, *ca.* 1930

who became the founder of an entire new school of frescoe painting, later called the School of Monumentalists or simply Boichukists. Boichuk based his art on the Byzantine tradition in Ukraine as well as on other monumental styles, especially the pre-Renaissance of Giotto and Massacio, and on folk art. In the years preceding World War I he and a group of his admirers worked in Paris, and the formal principles of cubism were not without influence on his art. At the best, his art could be compared with the Mexican Frescoe School, especially with Diego Rivera's, who in 1926 came to Ukraine to see Boichuk.

## ART IN SOVIET UKRAINE

The Ukrainian national revolution and the struggle for independence in the years 1917–20 caused a great upheaval in all sectors of Ukrainian life. After the Communist take-over of Ukraine and the institution of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic there, the cultural activities in Ukraine came under the full impact of new forces born in the national liberation struggle. In the mid-1920's numerous artists' associations sprung up all over Soviet Ukraine, among the most important of which were: Asotsiiatsiia Khudozhnykiv Chervonoï Ukraïny (the Association of Artists of Red Ukraine, 1925), which attracted mainly followers of realism ready to dedicate their creativeness to the service of the regime; Asotsiiatsiia Revoliutsiinoho Mystetstva Ukraïny (ARMU—Association of the Revolutionary Art of Ukraine, 1925), which was dominated by the Boichukists, leaning toward Ukrainian national traditions; Obiednannia Suchasnykh Mysttsiv Ukraïny (OSMU—Association of Contemporary Artists of Ukraine, 1927), which was concerned with creative interpretation of modern Western trends, mainly expressionism and constructivism; Obiednannia Molodykh Mysttsiv Ukraïny (OMMU—Union of Young Artists of Ukraine), and Zhovten' (October), a group of revolutionary artists, mostly of the constructivist trend. Together these groups counted over a thousand members, and were often involved in sharp but stimulating controversies, which in the Soviet circumstances were not only artistic but political as well. All these organizations in Ukraine were liquidated by the Soviet regime on April 23, 1932, and all artists became members of one official organization. The name of this new organization was the Spilka Khudozhnykiv Ukraïny (Union of Artists of Ukraine), but it was merely a branch of the All-Soviet Union of Artists in Moscow.

During the existence of the above named associations the Boichukists were particularly distinguished for their diverse talents. Among them were Boichuk's younger brother Tymko (1896–1922), Ivan Padalka (1897–1938), Alexander

Bohomaziv (1881–1930), Basil Sedliar (b. 1889), Oksana Pavlenko (b. 1896), Alexander Dovhal (1904–61), Alexander Myzin (b. 1900), Ivan Lypkivsky, Nicholas Rokytsky (1901–44), Emanuel Shekhtman (1900–41), Cyril Hvozdyk (1895–?), Nicholas Azovsky (1903–47), and George Sadylenko (b. 1903). Their theorist was Ivan Vrona (b. 1887). In the wave of persecution in the mid-1930's Boichuk himself and several of his adherents were liquidated by the Soviet regime for alleged counter-revolutionary traditionalism and "nationalistic form." Many of their works, such as frescoes for theaters, sanatoriums, and clubs, were destroyed. Except for some small drawings, nothing remained of Boichuk's work.

FIGURE 281. BASIL SEDLIAR, 1920's

Modern trends in Ukrainian art were already felt in the first decade of our century. Ukrainian-born artists at that time, however, were active almost exclusively in the Russian art centers, especially in Moscow, and in this way they contributed to the development of modern Russian art. Among them were Michael Larionov from Kharkiv, Kazimir Malevich of Kiev, David and Volodymyr Burliuk of Kherson, Volodymyr Tatlin from Kharkiv, and Alexis Gritchenko. Before World War I they exhibited also in Kiev, Odessa, and other Ukrainian cities and were well known in artistic circles in Ukraine. In the 1920's, Kharkiv, then the capital of the Ukrainian SSR, became an important center of modern art in Ukraine. Among the most prominent artists was Anatole Petrytsky (1895–1964) who for the most part worked in theatrical decoration, but was also a great modern painter. In the years 1928–32 he created a series—over a hundred—of portraits of Ukrainian personalities in constructivist manner, powerful in form and character, but in the era of official socialist-realism all of them were destroyed by the regime because of their "nationalistic form." To this group of modern artists belong Vadym Meller (1884–1962), Basil Yermilov (b. 1894), Victor Palmov (1888–1929), Andrew Taran (b. 1887), Dmytro Shavykin (b. 1902), Constantine Yeleva (1897–1950), Lev Kramarenko (1888–1942), and Paul Holubiatnykiv (1891–193?). During the socialist-realist pressure some of them were forced to change their style in order to survive.

Besides these two groups of Ukrainian artists in the USSR there was a larger one composed of realists, often with impressionistic tendencies. Among them were: Michael Kozyk (1879–1945), Gregory Svitlychnyi (1872–1948), Paul Volokydin (1877–1936), Solomon Kyshynevsky (1863–1942), Semen Prokhorov (1873–1948), Michael Sharonov (1881–1957), and Ivan Shulha (1889–1956).

Until 1930 Soviet Ukrainian artists participated as a separate national group in artistic life abroad. They had great success in the *Biennale* in Venice in 1928 and 1930, especially T. Krychevsky and A. Petrytsky. After 1933, when socialist-realism was officially enforced throughout the entire Soviet Union, Ukrainians were also subjected to it. In painting this style implies a combination of naturalistic documentation with quasi-academic theatricality, which demands idealization according to the newest precepts of party politics. In Ukraine socialist-realism was served by no exceptional talents and its development was limited merely to the diversity of subjects. The artists received substantial commissions to paint such illustrative pictures as the "happy life" on the collective farms ("The Queen of Labor—Portrait of the Hero of Socialist Labor Eugenie Dolyniuk" by Victor Savyn), farm activities ("Corn" by Tatiana Yablonska), factory scenes ("Five-Minute Rest in the Stocking Factory" by Karpo Trokhymenko), revolutionary episodes before 1917 ("Rebellion on the

Cruiser Ochakiv" by Leonid Muchnyk), the fight against "Ukrainian nationalism" ("The Tragedy of Trypilia" by George Kiianchenko), scenes from the life of Lenin ("Lenin Speaking with the Donbas Miners" by Symkha Huietsky), the heroism of the Soviet Army ("Ours in Prague" by George Yablonsky), and propagandist historical compositions ("Forever with Moscow" by Michael Khmelko). Here also belong the huge, photographically detailed portraits of Soviet leaders and "heroes." After the liquidation of the "cult of the individual" thousands of portraits of Stalin, and later Khrushchev, were destroyed or painted over. Often these pictures were painted under implacable official pressure. At one congress the party secretary Nicholas Podgorny, later the president of the USSR, himself spoke about the persecution of Ukrainian artists by Stalin's assistant Lazar Kaganovich, because they did not give him a prominent enough place in the official group portraits.

For decades, Ukrainian artists in the USSR were almost completely isolated from the artistic life of the Western world. There were no Soviet Ukrainian exhibitions there. At the all-Soviet art shows abroad Ukrainians were allowed to participate only as "Soviet artists" of unspecified nationality. In the Ukrainian SSR there exist undeniably many talented artists; especially since 1960 there has been a profusion of young creative talents in all sectors of art. The problem is that in Ukraine artistic creativeness was for long treated as "production in the sector of art." That is why Soviet art in general is rarely mentioned in the histories of contemporary art that deal not with the effectiveness of the production but with the spiritual creativeness of the man.

It seems that decorative art is far more interesting than contemporary painting in the Ukrainian SSR. For example, considerable progress was made in mosaic decoration. The character of the material itself (mostly ceramic mosaic) does not allow a naturalistic treatment and calls for monumental, simplified forms and style. Thus, such Kiev structures as the Boryspil airport received a modern decor well in keeping with modern architecture of steel, concrete, and glass (artists E. Klokov, Valerii Lamakh, Ivan Lytovchenko). In this field are working numerous artists, such as Basil Ovchynnikov, Stephen Kyrychenko, Nadia Klein, Ada Rybachuk, Volodymyr Melnychenko, Serhii Otroshchenko, and S. Yablonska.

## ART IN WESTERN UKRAINE AND EMIGRATION

The art of Western Ukraine, in 1919–39 under Poland, developed in different circumstances; above all it had the opportunity and possibility of keeping in touch with the West. In the 1920's the influx of new talent from eastern Ukraine gave a positive impetus to Galician art centered in Lviv. There, under the initiative of Peter Kholodnyi Sr. and the art critic Nicholas Holubets, Hrupa Diiachiv Ukraïns'koho Mystetstva (HDUM—Group of the Activists of Ukrainian Art) was formed in 1922. It held four expositions. In 1931 a group of modern artists formed the Asotsiiatsiia Nezalezhnykh Ukraïns'kykh Mysttsiv (ANUM—Association of Independent Ukrainian Artists), which besides organizing numerous shows also issued a series of art publications. Other groups were Tovarystvo Prykhyl'nykiv Ukraïns'koho Mystetstva (Society of Friends of Ukrainian Art), the Young artists group RUB, and Spokii (Calm) in Warsaw. Side by side with the older artists who worked in Lviv, such as Trush and Novakivsky, there was a group of younger painters from the former Ukrainian Legion, Ukraïns'ki Sichovi Striltsi: Julian Butsmaniuk (1885–1968), Ivan Ivanets (1893–1946), and Lev Getz (b. 1895). Their number was enlarged by artists from eastern Ukraine who after 1920 fled the Soviet persecution. Among them were such distinguished names as P. Kholodnyi, Sr. (1876–1930),

who created his own neo-Byzantine style different from Boichuk's, and Basil Kryzhanivsky (1891–1926), as well as three

FIGURE 282. PETER KHOLODNYI, SR.

graphic artists and painters, Paul Kovzhun, Nicholas Butovych, and Robert Lisovsky. Besides Kholodnyi, there was in Lviv a group of innovators in the field of religious art based on the Galician icon: Michael Osinchuk (b. 1890), Yaroslava Muzyka (b. 1896), Basil Diadyniuk (1900–44), and enamel artist Maria Dolnytska (b. 1894). Osyp Sorokhtei (1889–1941), Leonid Perfetsky (1900–68), and Roman Selsky (b. 1903) were representatives of more formalistic trends.

Numerous eastern Ukrainian artists went also to the artistic centers in Western Europe. The most prominent in the Paris group were Alexis Gritchenko (Hryshchenko, b. 1883), whose marines and landscapes assured him a distinguished place in French painting, the constructivist Michael Andriienko-Nechytailo (b. 1894), Nicholas Hlushchenko (b. 1901), Ivan Babii (b. 1896), Basil Khmeliuk (b. 1903), and Nicholas Krychevsky (1900–62). To the Prague group belonged Ivan Kulets (b. 1880) and Halyna Mazepa (b. 1912). In the Warsaw group were Peter Kholodnyi Jr. (b. 1902), Peter Mehyk (b. 1898), and Peter Andrusiv (b. 1904). After the war the last three came to the United States.

During World War II there was a meeting of artists from eastern and western Ukraine. This meeting proved fruitful for Ukrainian art, and several important exhibitions were held in Lviv between 1941 and 1944. At the end of the war many Ukrainian artists fleeing persecution and in search of creative freedom went to the West—Germany, Austria, France. After the war, the largest group of them organized in Munich the Ukraïns'ka Spilka Obrazotvorchykh Mysttsiv (USOM—Union of Ukrainian Artists) which held there numerous exhibits, the largest in 1947. During 1948–9 artists living temporarily in displaced persons' camps in Germany and Austria began to emigrate overseas: to the United States, Canada, Argentina, Venezuela, Australia. Some of them quickly adapted themselves to their new surroundings. New York, where the distinguished sculptor Alexander Archipenko worked for years, became the center of Ukrainian artistic life. There the Obiednannia Mysttsiv Ukraïntsiv v Amerytsi (OMUA—Ukrainian Artists Association in America) was founded in 1952. A similar group for Canada—Ukraïns'ka Spilka Obrazotvorchykh Mysttsiv Kanady (Ukrainian Union of artists of Canada) was formed in Toronto. Besides frequent one-man shows and annual exhibits, many large-scale shows of Ukrainian art were organized both in the United States and Canada, the most important in the Toronto Art Gallery (1954), Montreal Museum (1956), Ukrainian Institute of America in New

FIGURE 283. MICHAEL OSINCHUK

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COLOR PLATE VII. MODERN ART I

(1) A. Gritchenko: Turkish Musician (gouache, 1920). (2) A. Petrytsky: Kozak Officer (costume design, 1924). (3) P. Kholodny, Jr.: Nativity (tempera). (4) M. Levytsky: Hutsul Musicians (oil). (5) T. Yablonska: May (1965). (6) H. Mazepa: Catherine (motif from a Shevchenko ballad, gouache).

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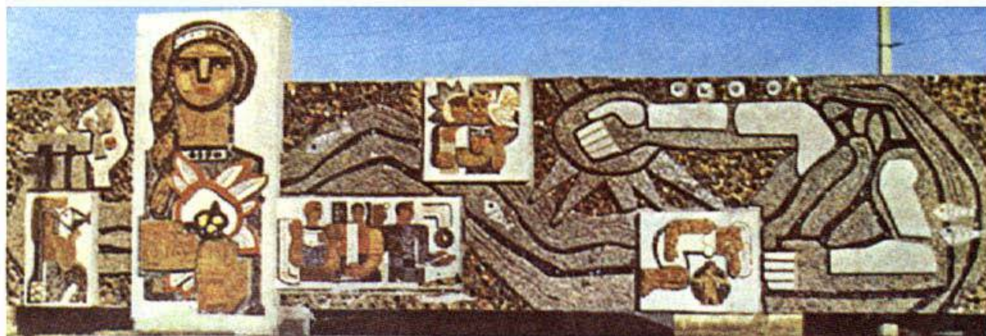

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COLOR PLATE VIII. MODERN ART II

(1) A. Archipenko: Meditation (oil, end of the thirties), collection of A. Sumyk, New York. (2) M. Andriienko: Composition with Heads. (3) V. Balas: Kozak Mamai (glass mosaic, 1954). (4) T. Wirsta: Metamorphose. (5) I. Lytovchenko: The Dnieper River (mosaic panel, Rail Road Place in Cherkasy).

York (1956), and Wayne State University Museum in Detroit (1960). One of the achievements of Ukrainian artists in America is the modern icon and mural painting which enriched the old traditions through the use of contemporary trends. The importance in this lies in the fact that neither religious nor modern art was permitted in Ukraine under the Soviet regime.

In contemporary art outside Ukraine all trends in modern painting are represented. Among the post-impressionists are Michael Dmytrenko (b. 1908), Nicholas Nedilko (b. 1902), Oleksa Bulavytsky (b. 1916), and Roman Pachovsky (1911–68); among the expressionists are Severyn Borachok (b. 1898), Michael Moroz (b. 1904), and Ivan Kurakh (1909–68); among the neo-realists are Jacques Hnizdovsky (b. 1915) and Liubomyr Kuzma (b. 1913); among the representatives of various modern trends are Halyna Mazepa, Myroslav Radysh (1910–56), Volodymyr Lasovsky (b. 1907), Myron Levytsky (b. 1913), George Solovii (1921), Bohdan Bozhemsky (b. 1923), Liuboslav Hutsaliuk (b. 1923), Themistocles Wirsta (b. 1923) and Arkadia Olenska-Petryshyn (b. 1934). Such graphic artists as N. Butovych and Edward Kozak (b. 1902) are also accomplished painters.

There are several American-born artists of Ukrainian descent who participate in Ukrainian exhibits, such as the illustrators James Lewicki, Yaroslava Surmach-Mills, and Thomas Shepko, and the painter James Gaboda. In addition an entire generation of young Ukrainian newcomers grew up and was trained in American art schools. They introduced new conceptions into Ukrainian art, breaking with age-old traditions and adopting modern trends.

After World War II a group of Ukrainian artists remained in Poland, among them the painters Lev Getz, Jerzy Novosielski, and Alexander Winnicki, the sculptor Gregory Piecuch and Nykyfor (Krynytsky) (1895–1968), a primitivist whose exhibits in Western Europe won him (and Polish art) wide acclaim. His painting is based on folk under-glass painting, a popular art in the Lemkian region, the Ukrainian ethnographic territory now under Polish rule.

*S. Hordynsky*

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# 5. GRAPHIC ARTS

## THE BEGINNINGS, ELEVENTH TO FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

Graphic art appeared in Ukraine along with the first books in Old Slavonic in the eleventh century, and in the Era of the Princes (the eleventh to mid-fourteenth centuries) it attained a high artistic level, particularly in the field of manuscript illumination. The subject matter here was treated with greater freedom than in mosaics and mural painting. Besides religious themes there are scenes from secular and court life, as well as attempts at individual portraiture. Byzantine influence was particularly apparent in the ornamental motifs for book miniatures.

Among the surviving illuminations the most outstanding are the Ostromyr Gospel, probably from Kiev, 1056, with three miniatures of the Evangelists and rich ornamentation (now in a Leningrad library); *Izbornyky Sviatoslava* (the Sviatoslav Collections), 1073 and 1076, with the miniatures of "Christ Enthroned," "Council of Saints," and portraits of Prince Sviatoslav's family (first copy in Leningrad, second in Moscow Historical Museum); and the so-called Trier Psalter or Gertrude's Prayerbook, 1078–87, with five miniatures of Western Ukrainian origin, among them the portraits of Prince Yaropolk, his wife, and his mother Gertrude (now in the City Museum of Cividale, Italy). Other manuscripts, such as the Book of the Apostles of Khrystynopil, twelfth century, the Krylos Gospel, 1144, and Gospel of Kholm, thirteenth century, are ornamented with weavings similar to those in Balkan manuscripts. A very important work of 1397 is the Kiev Spiridon Psalter, with 293 miniatures. Here in addition to religious motifs, scenes from war and everyday life are to be found, executed by the hand of a master miniaturist, who breathed life into the rigid Byzantine style.

## THE FIFTEENTH TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

The Byzantine style dominates the graphic arts almost to the period of the Renaissance, in the middle of the sixteenth century, but already in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Gothic realism brings here and there a more natural treatment of subject, especially in figural composition. There are interesting miniatures in the story of the Princes Borys and Hlib from the fourteenth century preserved in a copy from the end of the fifteenth century, where scenes of court life are represented, as well as warriors, ships, buildings, and so on. Manuscripts and books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were decorated with vignettes, book-end ornaments, and ornamental initials, for the most part in the weaving style, usually in black and red colors. In the figural drawings a special brush technique was developed which allowed quick work for several copies simultaneously. Gradually the Byzantine weaving ornament was replaced by geometrical plant motifs, which were treated more realistically in the Renaissance era. Examples of this realistic manner are the Gospel of Peresopnytsia (1555–61), which shows traces of the Italian Renaissance, and the Acts of the Apostles of Zahorovsky from Volhynia. The drawings of the Kozak manuscripts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, written in "short-writing," show more individuality. To this group belong hand-written textbooks of the Academy of Kiev, ornamental decretals, diplomas, and state papers of the hetmans.

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PLATE XIX. ANCIENT MINIATURE

(1) Evangelist Luke, from the Ostromir Gospel, Kiev (1056). (2) A page from the "*Izbornyk* (Collection) of Sviatoslav," Kiev (1073). (3) Apostle Peter with the Kiev Prince Yaropolk and his wife Irene, from the Trier Psalter, probably west-Ukrainian (1078–87), Municipal Museum, Cividale, Italy. (4) Battle scene, from the Kiev Psalter written by Proto-deacon Spyrydon (1397). (5) Last Judgment, Kiev Psalter (1397).

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**XX. ENGRAVING I**

(1) Engraver W. S.: Evangelist Luke, from "The Apostle," Lviv (1574). (2) Coat of arms of Bishop Gedeon Balaban of Lviv, from the "Liturgikon," Striatyn (1604). (3) Unknown: Death on a White Horse, Kiev (1627). (4) L. Tarasevych: Holy Cross Procession in the Cave Monastery in Kiev (1702). (5) Fedir A.: Doubting Thomas, from the *Tolkovaia Paleia*, Kiev (1697). (6) L. Tarasevych: Portrait of Deputy Chamberlain H. Zemlia, end of the seventeenth century. (7) Engraver L. T.: The Mystery of Holy Baptism, from the "Eukhologion," Kiev (1646). (8) Gregory Levytsky: "Thesis" for Kiev metropolitan Raphael Zaborovsky (1739).

The perfection of the technique of engraving, known in Ukraine since the sixteenth century, gave a new impetus to the development of graphic art. The oldest woodcut, "Jesus Christ," is found in a Gospel of the sixteenth century with a monogram of the engraver, which was deciphered by Dmitrii Rovinsky as "Monk Philip." In the early Cyryllic print of Sviatopolk (Schweitpold) Fiol's *Oktoikh* (Cracow 1491), which was widely used especially in Ukraine, the engraving of the Crucifixion shows influences of the Nuremberg Gothic style.

Engraving was well known in Lviv in the mid-sixteenth century; and the Ukrainian master Lavrentii Fylypovych-Pukhalsky had a school of engraving, whose foremost pupil was Hryn Ivanovych, the author of numerous woodcuts in books printed in Lviv and Ostrih. In the first dated printing of the Acts of the Apostles (Lviv 1574) the frame of the woodcut of the Apostle Luke follows a German engraving of Schoen, while the figure is still in the Ukrainian Byzantine style; thus are united the new Western trends with the ancient traditions of Ukrainian graphic art. At the end of the sixteenth century Ostrih was the second center of engraving after Lviv. Side by side with North German Gothic and Renaissance styles, Venetian influence now begins to appear. Particularly notable are the engravings in the editions of Gedeon Balaban in Striatyn and Krylos at the beginning of the seventeenth century (woodcuts of SS. Basil and Gregory the Theologue). In the first half of the seventeenth century the engraver's art developed swiftly in the printing house of the Kievan Cave Monastery. Kiev and Lviv developed a single school of engraving. The choice of subject in Kiev engravings widened to illustrations of historical and secular themes, portraits, and plans of towns. Eastern Byzantine iconography finally gave way to Western European realism, and an original decorative manner emerged. An example are woodcuts for Kasiian Sakovych's "Verses" on the occasion of the death of Hetman Peter Sahaidachnyi in 1622.

Among the Kiev engravers of the early seventeenth century the most prominent are Timothy Petrovych ("Discourses of St. John Chrysostom," 1623), Taras Levkovych Zemka, active in 1623–32, A. Klyryk, and Luka; and a number of monogramists, K.P., P.K., K.R., V.R. A most proficient engraver was Elias (Illia) whose works bear a marked Flemish influence.

## THE BAROQUE PERIOD, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

During the Baroque period engraving achieved a high level of development, particularly under Hetman Ivan Mazepa. An intricate symbolism with allegorical and heraldic accessories was combined with elaborate Baroque ornamentation. Besides book illustrations, etchings printed separately on paper and silk now appeared. They were usually dedications to prominent political and intellectual personages and high Kozak officers, as well as so-called "theses," portraits, architectural motifs, and city plans. The first Baroque engravers, in the 'seventies of the seventeenth century, were from Western Ukraine: Eustace Zavadovsky, Dionise Sinkevych, and Nikodym Zubrytsky, the last known for his sixty-two engravings to *Iphica Iieropolitica* (1712) which were widely copied and imitated in Lviv, St. Petersburg, and Vienna editions. At the end of the seventeenth century Chernihiv took its place in engraving (N. Zubrytsky, Leontii Tarasevych, Ivan Shchyrsky, Ivan Strelbytsky, Michael Karnovsky). Semen Yalynsky and Constantine worked in Novhorod Siversky. But the prime center of the engraver's art was always Kiev, where engraving was taught and perfected in the Academy of Kiev and the art school and printing house of the Kievan Cave Monastery. At the same time, some

Ukrainian artists acquired technical skill and knowledge abroad.

The master of the Ukrainian school of engraving was Alexander Anthony Tarasevych, active between 1672 and 1720. He was the most sought-after master of etching in Eastern Europe—portraitist of royalty and prominent personages, creator of book illustrations and religious pictures. Representatives of his school are: Daniel Galakhovsky, active between 1674 and 1709, author of a large engraving with a portrait of Hetman Mazepa on a scholarly treatise; the above mentioned L. Tarasevych (active 1688–1703), engraver of a portrait of Hetman Mazepa and illustrations to the *Patericon*; I. Strelbytsky; I. Shchyrsky (active 1682–1714), author of engravings on scholarly treatises; Zakharii Samoilovych; and a number of artists in woodcuts, Marko Semenkiv, Theodore A., A. Tyt, and others. A highly individual style with strong folk elements was developed by Ivan Myhura. The Ukrainian school of engraving under Hetman Mazepa had followers in Poland, Lithuania, White Ruthenia, Moldavo-Valachia, and Muscovy, where Ukrainian artists worked permanently or temporarily, as did M. Karnovsky (active 1687–1710), Gregory Tepchehorsky (active 1697–1718), I. Strelbytsky, and others.

After the Russian conquest of Ukraine in 1709, Ukrainian engraving lost some of its vitality only to revive again during the decade 1730–40. Kiev was still the leading center, numbering about fifty engravers, although among them only a few attained a degree of prominence. The most important was Averkii Kozachkivsky and Gregory Levytsky (1695–1768), the latter regarded as the best Ukrainian engraver of the eighteenth century and author of numerous "theses," the finest of which was dedicated to the Metropolitan of Kiev, Raphael Zaborovsky (1739). In Lviv one of the most productive engravers was Ivan Fylypovych (1745–63). In the middle of the eighteenth century engraving came into its own in Pochaïv in Volhynia where, side by side with Western influences, motifs from folk ornamentation appeared. The finest engravers there were Joseph (active 1745–78) and Adam Hochemsky (1762–90) and Theodore Strelbytsky. The engraver Theodore Rakovetsky worked (1767–80) in Berdychiv. From the end of the eighteenth until the middle of the nineteenth centuries, primitive popular prints on separate sheets of paper with religious, genre, and anecdotal subjects became widespread throughout Ukraine. The main centers of these folk prints were Lviv, Pochaïv, Kiev (Podil), and the Borzna county in the region of Chernihiv.

## THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Among the artists of this period the best known are Gregory Srebrenytsky (1741–1802), Michael Kozlovsky (1753–1802), who worked in *eau-forte*, *lavis*, and aquatint, and the noted painter Volodymyr Borovykovsky (1757–1825), who began to work in lithography in 1815. Commercially, lithography was first introduced in Ukraine in Odessa in the 1820's, later in Lviv (Piller, 1822, the Stavropygia Printing House, 1846, Andrew Andreichyn, 1893); in Kiev in the 1830's (Napoleon Buialsky at the School of Arts, 1852, and at the Kievan Cave Monastery under the Swiss artist Gustav Schoenhaldt, 1866). Among painters who worked in autolithography, the most important were portraitist K. Veselovsky, the genre painters Hnat Shchedrovsky, Peter Boklevsky (illustrations to the works of Hohol), Constantine Trutovsky (peasant genre illustrations), and Michael Mykeshyn.

The founder of modern Ukrainian engraving, especially the *eau-forte*, was the Ukrainian national poet Taras Shevchenko, a professional artist, whose specialties were original genre and historical subjects (Album *Zhyvopysna Ukraïna* [Picturesque Ukraine, 1844]), portraits, and landscapes. He was a pio-

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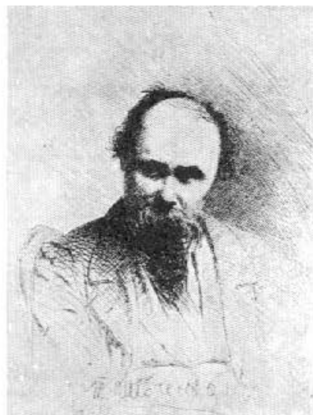

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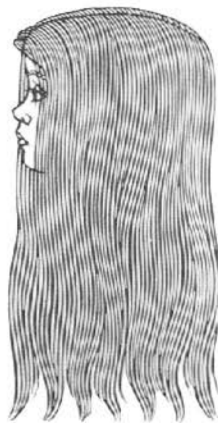

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**PLATE XXI. ENGRAVING II**

(1) T. Shevchenko: Foreign Envoys in Chyhyryn, etching (1844). (2) T. Shevchenko: Self-portrait, etching (1860). (3) O. Sakhnovska: Witch (woodcut, 1928). (4) O. Kulchytska: The Old Boryslav (lino.). (5) S. Nalepynska-Boichuk: Taras Shevchenko (woodcut). (6) S. Levytska: Tempest (woodcut). (7) J. Hnizdovsky: Moppet (woodcut, 1965). (8) G. Kulchytsky: Kolkhoz Worker (woodcut, 1956).

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PLATE XXII. GRAPHIC ARTS: BOOK ART

(1) G. Narbut, magazine cover (1918). (2) B. Krychevsky: book cover. (3) G. Narbut: The Ukrainian Alphabet Letter *K* (1918). (4) M. Olshanska-Stefanovych: Woman at the Well (1922). (5) P. Kovzhun: Ex-libris B. Mudryi. (6) P. Kovzhun, vignette for *Semper Tiro* by I. Franko (1922). (7) B. Kriukov: illustration for Dante's *Divine Comedy* (1952). (8) B. Masiutyn: illustration for *The Unknown Masterpiece* by Balzac. (9) I. Pryntsevsky, illustration for I. Franko's *Boryslav Smiietsia.*

neer of galvanography and modern aquatint. Leo Zhemchuzhikov and several Russian etchers were his followers.

In the decade 1850–60 a new school of xylography (wood engraving) came into being at the Kievan Cave Monastery. The illustrations in Russian editions and newspapers were often done by Ukrainians. However, on the whole this was a time of deterioration of the original graphic arts.

## THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Ukrainian book art revives with the beginning of the twentieth century. Besides illustrations and other book ornamentation, the artistic book-cover comes into its own. The first book illustrations were executed by the more prominent painters, who were acquainted with Ukrainian peasant art and the historical Kozak milieu; Ivan Izhakevych, Serhii Vasylkivsky, the battle scene painter Nicholas Samokysh, Opanas Slastion, Okhrym Sudomora, Peter Lapyn, Ambrose Zhdakha, and Hnat Koltsuniak produced works either in the illustrative sense or in a more stylized and decorative manner, with a generous use of folk ornamentation. Well known for her illustrations for children's books was Olena Kulchytska, who worked in various techniques, such as colored woodcut, etching, and aquatint. Several prominent graphic artists were active in St. Petersburg: Oleksa Kravchenko (1889–1940), Volodymyr Konashevych, Alexander Lytvynenko, and Basil Masiutyn.

The turning point of modern Ukrainian book art occurred with the works of Vasyl Krychevsky who, under the influence of the Ukrainian historian Michael Hrushevsky, returned to the sources of ancient Ukrainian engravings and folk art. The chief master, founder, and ideologist of modern Ukrainian graphic art was George Narbut (1886–1920). On the basis of the Ukrainian historical heritage, particularly the Baroque period, he created modern Ukrainian graphic art, profoundly national. His book art and state papers, official documents, stamps, and bank notes of the Ukrainian National Republic

FIGURE 284. DESIGN OF A CURRENCY NOTE FOR 250 *karbovantsi* BY GEORGE NARBUT

of 1917–20 are works of a superb and finished master. He exercised a lasting influence on all subsequent Ukrainian graphic arts. His most distinguished pupils were: Les Lozovsky (1901–22), R. Lisovsky (b. 1894), and Mark Kyrnarsky (b. 1893).

The most active in book art in the 1920's and 1930's were Anthony Sereda, Leonid Khyzhynsky (b. 1896), Serhii Pozharsky, Adolph Strakhov, Alexander Aleksiïv, and Borys Kriukiv. Various techniques developed in engraving. A group of artists affiliated with the neo-Byzantinist M. Boichuk followed the folk primitive: Sophie Nalepynska-Boichuk, Ivan Padalka, Alexander Ruban, and Olena Sakhnovska (1902–58). Another group, including M. Osinchuk and Y. Muzyka, turned directly to Byzantine iconography. A third group followed Western trends: Hilary Pleshchynsky (b. 1892), Alexander Usachov (b. 1891), L. Getz, Ivan Ivanets, Sonia Levytska (Paris), Peter Obal (b. 1897), Alexander Dovhal (b. 1894), and Basil Sedliar (b. 1899). The best-known among engravers is Basil Kasiian (b. 1896), who executed a series of engravings from proletarian and peasant life, and provided portraits and illustrations for Ukrainian literature in various tech-

niques. He is one of the most orthodox artists of the Ukrainian SSR and hundreds of his engravings of Lenin and Stalin protected him from persecution. A fine master of book art in Lviv was P. Kovzhun (1896–1939). He stood close to

FIGURE 285. PAUL KOVZHUN, NICHOLAS BUTOVYCH, AND ROBERT LISOVSKY (LEFT TO RIGHT), LVIV, 1923

Western cubist and constructivist trends, and his favorite medium was decorative, multicolored composition. Another original artist was P. Kholodnyi Sr., who was inspired by the early Ukrainian Byzantine art. His only pupil and follower is Mykhailyna Stefanovych-Olshanska.

The representatives of a characteristic contemporary trend that unites tradition with modernism are: N. Butovych, P. Kholodnyi Jr. (b. 1902), E. Kozak (b. 1902), Sviatoslav Hordynsky (b. 1906), Jacques Hnizdovsky (b. 1915), and Victor Tsymbal (1901–68). Before World War II, Ukrainian graphic artists achieved popularity in various emigrant centers in Western Europe such as Paris, Prague, Warsaw, and Berlin. Other active graphic artists of that time were: Peter Omelchenko, George Vovk, Serhii Hladkyi, Nil Khasevych, Michael Mykhalevych (b. 1908), H. Mazepa (b. 1912), and Myroslav Hryhoriïv.

## AFTER WORLD WAR II

The last decades brought a second wave of artists to the Western art centers: Volodymyr Balas, P. Andrusiv, M. Levytsky, Michael Dmytrenko, J. Hnizdovsky, Myron Bilynsky, George Kulchytsky, B. Bozhemsky, and Borys Pachovsky. They experiment in various formal, technical, and artistic styles but are all united in one aim: an endeavor to find the typical Ukrainian modern form and expression. This singlemindedness and stylistic peculiarity in Ukrainian graphic art has been observed and commented upon by many foreign critics and reviewers on the occasions of various Ukrainian graphic arts exhibits in the Western world.

In the Soviet Ukraine, the national Ukrainian form in graphic art has been viewed with great disfavor. For long years Narbut was eliminated from all reviews of art; even the mention of his name was forbidden and he has been partially "rehabilitated" only recently. For this reason in the 1940's and 1950's certain Ukrainian graphic artists in the Ukrainian SSR were nationally colorless and "neutral," mere sycophants of the Russian artists with their artless socialist-realistic style. The principal Soviet Ukrainian graphic artists are Michael Derehus (1904), Gabriel Pustoviit (1900–47), Alexander Pashchenko (1906–63), Basil Myronenko (b. 1910), Anatole Bazylevych (b. 1926), Zinovii Tolkachov (b. 1903), Valentyn Lytvynenko (b. 1908), and Abram Reznichenko (b. 1916). They are mostly illustrators in realistic manner. The post-Stalinist era brought some freedom and the young generation of artists began to turn their attention to serious art, even to the previously anathematized "Boichukism." This has made contemporary Ukrainian graphic art more advanced in comparison with painting and sculpture. Among these artists are Sofia Karaffa-Korbut, Eugene Beznisko, Basil Perevalsky, Volodymyr Kutkin, George Yakutovych, Gregory Havrylenko, Victor Kuzmenko and a host of younger talents whose art is already thoroughly modern.

*V. Sichynsky* supplemented by *S. Hordynsky*

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# VIII. Music and Choreography

## 1. MUSICAL EDUCATION AND MUSICOLOGY

### MUSICAL EDUCATION

The earliest inception of musical education and the development of musical theory in Ukraine are closely related to the cultural and educational activities of the various church brotherhoods. Outstanding among them were the schools operated by the brotherhoods in Lviv, Kiev, Peremyshl, and Ostrih. A rich tradition of church singing, along with an intensive growth of musical folklore, were responsible for the fact that in schools much attention was paid, not only to the practical aspects of church singing, but also to the study of musical theory and composition.

In the Kievan Mohyla Academy (see pp. 308ff.) there was a 100-piece student orchestra and a chorus whose membership numbered 300 persons. This school, the first such institution to offer higher education in the field of music, played a very important part in preparing the first professional musicians and musicologists, not only in Ukraine, but in Russia as well.

The credit for the establishment of a theoretical foundation for choral music belongs to a native of Kiev, Nicholas Dyletsky (1630?–1690?) author of *Musykiiskaia hrammatyka* (The Musical Grammar).

At the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, music guilds (in Kiev, Kharkiv, Kamianets Podilsky, Pryluky, and other cities) played an important part in the development of professional music education, particularly in the field of instrumental music. Like their counterparts in western Europe, these guilds were established for the benefit of musicians and their patrons.

The school in Hlukhiv (founded in 1737) and the vocal-instrumental classes of Kharkiv College (established in 1738) were among the earliest institutions providing strictly professional education in music. Both leaned rather heavily on European educational methods, and both trained Ukrainian professional musicians in various fields, primarily voice, instruments, and composition. The fact that among their graduates were outstanding musicians such as Dmytro Bortniansky and Maksym Berezovsky (who eventually continued their activities in St. Petersburg), and among their pedagogues Maksym Kontsevych, Artem Vedel, and Jacob Tsekh, points to the excellence and universality which these schools were able to reach.

Simultaneously, in Peremyshl, at the estate of the bishop, a new and important musical center emerged. Its leaders were Michael Verbytsky and Ivan Lavrivsky, who made a considerable contribution to the development and progress of musical education.

In literary sources dating from the eighteenth century, information is found on the musical education which many Ukrainians received abroad, particularly in Italy and Germany. Some conducted their studies individually while others went as members of groups, often even as part of entire operatic companies or orchestras. From the same sources information is also available concerning the activities of foreign-born teachers of music, the majority of whom worked on the estates of the nobility. For example, Hetman Cyril Rozumovsky (1728–1803)

had in his employ the gifted Italian composer Gennaro Astarita. Undoubtedly the endeavors of these foreign-born musicians contributed to the general raising of musical education standards in eighteenth-century Ukraine. Worthy of special mention is the music library of Rozumovsky. Today, it represents the oldest such collection in the entire Soviet Union, and amply illustrates the high standards which Ukrainian music achieved during the eighteenth century.

Of great importance in this development were publications which appeared in Kharkiv, the first university town of central and eastern Ukraine. A work published in 1818 by Professor Gustav Hess-de-Kalve under the title *Teoriia muzyky* (Theory of Music) is of special interest. In this unique work, which has the format of a musical encyclopædia, the author voiced his enthusiastic support for national musical education. He took a strong stand against the "dilettante aristocrats" who looked upon music as mere amusement. At the same time, he called for the cultivation of music of the highest caliber, in all of its infinite variety.

A difficult period for Ukrainian musical education, as well as for all areas of Ukrainian culture, began in the mid-1800's, when the entire system of general education was subordinated to Russian state officials. The primary aim was to suppress the national desires for independence on the part of those nations which made up the large Russian empire. Particularly during the second half of the nineteenth century, nearly all control over musical education in Ukraine was concentrated in the hands of the Imperial Russian Music Society. From this time on, the defense of the national traditions of Ukrainian musical education was assumed again, as in the early days, by public schools, teachers colleges, religious seminaries, and a few private schools.

Yet even among the Russian scholars and composers there were many who not only made full use of the elements of Ukrainian folklore (Michael Glinka, Modest Mussorgsky, Peter Tschaikovsky, and others), but produced valuable contributions to the study of the unique characteristics of Ukrainian music. The work of A. Serov, *Muzyka yuzhnoruss-kikh pesen'* (The Music of the South-Russian Songs, 1861) was of particularly great importance in this respect.

The further development of Ukrainian ethnomusicology was singularly aided by the works of N. Lysenko, *Kharakteristika muzykal'nykh osobennostei malorusskikh dum i pesen' ispolniaemykh kobzarem Veresaem* (Musical Characteristics of Ukrainian Dumas and Songs, Performed by Ostap Veresai, Kiev, 1874), *Pro torban i muzyku pisen' Vidorta* (On the Theorbo and the Music of the Songs of Widort, Kiev, 1892), and *Narodni muzychni instrumenty na Ukraïni* (Folk Instruments of Ukraine, Lviv, 1894). Other important works of this period are: Peter Sokalsky's *Russkaia narodnaia muzyka, velikorusskaia i malorusskaia* (On Russian and Ukrainian Folk Music, Kharkiv, 1888) and Porphiry Demutsky's *Lira ta ïi motyvy* (The Lyre and its Melodies, 1903).

The appearance of these works, which pointed out the originality of Ukrainian folk music with scholarly objectivity, was

FIGURE 286. N. LYSENKO (SEATED, SECOND FROM THE RIGHT) WITH A GROUP OF STUDENTS AND INSTRUCTORS OF THE KIEV MUSIC AND DRAMA SCHOOL

also of some educational significance. In 1903, an Institute of Music was established in Lviv, and almost simultaneously (1904) N. Lysenko started his School of Music in Kiev. These two institutions became the educational centers of music for many decades.

The years of Ukrainian independence (1917–19) brought about a fresh revival in the field of music. The ministry of education established a series of educational institutions ranging from elementary to university level. To some degree these schools were able to continue their activities through the early years of Soviet occupation. However, since the 1930's the main emphasis has shifted radically, and the training and preparation of highly qualified musicians have become secondary to the training of personnel capable of spreading Soviet propaganda.

## MUSICOLOGY

Prior to the 1930's, Ukrainian musicology, especially the field of musical ethnography, reached rather impressive heights. Particularly noteworthy to the study of folk music were the works of Filaret Kolessa (1871–1947), such as *Rytmika ukraïns'kykh narodnykh pisen'* (The Rhythms of the Ukrainian Folk Songs) and *Melodiï ukraïns'kykh narodnykh dum* (Melodies of Ukrainian Folk Dumas) and the prolific writings on folk music of Clement Kvitka (1880–1953). *Istoria ukraïns'koï muzyky* (The History of Ukrainian Music), 1922, by Nicholas Hrinchenko, the first major work which systematized the historical development of Ukrainian music, also belongs to this period.

FIGURE 287. NICHOLAS HRINCHENKO

In 1935, the first chair of musicology was established at the Conservatory of Kiev. Its first director was Andrew Olkhovsky. During the years of its activity, a noteworthy group of musicologists completed its course of studies, publishing numerous works on the history and theory of music.

The Ukrainian musical monthlies, *Muzyka* (Music) and *Radians'ka Muzyka* (Soviet Music) in Kiev, and *Ukraïns'ka Muzyka* (Ukrainian Music) in Lviv, attracted many musicologists and fostered musical activities throughout the country.

Among the scholarly institutions beyond the borders of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Free University in Prague merits particular mention. In 1924, a special musicological section was established there under Associate Professor Theodore Steshko.

During the last decades, numerous works have been published in Kiev, dealing with the history of Ukrainian music and attempting a critical evaluation of the works of contemporary composers.

A series of monographs about prominent composers has appeared. Outstanding among the general works are Valeriian Dovzhenko's *Narysy z istoriï ukraïns'koï radians'koï muzyky* (Essays on the History of Ukrainian Soviet Music, Kiev, Vol. I in 1957 and Vol. II in 1967), and the only, although still not exhaustive, attempt to trace the whole thousand-year development of Ukrainian music, *Narysy z istoriï ukraïns'koï muzyky* (Essays on the History of Ukrainian Music, Kiev, 1964), by Lydia Arkhymovych, Tetiana Karysheva, Tamara Sheffer, and Onysia Shreer-Tkachenko. There is also a series of works on specific topics in the history of Ukrainian music, such as those by Tetiana Karysheva (editor of the *Iz istorii Russko-ukrainskikh muzykal'nykh sviazei* [On the History of Russo-Ukrainian Music Relations, Moscow, 1956]), Lydia Arkhymovych (*Ukraïns'ka kliasychna opera* [Ukrainian Classical Opera, Kiev, 1968]), and Ni-

cholas Dremliuha *Ukraïns'ka fortepianova muzyka* (Ukrainian Piano Music, Kiev, 1958). Also valuable are the yearbooks *Ukraïns'ke Muzykoznavstvo* (Ukrainian Musicology) published by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. So far (1968), three yearbooks have appeared in print. On the questions pertaining to music only, these publications show a thorough selection of materials as well as careful evaluation and systematization. On the other hand, constant references to the superiority of the Soviet system and its beneficial influence on the development of the art are mere propaganda, and this is a decided weakness.

A very definite expansion in musicological studies by émigré scholarly institutions began around 1950 and has continued to this day. Members of both major institutions, the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States and Canada and the Shevchenko Scientific Society, are devoting much time and effort to the compilation and study of relevant materials.

In the field of ethnomusicology, an outstanding achievement is the commencement of publication of the collection, *Ukraïns'ki narodni melodiï* (Ukrainian Folk Melodies, New York, 1964–68, 4 volumes). This is the most complete collection of Ukrainian folk melodies to date, numbering over 11,000 melodies, collected and published by Zenowij Lysko. The anthology, which will consist of ten volumes when completed, is classified and organized according to the methods developed by Ilmari Krohn and Bela Bartok.

*A. Olkhovsky*

# 2. HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN MUSIC

## ELEVENTH TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

During the Princely period of Ukrainian history, two parallel and related trends could be discerned: along with the delineation of the stratas of society, there emerged a differentiation in the cultural life of the people. In the field of music, as a result, two new musical types gradually made their appearance, while folk music with the inherent Slavic elements which passed from generation to generation continued to develop. The first new type was the music of the princely courts and of the nobility, that is, secular music of the highest levels of society, in which Byzantine, Varangian, and Oriental influences could be detected. The second type was church music based on Byzantine models.

The secular music of this period has not been preserved. We can only reconstruct it on the basis of comments in contemporary literature, description of instruments, and frescoes dating from that period, particularly those of the St. Sofia Cathedral in Kiev (eleventh century).

Most frequently mentioned are the "songs of glory" to princes. These were songs composed and performed in recitative style to the accompaniment of instruments, recounting the military exploits and other heroic deeds of the prince or his ancestors; an example is *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* (The Tale of Ihor's Armament). In some instances the names of individuals who were simultaneously poets, composers, and performers of such works have been preserved, such as vishchyi Boian (Boian the Wise, eleventh century) or, later, Mytusa (*ca.* 1240). It is doubtful whether the ancient historical songs which were carried from Ukraine to the northern regions, where they survived in the form of *bylinas*, preserved their original musical setting.

Western European music was not alien to Ukraine at that time: in *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* we read that "here the Germans and Venetians, there the Greeks and Moravians sing the praises of Sviatoslav." The Galician-Volhynian state maintained an especially close contact with western European art.

FIGURE 288. MUSICIAN, A FRESCO IN THE ST. SOPHIA CATHEDRAL IN KIEV, ELEVENTH CENTURY

Among the instruments employed were primarily the *husli* (a stringed instrument which was played by being struck with the fingers or a plectrum), wooden trumpets, horns, and various types of pipes. In addition, instruments of foreign origin could be found at the courts of the princes and nobles, such as different kinds of trumpets, the organ, the psaltery, and various refinements of pipes.

The art of music was spread to many parts of the land by: (1) singers of heroic epics; (2) entertainers (called *skomorokhy*), who eventually took to the road and became wandering minstrels, entertaining their audiences with dances, jokes, and even magic tricks as well as music; (3) wandering beggars and "holy men" who improvised pious songs and who were the early ancestors of the "hurdy-gurdy" players.

Church music was brought to Ukraine along with Christianity from Byzantium. Literary sources establish the fact that the Greek clergy were followed by Greek professional musicians, called *demestvenyky*, who organized and conducted church choirs and were the first teachers of music. Obviously, the music they brought with them had Byzantine characteristics. On the other hand, the *demestvenyky* from Bulgaria advocated and popularized the Bulgarian musical style. At first there were only a few individuals among Ukrainians who knew and performed church music, and these were faithful students of their Greek and Bulgarian teachers. Gradually but steadily, their number increased.

Original Ukrainian church music emerged in the middle of the eleventh century, and quickly spread from its first center, the Kievan Cave Monastery (Pechers'ka Lavra) to churches and monasteries throughout the Kievan Realm. This was the so-called "Kievan song" which became the basis for the native song-writing tradition for many centuries to come. The names of some of the professional students of this type of music are known even today. According to the custom of the time, masters of church music (like Stefan in Kiev, Luka in Volodymyr Volynsky, and Dmytro in Peremyshl) were not only composers, but also singer-performers.

Many collections of church music from the Princely period have been preserved, written in two variations of notation, without the staff. The first variation has the name of *kondak* notation, since it was used exclusively for a special kind of church melody called the *kondak*. The other, the *znamennyi* notation, was used for all other kinds of melodies of the Divine Service. Research on these notations has not been extensive, however, and today the music cannot be read accurately.

No musical samples have survived from the period encompassing the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. However, Ukraine's musical life at that time was not limited to folk music. As a result of various political events, closer contacts with western European cultural trends were established. A period of intense growth and development fol-

lowed in Ukraine due in large part to the strong and rich cultural centers which were established at a number of aristocratic estates. Ukrainians had the reputation of being good musicians, and they were willingly accepted as court musicians at the courts of the Polish kings during the reigns of Jagiello and Sigismund I. The most famous royal musician of that time was the *bandura* player, Churylo. Polyphonic music was also cultivated, and became fairly widespread. For instance, instructions of the Lviv Stavropygia Brotherhood (1586) tell the choral director to ensure that all four parts of the mixed chorus in the brotherhood choir be represented by the best voices. Thus at that time the four-part chorus was no novelty.

The intensity of the musical life of the late sixteenth century is evident from its influence on church music, normally a conservative branch of the arts. During this period, the ancient *kondak* and *znamennyi* notations were gradually replaced by church books written in the mensural notation. A so-called Kievan notation was developed also, based on western European principles but with its own individual variations. The oldest preserved examples of this notation are the manuscripts of liturgical songs of the *Suprasl'skyi Irmoloi* (1593), and in Galicia the *Pobuzhanskyi Irmoloi* dating from approximately the same period. Church music itself also underwent a change. New types of Ukrainian church music emerged, partially modifications of transplanted melodies of Bulgarian and Serb origin and partially original melodies and manners of church singing which developed in such centers as Ostrih and Chernihiv.

The next significant phase in the development of Ukrainian music took place in the seventeenth century. At that time, strong musical guilds existed in several cities, including Kiev, Lviv, Lutsk, Chernihiv, and Hlukhiv. Choral polyphonic art, called part-singing, was flourishing. The repertory of the brotherhood choir in Lutsk at the beginning of the seventeenth century included works composed for five to eight voices. In a catalogue of the Lviv Stavropygia Brotherhood, dated 1697, there are 267 church compositions written for three to twelve voices. Their authors were Ukrainian composers of that period: N. Dyletsky, Basil Pikulytsky, Shavarovsky, and many others. The development of polyphony was also responsible for the appearance of the first Ukrainian theoretical handbook, *Musykiiskaia hrammatyka* (The Musical Grammar) by N. Dyletsky. This book proved to be of importance not only for Ukraine, but for other East European regions as well. It is a treatise which contains essentials of musical theory, some questions delving into the aesthetics of music, and instructions in musical composition.

Interesting observations on the technique and artistic level of the Ukrainian choirs of the time are available from two foreigners. The Syrian archdeacon, Paul of Aleppo, who visited Ukraine in 1653, noted the widespread love of singing and the knowledge of the rules of choral music. He commented on the beautiful voices, and considered Ukrainian singing far superior to that which he had heard in Moscow. Similarly, the Protestant minister of Saxony, Herbinius, who had an opportunity of hearing church singing in Kiev, considered it to be on a very high level. He found this singing to be even more pleasing than the choruses of western Europe (*Religiosae Kijovienses Cryptae*, Jena, 1675).

In the middle of the seventeenth century, which marked the beginning of political relations with Moscow, began the exportation of Ukrainian music and musicians to Muscovy (Russia). The first group of Ukrainian musicians went to Russia as early as 1652 and soon Kievan singers, the Kievan notation, and Ukrainian musical culture in general attained a strong, dominant position in Russia, which they retained until the introduction of Italian music during the

second half of the eighteenth century. This migration had a negative effect on the development of Ukrainian musical life. It set the precedent for the departure of Ukrainian musicians from their native land to foreign countries, thus impoverishing Ukraine's own musical culture.

*Z. Lysko*

## EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

During the first half of the eighteenth century musical life in Ukraine was limited almost exclusively to the fostering of church music. An important event was the first printing of Ukrainian church music, the *Irmoloi*. Originally edited in 1707 in Lviv, its second edition appeared in 1709, and three further editions appeared during the second half of the eighteenth century.

As in previous times, the most important music center in Ukraine was the Kievan Mohyla Academy. Its curriculum showed clearly a deep interest in the arts—music, particularly vocal, and the theater. In 1733, courses in music were introduced at the Kharkiv College. The influences of the church and the school on their surroundings were evident in the emergence of popular-religious songs, cantos, and psalms, which were disseminated among the people by the students of the Kievan Academy. In time, the custom arose of gathering these songs into collections, the so-called *Bohohlasnyks*. The first of these collections appeared in print in 1791 in Pochaïv.

The connections with western European music which were apparent, in both musical theory and practice, in the seventeenth century, grew even stronger during the eighteenth century. Especially lively was the cult of western European composers: Giovanni Palestrina, Alessandro Scarlatti, Johann Sebastian Bach, and others. An outstanding center which cultivated western European music was the estate of Hetman Cyril Rozumovsky in Hlukhiv. The Hetman maintained his own orchestra and theater in which, among others, Italian operas were performed. The musical library of Rozumovsky is proof of the devotion and respect with which music was cultivated in the Hetman's residence. This library has been preserved to the present, and today is one of the oldest and largest music libraries in all of eastern Europe. It might also be mentioned that his son Andrew, who lived in Vienna, was one of the closest friends and patrons of Ludwig van Beethoven. The choirmaster

FIGURE 289. A PAGE FROM THE G. TIAPETSKY'S *Irmologion*, 1733

at the Hlukhiv estate from 1753 on was the composer and conductor Andrew Rachynsky, a native of Western Ukraine. He received his musical education in Lviv, where in the early 1750's he directed the episcopal choir. The activities of Rachynsky in Hlukhiv had a direct influence on the so-called Hlukhiv school which was to produce such composers as M. Berezovsky and D. Bortniansky. It was in the works of these Ukrainian composers and, to a somewhat lesser degree, of their contemporary, Artem Vedel, that the very direct connections with western European music were most clearly visible.

Maksym Berezovsky (1745–77) and Dmytro Bortniansky (1751–1825), while still quite young, were taken from Hlukhiv to the choir in St. Petersburg. Both had studied in Italy: Berezovsky at the Bologna Academy under Padre Martini, the distinguished teacher and author of a book on the history of music, and Bortniansky in Venice under Baldassare Galuppi, whose student he had been also in St. Petersburg. Both musicians completed their studies in composition with great success, and their operas, performed in Italian theaters, won them recognition: Berezovsky's *Demofonte* (1772), and Bortniansky's *Creonte* (1776) and *Quinto Fabio* (1778). More closely connected with Ukraine, chiefly with the Kievan Academy, was Artem Vedel (1767–1808). He was director of a chorus in Kiev and later in Kharkiv. He was persecuted by the Russian government for engaging in Ukrainian civic activities and was eventually imprisoned in the Kievan Cave Monastery. Although the work of Berezovsky was tragically interrupted at the age of 32 and Vedel's at 41, and although Bortniansky wrote his works while far from his native land, the work of these three composers represents the culminating point in the long development of Ukrainian choral culture. The fact that they were contemporaries and, moreover, that there were distinct formal and stylistic similarities in their choral music, indicates that their appearance was not accidental. On the contrary, they were the logical completion of a long process. The predominant field of their creativeness was choral music a cappella, and their chief forms of expression were the so-called concertos and music for the Divine Service. Their technique of composition was on a level comparable to the best that the European music of the time could offer. The most gifted of the three, D. Bortniansky, enjoyed a great reputation in Europe. Aside from operas on Italian and French texts as well as instrumental works (sonatas for the piano and works for chamber ensembles), he wrote 35 vocal concertos for four voices, 10 for eight voices (double choruses), and many pieces for the Divine Service. In his concertos, which as a rule have a cyclic structure of several movements, Bortniansky handled artistically the resources of counterpoint, especially in its imitative form.

Bortniansky, who for many years was a choir director, knew and fully mastered the choral technique. He frequently contrasted choral and solo parts, divided the voices into two sections, higher and lower, and was particularly inclined to employ the dark color of the alto. In spite of the fact that he relied on Italian models, Bortniansky's works eloquently mirror Ukrainian musical thought. The choral composers of the later period, Peter Turchaninov (1779–1856) and Gregory Lvovsky (1830–94), attempted to limit the Italian influence on church music and returned to the ancient folk melodies.

Like other European countries, Ukraine did not escape the influence of Italian opera which was predominant during the eighteenth century. It was reflected in the work of Berezovsky and Bortniansky. The primary obstacle to the development of the opera in Ukraine was Russia's colonial cultural policy. Nearly all of the outstanding cultural figures were compelled to enter the Muscovite

service. During the first half of the eighteenth century Elizabeth, as Grand Princess, maintained a Ukrainian chorus which numbered in its ranks the outstanding soloist Mark Poltoratsky (1729–95), at one time soloist in Italian operas, and the *bandura* player Gregory Liubystok. One phenomenon which was transplanted from Muscovy to Ukraine was the serf theater, a typical result of the conditions brought about by serfdom (see Theater). Although these serf theaters did produce operas, because of language difficulties the chief emphasis was placed on the ballet and *divertissements*. Unique products of the serfdom period were horn orchestras which were virtually unknown in the West. In these orchestras, each serf-performer was capable of producing only one tone on his instrument. A special type of notation was developed which indicated only the rhythm. In the more complex works, such as operatic overtures, performing in correct tempo demanded superhuman effort and exertion.

With the change-over from Polish to Austrian rule in 1772, GALICIA took on some importance in the world of music. This was due in part to its direct connections with Vienna, the center of musical life of the times, when a religious seminary for Ukrainians was organized there. At the end of the eighteenth century Joseph Elsner, the well-known teacher of Chopin, was the director of the Lviv theater. The next most outstanding figure was Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (the son), who worked for many years in Lviv as a pianist, director, and instructor. By the end of the eighteenth century, there were both a chorus and an orchestra at the Cathedral of St. George in Lviv, which took part in religious services as well as secular performances.

In time, Peremyshl, located further to the west, became the center of musical life. Under the patronage of Bishop Ivan Snihursky, a patron of Ukrainian arts, a permanent church choir was founded here, which for many years was under the direction of the German composer and conductor Alois Nanke. The basic repertory of this choir was comprised chiefly of the works of Bortniansky.

Several composers emerged from this choir who were responsible, together with their followers, for the establishment of the so-called Peremyshl school. Its earliest representatives, Michael Verbytsky (1815–70) and Ivan Lavrivsky (1822–73) wrote church music, numerous works for male chorus which were similar to German and Czech choral literature, and music for the theater. Verbytsky, the composer of the Ukrainian national anthem and of *Zapovit* (The Testament, by Taras Shevchenko) for two choruses and an orchestra, also wrote a series of orchestral works, namely, eight overtures and two polonaises. Also connected with the Peremyshl school was the work of Victor Matiuk (1852–1912), author of musical plays and choral and solo songs, and the work of Isidore Vorobkevych (1836–1903), a native of Bukovina, who composed many choral works, some of them to the words of Shevchenko, solo songs to his own texts, chamber pieces, and many musical plays.

The brilliant virtuoso piano literature which spread throughout the West during the first half of the nineteenth century did not fail to exert its influence on Ukraine. The early 1800's saw numerous piano pieces being composed: gay dances as well as meditative pieces, often written in the form of variations based on Ukrainian folk melodies. Their authors were Joseph Vytvytsky, Vladyslav Zaremba, Basil Pashenko, and Michael Zavadsky. Although the artistic quality of these works was not very high, nevertheless at that time they were an important part of concert repertories. Furthermore, they were well known, and achieved great popularity in private homes throughout the entire country. Particularly noteworthy is their proximity to the Ukrainian folk songs.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, conditions favored the development of Ukrainian secular music in the theatrical field. Emerging finally from the confines of educational institutions, the theater lost much of its seriousness and pomposity, and became more accessible to the average audience. The personnel of the theatrical companies which performed in Ukraine during the first decades of the nineteenth century were generally of varied national origin. The source of their repertories was equally diverse. The year 1812 marked the appearance of the first operetta, *Kazak stikhotvorets* (The Cossack-Poet), with music by the Italian composer Catterino Cavos (1776–1840), who also composed the music for another play based on a Ukrainian theme, *Rusalka Dniprovaia* (The Mermaid of the Dnieper). Although the text of *Kazak stikhotvorets* by the Russian author, Prince A. Shakhovsky, was not written in classical Ukrainian, the play rapidly gained great popularity, evoking imitations on the one hand and attacks on the other. In 1819, Ivan Kotliarevsky presented two of his own plays in the Poltava theater—*Natalka-Poltavka* and *Moskal'-Charivnyk* (The Soldier Sorcerer). The music of the former was rearranged and rewritten by several conductors and composers. The play quickly became very popular, and has preserved its popularity to the present day. The numerous Ukrainian and Russian-Ukrainian theatrical companies contributed to the creation of many new plays in which folk and pseudo-folk music and dances played an important part. Particularly noteworthy were the attempts by Volodymyr Alexandrov (1825–94) to dramatize Ukrainian folk songs.

More substantial musical works began to appear during the second half of the nineteenth century. The extremely popular and vital opera by Semen Hulak-Artemovsky, *Zaporozhets' za Dunaiem* (Kozak beyond the Danube), was presented for the first time in St. Petersburg in 1863. Just as the libretto combined the Ukrainian theme with the Turkish theme, a highly popular one in operatic literature, so the music cleverly combined western European and Ukrainian stylistic elements. Peter Nishchynsky (1832–96) wrote the music to Shevchenko's *Nazar Stodolia*, and although he completed only one act, this work, and particularly some parts of it (*Zakuvala ta syva zozulia* [The Gray Cuckoo Called]) became very popular. Peter Sokalsky (1832–87) was the author of a valuable work on Ukrainian and Russian folk songs. While in New York as a staff member of the Russian consulate,

FIGURE 290. SEMEN HULAK-ARTEMOVSKY

FIGURE 291. PETER NISHCHYNSKY

he composed his *Ukrainian Symphonies* and began to work on an opera based on Hohol's *Taras Bul'ba*. A more dilettantish work was the attempt on the part of Nicholas Arkas (1852–1909) to write an opera based on the poetry of Shevchenko. His opera *Kateryna* was nevertheless successful on the Ukrainian stage.

Toward the close of the nineteenth century, musical life was confined to the framework of travelling theaters, at times for periods of years. The repertory of these theaters was closely related to peasant life and made extensive use of folk music. Often choruses and orchestras of a high caliber with professional conductors were attached to the theatrical companies of Kropyvnytsky, Starytsky, Tobilevych, and others.

Nevertheless, the conditions under

which the travelling theater existed were not conducive to forming a permanent basis for the development of a musical theater, in part because of the limitations

FIGURE 292. PETER SOKALSKY

FIGURE 293. NICHOLAS ARKAS

of the dramatic repertory of this theater and in part because of the constant pressure exerted by the Russian government in its attempt to limit as much as possible the range of themes and their dramatic presentation in the Ukrainian theater.

Similarly, the theater of Western Ukraine did not leave many lasting traces because of its limited possibilities and because of the inadequate preparation of the composers. The merit of this theater lay in the fact that it first introduced to the local stage many foreign operas in Ukrainian translation. On the eve of the twentieth century the musical repertory in Western Ukraine acquired special importance. Among the operas performed in Ukrainian were Verdi's *La Traviata*, Gounod's *Faust*, Moniuszko's *Hal'ka*, Tschaikovsky's *Eugene Onegin*, Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana*, and Strauss's operetta *Zigeunerbaron* Of the works of Western Ukrainian composers, the opera *Kupalo* (1870) by Anatol Vakhnianyn (1841–1908) was the most popular. Its composer was a leading figure in musical and academic life.

A decisive influence on the development of Ukrainian musical culture was exerted by the works and activity of Nicholas Lysenko (1842–1912). Born of an old Kozak family, Lysenko was brought up in an atmosphere of Ukrainian songs and customs. He acquired his musical education first in Kiev, later in Leipzig and St. Petersburg. Under the influence of the newly emerging interest in folk music and folk art during the middle years of the nineteenth century, Lysenko devoted much attention to Ukrainian folk music. He himself conducted research and was particularly interested in the old historical songs, called *dumas*. By acquiring knowledge of the essential features of the Ukrainian folk song, its rhythmical, tonal, and harmonic peculiarities, Lysenko laid the foundation for the development of a Ukrainian musical style. An important place among

FIGURE 294. NICHOLAS LYSENKO

his works goes to the music he wrote to the words of Shevchenko: numerous solo songs and choral works with broadly constructed choral-orchestral cantatas, such as *Raduisia, nyvo nepolytaia* (Rejoice Unwatered Meadow), and *Biut' porohy* (The Rapids Roar). The list of his piano compositions is extensive: The

Ukrainian Suite, a sonata, two rhapsodies, and numerous smaller works. His compositions in the field of opera were also diverse: two folk operas, *Natalka-Poltavka* and *Chornomortsi*, the operetta *Eneïda* (Aeneid), three grand operas, *Rizdviana nich* (Christmas Eve), *Utoplena* (The Drowned One), and *Taras Bul'ba*, the miniature opera *Noktiurn* (Nocturne), and three operas for children. In the history of Ukrainian music, Lysenko gained immortality by providing its direction and national character. Under his inspiration, an end was put to backwardness and dilettantism, and once again, as in the eighteenth century, a professional standard was set for musical creativity and performance.

Among Lysenko's contemporaries, composer Michael Kolachevsky (1851–1912) gained distinction for his symphony, chamber, and piano works. In his *Symphony in A minor*, structured on the classical pattern, he skillfully utilized Ukrainian folk songs as thematic material.

In Western Ukraine, two trends became apparent by the 1900's: one attempted to preserve the traditions of the Peremyshl school, while the other was more receptive to Lysenko's influence. This influence was particularly noticeable in the works of two composers. One was Ostap Nyzhankivsky (1862–1919), a talented choral conductor and composer of choral works and solo songs, among them unique arrangements of folk songs written for voice and piano. The other was Filaret Kolessa (1871–1947), a distinguished scholar and collector in the field of folk music and author of many choral works such as the series of love songs, *Ulytsia* (The Street), several collections of ritual songs, and *Viis'kovi kvartety* (Military Quartets) for male chorus. A talent for composition was early apparent in the works of Henryk Topolnytsky (1862–1904), especially in *Khustyna* (The Kerchief), written for chorus and orchestra to the words of Shevchenko. Interesting characteristics can be seen in the works of the first professional composer of Western Ukraine, Denis Sichynsky (1865–1909), author of the unfinished opera *Roksoliana*, solo songs, and piano and choral pieces. Yaroslav Lopatynsky (1871–1936) gained popularity through his opera *Enei na mandrivtsi* (Aeneas in his Wanderings); he also wrote a fantasy-opera *Kazka skal* (The Tale of the Cliffs) and solo songs.

FIGURE 295. "BOIAN" CHORUS OF LVIV (1892) UNDER THE DIRECTION OF OSTAP NYZHANKIVSKY (SEATED, FOURTH FROM THE LEFT)

FIGURE 296. DENIS SICHYNSKY

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, foundations stronger than ever before had been laid for the further development of music in Ukraine.

Lysenko had been successful in awakening in his countrymen a conscious desire for the creation of a self-sustaining and independent national musical culture. Principles of professionalism were established and adopted, and to further them, various organizations came into being, such as musical societies, schools, and publishing houses. In less than half a century (beginning in the 1830's and 1840's), Ukrainian music crossed the wide gulf from provincially imposed limitations and imitation of second- and third-rate foreign models to widely diversified compositions of its own typical form of art, particularly in the field of

vocal music. An original and special feature which achieved a very high artistic level during the twentieth century was found in the choral arrangements of Ukrainian folk songs. The basic types and devices for these had been worked out by Lysenko. At the beginning, the solo song with a piano accompaniment was also closely connected with the folk song. Later, however, it emancipated itself and developed into a rich and independent field of musical creativeness. The path traversed during the nineteenth century led also from the musical plays of the early years, naïve in content and primitive in form, to diverse examples of operatic forms and genres, including grand opera. In this respect, the achievements of composers were even more noteworthy than those of the operatic theater itself, and surpassed the performing possibilities of the latter. By comparison, the rate of development of church music was considerably slower, for it was unable to adhere to the traditions established by the end of the eighteenth century. To some degree, this was a reflection of the social trends which were predominant during the second half of the nineteenth century. Instrumental music made only sporadic appearances during the nineteenth century, and only piano music found an outstanding representation in the works of Lysenko.

Various causes contributed to the superiority of vocal music over instrumental music. Outstanding among these were the strong traditions of choral music. It must be mentioned that the lack of financial means hampered free and unlimited development of such fields as symphonic and operatic music. The existence of numerous choirs of high quality and their great popularity were also important. At the end of the century, the achievements of Ukrainian composers in choral music were significant and encompassed a great variety of forms and genres.

*W. Wytwycky*

## TWENTIETH CENTURY

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a number of composers gathered in Kiev, the cultural center of Ukraine, for the purpose of reviving interest in music on a national scale. Among them were Cyril Stetsenko (1883–1922), Jacob Stepovyi (Yakymenko) (1883–1921), Nicholas Leontovych (1877–1921), Borys Pidhoretsky (1873–1919), and Alexander Koshyts (1875–1945).

FIGURE 297. JACOB STEPOVYI AND CYRIL STETSENKO

Like their predecessors, these composers were still strongly influenced in their work by folk music. One may note their borrowing of thematic material from folklore and the predominance of peasant scenes in their compositions. At the same time, they were sensitive to the original qualities inherent in Ukrainian folk music and used them to advantage. Their work embodies the original melodies of folk music, the richness of its tonalities, and its melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic peculiarities. The polyphony which stems from the folk song is used as a basic method of composition. This new emphasis on creative arrangement

of material led to a broadening of the genre. The art song or romance, based mostly on texts by Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, or Lesia Ukraïnka, came into its own, and is especially characteristic of the music of Stetsenko and Stepovyi. Original choral works took on more significance (e.g., Stetsenko's *Vesna* [Spring] and *Son* [The Dream]), as did original arrangements of folk songs (e.g., Leontovych's *Shchedryk* and *Dudaryk* [The Piper]). There was a trend away from the partially spoken musical drama and toward real operatic dramaturgy. These composers, especially Koshyts and Stetsenko, also played an important role in the enrichment of Ukrainian church music.

During the period of Ukrainian statehood (1917–20), this group of composers in Kiev took the lead in organizing the musical activity of society. They initiated the founding of state choral ensembles,

FIGURE 298. NICHOLAS LEONTOVYCH

FIGURE 299. ALEXANDER KOSHYTS

such as "Dumka," the Ukrainian state touring choir directed first by Stetsenko and then by Nestor Horodovenko, and the Ukrainian Republican Choir directed by Koshyts, which achieved renown in its concert tour of Europe and America. They also encouraged the activity of the Muzychno-Dramatychna Shkola Mykoly Lysenka (Lysenko School of Music and Drama) in Kiev, transformed in 1918 into the Muzychno-Dramatychnyi Instytut im. M. Lysenka (Lysenko Institute of Music and Drama). Various philharmonic societies and opera theaters in Kiev, Kharkiv, and Odessa began to function again. The endeavors of these composers laid a solid foundation for the further development of Ukrainian musical culture.

**Under the Soviet Regime**

Immediately upon their access to power, the Soviets embarked on a policy of gradual suppression of any attempts at a revival of the Ukrainian cultural and national life. Some composers, like Leontovych, were killed, "accidentally" or otherwise; others, like Stetsenko and Stepovyi, met untimely death as a result of persecution; and still others, like Yakymenko and Koshyts, were forced to leave the country. Established organizations, among them the Lysenko Institute, were reorganized in accordance with the dictates of the Communist Party. Such measures, coupled with full state control over all musical activities under the pretext of establishing "culture national in form and international (proletarian) in content," sharply changed the course of Ukrainian musical development. Since the 1920's there have been two conflicting tendencies at work in the creation of Ukrainian music. The first, supported by Ukrainian music circles, has encouraged the development of a national musical style; the second, that of the Soviet regime, has vigorously opposed such development.

The effects of this conflict are evident in the work of the new generation of composers which appeared in the 1920's and 1930's. The leading members of this group, among them Lev Revutsky (b. 1899), Borys Liatoshynsky (1895–1968), Victor Kosenko (1895–1938), Borys Yanovsky (1875–1933), Valentine Kostenko (b. 1895), Michael Verykivsky (1896–1962), and Philip Kozytsky (1893–1959), gathered around the Muzychne Tovarystvo im. Leontovycha (Leontovych Musical Society). This society, organized in 1921 as the Hromads'kyi komitet pamiati M. Leontovycha (Committee for the Perpetuation of the Memory of Leon-

tovych), preserved in some measure the atmosphere which had prevailed during the period of Ukrainian statehood. Its members responded actively to the appeal of Nicholas Hrinchenko (1888–1942), a noted musical historian. In 1922 Hrinchenko published the first systematic history of Ukrainian music, in which he called on the Ukrainian composers to assert their own national outlook, because "Russian music is influencing the Ukrainian to such a degree that the peculiar characteristics of the latter are becoming almost indistinguishable." There is no doubt that Hrinchenko's pronouncement played a considerable part in preserving and increasing the distinctness of Ukrainian music and in the advancement of its artistic mastery.

In this period another group of composers, supporting principles similar to those of the Kiev group, was being organized in Lviv, the western center of

FIGURE 304. BASIL BARVINSKY

FIGURE 305. STANYSLAV LIUDKEVYCH

Ukrainian culture. Among them were Stanyslav Liudkevych (b. 1879), Basil Barvinsky (1888–1963), Nestor Nyzhankivsky (1884–1940), Zenowij Lysko (1895–1969), as well as some younger composers, Anthony Rudnytsky (b. 1902), Nicholas Kolessa (b. 1904), and others.

FIGURE 300. BORYS LIATOSHYNSKY

FIGURE 301. PHILIP KOZYTSKY

FIGURE 302. VICTOR KOSENKO

FIGURE 303. LEV REVUTSKY

At the end of the 1920's the Soviet government began to intensify its policy of repression against the arts in Ukraine. In music, the aim of this policy was to transform free musical expression into a tool of political propaganda. Every branch of musical expression was subjected to rigid party supervision: anything which promoted the policies of the government was encouraged, while activities which in any way ran counter to them were harshly persecuted. A government-inspired dissolution of musical centers and institutions began, with the aim of combating tendencies toward "bourgeois ideology." The Leontovych Society, after five years' existence, was turned into the VUTORM, Vseukraïns'ke Tovarystvo Revoliutsiinykh Muzyk (All-Ukrainian Society of Revolutionary Musicians). Along with VUTORM there arose the ineffectual ASM, Asotsiiatsiia Suchasnykh Muzyk (Association of Contemporary Musicians), ARKU, Asotsiiatsiia Revoliutsiinykh Kompozytoriv Ukraïny (Association of Revolutionary Composers of Ukraine), and APMU, Asotsiiatsiia Proletars'kykh Muzyk Ukraïny (Association of Proletarian Mu-

sicians of Ukraine). Weakened by mutual conflicts and meager in membership, these societies served no positive purpose, but rather undermined the unity of Ukrainian musical culture. VUTORM was more effective, uniting as it did the major composers of the older generation, and it lasted until 1932. In that year, the Central Committee of the Communist Party decided to dissolve the various associations of musicians in order to form a single Spilka Kompozytoriv SRSR (Composers Union of USSR), and VUTORM, too, ceased to exist as an independent organization.

In spite of these obstacles, however, the work of the composers of this period, continuing approximately to 1948, gave evidence of new and diversified growth, especially in the mastery of large vocal and instrumental forms. Among the notable works which appeared during this period are: the oratorios *Marusia Bohuslavka* and *Requiem pamiati Lysenka* (Requiem in Memory of Lysenko) by M. Verykivsky; the operas *Kateryna* by Basil Zolotarev (b. 1873), *Vybukh* (The Explosion) and *Duma Chornomors'ka* (Song of the Black Sea) by Borys Yanovsky (1876–1933), *Karmeliuk* and *Karpaty* (Carpathian Mountains) by Valentine Kostenko (b. 1895), and *Zolotyi Obruch* (The Golden Ring) by B. Liatoshynsky; the ballets *Pan Kaniovs'kyi* by M. Verykivsky and *Ferendzhi* by B. Yanovsky; choral works, two symphonies, and two piano concertos by L. Revutsky; *Romantic Symphony* by V. Kostenko; two symphonies by B. Liatoshynsky; the Heroic Overture by V. Kosenko; a symphony by Volodymyr Hrudyn (b. 1893); overture and symphony by Nicholas Fomenko (1895–1961), and others.

Almost simultaneously, the composers of Lviv were also producing many major works. S. Liudkevych composed the choral-symphonic cycle *Kavkaz* (Caucasus), the symphonic poems *Kameniari* (The Stone Cutters), *Naimyt* (The Hireling), and *Vesnianky* (Songs of Spring); Barvinsky wrote the Ukrainian Rhapsody, a piano concerto, and chamber music and piano pieces; Nyzhankivsky produced vocal and instrumental works, Rudnytsky a symphony, a ballet, and other works; Z. Lysko wrote an orchestral suite, a string quartet, and vocal works; and N. Kolessa composed his *Variations for Symphony Orchestra* and vocal and instrumental works.

FIGURE 306. NICHOLAS FOMENKO

This was, in fact, one of the most intensive periods in the history of Ukrainian music. The objectives toward which the composers were striving are embodied in their works: their desire for national recognition, a high degree of professionalism with its richness of expressive means and universality of genres, a synthesis of national traditions with the technical excellence achieved in the West, and the need to break out of the shackles of provincialism and capture the international concert stage. At this time, the general principles of a national style in the Ukrainian music were established. This is evident in the originality of the melodies which are connected with the basic features of Ukrainian folk songs, the peculiarities of a linear polyphonic style and of tonal and rhythmic resources. At the same time, the styles of the composers began to show individuality. The style of Revutsky, for example, evolved toward an original lyricism coupled with the achievements of contemporary European instrumental music; that of Liudkevych showed an oratorio grandeur; Barvinsky's music took on a subjective, impressionistic coloring; Liatoshynsky moved in the direction of a monumental constructivism.

The creation of the Spilka Kompozytoriv SRSR (Union of Composers of the

USSR) in 1932, which became the only legal artistic association for all Soviet composers including Ukrainians, in the long run could not help but influence the quality of musical composition. The narrow limitations imposed by "socialist realism" in the thirties crippled the initiative of the composers to such a degree that what followed was an almost catastrophic decline in artistic standards. Thus, at the time when the work of the older composers was showing marked improvement, the general level of musical culture declined. This was especially true of the large group of younger Ukrainian composers who were just then beginning to assume a significant role in the musical world. They were for the most part products of Soviet music schools as well as members of the Communist Party or the Komsomol.

What most sharply distinguished the works of the new composers from that of their predecessors was their completely different subject matter. These artists had to limit themselves to the solution of prescribed creative problems such as eulogizing party leaders, industrialization, and collectivization to propaganda pieces for domestic and foreign consumption, and to militaristic themes dealing with Soviet patriotism and the "struggle for peace." Furthermore, the composers made explicit attempts to appeal to a mass audience; consequently, they used only popularized means of expression and their music took on an elementary simplicity. These qualities are best exemplified in such works as the operas *Perekop* by Vsevolod Rybalchenko, Julius Meitus, and Michael Tits, and *Shchors* by B. Liatoshynsky; somewhat later, in *Vid usioho sertsia* (From a Sincere Heart) by Herman Zhukovsky, *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi* by Constantine Dankevych, and *Moloda gvardiia* (The Young Guard) by Meitus; *Urochysta Kantata* (The Festive Cantata) by Liatoshynsky, *Moia Ukraïna* (My Ukraine) by Andreas Shtoharenko, *Hniv Slovian* (The Anger of the Slavs) by M. Verykivsky, and especially many songs similar in character to the "Songs about Stalin" by Revutsky, Kozytsky, and others.

Nevertheless, Ukrainian historical themes continued to occupy a significant place in the work of Ukrainian composers in the forties although they had to be treated within the limits of the official party ideology. These compositions were based mainly on texts by Shevchenko, Franko, and Lesia Ukraïnka, poets to whom Ukrainian composers constantly turn as to treasure-houses of national motifs. Among works inspired in this fashion are the operas *Sotnyk* (The Captain), *Naimychka* (The Servant Girl), and *Vii* by Verykivsky, *Haidamaky* by Rybalchenko, Meitus, and Tits; the ballets *Lileia* (The Lily) by Dankevych and *Lisova Pisnia* (The Forest Song) by Michael Skorulsky (1887–1950); the cantatas *Zapovit* (The Testament) by Liatoshynsky and Verykivsky; and the symphonic poems *Kozak Holota* by Kozytsky, *Lileia* by Heorhii Maiboroda, and *Pamiati Lesi Ukraïnky* (In Memory of Lesia Ukraïnka) by Andreas Shtoharenko.

This period came to an end with the decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party against an opera by Vano Muradeli in 1948. Under the guise of "opposition to formalism and subservience to the West," this decree condemned any sort of relations with western European music. It virtually dictated a slavish dependence on Russian music of the previous century and reemphasized the importance of upholding party principles in the arts. As a result of this decision, the musical compositions of the period, especially those of the younger composers, were characterized by an academic mediocrity, devoid of any attempt at personal original expression, or anything which might deviate from the principles of mass appeal and supranationalism in Soviet art. In general, the process of musical creativity was drastically simplified. State planning

led to close interrelation between the state, the composer, and the audience; everything from the creativity of the composer to the tastes of the audience was placed under direct party control. The Union of Composers distributed the party's orders for creative works and put them into effect. Periodic decrees of the Central Committee of the Communist Party summed up and directed the development of Soviet art. These decrees took the form of systematic purges, thus changing the character of Ukrainian music until it became "Ukrainian" only in the geographic sense of the word.

The history of the Third Symphony of B. Liatoshynsky typically illustrates the circumstances surrounding musical life and work in Soviet Ukraine. This work was first performed at the Congress of Ukrainian Composers in Kiev, in 1951. Party-inspired criticism found the symphony "faulty" and strongly censured it for its "formalism." The composer was forced to revise his work thoroughly, and only after the second revision (1954) did the Third Symphony receive party approval.

In one of his speeches on Soviet art, Nikita S. Khrushchev spoke highly of the Ukrainian popular song *Rushnychok* (The Embroidered Towel) by Platon Maiboroda, as an example of the type of creativity welcomed by the Communist party and the Soviet government. This sort of music undermines real art by pseudo-art and mastery by vulgar style. In the song mentioned above, there is no creative intellectual domination over the instinctive combination of related chords. It is an example of the dilettantism of a hundred years ago, with its heavy reliance on sentimental melody and direct or indirect borrowings from folklore.

After the death of Stalin there was hope in the Soviet Union that a thaw in the field of music, as well as in other fields, would set in. This hope proved futile. The suppression of originality and creative thinking began anew in 1963, climaxed by a decision of the party to clamp new restrictions on artistic endeavor.

However, the younger generation of composers has brought in some new trends in music. Like the poets of this same period, the young musicians are seeking new ways of expression. Since 1960, a rather numerous group has come to the fore, all of them trained in local music schools. The musical vocabulary of some of them is bold, tending toward the contemporary, modern idiom, including the use of dodecaphony. Noteworthy among the works which received their first performances after 1960 are: *Symphonic Frescoes* and *Four Ukrainian Folk Songs* for chorus and orchestra, by Leonid Hrabovsky; *Symphony Overture*, and the *Carpathian Rhapsody* by Lev Kolodub; *Piano Quintet* and *Piano Suite* by Valentine Sylvestriv; *String Quartet*, *Sonata for Violin and Piano*, *Suite for String Orchestra*, and *Kameniari* (Stone Cutters), a ballet, by Myroslav Skoryk; two symphonies, *Symfoniette*, and *Violin Concerto* by Vitalii Hubarenko; a *Rhapsody* for orchestra and choir with solos by Liudmyla Dychko.

*A. Olkhovsky*

## 3. MUSICAL PERFORMANCE

During the Princely period, the performance of music was not considered a separate art. The nobles, who sang praises of the princes' campaigns and were a part of their entourage, were simultaneously composers and performers. At first, church music was performed by foreigners (chiefly Greeks and Bulgarians), but in time local performers joined their ranks. A unique type of

professional performers of a secular character were the *skomorokhy*. Their activities, repertory, and social position were comparable to those of the *jongleurs* in France or *fahrende Leute* in Germany. At the princely courts, the *skomorokhy* fulfilled the duties of musicians, acrobats, and court jesters.

From the fourteenth century, Ukrainian musicians distinguished themselves in the field of instrumental music. They served not only at the courts of Ukrainian princes and nobles, but also at the Polish and, later, the Muscovite courts. In the accounts of Poland's King Jagiello in 1394, many entries have been found concerning the payments made to these musicians. The high standard of Ukrainian instrumental performance can be explained in part by the close relations with Byzantium, which was an important musical center during the Middle Ages. Moreover, Ukraine, along with Spain and the Balkans, was located on one of the three main routes by which instrumental music reached western Europe from the Near East.

The recruiting lists from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries furnish proof of the existence of professional musicians. Various special notations were made on these lists to distinguish violinists (for example, in 1583 the city of Lutsk listed five violinists), several different pipe-players, and others under the general category of *skomorokhy*. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, professional musicians founded their own musical guilds in an attempt to defend their rights and to establish uniform regulations. Members of these guilds—"the brothers"—were divided into groups according to the level of their training, and special rules were established for the election of the "older brother" and "the initiation of students into the ranks of brothers." Exact data are available on the guild in Kiev, whose bylaws were dated 1677. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a guild of violinists was established in Kamianets Podilsky, which attests to the popularity of that instrument. There were, in addition, organizations of *kobzar*-singers and hurdy-gurdy players, divided geographically.

FIGURE 307. *Skomorokhy*, A FRESCO IN THE ST. SOPHIA CATHEDRAL IN KIEV

The period of polyphonic singing led to the development of choral culture in Ukraine. This development was greatly aided by church brotherhoods which founded and maintained choirs, engaged conductors and teachers, and, in general, provided the care necessary to keep choral music on a high level. In 1604, the conductor of the church brotherhood chorus in Lviv prepared works for four, five, and even eight voices.

A major handicap was the deportation of Ukrainian musicians, particularly performers, north to Russia. This practice was started in the middle of the seventeenth century and has been continued without interruption until the twentieth century. In somewhat different forms, it exists to this day. It greatly weakened musical development in Ukraine. Even monks and nuns who were trained in church singing were forcibly transplanted to Russian monasteries. Every year special agents were sent to "choose from among the Ukrainian people singers to supplement the court chorus," as was stated in an order to the singer Holovnia (1742). A special school was established in Hlukhiv in the middle of the eighteenth century, in which singers and instrumentalists were trained, later

to be taken to St. Petersburg. Among them were composers Maksym Berezovsky and Dmytro Bortniansky. The latter, upon his return from Italy, became director of the court choir in St. Petersburg. According to Hector Berlioz, Bortniansky raised the artistry of this chorus to "unparalleled heights." Unlike Bortniansky, his somewhat younger contemporary, Artem Vedel, was able to work in Ukraine as director and violinist.

Of extreme importance from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century were players of the lute-like instrument called *kobza* or, later, *bandura*. Named after their instruments *kobzars* or *bandurysts*, they were simultaneously authors and performers of historical songs and ballads. They were held in high esteem not only among the wider masses of the population and the Kozaks, but also by the higher social classes. Particularly prominent during the early years of the eighteenth century (*ca.* 1730) was Timophy Bilohradsky, a *banduryst* and excellent lutist. Yet even the *bandurysts* were taken to Muscovy, often by force. Proof of this is found in an order of the Empress Anna requesting that one of the prominent *bandurysts* be brought to Moscow "under guard." The art of the *kobzars* was carried on until the twentieth century by musicians from among the common people, nearly all of them blind wandering minstrels. Most talented among them was Ostap Veresai (1803–90). The *theorbo*, an instrument which was similar to the lute and which was popularly called the "aristocrat's *bandura*," was widespread among the Ukrainian nobility and Kozak officers.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the school theaters played an important part in training and preparing performers. Theatrical performances were considered to be part of the schools' obligations. Ukrainian performers also participated in serf theaters, which upon occasion produced even entire grand operas. During the first part of the nineteenth century, much emphasis was placed on performances with music, since they were the most popular and successful. Every dramatic actor was required to complete a course in singing. Among the more prominent dramatic actors of this period (see Theater) who were equally outstanding in their renditions of a musical repertory were Catherine Naletova, Michael Schepkyn, and Karpo Solenyk. Actors of a later period who distinguished themselves in a musical repertory were Mark Kropyvnytsky and Catherine Rubchakova, performers of leading roles in a number of operas.

FIGURE 308. OSTAP VERESAI

The vocal art of Ukraine, with centuries of tradition and culture behind it, produced a number of highly talented and qualified singers. In the nineteenth century, when the predominance of Italian singers in European opera theaters began to lessen, Ukrainian performers appeared as first-class actors and opera singers. Only the unfavorable circumstances of foreign government and economic hardships prevented the development of an independent Ukrainian

operatic culture in a national and territorial sense. In spite of such circumstances, many Ukrainian singers, working in the opera theaters of various countries, attained stature that could compare favorably with that of the best performers in Europe. The tenor Nicholas Ivanov (1810–80) won recognition in Italy. Joseph Petrov (1806–79), basso, and Semen Hulak-Artemovsky (1813–73), bass-baritone and composer, were among the prominent soloists of the St. Petersburg opera during the mid-1900's. Both of these Ukrainian singers were active in popularizing the operas of the Russian composer Michael Glinka. The outstanding Ukrainian singer, Antonine Nezhdanova (1880–1950), soprano, worked on the Russian stage, as did Ivan Alchevsky (1873–1917) and Michael Mykysha (b. 1885), both tenors. At the turn of the nineteenth century, a prominent trio of singers gained renown on the stages of western European theaters: Salomea Krushelnytska (1873–1952), soprano, operatic soloist in Italy; Modest Mentsinsky (1875–1935), tenor, soloist of the Stockholm opera, particularly in Wagnerian roles; and Alexander Myshuha (1853–1922), tenor, acclaimed by Polish critics as the most eminent performer in Polish opera of his day.

FIGURE 309. SALOMEA KRUSHELNYTSKA AND COMPOSER GIACOMO PUCCINI

FIGURE 310. ALEXANDER MYSHUHA

A great interest in operatic music developed in the twentieth century. With the establishment of opera houses in Kiev, Kharkiv, and Odessa, and in the small cities of Dnipropetrovske, Vinnytsia, and others during the 1920's and 1930's, many prominent singers made their appearance and eventually rose to fame. Of these, the following merit special mention: sopranos Maria Lytvynenko-Volhemut, Zoia Haidai, Oksana Petrusenko, Maria Sokil, Vera Huzova, Oksana Kolodub; tenors Yurii Kyparenko-Domansky, Ivan Kozlovsky, Ivan Shvedov, Nicholas Sereda, Ivan Kuchenko; baritones Michael Hryshko, Alexander Martynenko, Nicholas Filimonov; bassos Michael Donets, Ivan Patorzhynsky, Borys Hmyria.

As this list indicates, there was a considerable number of Ukrainian operatic artists of top quality, but there was a scarcity of directors with operatic experience. Consequently, during the years 1925–33, the leading operatic directors in Ukraine were Russian. Even the few Ukrainian directors, such as Serhii Karhalsky and Michael Dyskovsky, had had Russian training. As a result, the operatic performances in Ukraine during that period were modeled strictly on those of Moscow and St. Petersburg.

For these reasons, the repertories of the Ukrainian opera houses consisted primarily of well-known Italian operas (Rossini's *The Barber of Seville*; Verdi's *Aida*, *Rigoletto*, *Othello*, and *La Traviata*; Puccini's *Tosca*, *Madame Butterfly*, and *La Bohème*; Leoncavallo's *Pagliacci*; and Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana*) along with Russian operas

(Tschaikovsky's *Pique Dame* and *Eugene Onegin*; Rimsky-Korsakov's *Bride of the Tsar, Sniegurochka*, and *Tale of Tsar Saltan*; Borodin's *Prince Igor*; Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov*; and Dargomyzhsky's *The Mermaid*). A rather limited number of French and German works were also presented (Bizet's *Carmen*, Gounod's *Faust*, Meyerbeer's *Huguenots*, and Wagner's *Lohengrin* and *Tannhäuser*). Unfortunately, the new repertory included almost no Ukrainian operas, with the exception of Lysenko's *Taras Bul'ba* and Vakhnianyn's *Kupalo*. Both of these works had been written at a time when there was no Ukrainian opera theater. Because their composers lacked practical knowledge of the operatic stage, technical adaptations were an absolute necessity. But they were not made, and both operas were quickly dropped from the repertory. Several other operas by contemporary Ukrainian composers met the same fate: B. Yanovsky's *Vybuch* (Explosion) and *Duma Chornomors'ka* (Song of the Black Sea), B. Liatoshynsky's *Zolotyi obruch* (Golden Ring), V. Kostenko's *Karmeliuk*, Volodymyr Femelidi's *Rozlom* (The Break), Oles Chyshko's *Bronenosets' Potiomkin* (Battleship Potemkin), and the opera *Perekop* by three composers, Julius Meitus, M. Tits, and V. Rybalchenko. Some of these works were boycotted by audiences because of the Soviet-enforced themes and ideology. The failure of others can be attributed in part to the unfavorable attitude of the theater directors.

The later 1920's witnessed a wave of experimentation which had originated in Leningrad and swept into the Ukrainian opera theater. This was due to the presentation of both modern western European operas (Krzenek's *Jonny Spielt Auf*) and the previously rarely seen old operas (Puccini's *Princess Turandot*, Rossini's *Wilhelm Tell*, Wolf-Ferrari's *Jewels of the Madonna*, Mussorgsky's *Sorochynskaia Yarmarka* (Sorochyntsi Fair), and D'Albert's *The Tiefland*). A new experimental approach was also developed in the methods of staging the well-known and frequently performed operas.

Some of the old operas were produced in a cubistic form or one very near to cubism (e.g., the arrangement of *Tannhäuser* by Dyskovsky in Kiev and of *Wilhelm Tell* by Vladimir Manzii in Kharkiv). Scenes were combined, especially in operas like *Faust* where it was necessary to exclude religious and idealistic motifs. Operas were brought nearer to drama (*Carmen* in the setting by Lapitsky) or to sculpture (*Aida* by the same director). Also among experimental efforts were Karhalsky's productions of *Kniaz' Igor* (Prince Igor) and *Rusalka* (The Mermaid) in the strict spirit of Ukrainian folk art. Later, a political interpretation was attached to productions of this type, and they were banned.

The short period of experimentation ended in the early 1930's, when Moscow proclaimed its new line of "socialist realism" in the realm of arts. In opera, this shifted the emphasis to two new concepts: first, to the stylistic methods of the traditional Russian opera and, second, to new themes very closely associated with Soviet ideology. The result of the latter were the operas of Ivan Dzerzhynsky: *Podniataia tselina* (The Turning of the Virgin Soil), *Tikhii Don* (The Quiet Don), and so on. On the other

FIGURE 311. KIEVAN CONSERVATORY BUILDING

hand, there was an increased insistence on splendor and monumentalism in the performance of mass scenes. At this time, only those Ukrainian works were permitted which were of a purely ethnographic character, and even then only in a "monumental" aspect. To such modest plays as *Natalka-Poltavka* and *Zaporozhets' za Dunaiem* (The Kozak beyond the Danube) entire scenes and even entire acts were added, and choruses and ballets were introduced. Special performances, both in Moscow and abroad, were arranged for the monumental-ethnographic versions of these works. The set designer, particularly the painter, acquired great importance. Painters and stage designers like Alexander Khvostov, Ivan Kurochka-Armashevsky, and Anatole Petrytsky gained great power and completely dominated the directors in operatic staging.

The repertory of the opera houses was not noticeably enriched during this period, except for the introduction of *Absalom and Eteri* written by Zakhar Paliashvili. This work was based on Georgian motifs, but written according to the traditions established by the Russian composers of the second half of the nineteenth century. *Ivan Susanin* by Michael Glinka was officially shown on all stages as a typical work fostering Russian patriotism.

It was only in Lviv during the brief period between 1941 and 1944 that Ukrainian opera was freed from external interference. The director at that time was Volodymyr Blavatsky. The most prominent singers of this opera theater were Zenon Dolnytsky, Orest Rusnak, Basil Tysiak, Eugenia Pospiieva, and Lidia Chernykh. Under Blavatsky and the musical director Lev Turkevych, the theater made no attempt to branch out into the various phases of experimentation. Instead, it endeavored to present on a level comparable to that of European theaters such representative works in the field of opera as Verdi's *Aida* and *La Traviata*, Bizet's *Carmen*, D'Albert's *The Tiefland*, Smetana's *The Bartered Bride*, Puccini's *Tosca* and *Madame Butterfly* and Lysenko's *Nocturne*.

The end of World War II did not bring about the hoped-for lessening of political pressures on opera composers and performers in Soviet Ukraine. Continued pressure is evident from the selection of themes and their treatment. The operas *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi* (1951) by C. Dankevych and *Milana* (1957) by H. Maiboroda are good examples. Both works received extensive publicity and much attention from official circles because Dankevych's opera stressed "the friendship of Ukrainian and Russian peoples," while the main purpose of *Milana* was to praise the struggle of the communist forces in their attempts to annex the Transcarpathian region to the Soviet Union.

As in previous decades, during the 1920's and 1930's numerous Ukrainian singers performed on the operatic stages of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Austria, Germany, and other countries. Among them were tenors Michael Holynsky, O. Rusnak-Gerlakh, Roman Lubinetsky, Klym Andriienko, B. Tysiak; soprano Eugenia Vynnychenko-Mozhova; and baritone Z. Dolnytsky.

After World War II, musical activities were continued by émigrés in other countries. An operatic ensemble was organized under the direction of Bohdan Piurko in Germany. Many Ukrainian singers (Eugenia Zareska, Myroslav Skala-Starytsky, and others) appeared successfully on the stages of western Europe. A highly gifted performer is the mezzo-soprano Ira Malaniuk who has appeared in leading roles in operas by Wagner and Richard Strauss.

The number of instrumentalists, which in the nineteenth century was almost negligible (violinist Gregory Rachynsky, pianist Nicholas Lysenko), has increased considerably in recent years, particularly as regards pianists. The Ukrainian pianists Liubka Kolessa (b. 1904) and Taras Mykysha (1913–58) gained an

FIGURE 312.
TARAS MYKYSHA

FIGURE 313.
ROMAN SAVYTSKY

excellent reputation in Europe. Roman Savytsky (1907–60), Borys Maksymovych, Vadym Kipa (1912–68) and Daria Hordynska-Karanovych (b. 1908) have made extensive concert tours both in Ukraine and in other countries. The composers V. Kosenko, B. Barvinsky, and A. Rudnytsky have also performed as concert pianists. Some foreign-born musicians, for example Abram Lufer, have made great contributions to the development of piano performance in Ukraine. Vladimir Horovitz, a pianist of world-wide fame, is a graduate of the Kievan school.

Although the violin is a very popular and beloved instrument in Ukraine, concert violinists are comparatively less numerous. The violinist and composer Roman Prydatkevych has been active in the United States since his arrival in 1924. Donna Gresko achieved success on the concert stages of Canada. One of the most prominent violinists of the Soviet Union, David Oistrakh, was born and educated in Ukraine. He was the teacher of a number of Ukrainian violinists, among them Olha Parkhomenko and Oleh Krysa. A number of successful Ukrainian cellists deserve special mention; among them are Liudmyla Tymoshenko-Polevska, Bohdan Berezhnytsky, Christine Kolessa, and Zoia Polevska. Chamber music has been fostered by the Viliom string quartet, founded in 1919, and the string quartet of the Leontovych Society, organized in 1923. The piano trios in Kharkiv and Lviv also did much to advance the popularity of chamber music.

Choral conducting has a long history that can be traced to the old cherished traditions in Ukraine. The composers who worked in this field were Nicholas Lysenko, Cyril Stetsenko, Ostap Nyzhankivsky, and Michael Haivoronsky. A conductor of extraordinary ability was Alexander Koshyts. It was under his leadership that the Ukrainian Republican Capella (a large mixed chorus, organized during the period of Ukrainian statehood, 1918–20, later renamed Ukrainian National Chorus), won high praise and recognition on its concert tours through Europe and America. An able assistant of Koshyts, Pliatonida Shchurovska, was also recognized as a capable conductor. Another prominent conductor was Nestor Horodovenko, leader of the choral group "Dumka" which gained great popularity both in Ukraine and abroad, particularly in Paris. Other choral directors who should be mentioned were Michael Haidai, Peter Honcharov, Gregory Bryzhakha, Basil Verkhovynec, Dmytro Kotko, and Gregory Veriovka. Orchestral and operatic conductors included M. Verykivsky, A. Rudnytsky, Michael Radziievsky, Nicholas Malko, N. Kolessa, L. Turkevych, and B. Piurko. It was characteristic of the system prevalent in Soviet Ukraine that nearly all conductors of both operas and orchestras were non-Ukrainian. The situation changed after World War II, with the appearance of many young orchestral and operatic conductors, among them Yaroslav Voshchak, Alexander Klymov, Eugene Dushchenko, Vadym Hniedash, George Lutsiv, and Stephen Turchak.

FIGURE 314.
MICHAEL HAIVORONSKY

Many artist-soloists and artistic groups distinguished themselves by performances during the years of the emigration, 1945–50. Most prominent among them were the Banduryst Capella under the direction of Gregory Kytasty and

FIGURE 315. STATE BANDURYST CAPELLA IN POLTAVA, 1925

Volodymyr Bozhyk, and the mixed chorus "Ukraina" under the leadership of N. Horodovenko. Male choirs of high quality were active in Austria, Germany, and England.

Numerous choruses have been established since the earliest years of arrival of Ukrainian immigrants to the United States and Canada (see Ukrainians Abroad). Operatic performances were given by sporadically organized theatrical groups.

In spite of devastation caused by World War II, opera houses and symphony orchestras in Ukraine resumed their activities and soon reached the high level of artistry achieved during preceding decades. At this time, a new generation of professional performers gained access to the concert halls and operatic stages: Elizabeth Chavdar, coloratura soprano; Larysa Rudenko and Helen Sukhorukova, mezzo-sopranos; Dmytro Hnatiuk, baritone; Paul Karmaliuk, baritone; and Alexander Kryvchenia, bass. The ranks of old representative choral groups, which had achieved a significantly high artistic level, such as "Dumka," the Banduryst Capella, and the State Folk Choir, were now joined by two more: the Transcarpathian Folk Choir and the mixed choir "Trembita" in Lviv.

The newly opened possibilities of concert tours in foreign countries in the 1950's and 1960's gave a fresh impetus to the growth and development of musical groups and performers in Soviet Ukraine. Such tours were conducted first in the neighboring countries of the Soviet Union (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria), and later in western Europe and America. During these tours, individual Ukrainian performers (operatic singer D. Hnatiuk in his 1962 tour of Canada as well as a group of soloists, who appeared at the international exposition in Montreal, Canada, in 1967) and ensembles (the State Folk Choir under Gregory Veriovka at Belgium's State Fair and the Opera Theater from Kiev during a 1963 tour of Yugoslavia) achieved popularity and critical acclaim.

*W. Wytwycky*

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# 4. THE FOLK AND ART DANCE

## HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE OF RESEARCH

The first studies and articles on the Ukrainian dance, with detailed descriptions and sometimes with music, began to appear in Ukraine as early as the first half of the eighteenth century. Studies on the oldest Ukrainian ceremonial dances were rendered by Elias Kokorudz (1888) and A. Famintsyn (1889), while G. Kvitka (1841), N. Kostomarov (1861), N. Biernacki (1861), N. Lysenko (1875), and A. Zachyniaiev (1907) wrote on contemporary Ukrainian dances. Works on the dance were written by I. Vahylevych (1855), O. Kolberg (1891), V. Shukhevych (1902), J. Schnajder (1906–1907), and R. Harasymchuk (1930); on the Boikian dances, by I. Chervinsky (1811); on the Polisian, by O. Kolberg (1889); on the Podlachian, by K. W. Wójcicki (1842, on the *kolomyikas*, by V. Hnatiuk (1905); on the *kryvyi tanets'* (crooked dance), by N. Kostomarov (1861), and S. Szablewska (1883), as well as B. Verkhovynets (1920, 1932) and O. Baryliak (1932).

The Ukrainian folk dance is still very much alive among the people, and even today it is frequently included in song and music folklore which at the present time is studied by the institutes and commissions of folklore and ethnography as well as the ethnographical museums. The findings of these studies appear in the form of separate publications, such as, for example, those by T. Tkachenko (1954, 1955) and A. Humeniuk (1962). There are also a number of minor publications with descriptions, illustrations, music, and methodic instructions for dance ensembles and amateur groups, for example, dances of the "Dnipro" ensemble: *Ukraïns'ke vesillia* (Ukrainian Wedding, Kiev, 1960), *Shalantukh*, a Ukrainian folk dance (Kiev, 1960), *Bilia krynytsi* (Near the Well), a choreographic scene (Kiev, 1960), *Vesnianochky* (Kiev, 1961), *Khortychanka*, a contemporary Ukrainian folk dance

FIGURE 316. UKRAINIAN FOLK DANCE *Hopak*

(Kiev, 1961), and *Vitrets'*, a Ukrainian dance (Kiev, 1961).

Other genres of dancing, such as classical ballet and modern art dance, developed later under the influence of new trends in the world of arts. They constitute separate branches of Ukrainian choreography, and they are treated in various critical essays in Soviet art journals, magazines, and other publications.

Studies of the Ukrainian dance outside the borders of Ukraine, after World War II, were rendered in separate publications by Basil Avramenko (1946), A. Stepovyi (1946), and Maria Pasternakova (1963), as well as by authors of works on ethnography, for example, Stephen Kylymnyk in the publication *Ukraïns'kyi rik u narodnykh zvychaiakh* (Calendar Year in Ukrainian Folklore, 1955–62). Articles on folk and art dances by M. Pasternakova, A. Maliutsa, P. Marchenko, and others are published in Ukrainian magazines and newspapers in the Western world.

## ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN DANCE

The origins of the dance in Ukraine can be traced, as in other lands of the world, to prehistoric times. In the Trypilia settlement, on the site of the present village of Hrebeny in the Kiev region, was produced as early as the third millenium B.C. a large clay vessel on which are pictured female figures in the dynamic poses of the dance. The study of the mythology of the Eastern Slavs shows that the dance was one of the earliest manifestations of man's spiritual and emotional being in the primeval stages of cultural development. Great reliance of the primitive man on nature and environment resulted in the emergence of the earliest dances which were imitations of the movements of quadrupeds, as well as birds, bees, and so on. These dances had a ritualistic-supplicative meaning and a mimicry of their own.

The dance was also a means of communication between man and the powers of nature. It played an important part in the cult conceptions and ceremonies resulting from this mystic contact, as well as in the notions of life after death. The ritual dances were created spontaneously; they were connected organically to specific events in man's daily life, for example, the birth of a child, weddings, and funerals. The sedentary agricultural peoples used the song and dance for invoking a good harvest, conjuring the gods' favors for their farm work or for a victory in battle with the enemy. Fragments of ritual funeral dances, depicted on the gravestones of ancient graves, are found in Ukraine (Crimea, beginning of the first millenium, B.C.).

With time, the original character of these dances disappeared gradually. As they evolved in the process of general cultural development, only some remote reminiscences of the ancient ritual and

cult dances survived through the centuries.

### The Ritual Dance

With the introduction of Christianity in Ukraine, the archaic survivals of these dances blended with the Christian rituals and became connected with the church calendar.

Some mention of the ancient dances can be found in written sources, but the largest number of them can be found in ancient Ukrainian song folklore. The dance and the song have become deeply rooted in the way of life of the Ukrainian people, and even now they play an important part in the ritual festivities of the peasant population devoted mainly to the seasons of the agricultural year.

The oldest Slavic word for the dance is *plias*. The modern word *tanets'* was borrowed by the Ukrainians from the West. Some ancient Ukrainian dances were performed, not to the accompaniment of singing or music, but rather to an inner feeling of rhythm. It is possible that the group dance was accompanied by percussion instruments, such as wooden clappers, drums, or gongs, as is still customary among the various tribes of Africa or the peoples of the Orient. Singing as a form of accompaniment for the dance came at a much later date. The later musical accompaniment, mainly for dances of amusement and entertainment, was rendered on Ukrainian folk instruments, such as the *husli* (a kind of psaltery), flutes, horns, cymbals, the *kobza*, and others [Vol. I, p. 379].

The ancient Ukrainian dances were actually dance games (*khorovody*), and their basic form was the circle, associated with the cult of the sun, the greatest life-giving power. Traces of the first circular dances can be found in Crete (3,000 B.C.). They were popular throughout the entire eastern Mediterranean region and could have been easily brought into Ukraine. Some forms of the *hahilky* and the *vesnianky*, which were part of the spring ritual cycle between the holidays of the Annunciation and Easter, when winter and summer meet, also belong to the category of the circular dances [Vol. I, pp. 324ff.]

FIGURE 317. A HUTSUL *khorovid*

The spring circular dances were performed by girls outdoors or at the cemetery near the church. To the accompaniment of singing, they greeted the awakening of nature. Also included in the songs were elements of love and desire for a happy marriage. The most widely known are spring *khorovody* (circular dances) with various circular combinations and steps, the *kryvyi tanets'*, *podolianochka*, *perepilka*, *yahilochka*, and *verbova doshchechka*. In time, the *vesnianky-hahilky* were enriched by new themes, and some of them, in the spirit of the early Middle Ages, conveyed the image of family life and economical order. During the period of the corvee, the people created new Easter circular dances which reflected the social trends of the day (*Zel'man*, *Bondarivna*, and others). Traces of spring and Easter circular dances can be found today in the children's game-songs. Generally speaking, the *vesnianky-hahilky* have a lyrical character; their movements are soft, tranquil, and restrained.

In summer, when nature was in full bloom and when, according to popular beliefs, the water-nymphs (*mavky*), witches, vampires, and other imaginary supernatural forces began to act, the

*Kupalo* festival, which was probably connected to the pre-Christian feast of the *Rusalii*, was celebrated. On the eve of the festival, young people throughout Ukraine performed various games and circular dances in the woods or near rivers. Girls dressed themselves as water-nymphs, danced around a scarecrow, tossed garlands into the river, and leapt over the fire. In Polisia, the Lemkian area, and Transcarpathia, the girls put up a puppet, the so-called *Marena* or *Kostrubon'ko* (also called *Lado* or *Yarylo*), danced around it, and finally tossed it into the water. The *Kupalo* games, while marked by some erotic elements, contained nothing vulgar; on the contrary, they were poetized and everything in them was shrouded in mystery. In the Hutsul area, on the eve of St. George, the girls performed a ritual dance called *Lelia*, chose the most beautiful girl, placed a garland on her head, and danced around her while she handed out flowers from which they made garlands for themselves. This was intended to mean that the girl was imparting happiness to her friends. This ritual is reminiscent of the old Roman festival of roses (*dies rosae*, *rosalia*, *rosatio*), the purpose of which was the invocation of happiness in love. Dances were also performed during the Whitsuntide holidays, when the girls adorned the birches and the poplars with garlands and sang and danced around them.

Late summer and early autumn were not marked by such variety of rituals as the preceding cycles. The Ukrainian folk calendar of this period consisted primarily of harvest and scything rites connected with the agrarian mode of life. The harvest feast (*obzhynky*), dedicated in the past to the goddess-mother, was similar in some ways to the ancient cult of the goddess Demeter. The harvest circular dances (*obzhynkovi khorovody*) constituted a dramatization of the song content and an imitation of the actual agricultural work. The harvest circular dances were performed mainly by women, and the scything ones by men. The ritual circular dances were performed with the help of garlands, twigs decorated with flowers, kerchiefs, puppets, fire, and so on.

The greatest variety of folk rites and customs was contained in the winter cycle of holidays, although dances here were of secondary importance as they constituted almost exclusively a pantomime representation of the song content. One of the dances, the *kolo-kruhliak* (round dance), has been preserved until the present day, and it is performed indoors during Christmas holidays, by the visiting carolers after they have expressed best wishes to all members of the household (*vinshuvannia*). They finish the dance by exiting backwards with a rhythmic step in a snakelike formation, so as to leave the luck in the home. Ancient carols, which reflect the early Middle Age, often mention a dance around the fire performed during military campaigns.

On New Year's Eve (*Malanchyn Vechir* [Vol. I, pp. 321ff.]), which was connected with the ancient folk belief of the return of the sun after the winter sleep, began the joyous welcoming of this change. It was the time of dancing games in which youth as well as adults participated in large numbers. Costumes and masks, depicting a bear, a goat, a grandfather, a grandmother, a gypsy, death, and others, were indispensable attributes of these games. However, the masquerading and the donning of masks during the Christmas and the New Year periods had other than merely entertaining significance; it is possible that these customs go back to the prehistoric ritual ceremonial marking the seasonal change from winter to summer, and that only their character and personages varied in relation to the changing conditions of life. The dance and the masks gave origin to the Greek theater, and they have retained until this day their symbolic meaning in stage presentations of the Greek classical plays.

The period of Epiphany (*Yordan*) is followed by the carnival period (*Miasnytsi*), filled with gay amusements, dances, and entertainment which show traces of Western influence. Only wedding ceremonies, which also take place at this time of the year, have in part preserved the traditional ritual character, and their dances are performed primarily by women. Such dances as *podushkovyi, kocherha, stil'chyk*, are mimetic representations of the wedding songs. The wedding dances are similar in some respects to the ancient funeral dances. In the wedding circular dances the girls bewail the fate of their friend who is getting married; for them, as for her parents, she is considered "dead."

The funeral dances are still popular in some remote areas of Ukraine. Those dances are survivals of the pagan cult dances. Death meant the departure into the other world, and, therefore, in the past, the funeral dances had a magical meaning. The various steps and gestures were subordinated to the text of the women's lamentations. The purpose of the dance was to drive away the evil spirits from the departed, to protect the family and friends from the return of the dead person's soul from "the other world," as well as to cheer up the grieving family. The dance motif of death as a horror assumed a particularly macabre character during the Middle Ages, in the times of great disasters and crises, such as war, famine, and widespread epidemics.

Ukrainian ritual dances are performed mostly to the accompaniment of a churchlike (antiphonic) chant and rarely to music. They convey the connection between man and the supernatural powers. The chorals most typical of these dances are supplicative and commemorative in nature. In spite of their ethnographic primitiveness, which consists of numerous stages of development, Ukrainian ritual dances show highly aesthetic forms and spiritual depth as well as a diversified choreographic image that unfolds from a circle. They contain strong magical elements in incantations and representation of physical strength.

**The Folk Dance**

The process of transformation of the ritual dance into the folk dance has been little studied. There is no doubt that folk dances evolved from ancient cult and ritual dances, and that for a long period of time they maintained the old syncretic form, that is, the word, the motion, and the gesture as a rhythmic whole. It is presumed that the separation of song and dance began during the early Middle Ages, as the ancient cult rites divided with the introduction of Christianity. One part was retained by the people in the form of folk dancing, the other was taken over by professional dancers who replaced the song in the dance with pantomime. The dance assumed a different meaning; it now became a kind of amusement, a pleasure, not a supplication or a tribute to the gods. A new type of traveling dancers appeared. They performed their art in squares or in palaces entertaining princes and nobles. In Ukraine, they were called the *skomorokhy*. Soon these pantomime-dancing shows advanced to the stage where actors, solely men, danced the play while the chorus explained the action. The *skomorokhy* enjoyed a great deal of popularity in Ukraine, as shown by the frescoes which have been preserved on the walls of the St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev, depicting a group of dancers and musicians.

Ukrainian folk dances can be divided into two groups: those performed to the accompaniment of songs and those performed to music. The musical instrument, as a means of keeping up the rhythm of the dance, was introduced later. They are classified as circular dances and topical dances, the latter including dances that reflect the mode of life, occupational and humorous dances, and others. The majority of Ukrainian folk dances resemble closely

the circular dance types enriched by figurative intricacies; the pair and solo dances evolve from this type. The structure of the Ukrainian folk dances is linear, even geometrical, showing a tendency toward imaginative patterns (circle, cross, serpent, chain, rows, and others), space, and rounded lines. They unfold in horizontal direction, except for the vertical dances of the mountain people. The circular dances are accompanied by a song, the choreographic image depending on the content of the song. These dances contain many ancient elements: they are profound in content, ritually allegorical or symbolic, but their technique is somewhat poorer because as group dances they are subordinated to one leading performer.

By their movements, gestures, and type of music the topical dances portray events which occur in nature or in everyday life. They have a variety of steps and figures, but their content is simpler. Performed to a song that has a 2/4 musical beat, they are based on one or two steps, quite diverse in composition and arranged in an orderly and successive manner. Dances which even today are most popular in Ukraine are those that portray the people's way of life. They reflect various traits of the Ukrainian national character and they have become part of the people's mode of life. These dances are performed at popular dances, evening parties, and so on.

Performed originally by girls only, the following dances have become united dances: *metelytsia, Kateryna, Vasylykha, dribushka, horlytsia, volynianka,* and *tropotianka.* At one time exclusively men's dances, the following can also be performed as united pair-group and solo dances: *chumak, hopak, chaban, veselyi, vivchar, ocheret, zaporozhets', kozak,* and *arkan.* The *kolomyika,* popular in Western Ukraine and performed with a variety of steps (*holubka, merezhka*) to the accompaniment of dialogue-type songs, is reminiscent of the ancient circular dances with a 2/4 musical beat. The heroic period of Ukraine's historic past is reflected in men's dances, for example, *Gonta,* which symbolizes heroism, manliness, and patriotism of the Ukrainian people. The *hopak,* which features physical strength and almost acrobatic agility, has in time become transformed into a pair or group dance whose theme is a youth's wooing of a girl and a display of ingenious leaps and squats in order to gain her favors. Labor as a theme finds expression in such topical dances as *kravchyk, shevchyk, lisoruby,* and *kovali.* Various movements in these dances are construed in such a manner as to convey the intricacies of the trade or occupation and the dexterity of the artisan. There are also humorous dances, such as *bychky, husak, kozlyk,* and others which depict the behavior of animals and birds.

FIGURE 318. FOLK DANCE *Kateryna*

FIGURE 319. BASIL AVRAMENKO PERFORMING THE DANCE *Gonta*

Ukrainian folk dances which have retained most of their ancient elements are found in Podlachia, for example, *haiduk, kozak, shatalier.* Also, in Slobids'ka Ukraïna people still remember such ancient dances as *dudochka, horlytsia,* and *zaveriukha,* and in southern Ukraine

there are still traces of the old Kozak dances, for example, *zaporozhets'*. Folk dances of the Lemkian region, such as *koshychok*, *kolechko*, *obertas*, *kyvanyi*, *Dzhurylo*, and *striasuvanets'*, have preserved some ancient elements although they have been influenced considerably by Slovak folklore. Transcarpathian folk dances also have unique movements not known in other areas of Ukraine. The influence of other peoples' folk dances are noticeable in that the music and dancing movements do not always harmonize and the melody does not provide a rhythmic scheme for the steps. The Caucasian folk dances have not affected the dances of eastern Ukraine even though choreography is a highly developed form of art in the Caucasus.

FIGURE 320. *Koshychok*, A LEMKIAN FOLK DANCE

By virtue of their repetitious refrains, Ukrainian folk dances, like those of other peoples of the world, appear to have a slightly monotonous presentation, and even though they have many common elements, they differ strongly in choreographic methods, in traditional dancing content, and in dynamics which depend to a large degree on the specific geographical and climatic conditions of the country. Ukrainian folk dances, unlike those of other peoples, were not affected strongly by court dances and therefore they preserved their freshness and originality for a longer period of time. It should be emphasized that the girl in Ukrainian folk dances is always full of dignity: she dances gracefully, behaves modestly, at times flirtatiously, but she always expresses her feelings in a restrained manner. The beauty and originality of the Ukrainian folk dances are even more emphasized by colorful aesthetic costumes and melodic musical accompaniment.

There are no written records on the dances at the Ukrainian princely courts, and it can only be assumed that they were similar to those of other ruling houses, for in addition to trade relations, Ukrainian princes had established close ties through intermarriage with other rulers of western and southern Europe. Ukrainian court dances were probably adaptations of the folk circular dances, forerunners of the later minuet, gavotte, pas-de-quatre, quadrille, and others which were brought to Ukraine from western Europe either through Poland or partly through Russia, where they were introduced during the reign of Peter the Great. In modern times, popular social dances have been accepted and frequently changed in various cities of Ukraine. These dances have nothing in common with the traditional forms of folk dancing and its music; they are rather adaptations and transformations of exotic folk dances, especially those originating in Africa and Latin America.

**Dance in the Popular Theater**

Thanks to its diversity of form and choreography, the Ukrainian folk dance succeeded in being presented on the stage of the Kiev Theater in 1880–90, where it was performed for the first time in the productions of the operas *Dniprovs'ka Rusalka* (The Dnieper Nymph) and *Ukraïnka* whose themes were taken from the Ukrainian ancient past. The dance played an important part in dramas of everyday life staged by the theaters of Marko Kropyvnytsky, Nicholas Sadovsky, Opanas Saksahansky, and Michael Starytsky. Particularly popular at that time were folk rites with songs

and dances which broadened the scope of the play and gave additional decor.

As a result of great interest in the folk dance on the part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, it became the subject of research by such well-known collectors of ethnographic material as Vadym and Daniel Shcherbakivsky, A. Pavlovsky, the painter Theodore Krychevsky, Michael Boichuk, the composer N. Lysenko, and B. Verkhovynets. The Kherson area folk dances, with their intricate figures, lent themselves best to stage adaptation; also popular was the dance *os'machok*. They were presented in the plays *Palyvoda* by Ivan Karpenko-Karyi and *Kateryna* by Nicholas Arkas, and in the operetta *Zal'oty Sots'koho Musiia* (Flirtations of Sots'kyi Mussii) by Kropyvnytsky. Some spring dances, as well as other types of circular dances, were presented in *Marusia Bohuslavka* by M. Starytsky, *Bondarivna* by I. Karpenko-Karyi, *Oi ne Khody Hrytsiu* by M. Starytsky, *Vii*, by M. Kropyvnytsky, and *Khmary* (Clouds) by Volodymyr Sukhodolsky. Part of the wedding ritual was presented in M. Kropyvnytsky's *Dvi simï* (Two Families), and the *Kupalo* games and circular dances were adapted in the play *Nich pid Ivana Kupala* (On the Eve of Ivan Kupalo) by M. Starytsky.

Academic youth organized separate clubs for the study of Ukrainian folk dances which were then introduced into operas such as *Zaporozhets' za Dunaiem* by Semen Hulak-Artemovsky and *Hal'ka* by Stanislaw Moniuszko, and into the operetta *Natalka-Poltavka* by Ivan Kotliarevsky (music by N. Lysenko) among others. These students also staged separate independent programs devoted fully to Ukrainian folk choreography. One of the best such evenings of Ukrainian folk dancing was staged in Kiev, on April 21, 1912, when a full program of *vesnianky* (spring circular dances) was presented successfully. Similar programs were staged in Odessa, Yelysavethrad, Cherkasy, Voronezh, and Poltava. The theater Berezil', with Les Kurbas as director, also included Ukrainian folk dances in its stage productions, although they were not presented in the form of separate dance programs. In Western Ukraine, beginning with the 1860's, Ukrainian folk dances were staged by the Rus'ka Besida theater mainly in plays about the people's mode of life. Since that time, the Ukrainian folk dance has been introduced into contemporary opera and ballet under the name of "character dance." In addition to being a colorful auxiliary, it serves to support the stage action and to create the mood. Consequently, it has become as much a part of the opera or the ballet as the music and the word. Numerous professional ensembles and amateur groups in Ukraine as well as in other countries of the world have played an important part in the popularization of Ukrainian folk dancing. Pioneers in this field in the 1920's and 1930's were: B. Verkhovynets', choreographer in Nicholas Sạdovsky's Theater and author of such works as *Ukraïns'ke vesillia* (Ukrainian Wedding), *Teoriia ukraïns'koho narodnoho tanku* (Theory of the Ukrainian Folk Dance), and a collection *Vesnianochka*; A. Kist, organizer of Ukrainian folk dancing courses in Transcarpathia; Demi-Dovhopilsky, director of the Ukrainian folk dance studio in Prague; and those still active today: Dmytro Chutro, who staged Ukrainian folk dances in plays and operas in Canada and the United States; B. Avramenko, former actor in N. Sadovsky's Theater, choreographer and director of Ukrainian folk dancing courses in Europe, Canada, and the United States, founder of the Institute of Folk Dancing in New York City, and author of the book *Ukraïns'ki natsional'ni tantsi, muzyka, strii* (Ukrainian National Dances, Music, and Costume.)

From the ranks of the younger generation the following are currently preoccupied with stage adaption of Ukrainian folk dances: Yaroslav Chuperchuk, director of the Hutsulian Ballet in Western Ukraine (1942–44); Roman Petryna, Walter Bacad, Vadym Sulyma,

and John O. Flis, in the United States; Yaroslav Klun and Peter Marunchak in Canada; Nina Denysenko in Australia; the Orlyk ensemble under the direction of Peter Dnistrovyk in England, and many others.

One of the best dancing ensembles in Ukraine today is the *Derzhavnyi Ansambl' Tantsiu URSR* (State Dance Ensemble of the Ukrainian SSR) under the direction of Paul Virsky. Its repertory includes stylized Ukrainian folk dances as well as choreographic images from Ukraine's historical past. It has performed in most of the larger cities of the world. Unfortunately, choreographers of this and other Soviet dancing ensembles, in obeisance to the dictates of the Communist regime, have been knowingly distorting the original folk form and national characteristics of the Ukrainian folk dance through excessive stylization, acrobatics, pantomime, and introduction of foreign elements borrowed from the dances of other nationalities of the Soviet Union. In doing so they have been intentionally accelerating the process of alienation of the Ukrainian folk dances from their original form and national artistic truth. With this purely political objective in mind Soviet choreographers are themselves creating a new Soviet folklore, characterized mainly by themes on the life of the working people and portrayals of the "happy" life of the Soviet man; for example, pseudo-folk dances *Na kukurudzianomu poli, rukodil'nytsi*, and *Kolhospna pol'ka, Zhovtneva lehenda* (October legend), among others.

FIGURE 321. PAUL VIRSKY

## Classical Ballet in Ukraine

After the French Revolution, classical ballet in France was going through a period of decline. In an attempt to preserve the rich Italian-French traditions of the ballet, the French ballet master Marius Petipa transferred it to Russia in the middle of the nineteenth century, where it attained a high level of professional excellence. From Russia, classical ballet reached Ukraine. Here, ballet dances first appeared in the so-called *kripats'ki teatry* (theaters of the peasant serfs) presented by Ukrainian nobles on their estates for the purpose of entertaining guests. The performers were Ukrainian peasant serfs. The artistic level of these shows was quite poor and they were soon discontinued.

From 1832 on, some ballet dances and divertissements were presented in the Kiev temporary theater. Their directors and performers were mostly Russian dancers. The sponsors of these shows also invited to Kiev for guest appearances a number of outstanding ballet performers from abroad, mostly Poles, Italians, and Spaniards, among them such renowned ballerinas as Adelle, the pupil of the famous Italian ballerina Maria Taglioni. At that time, a group of ballet dancers led by the Offermans broke away from a touring Italian opera troupe and, after adding a few of the local dancers, they were able to stage complete ballet shows. In 1856, the theater season in Kiev was opened with the presentation of J. Perreau's *Dream-Bird*, music by Cesare Pugni, in which the noted Viennese ballerina Theresa Risa appeared in the main role.

In 1867 a permanent theater was founded in Kiev, and its stage was made available to the ballet for independent shows. Such ballets as *Raimonda* (music by Alexander Glasunov), *Le Corsaire* (music by Riccardo Drigo), *Don Quijote* (music by Ludwig Minkus), *Swan Lake* (music by P. Tschaikovsky), and *Coppélia* (music by Leo Delibes) were imitations of the Russian ballet presentations and they were performed mainly by Russian dancers. But, the interest in ballet gradually captivated the younger generation in Ukraine, and at the beginning of the twentieth century, this

generation produced such outstanding masters as Vaslav Nizhynsky, Olga Preobrazhenska, and Sergei Lykhvar (Lifar), and among Poles from Ukraine, Lanczewski, Lange, and Buszynski. However, these dancers and choreographers did not remain in Ukraine for long. They were engaged by Russian dance ensembles and they have gone into the history of the Russian ballet.

The Ukrainization of the theater in the first half of the twentieth century did not bring about a similar parallel trend, in the realm of ballet: its traditional repertory continued to prevail as did the importation of ballet masters and soloists from Russia. It was only in 1919 that the Kiev ballet master Michael Mordkin staged the dances of the nymphs in N. Lysenko's opera *Utoplena* (The Drowned Girl) and a number of other ballet compositions for operas as well as separate choreographic portrayals. In the same year Mordkin also staged *Giselle* (music by Adolphe Adam) and in 1925 Igor Moiseiev staged, in Kharkiv, *Le Corsaire*. The appearance of Basil Lytvynenko on the Ukrainian ballet scene in 1930 resulted in the introduction of Ukrainian subjects into the repertory of the ballet. One of the first signs of this change was the production of the ballet *Pan Kaniovskyi* (theme taken from *Bondarivna*, music by M. Verykivsky), in which Lytvynenko, adhering to the basic principles of classical ballet, included elements of the Ukrainian folk dance. This creative trend was continued in the ballet *Lileia* (Lily) produced by the ballet master Helen Berezova and based on T. Shevchenko's poetry (music by Constantine Dankevych).

The ballet *Dniprel'stan* by Anthony Rudnytsky was based on modern musical principles, quite similar to the referential methods employed by Les Kurbas in some plays staged by the Berezil' theater. Unfortunately, Rudnytsky's ballet was never produced on stage. Kurbas frequently applied the dance and rhythmic movements in dramatic plays, for example, *Gas* by G. Kaiser, *Shpana*, *Allo na Khvyli 477* (Hello on Waves 477), and others. Choreographers in these plays were Eugene Vigilev, Natalia Shuvarska, and Antonina Kupfer. However, because of political circumstances which precluded free and unfettered creative thinking, it was not possible to develop new Ukrainian ballets. Yet, even though the majority of the dancers at that time were Russians and in spite of the fact that the directing was subjected to strict demands of the party line, a number of Ukrainian masters succeeded in making a name for themselves: Alexandra Havrylova, Valentyna Pereiaslavets, A. Pidhorska, Alexander Sobol, K. Troïtsky, Vadym Sulyma, R. Savytska, M. Mankutevych, Alla Shelest, and a few others.

FIGURE 322. A SCENE FROM THE BALLET *Lileia* BY C. DANKEVYCH

FIGURE 323. L. HERYNOVYCH AND M. SAKHARCHUK IN A SCENE FROM THE BALLET *Peer Gynt*, LVIV, 1944

The 1930's witnessed a renewal of directives by the Soviet Russian regime, demanding strict conformity to the official party line of "socialist realism" which combined the classical form of ballet with a politically colored libretto. Also, performances of the Russian classical ballet were repeated on the stages of the Ukrainian theaters of opera and ballet: *Konyk Horbunok* (The Little Humpbacked Horse), music by Cesare Pugni, choreography by M. Moiseiev; *The Sleeping Beauty*, music by Peter Tschaikovsky, choreography by H. Berezova; *Scheherazade*, music by Nicholas Rimsky-Korsakov, choreography by Sergei Sergeiev; *Straussiana*, music by J. Strauss, choreography by S. Sergeiev; *Shchelkunchyk*, music by P. Tschaikovsky, choreography by Vachtang Vronsky; E. Vigilev staged *Peer Gynt* (music by E. Grieg) in Kharkiv in 1930, and also in Lviv in 1944.

Following the establishment of a school of choreography in Kiev in 1940, which is constantly producing new artists, the ballet in Ukraine has become more independent and new productions based on Ukrainian subjects are appearing on the stages of the theaters of opera and ballet in Kiev, Kharkiv, Odessa, and Lviv, among them: *Lisova Pisnia* (Forest Song), music by Michael Skorulsky, choreography by S. Sergeiev; *Danko*, music by Vladimir Nakhabin, choreography by B. Lytvynenko; *Vesniana Kazka* (Spring Fairy Tale) music by V. Nakhabin, choreography by V. Nikitina; *Marusia Bohuslavka*, music by Anatole Sviechnikov, choreography by S. Sergeiev; *Rostyslava*, music by Herman Zhukovsky, choreography by V. Vronsky; *Chorne Zoloto* (Black Gold), music by Vadym Homoliaka, choreography by V. Berdovsky; *Tavriia*, music by V. Nakhabin, choreography by I. Kovtunov; *Taras Bul'ba*, music by Reinhold Glier and Vasilii Soloviov-Sedoi; ballet for children, *Kit v chobotakh* (Cat in Boots), music by V. Homoliaka, choreography by Robert Klavin; *Ulianka*, music by Anatole Kolomyiets, libretto by Natalia Skorulska; *Chudo-Lis* (Wonder Forest), music by Nicholas Silvansky, libretto by N. Poznanska. The production of Dimitri Shostakovich's *Zolota Doba* (Golden Age) in Kiev was closed after only two performances. In recent years the Kiev Ballet has been allowed to conduct limited tours abroad (Scandinavian countries, Italy, France). At the international festival of classical ballet in Paris in 1966, the company was awarded a "golden star" for its performance.

FIGURE 324. A SCENE FROM THE BALLET *Lisova Pisnia* BY MICHAEL SKORULSKY

In western Ukrainian lands the traditions of classical ballet are quite recent. It was not until 1939 that the ballet, as a separate part of the opera, was created under the direction of choreographers E. Vigilev, Yaroslav Shtenhel, and Nicholas Trehubov. From that time on, the theater of opera and ballet has been staging ballets of the old classical repertory as well as new ones with Ukrainian themes, for example: *Khustka Dovbusha* (Dovbush's Kerchief), music by Anatole Kos-Anatolsky, *Soichyne Krylo* (Jay's Wing), also by Kos-Anatolsky, and *Tini Zabutykh Predkiv* (Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors), music by Vitalii Kyreiko, libretto by N. Skorulska, choreography by Tamara Ramonova.

The Ukrainian ballet is not known for its great themes embodying problems of universal significance. Deprived of the possibilities to develop freely, the Ukrainian ballet has been compelled to incor-

porate elements of "socialist realism" into the intricate classical forms, in keeping with the spirit of Communist ideology. It is, indeed, difficult for Soviet choreographers to find justification in the dreariness of present-day Soviet life. They cannot express themselves freely and find it rather convenient to apply second-hand the creations of others, as they confine themselves to traditionalism and narrow ethnographism which leads eventually to the impoverishment of the Ukrainian dance. It should be noted, however, that the Ukrainian ballet, under the direction of such ballet masters as H. Berezova, S. Sergeiev, V. Vronsky, and N. Trehubov, has produced a number of well-known ballet dancers (O. Potapova, V. Kalynovska, A. Havrylenko, N. Slobodian).

One-act ballets in a lighter vein have currently become popular in Ukraine, as also choreographic interpretations of classical and contemporary musical compositions. This themeless "pure" dance allows greater individual expression as well as greater freedom of movement than the rather limited range permitted by the classical dance.

Ukrainian ballet dancers living outside of Ukraine have joined various foreign ensembles achieving great success and reputation as professional masters, choreographers, and teachers (Valentyna Pereiaslavets, Roma Pryima, Tamara Wozhakiwska, Nina and Vadym Sulyma, Olena Zaklynska, Nadiia Pavlychenko in the United States; A. Zavarykhina, D. Nyzhankivska, in Canada; H. Samtsova, in Great Britain; N. Denysenko, in Australia; and L. Kovch, in Poland).

## Modern Art Dance

Modern trends of stage dancing reached Ukraine in the 1930's from western Europe, although there, classical ballet was and continues to be dominant. The prevailing conditions in Ukraine have not been conducive to free expression of creative thought. Only rhythmics according to the methods of Jacques Dalcroze have been accepted in the cities of Ukraine and Russia. At the Kiev Theatrical Institute, Natalie Manchynska lectured on rhythmics in response to the general needs of stage dancing.

In Western Ukraine, especially in Lviv, new stage dancing found a number of enthusiastic followers among the youth. They studied it in special schools at home and abroad—in Europe (Mary Wigman, Harald Kreutzberg), and in the United States (Martha Graham, Merci Cuningham), and they continue to be active in the emigration in this area of artistic pursuit.

The Ukrainian people have created a dance culture of their own, which is characteristic of their spirituality and their mode of life. It has developed through many centuries, becoming richer in new forms and methods of expression but retaining its originality and authenticity.

*M. Pasternakova*

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# IX. Theater and Cinema

## 1. THEATER

### THEATRICAL STUDIES

#### Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

The earliest theatrical studies to appear in Ukraine, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were limited in subject to the history of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century drama, and the development of the Ukrainian *vertep* (Nativity puppet plays). Volodymyr Peretts (1870–1935) was among the first to produce works on these subjects; later authors, whose articles appeared in the *Zapysky* (Memoirs) of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv during the early 1900's, were, among others, Ivan Franko and Basil Shchurat. The more important publications on the history of Ukrainian dramatic art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were those of Ivan Steshenko (1873–1918), Volodymyr Rezanov (1867–1936), and Nicholas Petrov (1840–1921), their works appearing in Kiev and Moscow between the years 1907 and 1911. A particularly significant work on the history of the beginnings of Ukrainian theater was that of Alexander Famintsyn (1861–1896), published in St. Petersburg (1889) and dealing particularly with the *skomorokhy* (singers, buffoons) of *Rus'*.

Information about the development of nineteenth-century theatrical life in the central and eastern lands of Ukraine, particularly descriptions of staging techniques, actors, and directors, can be found in studies on the theaters of specific cities: Odessa (work of Apollon Skalkovsky [1808–1898]), Kharkiv (Gregory Kvitka-Osnovianenko [1777–1843]), Kiev (Nicholas Nikolaiev [1865–1920]), and Poltava (Ivan Pavlovsky [1851–1922]), whose articles appeared in *Kievskaia Starina* [Kievan Antiquity, 1902–6]). The nineteenth-century Galician theater was the subject of works by I. Franko (collected theatrical articles published in Kiev 1957), Gregory Tsehlynsky (1853–1912), Michael Vozniak (1881–1954), and the Polish scholar Stanisław Pepłowski (1859–1900).

The history of the modern professional theater of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is recorded in articles by I. Steshenko, and in the work of Liudmyla Starytska-Cherniakhivska (1868–1941). The latter was the first attempt at compiling a complete history of the theater around the turn of the century.

Of essential importance to the further development of theatrical studies was the biographic work of Michael Komarov (1844–1913), *Ukraïns'ka dramaturhiia* (Ukrainian Dramaturgy, Odessa, 1906–12). The first volume of this work encompassed the period 1815–1906, the second, 1906–12.

#### 1917–32

As in the earlier period, theatrical study in the late 1910's and 1920's dealt primarily with the history of *vertep* and eighteenth-century drama. Among those producing notable works on these subjects were the Kievan scholars Alexander Kysil (1889–1942), V. Rezanov, Peter Rulin (1892–1940), and Alexander Biletsky (1884–1961) (whose work on the ancient Ukrainian popular and school theater was published in Moscow

in 1925). M. Vozniak's study on the early Ukrainian comedy appeared in 1920 in Lviv.

The year 1925 saw the publication of the first two general works in Ukrainian theatrical history: A. Kysil's *Ukraïns'kyi teatr* (Ukrainian Theater) published in Kiev; and Dmytro Antonovych's (1877–1945) *Trysta rokiv ukraïns'koho teatru (1619–1919)* (Three Hundred Years of the Ukrainian Theater, 1619–1919), which appeared in Prague.

The contemporary Soviet theater became a subject of research in the 1920's. Among writers on this topic were P. Rulin and Jonah Shevchenko (1886–1937). During the same decade, Hnat Khotkevych (1876–1938) produced works on the history of the Galician theater and the theater of 1848.

The Ukrainian theatrical museum of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (established in 1926) in Kiev contributed significantly to the research in the history of the Ukrainian theater. The museum, under the directorship of P. Rulin, published the first volume of the *Richnyk Ukraïns'koho Teatral'noho Muzeiu* (Yearbook of the Ukrainian Theatrical Museum, 1930), in which articles by M. Vozniak, V. Rezanov, A. Kysil, and P. Rulin appeared.

The repression of the Ukrainian intellectual and literary activity, brought about in the early 1930's by the Communist regime, stopped all further progress in the theatrical studies initiated in the 1920's. The more notable theatrical scholars were silenced, and in many cases, liquidated (e.g., A. Kysil and P. Rulin). The Ukrainian Theatrical Museum was closed, and only later reorganized into the Kiev National Museum of Theatrical Art of the Ukrainian SSR. Publication of two theatrical journals, *Masovyi Teatr* (Mass Theater, Kharkiv, 1926–33) and *Radians'kyi Teatr* (Soviet Theater, Kharkiv, 1929–31), was terminated. The history of this repression of the Ukrainian theater is partially recorded in Joseph Hirniak's (b. 1895) study on the birth and death of the modern Ukrainian theater (New York, 1954).

**1933–66**

The hiatus in the development of Ukrainian theatrical scholarship lasted for a period of almost 25 years. The only theatrical journal which continued to publish from 1936 to 1941 was the Kievan monthly, *Teatr* (Theater). Some activity was resumed for limited periods of time only. In 1940–41, few works were published; among them were information on the 20 years' activity of the Franko Theater; sketches on the modern Ukrainian theater of Valentine Haievsky (b. 1902); and a chrestomathy of the theater by A. Biletsky and Jacob Mamontov (1884–1940) appearing in Kharkiv. After World War II (during the period 1945–56), some activity was resumed, with the publication of several books, mostly theatrical memoirs, among them those of Sophia Tobilevych (1860–1953), Marko Kropyvnytsky (1840–1910), and Ivan Mariianenko (1878–1962).

Substantial resumption of theatrical study in the Ukrainian SSR did not begin until 1957, when work on the history of the Ukrainian Soviet theater commenced. Apart from the work of Ivan Piskun, the publication of greatest significance was the second volume of the monograph *Ukraïns'kyi dramatychnyi teatr* (Ukrainian Dramatic Theater), which encompasses only the Soviet period. (The first volume, embracing the history of the pre-Soviet theater, was scheduled for 1964, but did not appear until 1967).

Several collections of memoirs and articles by prominent figures of the Ukrainian theater (Vsevolod Chahovets [1877–1950], Basil Vasylko [b. 1893], I. Mariianenko, Hnat Yura [1887–1966], and others) were published in the years from 1957 to 1961. These works contributed to material on the history of

the professional theater between 1881 and 1917, as well as to that of the Soviet theater. During the same period, a number of monographs and sketches dealing with notable personnages of the Ukrainian stage in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries also appeared.

The Soviet period of the Ukrainian theater was the subject of George Kostiuk's (b. 1910) study of Constantine Stanislavsky, as well as of monographs dealing with the history of the Zankovetska National Theater in Lviv and of the Kharkiv Dramatic Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet. Particularly significant for the history of the contemporary theater in the Ukrainian SSR are the works on Ukrainian Soviet dramaturgy by Elizabeth Starynkevych (1890–1966), Natalia Kuziakin (b. 1928), and Joseph Kyseliov (b. 1905).

Little scholarly work has been done since 1957 on the history of the ancient Ukrainian theater. The few volumes produced concerning this period are: the anthology *Ukraïns'ki intermedii XVII–XVIII st.* (Ukrainian Intermedias of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries); a work by Ivan Voloshyn dealing with the sources of the popular theater; a work by Alexis Kazymirov about the pre-Revolutionary, non-professional theater; and the posthumously published work of the musicologist Joseph Myklashevsky (1882–1959), dealing with the musical and theatrical culture of Kharkiv in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Among works devoted to the study of the Ukrainian theater's relations with the West are Irene Vanina's works on the presentations of Shakespearean drama on the Ukrainian stage and the study, by Valerii Hakkebush (b. 1911), on the visits of foreign theatrical companies in Ukraine in the period 1962–4.

Publication of the monthly *Teatr*, which stopped in 1941, has not been resumed. In 1966, the first yearbook of the *Teatral'na Kul'tura* (Theatrical Culture) appeared, containing articles on the history of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century theater, as well as of the Soviet period, and discussions on questions of theatrical aesthetics and techniques.

Noteworthy among works published in Galicia and in the emigration are: a general outline of the history of the Galician theater (1934) by Stephen Charnetsky (1881–1966); Valeriian Revutsky's (b. 1911) sketches of five outstanding figures of the Ukrainian stage (1954); and a study of the earliest theatrical art of Ukraine (1960) by Gregory Luzhnytsky (b. 1903).

## DRAMA CRITICISM

Drama criticism developed as a separate profession only in the new period of the Ukrainian theater. At the beginning of the twentieth century, individual critics were Basil Umanov-Kaplunovsky (1865–1907), George Oleksandrovsky (1873–1936), and V. Chahovets. Others generally combined drama criticism with literature or journalism (Serhii Yefremov, Dmytro Doroshenko, Nicholas Voronyi, Borys Hrinchenko, Simon Petliura, Paul Bohatsky, Basil Domanytsky, M. Komarov, Alexander Konysky, Olena Pchilka, Alexander Lototsky, I. Steshenko, George Tyshchenko, and others). The most talented critics before World War II were Constantine Burevii and V. Khmuryi (pseudonym), J. Shevchenko, Michael Romanovsky, J. Mamontov, Antin Khutorian (1892–1955), Joachim Martych (b. 1910), and Ivan Piskun. Prominent contemporary drama critics include Alexander Poltoratsky (b. 1915), G. Kostiuk (b. 1910), J. Kyseliov, and Valentine Rechmedin. Journals of drama criticism in the 1920's were: *Nove Mystetstvo* (New Art) and *Radianskyi Teatr* (Soviet Theater, edited by Dmytro Hrudyna [1898–1937]); and in the 1930's *Teatr* (Theater, edited until 1940 by Alexander Borshchahivsky (b. 1913), after 1940 by playwright Ivan Kocherha [1881–1952]). It stopped publication in 1941. Drama

critiques were often written by authors with no professional training.

There was virtually no drama criticism in Western Ukraine, although the appearance of Eugene Olesnytsky (1860–1917), Basil Sofroniv-Levytsky (b. 1899), Michael Rudnytsky (b. 1889), and Ivan Nimchuk (1891–1956) was of considerable importance. During the postwar emigration, critical reviews were written by V. Haievsky, George Sherekh (b. 1908), Ihor Kostetsky (b. 1913), Ostap Tarnavsky (b. 1917), and Zenon Tarnavsky (1912–62).

## THEATRICAL EDUCATION

Professional education in the Ukrainian theater began in Kiev in 1904 with the opening of a drama department at the N. Lysenko Music School. Maria Starytska (1865–1930, daughter of the playwright Michael Starytsky) became its first head and taught elocution. Included in the curriculum were many practical subjects (dramatics, dance, fencing, makeup) as well as theoretical ones (history and theory of drama, history of costumes). Professors were I. Steshenko, V. Chahovets, director Gregory Haievsky (1872–1933), and painter Nicholas Burachek (1871–1942). Many prominent actors were graduates of the drama department of this school: Nina Horlenko (1898–1964), Pauline Samiilenko (b. 1891), Nataliia Doroshenko (b. 1888), Borys Romanytsky (b. 1891), Alexis Vatulia (1891–1955), and others. The main emphasis in the school was on training youth for work in contemporary Ukrainian theater, eliminating any lingering elements of ethnographic theater.

In 1918 the school was reorganized into the N. Lysenko Institute of Music and Drama, which existed until 1934. The famous directors, Les Kurbas (1887–1937) and Hnat Ihnatovych (b. 1898) worked in the drama department of the school, as did the drama theorist P. Rulin, G. Haievsky, the actor Prokhor Kovalenko (1884–1965), and others. After the Lysenko Institute of Music and Drama was closed, a Theatrical Institute was formed instead, based on the method of Constantine Stanislavsky. Teachers in the Theatrical Institute included Ambrose Buchma (1891–1957), Alexander Fomin (b. 1905), Ivan Chabanenko (b. 1900), and Benedict Nord (b. 1901), and the young scholars V. Haievsky, A. Borshchahivsky, and Alexis Gvozdiev (1887–1939). Many young actors studied at the institute, among them the core of the young Lutsk theater group. Some of the graduates were the directors Volodymyr Mahar (1900–1966), Basil Kharchenko (b. 1910), and Theodore Vereshchahin (b. 1910), and the actors Basil Dashenko (b. 1918), Olha Kusenko (b. 1919), and George Tymoshenko (b. 1919).

In Kiev, in the years 1941–3, there existed a Music and Drama Conservatory (Ostap Lysenko, director [1885–1968]). Staffing the drama department were Hlib Zatvornytsky (1900–62), A. Fomin, V. Haievsky, V. Revutsky, and rhythmics lecturer Nelli Manchynska (b. 1907). In Lviv, the Advanced Theatrical Studio was organized in 1942; professors here were J. Hirniak, Volodymyr Blavatsky (1900–53), Olympia Dobrovolska (b. 1895), Michael Rudnytsky, Andrew Bendersky, V. Revutsky, and others. This studio existed until the summer of 1944.

In 1945, the Theatrical Institute was renamed in honor of playwright I. Karpenko-Karyi (Tobilevych). Its students were prepared to become actors or directors in the theater and the cinema (in 1961 a cinema department was opened). In the Kharkiv Institute of Music and Drama, professors in the drama department in the 1920's and the 1930's were J. Mamontov, H. Khotkevych, A. Biletsky, theoretician Liubov Dmytrova, and painter Gregory Tsapok (b. 1896). This Institute and the Kharkiv Conservatory were combined to form the Institute of Arts in Kharkiv in 1963 for the training

of composers, conductors, directors, actors, and art critics.

*V. Revutsky*

## THE ANCIENT UKRAINIAN THEATER

### Primitive (pre-Christian) Theater

Ukrainian folklore has preserved elements of primitive theatricality, in which esthetic theater is not completely separated from the utilitarian-magical theater nor the actors from the public. It is possible to reconstruct this primeval, seasonal theater in accordance with the popular calendar of the Ukrainian agriculturist of pagan times.

SPRING THEATER was composed of *vesnianky* (spring songs and dances). As a whole, they represented a mixture of scenic and thematic effects. They were performed at a specified time and in a specified place, and had specific decorations. Props and costumes, *dramatis personae*, action (conflicts, intrigues), all were exactly predetermined, as were the songs, prose dialogue, mimicry, and pantomime. All *vesnianky* were thematically united by a spring motif.

PAGAN SUMMER THEATER in Ukraine was concerned with life after death, and was composed of two parts. The first part coincided with *mavs'kyi*, or *navii* Easter, now the weeks after *Zeleni Sviata* (Whitsuntide [Vol. I, p. 358]). The second part of the pagan summer theater was the performance of *Kupalo* (now June 23–4). As a drama, *Kupalo* is made up of three basic acts on a broad ornamental background of a religious-demonological character. The first act, the preparation of a sapling, served as the introduction. The second act fused all the action, which was then resolved and concluded in the third act. The theme of the drama was the striving for a plentiful harvest and domestic prosperity. *Kupalo*, from the visual theatrical standpoint, is the richest, most picturesque, and most effective drama of the Ukrainian popular theater.

FALL CUSTOMS did not include any theatrical elements. Elements of WINTER THEATER can be found in *koliadky* and *shchedrivky*, ritual Christmas songs. From the theatrical point of view, *koliadky* are mono-dramas, in which one person appears, alone or in a chorus, and the chorus is a musical-verbal accompaniment for the monologue. Stage form has been best preserved by the Hutsuls, although numerous parallels can be found in *koliadky* in all parts of Ukraine. *Koliadky* and *shchedrivky* introduced a new element—the masks. Until recent times, singers of *koliadky* in Ukraine went about with a goat or a cow, more rarely with a wolf. Some masqueraded as women (mainly on Malanka and St. Basil's Day, December 31–January 1, Old Style), since in ancient times women were not allowed to sing the *koliadky*.

### Princely (Knightly) Theater

Buffoons and clowns, an element introduced from either Germany or Byzantium and the Balkans, were the foundation of princely theater. But buffoons and clowns (*skomorokhy*), although widely popular (as attested to by the still existing names of some villages in Ukraine), did not play a major role in the development of the Ukrainian theater.

Princely theater utilized the songs of knights, based on two elements, recitative and exaltation. The repertoire of princely theater consisted probably of dramatic poems, which were presented as a recitative with a musical background. Thematically, princely theater left a heritage of new motifs: defense of the country, service to the prince, revenge for injustice, knightly honor. With the dissolution of the princely realm, the personages of princely theater were transferred to national popular theater, for example, *kniaz'* (prince), *kniahynia* (princess), *boiarynia* (noblewoman), *boyars* (nobles).

### Popular Theater

The core of the Ukrainian popular

theater is the wedding as an original dramatic act. A wedding drama can be considered from various points of view: the dramatic construction determining its technical form, the nature of its characters, the exacting work of the director, including *mise en scène* and properties, and the acting and emoting of the *dramatis personae*, conveyed by the chorus or solo singing at the climax of the play. The original Ukrainian wedding drama was composed of two main parts—two independent dramas—which differed greatly in subject, construction, and length and constituted separate and scenically complete entities, but nevertheless made up one whole. The first part was the wedding, the first scene representing the match-making, the second the betrothal, and the third the wedding itself. The subject motifs of the first part were abduction of the bride, enmity and reconciliation between the two families, distribution of blessed bread, attack on the bride's house, and so on. The wedding ended with the bride's farewell to her own home and departure for the home of her husband. The second part, called the *perezva*, encompassed the following elements: introduction into the family of a new member from a different clan, ceremony of purification of the bride, and her public designation as the young mother of the future generation. In the wedding section, the main personage was the mother. In the *perezva*, the main role was played by the *druzhko*, the bridegroom's closest companion, and in proportion to the development of action, by the bride.

**Liturgical Drama**

Theatrical elements were inherent in Christian liturgy accepted in Ukraine in its Byzantine-Balkan form. In some elements of its construction, the Slavic-Byzantine church is reminiscent of the theater: the strict separation of acting area from the auditorium (by means of the iconostasis), clear delineation of the proscenium (deacon's place), dressing room (sacristy) connected directly with the stage, and a kind of prototype of a curtain (royal gates and church curtain).

Prime examples of theatrical drama in Slavic-Byzantine liturgy is the resurrection service (*Voskresna Utrenia*), on Easter Sunday, and the washing of feet on Holy Thursday.

Ukrainian liturgy absorbed some elements of Ukrainian popular theater, and on the other hand left a definite mark on all popular theater, permeating it and adapting it to various church feast-days.

**Kozak Baroque Theater**

Ukrainian theater of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, called the theater of the Kozak Baroque, acquired a definite form under the influence of western European theatre and became theater in the full sense of the word. At the same time, Ukrainian theater did not break with the tradition of popular and religious theater. Drama of a religious character continued to develop in Ukraine as did historical tragi-comedies and the so-called *intermedias* and interludes, which in time became a separate form of Ukrainian theater and the basis for Ukrainian comedy.

Neither religious drama nor tragicomedy survived to the nineteenth century nor did they make the transition to secular theater, but under the influence of western Europe defined theatrical outerforms—stage, decorations, costumes, and so on. *Intermedias*, satirical verse dialogues, were the bridge to the secular theater of the nineteenth century.

Seventeenth-century theater began its development in schools (thus originated the name "school theater"). In Jesuit colleges, where school dramas were written in Polish, *intermedias* were sometimes added in Ukrainian. Such was the case with the earliest known performance, Jakób Gawatowicz's (1598–1629) drama *Tragedia albo wizerunek śmierci świętego Jana Chrzciciela, przesłańca*

*Bożego* (The Tragedy or Portrayal of the Death of John the Baptist, the Messenger of God) presented on August 29, 1619, in Kaminka Strumilova. The "tragedy" of Gawatowicz had two *intermedias*. There is some evidence that even earlier, in 1614, students of the Jesuit college in Lutsk had performed a Ukrainian dialogue in honor of Metropolitan Veniamyn Rutsky (1579–1637). In 1616, in Lviv, a Christmas verse dialogue by Pamva Berynda appeared in print.

In respect to subject matter, motifs, and format, the REPERTOIRE of the Kozak Baroque can be divided into (1) plays of the Easter cycle, (2) plays of the Christmas cycle, (3) dramatized Christian legends, (4) morality plays, and (5) historical dramas (tragi-comedies). Especially popular was *Slovo o zburenniu pekla* (Tale of the Destruction of Hell). Nativity plays were very popular in Ukraine; they were not only performed on the stages of schools, but were widespread among the people and became the basis of the first part of the *vertep* (puppet show of the Nativity).

Of Christian legends, which were not as popular in Ukraine as in western Europe, two have been preserved, written in Ukrainian. The drama *Oleksii, cholovik Bozhyi* (Alexis, a Man of God), printed in 1674, was probably presented in 1673. It was one of the first original Ukrainian plays, with a completely original structure. The play was divided into two acts, and was greatly influenced by Ukrainian marriage ceremonies and customs which constituted the subject matter of the whole second act. The second play was a *Komediia na Uspeniie Bohorodytsi* (Comedy on the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin), by Dmytro Tuptalo (1651–1709), written about 1702.

Very little remains of the fourth group (morality plays), which developed under the influence of Prudentius and others. Elements of these plays, however, can be traced in many of the plays mentioned above, such as those of the Easter cycle, for example.

Belonging to the last group are the *Tragikomediia* (Tragi-comedy) of Sylvester Liaskoronsky, thematically related to the Easter cycle; *Tragikomediia o tshcheti myra* (Tragi-comedy on the Vanity of the World [*ca.* 1724]) by Varlaam Lashchevsky (1704–74); and historical tragi-comedies: Theophan Prokopovych's (1681–1736) *Vladymyr, slovenorosiiskykh stran kniaz' i povelytel'* (Vladymyr, the Prince and Sovereign of Slavic-*Rus'* Lands), produced on July 3, 1705, and dedicated to Hetman Ivan Mazepa; and the play attributed to Theophan Trofymovych, *Mylost' Bozhiia, Ukrainu ot neudobnosymykh obyd liadskykh chrez Bohdana Khmelnytskoho, preslavnoho voisk Zaporozhskykh het'mana svobodyvshaia* (God's Mercy, Which Freed Ukraine From the Unbearable Offenses of the Poles through Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Famous Hetman of the Zaporozhian Host, presented in 1728). *Mylost' Bozhiia* was the most important play of the eighteenth century, an echo of the time and conditions which gave rise to the Kozak *dumy*, the only serious mirror of the Kozak sphere of life and its interests in Kozak Baroque theater.

In addition to the *intermedias* of J. Gawatowicz, the most vivid intermezzos were found in the dramas of Metrophanes Dovhalevsky and George Konysky (1717–95); in the works of Ivan Nekrashevych, *Yarmarok* (Fair) and *Ispovid'* (Confession, 1789), they had already evolved into a separate entity. Characteristic of the Ukrainian *intermedias* were the masks of a noble Pole, Lithuanian (Belorussian), Muscovite, Jew, Gypsy—presented in a humorous vein, usually with a Ukrainian Kozak protagonist.

Contemporary drama required a suitable arrangement of THEATER TECHNIQUES: the stage, decorations, lighting effects, costumes, makeup, and so on.

Kozak Baroque theater reached a high level in this respect, imitating western European theater. For example, in the play *Oleksii, cholovik Bozhyi*, the stage setting represented hell, paradise, and the earth. On one side of the stage, paradise was delineated on bridges, in the middle was the earth, and on the other side was hell, inhabited by a dragon. The dragon in hell had a yawning mouth which belched smoke. In another play, *Diistviie na strasti* (Passion Play) performed in 1685, prototypes of Christ's sufferings on the cross were shown together with their apotheosis: each tableau of the suffering by one of 12 youths ended in a crown of 12 stars. Even more complex was the production of the play *Svoboda vid vikov vozhdelinnaia* (Freedom Has Been Desired for Ages) staged in 1701. During the action, the sun, the moon, and the stars were darkened, the dead arose from their graves, and in the third act a ship sank in a stormy sea, Jonah was cast into the waters, swallowed by a whale, and later disgorged on the shore. For the portrayal of Christ, angels, and saints there were special masks; decorations included "machines and flight," which created the effect of atmospheric perspective. It is possible to state that the theater of Kozak Baroque had architects, decorators, mechanics, and tailors, in addition to their singers (choir) and dancers (ballet). Pictures of these theatrical productions can be found in engravings appended to Simeon Polotsky's play *Istoriia, ili diistviie yevanhel'skoi prytchy o bludnom syni* (The History of the Play of the Biblical Parable of the Prodigal Son, 1685), which illustrates the play, showing how actors should look, what props are necessary, the required *mise en scènes*, and so forth.

Influences of the European medieval theater, the Renaissance, and Classicism merged in the Ukrainian school theater. With Classicism came the theoretic knowledge of dramatic principles. A professor of the Kievan Academy and dramatist, Theophan Prokopovych, in his work *De Arte Poetica* (published by G. Konysky in Mohyliv in 1786) accurately delineated the framework of comedy and tragi-comedy, two forms which developed according to the principles of the poetics of Classicism. Comedy differed from tragedy in that tragedy presented sad affairs, serious events, and the cruel fate of respectable persons, while comedy presented the ridiculous acts of people of low origin. The component parts of comedy were the same as those of tragedy: protasis, epitasis, catastasis, and catastrophe, similarly divided into five acts and then into scenes, with no more than three persons appearing in each. In addition, comedy had a prologue, or foreword, in which the audience was told the general subject of the play. An epilogue was added, which in the main explained how the ending came about and apologized for any shortcomings. Comedy was written in a plain (plebeian) peasant style, in keeping with the personages presented in the play. It must be noted, however, that despite the conscious striving of individuals, such as Prokopovych, to bring comedy closer to Classicism, Ukrainian theater of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries remained sumptuous in its dialogue and staging, an effective Baroque spectacle.

The repression of Ukrainian cultural life by the Muscovite state, particularly intensified at the beginning of the eighteenth century, prevented the Kozak Baroque from reaching the level of theater in western Europe. The development of a true classical theater was impeded. The traditions of the school drama fell into disuse, until finally, at the end of the eighteenth century, Metropolitan Samuel Myslavsky completely abolished school performances at the Kievan Academy.

The *vertep* served as the vehicle of the development of the Baroque theater in the direction of worldly satirical

drama. It is believed that *vertep* performances appeared in Ukraine in the first half of the seventeenth century. The *vertep* (preserved until the present day in Western Ukraine) is a type of puppet play staged in a theater having two levels.

Following the portrayal of the Nativity on the top level, worldly scenes from everyday life of the common people took place in the lower level. Several of the scripts of these *vertep* dramas have been preserved.

*G. Luzhnytsky*

## PERIOD OF DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROFESSIONAL SECULAR THEATER (1780–1881)

### Introductory Remarks

The history of the Ukrainian theater in the nineteenth century is organically related to the development of the eighteenth-century school theater and to the *intermedias* which gave origin to the new Ukrainian comedy while continuing to be staged in city and village theaters.

Leaving the narrow confines of theological schools, the Ukrainian theater of the nineteenth century acquired distinctly secular characteristics. The transition from religious to secular themes was already apparent in the eighteenth-century historical tragi-comedies of Theophan Prokopovych and George Shcherbatsky, but it was actually nineteenth-century drama which began to give a broader portrayal of the Ukrainian, and above all, of peasant life. Along with the emergence of a new type of stage performer, the professional actor, this period also witnessed the appearance of female actresses, heretofore portrayed by male performers. The audience now began to include burghers, workers, and peasants. The staging of plays was no longer limited to holidays; they were frequently presented on weekdays. In some places the theater established permanent residence while continuing to stage plays in other cities and conduct country-wide tours. Independently functioning travelling troupes have remained active until the modern period.

Lack of creative talent impeded the development of the Ukrainian theater in its early stages. As a result of political pressures and all-out Russification, the more promising individuals—particularly from among the upper strata of society—were becoming denationalized as they sought greater career opportunities in better and more renowned Polish or Russian theatrical companies. It was not until the late nineteenth century that the Ukrainian theater began to attract an increasing number of talented youth as well as persons with established reputations in the world of stage and drama.

The repertory of the early nineteenth-century theater included plays written in the Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish languages, the reasons being the relative paucity of Ukrainian-language repertory and the multi-national composition of the casts. In view of the existing shortage, actors and directors were often compelled to write new plays, most of which were devoid of any literary or dramaturgical value. Only a few of these plays, penned by such talented writers as Ivan Kotliarevsky (1769–1838), Basil Hohol (1777–1825), and Gregory Kvitka-Osnovianenko, succeeded in gaining popular acclaim and found a permanent place in Ukrainian dramatic literature.

With regard to style of presentation and individual acting, the nineteenth-century theater can be said to have evolved from artificial classicism to psychological realism, that is, true-to-life portrayal of man, with all of his natural traits, habits, passions, and desires. Yet only the truly great actors of the time succeeded in re-creating this type of character on the stage. Lacking systematic training in the art of drama, laboring under inadequate directing, and leading a kind of nomadic life necessitated by frequent performances in different locales, the overwhelming ma-

jority of actors were unable to develop individual styles.

### The Serf Theater

With the imposition of serfdom in the former Hetman State, local landlords began to adopt certain manners and social habits of their Russian counterparts, including the serf theater. Patterned on Russian models, it made its appearance in Ukraine at a time when the school theater was on the verge of extinction. Serf theatrical troupes, with separate playhouses especially provided for them, could be found in many areas of Left-Bank Ukraine. Dmytro Troshchynsky, a rich magnate, maintained a serf theater in the village of Kybyntsi, Poltava region. Havrylenko set aside a separate building for the theater at his estate in Ozerky, which had three loges and an auditorium. Serf theaters are known to have been maintained by the landowner Dmytro Shyrai in Spyrydynova Buda village, Chernihiv region, by Count Volkenstein in Krasne village, Kursk region, and by other rich magnates. The repertory of the serf theater ranged from drama and opera to ballet. The latter two genres were presented more frequently, since they were both fashionable and easy to stage, inasmuch as the Ukrainian peasants who comprised the theatrical serf troupes could not readily master the Russian or the French texts of drama and comedy. Moreover, opera and ballet afforded an excellent opportunity for the rich owners of the serf theaters to show off before their guests the pomp and lavish extravagance of their productions.

The repertory of the serf theater consisted mainly of foreign plays, normally Russian and French, imported by Ukrainian landowners from Moscow, St. Petersburg, and the West. For example, the famous Ukrainian actor Michael Shchepkyn appeared in Martini's opera *The Rare Thing*, staged by the serf theater of Count Volkenstein. Ukrainian plays were occasionally also staged; for example, Hohol's and Kotliarevsky's works were produced by the theater of Troshchynsky. The actors of the serf theater were illiterate peasants, kept in bondage by the landlords who owned them and who sometimes paid them a small fee. Costumes and scenery, in some cases quite elaborate and complex, with machinery used for external effects, was also the work of local serf craftsmen. The best of the serf theaters maintained a permanent cast. As a rule, the landlord himself acted as director.

While actually nothing more than a pleasant diversion for a closed circle of well-to-do people, the serf theater nevertheless managed to open the way for the emergence of the professional theater, and produced scores of well-trained professional actors, some of whom were sent abroad by their landlords, usually to France and Italy, to study the art of drama. Unable to maintain a permanent serf theater, some owners (e.g. Dmytro Shyrai) sent their troupes on wide-ranging tours of major county and provincial centers (Kiev, Chernihiv, and other cities), where paid performances were staged for the general public.

### The Origins of Professional Theater

Amateur theatrical productions constituted the second source of the professional city theater. The emergence of the Kharkiv and Poltava theaters traces back to precisely such amateur performing groups. The staging of secular theatrical plays in Kharkiv started in 1780 (with the introduction of the *namisnytsvo* administrative system in the former Hetman state). The production of stage spectaculars in Kharkiv attained a particularly high degree of popularity under the governorship of Theodore Kishensky. In 1791 Kishensky rebuilt a ballroom into a theater with loges, an auditorium, and a balcony, and added a stage with a curtain and set decorations. Prodded by Kishensky, the younger members of his staff, joined by a number of students, agreed to take part in the staging of

plays without remuneration. They appeared in female roles, if the play called for such. The school orchestra and chorus also took part in the performances, which were staged twice weekly. The admission fees were quite high. Thus, it was amateur theater that eventually led to the development of the professional theater in Kharkiv, especially after Dmytro Moskvychov, a professional actor from Orel, joined the theater and became its director. Soon after his arrival in Kharkiv, a group of professional actors was formed in the theater, the members of which received regular wages for their work. The group included a woman, undoubtedly the first actress of the time. In addition to Russian plays, the repertory of the theater consisted of appropriately adapted school dramas and *intermedias*. The technical aspect of stage production also improved greatly. From 1795–6 on, the Kharkiv Theater functioned as a private enterprise. One of the original entrepreneurs of the theater was the noted actor Ivan Konstantyniv. Appearing on the stage of the Kharkiv Theater in 1810–20 were the theatrical troupes of private entrepreneurs Joseph Kalynovsky and Ivan Shtein.

A similar transition from amateur to professional theater took place in Poltava. As part of his home entertainment, Prince Jacob Lobanov-Rostovsky, governor-general of Left-Bank Ukraine, staged amateur theatrical plays (one of the performers was I. Kotliarevsky, who appeared in comedy parts). Prince Nicholas Repnin, who succeeded Lobanov-Rostovsky as governor-general, took the initial steps in establishing a permanent theater in Poltava, housed in a building erected by his predecessors. I. Shtein's Kharkiv troupe, which was touring the major cities of Ukraine, was invited to appear in the theater of Poltava. The company included such talented actors as Michael Shchepkyn, Catherine Naletova, Semen Uharov, and others. Plays began to be staged in the Poltava Theatre in 1818. Normally headed by Moritz Hauptman, noted musical composer and conductor, the theater was actually directed for two years by Ivan Kotliarevsky. Unhappy with the repertory, which consisted mostly of Russian dramas, Kotliarevsky wrote two original plays, *Natalka-Poltavka* (The Girl from Poltava) and *Moskal'-Charivnyk* (The Soldier Sorcerer), staged successfully for the first time in 1819.

From that time on, private theatrical entrepreneurs played an increasingly prominent role in the development of the professional theater in Ukraine. Their troupes appeared in Kiev (where a playhouse with a seating capacity of 470 was built in 1803) and in Odessa. In addition to Kharkiv and Poltava, professional theaters were established in the 1820's in Chernihiv, Berdychiv, Kremenchuk, Katerynoslav, and other cities. Many of the entrepreneurs took their troupes on extensive tours of Ukrainian cities and fairs; for example, Danylo Zhurakhivsky (d. 1867), Piloni, and Charles Zelinsky conducted tours of eastern and southeastern Ukraine. Some entrepreneurs established permanent residence in major centers—for example, Joseph Kalynovsky first in Kharkiv (1813–17) and later in Poltava (1818–19), Jan Łenkawski and Peter Rekanovsky in Kiev, Anthony Zmijewski in Zhytomyr—from which their troupes toured Ukraine. Among those who maintained their own theatrical troupes at one time or another were also G. Kvitka-Osnovianenko and M. Shchepkyn (1821–2 in Kiev).

The growing number of theatrical entrepreneurs included Ukrainians (Kvitka-Osnovianenko, Shchepkyn, Rekanovsky) as well as Russians (Kalynovsky, Shtein) and Poles (Łenkawski, Zmijewski). The casts of the troupes, organized mostly in Ukraine, also included many Ukrainians. Plays were presented in Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian. Pressed by overwhelming popular demand, even

the non-Ukrainian entrepreneurs were compelled to stage Ukrainian plays. As a rule, the troupes always maintained performers who specialized in comical-popular parts rendered in the Ukrainian language ("little Russian" parts). In the early stages of development, the artistic level of the actors' performances was very low. The troupes' casts consisted of persons who had very little training or preparation of any kind. For example, Shtein recruited his talent from among peasant boys and girls whom he had succeeded in "borrowing" from the landlords of the Kharkiv region. Social and material conditions for the actors were extremely difficult. Their social standing was low, and they were often driven into the acting profession by abject poverty and serfdom. Very few actresses were available, and consequently the female parts had to be played by male actors.

**Repertory**

The repertory of the nineteenth-century Ukrainian theater was confined to eighteenth-century dramaturgical works—dialogues, *intermedias*, school drama—appropriately adapted to the spirit of the times. Gradually, this repertory was supplemented by drama which dealt with secular themes, and came to include drama, melodrama, tragedy, tragicomedy, vaudeville, opera, comic opera, pantomime, *intermedias*, ballet, and variety entertainment. The artistic value of much of this material was quite low. In some instances a play would disappear completely from the stage following its premiere performance. Others managed a few more runs, before passing into total oblivion. In most cases these were adaptations of foreign themes or spuriously improvised primitive "spectaculars" with even more primitive and shallow "effects." In his bibliographical indexes, M. Komarov lists close to 175 plays written in Ukrainian between 1812 and 1881 (*Ukraïns'ka dramaturhiia* [Ukrainian Dramaturgy, 1906]), although a number of plays staged by Ukrainian theaters in the nineteenth century remained in manuscript form and were subsequently destroyed by the censors.

The origin of genuine Ukrainian repertory, appropriately adapted to the requirements of the theater and truly Ukrainian in form and content, can be found in the dramaturgical work of Ivan Kotliarevsky [Vol. I, p. 1003b]. The development of the Ukrainian secular theater also traces back to the same source, and specifically to Kotliarevsky's operetta *Natalka-Poltavka* and the vaudeville *Moskal'-Charivnyk*. Kotliarevsky's personages are real and very much alive; his plays provide a broad and equally realistic panorama of the popular mode of life. It was *Natalka-Poltavka* that gave rise to the Ukrainian ethnographic-populist theater, that is, folk drama with music, songs, and dances (*Chary* [Sorcery, 1837] by Cyril Topolia on the theme of the Ukrainian folk song *Oi, ne khody, Hrytsiu*), to the comic opera (*Liubka, abo svatannia v seli Rykhmakh* [Sweetheart, or the Marriage in the Village of Rykhmy] written by an anonymous author sometime in the 1830's; *Kupala na Ivana* [St. John's Eve, 1838] by Stephen Pysarevsky), and to the Ukrainian operetta, quite different from the western European type, with music of distinctly ethnographic character, and based on populist comedy (*Svatannia na Honcharivtsi* [The Marriage Engagement in Honcharivka, 1831] by G. Kvitka-Osnovianenko, *Chornomors'kyi pobut na Kubani* [Life of the Kuban Kozaks, 1837] by Jacob Kukharenko [1800–62], *Zaporozhets' za Dunaiiem* [Kozak beyond the Danube, 1863] by Semen Hulak-Artemovsky [1813–73]). Pursuing the course set by Kotliarevsky in his *Natalka-Poltavka* were M. Starytsky and N. Lysenko, who jointly produced such outstanding works as *Rizdviana nich* (Christmas Night, 1864), a musical comedy based on an adaptation of Hohol's material; *Chornomortsi* (1875), an

operetta adapted from J. Kukharenko; and *Sorochyns'kyi Yarmarok* (The Sorochyntsi Fair, 1876), an opera based on N. Hohol's story.

*Moskal'-Charivnyk* started the development of Ukrainian vaudeville and comedy. G. Kvitka-Osnovianenko wrote *Boi-Zhinka* (The Termagant); Basil Hohol, director and leading actor in Troshchynsky's serf theater, wrote *Prostak* (The Simpleton), called by P. Kulish the first Ukrainian comedy. In an attempt to write comedy with less emphasis on song and dances, Kvitka-Osnovianenko penned *Shel'menko-denshchyk* (Shel'menko the Batman) and the drama *Shchyra liubov* (Sincere Love). Song and dance effects, however, so typical of the nineteenth-century Ukrainian theater, represent the most characteristic feature of the folk drama; until the 1890's, there was hardly a Ukrainian play that did not contain the elements of dancing and singing. Vaudeville occupied a prominent place in the theater repertory of the second quarter of the nineteenth century (plays of Basil Dmytrenko, Andrew Velysovsky, Anthony Yankovsky, A. Vashchenko-Zakharchenko, and others), offering a great opportunity to such brilliant comedy actors as Michael Shchepkyn and Karpo Solenyk.

Under the influence of the prevailing literary trends, Sentimentalism and Romanticism permeated the theater in the 1820's and 1830's. Such plays as *Ukraïnka, abo Volshebnyi zamok, napovnenyi dukhamy* (The Ukrainian Woman, or the Enchanted Castle Full of Ghosts) and *Olena, abo Rozbiinyky na Ukraïni* (Helen, or Robbers in Ukraine) began to appear with greater frequency on the stages of the theaters. Dominating the repertory was the sentimental drama with an unhappy love affair and tragic ending, or horror plays bringing to the stage monstrous criminals, soothsayers with supernatural powers, corpses of the dead rising out of their graves, nymphs, water-goblins, wood-goblins, and other supernatural beings. The Romantic melodrama, with its frightening moods (the dark stormy night, the lurking danger of nature's powers) and elements of mystery and secretiveness, enjoyed great popularity.

In his dramaturgical work, Nicholas Kostomarov (1817–85) tried to overcome this pseudo-Romanticist cliché approach by the monumental scope of his Romantic drama and attempts to create historical tragedy. However, his plays *Sava Chalyi* (1838) and *Pereiaslavs'ka nich* (The Night at Pereiaslav, 1841) were weak from the purely theatrical point of view and could not find a permanent place in the repertory of the Ukrainian theater. In *Nazar Stodolia* (1842), Taras Shevchenko produced a good historical Romantic drama, with some elements of melodrama and an excellent portrayal of personages and the popular way of life. However, the impact of this drama was lessened by the fact that it was not staged until 1864. Alexis Storozhenko (1805–74) also turned to historical themes and treated them in a Romantic style. But his *Harkusha* (1863), which was supposed to be the Ukrainian variation of *Rinaldo-Rinaldini*, was saturated with excessive decor and Romantic effects at the expense of the play's theme. Generally speaking, the Ukrainian Romantic theater of the nineteenth century was based less on the idealism and philosophical quests of Romanticism than on its external and auxiliary elements.

The melodrama, which first appeared and flourished on the Paris boulevards and dominated the repertory of the western European theater in the 1830's and 1840's, retained its place on the stage of the Ukrainian theater throughout the nineteenth century, acquiring a peasant populist basis with an overabundance of ethnographic musical material and folk dancing. Melodramatic overtones could be detected in the plays of Kvitka-Osnovianenko and Storozhenko, and to some extent in Shevchenko's *Nazar Stodolia*. They were even more apparent in

the drama of the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly in the works of M. Kropyvnytsky and M. Starytsky, both of whom began to write plays in the 1860's and 1870's (*Ne sudylosia* [It was not Destined] by Starytsky and *Dai sertsiu voliu—zavede v nevoliu* [Give Your Heart Freedom and It Will Enslave You] by Kropyvnytsky). In the 1870's Volodymyr Aleksandrov (1825–93) wrote two melodramatic plays, a dramatization of folk songs, *Ne khody, Hrytsiu, ta na vechernytsi* (Don't Go to the Party, Hryts), and *Za Niman idu* (I'm Going beyond the Nieman River). M. Stetsenko's *Dolia* (Fate, 1863) contained more elements of realistic populist drama, but it exerted little influence and failed to gain a permanent place in the repertory of the Ukrainian theater.

**Actors**

With the development of Ukrainian dramaturgy, the ranks of Ukrainian actors increased steadily. But conditions were extremely adverse. Ukrainian actors were compelled to work in multilingual ensembles and play whatever parts were given to them by the director. These conditions impeded an actor's progress and prevented him from developing a style and acting personality of his own. The best Ukrainian actors of the time were Michael Shchepkyn and Karpo Solenyk.

MICHAEL SHCHEPKYN (1788–1863), an outstanding actor born into a family of peasant serfs, appeared mainly in Ukraine (Kharkiv, Poltava, Kiev, Romen, Kremenchuk, and elsewhere) in his first period of activity, which extended from 1802 to 1822. He was a member of Ivan Shtein's troupe (1816–21) in Kharkiv and Poltava, and later established his own troupe in Kiev (1821–2). From 1822, Shchepkyn appeared on the Russian stage, in the Malyi Teatr (Little Imperial Theater), but played Ukrainian parts even while in Moscow. In his acting career, Shchepkyn rendered lasting portrayals of Mykola and Vybornyi in *Natalka-Poltavka*, Chuprun in *Moskal'-Charivnyk*, Stets'ko in *Svatannia na Honcharivtsi*, Shel'menko in *Shel'menko-denshchyk* and *Shel'menko—volosnyi pysar* (Shelmenko—the County Clerk), and Roman in *Prostak*. He also appeared in N. Hohol's plays. Shchepkyn was an innovator in the art of dramatic acting, changing from the old classical style to the realistic and to the Ukrainian national style, which found expression in his desire to preserve the richness and melodic sound of the Ukrainian language, to convey as realistically as possible the color of the Ukrainian folkways, and to stress the stage action and personages typical of Ukrainian traditional acting in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century *vertep* and *intermedias*. Shchepkyn's humor also had typically Ukrainian color. His specialty was the comedy role with occasional dramatic colorification.

KARPO SOLENYK (1811–51) was another great master of stage realism in Ukraine. He was best in Ukrainian dramas rendering vivid and colorful portrayals of Ukrainian characters. Solenyk was first to give artistic portrayals of Stets'ko and Shel'menko in the plays of Kvitka-Osnovianenko, and Chuprun and Makohonenko in Kotliarevsky's dramas. He enjoyed great success in Dmytrenko's vaudeville *Kum-Miroshnyk* (The Godfather Miller). In Hohol's *Revizor* (The Inspector General), Solenyk played the part of Bobchynsky and, later, that of Khlestakov; and in *Odruzhennia* (The Marriage), he appeared in the role of Kochkariov. Appearing mostly in Ukraine (Kiev, Poltava, Odessa, and particularly Kharkiv) Solenyk, who had studied at the University of Vilnius, was superior to his contemporaries in both education and intelligence. His acting specialty was that of a comedian-buffo, although he was equally good in the parts of lovers in musical vaudevilles or young and carefree simpletons. In refusing an invitation to perform in the Russian Imperial Theater in St. Petersburg, Solenyk declared that he was a Ukrainian

who loved his country and did not wish to leave it. He died of tuberculosis at the age of forty while heading the Kharkiv Theater.

Both Solenyk and Shchepkyn set a trend in producing a realistic portrayal of Ukrainian man, particularly the peasant.

IVAN DREISYKH (1791–1888) was another prominent actor of the time who appeared in Ukrainian roles. He was active mostly in Kharkiv, Poltava, Katerynoslav, Kremenchuk, and Romny. His acting was similar in style to that of Shchepkyn, and his Ukrainian repertory included all of the roles that made Shchepkyn famous.

Among other actors who appeared in Ukrainian roles, the following deserve to be mentioned: S. Uharov, who first played the part of Vybornyi in *Natalka-Poltavka* and appeared in other comic and dramatic parts, constantly striving to improve his acting; P. Rekanovsky (in the part of Stets'ko in *Svatannia na Honcharivtsi*); Timothy Dombrovsky, B. Dmytrenko, V. Aleksandrov (particularly good in the role of the sexton in Hohol's *Rizdviana nich*); the brothers Gregory and Stephen Karpenko; Peter Mykulsky (in the role of Chuprun in *Moskal'-Charivnyk*); Liutostansky (author of the vaudeville *Svatannia na vechernytsiakh* [Marriage Engagement at the Evening Party]); Ludwig Mlotkovsky (1795–1855, actor, director, and entrepreneur); and Olshansky. Among prominent actresses were Catherine Naletova (1793–1874), who was the first to play the role of Natalka in *Natalka-Poltavka*; Liubov Mlotkovska (1805–66), who appeared in the roles of Natalka and Tetiana in plays by Kotliarevsky), Tetiana Danylova (famous in the role of Terpelykha in *Natalka-Poltavka*), and Hanna Yankovska.

The common characteristics of most actors was the tendency to realistic-populist portrayals, recreation of the local folkways, and comical interpretation of characters. Of course, nineteenth-century drama provided ample opportunity for precisely such interpretation. On the other hand, the very same drama, distinctly melodramatic in both form and content and saturated with folklore material, was not conducive to the development of an actor of the genuine romantic theater. Keeping the actor entrenched in the vulgarized classicist theater with its artificial posing, pseudo-effective movements, and unnatural recitation, this drama furnished neither scope nor desire for creative molding of the populist folk material, nor individualistic interpretation of dramatic characters. The diametrically opposed trends of current theater were responsible for the stylistic jumble in the actors' performances, which corresponded to the rather unsophisticated tastes of the provincial audiences.

### Directing

Originally, directors could be found only in the larger troupes of the major cities—Kiev, Kharkiv, Odessa. Frequently, the man called director was actually a stage-hand who was in charge of set decorations and cued the actors as to their appearance on the stage. Experienced actors advised on the production of most plays. There were no more than two or three rehearsals, but during the Christmas holidays and the carnival season, plays were read from the text and the actors themselves decided on the sequence of appearances, *mise en scènes*, and exits from stage. Scenery and set decorations were usually quite poor. Separate playhouses existed only in Kiev, Kharkiv, and Odessa. In other cities plays were staged in private homes, public buildings, impromptu wooden shacks, inns, and even stables, with candles and grease-lamps providing the lighting.

### Amateur Groups of the 1860's and 1870's

The type of theater described above failed to satisfy the increasingly demanding tastes of the Ukrainian public,

particularly the more educated circle of viewers. Thus in the 1860's and 1870's amateur groups became increasingly active among Ukrainian intelligentsia. The activity, experience, and artistic achievements of these groups contributed to the development of an independent professional theater that was Ukrainian in both form and content.

Opanas Markovych (1822–67) former member of the SS. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood, began to stage plays in Nemyriv with *gymnasium* students as actors. Shortly afterwards he established an amateur group in Chernihiv. Amateur plays were staged by Peter Nishchynsky (1832–96), a translator of Homer's and Sophocles' works; Peter Pylchykiv (1821–93), a noted university figure, and others. An amateur theatrical group came into being in Bobrynets, Kherson region, and included such later greats of the Ukrainian theater as M. Kropyvnytsky and I. Tobilevych (pseudonym Karpenko-Karyi). Another good amateur group was formed in Yelysavet, Kherson region. Among prominent members of this group, which included representatives of the local intelligentsia, were the landowner Basil Tarnavsky and his wife, Ivan Novytsky, Bezradetsky, Ostroverkhyi, and Kefala. Later the group was joined by Kropyvnytsky and Tobilevych. It was here that Nicholas and Opanas Tobilevych (brothers of Ivan), both only secondary school students at the time, made their stage debuts; later, appearing under the pseudonyms of Sadovsky and Saksahansky, they both gained a great deal of fame and prominence in the Ukrainian theater. In addition to evening performances for the intelligentsia, plays were staged for the general public at low admission prices.

One of the best amateur groups of the time was formed in Kiev in 1872 on the initiative of the Lindfors family. Headed by M. Starytsky and N. Lysenko, the group staged plays first in the home of the Lindforses and later in the Kiev City Theater. It was for this group that Starytsky wrote the vaudeville *Yak kovbasa ta charka* (Sausage and Drink) and the operetta *Rizdviana nich* for which Lysenko furnished the music. Taking part in the productions were the sisters Maria and Sophia Lindfors, as well as many prominent scholars and writers of the time, such as Paul Chubynsky, Alexander Rusov, Orest Levytsky, and Nicholas Markovsky. The group planned to enlarge the scope of their activity, one of their primary objectives being the establishment of a high-level Ukrainian theater with both Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian repertory. But the infamous Ems ukase of 1876, which among other things ordered the "discontinuation of various stage performances and reading in the Little Russian language," prevented the group from realizing their plans. For example, the planned production of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (translated by M. Starytsky, with music by N. Lysenko) could only be staged privately by the group in the home of the Lysenkos (1880). There was no possibility for the presentation of *Hamlet* as translated by P. Kulish. Yet the amateur groups of the 1860's and 1870's succeeded in laying the groundwork for a new era in the development of the Ukrainian theater. They produced new playwrights, who furnished better repertory, and new actors, who were more adept at the art of performing, and they instilled firmly the idea of an independent Ukrainian national theater.

### Origins of the Ukrainian Theater in Galicia

The Ukrainian theater of Galicia played an equally prominent role in the development of the Ukrainian national theater. Developing in the more liberal climate of public and cultural life under Austria-Hungary, the Ukrainian theater in Galicia succeeded much earlier in establishing itself as an independent entity in the world of the arts. Whereas the first Ukrainian professional theater did not come into being until 1881 in the

Ukrainian lands under Russia, in Galicia such a theater emerged as early as 1864.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century until the 1830's, there were no Ukrainian theatrical performances of any kind in Galicia. If any plays were staged at all in the cities of Galicia and Bukovina, they were productions written in Polish, Latin, and German and performed by either Polish or German troupes. The first attempt to act out a play in the Ukrainian language was made by the students of the Ukrainian Theological Seminary in Lviv when Gregory Yakhymovych (1732–1863) was the dean of the school (1837–41). This was the dramatization of *Rus'ke vesillia* (Ruthenian [Ukrainian] Wedding), adapted from a collection of wedding songs and rituals, published in 1835 by Joseph Lozynsky. Taking part in this dramatization was Rudolph Mokh (1816–91), first non-theological playwright of the Ukrainian Galician theater, who wrote such plays as *Sprava v seli Klekotyni* (An Affair in the Village of Klekotyn), *Terpen-Spasen* (The One Who Suffers is Saved), *Rozpuka Orendars'ka* (Tenant's Despair), and *Opikunstvo* (Guardianship) among others.

Reminiscent of *intermedia* dialogues rather than of comedies, Mokh's works represented an attempt at providing original repertory for the Galician theater. At the same time the leaders of the Galician theater began to utilize the achievements and experience of the Ukrainian theater in the Russian-occupied lands. Reverend Ivan Ozarkevych organized a drama society in Kolomyia in June of 1848. In looking for a play for the society's amateur performing group, Fr. Ozarkevych adapted Kotliarevsky's *Natalka-Poltavka*, changing its title (to *Divka na viddanniu, abo na myluvannia nema syluvannia* [A Girl for Marriage, or Love Cannot Be Forced]) and the names of the characters (Natalka to Annychka), and introduced the songs and dialect of Pokutia. Fr. Ozarkevych's production enjoyed great success and led to the appearance of other adaptations which were staged in Kolomyia in 1848–50: *Zhovnir-Charivnyk* (Soldier-Sorcerer, adapted from *Moskal'-Charivnyk*), *Svatannia, abo Zhenykh navizhenyi* (Marriage Engagement, or the Mad Fiancé, adapted from *Svatannia na Honcharivtsi*), *Vesillia* (Wedding, adapted from *Kupala na Ivana*). By staging *Divka na viddanniu*, which took place shortly before the Congress of Ruthenian Scholars in Lviv in October of 1848, Fr. Ozarkevych actually started the production of Ukrainian plays in Lviv.

A Ukrainian amateur group, under the artistic direction of Ivan Vitoshynsky and assisted by composer Michael Verbytsky (1815–70), initiated its activity by staging a play in Peremyshl in the 1848–9 winter season. The repertory of this Peremyshl group included adaptations of Kotliarevsky's plays, several Galician plays, works of western European playwrights (Molière, von Kotzebue), and the adaptation of Józef Korzeniowski's Polish drama *Verkhovyntsi* (The Mountaineers). By the end of the 1840's, Ukrainian plays were also being staged in Ternopil.

Thus the repertory of the Galician theater was characterized by a tendency toward adaptation and adjustment of

FIGURE 325. A SCENE FROM THE DRAMA *Verkhovyntsi* STAGED IN LVIV IN 1867

material to the tastes of the local audience. This repertory, short on original plays, utilized the dramaturgical works produced in the eastern and central Ukrainian lands as well as translations from the French, German, and Polish, also adapted in most cases.

The political reaction in the middle of the nineteenth century, and particularly the spreading of the Russophile movement with its pro-Russian orientation and attempts at introducing the artificial church-Russian language (*yazychiie*) into Ukrainian literature, including drama, had a detrimental effect on the further development of the Ukrainian Galician theater based on the Ukrainian national culture and language.

### The Rus'ka Besida Theater

It was not until the early 1860's that the Rus'ka Besida (Ruthenian Clubs) Society [Vol. I, p. 702b] revived the earlier idea of a permanent Ukrainian theater in Galicia. Through the efforts of Julian Lavrivsky (1821–73), one of the leading figures in the Rus'ka Besida Society, a director was finally found after

FIGURE 326. A GROUP OF ACTORS OF THE RUS'KA BESIDA THEATER IN 1864

a long search among theatrical personalities of Galicia and eastern Ukraine. He was Omelian Bachynsky (1836–1906), Galician-born head of the Polish theater in Zhytomyr, who had been living in Right-Bank Ukraine since 1857 and appeared as an actor with various Polish-Ukrainian traveling troupes. Upon his arrival in Lviv (with his actress-wife Theophilia [1836–1904]) Bachynsky applied himself to the task of organizing a Ukrainian theater.

The opening of the new theater took place on March 29, 1864, in the large auditorium of the Lviv National Home. Selected for the opening night was G. Kvitka-Osnovianenko's *Marusia*, adapted by Alexander Golembiiovsky from a

FIGURE 327. A POSTER OF THE RUTHENIAN NATIONAL THEATER IN LVIV, 1864

novel of the same name. The première enjoyed great success; the young theater was assured of a bright future. Following a series of guest performances in Kolomyia, Stanyslaviv, and Chernivtsi in Bukovina, the company spent the remaining part of the year (1864) performing in Lviv, staging Kvitka-Osnovianenko's Ukrainian plays, adaptations from his prose works, and translations of his Russian plays, as well as Kotliarevsky's dramatic works, adapted in part to the needs of the Galician stage, and vaudevilles which had been made popular by the theaters of central and eastern Ukraine. An event of major significance in the history of the Ukrainian theater was the first production of T. Shevchenko's *Nazar Stodolia* (scenery by Friedrich Polman), which took place on May 5, 1864. Also included in the repertory of the Galician theater were A. Storozhenko's *Harkusha* and J. Kukharenko's *Chornomors'kyi pobyt*. Among

works of Galician playwrights produced in the theater were: *Opikunstvo* by R. Mokh; *Pidhiriany* (The People of Pidhiria, music by M. Verbytsky) and *Sil's'ki plenipotenty* (The Village Plenipotentiaries) by Ivan Hushalevych; *Zaruchyny na pomatsky* (Engagement in the Dark), a comedy by Ivan Naumovych; *Nastasia*, a historical tragedy by Basil Ilnytsky; *Roksoliana*, a historical drama by Hnat Yakymovych; and *Ol'ha*, a historical melodrama by A. Yablonsky. Also featured prominently in the repertory of the Galician theater was western European drama, both classical and contemporary, in freely translated or adapted form (from operas of Gaetano Donizetti and Karl Weber, plays by August Friedrich von Kotzebue, J. Korzeniowski, and a number of contemporary French comedies).

The main sources of the theater's acting talent were the Ukrainian troupes in central and eastern Ukraine, which had produced O. and T. Bachynsky, Pavlyn Svientsitsky, and others; the Polish theater, which gave such actors as M. and A. Kontetsky and Anthony Molentsky (1843–73); and finally the local amateur groups. The latter talent, trained by the Bachynsky's, formed the core of the Rus'ka Besida Society's first theatrical troupe. Working for Bachynsky in 1864 was Pavlyn Stakhursky-Svientsitsky, who, writing under the pen name of D. Lozovsky, accomplished a great deal in supplementing the meager repertory with good translations and adaptations, while appearing as an actor in such roles as Voz'nyi and Chuprun in Kotliarevsky's plays. Others who worked under Bachynsky's directing were Platon Seroïchkovsky, A. Molentsky, and Julian Nyzhankivsky. In addition to T. Bachynska, whose performances were rated highly by Ukrainian as well as Polish and German critics, two other prominent actresses were M. Kontetska and Lukasevychivna.

After a series of more or less successful seasons, O. Bachynsky came into conflict with the leadership of the Rus'ka Besida Society. In 1867 Bachynsky and a group of actors departed for Kamianets Podilsky, where they founded a theatrical company of their own. Heading the Galician company from 1869 until 1872 was A. Molentsky; Bachynsky took over for another (1872–3) year.

Following a slight decline during this period, the theater regained its former stature under the leadership of Theophilia Romanovych (1842–1924) who managed the group from 1874 to 1880. Her well-selected troupe included such actresses and actors as Maria Romanovych (1852–1930), Ivanna Korolevych-Biberovych (1861–1937), Michael Dushynsky-Korolevych (d. 1924), Vladyslav Ploshevsky (1853–92), Stephen Stefurak (d. 1888), Ivan Hrynevetsky (1850–89), Anthony Liudkevych, Constantine Pidvysotsky (1854–1904), and Titus Gembitsky (1842–1908). The troupe, managed by T. Romanovych, had two directors, Lev Natorsky, who was also a good dramatic actor, and M. Kropyvnytsky. Natorsky staged dramas and comedies, while Kropyvnytsky directed operettas. Kropyvnytsky, although he did not stay long in Galicia, accomplished a great deal in improving the quality of the Galician theater. Directing the theater in 1878–9 was I. Hrynevetsky, who constantly strove to enlarge the repertory while maintaining the purity of the Ukrainian language.

In 1874–80, the repertory of the Galician theater was enriched by new and original works of Isidore Vorobkevych (1838–1903), Joseph George Fedkovych (1834–87) [*Dovbush*], and Cornelius Ustyianovych (1839–1903) (tragedies *Yaropolk* and *Oleh*). In 1878, Hohol's *Revizor* (The Inspector General) and *Odruzhennia* (Marriage) were produced for the first time on the Galician stage. The theater's western European repertory also increased considerably. Tours were conducted throughout the larger

and smaller cities of Galicia and Bukovina. The theater of central and eastern Ukraine was of much help to its Galician counterpart in this period of development. Subsequently, the theater of Galicia became the model of a purely Ukrainian professional theater.

Toward the end of 1879, the Rus'ka Besida troupe suffered a series of internal squabbles. I. Hrynevetsky, I. Biberovych (1854–1920), and a few others left the company, thus precipitating a crisis that led to a temporary decline. In 1881, O. Bachynsky once again took over the leadership, only to step down for the last time in 1882 in favor of Hrynevetsky and Biberovych. During these years, the theater's activity was marked by alternate periods of prominence and decline.

The origins of Ukrainian professional theater in Bukovina and Transcarpathia have not yet been sufficiently studied. It is known that amateur plays were being staged in Uzhhorod, Transcarpathia, from the middle of the nineteenth century. The Bukovinians had an opportunity to view the performances of the Galician troupes which toured the land. Plays of Bukovinian playwrights J. G. Fedkovych and I. Vorobkevych enriched the repertory of the Galician theater.

*V. Haievsky*

## ETHNOGRAPHIC THEATER AND THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN THEATER (1881–1917)

### General Characteristics

This period in Ukrainian theater is characterized by the preponderance of popular ethnographic themes dealing with everyday life. During these years, the presence of eminent artists—actors, directors, playwrights—was conducive to the formation of a definite style of Ukrainian theater. As yet not entirely consciously, questions as to style, ensemble, and so on, arose. At the end of this period, theatrical education became solidly entrenched: in 1906, a Ukrainian drama section was opened at the Lysenko Music and Drama School in Kiev, headed by Maria Starytska.

The results of creative experimentation were continuously shared by theaters in various sections of Ukraine. Directors, actors, and persons active in any area of the theater from central and eastern Ukraine visited Galicia and worked there, while Galician artists studied in central Ukraine and won acclaim for their appearance on the stage there.

The general growth of the theater stimulated the development of dramaturgy, and the latter gave momentum to dramatic art. Among the playwrights were M. Kropyvnytsky, M. Starytsky, Ivan Tobilevych (Karpenko-Karyi), Lesia Ukraïnka, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Spyrydon Cherkasenko, H. Khotkevych, I. Franko, G. Tsehlynsky, and Leo Lopatynsky. Dramaturgy progressed from popular drama with music and dances, and from melodramas with a conventional or historical theme, to realistic and socially meaningful plays, psychological dramas, and, finally, the symbolistic works of Lesia Ukraïnka.

### Organization of the Theater

The Ems Ukase of 1876 caused a break in the history of Ukrainian theater and inhibited its development, but the authorities could not hope to arrest its progress entirely. In 1881, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Russian government allowed theatrical entrepreneur Gregory Ashkarenko (1839–1922) and actor Kropyvnytsky to form an independent Ukrainian troupe. Soon afterward, some of the most prominent actors, called the "coryphaei of the Ukrainian theater" joined this troupe, among them N. Tobilevych (Sadovsky), Maria Zankovetska, Hanna Zatyrkevych-Karpynska, I. Tobilevych (Karpenko-Karyi), Opanas Tobilevych (Saksahansky), the famous actress Maria Sadovska-Barliotti (1855–91), Alexandra Viryna (Koltanivska, d.

FIGURE 328. MEMBERS OF M. KROPYVNYTSKY'S TROUPE IN THE 1880'S

1926), Ivan Zahorsky (Onykiovych, 1858–1904), Andrew Maksymovych (1865–93), Denis Mova (Petrov, d. 1922), and Ivan Svitlov-Stoian. The troupe, reorganized in 1882 into the Ukrainian actors' society, began to give systematic performances, at first in Kremenchuk, later in Kharkiv, Kiev, and elsewhere. These performances were very successful. The increasing popularity of the national theater, fed by the growth of the nationalist movement and the five-year prohibition period, served to prepare the ground for further progress of the Ukrainian theater.

In 1883 playwright M. Starytsky, who contributed much effort and money to the improvement of the theater and helped raise it to imposing heights, became the director of the troupe. However, because of particularly adverse conditions (including the prohibition to perform in Volhynia, Podilia, Kiev, and the Poltava and Chernihiv regions, 1883–93), the company split into two parts. One was headed by Starytsky, while the other group was led by Kropyvnytsky. The latter troupe (with a majority of the coryphaei) appeared with great success in the 1886–7 season in St. Petersburg. The primary reason for their success was the good acting personnel assembled by Kropyvnytsky. The ensemble's skill, rapport with its audience, vast knowledge of the conditions of everyday life, and ability to recreate them—these were the attributes of Ukrainian theater in the 1880's. One negative aspect was the continuous fragmentation of theatrical troupes. The reason for this is to be found in the strict censorship and governmental restrictions; it was necessary, for example, to present, on the same evening, a Russian play equal in number of acts to the Ukrainian play. Also responsible for the fragmentation were the attempts to entice better actors to the imperial theaters of St. Petersburg and Moscow. It was absolutely impossible to stage translated plays dealing with non-ethnographic subjects. An important internal reason for the frequent divisions, at the time not always consciously understood, was the diversity of artistic currents represented by members of any one troupe—ethnographic theater (Kropyvnytsky), romantic-heroic (Starytsky), social-realistic (I. Karpenko-Karyi); some considered directors as the principal moving spirits of the theater,

others stressed the role of actors, and so on.

Already in 1888, three troupes had been formed from the original one: those of Kropyvnytsky, Starytsky, and Sadovsky. Later, Saksahansky left Sadovsky's group and together with Karpenko-Karyi

FIGURE 329. NICHOLAS SADOVSKY

FIGURE 330. O. SAKSAHANSKY

organized a fourth one. All these troupes had good ensembles. Kropyvnytsky attracted the younger actors; new cadres matured around him, which resulted in the eventual replenishment of the Ukrainian theater. Prominent persons with Starytsky were Eudokia Boiarska (Bohemska, 1861–1900), Leonid Manko (1863–1922), George Kasynenko, Orlyk, and others. In the troupe of Saksahansky and Karpenko-Karyi were Liubov Linytska (1866–1924), A. Viryna, Basil Hrytsai (1856–1910), and Alexandra Dzbanovska. The performing members of Sadovsky's troupe were M. Zankovetska, H. Zatyrkevych-Karpynska, Olena Ratmyrova (1869–1927), A. Maksymovych, Ivan Zahorsky (1861–1908), Theodore Levytsky (1858–1933), Ivan Pozniachenko (1858–1906), and Ivan Naumenko. Generally, the number of actors in a troupe exceeded 40. In the repertoire of Starytsky's troupe there were as many as 36 plays, in Kropyvnytsky's 27, in Sadovsky's 26, in Saksahansky's 24.

Interest in the Ukrainian theater on the part of the general public stimulated the formation of countless smaller troupes, with an average of 15 members; in the 1890's there were more than 30 such groups. Among these "Little Russian" troupes were those of B. Hrytsai (whose enterprise lasted from 1898 to 1927); Onysym Suslov, Alexander Sukhodilsky, Mytrophanes Yaroshenko, Leo Sabinin, Trokhym Kolisnychenko, and G. Ashkarenko. Sometimes a good actor would gather several young actors, occasionally even amateurs, and set out with them to tour the towns and hamlets of Ukraine. Such companies were organized and fell apart with equal rapidity.

The theatrical companies under the leadership of Saksahansky and especially Sadovsky proved to be the longest lasting. In 1898 these two troupes joined forces. In 1900, Kropyvnytsky and Zankovetska also joined this united troupe. The second consolidation of the best talent of Ukrainian theater, at a time when the national repertoire was already considerable, intensified the creative life of Ukrainian theater. But again the

FIGURE 331. MARIA ZANKOVETSKA

FIGURE 332. IVAN KARPENKO-KARYI

union did not prove lasting, as one after another the leading actors dissociated themselves from the group. Kropyvnytsky went on tour, and Sadovsky and Zankovetska moved to Galicia in 1905. Of the more prominent figures only Saksahansky and Karpenko-Karyi were left, and they again undertook the management of the troupe. At the latter's

death in 1907, Saksahansky ended his activity as impresario of the company and also went on tour (until 1917); see p. 640.

The final period of ethnographic theater coincided with the return of Sadovsky from a year as manager of the Rus'ka Besida Theater in Galicia and his establishment of a group which from 1916 to 1919 worked in Kiev in the National Troïtsky House. Its main contribution was in the attempt to introduce international repertoire into the Ukrainian national theater. This goal was pursued in the manner of progressive evolution. Almost two-thirds of the repertoire was composed of classical Ukrainian plays. The nucleus of this group was made up of plays by M. Kropyvnytsky, M. Starytsky, and I. Karpenko-Karyi (approximately 45 items); the remaining were works of I. Kotliarevsky, G. Kvitka-Osnovianenko, and I. Franko. A place alongside the classics was occupied by contemporary drama of the romantic-ethnographic and symbolistic school, represented by Lesia Ukraïnka, Stephen Vasylchenko, Borys Hrinchenko, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Spyrydon Cherkasenko, and Alexander Oles. Equally placed were the Russian classics of Nicholas Hohol, Alexei Pisemsky, Alexander Ostrovsky, Leo Tolstoi, and Anton Chekhov, and the works of other foreign authors including Julius Słowacki, Gabrielle Zapolska, Lucian Rydel, Bronisław Gorczynsky, Józef Kraszewski, Herman Heijermans, and Arthur Schnitzler. In addition, Sadovsky's theater elevated Ukrainian opera to firm ground with such presentations as *The Bartered Bride* by Bedrich Smetana (1908), *Cavalleria Rusticana* by Pietro Mascagni (1909), Stanisław Moniuszko's *Halka*, *Eneïda* (The Aeneid) by N. Lysenko (1910), *Pan sotnyk* (The Lieutenant) by Gregory Kozachenko (1911), *Branka Roksolianka* (The Captive Roksoliana) by Denis Sichynsky (1912), *Utoplena* (The Drowned Girl), and *Rizdviana nich* (Christmas Eve) by N. Lysenko (1913 and 1915).

The lifting of censorship on translated literature after 1905 and beneficial influences from the West were the two factors which led to the expansion of Sadovsky's repertoire. As general manager of the first permanent theater in Ukraine, N. Sadovsky had worked with Galician actors (Severyn Pankivsky [1874–1942], Les Kurbas [1887–1937], Sofia Stadnykova [1888–1959], etc.).

In WESTERN UKRAINE, under Austria, conditions were different as a result of more lenient censorship. A theater organized by Rus'ka Besida in 1864 existed until 1914. In 50 years, the managing directors were: O. Bachynsky (in the years 1864–7, again in 1872–3, and for the last time in 1881), A. Molentsky (1869–72), Theophilia Romanovych (1874–80), Ivan Hrynevetsky (with Biberovych from 1882 until his death in 1889), and Ivan Biberovych (1882–92). Various actors and administrators conducted the enterprise, with varying degrees of success, until 1900, when the nephew of former director Ivan Hrynevetsky, Dr. Ivan Hrynevetsky, took over the job, a year later passing it on to Michael Hubchak (1901–4). The next manager was N. Sadovsky (1905–6). His successors were Joseph Stadnyk (1906–13) and Roman Siretsky (1913–14).

Such frequent changes of management seriously hampered the work of the theater, as did the lack of a permanent place of residence and the consequent travels through Galicia and Bukovina. Nonetheless, certain artistic achievements were evident: in the recruitment of native playwrights, in the preparation of a large repertoire of varied genres and foreign authors, in the training of new actors. Original playwrights in the field of historical drama were: Cornelius Sushkevych (1840–85), Cornelius Ustyianovych (1839–1903), Joseph Barvinsky (1845–89), and Omelian Ohonovsky, (1833–94). In the field of melodrama,

social drama, and comedy, the writers were: I. Franko, G. Tsehlynsky, and Sydir Vorobkevych (1838–1903). Many plays by foreign authors were translated into Ukrainian by Eugene Olesnytsky (1860–1917). Among those performed were the works of Molière, Friedrich Schiller, Augustin Eugene Scribe, Edmond Rostand, Victorien Sardou, Henrik Ibsen, Leo Tolstoy, and Maxim Gorky. J. Stadnyk's direction was especially rich in operatic performances. Under R. Siretsky, the trend was toward more modern plays (A. Oles' *Osin'* [Autumn], V. Vynnychenko's *Chorna pantera* [The Black Panther], Basil Pachovsky's *Sontse ruïny* [The Sun of Ruin], and others).

FIGURE 333. THE BUILDING IN KIEV WHERE THE FIRST PERMANENT THEATER IN UKRAINE WAS FOUNDED IN 1907

A phenomenon of the early twentieth century was the great upsurge of amateur peasant theater groups in all parts of Ukraine, and after 1905 came the beginnings of a workers' theater (in Kiev, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav). Of special significance among amateur groups was the Hutsul's'kyi Teatr (Hutsul Ethnographic Theater, 1909–12) organized by Alexander Huleichuk and Hnat Khotkevych.

**Dramaturgy**

MARKO KROPYVNYTSKY (1840–1910 [Vol. I, p. 1028a]) was among the first playwrights of the ethnographic-popular theater, although he was best known for his tireless activity as director, actor, and community leader. In supplying repertoire for his theater, Kropyvnytsky wrote over 40 plays, mostly melodramas and comedies. His plays reflect a flawless knowledge of the stage, although on occasion they are weak architectonically. He carefully copied peasant life, romanticizing its ethnographic characteristics. Kropyvnytsky's best works include the étude-vaudeville *Po revizii* (After the Inspection), the melodrama *Dai sertsiu voliu—zavede v nevoliu*, and the comedy *Poshylys' v durni* (Made Fools of Themselves), written in the style of Molière.

An expert on the theater was MICHAEL STARYTSKY (1840–1904 [Vol. I, p. 1027]), who wrote about 35 plays. He also adapted numerous plays from the older repertoire, for example, *Chornomortsi* (Black Sea Kozaks) by J. Kukharenko and *Za dvoma zaitsiamy* (Chasing Two Hares) by Ivan Nechui-Levytsky, and revised some of Hohol's works, *Sorochyns'kyi yarmarok* (The Sorochyntsi Fair), *Rizdviana nich*, and so on. Starytsky attained a prominent place in the history of theater as creator of historico-ethnographic dramas (*Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*, *Oborona Bushi* [The Defense of Busha]), and as an opera librettist, especially for the operas of Lysenko. His style was different from that of Kropyvnytsky. The latter wrote basically in a typical ethnographic-popular style, re-creating details of existence and ethnography (with a tendency toward melodrama, it might be added, typical of the Ukrainian theater in the nineteenth century). Although Starytsky wrote many successful ethnographic dramas, or more correctly dramatizations and revisions necessary to fill out his repertoire, and took the first step in creating social-ethnographic drama (*Ne sudylosia* [It Was Not Destined, 1883]), his greatest inclination was toward the pathos of historical-romantic dramas.

IVAN TOBILEVYCH (KARPENKO-KARYI [1845–1907, see Vol. I, p. 1028a]), as a playwright, was more modern than

Kropyvnytsky or Starytsky. This was especially true in the second half of his creative period (*Rozumnyi i duren'* [The Wise Man and the Fool, 1885], *Martyn Borulia* [1886], *Sto tysiach* [A Hundred Thousand, 1890], *Ponad Dniprom* [On the Dnieper, 1897], *Khaziaïn* [The Owner, 1900], *Suieta* [Vanity, 1903]. His realistic delineation of character and psychological development raise Karpenko-Karyi's stature in the Ukrainian theater to the level of Ibsen's in the Norwegian. In 20 years, the playwright wrote close to 20 plays of differing genres. Through the plays of Karpenko-Karyi, Ukrainian dramaturgy moved away from ethnographic naturalism, from a simple spectacle, to a panorama of the Ukrainian village, intensified by social insight and artistry and portraying the social and psychological nature of village people. Thus realistic psychological theater crystallized and gained strength and momentum within the pattern of ethnographic theater.

Among the playwrights of popular theater it is necessary to mention also Panas Myrnyi (*Lymerivna*), Olena Pchilka (*Svitova rich* [A Worldly Thing]), and Olena Shabelska (*Nich pid Ivana Kupala*) [On the Eve of Ivan Kupalo]). Many actors and directors wrote repertoire plays of little literary significance (Alexander Sukhodolsky, Nicholas Yanchuk, Leo Sabinin, L. Lopatynsky, J. Stadnyk). Particularly popular were the plays of Ivan Tohobichnyi.

At the time when I. Karpenko-Karyi was writing his realistic-ethnographic plays, IVAN FRANKO (1856–1916) was producing similar ethnographic plays in Western Ukraine [Vol. I, p. 1026]. Franko wrote four long plays: *Ukradene shchastia* (Stolen Happiness), *Son Kniazia Sviatoslava* (Prince Sviatoslav's Dream), *Uchytel'* (The Teacher), *Riabyna* (The Bailiff), and four one-act plays. Technically, the plays *Ukradene shchastia* and *Uchytel'* were the best. The latter was successfully produced by Sadovsky's theater.

A much more prominent place in the repertoire of Galician theater was occupied by the plays of GREGORY TSEHLYNSKY (1853–1912). They were generally light, satirical comedies with vivid regional character sketches: *Na dobrodiini tsili* (For Charitable Causes), *Sokolyky* (The Darlings), *Argonavty* (The Argonauts). For the most part, the action of Tsehlynsky's plays took place in urban or small town settings. This was also true of the plays of Isidore Vorobkevych, especially his dramas *Uboha Marta* (Poor Martha), *Hnat Prybluda* (Wanderer Hnat), and his operettas.

The realistic plays of VOLODYMYR VYNNYCHENKO [Vol. I, p. 1035] dealt to a great extent with social problems. Vynnychenko, in addition to delineating character, strove for dynamic action. His themes were removed from the peasant to the town setting (*Natus'*, *Moloda krov* [Young Blood], etc.). Vynnychenko had already gone beyond the confines of ethnographic theater, approaching rather the dramas of John Galsworthy and August Strindberg.

This applies to an even greater degree to the dramas of LESIA UKRAÏNKA (1871–1913 [Vol. I, p. 1040]), which number about 20. Their subject matter is taken either from antiquity, the Middle Ages, or early Christian times, with the exception of *Lisova pisnia* (The Forest Song). Behind these subjects, however, the problems of Ukrainian life are sharply defined (*Orhiia* [The Orgy], *Advokat Martiian* [The Advocate Martianus]). In her dramatic works, Lesia Ukraïnka showed an affinity with the Symbolist playwrights G. Hauptmann, M. Maeterlinck, and others.

Elements of Symbolism are also found in the plays of ALEXANDER OLES [Vol. I, p. 1038]. His one-act sketches and the play *Po dorozi v kazku* (A Journey into the Dream) left a vivid impression on the Ukrainian theater of the early twentieth century.

Nevertheless, new directions in dramaturgy were not easily or quickly ac-

cepted. The plays of Lesia Ukraïnka were seldom produced at that time, and those of Oles often closed shortly after opening. Vynnychenko's plays were more successful, although staged at times without suitable actors.

Plays attempting compromise (following tradition but introducing some new elements) were more successful. Borys Hrinchenko [Vol. I, p. 1025b], wrote historical dramas in the tradition of Starytsky (*Stepovyi hist'* [A Guest from Steppe], *Sered buri* [In a Storm], *Yasni zori* [Bright Stars]), as well as propagandistic plays dealing with the social problems of contemporary life (*Nakhmarylo* [The Clouds Have Gathered], *Na hromadskii roboti* [Working for the Public]). Also compromisory in character were the works of Liubov Yanovska (1861–1932) and of Liudmyla Starytska-Cherniakhivska (1868–1941), who wrote *Sappho* in the spirit of Lesia Ukraïnka and *Hetman Doroshenko* in the tradition of M. Starytsky. S. Cherkasenko [Vol. I, p. 1036a] united elements of Romanticism as seen in ethnographic theater with those of Symbolism (*Kazka staroho mlyna* [The Tale of the Old Mill], *Pro shcho tyrsa shelestila* [What the Steppe Grass Murmured About]), but also attempted social dramas in the vein of Vynnychenko (*Zemlia* [The Earth]), as did Hnat Khotkevych (1877–1938; *Lykholittia* [The Bad Years]). The one-act sketches of Stephen Vasylchenko (1878–1932) had a lyrical-ethnographic character.

**Actors and Directors**

Marko Kropyvnytsky and Ivan Tobilevych (Karpenko-Karyi) were also eminent actors. Kropyvnytsky, an actor of great talent, spent almost 40 years on the stage, making his debut in 1871. A fine sense of observation and a knowledge of the customs and manners of the peasants were the factors which enabled him to create a large number of living, original characters.

Kropyvnytsky also attained prominence as a director. His productions were built upon acting techniques and the acting ensemble, which he introduced for the first time in Ukrainian theater. He demanded realistic performances of his actors, and actual transformation into the character portrayed. Kropyvnytsky made a strong effort to solve the problems of staging mass scenes, a difficult feat, as well as a novelty at the time. He attempted to abolish the conventional vaudeville style and idyllic scenery substituting for it realistic settings reflecting existing conditions. By and large, he was successful in his attempts, although other theatrical troupes, especially the smaller ones, retained elements of folklore in the form of music, dancing, and singing spectaculars. In Kropyvnytsky's theater scenic representations of Ukrainian landscapes appeared for the first time. The director was a good teacher for a brilliant group of Ukrainian actors, both of the older and of the younger generation. In fact, most of the troupes and actors concentrating on ethnographic theater were either the pupils of Kropyvnytsky, or the pupils of his students.

The oldest of the Tobilevych brothers, Ivan Karpenko-Karyi, gained fame for his portrayal of "moralizers" (Kalytka, Puzyr, Martyn Borulia) in realistic plays. His comic roles were distinguished by a warm humor and simplicity, far removed from mere caricature.

FIGURE 334. N. SADOVSKY IN THE DRAMA *Dvi sim'ï* BY M. KROPYVNYTSKY

The second of the Tobilevych brothers, Nicholas Sadovsky (1856–1933), was most famous for heroic roles, generally in historical plays (*Bohdan Kmel'nyts'kyi, Nazar Stodolia, Sava Chalyi*). Characteristic of Sadovsky's acting was improvisation, which he utilized with great skill. He was also renowned as an

exceptional performer of folk songs. His activity as director was uneven and sporadic. Some scenes he worked out with extraordinary depth and mastery, others he left undeveloped. He gave his actors a free hand in creating scenic effects.

The third Tobilevych brother, Opanas Saksahansky (1859–1940), was an excellent performer of character and comic roles. He had a fine command of gesture and facial expression, and refined voice intonations. Saksahansky created a whole series of colorful characters (Holokhvastyi, Kharko Ledachyi, Haras'ka, Penionzhka). He also worked as a director.

The greatest actress of this period was Maria Zankovetska (1860–1934), noted especially for her dramatic-heroic roles, but proficient in comedy as well. As an actress she was observant, sensitive, with an excellent imagination, inborn gentility, and depth of perception, and could quickly and easily assume the character of her role. In addition, she was gifted with wonderful diction and a beautiful dramatic soprano voice. Much could also be said about her public service activity in acquiring permission to stage plays, helping actors, and so on.

FIGURE 335. M. ZANKOVETSKA AND H. ZATYRKEVYCH-KARPYNSKA IN THE DRAMA *Chornomortsi*

Hanna Zatyrkevych-Karpynska (1856–1921) was renowned as a character actress. She was by far the leading figure in the field of ethnographic theater, portraying most successfully peasant characters, especially shrewish and energetic older women.

In Sadovsky's theater, the characterization of tragic heroines was usually rendered by Liubov Linytska (1866–1924). Maria Malysh-Fedorets (1885–1960) was the actress of heroic roles, a follower of the "inner experience" school of acting. Elizabeth Khutorna (b. 1886) was the ingenue. Singing roles were performed by Olena Petliash (b. 1890), Vasylyna Starostynetska, Maria Hrebinetska, and, for a short period of time, by Maria Lytvynenko-Volhemut (1895–1966). Among male actors were the Petlishenko brothers (Ivan Mariianenko and Marko); comedians Theodore Levytsky and Ivan Kovalivsky (1882–1955); character actors Severyn Pankivsky (see p. 636) and Gregory Berezovsky (1877–1950); singers, tenor Semen Butovsky (1886–1967), baritone Denis Myronenko (1880–1918), basses Trokhym Ivliv (1880–1938) and Gregory Pavlovsky (1884–1967). The Rus'ka Besida Theater provided Sadovsky with three outstanding performers: Les Kurbas, Sophia Stadnykova, and, from 1917, Joseph Stadnyk (1876–1954).

Other prominent alumnae of Rus'ka Besida were Catherine Rubchakova (1880–1919), an actress and singer, proficient equally in Ukrainian and in world repertoire; Antonina Osypovych (1885–1926), outstanding in character roles; ingenue Maria Slobodivna (Krushelnytska, 1876–1936); and singer Philomena Lopatynska (1873–1940). Among the male actors were Andrew Stechynsky (1849–96), tragedian Vladyslav Ploshevsky, heroic actor Stephen Yanovych (1862–1909, who was the father of Les Kurbas), talented comedian Basil Yurchak (1874–1914), singer Basil Senyk-Petrovych (1868–1914), and L. Lopatynsky (1868–1914), actor and author of the work *Zur Psychologie des Schauspielers.*

Another outstanding director, in addition to those already mentioned, was M. Starytsky. He was a master of picturesque stage composition, especially in mass scenes. In his productions, ethnographic details did not ruin theatrical form. A contemporary and similar figure in the 1880's was I. Hrynevetsky, of the Rus'ka Besida theater. He was a talented actor, an individualist with a broad out-

look, who demanded style in performance, costumes, and props. Titus Hembitsky and J. Stadnyk completed the roster of directors of the Rus'ka Besida theater.

The years immediately preceding 1917 were turbulent in the history of the Ukrainian theater. In search of new forms, a group of leading actors from Sadovsky's theater organized in 1915 the Nove Teatral'ne Tovarystvo (New Theatrical Society) managed by I. Mariianenko. After this group presented a series of plays in Ternopil (Ternopilian theatrical evenings) in 1916, their director Les Kurbas established an experimental Molodyi Teatr (Young Theater) in Kiev.

*V. Haievsky*
*V. Revutsky*

## THE MODERN UKRAINIAN THEATER SINCE 1917

### Theaters, Their Organization and Activity

In the history of the Ukrainian theater, the years 1917–22 represented a period in which new paths were being blazed in the central and eastern lands of Ukraine. The emergence of the Ukrainian state enabled the theater to complete the process of evolution from ethnographic theater to a more modern and diversified one (although Sadovsky's ethnographic theater continued to stage its productions in Kiev). In 1918, three theaters attained their zenith of development in Kiev: Derzhavnyi Dramatychnyi Teatr (The State Dramatic Theater) Derzhavnyi Narodnyi Teatr (The State National Theater), and Molodyi Teatr (The Young Theater). In 1919–20, Galician and Bukovinian theaters, Novyi L'vivs'kyi Teatr (New Lviv Theater), Chernivets'kyi Teatr (Theater of Chernivtsi), and Derzhavnyi Teatr ZUNR (The State Theater of the Western Ukrainian National Republic), toured Podilia.

THE STATE DRAMATIC THEATER was under the direction of Alexander Zaharov and Borys Kryvetsky, both graduates of the Moscow Art Theater of Constantine Stanislavsky and Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko. They based their work on the principles of the realistic-psychological school characteristic of this theater. The nucleus of the State Dramatic Theater's repertoire consisted of the plays of Vynnychenko, Ibsen, and Hauptmann. Saksahansky, the artistic director of the STATE NATIONAL THEATER, went somewhat further. He relied upon the mastery of the coryphaei to find new forms of the Ukrainian theater. In addition to ethnographic plays, the theater put on several tragedies (Schiller's *Die Räuber*, Karl Gutzkow's *Uriel Acosta*) in which the talents of Zankovetska and Saksahansky were vividly manifested. In 1919, the State Dramatic Theater and the State National Theater merged as the Shevchenko State Dramatic Theater.

A more radical position was assumed by the YOUNG THEATER (1916–19), an experimental theater-studio which was formed by Les Kurbas from young enthusiasts of the drama schools. The Young Theater attained its goal in (1) the formation of a new type of actor who, rather than imitating outward, public life, grasped the world intuitively (following the thought of Henri Bergson); (2) the mastery of a new repertoire, which allowed the young actor to express his national culture in a more universal, European form than the narrow, strictly Ukrainophile form; (3) the development of a new style of theatrical production. The Symbolistic sketches of A. Oles alternated with the realistic psychology of V. Vynnychenko (*Chorna pantera*) and the Romanticism of Max Halbe (*Molodist'* [Youth]). The high point of the 1917–18 season was the performance of Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* in a rhythmicized style uniting action, music, the intonations of the voices of the chorus, *mise en scènes*, and gestures. Franz Grillparzer's romantic comedy, *Wehe dem der lügt* (Woe to the Liar) was pre-

sented in a style of buffoonery, while in *Vertepne diistvo* (Puppet Nativity Play) the actors' immobility permitted the re-creation of classical language and gesture. In adaptations of Shevchenko's

FIGURE 336. LES KURBAS

FIGURE 337. MARIAN KRUSHELNYTSKY

poems *Velykyi L'okh* (The Great Vault) and *Ivan Hus*, the emphasis was on the vitality of the author's words. The final performance of the Young Theater students, *Haidamaky* (The Haidamaks, dramatization by L. Kurbas to the words of Shevchenko, 1920) achieved, with the use of Expressionistic techniques, a dynamic quality. Additional repertoire consisted of works by Molière, Hauptmann, Ibsen, Shaw, Jerzy Żuławski, Leonid Andreev, Lesia Ukraïnka, and V. Vynnychenko. In 1919, the "right wing" of the Young Theater, headed by Hnat Yura, left to form a new theater, named in honor of I. Franko. "Left winger" Marko Tereshchenko (b. 1894) established the Teatr imeni Hnata Mykhailychenka (Hnat Mykhailychenko Theater, 1921), while the central group with Les Kurbas in 1920 formed the theater Kyidramte, which in 1922 initiated five studios of the Mystets'ke Obiednannia Berezil' (Berezil' Association of Artists, later renamed Berezil').

At the same time, in 1922, the M. Zankovetska Theater was formed in Kiev. In the countryside the Shevchenko Theater gave performances from 1921 (it established permanent residence in Dnipropetrovske in 1927).

The year 1922 was marked by outstanding work of the Berezil' Theater and its artistic director, Les Kurbas. Kurbas was fascinated with the experimental theater, one of whose prominent founders in western Europe was Max Reinhardt. In the repertoire of Berezil' were Ukrainian translations of plays by such Expressionists as Georg Kaiser (*Gas II*), Ernst Toller (*Die Machinenstürmer* [Machine Attackers] and *Masse-Mensch* [The Mass—The Person]), and Upton Sinclair (*Secretary of the Union* and *Jimmy Higgins*). The latter play was adapted from the novel by Kurbas himself, who, influenced by this drama, wrote his own play, *Rur* (The Ruhr).

Berezil' definitely moved away from literary theater toward the more theatrical in its productions. Performances became more synthetic: words, gestures, movement, music, light, color—all were used to create a rhythmical whole. But

FIGURE 338. ACTORS OF THE BEREZIL' THEATER VACATIONING IN ODESSA IN 1927

Kurbas understood theatricality and rhythm not as ends in themselves, but as media of expressing ideas and emotions. Every detail of his productions became significant: theater did not recreate life, but by its own resources influenced life. Hence stemmed Kurbas' notion of an active "thinking" theater.

Almost every production of Berezil' had its special theatrical problem. Kaiser's *Gas II* brought up the problem of mass stylized motion; *Jimmy Higgins* presented the problem of showing psychological experience through theatrical

means (a personification of Jimmy's thought); the director's task in Shevchenko's *Haidamaky* was to establish the rhythm of the words. New principles of theatrical performance were used in Classical and Romantic repertoire. This led to a basic reinterpretation of the old ethnographic theater, in which Molièrean-intermedian principles were apparent. Opposition to the literary-psychological method of Stanislavsky, together with the desire to satirize Soviet reality, led to the cultivation of such theatrical genres as revues concerning vital contemporary problems, operettas, and farce.

Moving to Kharkiv in 1926, Berezil' appeared as a complete artistic unit with a unique system of training actors and directors, and a brilliant collection of masters of the stage: Marian Krushelnytsky (1897–1963), Joseph Hirniak (b. 1895), Valentyna Chystiakova (b. 1900), N. Tytarenko, Natalie Uzhvii (b. 1899), Ambrose Buchma (1891–1956), Alexander Serdiuk (b. 1900), Daniel Antonovych (b. 1889), Alexander Dolinin (d. 1928), Hanna Babiïvna (b. 1896), Ivan Marianenko (1878–1962), Borys Balaban (1905–58), Olimpia Dobrovolska (b. 1895), Rita Nishchadymenko (1890–1926), producer Faust Lopatynsky (1897–1937), and so on. In such plays as Fernand Crommelynck's *Zolote cherevo* (Le Cocu magnifique) and *Proloh* (Prologue) by Stephen Bondarchuk (1905–38) and Les Kurbas the main problem was no longer the solving of individual tasks, but the achievement of synthetic harmony. During its Kharkiv period, Berezil' distinguished itself by searching for a Ukrainian style of performance. Kurbas had turned to the traditions of the Ukrainian Baroque theater much earlier. Now, upon making the acquaintance of playwright Nicholas Kulish, Kurbas, in such plays as *Narodnyi Malakhii* (The People's Malachii), *Myna Mazailo* and *Maklena Grasa*, placed all his knowledge at the service of creating a theater that would be Ukrainian in form and in content, traditional and at the same time completely modern. This artistically experimental line differed in principle from the Soviet government's insistence on socialist realism as the only style. After long and merciless criticism of his "formalism," Kurbas was removed from his post as director of the theater, deprived of the title "People's Artist," and arrested (Decem-

FIGURE 339. J. HIRNIAK AND M. KRUSHELNYTSKY IN THE REVUE *Allo na khvyli 477*

FIGURE 340. FINAL SCENE FROM THE FIRST ACT OF *Narodnyi Malakhii* STAGED BY THE BEREZIL' THEATER

FIGURE 341. SCENE FROM I. MYKYTENKO'S DRAMA *Dyktatura* STAGED BY THE BEREZIL' THEATER

ber 26, 1933). M. Krushelnytsky was appointed artistic director in his place, and the name of the theater changed from Berezil' to Kharkivs'kyi Teatr imeni Shevchenka (Shevchenko Kharkiv Theater).

In the first period of its existence (1919–23), the TEATR IMENI I. FRANKA (I. Franko Theater) performed a repertoire composed of plays of V. Vynnychenko and western European modernists (Hauptmann, M. Halbe, Oscar Wilde, O. Mirbeau, H. Sudermann, C. Ven-Lerberg, Ibsen), in some performances imitating the style of its cradle, the Young Theater, as well as of the Russian provincial theater. In the second period (1924–28), the success of Berezil' led the Franko Theater to experimentation (director Borys Hlaholin's production of Shaw's *St. Joan,* Borys Romashev's *Pukhkyi pyrih* [The Puffy Pie] and *Mob,* based on Upton Sinclair's work) and the presentation of naturalistic dramas of N. Kulish (97, *Komuna v stepakh* [Commune in the Steppes], and *Myna Mazailo*). Among the better, stylistically consistent plays presented by the theater in this period were: *Dobryi voiak Shveik* (Good Soldier Shveik) adapted from the masterpiece of Jaroslav Hašek, *Midsummer Night's Dream* by Shakespeare, and *Zakolot* (Rebellion) adapted from Dmitry Furmanov's novel. In the third period (1929–41), the leading playwrights of this theater were Ivan Mykytenko and Alexander Korniichuk.

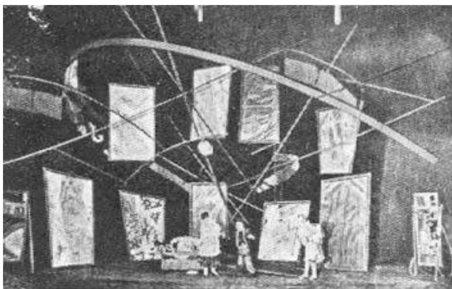

FIGURE 342. SCENE FROM N. KULISH'S *Myna Mazailo* STAGED BY THE BEREZIL' THEATER

Other theaters of artistic significance were the M. Zankovetska Theater, the Kharkiv Red Factory Theater, and the Odessa "Revolution" Theater. The theater named in honor of M. Zankovetska was founded in Kiev in 1922; in 1923 it toured Ukrainian provinces, in 1924–7 it played in Dnipropetrovske and in 1928–9 in Donbas, and in 1931–41 it worked permanently in Zaporizhia. In the 1920's the theater carefully followed the line of psychological Realism set by the leading figures of the Ukrainian theater (O. Saksahansky directed productions of *Uriel Acosta* by Gutzkow and Shakespeare's *Othello*). Borys Romanytsky, a pupil of Zankovetska, was the director of the theater. The Kharkiv Red Factory Theater (1927–33) was oriented toward a realistic style. In its repertoire were such plays as *Marko v pekli* (Mark in Hell) by Ivan Kocherha, *Pidzemna Halychyna* (Underground Galicia) by Myroslav Irchan, and *Rozbiinyk Karmeliuk* (The Robber Karmeliuk) by L. Starytska-Cherniakhivska. Among works of foreign authors, the theater presented *Sadie* by Somerset Maugham and D. Colton, Eugene O'Neill's *Desire under the Elms,* and *Wolf Pack* by Jack London. In 1933, the KRF Theater became the foundation of the newly formed Stalin State Theater (in Stalino). The Odessa "Revolution" Theater formed in 1925 after the "extreme left" of the Hnat Mykhailychenko experimental studio-theater (1921–4) was reorganized. At first, M. Tereshchenko was appointed director, later Basil Vasylko. Their repertoire varied: contemporary drama (*Yablunevyi polon* [Apple Blossom Captivity] by Ivan Dniprovsky), Ukrainian classics, the plays offer American writer G. Kaufman (*Composer Neil*), Shakespearean plays, and so on.

All these theaters (including the former Berezil' and numerous provincial theaters, such as those in Chernihiv and Poltava, as well as the worker-peasant itinerant theaters) in the mid-1930's

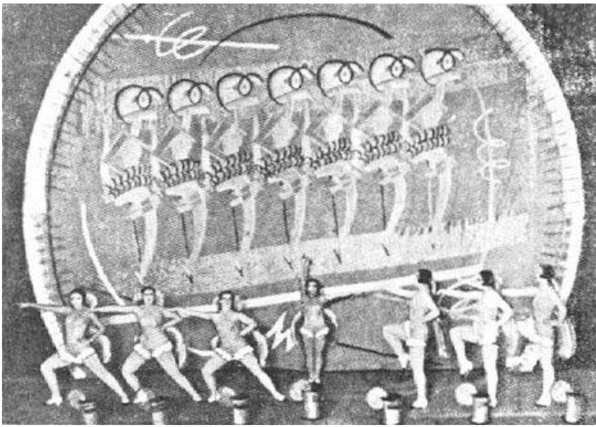

FIGURE 343. SCENE FROM THE REVUE *Allo na khvyli 477* STAGED BY THE BEREZIL' THEATER

were faced with the difficult task of mastering the method of Stanislavsky, when socialist realism was pronounced the only approved style. Neither the leading directors nor the actors of the older or middle generation had been exposed to this method, and even the younger people at the time mastered it slowly. For this reason, an eclectic nature of styles resulted, comprising elements of the old ethnographic theater, the method of Kurbas, and that of Stanislavsky. This synthesis remained characteristic of Ukrainian theater from the mid-1930's on.

The beginnings of modern Ukrainian operetta can also be traced to Les Kurbas. It is true that Kurbas was more interested in the genre of revue. The beginnings of this genre are clearly evident in *Za dvoma zaitsiamy*, *Poshylys' v durni*, and especially in the later plays *Allo na khvyli 477*, *Chotyry Chemberleny*, and *Zhovtnevyi ohliad* (October Inspection), Kurbas evinced no interest in western European operetta, either classical or Viennese. The only production of an operetta by Berezil' was that of Gilbert and Sullivan's *Mikado*, staged by guest director Valerii Inkizhynov. Nevertheless, these experiments of Kurbas blazed a path for Ukrainian operetta theater. The director of the first Ukrainian operetta theater, established in Kharkiv in 1929, was Yanuarii Bortnyk (1897–1937), a pupil of Kurbas, and the first production of Offenbach's *Orpheus in Hell* was staged by B. Balaban. This theater did not have enough time to become a recognized artistic entity with a distinct character and repertoire of its own, although it did attract some eminent actors (Vera Novynska, Vera Lisnivska, and others). This theater, like the Ukrainian theater of musical comedy later established in Kiev, soon took the path of copying Russian musical comedy, both in the few permitted western European operettas (especially Kalmann's and Lehar's) and in the contemporary Ukrainian musical comedy with occasional neo-ethnographic coloring (Alexis Riabov's *Vesillia v Malynivtsi* [Wedding in Malynivka] and *Chervona Kalyna* [The Guelder Rose]).

**Theatrical Life in Western Ukraine**

A normal development was denied the Ukrainian theater in western Ukrainian lands under Poland because of the absence of any standing theater company. Numerous troupes clung basically to an ethnographic repertoire, although the more active among them supplemented it with an international repertoire.

Dramatic actors were also appearing

in operas and operettas (for example, *Der Zigeunerbaron* by Johann Strauss, *Hal'ka* by Moniuszko, *La Juive* by Jacques Elie Halevy). This was the unavoidable lot of actors in itinerant troupes. However, this practice had its positive side, in that the actors were perforce trained in all areas of their profession, partially compensating for the lack of systematic theatrical schooling in Galicia.

In the early years of Polish rule in Galicia, there were the Ukraïns'ka Besida theaters under the management of Basil Kossak (directors were Peter Soroka and Roman Zalutsky); a Ternopilian Theater (director Marian Krushelnytsky); in Lviv the "Independent Theater" (director Nicholas Bentsal), which attempted to base its repertoire on Vynnychenko and Ibsen; the popular-ethnographic theater of Ivan Kohutiak; and the troupe of Michael Orel-Stepniak, which tended toward Realism. The Boiko company performed in Volhynia.

The arrival of Alexander Zaharov (1877–1941) from Kiev made possible the opening of a National Theater in Lviv in 1921, which included the better talent of all smaller troupes. Zaharov continued to adhere to the idea of psychological-literary theater. The first production was Vynnychenko's *Hrikh* (The Sin), followed by *Fuhrmann Henschel* by Hauptmann, Ibsen's *Ghosts*, *Hedda Gabler*, and *Nora*, Auguste Strindberg's *The Father*, *Tartuffe* by Molière, Carlo Goldoni's *Mirandolina* and Shakespeare's *Othello*. All these plays were produced by Zaharov. The roster of actors in this theater included Zaharov, J. Stadnyk, Maria Morska (1895–1932), S. Stadnykova (1888–1959), Hanna Borysohlibska (1868–1939), Hanna Sovacheva (1877–1955), Olena Holitsynska (b. 1900), Olena Bentsaleva (b. 1910), Catherine Kozak-Virlenska (b. 1893), Nadia Rubchakivna, Marian Krushelnytsky, N. Bentsal (1891–1938), and Volodymyr Blavatsky (1900–53). Zaharov's theater was of great importance in the history of Ukrainian theater in Galicia. After Zaharov left for Transcarpathia, the Galician theater for a time declined in importance and activity.

The rebirth of Ukrainian theater in Western Ukraine is connected with the return of V. Blavatsky from central Ukraine, where he had spent two years with Berezil'. Blavatsky became the leading producer of the Tobilevych Theater (1929), which reflected the influence of the theatrical mastery of Berezil'. In the theater's repertoire, outstanding in respect to staging and acting, were the plays *Myna Mazailo* by N. Kulish, *Purha* by Dmytro Shchehlov, Maugham's *Sinner on the Island of Pago-Pago*, and Karol Roztworowski's *Nespodivanka* (The Surprise).

FIGURE 344. V. BLAVATSKY AS HAMLET IN SHAKESPEARE'S TRAGEDY STAGED BY THE LVIV OPERA THEATER

In 1933, Blavatsky and several leading actors of the Tobilevych Theater organized the Zahrava (The Glow) Theater, the first exclusively dramatic theater in Western Ukraine. Its most interesting productions were *Zemlia* (The Land, by B. Stefanyk, staged by Blavatsky), *Oi, ne khody Hrytsiu ta na vechernytsi* by M. Starytsky (an attempt at modern treatment of ethnographic theater), *Slovo o polku Ihorevim* (A Tale of Ihor's Armament) by Gregory Luzhnytsky, *Cricket on the Hearth* (adapted from Charles Dickens), *The Holy Flames* by Maugham, *Ptakh* (The Bird) by Jerzy Szaniawski. Zahrava also initiated modern Ukrainian religious theater with productions of three of G. Luzhnytsky's dramas (*Golgotha*, and two adaptations of *Quo Vadis* after Sienkiewicz's novel), and *Na poli krovy* (On a Field of Blood) by Lesia Ukraïnka.

In 1938, Zahrava and the Tobilevych

FIGURE 345. B. STEFANYK'S *Zemlia* STAGED BY THE ZAHRAVA THEATER, V. BLAVATSKY PRODUCER

Theater merged into the Kotliarevsky Theater, under the direction of Blavatsky. This theater existed only one year, until 1939. Its most outstanding production was George Kosach's (b. 1909) *Kyrka z Lioleo* (Circe from Loleo).

Other theatrical activity under Polish rule was limited to occasional plays staged by J. Stadnyk (*Kham* [The Boor] by Eliza Orzeszkowa).

BUKOVINA had no Ukrainian theater before the Rumanian occupation. The region was often toured by Galician theaters. Under Rumanian occupation, a theater under the artistic direction of Sydir Terletsky worked systematically despite exceptionally difficult political and material conditions. During the time of its existence (1919–20), the theater presented over 100 plays. Talented actors gathered in this theater: Ivan Dutka, Olena Khutirna, Maria Fedorakova, Nicholas Krakalii, George Borovsky, and others. The theater was popular with the Ukrainian public during its guest appearances in Bucharest in 1932, and had great success with both the Rumanian press and public.

The year 1920 marked the beginning of the development of theater in TRANSCARPATHIA. At first, there were only performances by amateur groups (in Berehovo, *Natalka-Poltavka* in Uzhhorod), but with the arrival of N. Sadovsky in 1920 the theater became professional. After Sadovsky left for the USSR, the theater was led in turn by A. Zaharov, Yaroslav Barnych (1896–1967), Michael Pevny, Theodore Basylevych, Hanna Sovacheva, and Nicholas Arkas. In 1930–5 Transcarpathian theater underwent a crisis, first declining, then rallying under new names and in different compositions (the Ukrainian Theater Society [1932] and the Sadovsky Theater [1934], both under the directorship of N. Arkas, in 1935 were reborn under the leadership of the brothers Sherehiïv as the Nova Stsena [New Stage] Theater). An important role in the Transcarpathian theater was played by Nicholas Chyrsky, who produced plays and organized a small theater called Letiucha Estrada (The Flying Platform) in Khust in the period of Ukrainian national statehood.

**Dramaturgy**

The greatest playwright of the modern Ukrainian theater was NICHOLAS KULISH [Vol. I, p. 1057]. In ten years he wrote nearly ten plays. His first plays were of a revolutionary-ethnographic character (*97, Komuna v stepakh* [A Commune in the Steppes], *Tak zahynuv Huska* [*Thus Died Huska*]). Later, they took on a national-social tone: *Khulii Khuryna* (1926, satirizing Soviet provinces), *Narodnyi Malakhii* (final edition 1928; portraying the incompatibility of the Ukrainian nationalist movement with the principles of Communism), *Myna Mazaïlo* (1929, the problems of Ukrainization), *Patetychna sonata* (Sonata Pathétique, 1930; a heroic representation of the Ukrainian freedom movement), and *Maklena Grasa* (1933; symbolically portraying events during the famine of 1933). From the dramaturgical aspect, the *Patetychna sonata* was the greatest achievement of Kulish. As the critics justly pointed out, it united the forms of the *vertep* presentation with the techniques of Expressionist drama. With the premature death of Kulish, while in exile, Ukraine lost its most outstanding playwright of the twentieth century.

Even before Kulish, the figure of JACOB MAMONTOV (1888–1940) appeared on the horizon of modern dramaturgy. He began his work as a playwright under

the influence of western European Symbolists and Lesia Ukraïnka; his dramas of this period were *Nad bezodneiu* (At the Abyss) *Mariia*, and *Veselyi kham* (The Merry Boor). He then began to write revolutionary-ethnographic plays—*Koly narod vyzvoliaietsia* (When the People are Freeing Themselves), *Rokovyny* (The Anniversary)—but because of the conditions created by the Soviet regime, his only really successful play was *Respublika na kolesakh* (Republic on Wheels), which ridiculed the *otamanshchyna* of the so-called "civil war."

Interesting attempts at Expressionist drama were produced by I. Dniprovsky (1895–1934)—*Yablunevyi polon* and *Liubov i dym* (*Love and Smoke*); by Myroslav Irchan (1896–1937)—*Rodyna shchitkariv* (A Family of Brush Makers), *Platsdarm, Pidzemna Halychyna*; by Volodymyr Tsymbal—*Zapovit pana Ralka* (The Testament of Mr. Ralk). Attempts at Romantic drama by Arkadii Liubchenko—*Zemlia horyt'* (The Earth is Burning) and George Yanovsky, *Duma pro Brytanku*—found no imitators.

Ivan Mykytenko (1877–1937, [Vol. I, p. 1059]) wrote his plays in accordance with the dictates of the Communist Party and the regime: *Dyktatura* (Dictatorship) about grain storage and capitalistic exploitation, *Sprava chesty* (A Matter of Honor, 1931) about shock-brigades (in competition for higher quotas of production) in the Donbas, *Kadry* (The Cadres, 1932) about Sovietization of higher education, *Divchata nashoï kraïny* (The Girls of Our Country, 1932) about shock-work in Dniprelstan, for example. The best and least biased was his play *Sol'o na fleiti* (Flute Solo, 1935) a satire on "bureaucratic misinformation" in the Soviet apparatus, which (against the author's wishes) grew into a sharp satire on the Soviet system as a whole. Despite the official propagandistic vein in Leonid Pervomaisky's (b. 1908) dramas, the author made attempts to conform to the style of heroic tragedy (*Nevidomi soldaty* [Unknown Soldiers]) or limited satirical comedy (*Mistechko Ladeniu* [The Town Ladeniu]). Ivan Kocherha (1881–1952) wrote historical dramas: *Feia hirkoho myhdaliu*, concerning the events of 1808, *Almazne zhorno* [The Diamond Millstone, 1927], about the bloody battles between Poles and the Haidamaks, *Pisnia pro svichku*, concerning the Lithuanian period in the history of Kiev; had philosophic themes: *Maistry chasu* (Masters of Time, 1934), *Pidesh – ne verneshsia* (If You Go, You Won't Return), *Imia* (The Name).

Alexander Korniichuk (b. 1905 [Vol. I, p. 1078]) was the most tendentious official playwright in the period of the 1930's. Starting in 1934, when he received a prize for his play *Zahybel' eskadry* (The End of a Squadron), a work facile from the point of view of dramaturgical technique but primitive and artificial as to its content, he produced numerous plays on so-called "social request": *Platon Krechet, Bankir* [The Banker], *Pravda* [Truth], *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi, V stepakh Ukraïny* (In the Steppes of Ukraine).

In Western Ukraine, dramaturgy was at a low ebb. Worthy of mention, however, are G. Kosach's *Marsh chernihivs'koho polka* (The Chernihiv Regiment's March) and *Obloha* (The Siege [Vol. I, p. 1084]); G. Luzhnytsky's *Akordy* (Chords), *Slovo o polku Ihorevim, Muravli* (The Ants), and a number of romantic plays dealing with the Kozak past.

**Actors and Directors**

The most talented and stylistically original actors were those trained by the Berezil' Theater (see above p. 642). Among the original actors of the Franko Theater, three brothers must be mentioned, Hnat (1887–1966), Terentius (b. 1884), and Alexander (Yursky, b. 1895) Yura; also Theodosiia Barvinska (1899), Valentyna Varetska (1900), Olexii Vatulia (1891–1955), and Michael Pylypenko (1888–1952). Among the younger actors were Dmytro Miliutenko (1899–1966), Eugene Ponomarenko (b. 1909), Valen-

FIGURE 346. HNAT YURA

tine Dukler (b. 1908), Peter Serhiienko (b. 1902), Victor Dobrovolsky (b. 1906), Pauline Samiilenko (b. 1891), and Michael Yakovchenko (b. 1900). The senior actors of the theater were: H. Borysohlibska in the Franko Theater; Efrosyna Zarnytska (1867–1936) in the Red Factory Theater; Ivan Zamychkovsky (1869–1931) in the Odessa "Revolution" Theater; George Shumsky (1887–1954) who spent a number of years in the Franko Theater after working with the Odessa "Revolution" Theater. Among his colleagues in the Franko Theater were Joseph Maiak (b. 1888), Liubov Hakkebush (1888–1957, also acted in Berezil'), Lidia Matsiievska (1889–1955), and Hanna Meshcherska (1876–1951). Outstanding actors in the Zankovetska Theater were: Borys Romanytsky (b. 1891) and Alexander Korolchyk (1883–1925), Barbara Liubart (1898–1967), Basil Yaremenko (b. 1895), and Dmytro Dudarev (1890–1960). Western Ukrainian actors, in addition to N. Bentsal, V. Blavatsky, and J. Stadnyk, were Ivan Rubchak (1874–1952), Natalie Levytska, Leonid Borovyk (1894–1942), Alexandra Kryvytska (b. 1899), Nina Luzhnytska (b. 1902), Vera Levytska (b. 1916), Maria Stepova (b. 1904), Alexander Yakovliv (1901–45), Eugene Kurylo (b. 1912), Bohdan Pazdrii (b. 1904), Lavro (b. 1901) and Klava Kempe, I. Hirniak (1895–1958), V. and L. Serdiuk.

Among directors, the genius of Les Kurbas remained unequalled. After his arrest, no substitute could be found. M. Krushelnytsky, although he staged numerous plays, turned out to be a director with average abilities; the same was true of Hnat Yura. Somewhat more talented were B. Romanytsky (artistic director of the Zankovetska Theater), Constantine Koshevsky (1895–1945), Basil Vasylko (a pupil of Les Kurbas and director of the Odessa "Revolution" Theater, Kharkiv Red Factory Theater, and the Stalino Drama Theater). Borys Tiahno (1904–64) and Borys Balaban, students of Kurbas, were promising, as was Ihor Zemhano (b. 1904) from among the younger pupils. In Western Ukraine, V. Blavatsky, N. Bentsal, and J. Stadnyk combined directing with their acting activities.

**Theater in 1941–4**

German-Soviet hostilities had a detrimental effect on the Ukrainian theater. The leading theatrical personalities were taken forcibly deep into the Soviet Union. This, however, did not prevent the artists from grouping together and working. Two theatres appeared in Kiev in October 1941: the Sadovsky Theater (directed by Michael Tynsky) and the Zatyrkevych-Karpynska Theater (directed by Gregory Hryhorenko). Both were soon liquidated by the German occupation authorities.

Theatrical life in Kiev came to a complete stop. In other cities it was limited to the appearances of musical-dramatic ensembles, often ethnographic, under German direction. This became common in 1943 when productions were staged by musical-dramatic ensembles (e.g., the Sadovsky Theater), even though the group included a good number of competent actors (Ivan Sadovsky (1876–1948), Ivan Sahatovsky (1882–1951), Kateryna Luchytska (b. 1889), Alexander Fomin, and others). The only development of some artistic value was the creation of a theater-studio Grono (The Grape Cluster), composed of young actors organized by Hlib Zatvornytsky (1900–62), Prokhor Kovalenko, and Valeriian Revutsky. This group began its activity in January, 1943, with the presentation of *Vechir starovynnoï ukraïns'koï komediï* (An Evening of Ancient Ukrainian Comedy), later the French farce *Maître Pierre Pathelin,* and a

"Second Evening of Ancient Ukrainian Comedy." In 1943 the troupe was forced to move to Germany by the German occupants.

Lviv became a more important center of theatrical life during World War II. The Lviv Opera Theater, headed by V. Blavatsky, cultivated four areas of theatrical art: drama, opera, operetta, and

FIGURE 347. LEPKYI'S *Baturyn* PRODUCED BY V. BLAVATSKY AT THE LVIV OPERA THEATER

ballet. The participation of such eminent masters as Blavatsky and the former Berezil' member J. Hirniak made it possible to elevate the dramatic sector of the Lviv Opera Theater to a high artistic *niveau*. It presented a number of plays: *Myna Mazailo* by N. Kulish, *Kaminnyi hospodar* (The Stone Master) by Lesia Ukraïnka, N. Hohol's *Revizor* (The Inspector General), C. Goldoni's *Samodury* (The Petty Tyrants) and *Khytra vdovytsia* (The Sly Widow), all directed by J. Hirniak; then Molière's *L'Avare*, Constantine Hupalo's *Triumf prokurora Dal's'koho* (The Triumph of Procurator Dalsky), *Na poli krovy* by Lesia Ukraïnka, directed by V. Blavatsky. The high point of the dramatic productions of the Lviv Opera Theater was the presentation of *Hamlet* for the first time on the Ukrainian stage. It was directed by J. Hirniak with V. Blavatsky in the leading role. The operetta division of the theater presented a number of modern works.

## THEATER IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR FROM 1945

### Organization of the Theater

The return of Soviet jurisdiction over all parts of Ukraine at the end of 1944 meant also the return of the only officially approved theatrical style—socialist realism. This entailed the learning of a new Soviet propagandistic repertoire, a return to the numerous Russian Soviet plays of past years, a restriction on modern non-Soviet dramaturgy, adherence to Stanislavsky's method in both directing and acting, and a ban on experimental theater ("condemnation of formalism").

It was in this framework that the Ukrainian theater developed from then on. The reversion to patriotism in the Ukrainian theater (as in Semen Skliarenko's [1901–62] *Koly pakhne yablukamy*), engendered by the conditions of war, was soon denounced as "nationalistic, harmful, and contrary to the public interest" by a regulation of the central committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) on August 26, 1946, "Concerning the Repertoire of Drama Theaters and the Means for its Improvement." Special attention was called to the fact that in the repertoire of the Kievan Franko Theater, of all plays being prepared, only three were Soviet plays, while in the repertoire of the Kharkiv Shevchenko Theater (formerly Berezil',) of 11 productions only two were Soviet plays, and even these were "anti-artistic, primitive, colorless, and prepared by inferior directors and stage designers." The document criticized the great enthusiasm for plays with historical themes which idealized the life of the tsars, khans, and magnates (e.g., Skribe's *Noveli Marharyty Navars'koï* [The Novels of Margaret of Navarre]). Further, it reproached the introduction into the repertoire of the plays of "bourgeois foreign playwrights," who "represent examples of vulgar drama on a very low level, openly preaching bourgeois philo-

sophy and morals." Included in this category were *The Dangerous Age* by Pinero, *The Circle* and *Penelope* by Maugham, *A Guest for Dinner* by Kaufmann and Hart, and others. As a result, the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) made the Committees on Arts responsible for presenting in each theater no fewer than two to three new, high-quality plays per year, with a contemporary Soviet theme.

After this regulation was passed, official attention was focused on the theater critics. On January 28, 1949, *Pravda* issued a sharp reprimand to "one anti-party group of theater critics." (Among Ukrainian critics, Alexander Borshchahivsky [b. 1913] was singled out for his "formalism").

As a result of these decrees, the Second Ten-Day Festival of Ukrainian Art in Moscow (August, 1951), in which three major Ukrainian theatres participated, demonstrated the predominance of Communist repertoire. Of 14 productions of these Ukrainian theaters, eight plays represented Soviet drama, five Ukrainian classics (generally of the ethnographic-folklore type), and one Russian classic.

In spite of this, the Eighteenth Convention of the Communist Party of Ukraine (held in March, 1954) noted that Soviet Ukrainian dramaturgy "is yet far removed from the problems which concern the public." It pointed out that many theaters produced very few modern plays, the general level of performance was poor, and insufficient time and effort were expended on the training of young actors.

Some "thaw" was reflected in the work of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine (January 1956), when along with the fact that "there are but few plays in the theaters touching upon the leading questions of Soviet life," it was noted that historico-revolutionary and heroic dramas about Soviet life have all but disappeared from the theaters, very few plays from the classical Ukrainian heritage are produced, as well as few of the better dramatic works of classical Russian literature or the literature of our sister nations." The results of this Congress were in practice reinforced by a conference of Ukrainian artists (January, 1957), during which it was decided further to improve the work of theaters before the fortieth anniversary of Soviet rule and in preparation for an all-Soviet festival of dramatic and musical art in Moscow (a separate resolution of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, March 1957).

The Ukraïns'ke Teatral'ne Tovarystvo (UTT, Ukrainian Theatrical Society), formed in Kiev in May, 1948, undertook the propagation of Stanislavsky's literary-theatrical method. In October, 1955, the society organized a seminar on Stanislavsky's method for Ukrainian directors. Lectures were given by theatrical experts from Moscow, and the artistic director of the Moscow Art Theater, Michael Kedrov, participated.

A conference of theatrical directors, actors, and managers in September, 1958, noted significant improvements in the repertoire, and in the mastering of Stanislavsky's method. An official statement of the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine noted that in the 1957–8 season, of 511 plays presented by Ukrainian theaters, 333 were based on the works of Soviet authors, and the number of new plays doubled in comparison with the previous (1956–7) season. The conference which accepted Stanislavsky's system as "a manifesto of socialist realism" nonetheless indicated the fallacy of condemning all the work of Les Kurbas as "formalism" and relating it only "to the history of mistakes and deviations." At the conference, the role of the theater as a medium of artistic expression was also discussed.

The year 1961 in Ukrainian theater was marked by an intensified search for new theatrical forms, under the in-

fluence of the further "rehabilitation" of Les Kurbas, and guest performances in Moscow of non-Soviet theater companies. A plenum of UTT scored the unsatisfactory work of theaters and playwrights, and indicated the need to increase the offensive against the influences of formalistic bourgeois art. At the same time it noted the increase of entertaining plays in theatrical repertoires.

Finally, this period of searching for a distinct form of theatrical expression was cut short by a plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (July, 1963), which pointed out the weak repertoire of many theaters, noted that "one seldom sees on the stages of Ukrainian theaters the better works of playwrights of our sister republics and the nations of the Socialist camp," and abruptly put an end to the "thaw" in Ukrainian theater.

The general situation as regards the number and types of theaters in the Ukrainian SSR, at the end of 1964, was as follows: 60 professional theaters, including five opera and ballet theaters located in Kiev, Kharkiv, Lviv, Odessa, and Donetske; 42 drama and musical comedy theaters; and 13 theaters for children and youth. Compared with 1950, when there were 81 theaters, the total number decreased by 21. Audiences in 1964 numbered 15,200,000 persons. In terms of their geographical distribution there were: 21 theaters in the eight *oblasts* of the Donets-Dnieper economic region, of which six were in the Kharkiv *oblast* and four each in the Dnipropetrovske and the Donetske *oblasts*; 26 theaters in the 13 *oblasts* of the southwestern region, of which six were in the Kiev *oblast* and five in the Lviv; and 13 theaters in the four *oblasts* of the southern region, of which five were in the Crimea and five in the Odessa *oblasts*.

Of the theatrical productions of 1966, those receiving the most favorable criticism were: N. Kulish's 97, produced at the Odessa Music and Drama Theater; Alexander Korniichuk's new play *Rozplata* (The Reckoning) at the Ivan Franko Drama Theater in Kiev; *Syni Rosy* (Blue Dew) by Nicholas Zarudnyi, at the Ternopil Music and Drama Theater; and a play by the non-Ukrainian playwright, A. Kigberg, at the N. Sadovsky Music and Drama Theater in Vinnytsia.

**Dramaturgy**

Despite the facts that dramaturgy was restricted within the bounds of socialist realism, that the regulation of 1946 concerning theater repertoire inhibited the development of Ukrainian Soviet drama, and that the "personality cult" resulted in so-called "non-conflict" dramas, in 1951 seventy-five Ukrainian theaters produced approximately ten thousand performances of Ukrainian Soviet dramas, around seven thousand performances of plays by Russian and other Soviet Socialist nationals, and fourteen thousand Ukrainian, Russian, and world classics. During 1952–5, Ukrainian Soviet playwrights wrote around 80 plays, of which approximately 30 were produced.

After the war, MILITARY SUBJECTS occupied a prominent place in Ukrainian dramaturgy: *Shliakh na Ukraïnu* (The Road to Ukraine, 1946) by Alexander Levada (b. 1910), *Heneral Vatutin* (General Vatutin, 1948) by Liubomyr Dmyterko (b. 1911), *Zori nad kopramy* (Stars above the Copras, 1949) by

FIGURE 348. SCENE FROM THE DRAMA *Svichchyne vesillia* BY I. KOCHERHA

George Mokriiev (b. 1910), and *Professor Buiko* (1949) by Jacob Bash (b. 1908).

PLAYS FROM UKRAINE'S PAST, with the underlying motif of the union of all Ukrainian lands with Russia, included: *Yaroslav Mudryi* (Yaroslav the Wise) (1946) by Ivan Kocherha, *Naviky razom* (Together Forever, 1950) by L. Dmyterko, *Lukiian Kobylytsia* (1954) by Levko Balkovenko and Gregory Miziun (1903–63).

ANTI-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA PLAYS included: *Misiia mistera Perkinsa v kraïnu bil'shovykiv* (Mr. Perkins' Mission into the Land of the Bolsheviks, 1945) by A. Korniichuk, *Pid zolotym orlom* (Under the Golden Eagle, 1948) by Yaroslav Galan (1902–49), and *Za druhym frontom* (Beyond the Second Front, 1949) by Vadym Sobko (b. 1912). Another group of plays, of which *Zhyttia pochynaietsia znovu* (Life Begins Anew, 1950) by Sobko is an example, dealt with the re-education of U.S. citizens of the "bourgeois" world by Soviet peoples.

A large group of plays dealt with COLLECTIVE FARM LIFE. In this group, best represented were the non-conflict plays popular until 1952 (a vivid example is *Kalynovyi hai* [The Guelder-Rose Grove, 1950] by A. Korniichuk). Playwrights dealing with KOLKHOZ subjects were Y. Galan (*Liubov na svitanku* [Love At Dawn, 1949]), A. Korniichuk (*Pryïzdit' u Dzvonkove* [Come to Dzvonkove, 1945], *Kryla* [The Wings, 1954], and *Nad Dniprom* [Along the Dnieper, 1960]), and A. Levada (*Mariia* [1951]), among others.

INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION was also spotlighted in dramas: A. Korniichuk's *Makar Dibrova* (1948), *Dal'nia Olena* (Distant Olena, 1948), by Volodymyr Sukhodolsky (1899–1962), and J. Bash's *Dniprovi zori* (Stars of the Dnieper, 1953).

HISTORICO-REVOLUTIONARY plays in a propagandistic vein, having as their main purpose the education of the Soviet person, began appearing in 1957. Subjects touched upon were: the conflict of parents and children, the struggle against greed, careerism, and religious sects. After the first attempts of I. Kocherha (*Istyna* [Truth], 1947), A. Levada (*Ostannia zustrich* [The Last Meeting], 1956), and A. Korniichuk (*Chomu posmikhalysia zori* [Why the Stars Smiled, 1958]), the following playwrights wrote on the subject: L. Dmyterko, V. Mynko, V. Sobko, G. Mokriiev, and in the early 1960's the very prolific N. Zarudnyi.

Limited attempts at SATIRE are found in the comedies of V. Mynko (b. 1902) (*Ne nazyvaiuchy prizvyshch* [Naming No Names, 1953] and *Movchaty zaboroneno* [Silence is Forbidden, 1955]). Particularly interesting was A. Levada's attempt to find a new theatrical form, under the influence of the success of *Irkutska istoriia* (Irkutsk Story) written by Russian playwright Alexis Arbuzov (1908). In his drama *Favst ta smert'* (Faust and Death, 1960) Levada deviated from the standard realistic drama, and included elements of Expressionism. This drama is also interesting because of its astronaut theme, the first such use in the USSR.

A number of plays depicting the LIFE OF CLASSIC WRITERS AND ARTISTS of Ukraine were produced: about Taras Shevchenko (*Prorok* [The Prophet, 1948], by I. Kocherha, *Taras Shevchenko* [1948] by G. Kostiuk, *Peterburz'ka osin'* [St. Petersburg Autumn, 1954] by

FIGURE 349. OPERA *Taras Shevchenko* BY G. MAIBORODA ON THE STAGE OF THE T. SHEVCHENKO STATE THEATER OF OPERA AND BALLET IN KIEV

Alexander Ilchenko [1909]); about Ivan Franko (*Muzhyts'kyi posol* [A Delegate of the Peasants, 1945] by Leonid Smiliansky [1904]), and the same author's play about Lesia Ukraïnka (*Chervona troianda* [The Red Rose, 1955]). Composer Nicholas Lysenko was the subject of a play by G. Mokriiev, *Tvorets' pisni* (The Creator of Song, 1955).

**Theaters, Directors and Actors**

A basic characteristic of the Ukrainian theater in the two decades following World War I was the levelling of various styles and conformity to the only approved style—socialist realism. In this respect, the SHEVCHENKO THEATER of Kharkiv underwent the most complex process. The artistic director of this theater, M. Krushelnytsky, repeatedly pointed out that the Shevchenko Theater was basically heroic-romantic in style. Critics called it a "directors'" theater, or saw in it aspects of "formalism" and expressionistic realism. As a result, Krushelnytsky was replaced in 1952, as artistic director, by Benedict Nord, formerly a director of the Moscow Art Theater and the Franko Theater. In 1957, at the beginning of the "thaw," A. Serdiuk replaced Nord, and was in turn followed in 1962 by a young, talented director, Volodymyr Krainychenko. Serdiuk, a first-rate actor but a mediocre director, repeated the Berezil' production of *Sava Chalyi* (first directed by Faust Lopatynsky, a pupil of Les Kurbas). Krainychenko's best shows were those dramatizations in which he could more freely exhibit his skill (especially for satire and expressionism): *Krov liuds'ka—ne vodytsia* [Human Blood Isn't Water, 1959], based on a novel by Michael Stelmakh; *Zahublene zhyttia* [The Lost Life, 1960], based on a novel by Panas Myrnyi; *Maryna* by N. Zarudny, based on motifs from Shevchenko. An interesting play, *Heneral Vatutin* (1947) was put on by a former Berezil' member, the director Leontii Dubovyk (1907–52); *Liubov na svitanku* (Love at Dawn) by Y. Galan and the second production of *Hamlet* in Ukrainian theater history (1956) were directed by Nord. Director Volodymyr Ohloblin presented V. Mynko's comedy, *Ne nazyvaiuchy prizvyshch* (1953), and *Oi, pidu ia v Boryslavku* (Oh, I Shall Go to Boryslavka, 1956) based on the work of I. Franko. *Sava Chalyi* (1958) by I. Karpenko-Karyi (1958) and *Anteï* by N. Zarudnyi (1959) were staged by A. Serdiuk.

Of the actors in the Shevchenko Theater of Kharkiv after 1945, the most active, in addition to the older actors (see above), were former Berezil' members Lidia Krynytska (b. 1898), Metrophanes Kononenko (b. 1900), Gregory Kozachenko (b. 1907), Fedir Radchuk (b. 1902), Eugene Bondarenko (b. 1905), and Sophia Fedortseva (b. 1900), a pupil of the Kharkiv Theater Institute, Michael Pokotylo (b. 1900), and actors of the younger generation, including Yaroslav Gelias (b. 1916) and Lidia Popova (who played Hamlet and Ophelia respectively in 1956), Pauline Kumanchenko (b. 1910, from 1961 with the Franko Theater), Victor Myzynenko, Nadia Radzievska, and Borys Stanytsky.

FIGURE 350. T. SHEVCHENKO STATE THEATER OF OPERA AND BALLET IN KIEV

In the Shevchenko Theater of Kharkiv, it was necessary to impose the literary-theatrical method of Stanislavsky artificially (through B. Nord) in the process of levelling all styles to the official realism. The case was different with the FRANKO THEATER in Kiev; the arrival

of Krushelnytsky as a director, in 1952, and his position as chief director 1954–62 (from 1962 the director was former Berezil' producer Volodymyr Skliarenko [b. 1907]), had little effect on the theater. In 1952 the company had come under the influence of directors of the realistic school (B. Nord, Constantine Khokhlov) and of the Berezil' school (B. Balaban, L. Dubovyk), stage designers from the Munich Academy of Fine Arts (Matvii Drak [b. 1887], a member of the Franko Theater, and Vadym Meller [1884–1962]). Others participating in the work of this theater were Anatole Petrytsky (1895–1964), a former stage designer of the Young Theater, some actors instrumental in founding the Franko Theater (the brothers Yura), and actors transferred from Berezil' (A. Buchma, H. Uzhvii, P. Niatko). In addition, directors Victor Ivchenko (b. 1912), Fedir Vereshchahin (b. 1910), and Julian Bryll were invited to direct individual plays.

FIGURE 351. ANATOLE PETRYTSKY

At present, actors in the Kiev Franko Theater include Michael Yakovchenko, Pauline Niatko (b. 1900), Catherine Osmialovska (b. 1904), and Gregory Teslia. Among the younger actors there are Gregory Babenko (b. 1909), Volodymyr Dalsky (b. 1912), Olha Kusenko (b. 1919), Basil Dashenko (b. 1918), Volodymyr Tsymbalist, Valentyna Maherivska, and Nona Koperzhynska.

The Zankovetska Theater in Lviv, transferred from Zaporizhia, began its activity in Lviv in 1944. Until the end of 1947, the artistic director of the theater was B. Romanytsky; his successor was the former Berezil' member Borys Tiahno. The troupe was composed of several actors from the former Lesia Ukraïnka Theater in Lviv (1939–41), including O. Kryvytska and I. Rubchak, who contributed to a stylistically varied company. Romanytsky presented the first Ukrainian production of A. Chekhov's *Try sestry* (Three Sisters, 1946) as well as A. Khyzhniak's *Na velyku zemliu* (On to the Great Land, 1949). Tiahno presented two plays by Y. Galan—*Pid zolotym orlom* (1951) and *Liubov na svitanku* (1952); also I. Franko's *Son kniazia Sviatoslava* (1954), Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (1957), and Tiahno's own adaptation of *Taras Bul'ba* (1952). Especially interesting was director V. Ivchenko's production of *Vii, vitrets'* (Blow, Breeze) by the Latvian playwright Jan Rainis. A separate place in the theater's repertoire was occupied by stage adaptations of I. Franko's works, *Boryslav smiietsia* (Boryslav Laughs) adapted by A. Poltoratsky and *Dlia domashnoho vohnyshcha* (For the Home's Hearth) adapted by G. Boboshko, as well as by L. Smiliansky's play *Muzhyts'kyi posol* (1945), about the life of Franko. On the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Shevchenko's birth in 1964, the theater presented *Haidamaky*, interpreting it as a popular folk *duma*. Stage designers in this theater were George Stefanchuk (b. 1908) and Valentine Borysovets (b. 1915).

FIGURE 352. OPERA AND DRAMA THEATER IN LVIV

Actors currently in the theater include (see also above) Damian Kozachkivsky (1897–1968), Faïna Haienko (b. 1900), Nadia Dotsenko (b. 1913), Volodymyr Danchenko (b. 1914), Alexander Hai (b. 1914), who appeared as Hamlet in

1957, Hanna Bosenko, Hanna Frazenko, Vera and George Polinskys, Bohdan Antkiv, Stefaniia Stadnyk, Valentina Kolomoitseva, producer Volodymyr Hrypych.

"OCTOBER REVOLUTION" THEATER IN ODESSA began its postwar activity under the artistic direction of B. Tiahno, who presented several interesting plays, among them Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (1946). His successor was B. Vasylko, a former member of the Young Theater group which evolved into Berezil'. He was compelled to adhere to Stanislavsky's method, but he was led toward colorful, romantic productions. Among his better projects were stage versions of Olha Kobylianska's works, *Zemlia* (The Earth, 1948) and *V nediliu rano zillia kopala* (On Sunday Morning She Dug the Herbs). The first was designed by Alexander Plaksii, the latter by Michael Matkovych. Also interesting was director Eugene Kupchenko's presentation of *Prolyta chasha* (The Spilled Chalice, 1962) by Wan She-Fu. In addition to these, numerous plays of foreign classics found their place in the Odessa Theater: Calderon's *Fieras afemina amor*, Schiller's *Die Räuber*, Goldoni's *Il Bugiardo*, and so on. Actors now in the theater include Ivan Tverdokhlib (b. 1899), Catherine Zahorianska (b. 1898), Alexander Lutsenko, Andrew Kramarenko, and Eugene Kupchenko, general director.

The KOBYLIANSKA THEATER IN CHERNIVTSI was first of all noted for its productions based on the works of its patroness: *Zemlia*, directed by B. Vasylko in 1947, and *V nediliu rano zillia kopala*, directed by the theater's first director, Borys Borin (1899–1965), stage design by Daniel Narbut (b. 1916). Also successful was a presentation of L. Balkovenko's and G. Miziun's play *Lukian Kobylytsia* directed by B. Borin, set designed by A. Plaksii (b. 1911). In the post-war years the theater presented over 150 productions, many of them Ukrainian classics. Of international classics there were: *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Othello* by Shakespeare, Hugo's *Maria Tudor*, Goldoni's *Mirandolina*, and Balzac's *La Marâtre*. Among actors in this theater are Volodymyr Sokyrko (b. 1892), George Velychko, Peter Skliarenko-Murativ, Peter Mikhnevych, and Hanna Yanushevych.

FIGURE 353. ODESSA THEATER OF OPERA AND BALLET

THE TRANSCARPATHIAN MUSICAL-DRAMA THEATER was established in October, 1945. Its artistic directors were Hnat Ihnatovych (b. 1898), a one-time associate of L. Kurbas, Gregory Volovyk (1948–53), Volodymyr Avramenko (until 1960), and again H. Ihnatovych. Its members first were local semi-professional actors, supplemented by outside talent. Soon the theater was capable of staging even world classics (Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, for example). Included in the roster of this theater are: Andrew Ratmirov (b. 1884), Constantine Marynchenko, Basil Avedikov, and local actresses Maria Sochka, and Maria Peltser.

Important among the other theaters were: the Shevchenko Theater in Dnipropetrovske (chief director, Illia Kobrynsky [b. 1904]); actors, Andrew Vermenych [b. 1897] Basil Ovcharenko [b. 1899], Gregory Marynych [1876–1961], Zenaida Khrukalova [b. 1907], Anton Khoroshun [b. 1893], and others); the Artem Dramatic Theater in Donetske; the Shchors Dramatic Theater in Zaporizhia (artistic director, Volodymyr Magar [1900–65]); drama theaters in Poltava,

FIGURE 354. N. HOHOL THEATER IN POLTAVA

Lutsk; musical-drama theaters in Vinnytsia, Chernihiv, Sumy, Kirovohrad, Ternopil, Luhanske, and Rivne; young viewers' theaters in Kiev, Lviv, Odessa, and Mykolaïv; and musical-comedy theaters in Kiev, Kharkiv, Odessa.

**Conclusion**

Following the only sanctioned style, socialist realism, directors and actors of all these theaters were relegated to second place behind the playwright, and became merely the illustrators of dramas. This led to a steady deterioration of the quality of new directors and actors. Consequently, the question of acquiring directing and acting talent became an acute problem for the Ukrainian theater. The departure of artists occupying leading positions in the better Ukrainian theaters and connected more or less with the tradition of the "directors' theater" of Les Kurbas (M. Krushelnytsky, V. Skliarenko, B. Tiahno, B. Basylko, H. Ihnatovych, A. Serdiuk) left Ukrainian theater in a depleted state.

The style of many actors carried the stamp of the Stanislavsky method. Actors learned to play their lines, rather than live them, to carry a thought rather than think it on stage. A severe rift arose among actors in respect to their adherence to internal or external techniques. The accepted naturalistic style, which is a characteristic of the realistic theater, especially of Stanislavsky, completely eliminated individuality from acting, directing, and writing, and was responsible for the monotony of many "realistic" productions. This was made especially clear in the mid-1950's when historical-romantic dramas and limited satire were again introduced into repertoires. The latest directives (July, 1963) offer no solution to the pressing problems of the Ukrainian theater.

In recent years, the majority of provincial theaters in the Ukrainian SSR have been of the music and drama type, a form popular during the era of the Ukrainian ethnographic-populist theater. This type of theater does not exist in the other republics of the USSR. The music and drama form is not conducive to the improvement of the quality of productions, rather, it impoverishes and standardizes the intermediate level of acting. Where there are purely dramatic or operatic theaters, the music and drama establishments always occupy a secondary position. Because of the general tendency of the Communist regime in the Ukrainian SSR to compel music and drama theaters (and the purely dramatic) to produce a large number of Russian classical and contemporary plays, as well as those by Western so-called progressive playwrights, there is little place for Ukrainian repertoire.

In larger Ukrainian cities, the work of Ukrainian theaters is further complicated by the existence of parallel Russian theaters (in Kiev, Lesia Ukraïnka Theater; in Kharkiv, Russian Pushkin Theater; in Lviv, Russian Theater of the Subcarpathian military district; in Dnipropetrovske, Gorky's Dramatic Theater; in Odessa, Ivanov Russian Theater). Broader possibilities for guidance by well-qualified directors in these theaters caused the frequent transfer of prominent Ukrainian actors to the Russian stage; for example, Victor Dobrovolsky, Valentine Dukler, Dmytro Franko, and Anatole Reshetchenko-Reshetnikov all joined the Russian Lesia Ukraïnka Theater in Kiev. In theaters where there are two troupes, one Ukrainian and one Russian, as in Luhanske, the procedure of

transfer from one troupe to the other is further simplified. In addition, because of the official policy of the Soviet government, the number of tours by Russian theater troupes considerably surpassed the number permitted Ukrainian theaters in the RSFSR area; in the summer of 1963 alone, Kiev was visited by the Moscow Malyi Theater, Komsomol Leningrad Theater, and Moscow Theater of Satire.

Ukrainian plays often are included in the repertoire of the leading theaters of Moscow and Leningrad, in the provinces, in the national theaters of other Soviet Republics, and even beyond the USSR (in Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, E. Germany, Austria, China, and Korea). Ukrainian theaters have toured Poland (Franko Theater, 1959) the Baltic countries, Belorussia, Moscow, Leningrad, and outlying provinces, including Siberia. However, Ukrainian theaters have not travelled beyond the satellite countries, and leading Ukrainian directors and actors have little chance to become acquainted with the work of non-Soviet theater artists, other than during the latter's guest appearances in Moscow.

A number of productions of world classics has to be included among the achievements of the Ukrainian theater in recent years. In addition to the abovementioned *Hamlet* (Shevchenko Theater in Kharkiv, and the Zankovetska Theater in Lviv) and *King Lear* (Franko Theater in Kiev and the Ukrainian Musical-Drama Theater in Rivne), other presentations of Shakespeare's plays included *Othello* (in nine theaters), *Twelfth Night* (Odessa, Kiev, Uzhhorod), as well as *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. In 1963 the musical-drama theater in Kharkiv and Drohobych presented *Romeo and Juliet* (directed by Michael Hiliarovsky) and the Sumy musical-drama theater presented *Two Gentlemen from Verona* (director, Valerii Hakkebusch). Some of

FIGURE 355. SCENE FROM SHAKESPEARE'S *King Lear* ON THE STAGE OF THE I. FRANKO THEATER IN KIEV

Molière's comedies—*Tartuffe*, *L'Avare*, *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, *Les Fourberies de Scapin*, and *Le Médecin malgré lui*—were presented in Ukrainian theaters, and Sophocles' *Antigone* was produced at the Franko Theater, Kiev (1966). Also seen were the dramas of Goldoni, Schiller, Hugo, and others.

A positive factor at this time was the renewed staging of historical-heroic Ukrainian drama; for example, *Taras Bul'ba*, produced by the Shevchenko Theater, Kharkiv, in 1966, had been officially prohibited since the early thirties, and only occasionally appeared on Western Ukraine's stages before 1939. The Ukrainian classics presented have been mainly by the masters of Ukrainian ethnographic theater; only rarely on the works of Lesia Ukraïnka produced.

## UKRAINIAN THEATER IN THE EMIGRATION IN EUROPE, 1945–8

A large number of actors emigrating in the years 1939–45 contributed to the organization of theatrical life during the emigration. The Ukrainian theater of the emigration was an important stage in the history of the Ukrainian theater, a fact

interesting in view of the difficult circumstances in which Ukrainian directors and actors in postwar Germany and Austria carried on their work [Vol. I, pp. 912–13]. These conditions included the primitive stages of makeshift theaters in displaced persons' camps, the lack of props, costumes, and decorations, and even of copies of the plays themselves. In addition, there was the constant threat of forced repatriation.

In the large DP camps in Germany and Austria, Ukrainian theaters were organized with any available directors and actors. Although some of these were qualified artists, as a whole the refugee theaters could not rise to the level of contemporary professional theater. Among the more important were the

FIGURE 356. *Narodnyi Malakhii*, A DRAMA BY N. KULISH, PRODUCED BY V. BLAVATSKY IN WEST GERMANY

theater under the direction of Hanna Sovacheva in Salzburg, the Kotliarevsky Theater in Schweinfurt directed by Nicholas Kryzhanivsky, the theatrical troupe directed by Theodore Fedorovych in a DP camp at Karlsfeld (eventually in camp "Orlyk" [Little Eagle] in Berchtesgaden), and "Rozvaha" (Entertainment) theater in Neu Ulm (under the direction of Siry).

Two groups affording real potential for artistic growth were Ansambl' Ukraïns'kykh Aktoriv (The Ensemble of Ukrainian Actors) under V. Blavatsky (who was also head of the Association of Artists of the Ukrainian Stage, organized in 1946), composed of experienced actors, and the Teatral'na Studiia (Theatrical Studio) of J. Hirniak and O. Dobrovolska (organized at the end of 1944 in Vienna).

The Ensemble of Ukrainian Actors with Blavatsky as artistic director (first in Augsburg, later in Regensburg), gathered together primarily the actors of Lviv theaters, who already had a uniform style of acting: B. Pazdrii, Evdokia Dychkivna, Elizabeth Shasharivska, Volodymyr Shasharivsky, Eugene Kurylo, Yaroslav Pinot-Rudakevych, Roman Tymchuk, Vasyl Korolyk, Rostyslav Vasylenko, V. Klekh, and others. The greatest successes achieved by this group were in its productions of *Narodnyi Malakhii* (1947) by N. Kulish, *Antigone* (1947) by Anouilh, and A. Obe's *Lucretius*—all directed by Blavatsky. In 1949, the Ensemble of Ukrainian Actors emigrated to the United States.

The Theatrical Studio under the direction of J. Hirniak and O. Dobrovolska operated in Landeck (Austria) from

FIGURE 357. SCENE FROM LESIA UKRAÏNKA'S *Orhiia* STAGED BY THE DRAMA STUDIO OF J. HIRNIAK, O. DOBROVOLSKA PRODUCER

January, 1946, and in mid-1947 moved to Mittenwald (Germany); in 1949 the Studio came to the United States. Its artistic work was based on the traditions of Les Kurbas: a revitalization of ethnographic repertoire, Molièrean-intermedian theatrical principles, and concern with contemporary questions.

Concerning the Ukrainian theater in the United States, see pp. 1146–7; in Canada, see p. 1185.

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# 2. CINEMATOGRAPHIC ART

## BEFORE 1920

Soviet sources state that the first apparatus capable of taking and projecting moving pictures was constructed by Joseph Tymchenko, a mechanic at the University of Odessa, in 1893, but moving pictures first appeared in Ukraine in 1896. These first films were the "cinematograph" productions of the Lumière brothers in Odessa, later in other cities as well. The first short films were brought to Ukraine from France, but already in that same year Kharkiv photographer Alfred Fedetsky began demonstrating films of his own production: *Vidkhid poïzda vid kharkivs'koho vokzalu* (Train Departure from Kharkiv Depot, 1896), *Khresnyi khid z Kuriazha v Kharkiv* (Passion Procession from Kuriazh to Kharkiv, 1896), *Narodni huliannia na Kinnii ploshchi,* (National Dancing in Kinna Square, 1897) and others.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, film studios in Kiev, Kharkiv, Odessa, and other cities began producing motion pictures in Ukrainian subjects. Especially active in film production at the time were Alex Oleksiienko, D. Baida-Sukhovii, and D. Sakhnenko. The earliest attempts at motion pictures were for the most part rather simple screen adaptations of short literary works. In Kharkiv, A. Oleksiienko filmed Hohol's *Yak vony zhenykhalysia, abo Try kokhannia v mishku* (How They Courted, or Three Loves in a Sack, 1909), Ivan Kotliarevsky's *Moskal'-Charivnyk* (The Soldier Sorcerer, 1910), Basil Dmytrenko's *Kum-Miroshnyk, abo Satana v Bochtsi* (Friend-Miller, or Satan in a Barrel, 1911), and others. In Kharkiv, D. Baida-Sukhovii filmed similar stories. D. Sakhnenko's studio in Katerynoslav filmed the Nicholas Sadovsky Theater's production of *Naimychka* (The Servant Girl) by Ivan Tobilevych and *Natalka-Poltavka* (Natalka from Poltava) by Ivan Kotliarevsky, with N. Sadovsky, Maria Zankovetska, Hanna Borysohlibska, Liubov Linytska, Ivan Mariianenko, and Semen Butovsky. Most of the films produced during the war were pseudo-patriotic Russian melodramas with a war theme.

Artistic cinematography stopped completely during the Revolution. In the period of Ukrainian statehood, Ukraïnfil'ma (Ukrainian films) released several documentary films.

## THE PERIOD OF THE ALL-UKRAINIAN PHOTO-CINEMA ADMINISTRATION (VUFKU)

Upon occupying Ukraine, the Bolsheviks nationalized private film studios and placed them under the jurisdiction of the motion picture department of the Theatrical Committee, which after several changes became the All-Ukrainian Photo-Cinema Administration (Vse-Ukraïns'ke Foto-kino Upravlinnia, VUFKU), subordinate to the People's Commissariat of Education. With this began the most productive era in the development of the Ukrainian cinema, which lasted until 1930. During these years, the production base of Ukrainian films increased, the technical and artistic personnel involved in the making of films grew, and the network of theaters spread. At first, there were only two motion picture studios (for a time called "film factories")—in Odessa and Yalta; in 1929 the largest film studio of VUFKU began its activity in Kiev (from 1957 called the A. Dovzhenko Film Studio). According to the available information, four artistic films were released in 1924, 16 in 1927, 36 in 1928, and 31 in 1929. The technical-production apparatus of film studios grew simultaneously, from 47 persons in 1923 to over a thousand in 1929. The more outstanding directors during this period were Peter Chardynin, Volodymyr Hardin, George Stabovy, Gregory Tasin, Dzyga (Denis) Vertov, Faust Lopatyn-

sky, Mark Tereshchenko, Alexander Dovzhenko, and Ivan Kavaleridze. Among screen writers, some were recognized Ukrainian writers, like Nicholas Bazhan, George Yanovsky, Gregory Epik, Dmytro Falkivsky, and Oles Dosvitny. In addition to the coryphaei of the Ukrainian theater, who had acted in films before the revolution, a large number of prominent actors, both of the older and

FIGURE 358. SCENE FROM THE FILM *Taras Shevchenko*, 1926

younger generation, entered motion pictures. Among these were Ivan Zamychkovsky, George Shumsky, Berezil theater members Ambrose Buchma, Valentyna Chystiakova, Natalia Uzhvii, Liubov Hakkebush, and Marian Krushelnytsky, and actors appearing in Dovzhenko's films—Semen Svashenko, Stephen Shkurat, Nicholas Nademsky, Peter Masokha, and many others.

A prominent place among the films of this period belongs to a relatively small group of motion pictures with a historical or literary theme: *Taras Shevchenko* (directed by Peter Chardynin, with Ambrose Buchma in the title role, 1926), *Boryslav smiietsia* (Boryslav Laughs, directed by I. Rona, with Ivan Zamychkovsky and George Shumsky, 1927), *Mykola Dzheria* (directed by Marko Tereshchenko, with Ambrose Buchma in the title role, 1927), *Taras Triasylo* (directed by P. Chardynin, with Ambrose Buchma, Natalia Uzhvii, Ivan Zamychkovsky, and G. Shumsky, 1927), *Cherevychky* (The Shoes, directed by P.

FIGURE 359. SCENE FROM THE FILM *Taras Triasylo* DIRECTED BY P. CHARDYNIN

Chardynin, 1928), *Zvenyhora* (directed by A. Dovzhenko, with Semen Svashenko and Nicholas Nademsky, 1929), *Zlyva* (Downpour, directed by Ivan Kavaleridze, with Ivan Mariianenko in the role of Gonta, 1929), *Perekop* (The Trench, directed by I. Kavaleridze, 1930). Each of these films represented in its own way a solid achievement in the technique and artistry of silent films; almost every one of them was at one time or another attacked by official critics for "nationalistic" or other "ideological" errors. At the beginning of the 1930's they were banned from the screen. Especially sharply criticized was I. Kavaleridze's film *Zlyva*, in which the director, in recreating the story of the Haidamak state, rejected naturalistic photography, employing instead new methods of lighting on a black velvet backdrop with geometric decorations.

In a number of other films based on Ukrainian material but made under the Soviets, Ukrainian national peculiarities are to a great extent preserved, and artistic truth penetrated the Soviet propaganda. Among these films are *Ostap Bandura* (directed by Volodymyr Hardin, with M. Zankovetska, 1924), one of the first artistic motion pictures about the civil war, with a depth of psychological characterization which transcends the intended propaganda of the script; *Ukraziia* (directed by A. Dovzhenko,

with Semen Svashenko and A. Buchma, 1929), and *Perekop* (directed by I. Kavaleridze, 1930). The remaining films can be classified as purely propagandistic, although even among these some interesting formal innovations could be detected, as in Dzyga Vertov's documentary films *Odynadttsiatyi* (The Eleventh One, 1928), *Liudyna z fotoaparatom* (Man with a Camera, 1929), or M. Kaufman's *Na vesni* (In the Spring, 1929). In some cases, the level of a film was raised high above the average by superior acting, as A. Buchma's in *Prodanyi apetyt* (The Bartered Appetite, directed by I. Rona in 1928), *Nichnyi viznyk* (The Night Coachman, directed by G. Tasin in 1929).

Ukrainian silent motion pictures reached a pinnacle in three films by ALEXANDER DOVZHENKO: *Zvenyhora, Arsenal*, and *Zemlia* (The Land). Inspired by the Ukrainian struggle for liberation of 1917–21, in which he himself participated, Dovzhenko entered the Ukrainian film industry with a vision of Ukraine's thousand-year historical legend. After some early attempts—*Yahidky kokhannia* (The Berries of Love, 1926), *Sumka dypkuriera* (The Diplomatic Courier's Bag, 1927)—he incorporated this legend in the most poetical film in the history of Ukrainian motion pictures, *Zvenyhora* ("I did not make this picture, I warbled it like a bird"). Above the official Soviet subject matter of *Arsenal* (the end of World War I and the Civil War) rises a monumental expressionistic conception of video, a sharp poetical expression, characteristic of Dovzhenko's scenes, which together create an impression of artistic uniqueness. But at the summit of Dovzhenko's motion picture career was *Zemlia* (The Earth, 1930). The official subject matter, which was to show the victory of collectivization of villages, was relegated to the background by poetical scenes depicting the eternal philosophical problems of life and death, birth and love. This was done at such a high artistic level that an organically

FIGURE 360. ALEXANDER DOVZHENKO

FIGURE 361. SCENE FROM THE FILM *Zemlia* DIRECTED BY A. DOVZHENKO

Ukrainian work was elevated to a sphere touching the universal human problems. A few weeks after its release the film was prohibited on the grounds of dangerous deviation from the Marxist ideology, but at the end of the 1950's the Bolsheviks were forced to renew the showing of it, and an international jury at the Brussels Film Festival in 1958 judged *Zemlia* to be one of the twelve best films of world cinematography. Dovzhenko developed his own style in motion pictures and trained a number of prominent actors specifically for his needs, among them Semen Svashenko, Stephen Shkurat, Nicholas Nademsky, and Peter Masokha. Daniel Demutsky, one of the most talented cameramen in the film world, gained prominence in Dovzhenko's films.

Until 1930 the VUFKU was an independent institution, not subordinated to the relevant All-Union centers in Moscow, and independently maintaining contact with foreign motion picture organizations. For this reason, the greatest

distribution of Ukrainian films to countries ouside of Ukraine was during this period. The first Ukrainian film was exported in 1923; it was *Pryvyd brodyt' po Evropi* (The Spectre Roams in Europe, directed by G. Tasin), based on Edgar Allan Poe's "The Mask of the Red Death", and it was shown in Berlin.

FIGURE 362. SCENE FROM THE FILM *Mykola Dzheria*, 1929

P. Chardynin's film *Ukraziia* was very popular in Germany. As early as 1927 the films of the VUFKU were second only to those of the United States in German motion picture imports. In 1927, the VUFKU sent a series of its films to Paris and Berlin, among them *Sorochyns'kyi Yarmarok* (The Fair at Sorochyntsi), *Mykola Dzheria, Mandrivni zori* (The Wandering Stars), *Svizhyi viter* (The Fresh Wind), and *Sumka dypkuriiera*; these were followed in 1928 by *Prodanyi apetyt*, *Cherevychky*, *Vasylyna*, and *Nahovir.* Some of these motion pictures were shown in Italy. In 1928, the Paris firm of Pathé-Hope bought thirteen films from the VUFKU. Among them were *Liudyna z lisu* (Man from the Forest, directed by George Stabovy), *Kira-Kiralina* (directed by V. Hlaholin), and *Za stinoiu* (Behind the Wall, directed by A. Buchma). An exhibition of Dovzhenko's films was organized in 1929–30 in Berlin, Paris, The Hague, and Amsterdam; Ukrainian films were also shown in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Austria. In 1928, the first Ukrainian films were brought to the United States and Canada where *Dva Dni* (Two Days, directed by G. Stabovyi), *Taras Shevchenko*, and *Taras Triasylo* (directed by P. Chardynin) were the most popular. From 1925, the VUFKU began publishing a biweekly, *Kino* (Cinema) which included much information about foreign film production and instituted an exchange with European film magazines.

FIGURE 363. ACTOR A. MALSKY IN THE FILM *Taras Triasylo*

## FROM 1930 TO 1941

The end of silent films in Ukraine coincides with the beginning of the total repression of Ukrainian culture, including cinema. VUFKU was transformed into Ukraïnfil'm in 1930, later made subordinate to Moscow; the journal *Kino* was abolished; and in its place appeared, for a short time, *Radians'ke Kino* (Soviet Cinema, 1935–7). The Odessa film studio enjoyed almost a monopoly in the use of Mosfilm and Lenfilm, and the motion picture studio in Yalta became officially the property of Russian film companies. Simultaneously in the 1930's, a number of prominent directors were either liquidated or dismissed from work in films, among them Faust Lopatynsky (executed in 1937), Georg Stabovyi, and Y. Halytsky. The same fate befell many screenwriters and cameramen. M. Kaliuzhnyi (a prominent cameraman who has not been heard from since 1940) and Ivan Kavaleridze were forced to renounce formalistic experiments. In 1930, F. Lopatynsky's last film, *Karmeliuk*, was released.

The first Ukrainian sound film was made in 1930, in the Kiev film studio (through the addition of a sound track)

to D. Vertov's *Symfoniia Donbasu* (Donbas Symphony). Dovzhenko's first sound film was the hurriedly prepared *Ivan* (in which the hand of the master director was evident only in a few isolated frames), released in 1932. Thereafter

FIGURE 364. FILM DIRECTOR A. DOVZHENKO SHOOTING THE FILM *Aerohrad* IN 1935

Dovzhenko was forced to work in Mosfilm, perforce living in Moscow some 20 years. His next film *Aerohrad* (Air City, 1935) was only slightly Ukrainian; produced in Mosfilm studios and in the Kiev film studio, the action takes place in the Far East, but the main character is a Ukrainian settler, Hlushak, and the principal actors are Ukrainians. This film was considerably acclaimed, particularly owing to an original presentation of the taiga landscape in Dovzhenko's inimical style. The film *Shchors*, which Dovzhenko was forced to make to Stalin's order, was of little significance. In the conditions existing in Ukraine under Yezhov, the filming took four years (1936–9), as it was necessary to alter it several times, each time editing out historical figures, who in the meantime had been arrested and shot (e.g., General Ivan Dubovyi). The final product was mutilated, artificially sentimental and uneven, with only a few typically Dovzhenkian fragments.

At the end of the 1930's, an anti-artistic type of Soviet film became the standard. It represented either a screen adaptation of literary works by "reliable" authors—as *Zahybel' eskadry* (The Death of the Squadron, 1934), based on a work by Alexander Korniichuk, directed by Arnold Kordium—or historical pseudo-documentary films distorting Ukraine's past in line with the demands of Stalinist historiography—*Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi* (also from a work by A. Korniichuk) directed by Ihor Savchenko—or, finally, "Little Russia," as presented on the screen in *Zaporozhets' za Dunaiem*, *Natalka-Poltavka* (both made in 1937), and *Sorochyns'kyi yarmarok* (the first Ukrainian film in color, 1939). The sharp decline in quality was accompanied by a severe drop in production, so that while 25 films were

FIGURE 365. SCENE FROM THE FILM *Sorochyns'-kyi yarmarok*

released in 1932, ten films appeared in 1933, and only five in 1937 (the figures throughout are approximate).

### 1941–55

World War II found Ukrainian cinema in a state of complete ruin, which lasted until 1956. At the beginning of the war, Ukrainian motion picture studios either produced short agitational film strips or completed films which had been begun before the war: *Dochka moriaka* (The Sailor's Daughter, directed by G. Tasin, 1941), *Mors'kyi yastrub* (Sea Hawk, directed by Volodymyr Braun), and others. For the rest, in addition to patriotic documentary films about the war, the majority of movies until the end of

the war remained screen adaptations of literary works—*Alexander Parkhomenko* (Leonid Lukiv, director, 1942) and *Yak hartuvalasia stal'* (How Steel was Tempered, 1942, directed by Marko Donsky) —or war films—*Partyzany v stepakh Ukraïny* (Partisans in the Steppes of Ukraine, directed by Ihor Savchenko, 1942, based on a work by A. Korniichuk), *Raiduha* (The Rainbow, directed by M. Donsky, 1943, based on a work by Vanda Vasylevska), *Bytva za nashu radians'ku Ukraïnu* (Battle for Our Soviet Ukraine, Dovzhenko documentary film, 1943), and others.

As a result of the Zhdanov terror and increased efforts to root out "nationalism," postwar film production did not result in any major films; there were strikingly few motion pictures released at all, usually two or three a year, with the most, seven, released in 1954. Among the mass of insignificant films it is easy to overlook *Taras Shevchenko* (directed by I. Savchenko, 1951) which attained a somewhat higher level because of its talented director and Serhii Bodnarchuk in the title role. But even this film suffered through a humiliating courting of Russian favor. Russification of Ukrainian films in these years reached a high point; the better Ukrainian actors were taken to Moscow, and Russian actors filled Ukrainian studios.

FIGURE 366. IHOR SAVCHENKO

## FROM 1956

A gradual rebirth of the Ukrainian motion picture industry began in 1956. It was initiated by a strengthening of the production base: the A. Dovzhenko Studio in Kiev and the Odessa studio were expanded, in 1957 the Yalta studio was again placed in Ukrainian hands (and made two films in 1958), the production of documentary and popular educational films increased, and some attempts were even made to Ukrainianize the studios and increase the number of artistic films in Ukrainian. In 1957, 20 artistic motion pictures were released (14 by the Kievan studio, six by the studio in Odessa), most of them commemorating the 40th anniversary of the October Revolution in the official light—*Pravda* (The Truth, directed by V. Petrov), *Perekop* (directed by Timothy Levchuk), *Narodzheni bureiu* (Born of the Storm, directed by Y. Bazelian), and others—or describing collective farm life—*Daleke i blyz'ke* (The Far and the Near, directed by Nicholas Makarenko), *Slidamy mynuloho* (In the Footsteps of the Past, directed by Aksel Lundin), and *Dyktatura* (Dictatorship, directed by Basil Lapoknysh), in the same spirit. In 1958, production of artistic, documentary, popular educational, and other films totalled 109, among them 22 artistic motion pictures (of which the Kievan film studio released 14, Odessa six, and Yalta two). Qualitatively, however, with the exception of Ivan Kavaleridze's *Hryhorii Skovoroda*, they did not rise above the drab *niveau* of Soviet art in general. In the following years the quantity of film production remained approximately at the 1958 level.

FIGURE 367. SCENE FROM THE FILM *Taras Shevchenko* DIRECTED BY I. SAVCHENKO

Among the more significant films of recent years, the Soviet press especially commended *Try doby pislia bezsmertia* (Three Days after Immortality, directed by Volodymyr Dovhan in 1963), on the subject of the last war; *Ivanna* (Victor Ivchenko, director, 1959), a diatribe against the Catholic Church and the Vatican, based on a work by Volodymyr Beliaiev; *Krov liuds'ka ne vodytsia* (Human Blood Isn't Water, directed by Nicholas Makarenko, 1960), based on a work by M. Stelmakh and presenting a distorted history of the beginning of Soviet rule in Ukraine; and a whole row of screen adaptations (some of them repeats) of Ukrainian classics and contemporary Soviet literary works. Of the former, an interesting and original work (due largely to the inventiveness of cameraman Vadim Illenko, who captures some almost surrealistic frames) was *Tini zabutykh predkiv* (Shadows of the Forgotten Ancestors, directed by Serhii Paradzhanov), based on a novel of that same name by Michael Kotsiubynsky.

FIGURE 368. SCENE FROM THE FILM *Tini zabutykh predkiv*, DIRECTED BY S. PARADZHANOV

At the end of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's, the number of artistic motion pictures decreased (Dovzhenko Studio produced 13 films in 1959, nine in 1961), although the number of popular educational and documentary films increased somewhat, especially in the field of film biographies of famous writers and artists (Ivan Franko, Michael Kotsiubynsky, Maksym Rylsky, Alexander Dovzhenko, Hnat Yura, Marian Krushelnytsky, Natalia Uzhvii, and others). At the same time, renewed attempts at the Russification of Ukraine became apparent, directed according to a new program prepared by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This process became evident in various forms; the better Ukrainian directors and actors were drawn to Moscow (Gregory Chukhrai, Serhii Bondarchuk); not only were Russian films shown only in their original language, but often Ukrainian films also were shown only in a Russian version; Russian directors and actors were sent in to fill Ukrainian film studios. This process was especially sharply emphasized when the Russians appropriated for themselves the heritage of A. Dovzhenko: he is presented abroad as a Russian artist, his films *Poema pro more* (Poem about the Sea) and *Povist' polumianykh lit* (Story of Flaming Years), which Dovzhenko planned to make in the Kievan film studio, were taken over by Mosfilm and made as Russian films (directed by Julia Solntseva). The film based on Dovzhenko's autobiographical novel *Zacharovana Desna* (Enchanted Desna River, directed by Julia Solntseva), was also filmed in Russia. As a result, all these films were deprived of any Ukrainian characteristics, and assumed the style typical of Soviet socialist realism.

FIGURE 369. SCENE FROM THE FILM *Nazar Stodolia* DIRECTED BY V. IVCHENKO

Already in the mid-1930's the Ukrainian motion picture industry lost the

FIGURE 370. IVAN MYKOLAICHUK (CENTER) IN THE FILM *Son*

right to maintain independent relations with the foreign market, and individual Ukrainian films were shown abroad only after they had been edited and approved in Moscow, which in most cases made them indistinguishable from Russian films to the foreign viewer.

The growth of motion picture theaters in the Ukrainian SSR is evident from the following data: in 1914 there were 265 movie houses; in 1928, 5,394; in 1940, 5,822; in 1950, 7,188; in 1956, 9,645; in 1958, 19,776; in 1960, 19,668; in 1964, 25,442; in 1965, 25,400 (of which 1,500 were wide screen theaters, 23,300 stationary screens, and 2,100 moveable screens). The attendance at films (in millions) was: 1958, 655.9; 1960, 684.5; 1964, 789.2. In 1964 there was one motion picture theater per 1,750 inhabitants (in the Soviet Union as a whole the ratio was one per 1,620 inhabitants), and each individual attended an average of 18 films (compared with 18 in the USSR as a whole, 20 in the Russian SSR, 15 in the Belorussian SSR, six in Poland, ten in Rumania, 11 in Hungary, seven in West Germany, and 11 in the United States). A monthly publication, *Novyny Kinoteatru* (Cinema News) has been published as a supplement to the journal *Mystetstvo* (The Arts) since 1961.

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# X. National Economy

## 1. STATE OF RESEARCH, HISTORY OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT, AND STATISTICS

### STATE OF RESEARCH

#### Before 1914

**Central and eastern lands.** The earliest descriptions of Ukraine's economy date back to the second half of the seventeenth century unless earlier historical sources such as chronicles, memoirs, religious and polemic literature [Vol. I, pp. 560–1], which to some extent dealt with economic problems, are taken into consideration. The textbook of Ukrainian history, *Synopsis* [Vol. I, p. 560], published in 1674 and reprinted many times thereafter, also contains a description of the economic and social development of Ukraine.

Some material on economic conditions in eighteenth century Ukraine can be found in the so-called Kozak Chronicles, in memoirs (e.g., the diaries of General Nicholas Khanenko and Deputy Treasurer-General Jacob Markovych) relating to the life of the Kozak officer corps, in the statistical material of the "General Description of Left-Bank Ukraine," compiled by Governor Peter Rumiantsev in 1765–9, in statistical reports on Left-Bank Ukraine of 1778–90 (*Topograficheskoe opisanie Maloi Rossii* [Topographic Description of Little Russia]), and other documents of the time.

The economy of Ukraine is outlined in geographic descriptions of the late eighteenth century: Basil Ruban, *Zemleopisanie Malyia Rossii* (Geographic Description of Little Russia) published in St. Petersburg in 1773; Nicholas Zahorovsky's *Topograficheskoe opisanie Khar'kovskogo namestnichestva* (Topographic Description of the Kharkiv Province) published in 1788; in numerous descriptions of foreign travelers in Ukraine (Johann Güldenstedt, Johann Wilhelm Möller, Balthazar von Campenhausen, Carl Hammard, Johann-Georg Kohl, Joseph Marshall, William Coxe, among others); in the works of natural scientists of the Kiev Mohyla Academy, Ukrainian physiocrats of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Jacob Kozelsky, Theodore Tumansky, Valerian Stryikovsky); in the publications of the Basil Karazyn Philotechnical Society founded in Kharkiv in 1811; in the writings of the brothers Andrew and Peter Prokopovych (1756–1826 and 1775–1850, respectively), pioneers of agronomic science in Ukraine, and Anthony Prokopovych-Antonsky (1762–1848).

In the early and mid-nineteenth century, there were publications containing statistical and economic data on individual Ukrainian provinces (*guberniyas*) and counties: S. Rusov, *Volynskie zapiski* (Volhynian Notes); W. Marczyński, *Statystyka gubernii Podolskiej* (Statistics of the Podilia Province, 3 vols.); Nicholas Arandarenko, *Zapiski o Poltavskoy gubernii* (Notes on the Poltava Province, 3 vols.); Apollon Skalkovsky, *Opyt statisticheskogo opisaniia Novorossiiskogo kraia* (An Outline of the Statistical Description of the Novorossiisk Land, 3 vols.) and other works; and Tadeusz Stecki, *Wolyn* (Volhynia). Statistical and economic descriptions of the Ukrainian provinces were also given in the works of the Russian General Staff compiled in 1840–50 and published in two series,

*Voienno-statisticheskoie obozrenie Rossiiskoi Imperii, izdanoe po visochaishemu poveleniiu pri otdelenii departamenta general'nogo shtaba* (Military-Statistical Survey of the Russian Empire, published on High Order by the First Department of the General Staff) and *Materialy po geografii i statistike Rossii, sobrannye ofitserami general'nogo shtaba* (Materials on the Geography and Statistics of Russia, compiled by Officers of the General Staff); these surveys were continued in the second half of the nineteenth century. From 1850 to 1864 the St. Volodymyr University of Kiev administered the Commission for the Description of the *Guberniyas* of the Kiev School District, which collected and partly processed a vast amount of material on the economy of central and eastern Ukraine. Its director was the eminent economist and statistician Dmytro Zhuravsky, author of the monograph *Statisticheskoe opisanie Kievskoi gubernii* (Statistical Description of the Kiev Province). The Southwestern Branch of the Geographic Society (see p. 246) continued the commission's descriptions of the provinces.

The bulk of the material on the regional statistics and economy of Ukraine is found in the reports issued by the *zemstvos*. Beginning in the 1870's, statistical and economic surveys played an important role in the study of the productivity of farm households and their real estate as the main source of land taxation. The statistical bureaus of the *zemstvos* also compiled population censuses, budget analyses, surveys of home industries, commerce, prices of farm products, etc. Contributing significantly to this type of research was the leading Ukrainian statistician Alexander Rusov (1847–1915), who worked in the statistical bureau of the Chernihiv *zemstvo* (founded in 1875) and trained a whole school of Ukrainian statisticians. The Chernihiv *zemstvo* developed theoretical principles of regional surveys of agriculture and farm censuses, and also made a study of the Rumiantsev Survey. Other well-known Chernihiv statisticians were: Alexander Shlykevych, Basil Varzar, Leonid Lichkov, Peter Chervinsky. Similar economic and statistical surveys were also made in other *zemstvos*, notably Kherson (Eugene Borysov), Poltava (Gregory Rotmistrov), and Kharkiv (Basil Ivanov). Most of the results of these surveys were published in official publications, e.g., *Obzory ekonomicheskikh meropriatii* (Surveys of Economic Measures) of individual *zemstvos*, nonperiodical statistical reports of some provinces and counties, and elsewhere.

Important economic studies were produced by the members of the old Kiev Hromada – Nicholas Ziber, Paul Chubynsky, Nicholas Yasnopolsky, Serhii Podolynsky (in his well-known study *Remesla i fabryky na Ukraïni* [Crafts and Factories in Ukraine]), Thaddeus Rylsky, Nicholas Porsh, Serhii Ostapenko, Nicholas Hekhter, Alexander Mytsiuk, Andrew Yaroshevych, and Volodymyr Kosynsky.

FIGURE 371. NICHOLAS ZIBER

Research on economic history was started in the second half of the nineteenth century by Ivan Luchytsky, Volodymyr Antonovych, and the Kiev school of law and history of Michael Vladimirsky-Budanov. Ukrainian historians of law (the school of Nicholas Vasylenko in Kiev and Michael Slabchenko in Odessa) contributed to research of social and economic conditions in Ukraine. Other researchers of note in this field were Alexander Lazarevsky, Michael Hrushevsky, Dmytro Bahalii, Michael Plokhynsky, Nicholas Aristov, and Mytrophanes Dovnar-Zapolsky.

Substantial descriptive and analytical material on the Ukrainian economy of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries is contained in reports, papers,

and questionnaires published in the 281 volumes of *Trudy imperatorskogo vol'nogo ekonomicheskogo obshchestva* (Proceedings of the Imperial Free Economic Society, 1765–1915). This society took particular interest in all aspects of agricultural and real estate economics. Its active members included many Ukrainian landlords, operators of sugar refineries, grain exporters, and professors of economics in Ukraine. Equally important for the study of Ukrainian agriculture in the nineteenth century were the regular annual reports and other publications of the Farm Bank, Bank of the Nobility, State Bank, and Ministry of Finance. Significant information is available in the more than 60 volumes of *Trudy* (Proceedings) and *Materiialy* (Materials) of the Special Conference on the Needs of Agricultural Production (1899–1904), a semi-official body.

The problems of Ukraine's industrialization towards the end of the nineteenth century were discussed and analyzed at great length in *Trudy* (Proceedings) of the Congress of Mine Operators and Metal Manufacturers based in Kharkiv. The Permanent Council of Mine Owners also published its trade periodical, *Gornozavodskoe Delo* (Mining Business), in Kharkiv. A similar professional organization, the Permanent Council of Representatives of Commerce and Industry in St. Petersburg, published the periodical *Promyshlennost' i Torgovlia* (Industry and Commerce), containing surveys and analyses of business and industry in Ukraine. More information on the Ukrainian economy of the late nineteenth century is to be found in the publications of the All-Russian Association of Cities, and the All-Russian Association of *zemstvos*. Important data, although presumably biased, on many aspects of labor economics can be found in the *Svod otchetov fabrichnykh inspektorov* (Summary of Reports of Factory Inspectors, 1901–17), an official serial publication of state plant inspection.

Institutions of higher learning in Ukraine, such as the Kiev Institute of Commerce, began publishing their own special reports towards the end of the nineteenth century, *Trudy* (Proceedings) and *Uchenyia zapiski* (Scholarly Notes). Periodicals devoted to economics and business also contained numerous facts and analyses: *Vestnik Finansov, Torgovli i Promyshlennosti* (Herald of Finance, Commerce, and Industry, 1865–1917, St. Petersburg); *Zheleznodorozhnoe Delo* (Railroad Business, 1883–1917); *Ekonomicheskii Zhurnal* (Journal of Economics, 1885–93); and *Narodnoe Khoziaistvo* (National Economy, 1900–5).

**Western Ukraine.** After 1870 economic research in Galicia and Bukovina was concentrated chiefly in the institutions of the Land Diet and its executive board, and the results appeared in official publications in Polish and German. Ukrainian authors (Volodymyr Barvinsky, Ivan Franko, Volodymyr Navrotsky, Constantine Pankivsky, Ivan Petrushevych, Titus Voinarovsky, Viacheslav Budzynovsky, Volodymyr Okhrymovych, Michael Kotsiuba, Lev Kohut, Constantine Kulchytsky) wrote on economic subjects in newspapers with general circulation and in economic periodicals (*Hospodar* [Husbandman, 1869–72], *Hospodar i Promyshlennyk* [Husbandman and Manufacturer, 1879–86], *Hospodars'kyi Chasopys* [Economic Newspaper, 1910–18], *Ekonomist* [Economist, 1904–14]). Since 1909 the special publication of the Social and Statistical Commission of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, *Studiï z polia suspil'nykh nauk i statystyky* (Studies in the Field of Social Sciences and Statistics, 5 vols. to 1914) has been reporting. The convening of the Educational and Economic Congress in 1909

FIGURE 372. TITUS VOINAROVSKY

was an important event in the economic life of Western Ukraine. It had practical significance as well as a beneficial effect on economic research.

Polish officials of the Statistical Bureau of the Land Executive Board worthy of mention for their research on Galician economy are: Franciszek Bujak, author of the book *Galicya;* Ludwik Caro, author of books on usury and migration published in Polish and German; M. Bałaban (commerce and finances of the city of Lviv); M. Chomętowski (agriculture); J. Buzek; Tadeusz Rutowski; and S. Barącz, a prolific writer on economic and social documents referring to Galicia. German scholars researching agriculture and the peasants of Galicia were F. Kratter, T. Springer, and Ludwig von Mises.

A work of general importance on economic conditions in Transcarpathia was written by a Ukrainianized Irishman named Edward Egan and titled *Ekonomichne polozhennia rus'kykh selian v Uhorshchyni* (Economic Position of Ruthenian Peasants in Hungary), published in Lviv in 1901.

### The 1914–45 Period

**1914–20.** During World War I and the period of Ukrainian statehood, a number of works appeared on the national economy of Ukraine and Ukraine's position in the economic complex of eastern Europe. Among major works appearing in this period was the first historical outline of Ukrainian economy by M. Hrushevsky, *Studiï z ekonomichnoï istoriï Ukraïny* (Studies on the Economic History of Ukraine, Kiev, 1918). There were also works on the economic colonialism of the Russian empire in relation to Ukraine (P. Maltsiv and N. Porsh), on the economic principles of Ukrainian statehood by Basil Mazurenko and Peter Stebnytsky, on the role of geography in the economy of the Russian empire, on the economic geography of Ukraine (Ivan Feshchenko-Chopivsky and S. Ostapenko), and on the cooperative movement (Michael Tuhan-Baranovsky).

Numerous treatises on economic subjects were published under the sponsorship of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine in Vienna, Ukrainian press bureaus, and after 1918 Ukrainian diplomatic missions abroad, mostly in foreign languages. The more important of these were written by the geographers Albrecht Penck and Stephen Rudnytsky, historians Myron Korduba, Paul Rohrbach, and Axel Schmidt (in the periodical *Die Ukraine*), economists Volodymyr Tymoshenko, I. Feshchenko-Chopivsky (on the natural resources of Ukraine), I. Shafarenko, Kharyton Lebid-Yurchyk, and Basil Mazurenko (economic statistics of Ukraine).

FIGURE 373. MICHAEL TUHAN-BARANOVSKY

**1920–45.** In the 1920's, scholarly research was concentrated in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, particularly in its Social-Economic Department, which established the following chairs: political economy, statistics, commerce and industry, finances, and history of the national economy. The academicians of the 1920's included: M. Tuhan-Baranovsky (the first chairman of the Social-Economic Department), Volodymyr Kosynsky, Roman Orzhentsky, Michael Ptukha, Constantine Voblyi, Volodymyr

FIGURE 374. ROMAN ORZHENTSKY

FIGURE 375. VOLODYMYR LEVYTSKY

Levytsky, and Alexander Shlikhter. A number of independent commissions were working within the framework of the Social-Economic Department: social-economic history of Ukraine of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, headed by Dmytro Bahalii and Alexander Ohloblyn; commission for the study of the national economy of Ukraine which was engaged in research of current problems (chairman C. Voblyi, head of financial division Leonid Yasnopolsky). The commissions published their works in *Zapysky* (Notes) and *Zbirnyky* (Symposia) of the Social-Economic Department in separate series, the most noteworthy of which were *Pratsi seminaru dlia vyvchennia narodnoho hospodarstva Ukraïny* (Transactions of the Seminar for the Study of the National Economy of Ukraine, 4 vols.), *Pratsi komisiï dlia vyvchennia narodnoho hospodarstva* (Transactions of the Commission for the Study of the National Economy, 3 vols.), *Pratsi komisiï dlia vyvchennia finansovykh sprav* (Transactions of the Commission for the Study of Financial Affairs, 5 vols.), and *Pratsi demohrafichnoho instytutu* (Transactions of the Demographic Institute, 3 vols.).

FIGURE 376. CONSTANTINE VOBLYI

FIGURE 377. EUGENE SLUTSKY

In 1919, a Society of Economists was founded as part of the Academy of Sciences. It conducted serious research in historical studies of Ukrainian economy and its current resources. The Academy also had a working committee for the study of the productive potential of Ukraine (directors L. Yasnopolsky, Constantine Syminsky, and Andrew Yaroshevych), which studied the industrial aspects of the Ukrainian economy, particularly raw materials, the socioeconomic character of various regions, methods of effective capital investment and planning, development of home industries. Some economic problems were studied by other institutions of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (VUAN), particularly by the Demographic Institute and commissions for the study of western *Rus'* and Ukrainian law, common law, and the like.

Further studies of the Ukrainian economy were undertaken in the 1920's by the following institutions: the Kiev Scientific Research Chair of Marxism-Leninism (theoretical problems of Soviet economy) and the Ukrainian Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Kharkiv (problems of capitalist economy, history of economic thought in Ukraine, and building of the economy of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR). Works by the associates of the institutes were published mainly in the periodicals *Prapor Marksyzmu* (Banner of Marxism), *Hospodarstvo Ukraïny* (Economy of Ukraine), and *Chervonyi Shliakh* (Red Pathway), as well as in symposia and scientific proceedings. A study of Ukrainian industry with particular emphasis on the natural resources of the Donets Basin was made by the Scientific Research Chair of Applied Economics at the Institute of National Economy, founded in Kharkiv in 1914 and headed by P. Fomin.

Studies of the cooperative movement were undertaken by a special chair at the Institute of Cooperatives in Kiev. The results were published in *Pratsi* (Transactions, 5 vols.), individual monographs, and journals of the cooperative movement (*Kooperatyvna Hromada* [Cooperative Community], *Kooperatyvne Budivnytstvo* [Cooperative Building], *Kooperatyvne Selo* [Cooperative Village], and *Nova Hromada* [New Community]).

Research in this field was also conducted by the Cooperative Section of the Society of Economists attached to the Social-Economic Department of VUAN under P. Pozharsky and his associates Paul Vysochansky, A. Lozovyi, and H. Makhno.

A number of significant economic treatises were published under the sponsorship of the Bureau (later Council) for the Study of Productive Forces of Ukraine in the State Planning Commission of the Ukrainian SSR founded in 1929, the Odessa Scientific Society affiliate of VUAN whose Social-Economic Section published five volumes, and the All-Ukrainian State Institute of Labor in Kharkiv. Important studies on potential resources were undertaken by field expeditions conducted by Ukrainian scientific institutions within VUAN and by a number of regional study societies (the comprehensive expedition to Podilia by VUAN, research on the problems of the Dnieper River Basin, the historical-economic expedition to Polisia in 1932.

Much material on economics was published by the organs of the Institute of National Economy in Kiev (*Tekhnika, Ekonomika i Pravo* [Technology, Economics, and Law, 8 vols]), in Odessa (*Hospodarstvo i Pravo* [Economy and Law, 2 vols], and numerous periodicals). The central organ of economic thought in Ukraine, representing the opinions of the Soviet Ukrainian government, was the periodical *Narodnoe Khoziaistvo Ukrainy* (National Economy of Ukraine, 1919, 1921–3) and, subsequently, the monthly *Hospodarstvo Ukraïny* (Economy of Ukraine), organ of the State Planning Commission of the Ukrainian SSR (1924–34). Industrial problems were treated in the following journals: *Ukraïns'kyi Ekonomist* (Ukrainian Economist, 1923–8), *Shliakhy Industriializatsiï* (Roads of Industrialization, 1928–31), and *Sotsiialistychna Industriia* (Socialist Industry, 1931–3), all in Kharkiv. There were several journals devoted to specific branches of industrial production (*Vestnik Sakharnoi Promyshlennosti* [Herald of the Sugar Industry]) and to regional economic studies (*Khoziaistvo Donbassa* [Economy of the Donbas, 1923–5] and *Materialy po narodnomu khoziaistvu Dnepropetrovskogo okruga* [Materials on the Economy of the Dnipropetrovske Region, 1923–9], and the like).

Financial matters were discussed in *Finansovyi Vestnik* (Financial Herald, 1922–3) and in the organ of the People's Commissariat of Finances of the Ukrainian SSR, *Finansovyi Biuleten'* (Financial Bulletin, 1923–6, subsequently renamed *Na Finansovomu Fronti* [On the Financial Front, 1930–41]). Foreign and domestic trade were discussed in journals published by the government of the Ukrainian SSR: *Vestnik Vneshnei Torgovli Ukrainy* (Herald of Foreign Trade of Ukraine, 1922–4); *Trudy Narodnogo Kommissariata Vneshnei Torgovli Ukrainy* (Proceedings of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade of Ukraine, 1925); *Visnyk Instytutu Torhivli* (Herald of the Institute of Commerce), and subsequently *Pratsi Naukovo Doslidchoho Instytutu Torhivli* (Transactions of the Scientific Research Institute of Commerce). Considerable attention was paid to labor problems and productivity (*Visnyk Profrukhu Ukraïny* [Herald of the Trade Union Movement of Ukraine, 1922–9], *Materialy po Statistike Truda na Ukraine* [Materials on Labor Statistics in Ukraine, 1920–3]; *Pytannia Pratsi* [Labor Problems, 1928–31]). The State Planning Commission of the Ukrainian SSR published its material in the official newspaper *Sotsiialistychna Ukraïna* (Socialist Ukraine, 1924–34), in the periodic symposium *Trudy* (Transactions, 1924–30, 23 vols.), and in the journal *Bil'shovyk Ukraïny* (The Bolshevik of Ukraine).

The Ukrainian Central Statistical Administration published periodic data, statistical handbooks, and bulletins (see p. 687) containing important material on the national economy.

In the 1920's, considerable attention was paid to the natural resources of Ukraine. Works on economic geography, dealing with the development of resources and their distribution, were written by C. Voblyi, O. Sukhov, and F. Matviienko-Chernaha.

The implementation of the first Five-Year Plan and the ensuing conflict between Ukrainian and Russian economists over the territorial distribution of capital investments in the USSR resulted in a number of collected works such as the *Yestestvennye proizvoditel'nye sily USSR* (Natural Productive Forces of the Ukrainian SSR, 1929). The problem of developing Ukraine as a comprehensive natural economic region was researched by Y. Vvedensky in *Osnovni problemy ukraïns'koï piatylitky* (Fundamental Problems of the Ukrainian Five-Year Plan, Kharkiv, 1930) and Gregory Hrynko in *Piatyrichnyi plian narodnoho hospodarstva Ukraïny* (Five-Year Plan of the National Economy of Ukraine, Kharkiv, 1930).

The works of A. Grynshtein, G. Hrynko, and M. Poloz were devoted to fiscal policies and the need for full industrial development. In connection with economic relations between Ukraine and Russia, V. Dobrogaiev (in the journal *Khoziaistvo Ukraïny*) offered proof in 1926–7 that Ukraine was contributing more to the USSR state budget than it was receiving for its needs. Michael Volobuiev (in the journal *Bil'shovyk Ukraïny*, 1928) stated openly that Ukraine was being subjected to colonial exploitation by the central government. That statement was sharply censured by official circles as "economic nationalism" and "Volobuievism."

Numerous works appeared on the industry of all Ukraine by such authors as N. Shrah, R. Yanovsky, I. Zilberman, and P. Fomin, as well as studies dealing with individual branches of industry and various industrial regions, particularly the Donbas. Among the leading scholars in this field were C. Voblyi (sugar industry), B. Kramarev, Jacob Dimantshtein, and S. Lagunov.

FIGURE 378. PETER LIASHCHENKO

The following were engaged in research on agriculture: Eugene Stashevsky, Volodymyr Kosynsky, Peter Liashchenko (in Russia), Andrew Yaroshevych, A. Alterinen, George Kryvchenko, O. Odynets, and A. Syniavsky. Ukrainian commerce was dealt with by G. Kryvchenko and George Krychevsky.

Broad research in economic history was developed in the 1920's by such scholars as Michael Slabchenko and his Odessa school in Kharkiv, and by V. Levytsky, Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko, C. Voblyi, E. Stashevsky, Alexander Baranovych, Philip Klymenko, Dmytro Solovei, Basil Dubrovsky, I. Brover.

As a result of purges and persecution in Ukraine, economic science declined in the 1930's and most of the scholarly institutions were dissolved. In 1936 the remnants of the institutions of the Social-Economic Department of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences were merged into the new Institute of Economics of the Ukrainian SSR which was given the task of coordinating all economic research. The work of the Institute was reduced to the level of technical production tasks and the publication of the propaganda symposium *Radians'ka Ukraïna za 20 rokiv* (Twenty Years of Soviet Ukraine) in 1937.

Much more important work was being done during this period by the State Planning Commission of the Ukrainian SSR, and particularly by the Research Council on Productive Forces of Ukraine headed by A. Shlikhter. For security reasons, the bulk of the findings of these institutions remained unpublished, but the periodic plans for the development

of the Ukrainian economy were all based on it.

Significant economic research during the 1930's was also conducted by the numerous industrial institutes in Ukraine, most of which, however, were directly subordinated to the Union ministries in Moscow. Some results were published in various periodicals (*Trudy* and *Zapiski*), often buried among strictly technical and scientific papers, and also in the form of surveys and articles in Moscow periodicals such as *Planovoe Khoziaistvo* (Planned Economy), *Stal'* (Steel), *Ugol'* (Coal), and *Mashinostroenie* (Machine-Building).

**Western Ukraine.** Between the two world wars, Ukrainian scholars in Lviv were active in the Shevchenko Scientific Society (in the commissions on economics, sociology, and statistics) and in the Audit Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives (particularly the periodical *Kooperatyvna Respublika* [Cooperative Republic]). Works on the economy of Western Ukraine were published in: *Khliborobs'kyi Visnyk* (Farmer's Herald, 1934–9, editor Eugene Khraplyvyi); *Tekhnichni Visti* (Technical News, the organ of the Ukrainian Technical Society in Lviv, founded in 1925); and the popular papers, *Hospodars'ko-Kooperatyvnyi Chasopys* (Economic and Cooperative Newspaper, founded 1921), *Sil's'kyi Hospodar* (Village Farmer, founded 1921), *Torhovlia i Promysl* (Commerce and Industry, the organ of the Association of Ukrainian Merchants and Manufacturers, founded in 1935). Statistical material on the economy of Ukrainian lands under Poland appeared in the publications of the Chief Statistical Bureau of Poland: *Statystyka Polski* (Statistics of Poland), *Rocznik statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of Poland, 1925–39), and the publications of the ministries of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce. During the 1933–8 period, the Ukrainian Bureau of Economics published four volumes of *Ukraïns'kyi statystychnyi richnyk* (Ukrainian Statistical Yearbook) in Warsaw (the fourth volume came out in Lviv), with Eugene Glovinsky, Volodymyr Kubijovyč, and Lev Lukasevych as editors.

Among the economists who worked in Western Ukraine, the following should be noted: Constantine Levytsky, Karl Kobersky (*Ukraïna v svitovomu hospodarstvi* [Ukraine in World Economy, Prague, 1933] and *Ekonomika ukraïns'kykh zemel' pid Pol'shcheiu* [Economy of Ukrainian Lands under Poland, Lviv, 1928]), Julian Pavlykovsky (*Zemel'na sprava u skhidnii Halychyni* [Land Problem in Eastern Galicia, Lviv, 1922] and numerous articles on cooperatives), Sydir Kuzyk, C. Kulchytsky, and E. Khraplyvyi. Works on cooperatives were written by Andrew Zhuk, Volodymyr Nestorovych, Ostap Lutsky, and Hilarion Olkhovyi. The history of economics was the specialty of Illia Vytanovych, Roman Zubyk, Ivan Karpynets, and Roman Rozdolsky. The works of V. Kubijovyč (*Atlias Ukraïny i sumezhnykh kraïv* [Atlas of Ukraine and Neighboring Countries, 1938]) also contain material on economics.

Between the wars, Polish research on the economy of Galicia and Volhynia was centered at the universities of Lviv, Warsaw, and Cracow. Significant contributions to various aspects of the economic history of Galicia were made by Franciszek Bujak and the members of his seminar at Lviv University. Current business surveys appeared in various publications of the Lviv Chamber of Industry and Commerce and in Polish periodicals published in Lviv.

The economic problems of Transcarpathia were researched by Alexander Mytsiuk, M. Kushnirenko, and the Czechs, Václav Drahný and Klima Nečesa.

**Abroad.** Between the two world wars research on the Ukrainian economy was conducted by Ukrainian émigrés in Czechoslovakia at the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy, subsequently at the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry In-

FIGURE 379. VOLODYMYR TYMOSHENKO

FIGURE 380. GREGORY MAKHIV

stitute in Poděbrady (1921–45), and to some extent by the Ukrainian Free University in Prague. Authors whose works are worthy of mention are: A. Mytsiuk, V. Tymoshenko, and Solomon Goldelman (theory of economics); Constantine Matsiievych and Victor Domanytsky (agriculture); Valentine Sadovsky (analytical studies); Borys Ivanytsky (forestry); Basil Ivanys (industry); Ivan Shovheniv (water management); Serhii Borodaievsky, Borys Martos, and Ivan Ivasiuk (history and theory of cooperatives, particularly credit co-ops); Ivan Shcherbyna and Lev Shramchenko (statistics); Ivan Kabachkiv and Eugene Glovinsky (finances). Reviews of various economic research problems were presented in: *Zapysky Ukraïns'koï Hospodars'koï Akademiï v CSR* (Proceedings of the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy in Czechoslovakia, beginning in 1927); *Pratsi seminariv economichno-kooperatyvnoho fakul'tetu UHA v CSR* (Transactions of the Seminars of the Economic-Cooperative Department of the UHA in Czechoslovakia, edited by V. Tymoshenko and S. Goldelman, 1926); *Ukraïns'kyi ekonomist* (Ukrainian Economist), a nonperiodic symposium (1928–9); *Kooperatyvnyi Al'manakh* (Cooperative Almanac, 1923–5); *Selo* (Village), the organ of the Ukrainian Agrarian Society (1930–1); anniversary symposia of the Ukrainian Free University, and the symposium *Sil's'ke hospodarstvo Ukraïny* (Ukrainian Agriculture, Prague, 1942). These studies dealt primarily with the economic policy of the Communist regime and the changes in social and economic conditions in Ukraine.

A few years before World War II, the Economic Division of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw, under V. Sadovsky, published a series of important works on the economy of Ukraine: two symposia *Suchasni problemy ekonomiky Ukraïny* (Contemporary Problems of Ukrainian Economy), V. Sadovsky's *Pratsia v USSR* (Labor in the Ukrainian SSR, 1932) and *Robocha syla v sil's'komu hospodarstvi Ukraïny* (Labor in Ukrainian Agriculture, 1935); B. Ivanytsky, *Lisy i lisove hospodarstvo Ukraïny* (Forests and Forestry in Ukraine, 1935); I. Shovheniv, *Vodne hospodarstvo v baseini riky Dnipro na Ukraïni* (Water Management in the Basin of the Dnieper River in Ukraine, 1935); B. Ivanys, *Energetychne hospodarstvo Ukraïny ta pivnichnoho Kavkazu* (Power Economy of Ukraine and Northern Caucasus, 1934) and *Promyslovist' Ukraïny i pivnichnoho Kavkazu* (Industry of Ukraine and Northern Caucasus, 1938); I. Ivasiuk, *Kredytova kooperatsiia na Ukraïni* (Credit Cooperatives in Ukraine, 1935); E. Glovinsky, *Finansy USSR* (Finances of the Ukrainian SSR, 1939); and books by C. Matsiievych and I. Kabachkiv. *Handbuch der Ukraine*, published in 1941 by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin, included a chapter by Roman Dyminsky on the Ukrainian national economy.

Some pioneering work was performed between the wars by German scholars (Otto Schiller, G. Behaghel, F. Veit, Franz Obermeier) at the East European institutes in Breslau and Königsberg, chiefly on agriculture, collective farms, and minerals of Ukraine. In the United States, V. Tymoshenko at the Stanford Food Research Institute published a number of important studies on agriculture in the USSR and Ukraine. The League of Nations and the International Labor Office published research papers

on economic conditions in Ukraine, with particular reference to Soviet foreign trade in Ukrainian agricultural products during the depression years 1929–33.

*I. Vytanovych and B. Wynar*

### 1945–67

**In the Ukrainian SSR.** Economic research in the Ukrainian SSR did not recover from the havoc and destruction of Stalin's terror until shortly before his death. Of about sixty leading economists and economic historians who had been active in research (most of them young men) in the early 1930's, no more than fifteen survived to the end of the 1940's. The Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, established in 1936, had only forty-six staff members in 1940. By 1954, it had published a few monographs, but until 1956 learned economists who were not engaged in planning or statistical projects had no access to statistical information and were even prohibited from gathering it.

Conditions began to improve in 1954–6. Research at the Institute of Economics was directed primarily towards solution of such practical problems of industry and agriculture as analyzing the effectiveness of capital investments and new technologies, finding new economies, improving production methods, resource allocation, selling prices, and the like. Some of the leading economists engaged in this work were: Leopold Gorelik, Ovsii Liberman, Stephen Yampolsky, I. Lukinov, A. Khramov, George Yakusha, and M. Lych. Very significant contributions were made in the study of the national income of the Ukrainian SSR by V. Kuts, H. Vasylenko, V. Kukoliev, and A. Moskvin. Michael Seredenko applied marginal capital output methodology to the analysis of Ukrainian industries. Michael Ptukha continued to make important contributions to the theory and history of statistics. Significant research was carried on in economic geography, regionalization, the location of industries (Jacob Feigin, L. Koretsky, M. Palamarchuk, Israel Mukomel), and in agricultural economics (Paul Pershyn, I. Romanenko, A. Radchenko, L. Kletsky, P. Doroshenko). Important studies on the economic history of capitalism in Ukraine have been written by Oleksii Nesterenko, Basil Teplytsky, Michael Herasymenko, S. Borovoi, and I. Hurzhii. Research in the history of Ukrainian economics has been done by David Virnyk, Basil Vlasenko, L. Korniichuk, and S. Zlupko. Little has been done in the fields of political economy, general economic theory, and finance, mainly because of dogmatism and political restrictions. In the 1960's, the Institute acquired a number of young economists who were well-trained in statistical methods and some of whom had worked abroad in the statistical and economic agencies of the United Nations. They organized a series of new research projects in such fields as labor and capital productivity (M. Darahan and V. Bondarenko), consumption, welfare, and demographic studies (P. Bahrii, V. Steshenko, and P. Nahirniak), and comparative international statistics (A. Revenko). By the end of 1967, the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences had a staff of approximately 800 economists and statisticians, 265 of whom were full-time research workers. It also had three affiliates outside Kiev: in Lviv, Donetske, and Kharkiv. There are fourteen departments in the Institute specializing in various fields of research.

FIGURE 381. MICHAEL PTUKHA

Throughout the postwar period, the work of the Academy and its institutes was hampered by a shortage of funds

and of trained personnel. In 1961, however, when the supply of both increased, strict controls over all research were imposed by Moscow. Since then, all projects must be approved or recommended by the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and all completed work must be submitted to Moscow for evaluation and a written opinion.

The Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR also concentrated on economic research at the Productive Forces Research Council attached to the Presidium of the Academy and the State Planning Commission of the Ukrainian SSR. Its main task was to help draft plans for the economic development of selected industries (mainly in raw materials and mining) and regions, for example, Western Ukraine. Its published studies, though not numerous, are quite important.

Further important research has been conducted by the Research Institute of Economics of the Ukrainian SSR State Planning Commission, established in 1962, with a staff of 350 at the present time. The Institute maintains close cooperation with the Computer Center of the State Planning Commission. Its work is limited to planning methods, mathematical modelling, and efficiency analysis. Very little of its research is published. The Ukrainian Research Institute of Scientific and Technical Information, attached to the State Planning Commission, published recently a number of economic studies.

The Ministry of Agriculture of the Ukrainian SSR has its own Research Institute on Economics and Organization of Agriculture, which publishes *Zemlerobstvo* (Agriculture) and *Naukovo-Tekhnichni Zbirnyky* (Scientific-Technical Symposia). The postwar period witnessed a serious lag in agricultural economics. The work of the Institute is focused mainly on agrotechnical and managerial problems which do not in-

FIGURE 382. UKRAINIAN AGRICULTURAL ACADEMY IN HOLOSIÏV NEAR KIEV

volve economic analysis. The Ministry of Commerce also has a Research Institute of Commerce and Public Services which does some work on consumer economics, market research, and planning and distribution.

There are more than 130 professorial chairs of economics at the various higher educational establishments of Ukraine. Some are engaged in significant research. Kiev University has produced a few interesting monographs by L. Kukharenko, A. Chukhno, and M. Chernenko, as have Lviv, Odessa, and Kharkiv. Since 1958, the Institute of Economics and the State Planning Commission of the Ukrainian SSR have published *Ekonomika Radians'koï Ukraïny* (Economy of Soviet Ukraine), a monthly appearing in two identical editions, one Ukrainian and one Russian. The Institute of Economics also published its *Naukovi Zapysky* (Scientific Notes) non-periodically in the immediate postwar period. Since 1964, it has brought out *Mizhvidomchi naukovi zbirnyky* (Interdepartmental Scientific Symposia) on specific subjects and collections of articles in book form. Kiev University Press has recently published a number of *Mizhvidomchi naukovi zbirnyky* on economic geography, distribution of industries, and political economy.

The Ministry of Higher and Special Secondary Education of the Ukrainian SSR and the Tekhnika (Technology) Press jointly publish in Russian the series *Finansy i Kredit* (Finances and Credit).

Some important studies related to Ukraine's economy have also appeared in other departments of the Academy, such as the Institute of History (on the history of the working class and peasantry by I. Hurzhii, F. Los, I. Shcherbyna, A. Slutsky, I. Slabeiev, D. Myshko, V. Diadychenko, I. Boiko, N. Leshchenko, and C. Stetsiuk); Section of History of Natural Science and Technology (*Narysy z istorii tekhniky i pryrodoznavstva* [Outlines of History of Technology and Natural Sciences], a serial publication containing articles on various industries of Ukraine); the Institute of Cybernetics on optimal planning methods and operations research (V. Mykhalevych and V. Shkurba). Such institutions of higher education as the Kiev Technological Institute of Food Industry and the Ukrainian Research Institute on Metals publish relevant material on economics. Since 1959 several ministries of the Ukrainian SSR publish their own periodicals.

Significant research on the economy of Ukraine has also been done in the Russian SFSR at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and in various Union research institutes. This is so especially in work on the economic history of the Russian empire (P. Liashchenko, S. Strumilin, G. Dikhtiar, D. Shpoliansky, M. Gefter, A. Tsukernik, K. Tarnovsky, G. Bakulev, B. Kafengauz, I. Gindin, A. Pogrebinsky, P. Khromov, V. Bovykin, A. Sidorov, S. Potolov, and P. Volubuiev). Most writers in Russia do not attempt to isolate and analyze the Ukrainian economy as a special entity within the empire, but they cannot deny that the "South" was a separate economic region of the empire with its own area interests and problems, specialized industries and markets, and important regional business organizations (cartels and syndicates). Russian studies have uncovered important facts and figures about Ukraine, most of which are unavailable in Ukrainian publications: economic history of the USSR (G. Dikhtiar, E. Lokshin, F. Poliansky, V. Chuntulov, I. Gladkov); distribution of industries and economic geography of the USSR (R. Livshits, A. Omarovsky, A. Probst, Y. Koldomasov, S. Danilov, A. Lavrishchev, Y. Saushkin); planning at the level of the republics (M. Kolodny, Y. A. Stepanov, M. Urinson); distribution and development of agriculture (V. Vasiliev, S. Sergeiev, V. Venzher, T. Zaslavskaia, V. Danilov, Y. Moshkov, A. Chmyga). In general, however, studies of Soviet economic history contain gaps and present a slanted interpretation.

A few works relating to Ukrainian economic history have recently appeared in Poland (R. Rozdolski, M. Horn, A. Fastnach, A. Gruszecki, J. Rutkowski, H. Łowmiański, S. Mielczarski, Z. Sadowski, A. Wawrzyńczyk, M. Drozdowski, M. Mieszczankowski, and B. Zientara).

**Abroad.** A number of economists left Ukraine and were in western Europe at the close of World War II. They came from all parts of Ukraine and included R. Dyminsky (d. 1949), E. Khraplyvyi (d. 1949), Nicholas Vasyliv (d. 1958), N. Velychkivsky, I. Vytanovych, Constantine Kononenko (d. 1964), E. Glovinsky, D. Solovei (d. 1966), and Volodymyr Tymoshenko (d. 1967). Most of them were grouped around the Ukrainian Free University, Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute, and the Institute for the Study of the USSR. Most young economists who completed their studies abroad work in establishments of higher education in the United States, Canada, and West Germany. Various fields of economic science, dealing with research of the present state and history of the Ukrainian economy, are represented by: Borys Martos (finance), Alexander Arkhimovych (agriculture), I.

Vytanovych (history of Ukrainian co-operatives), Lev E. Dobriansky (history of economic thought), Vsevolod Holubnychy (economic systems), Lew Z. Melnyk (finance), Ivan Koropeckyj (Soviet industries), Nicholas Chirovsky (economic history), Volodymyr Bandera (foreign trade), Lubomyr Kowal (history of economic thought), M. Boretsky (Soviet economy), B. Wynar, S. Prociuk, A. Kachor, I. Maistrenko, I. Zamsha, and others.

Research articles directly concerned with Ukrainian economy have appeared in a number of American and British scholarly journals (by V. Tymoshenko, M. J. Nuttonson, I. Koropeckyj, D. G. Dalrymple, J. A. Newth, A. Frank, S. Prociuk, B. Wynar, V. Holubnychy). A number of general works and monographs on the Russian economic history and Soviet economy contain some discussion of Ukrainian economics: in the United States and Great Britain, P. Liashchenko, M. Florinsky, R. E. Cameron, G. T. Robinson, M. G. Clark, J. A. Hodgkins, D. B. Shimkin, N. Jasny, V. Bandera, J. Karcz, N. Nimitz, L. Volin, M. Dobb, A. Nove; in France, H. Chambre, H. Wronski, J. M. Collette, E. Zaleski. The United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, the International Labor Organization, and the Food and Agricultural Organization have published some statistics and a few specialized articles on the postwar economy of Ukraine, mainly by Soviet authors. Translations of Ukrainian economic materials have been selectively published in the United States by the U.S. Joint Publications Research Service, the *Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press* (New York), *Current Digest of the Soviet Press* (New York), and *Problems of Economics* (White Plains, N.Y.).

Ukrainian émigré research on Ukrainian economy and economic history is concentrated at the headquarters of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Sarcelles, France; in the Economics and Law Section of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. (New York); at the Institute for the Study of the USSR (in Munich, Germany); at the Ukrainian Free University and the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute, both in Munich.

*V. Holubnychy*

## HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN ECONOMIC THOUGHT

### Before the Mid-Eighteenth Century

The first published, coherent economic views, and even principles, appeared in Ukraine more or less simultaneously with church literature, codes of princely laws, and individual works. Such views are contained in the juridical texts of the *Ruskaia Pravda* (*Rus'* Law) of Yaroslav the Wise and his sons (*ca.* 1037–93); the *Slovo* (Word on Law and Grace) by Hilarion (Ilarion), metropolitan of Kiev and Yaroslav's contemporary; *Povist' vremennykh lit* (The Chronicle of Bygone Years [Vol. I, pp. 979–80]); the *Pouchenie* (Instruction) of Prince Volodymyr Monomakh (1053–1125) to his children [Vol. I, p. 981], and other works of the time.

The early problems were the same as those in contemporary western Europe, but their solutions seemed to be radically different, mainly because of the state's complete independence of the Church. The Church and its representatives vehemently advocated total prohibition of interest, condemned not only usury but all loans as such, and even went so far as to suggest that money is "of the devil." Conversely, the Kievan state did very little to heed the Church's economic ideas. Political expedience dictated that it not prohibit, but only regulate and fix interest rates, indenture rules, wages, and sometimes even prices.

In post-Mongol, late medieval times, the Eastern Church's opposition to economic "sin" grew even more uncompromising. This stand was the result of the

abject poverty of the church and its followers and the fact that Western theology and its economic thought had not yet penetrated Ukraine. Furthermore, the state in Ukraine, after it became part of Poland (1569), was alien and its ruling classes were predominantly foreign. With the spread of serfdom, socioeconomic conditions became even more unbearable, to the point of provoking extreme thinking. The split in the Church between Orthodox and Uniates and the religious struggle and polemics rampant in the entire country caused such Orthodox writers as Ivan Vyshensky, Stephen Zyzanii, Christopher Philalet, Cyril Tranquillion Stavrovetsky, and Zacharia Kopystensky to mount a vigorous attack not only on feudal usury and serfdom, exorbitant prices and taxes, but also, characteristically, on wealth as such, and the wealthy classes—for they were Polish and Catholic.

Unlike the economic doctrines of the Christian churches of the West, the economic teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church—especially of its Ukrainian and Russian varieties—have not yet been adequately researched. The well-known works of Max Weber, Werner Sombart, and Richard H. Tawney, have demonstrated important relationships in the West between the rise of capitalist economics and medieval and early modern religions and ethics. From the available information on Orthodox economic thought (and some hints in the writings of Nicholas Berdiaiev and J. F. Normano), the cautious assumption can be advanced that there is a line of continuity between it and the origins of socialist economic thought in eastern Europe, especially in that of the Russian Revolutionary Populists (Narodniki).

Early prescientific economic thought in Ukraine—not yet doctrinal, but normative in nature and no longer a direct byproduct of religious ethics—appeared in the second half of the seventeenth century in numerous municipal legislative acts and in the economic policy documents of the Kozak Hetman state. It was clearly mercantilist in substance.

Early in the eighteenth century, the study of economics was added to the curriculum of the Kievan Mohyla Academy. Subsequently, courses in "rural and home economics" were introduced, and initial steps were taken in the study of economic policy.

### From the Mid-Eighteenth to the Mid-Nineteenth Century

In the second half of the eighteenth century, simultaneously with but independently of physiocracy in western Europe, a similar economic ideology appeared in Ukraine. However, it was considerably more radical than its west European counterpart, containing very strong mercantilist elements. Among its advocates were Jacob Kozelsky (1727–95?), son of a Kozak officer and author of a number of philosophic treatises, and Basil Karazyn (1773–1842), a member of the gentry and a "Ukrainian landlord." The radicalism of Ukrainian physiocrats was especially evident in their criticism of the existing economic system and of serfdom. They also favored the development of various industries in Ukraine (iron, textile, ordnance) and criticized the Russian government for hindering this development and for turning Ukraine into a mere source of raw materials for Muscovy.

Kozelsky, Karazyn, and other Ukrainian physiocrats (Theodore Tumansky, Valerian Stroikovsky) were also enthusiastic free traders, domestic as well as foreign. They advocated maximization of Ukrainian exports. In a typically Ukrainian manner, they also idealized small-scale family farming, believing it to be economical and productive in spite of its size. Ukrainian physiocrats believed that wealth was created not only by nature and land but by human toil and labor as well. Karazyn went so far as to suggest that land should be viewed as

capital yielding fruits of interest and profit. He was the first in Ukraine to write a treatise on monetary economics. In it he aptly discussed inflation of the paper money.

The era of classical political economy of the first half of the nineteenth century began in Ukraine earlier than in other countries of continental Europe, even though it was not original in form. A decade after David Ricardo's death and while Thomas Robert Malthus was still alive, western Europe was only starting to accept the teachings of Adam Smith (with a twist of Jean Baptiste Say) while struggling with Jean C. L. Sismondi's romanticism and Frederick List's nationalism. Anglo-Saxon competitive liberalism and free-tradism never, in fact, fully took root on the European continent, including Russia proper. In Ukraine, however, English classicism found an ardent advocate in Tykhin Stepanov (1795–1847), professor of economics at Kharkiv University (after Ludwig Heinrich Jakob). Stepanov authored the first economic textbook in Ukraine. It was based strictly on Smith and Ricardo. Especially striking was Stepanov's complete acceptance of the ideal of free market competition, an unusual attitude in eastern Europe. The Ukrainians were also the first translators of the English classics into Russian. N. Politkovsky translated A. Smith in 1806; N. Ziber translated D. Ricardo and J. S. Mill in 1872. On the other hand, the Russian economic thought of the period was completely dominated by German, rather than English, influences. The doctrines emanating from Petersburg and Moscow were reactionary, protectionistic, and nationalistic.

Economic liberalism was represented in Ukraine in the second half of the nineteenth century by the textbooks and monographs of Ivan Vernadsky (1821–84), Nicholas Bunge (1823–95), and Gregory Tsekhanovetsky (1833–99), all professors of economics at the Kiev University. They advocated complete *laissez-faire*, and sharply criticized the Russian government's fostering of monopolies in Ukraine.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the chairs of economics at the existing universities became the centers of economic liberalism in the whole Russian empire.

**From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to 1917**

The advent of socialist ideas in the European economic thought of the second half of the nineteenth century was echoed in Ukraine in a considerably more original way than that of the classical economics. Indigenous to the Ukraine was agrarian, populist socialism, which having undergone an evolution from Michael Drahomanov to Michael Tuhan-Baranovsky had produced a full-fledged, albeit utopian, model of a "cooperative society." Economic aspects of the sociological doctrines of Drahomanov [Vol. I, p. 565] fitted precisely into the social and economic fabric of the Ukrainian countryside of his day. Ukraine was a nation of peasants and small-town folks faced with the growing power of alien cities and industrial centers on their territory. Cities, industry, and commerce were predominantly Russian, Polish, Jewish. To stand against them in competition, Ukrainians had to organize but at the same time retain their base in the countryside and agriculture, that is, without invading the cities. Drahomanov saw such an ideal Ukrainian organization in the *hromada*—a village or small town self-governing, democratic membership organization (not identical with the Russian *obshchina*). Drahomanov's doctrine of *hromady* was modeled after the French, Swiss, and other west European local government communes, syndicates, and early cooperatives, as advocated by Proudhon and other anarchists and early Utopian socialists, except that it was

designed to fit into the specific non-industrial, agrarian conditions of Ukraine. Drahomanov's ideas spread widely and the Ukrainian cooperative movement became one of the peculiarly Ukrainian institutions. Volodymyr Navrotsky (1847–82) gave Drahomanov's ideas a more purely economic interpretation and suggested that Ukrainians develop trade and credit cooperatives. Nicholas Levytsky (1859–1934) advanced the idea of producers, and farmers' cooperatives, Basil Domanytsky (1877–1910) favored the Rochdale-type workers' co-ops, while Michael Tuhan-Baranovsky became at the end of his life a widely recognized authority on the theory of cooperatives and an advocate of the reconstruction of the whole economic system on the basis of co-op organization of industry, banking, trade, agriculture, and all other facets of society. Subsequently, V. Lenin's "cooperative plan" was influenced by Tuhan-Baranovsky's ideas.

The activity of the Ukrainian *hromady* in the 1870's and 1880's made a marked contribution to the development of Ukrainian economic thought [Vol. I, p. 681]. Dmytro Pylchykiv, a member of the Poltava *hromada,* fostered the idea of economic independence for Ukraine (sharing his views were Panteleimon Kulish, Daniel Mordovets, and Nicholas Yasnopolsky). At the turn of the century, industrial capitalism, organized in monopolistic territorial cartels and syndicates, came to be advocated by A. Volsky, J. Gouzhon, and others working for the Ukrainian iron and steel industry. In their writings they insisted that Ukraine must have priority in capital investments.

Economic theories of industrial socialism were first embraced by Serhii Podolynsky (1850–91) and Ostap Terletsky (1850–1902); they also appeared in ethical and philosophical form in the writings of Ivan Franko (1856–1916). Podolynsky's ideas evolved from so wide an acceptance as Drahomanov's *hromady* and Marxist political economy. Finally, however, in the crucial question of the labor theory of value, he formulated his own, quite original, ideas on the subject while corresponding and visiting with Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in Europe. He proposed to measure the value by the physical input of labor in terms of the energy calories spent. Engels rejected this suggestion as too mechanistic, while the western European socialist press debated the topic for a while. Podolynsky's proposal was, no doubt, rooted in his profession of physician. He did much practical work and writing on industrial hygiene and working conditions, and is the author of the first published economic monograph in the Ukrainian language, *Remesla i fabryky na Ukraïni* (Crafts and Factories in Ukraine, 1880).

Classical Marxism is represented in Ukrainian political economy by Nicholas Ziber (1844–88), the first Marxist university professor not only in Ukraine and Russia, but probably in the world. A Ukrainophile, a friend of Drahomanov, and a professor of economics at Kiev University, Ziber met Marx in London and wrote and lectured on Marx's economics. Marx, in his turn, referred to Ziber as one who understood *Das Kapital* well. Actually, however, Ziber interpreted Marx in terms which subsequently characterized the so-called "legal" Marxists or Ricardians; he emphasized historical determinism and economic development rather than class struggle. Later "legal Marxism" found a number of other supporters in Ukraine among economists and sociologists (Bohdan Kistiakovsky and M. Ratner) who fostered and developed revisionism.

A significant milestone in the history of Ukrainian economic thought is the work of Michael I. Tuhan-Baranovsky (1865–1919), who at the end of his life became the first secretary of finance of the Ukrainian National Republic and the creator of the first Ukrainian paper money. An economics professor at St. Petersburg University, he started his career as a student of Marx, but quickly

evolved into his critic and became a leader of revisionism in Russia and Europe. In his writings, M. Tuhan-Baranovsky undertook to unite into a new synthesis, Marx's and Say's theories of production with Sismondi's, Rodbertus', and John Stuart Mill's theories of distribution, from which he developed his own theory of the social distribution of national income and his highly original theory of markets and the business cycle. In 1898, he proposed a number of postulates concerning the role of technological progress, inflated aggregate demand, and government-regulated capitalism, which made him an important precursor of John Maynard Keynes and Joseph Schumpeter. Tuhan-Baranovsky was also the first to introduce into Russia and Ukraine the "Austrian" utility theory of value and marginalism. In his own theory of value he tried to combine labor and utility theories into a new synthetic theory by postulating marginal proportionality between pairs of labor and utility measures. His value theory inspired further work by Eugene Slutsky in Kiev and Roman Orzhentsky in Odessa, who together started mathematical marginalist economics in Ukraine. E. Slutsky (1880–1948) was economics professor at the Kiev Commercial Institute when in 1915 he published in Italy his now-famous treatise on the laws of demand and consumer's equilibrium. Unlike classicism, English neoclassicism remained largely unknown in Ukraine and in Russia.

Important contributions in applied economics came from the research work of such early Ukrainian statisticians as Dmytro Zhuravsky (1810–56) in Kiev, Apollon Skalkovsky (1808–98) in Odessa, and Alexander Rusov (1847–1915) in Chernihiv and Poltava. They were the first to produce quantitative descriptions and measurements of Ukraine's economy as a regional whole. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, this econometrics was followed by a whole school of economists (Nicholas Yasnopolsky, P. Maltsiv; in the 1920's George Kryvchenko, B. Mazurenko, A. Koporsky, Nicholas Shrah) who applied aggregate statistical analysis to the study of economic and fiscal relations between Ukraine and Russia, between Galicia and Austria-Hungary, and to Ukraine's balance of foreign trade and payments. It can be said that the modern nationalist school in Ukrainian economic thought had its beginning in these econometric studies, although, chronologically, the first purely economic argument in favor of Ukraine's independence came from a pamphlet, *Ukraina irredenta,* written in 1895 by Julian Bachynsky (1870–1934?). It was on the basis of these studies that the charge arose among economists that Ukraine was a colony of Russia and Austria, and that its economy was the object of exploitation and discrimination. The charge was further strengthened when during the 1920's the Soviet Ukrainian economists working at the Gosplan and writing in the Communist party press (Michael Volobuiev, Victor Dobrogaiev, Michael Shafir) produced new evidence that Ukraine had a negative balance of fiscal transactions in the USSR budget.

### 1917–67

With the establishment of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1918, the Social-Economic Department of this institution became the center of development of Ukrainian economic thought. Its first director was M. Tuhan-Baranovsky. Heading the chairs and subsections were such leading economists and statistical experts as Constantine Voblyi, Michael Ptukha, Volodymyr Kosynsky, Serhii Solntsev, Leonid Yasnopolsky, Eugene Slutsky, and, in the late 1920's, Alexander Shlikhter. Researchers in the history of economic thought in the 1920's and the 1930's were: Alexander Ohloblyn, an expert on the history of Ukrainian industrial development and his student Dmytro Bovanenko, author of many works on the history of Ukrai-

nian economics. Members of the Odessa center were Michael Slabchenko and his students, I. Brover and Alexander Varneke; among those working in Kharkiv were Volodymyr Levytsky and P. Fomin.

Further important work in econometrics was done in the field of planning methodology and economic development theory at the end of the 1920's and the beginning of the 1930's. In 1927 V. Myshkis published a balance sheet of Ukraine's national income—one of the very first national income accounts in the world. Jacob Dimanshtein and Ivan Lando, among others, fought a gallant but losing battle for the intensification of Ukraine's industrialization; they opposed the development of Russia's less productive east. V. Akulenko wrote a scathing criticism of the official method of capital efficiency analysis employed in the first Five-Year Plan and suggested a new method that was marginalist in nature and far ahead of the times.

Between 1934 and 1954, works of stimulating interest on the Ukrainian economy were published only in Galicia and abroad by exiled economists. Their main theme was the economic exploitation of Ukraine by Moscow.

Since 1954, economic work and thought in the Ukraine SSR has again regained its vigor with interesting contributions appearing on cybernetics, national income measurement, locational theory, and comparative analysis of the efficiency of capital investments.

*V. Holubnychy*

## STATISTICS

### In the Russian Empire

Russian government statistics in which the *guberniyas* of Ukraine are treated as distinct units date from 1834, when provincial committees of the Statistical Department of the Ministry of the Interior were set up. From 1857 to 1917 all statistical data in the empire were centralized in the Central Statistical Committee of the Russian Imperial Government which published numerous statistical handbooks, yearbooks, and the *Statisticheskii Vremennik* (Statistical Yearbook, 1866–1903) in several series. The committee was run efficiently. However, some of its important statistics (especially those on the cost of living, wages, and incomes) had been criticized as untrustworthy by a number of authoritative critics at the time of their publication. Russian ministries of finance, railways, education, and war, the Chief Administration of Agriculture, and the Holy Synod also collected and published statistics on the *guberniyas.*

More reliable than those of the government are the statistics of the *zemstvo* self-governments. It is assumed that the *zemstvos* did not have any vested interest in slanting the figures, but reported and published whatever they believed to be true. In Ukraine, the best *zemstvo* statistical departments were in the Chernihiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, Kherson, Tavria, and Katerynoslav *guberniyas.* By 1895, they had assembled more than 100 separate statistical studies, including invaluable reports on peasant agriculture, living conditions, and health. In 1898, the Poltava *zemstvo* was the first to complete a survey of budgets of peasant families in the province—among the first of its kind in the world.

Municipal statistics were also important and reliable. More than a score of Ukrainian cities conducted censuses of their population and economy, among them Kiev (1874), Odessa (1892), and Kharkiv (1912).

### Ukrainian SSR in the 1920's

The history of Soviet Ukrainian statistics can be divided into at least four distinct periods in two different ways. First, in terms of availability, there were (1) the 1920–30 period, when the supply of statistics was abundant; (2) the

period of 1931–40, when the supply of published data was meager; (3) the 1941–55 period, when there was a virtual blackout on statistics, except for unreliable percentages and indexes; and (4) the period of 1956–67, when the flow of statistics resumed, but important large gaps remained. Second, in terms of collection and publishing, there were (1) the period of the autonomous Ukrainian Central Statistical Administration, 1920–9; (2) the 1930–47 period of the subordination of statistics to the planning agencies, the TsUNHO of the Derzhplan, which also witnessed a one-year (1931) bizarre "reform" abolishing statistics altogether; (3) the 1948–56 period of the highly centralized Central Statistical Administration, quite independent of the Ukrainian Republic government but completely subordinate to Moscow; and (4) the 1957–64 period, when the Central Statistical Administration was made somewhat more responsible to the government of the Ukrainian SSR in connection with the decentralization of industrial management and the establishment of the Councils of National Economy. (The events following the abolition of the Councils in 1965 are obscure. It is known, however, that the Kiev government lost its former right to statistical and other information on the operations of defense industries located in Ukraine.)

During the 1920's, the autonomous Ukrainian Central Statistical Administration developed an almost incredible amount of statistical research work. It published 35 volumes of *Trudy* (Works), containing more than 200 monographic surveys, censuses, and analytic studies which covered the Ukrainian SSR as a whole and often carried its detailed work to the level of county and village soviets. It also published several serials, such as *Statystychna Khronika* (Statistical Chronicle), in which additional research articles and sample studies were published. At the same time a wealth of data was published by the Union Central Statistical Administration in Moscow. Statistical work in Ukraine at this time ranked with the best in the world.

**Ukrainian SSR After 1930**

Statistics of the 1930's are generally suspect. Not only were they infected by Stalinist political bias but the work of statistical agencies was disrupted several times by reforms (1930–1) and purges (1933–4, in Ukraine; and then again in 1937–8) in which many of the leading statisticians perished.

A great deal of confusion was injected into the industrial statistical series by the inclusion of data on small-scale and cooperative establishments, which had not been included previously, but were now subject to planning and the centralized allocation of resources. In the agricultural series, the methods of calculation of harvests and yields were changed so as to put the burden of losses during harvesting on the peasants. Forecasted harvest in the fields prior to gathering and all losses between the field and the barn went into the statistic to be reported and published. (Until 1940, compulsory delivery quotas of produce to the state and rent payments to the MTS were levied upon this forecasted "biological" harvest, while the peasants' residual wages were drawn from the actual barned net harvest.) These and similarly altered statistics were published during the 1930's in new continuous series without adjustment for changes in methods. Yet, a number of important series were discontinued in 1931, and no data on these subjects were published until 1959: the data on the cost of living, real wages, general price indexes, national income accounts, and especially important for Ukraine, the demographic series. The 1933 and 1937 censuses were suppressed; that of 1939 was published very selectively.

In the decade following 1956, the Central Statistical Administration of the

Ukrainian SSR and its *oblast* and city branches published about fifty different statistical handbooks and yearbooks. Some important Ukrainian statistics also appeared in the publications of the Union Administration. The total flow of statistical information surpassed that of the 1930's, but did not attain the volume of the 1920's. Conspicuously absent or extremely incomplete were such non-military statistics as those concerning labor, wages and income distribution, cost of living, family budgets, prices, taxes, national income and product, banking, foreign trade, health, criminal, social, and those related to the problem of nationalities (e.g., language of instruction in schools). Most of these statistics were deliberately suppressed by the government; others were simply not compiled. In terms of quality, statistics of the 1960's were better than those of the 1930's.

Statistics in the USSR are regularly used for propaganda purposes. Like the art and literature of "socialist realism," statistics are presented to depict reality in a slanted light, which exaggerates all that is successful, rosy, and optimistic, and minimizes everything that is bad. Secondary sources and propaganda publications are usually unreliable. In the case of the official primary sources, the user must be satisfied that he understands the meaning of the definition of the given figure and the method of its construction or compilation. The bias in Soviet statistics is usually contained in the methodology. Past indexes on the growth of real incomes of the population, retail trade and consumption, gross output of industry and agriculture, labor productivity, have been especially unreliable. However, raw data are also methodologically peculiar. Thus production statistics of electric power, metals, oil refining, and milk include consumption inside the enterprise. Grain output and the production of other agricultural produce are still measured not by the amount actually shipped to consumers, but by the raw and wet weight at the time of harvesting. Housing statistics (in square meters of space) include corridors, entrance halls, bathrooms, and kitchens, rather than actual living space per capita. Horse-power capacity of engines and motor vehicles is measured while they work without load, and these figures are then published as if they were the actual draw-power of the machines, although the difference between load and no-load capacity is usually 40–50 per cent.

Among specific peculiarities of Ukrainian statistics the problem of frontiers must be emphasized. Statistics related to the year 1940 may include Western Ukraine as well as Moldavia, but not Transcarpathia or the Crimea. Even more confusing are statistics related to the other base years, 1928 and 1913. High overstatements result if statistics of the territory of the 1960's is compared inadvertently with the figures for the Ukrainian SSR in the context of the boundaries of 1940, 1928, or 1913 (for frontier changes [Vol. I, pp. 24–30]). Changes in the methods of production and the mode of life must also be kept in mind, especially when comparing levels of consumption and living.

**Western Ukraine**

Statistical data relating to western Ukrainian lands which were part of Austria-Hungary were collected and published by agencies of the central governments—Austrian in Vienna (for Galicia and Bukovina; the principal publication was *Oesterreichische Statistik* [Austrian Statistics]) and Hungarian in Budapest (for Transcarpathia). Detracting from the value of the Austrian statistics was the fact that in most cases they included data for all of Galicia (not only the eastern, i.e., Ukrainian part, but also the western Polish part). This was also true of Bukovina (both Ukrainian and Rumanian parts). A great deal of statistical material was published

by the statistical bureaus of the land executive boards—the Galician in Lviv (*Wiadomości Statystyczne* [Statistical Information], *Statystyka Galicji* [Statistics of Galicia]) and the Bukovinian in Chernivtsi.

In the interwar period collection and publication of statistics was centralized in the governments which controlled various parts of Western Ukraine, that is, those of Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia. Some statistics were published by individual ministries of these countries. Regional statistical bureaus in Lviv and Chernivtsi were abolished.

Some Ukrainian statistics have also been published after 1945 in various statistical periodicals of the United Nations and their agencies (e.g., Economic Commission for Europe). Although presumably supplied by the government of the Ukrainian SSR, some of the figures were somewhat different from those appearing in the official publications of the Central Statistical Administrations of the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR, and some were not obtainable elsewhere.

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# 2. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

## CONDITIONS OF DEVELOPMENT

### Natural and Historical Conditions

The territory of Ukraine fans out to the north of the Black and Azov seas. Almost all of Ukraine's rivers, with the exception of some in the border territories, flow concentrically into these two bodies of water which form the northeastern extension of the Mediterranean Sea. The territory of Ukraine, which belongs to this system, includes much fertile land and mineral deposits. The various regions have good communications facilities and complement each other economically. Ukraine possesses some of the best natural conditions in the world for economic development.

One of the greatest assets to the industrial development of Ukraine is the abundance of mineral deposits. It has some of the largest iron and manganese deposits in the world, the only large hard coal basin in Europe, substantial deposits of oil and natural gas, and large resources of water power. In many cases the location of these deposits is very favorable, for example the iron and manganese deposits which are located relatively close to each other and to coal. This facilitates transportation and makes the development of large industrial centers more feasible. The proximity of the deposits to the sea (60–200 miles) aids export.

The flatness of the major portion of

the Ukrainian territory is conducive to the development of agriculture and transportation. The black soil, which covers about two-thirds of the territory, is one of Ukraine's treasured natural endowments forming the basis of its agriculture. Land unsuitable for farming constitutes a very small percentage of the total.

The climate (warm summers, not too severe winters, and almost satisfactory levels of precipitation) is also favorable for agricultural development, especially that of grain cultures. Winter interferes with farming only for a short time each year, and even the most severe winters and hottest summers do not hinder work in mines and factories.

For these reasons the natural conditions in Ukraine are among the best in the world for agricultural development. They compare with the prairie provinces of Canada and the Dakotas and Minnesota in the United States. In Ukraine, approximately 68 per cent of the total land area is devoted to farming, while forests occupy only 12 per cent of the Ukrainian territory. Because of these favorable conditions Ukraine was once called the granary of Europe.

The national economy of Ukraine is greatly influenced by the transportation advantages deriving from its location. Ukraine occupies a central position between eastern Europe and the Near East. The trading distance from the mouth of the Dnieper River to Egypt is about the same as that to Italy. Ukraine is the intermediate link between the Baltic states and the Black Sea coast, central Europe and central Asia, and the Danube River Valley and central Russia.

Ukraine's geographic and economic conditions played a positive role in its development as far back as the early Middle Ages. As the river and overland link between northwestern and central Europe on the one hand, and the then cultural and economic centers of Europe and the Near East (the Byzantine empire and Arab lands) on the other, the Ukrainian nation achieved a high level of economic development. This was due primarily to the preponderance of continental trade routes over sea transport in those times. River transport was of particular importance (the Dvina and the Dnieper river systems or the old route "from the Varangians to the Greeks," [Vol. I, p. 582]). At Kiev, the road to Byzantium merged with the overland route to the Don River, which proceeded further to Ityl, the Khazars' capital located at the mouth of the Volga River. At this point the two other main routes met—the caravan trail from Baghdad through Khoresm (in present day Turkistan) and the route from China leading across the Tarim River basin. From Kiev, with its central location, the routes led across the Prypiat River to the Memel and Vistula river basins; and through Halych to Hungary, Cracow, Prague, and Regensburg (see map).

The destruction of Khazaria, the displacement of the Ukrainian population from the coastal regions by the Mongols, the fall of Kiev, Baghdad, and Byzantium, the decline of the Near East countries, and the development of sea trade routes in the Mediterranean as a result of the Crusades were the principal reasons leading to the deterioration of economic conditions in Ukraine. With the discovery of America and a sea route to India, the western European nations began to surpass and even-

FIGURE 383. TATARS CARRYING AWAY THE UKRAINIAN PEASANTS FROM GALICIA AND VOLHYNIA INTO SLAVERY (XVII CENTURY)

tually displaced central Europe in trade. Later, the route leading across the Mediterranean Sea to the east was blocked by the Turks. Consequently, the position of Ukraine in the late medieval international markets became undermined. Later Ukraine encountered even greater difficulties in international trade because furs, honey, wax, and similar products popular during the early Middle Ages were replaced by such goods as grain and lumber, the transportation of which by way of the Baltic Sea to the west was very difficult. Thus the first blossoming of Ukrainian economy occurred as a result of favorable geo-political conditions and ended as they changed.

FIGURE 384. EIGHTEENTH CENTURY UKRAINIAN PEASANTS

**Socio-Economic and Political Conditions in Modern Times**

At the present time the Ukrainian ethnic territory has a population of approximately 54 million, or some 58 million people if the mixed territories are included. The population of the Ukrainian SSR is 46.8 million (1959), the density 78 persons per square kilometer. This is a sufficiently large population for developing all aspects of the economy under normal conditions. Ukraine's political and social conditions, however, have been quite different from those of the rest of Europe. First of all, the loss of statehood in the Middle Ages resulted in the physical extinction of all heirs to the Kievan Realm (also to the Galician Kingdom). The princely families that produced much of the aristocracy in Europe were absent from the Ukrainian scene. Second, the slowly emerging class of landlords, merchants, and artisans was corrupted for the most part by the stronger foreign powers, Poland and then the Russian empire, which offered it aristocratic titles, privileges, and wealth in return for cultural assimilation. The Austro-Hungarian empire, with its comparative liberalism, furnished a degree of equity to the Ukrainian peasantry by abolishing serfdom as early as 1848 and imposing heavy taxes; but other classes of the Ukrainian society had little opportunity to develop under Austria. Thus under all the empires Ukraine was repressed to remain a peasant nation. In addition, the abundance of fertile land suitable for agriculture strengthened the acceptance of farming as the way of life and the basic economic activity. Especially in peaceful times (from the second half of the eighteenth century), the efforts of the Ukrainian peasantry were primarily directed towards intensive cultivation of land and further colonization of the borderlands.

The new cities, which began to appear in the Donbas and along the Black Sea coast in the wake of industrialization at the end of the eighteenth century, failed to attract Ukrainian peasants: those free from serfdom were reluctant to give up their private farms for new occupations, while serfs were not able to leave their masters because their bondage was that of labor (corvée [*panshchyna*]). On the other hand, the Russian peasants, being less attached to their land (which was much less fertile) and because serfdom in Russia was based mainly on money rent (*obrok*), were eager to take jobs in the emerging industries and cities of Ukraine. The masters of the Russian serfs sent their subjects to the cities to earn money and

FIGURE 385. BUILDING IN KATERYNOSLAV WHICH HOUSED A CLOTHES MANUFACTURING SHOP

encouraged them to learn various non-agricultural professions (construction, salesmanship). Thus for some time the Ukrainians were much less competitive in their economic and social behavior than were the Russians. This led to the emergence of non-Ukrainian (mostly Russian, but also Polish, Jewish) enclaves on the Ukrainian ethnic territory. Industrial cities became predominantly Russian or Russianized, while villages and small towns remained Ukrainian. There were some Ukrainian gentry landlords, merchants, industrialists, and bankers, but their number was very small. Some 50 per cent of industrial workers were of Ukrainian background in the nineteenth century. Yet the average typical Ukrainian was a peasant, living in a village, illiterate, and often poor.

The fact that Ukraine was under foreign occupation was of major significance for the Ukrainian economy. Each occupying country (Russia, Austria-Hungary, and finally the USSR, as well as Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia for a while) conducted its economic affairs with little regard for the well-being of the Ukrainian people. The policies of these states inhibited the natural economic development of Ukraine and weakened and conserved its social structure. The ruling countries gave priority to their own needs and interests; they treated the Ukrainian lands mostly as markets for their industrial products and as a source of mineral raw materials and inexpensive grain. The uncertainty associated with occupying the Ukrainian lands, which formed the "borderlands" of the ruling states, resulted in an almost identical policy toward Ukraine—a minimum amount of domestic or local capital investment and the extraction of as much wealth as possible. It was only toward the end of the nineteenth century that foreign specialists and, even more importantly, foreign capital began to flow into Ukraine. Large-scale industry and trade came almost totally under foreign control (see also Industry and Finance).

## UKRAINIAN ECONOMY IN NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

### Central and Eastern Lands

The economic development of Russian-occupied Ukraine may be divided into two periods: (1) From the end of the eighteenth century through the 1870's; (2) From the 1870's until World War I.

Rapid migration to the south at the turn of the eighteenth century [Vol. I, p. 667] led to the colonization of southern Ukraine and the Kuban region. As a result, a series of ports emerged along the sea. The most important of these, Odessa, was a free port from 1819. In the mid-nineteenth century, the economic significance of the Ukrainian steppe region became primarily that of an exporter of grains, wool, and animal products. The development of agriculture was hampered by difficulties in transportation and by competition from the

black-earth region of central Russia. Making use of cheap serf labor during the first half of the nineteenth century, the landowners developed such branches of the food industry as distillation of spirits, sugar refining, and, to a lesser extent, tobacco and edible oil. For the most part, these products were sold outside the Russian empire. In contrast, the textile industry, which used such local raw materials as wool, linen, and hemp, declined because of intense competition from the large industries of Poland and central Russia.

During the 1860's and 1870's the Ukrainian economic structure underwent important changes resulting from the construction of railroads, the abolition of serfdom, and the development of

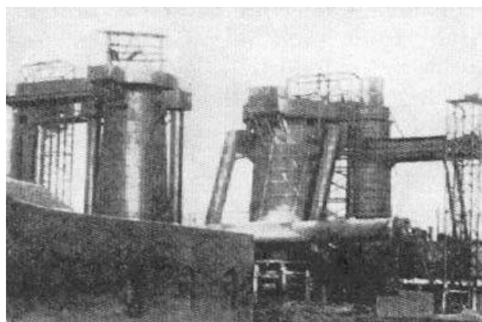

FIGURE 386. BLAST FURNACE AT HUGHES IRON WORKS IN DONBAS, 1885

mining industry in southeastern Ukraine. The first railroads, built during the 1860's [see Transportation], connected the Ukrainian interior with the Black Sea and with central Russia, which made possible the export of Ukrainian grain in both directions. Moreover, the demand for grain in western Europe increased owing to the abolition of "corn laws" and the process of industrialization which was taking place there. Thus the second half of the nineteenth century witnessed a rapid cultivation of the steppes and a corresponding diminution of grazing land. At this time agricultural machinery came into use for the first time in Ukraine, making it for a while the most important granary of Europe and the world's leading exporter of wheat and barley. At first Ukrainian grain was exported mostly to England and Holland and eventually to Germany. Consequently, the significance of the black-earth belt in central Russia declined [see Agriculture]. Intensive mining of coal in the Donets basin began during the 1870's, and 1880 marked the beginning of iron ore exploitation at Kryvyi Rih. Moreover, soon these two regions were linked by railroads. With the help of foreign investment, mining and heavy industry in this area developed at a rapid pace and soon surpassed the Ural region in production [see Industry]. The tempo of the industrial revolution in Ukraine was one of the fastest, if not the fastest, in the world. However, despite intensive industrial development, on the eve of World War I Ukraine was still primarily an agricultural country with food industries, particularly sugar refining, as the leading branch. The distinctive feature of the Ukrainian economy at this time was the preponderance of west European capital and technology (mainly French and Belgian).

Foreign participation in the Ukrainian economic life assumed many forms. One of them was the previously mentioned influx of foreign workers, mostly Russians. At the same time, many Ukrainian peasants who had very meager land holdings after the abolition of serfdom emigrated to Siberia and overseas [Vol. I, p. 194]. A large portion of Ukrainian land was owned by foreigners, chiefly Russians, Poles, and Germans. But the most thorough denationalization of the Ukrainian economy occurred in the area of capital investment in industry. This did not benefit Russian interests, however, but those of west European capitalists, since Russian capitalists preferred to invest in industries located mainly in the central Russian provinces. Before World War I, more than 400 million rubles, originating in western Europe, were invested in central and eastern

Ukraine generating some 1,170 million rubles in mining and industrial output. About 80 per cent of the capital invested in Ukrainian industries originated in western Europe.

Thus the foreign capital which penetrated the Russian empire flowed primarily into Ukraine, whose industrial development occurred as a result of investment by French, Belgian, and, to a lesser extent, German and English banks. Russians contributed very little to this input. The sole exception was the food industry, financed locally by landowners and banks located in Ukraine.

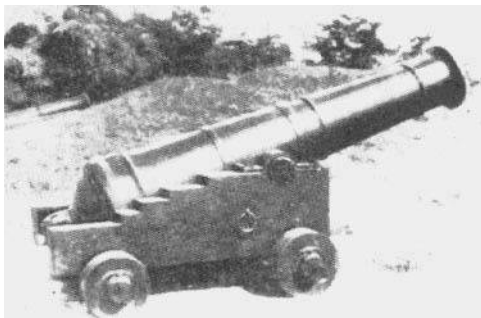

FIGURE 387. CANNON BY A FOUNDRY IN LUHANSKE IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

The colonial position of central and eastern Ukraine with respect to Russia led to the neglect of some branches of Ukraine's economy and a steady outflow of taxes and profits to the Russian provinces. In 1909–13, the nine Ukrainian *guberniyas* (provinces) contributed 20 per cent to the total budget receipts of the empire but received only 12 per cent of the expenditures. This represented 17 and 8.65 rubles per person, respectively. Of the capital formed within Ukraine's national income, barely 25 per cent was reinvested at home in the first decade of the twentieth century. About 75 per cent found its way beyond the borders of Ukraine in the form of dividends and interest payments to various absentee investors. The flow of this capital to Russia aided in the development of metal-working and engineering industries which then began to compete with those of Ukraine, often using cheap Ukrainian raw materials. In trade with other provinces of the Russian empire, Ukrainian exports exceeded imports by one-third to two-thirds. Ukraine's exports beyond the borders of the Russian empire exceeded the imports four to nine times, thus contributing heavily to the Russian trade balance [see External Trade].

The status of Ukraine was that of a Russian colony. Yet this was due not to Russia's comparative economic advantage but to political dependence. Since there was a steady stream of investment from abroad, Ukraine found itself in the position of a developing country which maintained productive economic ties with western Europe. Aside from such negative aspects as curbs on the industrial development and prolonged capital outflows, political ties with Russia did not impede Ukraine's economic relations with western Europe, which remained very close up to World War I.

To what extent was Ukraine also a colony of such west European powers as France and Belgium? Politically, Ukraine was not their subject. In terms of the balance of payments, however, Ukraine experienced an inflow of their capital for 20 to 25 years and a net outflow of profits for 10 to 15 years preceding

FIGURE 388. THE FIRST BLAST FURNACE BUILT IN THE TOWN OF ALCHEVSKE, DONBAS, 1896 (THE COMPANY, WHICH USED LOCAL CAPITAL, WENT BANKRUPT IN 1906)

World War I. (Exact payment balances have yet to be calculated.) Unlike in most other colonies of the west European powers, however, their capital was contributing to Ukraine's rapid industrialization, thus modernizing the country and bringing it up to a much higher level of development than the rest of the Russian empire. According to Soviet estimates, on the eve of World War I, Ukraine produced 24 per cent of the total industrial output of imperial Russia, much more than its share in the population. And this was due mainly to the investment of the west European capital, managerial manpower, and modern technology and equipment.

**Western Ukraine**

At the close of the eighteenth century, Western Ukraine found itself within the Austro-Hungarian empire as a poor and agriculturally overpopulated region. Economic progress was impeded by the fact that even after the abolition of serfdom 50 per cent of all land remained in the hands of large landowners and that on the eve of World War I, 70 per cent of the peasants did not possess sufficient means (such as horses and implements) to carry on efficient farming. During the first half of the nineteenth century some small industrial enterprises, possessed mostly by landowners, were in operation in Galicia. There were a few textile mills, iron works (in 1822 there were 40 such small enterprises employing 3,000 workers), glass works, paper mills, and sugar refineries (in 1844 there were eight sugar refineries). In Pokutia and Bukovina leather tanning was quite well developed.

Industrial development in Western Ukraine was curbed by the Austrian authorities who wanted this area to remain an agricultural supplier of grain, cattle, and lumber and serve as a market for Austria's industrial products. This left only the food industry (breweries and alcohol distilleries) as a possible area of development. During the 1850's oil exploration began, mostly with foreign capital investment. The government saline monopoly developed very slowly and the potassium salt mines were neglected. The large foreign firms brought more harm than benefit to the local economy by their rapid exploitation of the Carpathian lumber. They indiscriminately cut down the forests, exporting the lumber immediately and paying the local workers meager wages. Emigration was the only recourse left to the Ukrainian peasant as a means of saving himself from total poverty. Consequently, emigration from this area was much greater than from any other part of Ukraine.

In terms of its external relationships, Galicia was a region which supplied raw materials (oil, oil products, and lumber) and certain food products (grain and herbs to some extent, but mostly animal products). These products were exported to Austria and all sorts of industrial goods, particularly manufactures and metal products, were imported into Galicia. Thus the position of Galicia was analogous to that of Russian-occupied Ukraine, that is, the relationship was one of colonial dependence with the control of the industrial enterprises and capital investment resting in foreign hands.

FIGURE 389. WORKING THE BORYSLAV OIL FIELDS (NINETEENTH CENTURY)

Similar conditions prevailed in Bukovina and Transcarpathia.

*R. Dyminsky, V. Holubnychy*

## UKRAINIAN ECONOMY IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

### The Ukrainian SSR

The military conquest of Ukraine after a brief period of independence saw the establishment of Soviet political power and its concomitant Communist socio-economic order.

The contemporary Soviet economic system did not come into being immediately but is the result of several stages of development. It was during the period of the second Five-Year Plan that this system acquired its basic features. The evolution of Soviet economics in Ukraine may be divided into the following periods: (1) the Russo-Ukrainian war and the consolidation of Soviet power in Ukraine (1918–22); (2) the period of relative economic autonomy from Moscow (1923–30); (3) the period of growing centralization of planning and administration (1931–40); (4) the war period (1941–5); (5) the period of economic reconstruction and maximum centralization (1946–53); (6) the reform period—decentralization of economic administration (1954–61); (7) return to Moscow's centralism (1962–).

By nationalizing the land, industry, transportation, and the financial system during the first period, the Bolsheviks achieved their so-called "commanding heights." The war led to a total decline of industry, transportation, and agriculture. At this point Ukraine was not yet under the total influence of the Soviet system. In 1920 the area of cultivated land diminished by 50 per cent, and in 1921 to one-third of the 1913 total, while the production of coal dropped to 18 per cent and the output of cast iron to .5 per cent.

The NEP period [Vol. I, pp. 814–15] was characterized by the efforts of the authorities to rebuild the ruined economy by allowing some private initiative. As far as agriculture was concerned, this meant a shift to a direct tax system which clearly defined the peasant's duty and allowed relatively broad investment of private capital not only in agriculture but also in industry and trade. As a result of these measures economic prosperity returned and by 1927 the prewar level had been attained.

In the third period the Bolsheviks embarked on the course of "building a socialist society." In order to accomplish this goal they decided to collectivize all agriculture, which curtailed the peasants' freedom and placed agriculture within the centralized planning framework of the entire economy. This period was characterized by a great decline in agricultural production as the Ukrainian peasants were strongly opposed to collectivization. At the same time, industry developed at a rapid pace. The official goal of the Five-Year plans was to transform the Soviet Union from an agrarian into an industrial society, to create the material and technological base needed to rebuild the entire economy, and to eliminate small private farms by changing into a collective form of agricultural production. The place of Ukraine in this scheme was that of a coal and metallurgical center of the USSR. Also, Ukraine was to supply the rest of the USSR with grain, sugar, and fats.

The second Five-Year Plan (1933–7) was designated as the final stage in the technological reconstruction of industry, transportation, and agriculture. This was the time when the principal characteristics of the Soviet economic

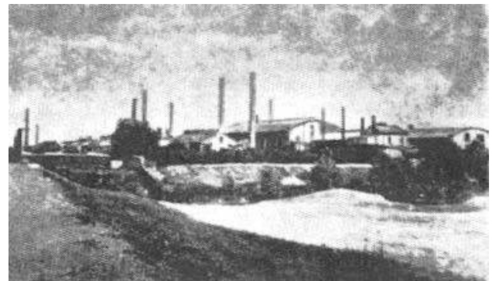

FIGURE 390. GENERAL VIEW OF THE HARTMAN STEAM LOCOMOTIVE FACTORY IN 1907

system were crystallized. The collective farms emerged as the basic form of agriculture and the machine-and-tractor stations as its technological and administrative centers. Methods of controlling industry were developed, the trade apparatus was reorganized, a monetary-credit system of settling accounts between state enterprises was set up, the techniques of planning were perfected, and many other measures were adopted in a process which saw the Soviet economic system assume stability and permanent forms. The third Five-Year Plan (1938–41) was devoted in large measure to the chemical industry and to machine-building, that is, to the development of those industries which were indispensable to defense and economic self-sufficiency. This stage of development was cut short by the war.

As a result of its inclusion into the Soviet economic framework, Ukraine's economy and social relations assumed new characteristics: (1) Ukraine was transformed from an agricultural into an industrial society; (2) heavy industry assumed precedence over light and food industries, which under normal economic conditions develop prior to heavy industry; (3) Ukraine remained above all a producer of raw materials—coal and metals; (4) structural changes occurred in agriculture, such as the relative decline in importance of grains and the increased significance of technical crops and fodder-grass; (5) farming methods underwent total transformation as a result of tractor application; (6) the standard of living in Ukraine fell sharply, resulting in health deficiencies; (7) the colonial dependence of Ukraine became more apparent.

In the 1930's, the Ukrainian economy experienced much greater subjugation to Russia than under the tsars. Whereas Moscow had to make at least partial concessions in the political and cultural spheres owing to the achievements of the Ukrainian national revolution, in the economic area its system of centralization and exploitation surpassed anything that Ukraine had experienced until that time.

During the 1930's, when the Ukrainian autonomy was almost abolished and the Ukrainian "nationalism" was ruthlessly suppressed, the centralization of economic power in Moscow became even more firmly solidified. This trend received official sanction from Stalin's Constitution which placed almost all of the people's commissariats under Moscow's jurisdiction.

**Western Ukraine**

Despite the fact that individual western Ukrainian lands found themselves within different political systems as a result of World War I and the Ukrainian struggle for independence, their economic features underwent little change. These lands remained border areas of various countries as in the period before the war and continued to supply the latter with raw materials while importing industrial products from them.

Galicia and, to a lesser extent, the northwestern lands remained poor and excessively agrarian in nature, with the density of population increasing steadily owing to the decrease of emigration overseas and an influx of Polish settlers. Agriculture was still underdeveloped and industrial progress, which was undertaken in the 1930's by the Polish regime in Poland proper (the Central Industrial District), did not touch the Ukrainian lands. Essentially, the Ukrainian lands under Poland were areas exporting oil, potassium salt, lumber, cattle, and poultry products as well as small quantities of grain. Here however, life for Ukrainians was especially difficult owing to the regime's political and economic discrimination. This was offset to some extent by Ukrainian economic organizations, particularly the cooperative movement.

Similar economic conditions developed

FIGURE 391. WATER MILL IN CHERKASKE, 1910

in the Ukrainian lands under Rumania, although the density of farm population there was not as great and the economic pressures on the part of the regime were less severe.

Economic conditions in Transcarpathia under Czechoslovakia improved considerably as compared to those in the period of Hungarian rule. Czechoslovakia, of which this region became a part, was a highly advanced nation and this fact had a beneficial effect on the development of all segments of national economy, particularly communications, transportation, and agriculture. Essentially, Transcarpathia was an area of surplus lumber production and, to a lesser extent, animal products and salt. All types of industrial goods were imported.

*N. Vasyliv*

## UKRAINIAN ECONOMY AFTER WORLD WAR II

### General Characteristics

During the German-Soviet war of 1941–5 Ukraine lost more than six million people. The material losses amounted to about 285 billion rubles (in 1941 prices) and nearly 900 billion rubles in income were not received by the population. Ukraine's economic losses accounted for 42 to 47 per cent of the USSR total. Reconstruction lasted until the mid-1950's. Since Moscow, both during and after the war, allocated the major portion of investments to the central and eastern provinces of Russia and to Kazakhstan, the significance of Ukraine in the Soviet Union declined in comparison with the prewar period, and for the first time its level of economic development fell behind that of Russia. The per capita national income in 1957 was 16 per cent lower in the Ukrainian SSR than in Russia. The Ukrainian SSR's share in the total Soviet coal production fell to 33.6 per cent in 1965 from 50.3 per cent in 1940. The same was true of other branches of the economy: ferrous metallurgy, from 59.3 to 44.3 per cent; electric energy, from 25.7 to 18.7 per cent; machine tools, from 20.0 to 13.4 per cent; wheat, from 26.4 to 18.6 per cent. The Ukrainian SSR received little assistance for reconstruction and development from outside the USSR. From 1946 to 1947, 194.2 million dollars worth of deliveries were received from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), and the United States delivered several turbines for the Dnieper Hydro-electric Station, as well as trucks, tractors, and some other equipment. At the same time, the Ukrainian SSR continued to lose human and material resources to Russia and other parts of the Soviet Union.

In contrast, the Ukrainian SSR managed to preserve and even increase its share of heavy industrial output in the world as a whole. Its portion of total world production of cast iron rose from 9.4 per cent in 1938–40 to 11.0 per cent in the 1963–5 period. Other significant comparisons for the same periods are: steel, from 6.3 to 8.2 per cent; electric power, from 2.3 to 2.8 per cent; sugar,

FIGURE 392. MINES IN KADIÏVKA, DONBAS, 1910

from 5.8 to 8.2 per cent; manganese, from 24.9 to 27.2 per cent; hard coal, from 6.3 to 8.9 per cent. Only the production of wheat fell from 6.5 per cent of the world total to 4.3 per cent in the same period. The emphasis on certain specialized aspects of production was lessened and the Ukrainian economy became more self-sufficient as compared with the prewar period. To a great extent eastern Europe became dependent on Ukrainian industrial and agricultural raw materials, especially in metallurgy.

**Planning and Administration**

Planning of the Ukrainian SSR's economic development continued to be centralized in Moscow. The fourth Five-Year Plan (1946–50) was significantly underfulfilled in Ukraine, especially as regards capital investment, agricultural and consumer goods production, and the construction of new housing. The fifth Five-Year Plan (1951–5) was the first in the series without a plan for the Ukrainian SSR as a single territorial unit. This indicated that maximum centralization was achieved by Moscow.

The 18th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine demanded in its March 1954 resolutions that economic planning and management be decentralized. This was the first open demand of its kind in the USSR. A step toward decentralization was made by the establishment of ministries for the steel and coal industries in the Kiev government. During the 1954–6 period, the control over some 10,000 industrial establishments in the Ukrainian SSR was transferred from Moscow to Kiev. The percentage of industrial production controlled by the government in Kiev increased as a result of this decentralization from 36 in 1953 to 76 in 1956, and after the reform of 1957, to 96 per cent until 1962. The 1957 reform of Soviet industrial planning and management abolished most of the Union economic ministries, transferred decision-making powers to the government of the republics, and established regional economic councils for direct management of plants and factories. Under the administration of the economic councils, the decision-making powers of local enterprise managers were considerably curtailed, resulting in an increased centralization of relations between the councils and local enterprises. In the relations between Moscow and the republics, and between the governments of the republics and their regional economic councils, a considerable degree of centralization still remained, however. The decentralization reform soon turned into what Moscow authorities referred to as "localism" or "local bias," that is, placing the interests of the republics and regions above those of the USSR as a whole. What was actually at stake, however, were the delivery quotas of the Ukrainian SSR and other republics for the development of the eastern regions of the RSFSR and Kazakhstan; these quotas were being persistently underfulfilled. This was the primary reason for the abandonment of the reform in 1962. In the 1962–4 period, the control of the Moscow authorities over Ukrainian industries was reestablished, the Union ministries were revived, and the economic councils were abolished in 1965. In the meantime, owing to the reforms and the resulting chaos, the sixth Five-Year Plan (1956–60) was abandoned and the Seven-Year Plan (1959–65) was considerably underfulfilled. The new Five-Year Plan for 1966–70 was drawn up on the pre-1957 pattern, with heavy emphasis again placed on the de-

FIGURE 393. A DONBAS MINE IN 1916

velopment of the Siberian regions of the RSFSR at the expense of Ukraine and other European areas [see Soviet Economic System in Ukraine].

**Human Resources**

The following are estimated population figures for the Ukrainian SSR (in millions): 1941–41.0; 1945–29.0; 1947–34.7; 1950–36.6, and it was not until 1957 that the prewar figure was reached again. Direct war losses were partially compensated immediately after the war by the influx of white-collar employees and skilled laborers from Russia (with families). During the 1950–66 period there was a population increase of 8.5 million, of which 8.1 million constituted the natural increase. At the beginning of 1968 the population of the Ukrainian SSR was 46.4 million. After 1950 there was a considerable drop of births, and the natural increase declined from 1.43 per cent in 1950 to .7 per cent in 1968. The rural population decreased about .5 per cent annually, and by 1968 the urban population reached 54 per cent [for population changes between 1941 and 1959, see also Vol. I, pp. 204–5].

Except for the 1940's there was no labor shortage, mainly because the countryside was relatively overpopulated (particularly in Western Ukraine), thus offering labor supply for the cities. However, there were shortages in certain occupations (for example, engineers in the 1950's), which was the result of poor planning and personnel training. Workers and employees were permitted to change employment freely for the first time since April 25, 1956 (with the abolition of the law of April 26, 1940 under which all jobs were frozen).

The labor force actually employed outside of the home increased from 20,732,000 in 1939 to 22,633,000 in 1959. Out of this figure, 2,708,000 (or 12 per cent) were over or under age, and 801,000 were members of the armed forces. The actual figure of persons theoretically able to work was 24,882,000

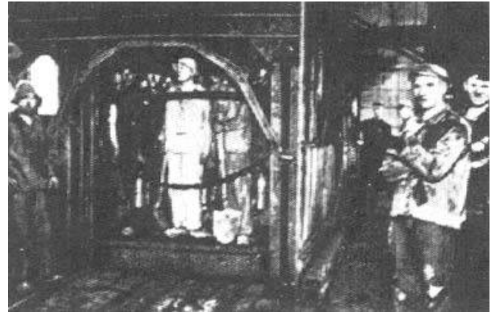

FIGURE 394. WORKERS BEING LOWERED DOWN INTO THE MINES BY ELEVATORS, 1916

in 1959. In the mid-1960's, unemployment among the youth became an acute problem for the first time.

The working labor force in the cities consisted of 52.5 per cent men and 47.5 per cent women; in the countryside it was 40.1 per cent and 59.9 per cent, respectively (1959). About 69 per cent of all able-bodied women worked outside their homes (an increase of 7.6 per cent over 1939). The number of persons engaged in agriculture in 1959 decreased 9.7 per cent in comparison with 1939. The total number engaged in physical work increased by 10.6 per cent during this period, and of white-collar workers by 21.7 per cent. The number of persons with less than seven grades of schooling dropped from 835 per thousand in 1939 to 530 per thousand in 1959. The number of specialists with higher and special secondary education increased correspondingly; the total number was 2,668,000 in 1967, or 5.2 times the figure for 1940 and 2.8 times the figure for 1955.

Labor productivity in industry (according to official data) increased 13 per cent in 1950 (compared with 1940), 220 per cent in 1960, and 270 per cent in 1965, but the annual rate of increase dropped from 7.2 per cent in 1956 to 3.9 per cent in 1964. Among principal reasons for this was an inadequate increase in wages, scarcity of capital and especially new equipment. Thus, for example, between 1959 and 1964, the average annual increase of labor pro-

ductivity was 5.4 per cent, but that of wages only 1.3 per cent.

**Capital Resources**

During the entire postwar period, the Ukrainian SSR received from the State Treasury of the USSR 29 per cent less per capita capital invesment than the RSFSR. There was no economic justification for this because marginal capital productivity in the Ukrainian SSR's industry between 1954 and 1962 was 0.92 rubles for each ruble of capital investment, while in the RSFSR it was only 0.78 rubles. Similarly, profitability of industrial capital in the Ukrainian SSR between 1959 and 1963 was 17.8 per cent higher than in the RSFSR. The share of the Ukrainian SSR in fixed capital of the USSR was 20.2 per cent in 1955, while the share in industrial capital investment during the entire period was only 17.9 per cent. The fixed capital per worker in the Ukrainian SSR was only 1.2 per cent higher than in the RSFSR, but the productivity of labor in the Ukrainian SSR exceeded that of the RSFSR by 26.7 per cent in 1960. During the 1946–64 period, capital invested in the Ukrainian economy from all sources was 75,793 million rubles (in 1955 prices), of which 68.8 per cent came through centralized state plans, 11.9 from collective farms, 10.4 from enterprises, and 8.9 per cent from the population. These capital investments were distributed as follows: industry—41.1 per cent; housing construction—20.5 per cent; agriculture—17.0 per cent; commercial, municipal, cultural, and educational institutions—12.7 per cent; transportation and communications—8.7 per cent. The share of industry in all state capital investments decreased from 55.6 per cent during the fourth Five-Year Plan to 49 per cent in the Seven-Year Plan.

Investment efficiency and marginal productivity of fixed capital in the Ukrainian SSR during the postwar period was declining in the entire economy, and capital-output ratios were increasing. This was the main reason for the marked industrial slowdown during the last 15 years. The increment of national income per ruble of invested capital dropped from 2.0 rubles in 1953 to 1.5 rubles in 1965.

In recent years, these phenomena are peculiar to nearly all economically developed countries, but in the Ukrainian SSR (as well as in the USSR) they are caused by the following factors: (1) unjustified low rates of capital depreciation, which do not take into account obsolescence of machines and equipment in sufficient degree; in the USSR the official rate of capital depreciation is 6 per cent per annum and less, whereas in the United States it is 17 per cent and more; hence, in the Ukrainian SSR machines are discarded only after 16–17 years of use (5–6 years in the United States), and thus one-half of the machines and equipment are fifteen years old and older and nearly one-third continue in use after their term of depreciation; (2) technical backwardness is caused by the shortage of inventions; as in other countries, a large part of new inventions in the USSR is absorbed by the defense industry, but inventiveness is not sufficiently stimulated by the patent laws; (3) errors in planning which cause an unbalanced development of some branches of industry (for example, the backwardness in communications, transportation, maintenance, construction of housing, and agriculture) and disproportionate rates of growth; thus, between 1959 and 1965, the manufacture of production tools in the Ukrainian SSR was to increase 82 per cent according to plan, but the actual increase was 96 per cent; and whereas production of consumer goods was to increase 67 per cent, it actually reached only 63 per cent; (4) the shortcomings in current planning of production and distribution cause considerable idleness of equipment, unsatisfactory design and execution of new construction projects, dispersal of capital investments and over-

extension of construction deadlines (for example, the average time spent on building an industrial plant in the Ukrainian SSR is five to ten years, whereas in the United States it is only two to three years); (5) depletion of the best natural resources, exhaustion of soils, deterioration of working conditions in mines, and the lowering of safety standards, particularly in the Donbas and Kryvyi Rih regions; thus marginal productivity for every ruble of fixed

FIGURE 395. CONSTRUCTION OF THE SHTERHRES POWER STATION, 1923

capital in the mining industry of the Ukrainian SSR dropped from 37 kopecks in 1955 to 25 kopecks in 1965; (6) structural growth of capital-intensive industries (defense, metallurgy, fuel, power, heavy machine-building) which require comparatively more capital investment for each ruble's worth of production than others. In these branches marginal productivity drops at a faster rate, even if technical progress is more evident. Marginal productivity declined faster in agriculture than in industry. It was 28 per cent lower in state farms than in collective farms (between 1958 and 1964).

**Natural Resources**

Thanks to intensive geological prospecting for minerals in the Ukrainian SSR, the estimated reserves are now greater than before World War II [see Mineral Resources].

After the war, the exploitation of mineral resources in the Ukrainian SSR was more intensive than in the rest of the USSR (mining of manganese ore, for example, increased from 4.2 million tons in 1958 to 10.2 million tons in 1965), but at a rate slower than the discovery of new deposits. The coal deposits of highest quality in the Donbas and those of iron ore in the Kryvyi Rih region are nearing depletion, although large agglomeration mills and new deposits are being put into operation. Mining costs are continually increasing, however. Also, after the war, the black soil (chornozem) was somewhat impoverished and soil erosion increased. While it is true that intensive cultivation and particularly chemicals tend to equalize these

FIGURE 396. STEAM LOCOMOTIVE FACTORY IN KHARKIV, 1923

processes, production costs are constantly increasing. The problem of timber resources has become acute: timber reserves of the Ukrainian SSR now stand at only 724 million cubic meters [see Forestry], and the annual demand is 40 million cubic meters. The problem of water resources has also become extremely grave in recent years. There has been a periodic shortage of water in the past fifteen years in the areas of Donbas, Kryvyi Rih, Kharkiv, Kirovohrad, and Odessa, not only for industry and irrigation but even for drinking. These shortages cannot be satisfied from local reserves. Lack of water has a particularly restraining effect on the development of chemical industry.

## STRUCTURE AND LEVEL OF DEVELOPMENT ACCORDING TO NATIONAL INCOME ACCOUNTS

Calculations of the national income accounts were started in Ukraine in 1926—among the earliest in the world. According to these calculations (in billions of rubles at prices of the time), the national income of the Ukrainian SSR was: 1923/4–2.4; 1924/5–3.1; 1925/6–4.7; 1926/7–4.6; 1927/8–5.0; 1928/9–5.5; and 1929/30–7.4. The structure of the national income of the Ukrainian SSR during the 1923–6 period was as follows: consumption—84 per cent; capital accumulation—11 per cent; the balance of 5 per cent went to the rest of the USSR. In 1927/8 the USSR took 9 per cent of the Ukrainian SSR's national income without returning it. On the basis of this imbalance, M. Volobuiev, later L. Z. Melnyk, and other Ukrainian economists maintained that Moscow was engaged in colonial exploitation of Ukraine. The share of the Ukrainian SSR in the produced national income of the USSR was 17.9 per cent between 1928 and 1930. The national income was calculated in the Ukrainian SSR until 1931 and then abandoned in connection with the centralization of planning in Moscow.

An attempt was made abroad in 1956 to calculate the national income of the Ukrainian SSR for 1940 and 1954, both by the western as well as the Soviet method. In prices of the years indicated and by the Soviet method, the estimates were: 1940–96.7 and 1954–197.2 billion rubles (according to the post-1961 scale of prices this equals 9.7 and 19.7 billion rubles, respectively).

FIGURE 397. BUILDING NEAR KHARKIV WHICH HOUSED THE FIRST NUCLEAR REACTOR IN THE USSR AND EUROPE, 1946

In 1957 the Central Statistical Administration of the Ukrainian SSR resumed compilation of national income data. Together with unofficial estimates for the preceding years they are listed in Table I.

TABLE I

| Year | Current rubles (billion) | Year | Current rubles (billion) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1940 | 9.7* | 1961 | 29.4 |
| 1954 | 19.7* | 1962 | 31.7 |
| 1956 | 20.0* | 1963 | 31.7 |
| 1957 | 22.3* | 1964 | 34.8 |
| 1958 | 24.3 | 1965 | 38.2 |
| 1959 | 25.5 | 1966 | 40.0 |
| 1960 | 27.0 | 1967 | 41.9 |
| | | 1968 | 44.4* |

*Unofficial estimates.

The data for the 1950's were inflated because of an upward trend in almost all prices in the preceding years. In the 1960's sales taxes were reduced and there was a downward trend in the prices. The

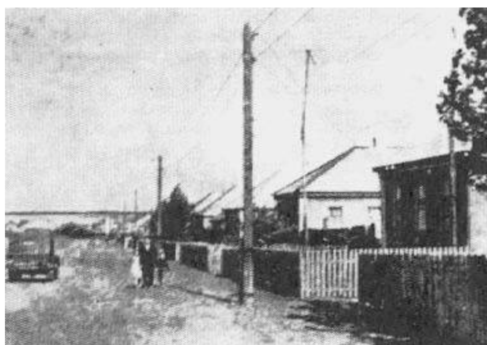

FIGURE 398. A STREET IN THE VILLAGE CHERVONA POLIANA, DONBAS, 1965

lack of progress between 1962 and 1963 was due to a poor harvest. As components of the national income, agriculture and housing construction fluctuate quite often and pull the national income with them.

For comparison with the national income of the Ukrainian SSR, indexes for foreign countries are cited in Table II, as compiled by the Central Statistical Administration of the USSR by the Soviet method and according to Soviet foreign exchange rates (figures for 1961 and for the United States for 1962):

TABLE II

| Country | Absolute total national income (billion rubles) | Per capita (rubles) |
|---|---|---|
| USA | 296.8 | 1,590 |
| Great Britain | 39.9 | 1,039 |
| West Germany | 42.7 | 1,000 |
| France | 32.1 | 932 |
| Canada | 16.8 | 919 |
| USSR | 152.9 | 695 |
| Ukrainian SSR | 29.4 | 675 |
| Italy | 18.9 | 503 |
| Yugoslavia | 4.6 | 248 |

Table III illustrates the American method of calculating the Gross National Product (rather than the national income) for 1960 (in dollars and at the official exchange rates):

TABLE III

| Country | Absolute total gross national product (billions of dollars) | Per capita (dollars) |
|---|---|---|
| USA | 504.4 | 2,757 |
| Great Britain | 70.8 | 1,343 |
| France | 58.0 | 1,266 |
| West Germany | 66.1 | 1,226 |
| USSR | 193.6 | 896 |
| Ukrainian SSR | 36.0 | 837 |
| Italy | 32.1 | 655 |

The structure of the national income of the Ukrainian SSR, according to the sources of origin and in comparison with the Russian SFSR and the USSR (in percentages of the total) is shown in Table IV.

Table IV shows the changes in the economy of the Ukrainian SSR during the process of industrialization, as well as the fact that Russia is now more highly industrialized than the Ukrainian SSR. (However, in accordance with the official Soviet methodology, all turnover taxes are imputed to industry in this table. Hence, the share of agriculture is

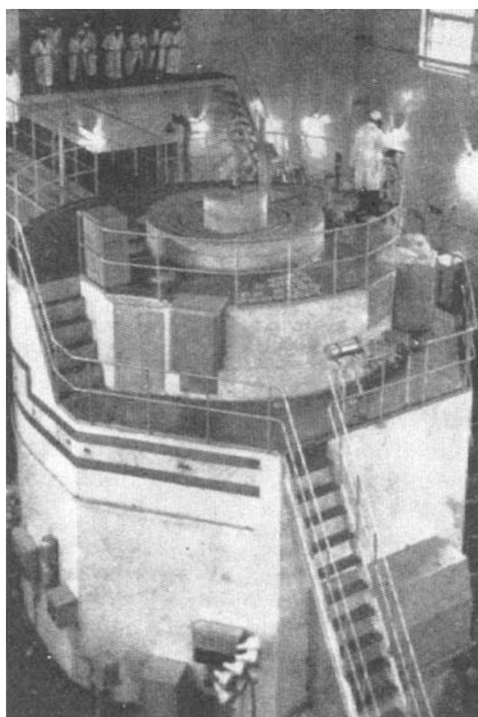

FIGURE 399. NUCLEAR REACTOR OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

TABLE IV

| Source | Ukrainian SSR 1925–9 | Ukrainian SSR 1959–63 | RSFSR 1959–63 | USSR 1959–63 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Industry | 27.4 | 48.5 | 56.9 | 52.7 |
| Construction | 6.7 | 9.4 | 9.3 | 9.4 |
| Agriculture | 46.9 | 26.6 | 16.5 | 21.1 |
| Transportation and communications | 3.4 | 4.4 | 5.9 | 5.4 |
| Commerce, etc. | 15.6 | 11.1 | 11.4 | 11.4 |
| TOTALS | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

somewhat understated and that of industry overstated because some turnover taxes do originate in agriculture.)

The total national income in the Ukrainian SSR per worker in industry is much higher than in agriculture. According to figures of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, each industrial worker produced 30,000 rubles' worth of national income in 1957, and each agricultural worker only 7800 rubles.

The rate of increase of the national income in the Ukrainian SSR has considerably decreased in recent years and is even slower than in Russia: during the 1958–64 period the national income (in comparable prices) of the Ukrainian SSR had a mean annual growth of 5.1 per cent and that of the RSFSR–6.6 per cent. According to the Seven-Year Plan for 1959–65, the national income of the Ukrainian SSR was expected to increase 62 to 65 per cent, but the actual increase was only 46 per cent. According to the current Five-Year Plan (1966–70), the national income of the Ukrainian SSR is to increase 40 per cent.

During the 1958–68 period, the national income of the Ukrainian SSR constituted 19 per cent of the USSR total. The structure of the national income of the Ukrainian SSR for 1960 was 71 per cent consumption and 29 per cent accumulation, the latter including a balance in favor of the USSR. According to somewhat incomplete data of the Ukrainian SSR's Academy of Sciences for 1959–61, the Union budget failed to return to the Ukrainian SSR about 4 billion rubles a year in taxes and other income collected in Ukraine, and the balance in favor of the USSR constituted an average 14 per cent of the Ukrainian SSR's national income.

*V. Holubnychy*

FIGURE 400. A MODERN COMPUTER MADE AT THE INSTITUTE OF CYBERNETICS, ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

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# 3. THE SOVIET ECONOMIC SYSTEM IN UKRAINE

## HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

### "War Communism"

After the revolution in Russia in November 1917, the Bolsheviks proceeded to establish an entirely novel economic system which they subsequently named "war communism." It was a mixture of pragmatic policies designed to gear the economy to the needs of the civil war and a purely doctrinaire attempt at the immediate implementation of the full-fledged Communist model, based on such ideas as the nationalization of the means of production, centralized distribution and allocation of resources, abolition and prohibition of money and commerce, barter relations among the industries and between industry and agriculture, equalitarian remuneration of labor in kind, calculation of values in labor-time units. This system was modeled after Karl Marx's views on a future post-capitalist society, although Marx envisioned their application in a highly developed, abundantly productive economy rather than in an underdeveloped Russia. The system worked in practice for a while in the major industrial centers of Russia and to a lesser extent in the Donets Basin in Ukraine, but all attempts to introduce it in other areas of Ukraine failed, arousing workers' opposition and peasant rebellions [Vol. I, pp. 799, 802].

### The New Economic Policy

The New Economic Policy (NEP), introduced by Lenin in March 1921 to correct the mistakes of "war communism," developed into a new economic system which Lenin called "state capitalism," but which can also be called "market socialism" in accordance with modern terminology developed by Oscar Lange and the Yugoslav Communists. It was characterized by full-scale restoration of the monetary and market relations, competition and the profit motive, private and cooperative property in small-scale manufacturing, agriculture, and retailing. State property, however, prevailed in what Lenin called the "commanding heights" of the economy, that is, large-scale banking, heavy industry, transportation, wholesale and foreign trade. The nationalized industries were organized in a few huge state trusts, but monopolistic competition among them was permitted. They could fix their own prices and wages, and there was no general national economic plan which they were obliged to carry out. The monopolistic state trusts and the private and cooperative enterprises operated in a free market for profit, and were subject to the laws of supply and demand. Inefficient enterprises could go bankrupt, workers were hired and dismissed freely. Slight unemployment and business cycle fluctuations were a concomitant of the NEP. Lenin repeatedly expressed concern that the system generated by the NEP might gradually evolve into full-fledged capitalism.

FIGURE 401. MEETING OF WORKERS FOR THE INAUGURAL OPENING OF A NEW BLAST FURNACE IN YENAKIIEVE, DONBAS, 1925

It was this warning by Lenin and the slow progress of industrialization under the NEP that evoked sharp criticism of the system within the Communist party and ultimately led to its abandonment in 1929. The economy under the NEP was consumer oriented. It produced some prosperity in the countryside as well as in the cities, but the rate of capital formation under it was smaller than before the revolution (particularly in Ukraine), mainly because of the disappearance of the efficient large-scale farms of the landlords, which produced for export, and because of the cessation of investments from abroad. Analytically the NEP economy can be seen in Figure 403 as producing an output $OQ'$ at input prices $P_i'$ and output prices $P_o'$, where independent state monopolies and monopsonies operate in the markets of competing buyers and sellers at the equilibrium points $E_o'$ and $E_i'$. Although the output $OQ'$ is larger than $OQ$, capital formation $P_o'E_o'E_i'P_i'$ is smaller than $P_oE_oE_mE_iP_i$, which represents capital formation under the Stalinist system. Assuming that savings equal investments and that the capital/output ratios are constant and the same, the rate of growth of the economy under the NEP should have been slower than under the Stalinist system (which was actually the case). Since the pre-1917 capitalism was also highly monopolistic and cartelized (particularly in Ukraine), analytically its economics was not much different from that of the NEP, except that its capital formation was larger because of foreign investments and the income from agricultural exports (which also reduced the peasants' consumption).

### Preobrazhensky's Proposal and Stalin's Correction

In the CPSU debates over the decision to industrialize and build socialism in the USSR [Vol. I, pp. 815–17], the problem

of capital formation loomed especially great. All external sources of capital were closed because of the cancellation by the Soviets of Russia's foreign debts and the expropriation of foreign property without compensation. Thus only the internal sources of capital formation remained, but the available profits of state enterprises, taxes, and state loans were deemed to be insufficient for an accelerated industrialization to which the CPSU committed itself in 1925. E. Preobrazhensky, one of the leaders of the Trotskyites, suggested in his book, *Novaia ekonomika* (New Economics, 1924–6), that the state exploit the peasantry in the way colonies are exploited, that is, by raising prices of the industrial products and consumer goods bought in the countryside while lowering prices of the agricultural produce bought by the state from the peasants for resale in the cities and for export. The resulting profit, according to Preobrazhensky, should then be used to finance investments in heavy industries. This policy, known as that of the "price scissors," was tried out deliberately in 1927 and 1928 [Figure 404] with peasants bound by the contract of the previous year to sell to the state their produce at the state's prices. This policy failed because the peasants, being free and independent, curtailed their supply next year and refused to sell cheap and buy dear. To complete Preobrazhensky's unfinished model and to make it work, Stalin decided to collectivize the peasantry. The peasants must pay the "tribute," he declared at the April 1929 plenary session of the CC CPSU, but now no choice must be left to them. As a result of collectivization [Vol. I, pp. 820–6, and Vol. II, pp. 853–4], the peasants lost their economic sovereignty, the competitive market relations between agriculture and industry were abandoned, and the collective and state farms were compelled by law to supply to the state specified output quotas at prices fixed by the state. What emerged out of the collectivization of agriculture was a system of state monopsony which maximized the delivery quotas and minimized the purchase prices, thus maximizing the profits for the state [Figure 403].

**Exploitation of Agriculture**

To derive the maximum net surplus product from agriculture, the government required the state farms to deliver almost all of their net output (after the deduction for seeds), while the collective farms, in addition to the specified delivery quota of about 40–50 per cent of the net harvest, had to pay rent in kind for the services of the state machine-and-tractor stations (about 18–20 per cent of the net harvest) as well as income taxes and compulsory crop and property insurance fees. Whatever was left the collective farms could then distribute as wages to their members. Since these wages were insufficient even for a minimum livelihood, the collective farmers were permitted to operate small private enterprises of their own—to till a small plot of land as a garden and to own a cow, a pig, and a few chickens. Although they were paid regular money wages each month, the workers on the state farms were also allowed such a supplementary source of income because their wages were extremely low. To insure that the farmers did not allot too much of their labor-time to the private enterprises, they were obliged to put in a minimum number of working days in the collective farms to be eligible for wages [see Agriculture].

The monopsonistic prices at which the state purchased the obligatory deliveries of produce by the collective and state farms did not cover the cost of production. The farms' losses on grain production amounted to 70 per cent in 1940 and 90 per cent in 1953; their losses on meat and dairy products were 95 per cent. Similar losses were incurred by the machine-and-tractor stations (MTS) which had to deliver their rent-in-kind receipts

from the collective farms to the state at the compulsory delivery prices. The losses of the state farms and MTS, however, were ultimately covered by subsidies from the state budget. The lot of the collective farms was entirely different because no one cared to subsidize them; indeed, their losses were even greater than those of the state farms because the prices they received from the state were lower and the prices they paid for the state's products were higher than those paid by the state farms. However, because most wages in the collective farms were paid in kind rather than in money and because labor costs could not be accurately estimated, in order to conceal the degree of exploitation of the collective farms, the calculation of all production costs, and therefore of losses, was officially prohibited between 1936 and 1956. When the production costs in the Ukrainian collective farms were experimentally calculated for the first time in 1954–5 (using state farm workers' wages as labor costs), it was found that from 80 to 85 per cent of all collective farms would have been bankrupt under normal conditions. It was only after the calculations were made that the government decided to raise the delivery prices of the collective farm produce. As a result of price increases, the production of grain in the Ukrainian collective farms became profitable to them for the first time in 1954, while the production of livestock and dairy products continued to be unprofitable until 1963 because of low prices and the production of pork was unprofitable as late as 1967. The delivery quotas, however, remained compulsory at all times.

FIGURE 402. WORKERS' SETTLEMENT IN THE DONBAS (1920's)

**Monopolistic "Inflation"**

Agriculture's "tribute" in kind, at a price that could hardly be any lower, was one of the principal sources of capital that made rapid industrialization possible. The agricultural surplus appropriated by the Soviet state at a very low cost was subsequently resold to the consumer goods industries as raw material and exported abroad at high prices. Here was the opportunity for the state to behave as a monopoly and to charge whatever the market could bear. As Figure 406 illustrates, the Soviet Union suffered losses for some time (1930–5) in its exports of agricultural produce owing to falling world agricultural prices. It had to dump export grain at prices that were even lower than the procurement prices the government paid to the collective and state farms, an effect of the 1929 world depression which hit the USSR at the worst possible time—during its collectivization crisis. However, domestic food and other consumer goods prices (as of bread in Figure 404 or calico in Figure 405) rose sharply, though not as a normal cost-push or demand-pull inflation. While during the first Five-Year Plan some industrial prices had to be increased to cover the costs of labor and capital which rose in a rather chaotic manner (because of the initially insufficient controls over the hiring practices by the management or loose supervision of the wage funds in small-scale industries), the enlarged productivity offset the increases in per-unit costs; the latter rose merely a few percentage points a year. Since consumer goods prices still increased much faster than wages [see The People's Welfare, p. 992] and capital

goods prices (for example, pig iron in Figure 405), there is no doubt that the "inflation" (especially from 1933) was a deliberate policy of the Soviet state monopoly designed to reduce consumption and the real wages of the workers and urban population, thus compelling them also to pay a "tribute" to the capital formation fund needed for accelerated industrialization. In a Soviet-type system, the purchasing power of the population and of enterprises cannot inflate significantly by itself because all primary income (wages, salaries, profits, investments) and credit stem from and are controlled by the state. If there is an inflationary pressure in such a system it is the result of a deliberate monopolistic policy.

**The Turnover Tax**

The use of state monopoly power to boost consumer goods prices and to reduce consumption was yet another of Stalin's supplements to improve the original Preobrazhensky model of "primitive socialist accumulation." This innovation was introduced in 1930 with the tax reform which consolidated more than fifty different taxes into a single "turnover tax." Along with profits this tax became the largest source of state revenue (58.7 per cent of the total revenue of the USSR budget in 1940, 42.9 per cent in 1955, and 31.2 per cent in 1968). The turnover tax also formed the most important source of capital investment in industry. It is a universal excise tax imposed on specific goods and included as a percentage rate or a flat sum into per-unit price. Since it is levied on almost all consumer goods, it is the actual source of consumer price inflation. Information about the tax rates is kept secret, with only samples appearing in the highly specialized literature. The heaviest burden fell first on grain and potatoes. State procurement agencies, which collect obligatory deliveries of grain from collective and state farms at monopsonistically low prices, resell this grain to flour mills and various food factories and bakeries at much higher prices which include the turnover tax. Thus, for example, the price of rye flour in the urban areas of the Ukrainian SSR, when sold to the bakeries, included the following percentages of turnover tax: in 1933—13.7 per cent, in 1934 and 1935—30.6 per cent, during 1936–45—77.0 per cent, during 1946–53—93.5 per cent. The structure of the retail price of 1 kg of rye bread in state stores in 1940 was as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cost of grain | 4 | kopeks |
| Cost of milling, transporting, baking, plus profit | 19 | " |
| Turnover tax | 77 | " |
| Final price | 100 | " |

The resale of grain by the state to the food industry produced before World War II approximately 30–35 per cent of all turnover tax revenue collected in the Ukrainian SSR from all sources (alcoholic beverages industry excluded). In the postwar period, agricultural procurement agencies contributed some 25 per cent of the total tax collections; in the 1960's their contributions decreased to about 12 per cent. At present, the main sources of turnover tax revenue are clothing and footwear, alcoholic beverages, sugar, manufactured appliances, and durable consumer goods.

It should be noted that excise taxes are traditional in Russian fiscal economics. Sugar, salt, matches, lamp oil, alcoholic beverages, and tobacco wares were also heavily taxed under the tsars. Under the Soviets, however, both the rate of taxation and the number of items taxed increased greatly. In 1912, for example, the tax rate per pound of sugar in Ukraine was 37.2 per cent, in 1940—80 per cent, and in 1962—58.5 per cent. Tax rates per quart of kerosene, which the peasants used for lamps, was 44, 67, and 84 per cent respectively. The list of taxed goods consisted of six items before the revolution, and twelve goods were still taxed in 1929. In 1932, how-

ever, the number of taxed items increased to 145, and in 1937 to 1,109. More than 2,200 items are taxed at the present time, almost all in the category of consumers' basic necessities. Until 1936 producer goods carried a tax of about 5 per cent. The rate was subsequently lowered to from 0.5 to 2.0 per cent, and in 1949 it was abolished altogether (except for heavy taxes on oil products, construction materials, cars, and electric power paid by the collective farms).

The burden of turnover taxes as a percentage of the total volume of retail sales in the Ukrainian SSR was as follows: 1932–6–49.4 per cent (on the average); 1937–40–59.2 per cent; 1945–9–74.4 per cent; 1950–4–59.0 per cent; 1955–9–43.6 per cent; 1960–5–37.3 per cent. Tax rates as a percentage of prices paid by the consumers in government and cooperative stores are now as follows:

| per cent | |
|---|---|
| 99.9–80.0 | Alcoholic beverages; wine; beer; all cosmetics; jewelry; furs; most tobacco wares; salt; caviar; smoked and cured fish; herring. |
| 79.9–50.0 | Electricity and gas; gasoline; kerosene; soap; matches; sewing thread; textile fabrics; ready-made garments; footware; sugar; vegetable oil; margarine; pepper and other spices; coffee; tea; cocoa; chocolate; candy; pastries; automobiles; motorcycles; scooters; cameras and film; phonographs and records; typewriters; musical instruments. |
| 49.9–10.0 | TV sets; radio sets; bicycles; washing machines; refrigerators; sewing machines; furniture; kitchen ware; linoleum; wall paper; stationery; nails; household tools; natural silk fabrics; rubber shoes; flour; macaroni; groats; cereals; butter; cheese; eggs; bacon; peas; dry beans; meals in restaurants. |
| No tax | Meat; milk; fruit; vegetables; canned food; drugs; vitamins; theater and movie tickets; school textbooks; toys; wood for burning; *makhorka* (very cheap tobacco); prefabricated frame houses. |

## A FORMAL MODEL OF THE SOVIET ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The chief purpose of the turnover tax in the USSR is to create additional capital for investment into economic development and growth. The tax differentiates the prices of inputs and outputs, draws off the resulting monopolistic profit, and brings it into the state treasury (budget). From the analytical point of view, there is no significant difference between the turnover tax and profit (or rent) in Soviet economics because all prices and their component rates are by definition fixed by the state. From the Marxist point of view, the turnover tax and profit are one and the same thing, that is, surplus value or product. Therefore, the model of Soviet economy can be described as in Fig. 403. By virtue of the nationalization of property and centralized control over it (absence of competitive independence of separate enterprises), the Soviet economic system can be defined as a "total state monopoly," or a "perfect combined monopoly-monopsony." It is "total" or "perfect" because freedom of competitive entry into the monopolized markets is prohibited by law (black marketing is a criminal offense), and, what is even more significant, the state monopoly controls both supply and demand. In Fig. 403, the "total state monopoly" behaves rationally by equating its marginal costs (MMC) with marginal revenues (MMR), thus maximizing its profits (turnover tax). As a monopoly, it is faced with the demand for its products by competing consumers who are willing to pay the prices which determine its average revenues (MAR). To maximize its profits, the monopoly curtails supply along the MMC curve, raising at the same time the price along the MAR curve. As a monopsony, the state faces the supply of inputs (such as labor and agricultural raw materials) by the sellers who are willing to sell at prices

along the MAC curve, which is the monopsony's average cost curve. To squeeze out maximum profit, the state monopsony lowers the purchase price along the MAC curve, thus reducing its demand for inputs and therefore its costs to the minimum. Inasmuch as the Soviet state has been both a monopoly and a monopsony since 1930, it did not operate at $E_o'$ and $E_i'$ equilibrium points separately, but rather at the point $E_m$, which equates its MMC with the MMR. The state buys an $OQ$ amount of inputs at the price $OP_i$ (or $QE_i$) per unit, and sells an $OQ$ amount of output at the price $OP_o$ (or $QE_o$) per unit. Its total operational costs amount to $OQE_iP_i$. Its pure profit is $P_iP_oE_oE_mE_i$, which is then transferred into the state treasury by means of the turnover tax of the same quantity. This profit (tax) is used as capital for further investment in the next period. The equalization of the monopoly's (monopsony's) supply (demand) with the competitive demand (supply) at points $E_o'$ and $E_i'$ would always bring in a smaller profit than the equalization of MMR with MMC at $E_m$. This is why the total state monopoly is analytically more efficient than the NEP or the market socialism from its own point of view. In principle, the state cannot permit (or prefer) competition because it would reduce its profits and slow down its growth.

As virtually the only employer of factors of production in the economy (private employment, except of servants, is prohibited by law), the total state monopoly is practically the only payer of all incomes. Thus both income and aggregate demand are under control. Unlike in pure monopoly under competitive market conditions, a stable equilibrium under the total state monopoly is uniquely determinate. Moreover, since the total state monopoly controls all prices and the supply of individual goods and services, it is also in the position to perfectly know the demand for each final product. Under conditions of the monopolistic supply of final products (if the gap between demand and supply remains continuously stable), the error

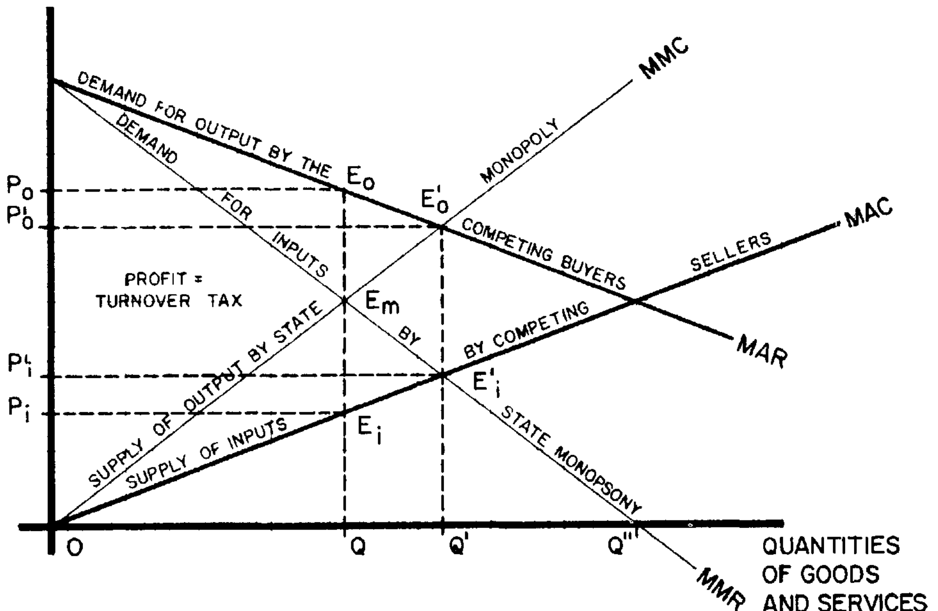


FIGURE 403. A MODEL OF THE SOVIET-TYPE ECONOMY

in the estimation of demand elasticity is virtually nil. Although the demand remains constantly inelastic, prices nevertheless correspond to the consumers' marginal utilities. Consumers retain the freedom of choice within the bill of goods supplied by the monopoly, but they are unable to influence prices and quantities of goods provided by it. It is not the consumers but the monopoly which has sovereignty over all resource allocation.

The degree of monopoly power is always equal to the reciprocal of the price-elasticity of demand for the monopoly's products (and vice versa). Hence, the degree of monopolization increases when economic growth accelerates, and the economic growth accelerates when the monopoly becomes more powerful, provided the input-output ratios remain constant.

As long as the total state monopoly's paramount goal is maximization of profit for the maximization of capital accumulation and growth, it must view all consumption and inputs as costs which must be minimized and economized upon. Consumption under this monopoly is therefore always at a minimum, although this minimum is relative and variable over time. As time goes by, consumption may increase on the per capita basis, social welfare and living standards may grow, yet they would still be at a minimum at any given point of time if the capital formation is maximized [see Welfare]. Under total state monopoly, the maximization of capital formation is inversely related to the maximization of consumption and welfare. This model can also be construed as that of colonial exploitation without freedom of entry of the outside competitors, as suggested by Preobrazhensky and adjusted by Stalin.

In 1936, Stalin announced that socialism was to be the Soviet economic system on the grounds that, as a result of the nationalization and collectivization of property ownership, the centrally planned resource allocation and the prohibition of competition against the state, profit (surplus value) could no longer belong to private individuals unless granted to them by the state as a bonus or an incentive award. All profits were the property of the state. Therefore, by definition, "exploitation of labor" by private persons ceased to exist, the class of profit-owners (capitalists, the bourgeoisie) disappeared, and private property capitalism was eliminated.

Stalin's definition, which is recognized in the USSR today, is logical but incomplete and, therefore, inadequate. Profit (taxes) and all other resource allocations are under the exclusive control of the state, and it has thus far used considerable part of the profit to develop income inequalities, privileges, and discriminations in the society, which can hardly be called socialist.

### Economic Discrimination Among Social Classes

Discrimination by means of the turnover tax is practiced widely in the USSR. In addition to the burden of the maximum compulsory delivery quotas imposed on agriculture at minimum prices, until 1966 the turnover tax rates and prices for the same goods in rural stores were at least 7 to 15 per cent higher than in urban stores. The tax rates of the collective farms were two or three times higher than those of the state farms. Unlike the workers on the state farms and in the cities, the collective farmers have been deprived of the internal passports for personal identification and can not leave the farms to look for better jobs. The policy of deliberate discrimination against the rural population is also practiced in the planned allocation of consumer goods supplies.

There is also considerable discrimination within urban society, with the working classes bearing most of the burden. Thus, all consumer goods sold in the "closed" stores, serving exclusively the families of the armed forces personnel, security and civilian police, leading

Communist Party and government officials, selected groups of scientists and intellectuals, are exempt from the turnover tax. Since the maximum personal income tax rate in the USSR is only 13 per cent, the turnover tax exemptions raise the real income of the privileged groups and thus increase income differentiation. Tax-exempt also are almost all consumer goods and raw materials delivered to the armed forces; this includes gasoline, textiles for uniforms, etc.

**Economic Discrimination Among Nationalities**

Also typically monopolistic is the interregional and interrepublic price differentiation. Prices at which collective and state farms deliver their obligatory quotas to the state have been differentiated according to "zones." On the average, such zonal agricultural prices in the Ukrainian SSR and the Kuban region are from 25 to 75 per cent lower than the prices of the same goods produced in central Russia. In 1955, for example, a ton of spring wheat on Russian collective farms was priced 20 per cent higher than in Ukraine and 30 per cent higher than in Kuban. Similarly, calves and steers for meat deliveries were priced 52 per cent higher in Russia than in Ukraine. Sugar beets in the collective farms of the Kharkiv *oblast* had to be delivered to the state at 25 rubles per ton in 1959; but just across the RSFSR frontier, in the Belgorod *oblast*, the price was 27 rubles. Conditions for growing beets in both *oblasts* are virtually identical; hence, it was not a price differentiation to absorb the natural differential rent into the state treasury, but rather price discrimination reflecting the exploitation of Ukraine.

The prices of staple consumer goods in the state and cooperative stores are differentiated by means of different turnover tax rates into the so-called "belts." There are three price belts in the USSR for most of the foodstuffs: the producing region's belt, the consuming

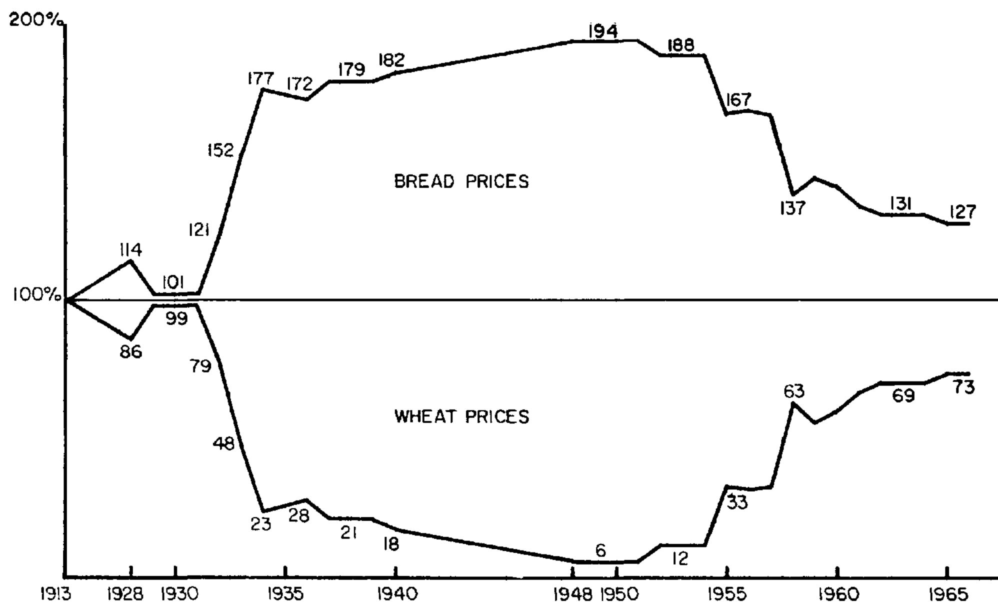


FIGURE 404. BREAD PRICE "SCISSORS"; MEAN RATIO BETWEEN THE INDEXES OF THE RETAIL PRICE OF BREAD AND THE STATE PROCUREMENT PRICE OF WHEAT IN OBLIGATORY DELIVERIES OF UKRAINIAN COLLECTIVE FARMS (1913 RATIO = 100)

region's, and a special belt for the regions of the far north and Siberia. Price differences between the producing and the consuming belts amount on the average to from 10 to 17 per cent. Thus most foodstuffs in the state stores of central Russia are priced about 10 per cent higher than in the Ukrainian SSR (in Siberia, about 20 to 22 per cent higher). Conversely, the prices of cotton and woolen cloth in the Ukrainian SSR are approximately 12 to 15 per cent higher than in the RSFSR. (Both food and textile prices are on the C.I.F. basis.) The prices of main producer goods, such as fuels, ores, timber, cement, and the like, are also differentiated according to several territorial belts or areas, but because their accounting basis is F.O.B., the transportation tariffs are of paramount importance in the final account. The present Soviet transportation tariffs are explicitly fixed to subsidize long-distance hauls from the Ukrainian SSR and the European parts of the USSR to the Urals and the Siberian regions. Before World War II, almost all such tariffs declined with distance. It was cheaper to carry coal or pig iron from the Donbas to Leningrad or the Ural foundries than to haul them from the Donbas to Odessa or Zhytomyr. Since 1949, the tariffs have been revised somewhat so that today they are frequently concave with distance: between Ukraine and central Russia they still go down, but if carried farther they go up. There are, however, many exceptions from this rule favoring long-distance hauls. In general, the territorial price differentiation coupled with transportation tariffs significantly discriminate against Ukraine in favor of Russia. Since 1959, turnover tax rates per product are imposed on each of the 15 USSR republics separately, but information is not published.

Until the 1966–7 producer goods price reform, prices of many Ukrainian raw materials and basic inputs were so low that they did not cover the costs of production. Thus, for example, in 1963, the losses per unit of output of the Donbas coal amounted to 19 per cent on the

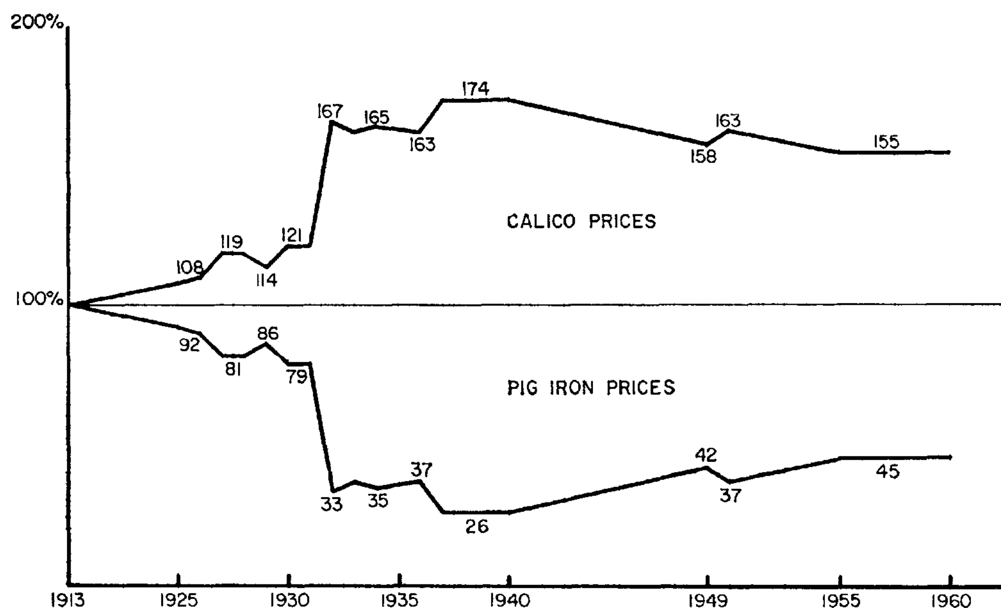


FIGURE 405. LIGHT/HEAVY INDUSTRY PRICE "SCISSORS": MEAN RATIO BETWEEN THE INDEXES OF THE PRICE OF RUSSIAN COTTON TEXTILES (CALICO) AND THE PRICE OF UKRAINIAN PIG IRON (GRADE M-1) IN UKRAINE (1913 RATIO = 100)

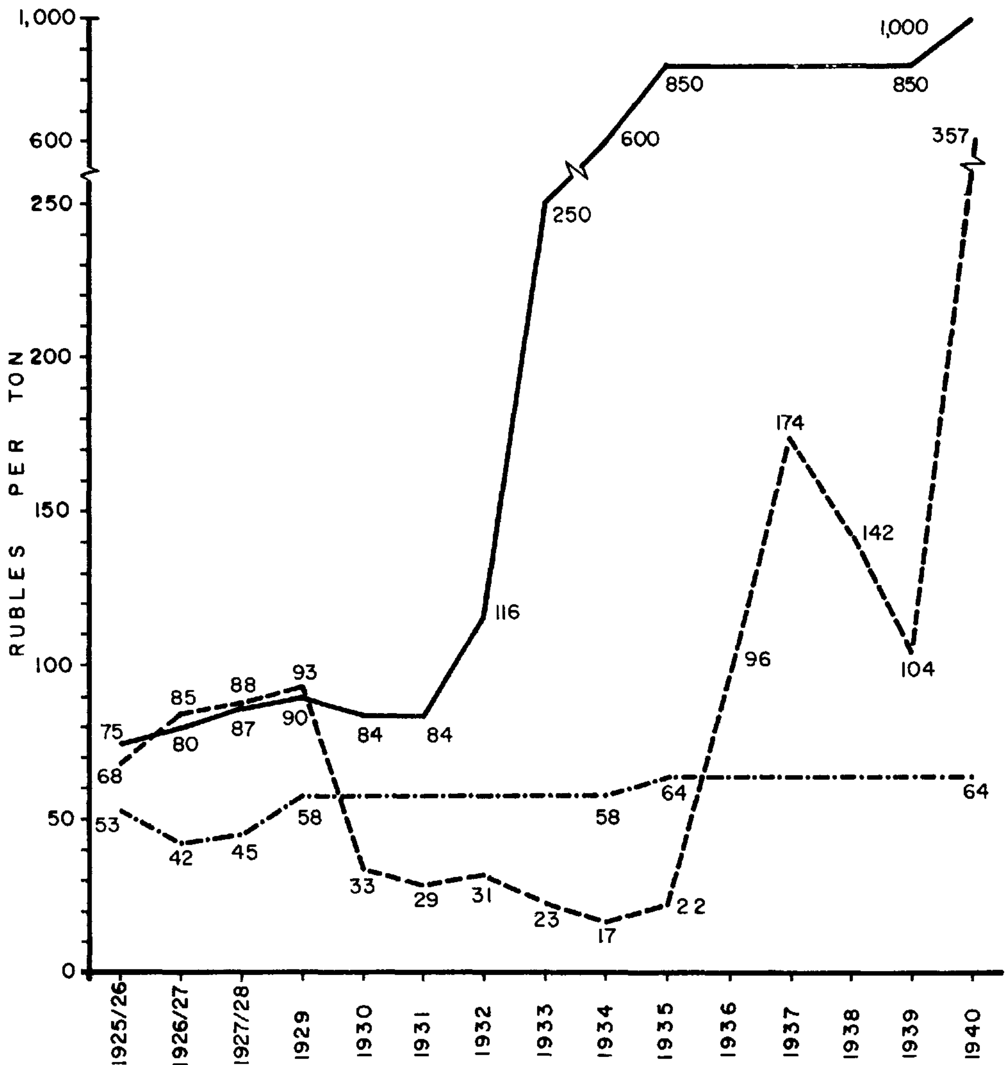


FIGURE 406. PRICES OF RYE GRAIN IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR 1925/26–1940
— . — . —, obligatory delivery to the state; — — — —, realized exports beyond the borders of the USSR; ————, baked bread in state stores.

average and 33.3 per cent in the case of the coking coal; a ton of the Kryvyi Rih iron ore carried a 24.5 per cent loss; and that of the Nykopil manganese ore a 22 per cent loss. The production of Bessemer steel, cold rolled steel sheet, sulphuric acid, potash, reinforced concrete, bricks, and many other commodities was also unprofitable. These losses were subsequently covered by subsidies from the USSR budget. The low prices of Ukrainian raw materials and cheap long-distance carrier tariffs have facilitated Russia's imports of goods from Ukraine and helped create Ukraine's favorable balance of trade hauls. It is not known whether the trade balance of the Ukrainian SSR has been favorable in money terms (it was in the past, see External Trade).

**Economic Exploitation of Ukraine**

The deficit in the Ukrainian SSR's balance of fiscal transactions, which com-

prises most of its balance of payments, is given in Table I (p. 724). It follows from this table that the USSR government's monopolistic power to collect and redistribute taxes and other revenues imposes on the Ukrainian SSR a revenue burden consistently larger than that government's expenditures in Ukraine. This persistent deficit is an additional proof that Ukraine is economically exploited by Moscow. (The balance calculations in Table I stem from both the official Soviet and western sources; they produce the same results. There are other available calculations, for 1913 and the 1920's, for example, by V. Dobrogaev, P. Maltsiv, N. Porsh, E. Glovinsky, which confirm Ukraine's exploitation by Russia.)

A persistent payment deficit tilts the interregional terms of trade in such a way that the deficit region specializes more and more on the exportables and expands its exports by reducing their per-unit costs and by increasing their per-unit-of-factors productivity. However, imports grow relatively expensive and substitutes must be found for them. These features are clearly apparent in the economy of the Ukrainian SSR: it exports to Russia increasing quantities of the narrowly specialized products, while growing more independent of imports from Russia [see External Trade].

All of the above findings indicate that Ukraine is exploited by Moscow as a colony. The arguments supporting this conclusion are essentially threefold: (1) on balance, the Ukrainian economy suffers considerable losses; (2) capital withdrawn from the Ukrainian SSR is not borrowed (is not to be returned at a later date), nor is it drawing any interest; (3) since the Ukrainian SSR is not a politically sovereign state, the capital is taken away without the permission or consent of Ukrainian taxpayers.

That exploitation is indeed being practiced in economic relations among the Communist countries has also been charged and debated in a considerable body of recent scholarly and political literature. The Soviet Union has been accused of exploiting such other Communist nations as Yugoslavia, Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Rumania, Albania, China, and North Korea by such means as price discrimination, rigged exchange rates, enforced specialization, joint-stock companies, long-term loans, indemnities and reparations. These charges are advanced not only by western scholars and researchers, but also by the Communists of the exploited nations themselves.

The central government of the USSR and the Communist party have declared on numerous occasions that they are guided in their economic policies by the interests of the USSR as a whole and not by the interests of any separate part of it. On March 30, 1959, ex-premier Khrushchev stated explicitly that it is in the interests of the national economy of the USSR as a whole that the Moscow government redistributes capital accumulations among the republics by transferring them from one republic to another via the union budget. Stalin said the same in his time.

**Russia's Gain at Ukraine's Expense**

The feasibility of such assertions is worth testing and it may be done in a number of ways, such as the computation and comparison of the coefficients of marginal productivity of capital in the Ukrainian SSR and in the rest of the USSR, capital/output ratios, recoupment periods of a unit of investment, or the rates of profitability on an incremental unit of total costs. In these calculations, all capital expenditures should be used, that is expenditures on fixed assets, working capital, as well as all relevant overhead charges.

The guiding economic rule is that only when marginal productivities of capital investments in all regions of the entire economic area are equalized will the total output as well as income, wealth, employment, and welfare of that economic area be maximized. This is true of any economic area, be it a region, a

country, a bloc of countries, or the world as a whole.

Therefore, if any of the above-mentioned coefficients indicated a difference favorable to the Ukrainian SSR (that is, if the marginal productivity of capital in Ukraine was higher than in the rest of the USSR, if capital/output ratios were lower, or recoupment periods were shorter, capital transfers from the Ukrainian SSR to other parts of the USSR were economically unjustified and wasteful as they were reducing both the volume of output and the rate of growth not only in the Ukrainian SSR but also in the USSR as a whole. In such a case, an increase of investments in the Ukrainian SSR to the level of equilibrium with marginal productivities of investments in other parts of the USSR and to the level of productivity for the USSR as a whole would have been not only in Ukraine's interest but also in the interest of the Soviet Union, because the rates of growth and volumes of total output, income, wealth, employment, and the welfare in both the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR would have been greater than those actually achieved.

Some calculations of the pertinent

TABLE I

BALANCE OF FISCAL TRANSACTIONS BETWEEN THE UKRAINIAN SSR AND THE USSR
(millions of current rubles)

| | 1913 [By the Gosplan of the UkSSR] | 1924/5 [By the Gosplan of the UkSSR] | 1928–32 (Annual average) [By Z. L. Melnyk] | 1940 [By V. Holubnychy] | 1959–61 (Annual average) [By the Institute of Economics, Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. *Revenues collected in Ukraine into the budget of the USSR (including that of the UkSSR)* | | | | | |
| Excise, sales, and turnover taxes | 123.7 | 99.2 | 2,687.0 | 17,465.0 | 53,709.0 |
| Profits, income and other direct taxes | 38.5 | 111.9 | 581.0 | 8,498.3 | 57,142.0 |
| Income from state monopolies, tariffs, etc. | 468.1 | 247.1 | 996.3 | 770.0 | 1,606.0 |
| State Bonds | 0.5 | 39.9 | 505.2 | 1,806.9 | 1,866.0 |
| Other revenues | 18.2 | 2.6 | 51.5 | 4,170.0 | 11,618.0 |
| TOTAL | 649.0 | 500.7 | 4,821.0 | 32,640.2 | 125,941.0 |
| 2. *Expenditures disbursed in Ukraine from the budget of the USSR (including that of the UkSSR)* | | | | | |
| Financing the economy | 319.4 | 264.0 | 2,687.1 | 11,116.9 | 39,854.0* |
| Social and cultural services | 31.9 | 43.4 | 222.0 | 7,246.4 | 30,506.0 |
| Defense and government administration | 185.2 | 112.3 | 365.9 | 12,076.0 | 12,379.0* |
| Other expenditures | 49.9 | 0.0 | 100.7 | 150.0 | 3,100.0 |
| TOTAL | 586.4 | 419.7 | 3,375.7 | 30,589.3 | 85,839.0 |
| BALANCE (losses by Ukraine) | −62.6 | −81.0 | −1,445.3 | −2,050.9 | −40,102.0 |

*About 2,500.0 in Union funds should have been subtracted here from "Defense and Administration" and added to "Financing of the economy," but the exact figure is not known.

comparative indexes for the Ukrainian SSR and for other parts of the USSR were carried out in the late 1920's, at the time of the preparation of the first Five-Year Plan. Although their number was relatively small and they were concerned with selected industries only, the findings were unequivocally favorable to Ukraine. They showed, for example, that the full-cost, marginal capital/output ratio in the iron and steel industry of the Ukrainian SSR was 24 per cent lower than that in the Ural area. The marginal productivity of investments in Ukrainian sugar refineries was found to be 9 per cent higher than in the RSFSR. The recoupment period of the reconstruction of the existing Dnipropetrovske Agricultural Machinery Works was calculated to be considerably shorter than that for the construction of a new plant at Rostov, and so forth. On the basis of these and other findings, a special committee of the Presidium of the Supreme Council of National Economy of the USSR (headed by G. Piatakov), recommended in its first draft of the first Five-Year Plan (for the years 1926–30) that new capital construction be concentrated in the Ukrainian SSR and in central European Russia, calling investments in the Ural area and eastern parts of the USSR an "unproductive waste of capital resources." Piatakov's draft of the Five-Year Plan was rejected, because it was supported by the Trotskyites and because it forecast a slowly declining rate of growth for the Soviet economy, not because of its proposals on locations of industries. The new Stalinist plan that was adopted foresaw a diversion of resources to the east.

Newest western findings fully corroborate all that was said above. Ivan S. Koropeckyj established that in 1928–37 the marginal capital/output ratio for all large-scale industries of the Ukrainian SSR taken together was 25.2 per cent lower than the ratio for the USSR as a whole. By comparing such ratios for seven selected industries in the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR, he revealed that capital/output ratios in the Ukrainian SSR were 5.0 to 31.9 per cent lower than their counterparts in the USSR as a whole.

The above clearly suggests that capital should not have been withdrawn from the Ukrainian SSR. Therefore, the drain on Ukrainian SSR's capital, as established in Table I, was wasteful and contrary to the economic interests of both the Ukrainian SSR and the Soviet Union at large.

The final question, and as yet the least studied, is this: Has anybody gained? There is no doubt that, as an ultimate test, the proof of the existence of colonialism inside the USSR hinges on the answer to this question.

It has been found that because of disproportionate interregional allocation of capital investments, the gross volume of output of the Ukrainian SSR's industry increased only 27 times between 1913 and 1960, whereas in the RSFSR it increased 43 times. In fact, only in Armenia, Kirghizia, and Kazakhstan was the rate of industrialization somewhat faster than that in the RSFSR; in all other republics it was considerably slower. This implies that the relative gaps between the RSFSR and most of the non-Russian republics, in terms of comparative levels of economic development (measured by per capita industrial output), are considerably greater at present than they were before the revolution. Thus, despite the remarkable progress of industrialization in the non-Russian republics during the past fifty years, most of them, including the Ukrainian SSR, are now relatively more underdeveloped, compared to Russia, than they were before the 1917 revolution. Similarly, according to recent estimates by the Soviet economist J. Feigin, per capita national income in the regions of central and northwestern Russia and the Ural area of the RSFSR was the highest among economic regions in the USSR. In the RSFSR as a whole, the average

per capita national income trails only that of Latvia and Estonia, the two republics with as yet the highest income in the USSR. All other republics had incomes lower than the RSFSR. For the USSR as a whole, the gap between the republics with the highest and the lowest per capita national income produces a ratio of 3:1.

## PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING THE PRESENT SOVIET ECONOMIC SYSTEM

In most respects, the Soviet economic system is entirely different from other economic systems known in the world today. Its basic characteristics can be summarized as follows:

1. According to the constitution of the Soviet Union (Art. 6), "the land, its mineral wealth, waters, forests, mills, factories, mines, rails, water and air transport, banks, communications, large state-organized agricultural enterprises (state farms and the like), as well as municipal enterprises and the bulk of the dwelling houses in the cities and industrial localities, are state property, that is, belong to the whole people." State ownership means that only the government can decide how these things are to be used; they cannot be bought or sold, or owned privately.

2. Soviet citizens are not permitted to own profit-making private property or to engage in large-scale private enterprise. They cannot go into business, open a shop, or own a farm; they cannot own stocks for there are none in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, consumer goods are privately owned. Soviet citizens can also inherit them and sell them to each other, if they wish, but only as personal items for personal use, and one at a time, for prices that are not much higher than those prevailing in the government-owned stores. Private profiteering is prohibited under Soviet laws and is severely punished.

3. Since, with the sole exception of collective farms, which are cooperatives, and some consumer and handicraft cooperatives, all enterprises in the USSR are government-owned and operated, their managers are state employees and not private owners or employees of private owners. Soviet managers work for salary and bonus, not for private profit or stock options. The government frequently shifts them from one job to another, so that the enterprises which they manage are not in any sense "their own." As a result, the basic goals of managers in the USSR are different from those known in the west. In their business activities Soviet firms strive, above all, to fulfill the national economic plans established for them by the government. For outstanding performance, the government pays bonuses to managers and workers, grants promotions, bestows medals of honor, gives wide publicity in the press, radio, and TV (which are government-owned). All these arrangements have been devised as substitutes for the capitalist profit motive. "Profits" are planned and calculated by Soviet enterprises along with "costs"; but Soviet enterprises do not own their profits—they all belong to the government. Some bonuses are paid by the government to the managers and workers out of the enterprise's profits; but these bonuses are paid for fulfilling the plans, not for making the profits.

4. Major economic decisions concerning what to produce in the USSR as a whole or in some part of it, as well as in each individual enterprise, are made by government planning agencies. These decisions, specified in great detail, are communicated to the enterprises by the government in the form of economic plans, which the latter are obliged to carry out. For the most part, Soviet enterprises do not purchase or order raw materials, machines, or other important commodities freely from each other and neither do they sell them in a free mar-

ket. They cannot approach a bank and ask for credit to invest in capital construction. It is the government planning authorities that tell one enterprise to conclude a contract with and to deliver its products to another enterprise in stated quantities and at government-fixed prices. And it is also the government that permits an enterprise to apply for credit and the bank to extend such credit. In other words, there is no free enterprise in the Soviet economy as it is known in the capitalist market economies.

5. All basic goods and capital investments in the USSR are allocated directly by the central government authorities in accordance with and within the framework of some plan. Free enterprise is unconstitutional in the planned sector of the economy, for Article 11 of the USSR constitution states: "The economic life of the USSR is determined and directed by the state economic plan." The planned sector embraces more than 90 per cent of all goods and services produced and distributed in the USSR.

6. Competition as it is known in the capitalist countries does not exist in the Soviet economy. The government has a monopoly over almost everything in the economy. The Soviet economic system can be best characterized as a total state monopoly. Soviet government-owned enterprises are not independent "public corporations," they possess a very limited business autonomy. Competition against government interests is prohibited by law. Competitive products and services are sometimes produced by different Soviet enterprises, but if one plant produces a better product than another, the latter is told by the government to learn from and to adopt the method of the more efficient plant.

7. By virtue of its ownership of the means of production and distribution, the government in the Soviet economy appears and acts as a big business enterprise, a giant corporation embracing nearly the whole economy. Individual enterprises in the USSR differ completely from firms in a market economy; they rather resemble constituent parts of such firms—departments, subsidiaries, or individual plants of a corporation. All major economic relations and interactions, the allocation of resources and the distribution of orders, price setting and the flow of funds take place in the Soviet economic system as in a single enterprise.

8. The giant Soviet government enterprise works "for profit" in one sense. It seeks a surplus, or a net income, to continue and to expand its operations and to increase its output to satisfy the country's growing population and other needs (defense, space explorations, foreign aid). Its "profits" consist of the income above costs of its subsidiary enterprises. As stated above, profit in the USSR does not belong to the plant or the factory producing it; it is owned and redistributed by the government. Some plants and factories in the USSR work continuously at a loss; the government subsidizes them from the profits of other enterprises. Soviet enterprises can never go bankrupt, unless closed by the government. But the Soviet economy as a whole must be profitable. The government finances its new capital investments, builds new plants and factories, expands production partly from such profits and partly from taxes.

9. The Soviet Union is guided by the principle that the economy should be directed toward politically prescribed goals, and that government planners should devise the best measures possible to attain them. The "socially prescribed goals" are objectives set down for the country as a whole by the Communist party. These goals are decided upon arbitrarily by individuals in political power ("arbitrarily" inasmuch as they are conscious choices among alternatives and could have been decided differently). Virtually all matters relating to the use of economic resources (including research services, the arts, training in

colleges and technical schools) are determined by the Communist party, whose major function is to decide on such matters. The overall goals of the Soviet economic system, according to the Soviet constitution (Art. 11), are "to increase the public wealth, to steadily raise the material and cultural standards of the working people, to consolidate the independence of the USSR and strengthen its defensive capacity." In practice so far, the actual goals of topmost priority were rapid industrialization, technical modernization, and military build-up, rather than a maximization of the people's living standards. The maximization of consumption has been deliberately retarded and postponed in order to save resources for rapid industrialization.

10. The objectives attributed to the leaders of the Soviet Union by their critics include the following: to retain political power as long as possible by whatever means necessary; to exploit the people they govern to obtain a good living and luxuries for themselves; to impose their will upon the rest of the world in order to expand their power. The Soviet rulers may be tyrannical, cruel, hard, shrewd, and power-hungry men. They must nevertheless be distinguished from politically powerful men in non-Communist nations. Those who rule the Soviet Union have doubtless been strongly influenced by the doctrines they learned and preached, the views espoused by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. Therefore, their motives are to be understood in considerable measure by understanding the Communist doctrine. These men unquestionably hold many views and personal objectives that are not covered by Marxist theory, including such purely personal goals as the attainment of high office and the wish to lead a comfortable and secure life. However, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is safest to assume that the persons exercising the political power in the Soviet Union believe in the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin and are under great pressure to make their actions consistent with the Marxist doctrines. Abrupt and obvious deviations from those doctrines are almost certain to arouse criticism among other Communists and bring a fall from power—possibly even severe punishment.

FIGURE 407. MEETING OF THE ECONOMIC PLANNING COUNCIL AT ONE OF THE DONBAS MINES, 1966

## THE SOVIET ECONOMIC GOVERNMENT

The Soviet economy is a system of highly detailed and obligatory economic planning. State ownership of the means of production and distribution has made the Soviet government the only economic enterprise in the country. The Soviet government is therefore responsible for insuring that its plans are fulfilled. To achieve this end, it has established a very elaborate network of economic and planning agencies which prepare plans and carry them out in detail on a day-to-day basis (see Fig. 408).

The executive organs of the Soviet government are (1) the USSR council of ministers, (2) the councils of ministers of the fifteen republics, and (3) the executive committees of the local councils (soviets) in the *oblasts*, cities, and villages. All these organs are responsible for the enforcement of economic legislation, including the plans and budgets within their territories. For this purpose, each has within itself or under its juris-

diction a number of economic and planning agencies. All enterprises in the USSR are specifically assigned to one or another of these government agencies, which may be considered their ultimate planning and management bodies.

The USSR council of ministers includes, among others, 20 to 25 ministries concerned with various sectors of the economy; there is a ministry of foreign trade, railways, electrification, finance, agriculture, and so on. The governments of the republics in their turn have about twenty economic ministries each, such as the ministry of domestic trade, automobile transport, paper industry, municipal economy. All these ministries plan and manage specific enterprises under their jurisdiction.

Of crucial importance for the functioning of the Soviet planned economy is the system of government statistical agencies; they are its nerve system because speedy and reliable information is indispensable to effective centralized planning. Statistical agencies in the USSR are highly centralized and completely independent of the rest of the economic government. All enterprises and government agencies in the USSR are obliged by law to furnish them with whatever statistics and other information they request, regularly every week and in some cases every day. These data are aggregated and analyzed at the statistical agencies' regional centers, and then reported to the planning agencies and the government.

The planning agencies on the Union and the republic levels are charged with the preparation of both long-range and short-term plans and the execution of the latter. The preparation of plans is vested in the State Planning Committee of the USSR (Gosplan) and its branch in the Ukrainian SSR (Derzhplan). It cannot be overemphasized, however, that the planners fulfill only technical functions in the Soviet Union; they prepare plans—largely to specifications set down by others—and carry them out. The most important decisions are made by politicians within the Communist party committees. The Central Committee of the CPSU, its economic departments and bureaus, as well as the Secretariat and the Politbureau, represent the summit of all power in the Soviet Union. In a similar way, the central committees of the republic Communist parties exercise ultimate power within their republics. Local party committees in plants and factories also play a decisive role in various local economic decisions. They supervise the work of all managerial personnel; they organize the workers and collective farmers during campaigns to achieve one or another planned target; they have a voice in all appointments to executive positions, in the distribution of new apartments, bonuses, etc.

In practice the Communist party deals with every conceivable kind of problem, although its specific functions are not defined in any clear-cut law or statute. One thing is certain: so far, the Communist party has been running the Soviet economy; not the professional planners or the economists. The party makes all basic decisions and can intervene in any matter that its leaders consider of importance.

## ECONOMIC PLANNING

From the time that the Communists took power in the Soviet Union, they prepared for extensive planning of the economy, even though they had no specific plans ready. Before their present form of planning was devised, largely through trial and error, they relied upon very simple plans that affected only one or a few branches of industry. The first plan, known as the Goelro, was adopted in 1921 and was concerned almost exclusively with electric power generating capacity. The first Five-Year Plan, adopted in April 1929, was extremely detailed and set output goals for hundreds of products. Since then, Soviet planning procedures have been broad-

ened and strengthened; they continue to be modified in an effort to make them more efficient.

It is common to speak of the Soviet economic system as being directed by "a plan." In particular, foreigners frequently refer to the "five-year plan" as the document that directs the Soviet economy. These statements show a certain misconception, for a whole hierarchy of plans are in operation at any time in the USSR. Each enterprise, each collective farm, mine, bank, and each district, province, city, economic council, and each republic has its own plans, not one, but many.

The Soviet system of plans is often pictured as starting as a single, all-embracing plan for the USSR as a whole and for particular industries, regions, and republics; also, it is viewed as being divided into annual, quarterly, and monthly plans for each area and enterprise—with all plans adding exactly to the total national plan. This is a gross oversimplification.

Naturally, all Soviet plans apply to some particular period of time, but individual plans are not constructed for identical periods. In the main, five types of periodic plans can be distinguished: (1) perspective plans—which establish targets for up to twenty years in advance; (2) long-term control figures providing targets five to seven years ahead; (3) annual plans; (4) quarterly plans; (5) monthly plans. These periodic plans do not necessarily subdivide into plans for shorter periods, and subplans do not always add up into superplan totals. Thus, five- or seven-year plans are not usually subdivided into annual plans; plans of the republics include many details that are not part of the federal plans.

Soviet long-range plans represent directives to those who prepare plans for a shorter period. They set down broad objectives and weigh social, political, military, scientific, and international goals. They deal with such matters as the proportion of resources to be devoted to investment (the building of new plant and equipment) as opposed to consumer goods; output for military purposes; the speed at which various regions are to be developed; the degree of dependence upon imports. Individual enterprises also have long-term plans, including specific output goals for some five to seven years in advance. These goals are revised annually.

Although long-range plans are in many ways the most important influences on the direction in which the USSR moves, they generally set down specific tasks for only 40 to 60 per cent of all industries. They are much more general than annual plans. Annual plans are the actual operational plans according to which the Soviet economy conducts its daily business.

As mentioned before, Soviet long-range plans are prepared by the State Planning Committee of the USSR and of each of its fifteen constituent republics. These plans are discussed and approved by the Communist party congresses.

Detailed annual plans for the Soviet Union as a whole and for the Ukrainian SSR in particular include at least the following parts: output and consumption plans, a financial plan, a capital budget, a labor plan, and the plans for individual regions.

Every Soviet plan designates one or several "leading links." These are top priority targets on which resources and efforts are to be concentrated ahead of other goals. They are the most important targets of the annual plans. As a rule, they are designated by the Communist party well in advance of the preparation of the annual plans.

The primary concept that guides Soviet planners is that of balanced allocation and full employment of all resources. For example, at the heart of every year's planning in the USSR at present are 130 raw material balances. That is, the total supply of 130 basic

materials is forecast with considerable accuracy and subdivided among a vast number of specific uses. By dividing the total estimated supply of these 130 items among the uses to which they will be put, the planners try to ensure an equality of supply and demand. More important, the supply is allocated among alternative uses in a manner designed to achieve what the planners consider a "balanced" division of that raw material.

As their first step, the planners calculate how much of each given material must be allocated to the "leading link" targets of the plan. Next they determine how much will be devoted to the targets with lower levels of priority, going down the list of possible uses until the total prospective supply is exhausted. In the process of this allocation of raw materials on paper, they ponder the benefits and sacrifices that would follow from shifting the materials from one use to another, or from substituting them for one another, wherever such shifting is possible. When the prospective supply of the raw material is thus allocated among the necessary uses, the "balance" of that material is established. The balance then appears as a statistical table listing the sources and quantities of supply and the uses to which that supply will be put; both sides, total production and total consumption, balance out in the table.

This procedure is employed by Soviet planners not only for raw materials, but also for the most important final products, including consumer goods, for the labor force, capital investments, and exports and imports. Two things are worth noting about the Soviet planned balances. First, most of them are established in kind (in physical units) rather than in money and price terms. Second, the established balances are not necessarily final or rigid; in the process of the plan's fulfillment, the planners may change them as circumstances require.

Of decisive significance, therefore, is the level of priority and the authority to change the priorities. Centralization of the decision-making power is the overriding feature of the Soviet economy. For example, the Gosplan allocates to each of the fifteen republics a supply of 130 basic raw materials. At this point, however, the 130 materials are broken down into 11,000 to 12,000 items. For example, steel, one of the 130 basic materials is subdivided into approximately 45 different types: sheets, plate, wire, rod, and so on. Similarly, oil, another of the 130 basic materials, is divided into nine different types of lubricants and 167 other products. The republic Derzhplans must in turn divide, in the same manner, the materials allocated to them among the individual economic ministries that comprise the republic government. All these planned allocations that go down the pyramid are obligatory. Their recipients have no right to change them.

Thus, the initial distribution of Soviet resources between consumer and producer goods is made on the basis of the material balances. Neither the price system nor the turnover taxes but the balances in kind are the main instruments used by Soviet planners to allocate resources and limit consumption. Prices and turnover taxes are merely used to equate *ex post facto* the population's income with the supply of consumer goods and the country's total national income with its total output. This equilibrium is foreseen in financial plans. It is the central planning authorities who decide and determine (ration) how much of basic raw materials and other inputs such as capital investments should be allocated to consumer goods production (leather for shoes, wool for coats, chemicals for nylons, grain for bread and macaroni—as opposed to the alternative uses of grain, such as for exports, for the armed forces, fodder, stockpiling).

The union ministries then have the responsibility of allocating supplies of 11–12,000 submaterials to individual enterprises. They perform this function

by referring to the draft plans they have received from each enterprise stating individual requirements. The ministry usually will not be able to give each enterprise precisely what it had requested; however, the initial request is studied carefully in making the final allocation.

Ultimately, then, each individual enterprise will receive from its ministry an allocation of various raw materials and other means of production as well as an output goal, indicating how many units of some commodity it is to produce out of these resources. This is the enterprise's final plan, which it is obliged to carry out.

The underlying principle of the Soviet planning philosophy calls for the plans to be fulfilled as exactly as possible. If some output targets are not attained, the balances and the output plans of other enterprises and industries could be disrupted, creating a chain reaction. However, underfulfillments happen quite often because plans are usually too tight.

The overfulfillment of plans is also kept under control, and it is permitted only in case of selected goods, mostly those which belong to the "leading link" category.

Supervision of a plan's fulfillment is entrusted to several agencies. The planing bodies at all levels are best equipped to supervise the plan's execution. In addition, the State Bank reports deviations from the plan. It holds all accounts, and all payments among firms are required to be made on delivery by check. Thus, every delivery of goods is reflected in the State Bank's accounts. Imbalances in the accounts of firms are danger signals that require further investigation.

Local Communist party organizations also have the right and consider it their duty to supervise the fulfillment of plans by local enterprises and economic agencies. The government-and-party Control Commission is, on the other hand, a special agency whose main function is to investigate all cases of possibly criminal disruption of plans as well as cases of corruption, profiteering, nepotism, and the like.

Plans undergo constant revision in order to correct original errors and to adapt to unforeseen circumstances. Perfect plans do not exist; accordingly, the need for revision is anticipated and regular procedures are prescribed for making changes in the original plan. Thus the carrying out of an economic plan in the Soviet Union is accomplished by successive approximations.

As indicated, a total economic plan in the Soviet Union includes many parts. There is also a financial plan for the economy and budgets for capital and labor. Each of these plans is subordinate to the output plans.

**The Financial Plan**

The financial plan translates the output goals into financial terms. Its objectives are to facilitate the achievement of output goals and to achieve a balance between prices of current output (supply) and expenditure (demand). The financial plan incorporates the incentive system of the economy as well as the safeguards against "inflation" and "deflation." (These terms are put in quotes, for they mean different things in planned and in unplanned economies.)

The major components of the Soviet financial plan are the government budget, the credit plan, and the cash plan. The first aims to balance government revenues and expenditures [see Finance]. It differs from the capitalist countries' budget in that it applies to a far larger proportion of the economy; besides, it is always balanced. The credit plan governs the granting of short- and long-term credits by the banks. The cash plan controls the supply of money in circulation with the aim of keeping it in line with currency needs. It is based on an estimated balance of incomes and expenditures of the population and the enterprises. One of its most important components is the total wage fund for

the country as a whole and for each republic and industry. Capital investments and financing of various cultural and social activities of different republics is a major component of the financial planning. Since republics do not have any other sources of revenue except those allotted to them in the Union financial plans and the Union budgets, they are entirely dependent on the will of Moscow in the development of their cultural, educational, and social activities as well as the general public welfare.

**The Labor Plan**

The labor plan indicates the supply of and requirements for labor. It includes estimates of additions to the labor force and additional total labor needs and a statement on the number of workers with particular skills needed to achieve the output goals. Except for the estimate of additions to the labor force, the labor plan is built up from reports by individual plants of their labor needs for meeting their output goals, and the estimated requirements for agriculture and new capital construction projects. Then a territorial supply-and-demand plan for labor of different skills and categories is calculated, including plans for resettlement of ordinary workers and graduating young specialists. This plan is used, among other things, as a vehicle of mixing up nationalities of different republics, sending Russian cadres to the non-Russian areas, and vice versa.

**Territorial Plans**

As stated above, all production, capital investments, labor supply, and finance plans which cover the Soviet Union as a whole, are subdivided into plans for each of the fifteen national republics; each republic in its turn subdivides its plans into plans for each region within its territory. This subdivision is not a simple matter, however. It is clearly one of the weak spots in the whole system of Soviet plans, for regional planning requires complex balancing of a very large number of factors. While for the Soviet Union as a whole all variables may completely balance out, it is very difficult to effect this for each individual republic and region. The output of each republic or region is not consumed within its borders. One republic may produce a surplus of steel, coal, tractors, and wheat, for example, while it also has a deficit in aluminum, oil, cotton fabrics, and meat. It must export its surplus to other republics and make good its deficit by imports from them. To distribute the republic's total output of steel and total consumption of aluminum and other products by means of the balances in kind is not so difficult; the question arises, however, whether the total exchange among the republics in value terms adds up to a financial equilibrium. Otherwise, one republic subsidizes the others—gives up more resources than it receives—while some other republic gains at its expense. The same difficulty arises in the exchange of goods among the regions within a republic; frequently, some do lose while others gain. Such imbalance gives rise to bitter complaints on occasion. There is a tendency for those areas that export more output than they import to underfulfill their supply plans to other areas and to consume more of their output within their own frontiers than the plans specify. This phenomenon is called localism in the Soviet Union. It represents a thorny problem in Soviet planning because the methods to balance out the interrepublic and interregional exchanges have not yet been devised. Also, the arbitrary decisions of the Union authorities are resented and resisted because they signify discrimination and exploitation.

**Some Peculiarities of the Ukrainian Plans**

In the economic plans of the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR is always represented as a territorially integrated economy, that is, a separate economic unit. However, the specific plans which cover the

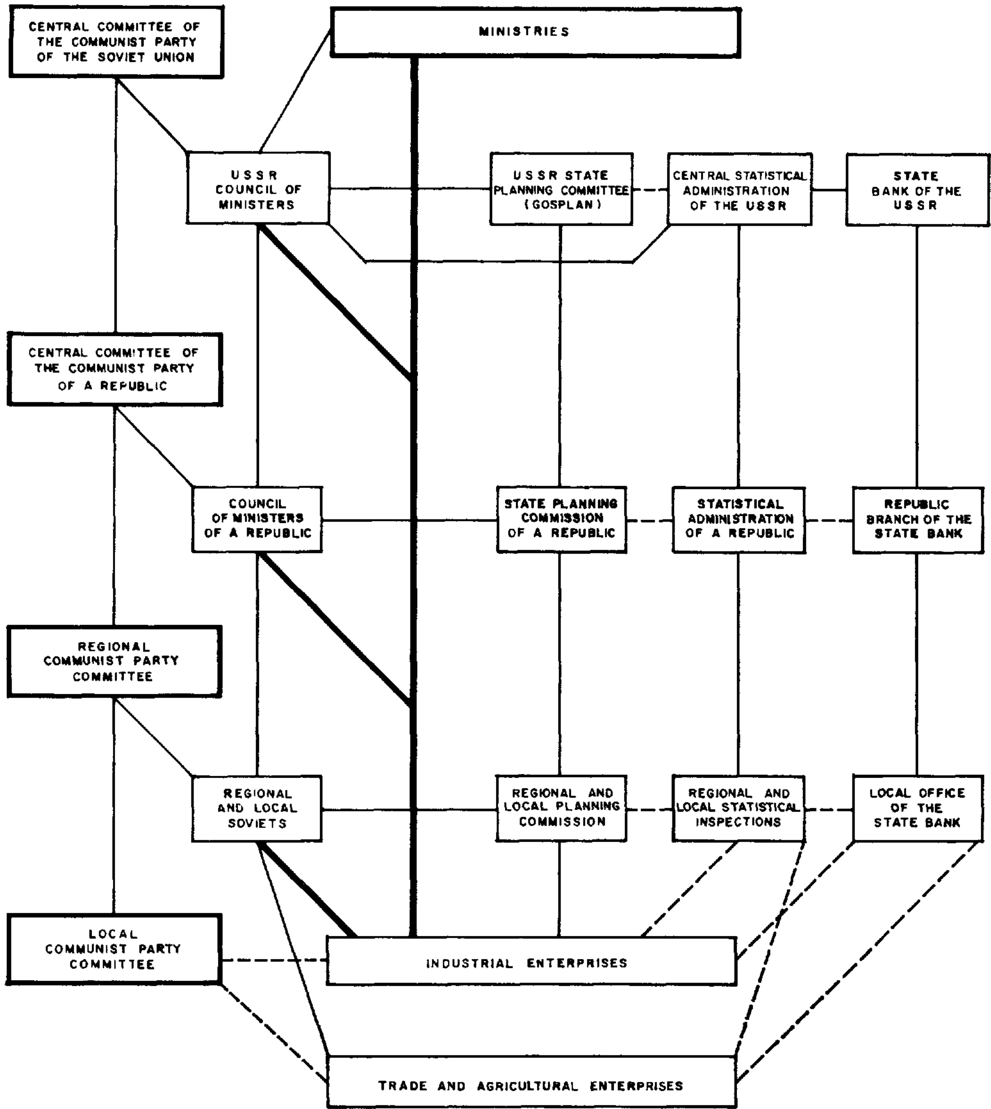


FIGURE 408. THE STRUCTURE OF THE SOVIET ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION
(Heavy lines indicate the flow of authority; broken lines show the flow of information only.)

territorial economy of the Ukrainian SSR are much more elaborate and contain many more details than the plans for the USSR as a whole. First of all, the Ukrainian SSR's plans contain separate plans for each economic region and *oblast* of the republic (not included in the Union plans). Among other indexes, the Ukrainian *oblast* plans contain the national income and social (gross) product plans, industrial and agricultural indexes, manpower, wage fund, and other details. The plans for the Ukrainian SSR as a whole also contain sections dealing with education and cultural investments, health services, housing and municipal construction, as well as elaborate plans for retail trade and public catering, for the development of automobile transport and inland waterways. Of special significance in the Ukrainian plans is also a section dealing with the interrepublic deliveries of various supplies specified in physical units.

Unlike before World War II, now Ukrainian plans contain no information on the defense production in the Ukrainian SSR, and very little information on railroad and sea transportation.

Like the USSR plans, the Ukrainian SSR's plans are made public only in summary form, amounting to a couple of pages in a daily newspaper. Detailed plans, which are long and elaborate, are always kept secret.

*V. Holubnychy*

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# 4. MINERAL RESOURCES

## STATISTICS OF RESERVES

Reserves of mineral resources are classified in Soviet statistics according to several categories reflecting their availability and probability. Category A includes completely certain supplies; category B describes accurate estimates based on geophysical research. Category C consists of reserves in different degrees of probability of existence. Categories A + B + $C_1$ combined, used for the most part in what follows, are also called "industrial," which means economically exploitable. This total corresponds to the U.S. definition of "measured" or "indicated" reserves. Categories $C_2$ and $C_3$ refer to "prospective" and "prognostic" reserves; if added to A + B + $C_1$, they make up a total known as "geological" or "general" reserve.

Unlike statistics in the West, Soviet mineral reserve estimates do not make allowance for losses of minerals in the process of mining or secondary recovery. To that extent Soviet data are exaggerated. Furthermore, the reader must be warned that different geological prospectors in the USSR furnish and publish different estimates and statistics. Because of obvious interests involved in such estimates, Soviet Ukrainian sources give figures almost as a rule higher than those given by Russian or All-Union sources concerning Ukraine's reserves. Which are right is not easy to establish. However, figures used in this section are assumed to be reasonably weighed, and sometimes averaged, between the two sources of information.

## FUEL AND ENERGY

Ukraine is sufficiently endowed with known reserves of coal, natural gas, and peat. At the present rate of extraction and technological change, indicated reserves (A + B + $C_1$) of coal will last more than 150 years; those of gas more than 100 years, and those of peat not less than 500 years. Known petroleum reserves are small, however, although prospecting is still incomplete.

### Coal

There are three distinct coal basins in Ukraine: the Donets Basin, the Lviv–Volhynian Basin, and the Dnieper Lignite Basin.

Before World War II the area of the DONETS BASIN comprised only 23,000 sq km; since then it has been extended to its present size—more than 60,000 sq km, some 45,000 sq km of which are within the frontiers of the Ukrainian SSR (see Fig. 419). Four types of mining area can be distinguished: western peripheral districts with lignite; west–central with sub-bituminous coals; central with steam and coking coals; and southeastern with sub-anthracite and anthracite. Total geological reserves in the Greater Donets Basin have been officially estimated in 1960 at 190 billion tons (2.4 per cent of all reserves of the USSR), an increase of 3.4 times compared to the estimates of 1928. Geological reserves within the frontiers of the Ukrainian SSR have been put at 146.6 billion tons. Estimates have been made to a depth of 1,800 meters, of seams at least 0.45 meters thick. Of the 146.6 billion tons, 43.4 billion tons have been classified as actual industrial reserves (A + B + $C_1$), 46.6 billion tons as probable reserves ($C_2$), and the remaining 56.6 billion tons as possible reserves ($C_3$). Industrial reserves include 14.7 per cent anthracite, 44.6 per cent sub-bituminous (gassy) coals, and 22.2 per cent coking coals, the rest being soft coals and lignite. Ash contents of the coals are moderate (13 to 20 per cent), and heat values are high (4,840 to 6,500 C/kg). Sulfur, however, is an adulterant,

running from 1.8 to 4.8 per cent of the dry coal. Flooding, weathering, and gas present serious mining problems; gas increases with depth. From west to east the numbers of seams rise, but thickness lessens; seams are relatively thin—0.45 to 1.2 meters. Marginal costs of production rise steeply, especially with depth; average costs are among the highest in the Soviet Union at 5.6 rubles per ton.

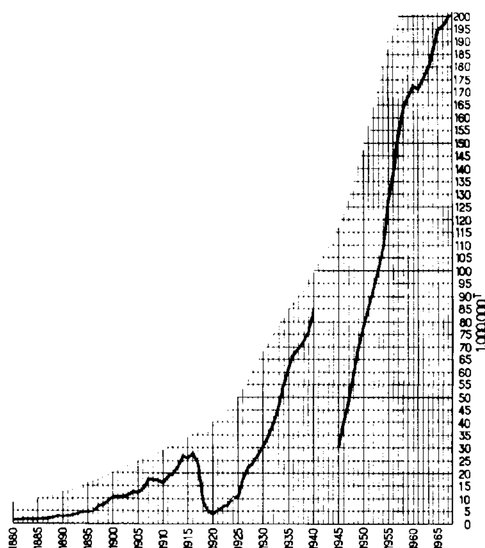


FIGURE 409. EXTRACTION OF HARD AND BROWN COAL FROM 1880 TO 1967 (IN MILLION TONS)

The LVIV–VOLHYNIAN BASIN is a hard-coal deposit of modest size, with an area of 1,800 sq km and twenty-two workable seams 0.7–1.2 meters thick. Its geological reserves have been officially put at a mere 1,750 million tons (in 1965), of which industrial reserves ($A + B + C_1$) are only 738.5 million tons. About 72.3 per cent of its reserves consist of subbituminous coals that are relatively low in ash (12–14 per cent) and high in heat value (4,950 C/kg), but have too much sulfur (up to 4 per cent) and phosphorus (0.05–0.08 per cent) for blast-furnace use. The output costs are competitive with the Donets coals. The basin became operational in 1952. By 1964 it was producing 8,890,000 tons with plans for 1980 calling for production of from 13.5–20.0 million tons.

THE DNIEPER LIGNITE BASIN is a large aggregate of shallow, weathered deposits, with seams averaging 4 to 5 meters in thickness. Official estimates of its geological reserves increased from 556 million tons in 1945 to 3,300 million tons in 1956 and 4,200 million tons in 1961, of which the best industrial categories (A + B) comprised some 44 per cent. The lignite is poor, however, with ash content of 23 per cent and 55–58 per cent water; working heat value is 1,650–2,000 C/kg. Mining is open pit and costs are low.

Numerous local lignite deposits have also been found in many other parts of Ukraine, notably in the Kharkiv *oblast* (500 million tons in 1966), Lviv *oblast*, and Transcarpathia. Total lignite deposits in Ukraine may amount to some 6 billion tons.

Hard-coal deposits in the upper Kuban River Basin, of which two are operational, are of local significance.

The total industrial coal reserves of the Ukrainian SSR (classes $A + B + C_1$) amount to about 46 billion tons now, about ¼ of them coking coals. This amounts to 25.8 per cent of the total industrial coal reserves of the USSR. In terms of trade Ukrainian coal deposits have significance for East Europe; they amount to 73.2 per cent of the total industrial deposits of the European part of the USSR and to 40 per cent of the reserves of the east European socialist countries. This whole area imports considerable quantities of Ukrainian bituminous coal, coke, and anthracite (espe-

FIGURE 410. PRIMITIVE COAL MINING IN THE DONBAS (EIGHTEENTH CENTURY)

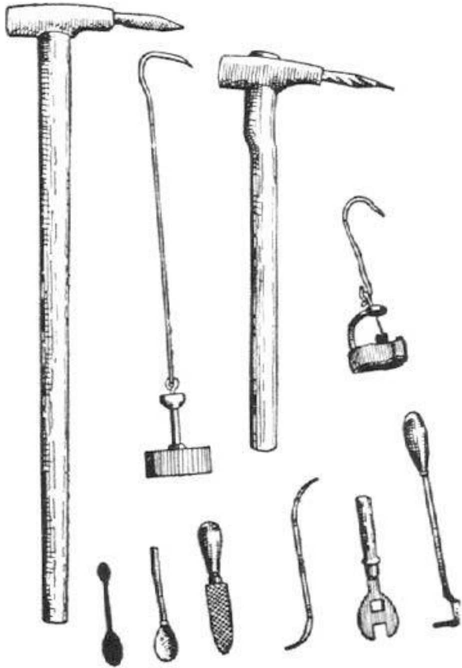

FIGURE 411. SOME OF THE EARLY TOOLS USED BY COAL MINERS AND FOUNDRY WORKERS

cially the Leningrad *oblast* and the Baltic republics of the USSR, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Bulgaria). Ukrainian anthracite and coking coal are also in demand in western Europe.

**Peat**

In contrast with genuine mineral deposits, peat of economic significance is a surface resource, extending to a depth rarely exceeding 2.5 meters in Ukraine (average depth—1.63 meters). The total area of usable peat in the Ukrainian SSR was 1,081,600 hectares in 1958, with peat reserves estimated at 2,798 million tons (air-dry), or about 2.5 per cent of the USSR total. About 56 per cent of all reserves are located in the Polisia region; the rest in the forest-steppe region. The Polisia peats are of good quality, 25–60 per cent decomposed, with calorific value averages of 3,800 C/kg, and ash contents 6–20 per cent. The forest-steppe peats are highly variable in quality. Their average ash contents exceed 25 per cent, which renders them only moderately useful.

**Petroleum**

There are three oil-bearing basins in the Ukrainian SSR: (1) Subcarpathian or Western Basin; (2) Dnieper–Donets or Eastern Basin; and (3) Crimean–Black Sea or Southern Basin. The fourth, Kuban Basin, lies partly in the Ukrainian ethnic territory within the Russian SFSR. Before World War II geological oil reserves in all Ukrainian ethnic territories were estimated at about 150+ million tons, or some 2–2.5 per cent of the world reserves. Discoveries and revisions have dramatically changed the outlook since then, but the estimates lack unity. As of 1965, the Chief Geological Administration of the Ukrainian SSR assumed that oil reserves in the Ukrainian SSR alone (without Kuban) amounted to "several billion tons"; the Ukrainian branch of the

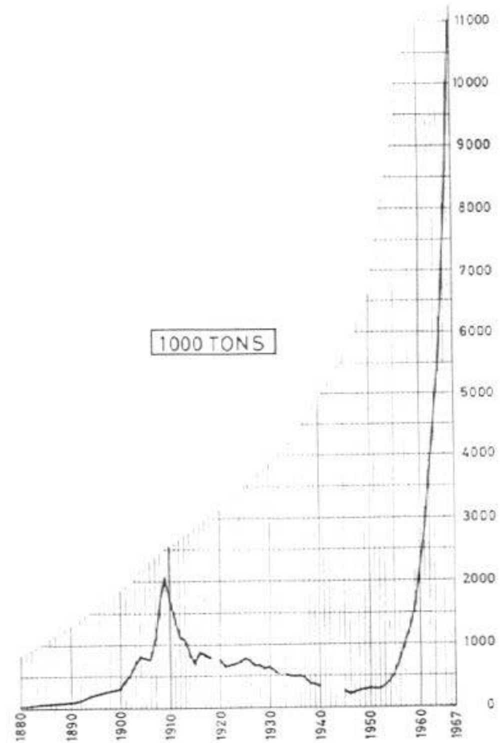


FIGURE 412. EXTRACTION OF OIL IN UKRAINIAN LANDS FROM 1888 TO 1967 (IN MILLION TONS)

All-Union Scientific Institute of Geological Prospecting (at Moscow) spoke only of "several hundred million tons." As for the USSR as a whole, exact figures were not published. According to U.S. standards, however, Soviet oil (and gas) reserve estimates contain a 20–30 per cent upward bias because of grossly exaggerated recovery expectations (D. Shimkin). About 15 per cent of the whole territory of the Ukrainian SSR, has been assessed as "warranting intensive prospecting" for probable oil deposits; actual prospecting has been done over only 1–2 per cent of the territory thus far. It has been also widely assumed by authoritative sources that the Ukrainian basins contain large oil deposits at depths of 5,000 meters which have not yet been explored. In the entire Soviet Union exploratory drilling has notoriously lagged behind many other countries, notably the U.S., because of insufficient depletion allowances in capital cost accounts and insufficient subsidies for geological exploration. In Ukraine, however, such drilling has been even more of a bottleneck because Moscow authorities preferred to explore the territory of Russia first, even though drilling costs and the probability of finding oil were almost the same in both republics.

The SUBCARPATHIAN BASIN at present (1964) produces 58.7 per cent of all crude oil in the Ukrainian SSR. It is the oldest basin in operation, and bearing strata extend all along the Ukrainian slopes of the Carpathian mountains, and continue into the former Ukrainian ethnic territory ceded to Poland by the USSR in 1945 and 1951. Lack of measures to conserve dome pressures before 1950 led to apparent depletion of large parts of this basin. Well-maintenance was also poor, and productivity declined. In the second half of the 1950's deep drilling efforts were intensified and secondary recovery methods were put to use. A few new fields were discovered and made operational (large field in Dolyna; also in Bytkiv, Pasichna, etc.). The average depth of new oil wells has increased from 930 meters in 1944 to 2,480 meters in 1964. About 39 per cent of all wells drilled become productive (40 per cent in the USSR as a whole).

FIGURE 413. PART OF THE BORYSLAV OIL FIELD

Exploratory drilling has been concentrated thus far mainly in the external and internal zones of the Subcarpathian fold and also in the Transcarpathian fold; in the near future, the emphasis will shift to the central synclinal fold and the internal anticline of the Middle Carpathian Depression [Vol. I, pp. 90–1], which have not yet been explored. Carpathian crudes are largely Cenozoic. Although they contain much paraffin (10 per cent on the average), their sulfur content is small and light fractions are 35–60 per cent. They can be refined much easier than Russian crudes.

The DNIEPER–DONETS BASIN produces 41.2 per cent of the total crude output in the Ukrainian SSR already, although it became operational only in 1951. The basin lies in a deep syncline between the Precambrian Voronezh and Ukrainian shields. The oil comes today mainly from the Carboniferous strata. Twenty-six strata are known, at an average depth of 1,600 meters. Exploratory drilling exceeds 2,500 meters in depth. Of 831 holes drilled between 1944–64, 37.5 per cent were productive. The main potential of this basin appears to be at a depth of

3,500–4,000 meters, in the early Carboniferous or Devonian strata.

The CRIMEAN–BLACK SEA BASIN extends from the Sub-Dobrudja Depression in the Moldavian SSR to the Indol Depression in the Kerch peninsula. The basin is known to contain thirty-seven prospective strata, most of them in the Syvash Depression between the Ukrainian shield and the central Crimean elevation. Explorations have been fragmentary thus far. Small operational oil deposits were established in three places on the Kerch peninsula, but after producing some 25,000 tons of crudes by 1961, they were written off as depleted. In 1961, a new small oil field was struck at the Tarkhankut peninsula in the northwest Crimea, and is still operational.

More than one-half of the refined petroleum products of the whole NORTH CAUCASUS REGION (i.e., including Grozny) are now shipped to the Ukrainian SSR. The Krasnodar region's oil fields located in the Khodyzhynsk-Novorossiiske area of the southwestern Kuban are known as the West Kuban or Maikop Basin; most of its population declared itself Ukrainian in 1926 [Vol. I, pp. 16, 239]. Geologically this basin belongs to the Azov–Kuban Depression, which is a continuity of the Syvash and Indol depressions up to the Stavropol elevation in the southeast. The basin comprises substantial oil-bearing sand deposits of the Miocene age. Earlier strata, down to the Jurassic, are also promising. Important oil discoveries were made in 1935–6, and again during the 1950's. Earlier oil bearing strata were located at the depths of 300–1,000 meters; recent discoveries are at 4,000–4,500 meters. The latest known official statistics estimated the output in 1956 at 4,300,000 tons; since then no statistics have been published, except for a report that the west Kuban Basin now produces more crudes than the Grozny Basin. The quality of the Kuban crudes is known to be almost unique; their sulfur content is less than 0.5 per cent, and the proportion of aliphatics in the distil-

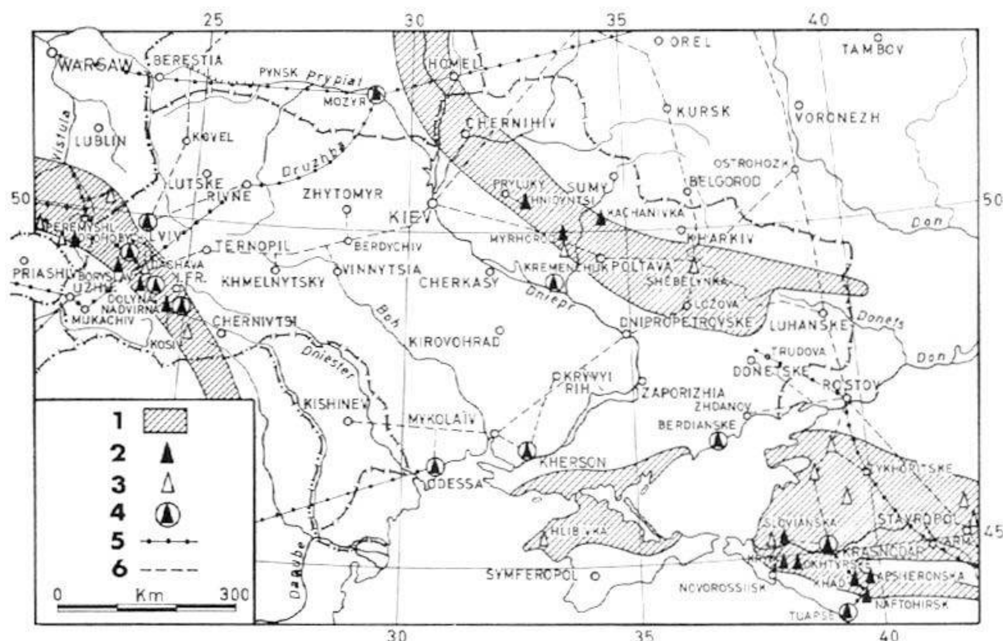


FIGURE 414. OIL AND NATURAL GAS INDUSTRY 1, areas of oil and natural gas deposits; 2, extraction of oil; 3, extraction of natural gas; 4, oil refining; 5, oil pipes; 6, gas pipes.

lation fractions is less than 35 per cent. These light crudes are easily refined into high-octane aviation fuels. Heavy crudes, but low in sulfur, also occur in different strata of the same fields, and are refined into low-boiling motor oils (*mazut*).

### Gas

Dry gas is found in the same basins as oil. As of the end of 1963, the so-called prognostic reserves were estimated as follows (in billion cu. meters): western basin–414; eastern basin–2,813; southern basin–445; Kuban basin–548. The measured industrial reserves (categories A + B + $C_1$) as of the end of 1964 were much smaller, of course: western basin–210; eastern–482; southern–22 billion cu. meters. Industrial reserves of the Ukrainian SSR made up about 22 per cent of the USSR total, those of the Kuban Basin more than 300 billion cubic meters. Compared to the pre-World War II estimates, Ukrainian gas reserves have increased more than fifty times, mainly because of the discovery of the huge Shebelynka field in the Kharkiv *oblast* in 1950 (operational since 1956), one of the largest methane fields in the USSR and Europe. Measured industrial reserves of gas (A + B + $C_1$) in the Ukrainian SSR exceeded 800 billion cu. meters in 1969 and were being augmented by drilling at the rate of 3.3 per cent a year (net of output). More than 20 per cent of gas output is exported to Russia, Belorussia, the Baltic republics, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Austria (1969).

Wet natural gas, associated with crude oil, is found in comparatively large quantities in Ukraine: some 400 cu. meters per ton of crude (1960–2).

### Shale

Bituminous shale deposits were known before World War II near Kamianets Podilsky and in the Donets Basin, some 114,000 tons altogether. There were also shale deposits around the Subcarpathian oil fields, but they remained undeveloped. In 1965, a new shale field was discovered at Boltysh, containing almost one billion tons of reserves. The quality is said to be even better than that of the famous Estonian shales.

## PRIMARY (NATURAL) FUEL AND ENERGY RESOURCES

The total so-called prognostic fuel and energy resources of the Ukrainian SSR were officially appraised in 1960 at 61.5 billion tons of conventional fuel. This is only 2 per cent of the total of such resources in the USSR. The consumption of fuel and energy in the Ukrainian SSR was estimated to be 151.2 million tons of conventional fuel at the same time. This means that at such a rate of consumption the predicted resources would last for slightly more than 400 years. However, if the definition were changed from "predicted" to "industrial" or "measured," as is acceptable in the West, and technological progress were taken into account, the time horizon for resource exhaustion would shrink to about 200 years.

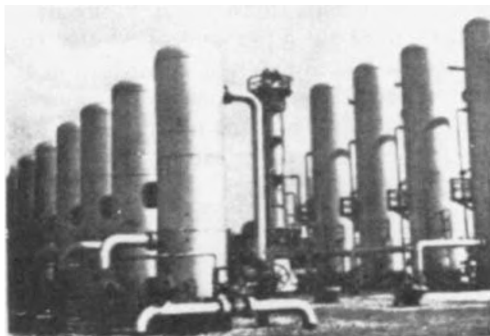

FIGURE 415. GAS SEPARATOR AT THE SHEBELYNKA MINING FIELD

The percentage of Ukrainian fuel and energy resources consisting of the mineral fuels described above is 99.1; waterpower resources account for the remaining 0.9 per cent. Technically usable energy resources of Ukrainian rivers total about 20 billion kw-hr per year. By 1970, some 50 per cent of these resources will be utilized.

The Moscow government plans do not

call (at the time of writing) for any significant development of atomic energy in the Ukrainian SSR through 1975–80, despite sharply rising costs of coal production. Two small atomic power plants are expected to be built in the southern part of the Donets Basin to produce electricity and to desalt sea water. In Russia, however, more than seven large atomic power stations were already in existence in 1965.

Secondary energy resources, mainly coking and blast-furnace gases, produce at present about 5 per cent of all electric power in Ukraine. Their contribution is not expected to increase very much, mainly because of growing demand for gas in the chemical industry.

## METALS

### Iron

Ukraine's total reserve of proved (categories A + B + $C_1$), economically minable iron ore was officially estimated at 17,312 million tons (as of January 1, 1965). This comprised 13.6 per cent of the known reserves of the world and 29.5 per cent of the total reserves of the USSR. In total consumption of iron ore by the east European countries, the share of imported Ukrainian ranged from one-fourth (European Russia, Rumania, Bulgaria) to as much as two-thirds (Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary). Ukrainian ore is also exported to western Europe and Japan. At the extrapolated past rate of mining, Ukraine's reserve is sufficient for about 100 years. In addition, there is also a reserve of 6,675 million tons in the $C_2$ category in the Ukrainian SSR. Furthermore, the southwestern tip of the Kursk magnetic anomaly lies in ethnically Ukrainian territory.

Ukrainian iron ores are located in four basins: Kryvyi Rih (Dnipropetrovske *oblast*)–79 per cent of all reserves; Kerch (the Crimea)–11 per cent of the total; Kremenchuk (Poltava *oblast*)–7 per cent; and Bilozersk (Zaporizhia *oblast*)–3 per cent. The first two basins are operational; the remaining two are being prepared for opening.

The KRYVYI RIH BASIN is located in a very narrow strip about 100 km long and from 2 to 7 km wide. Some three-fourths of its output has been hematite, which is exceptionally rich in iron content–58 per cent on the average. The gangue has little limestone and magnesium, but is exceptionally siliceous. As far as impurities are concerned, there is no sulfur, but the phosphorus content is often too high to allow its use in the acid processes, especially in conjunction with Donets coke, which has a high phosphorus content. With the expansion of mining of better-grade ores, the blast-furnace mix became noticeably poorer in quality, with the iron content falling and the silica and alumina rising. At present, the rich ores will still last for about 35–40 years. The so-called iron quartzite ores, with iron content of about 38 per cent on the average and with as much as 35 per cent silica, have been brought into production since the 1950's. While rich ores are mined in subterranean mines, quartzites are extracted in open pits. Five large concentration plants are used to prepare

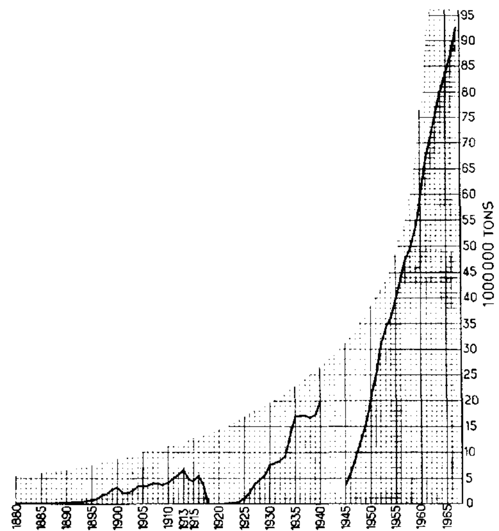


FIGURE 416. IRON ORE MINING FROM 1880 TO 1967 (IN MILLION TONS)

FIGURE 417. OPEN-PIT ORE MINING IN THE 1890'S, KRYVYI RIH BASIN

the powdery ores for blast-furnaces. Geological reserves of the quartzite ores are assumed by some authorities to be large enough to last for several hundred years.

In physical composition the KERCH ores are as unsatisfactory as those of France and Luxembourg. Since the ore is almost powder, as much as two-thirds of it is lost in handling and processing. Without concentration it is not usable. Its chemical composition is even worse, however. The ores are predominantly brown, with the following composition: iron–36.9 per cent, silica–20.0 per cent, manganese–1.6 per cent, phosphorus–0.9 per cent, sulfur–0.35 per cent, and arsenic–0.1 per cent. Deviations from these averages vary widely. The phosphorus content is too high for acid Bessemer converters, and yet too low for Thomas converters. To enrich the charge of Thomas converters, additional phosphates are brought by rail from the Kola Peninsula to the Azovstal' Works at Zhdanov. To reduce the arsenic content, 20–25 per cent of the Kryvyi Rih ores have to be added to the mix. The ore is brought to Zhdanov by sea, and its mining at Kerch is cheap in cost despite losses. But the final metal is both costly and of poor quality. Nevertheless, official plans call for the construction of the second series of the Azovstal' Works and for the restoration of the Volkov Iron Works at Kerch (destroyed during the war) in anticipation of a growth in the future demand for metal and the inadequacy of other ore basins to meet it in full.

The KREMENCHUK MAGNETIC ANOMALY is a geological continuity of the Kryvyi Rih Basin on the left bank of the Dnieper River. It is a narrow strip about 45 km long and 1–3.5 km wide. Its ores are mostly quartzites with 35.9 per cent iron content. The Dnieper Ore Combine, which has been under construction since 1961, will produce some 7.3 million tons of concentrate per year, enriching the iron content of the ore to 64 per cent.

The BILOZERSK BASIN contains high-grade ore with 62 per cent iron content, low in phosphorus and sulfur, and strong for handling. The deposit is small, however. Low-grade brown quartzites have also been found in the Donets Basin and Polisia.

**Manganese**

Estimated reserves of manganese ores in the Ukrainian SSR amount to 2,950 million tons (as of 1965). This comprises some 84–88 per cent of the USSR total, and some 25–30 per cent of the world reserves, making Ukraine the world's leading depository and producer of manganese. At times Ukrainian manganese has been imported by the United States in large quantities, while the United Kingdom, France, West Germany, and other countries import it today both as ore and as ferroalloy in quantities exceeding 50,000 tons each. Some 85 per cent of manganese consumption in eastern Europe and about 40 per cent in the Russian SFSR is presently satisfied by Ukraine (in its turn, Ukraine imports about 25 per cent of its own consumption of manganese from the Chiatura Basin in the Georgian SSR–mainly carbonates and pyroxenes used in the optical industry–but the Chiatura deposits are almost exhausted). In Ukraine manganese is used as a flux and as an alloying element. As fluxing material the ore is used to remove sulfur present in the Donets coke. As a steel-hardening element ferromanganese is used not only as

a substitute for other, more expensive hardeners, such as molybdenum, which Ukraine lacks, but also as an alloy. Some of the Ukrainian steels contain more than 10 per cent manganese, which makes them unique. Various manganese alloys with copper, aluminium, nickel, zinc, tin, lead, etc. are used in defense, aircraft, shipbuilding, and radioelectronic industries.

The known reserves of Ukrainian manganese ores are sufficient to last for more than 285 years. They are located in three deposits—Nykopil and Inhulets on the right bank, and Velykyi Tokmak on the left bank of the Kakhivka Reservoir of the Dnieper River, and constitute 34, 19, and 47 per cent, respectively. All three deposits are geologically related and constitute one single Dnieper Manganese Basin, also known as Ukrainian or Southern. The average Mn content in the raw ore of the Nykopil Basin is 27 per cent; that of Velykyi Tokmak—26 per cent. The ores of the Inhulets Basin have not yet been conclusively appraised, but their manganese content ranges from 8–33 per cent. The silica content is high, however, and all of the ore, therefore, has to be concentrated by washing to reduce the silicon dioxide and to raise the Mn content. Of the three deposits, only the Nykopil is operational at present, producing some 88 per cent of all Mn ores of the USSR. The Velykyi Tokmak Basin is being prepared for future opening. While before World War II all mining in the Nykopil Basin was underground, at present about two-thirds is open pit.

Very large deposits of low-grade manganese ore, containing only 17–25 per cent manganese, have been discovered in the Subcaucasian region of the Kuban. Manganese ores have also been spotted in the Odessa and Ivano-Frankivske *oblasts* and in the Carpathian mountains.

**Titanium**

The Ukrainian titanium industry has ranked third or fourth in the world since about 1958, following the U.S., the Russian SFSR, and/or Japan. Statistics about reserves and output are not published because titanium is a strategic metal. However, it has been announced that since 1955 large titanium deposits have been discovered in at least three places (the Irsha River, Stremyhorod, and Samotkane) along the western and southwestern fringes of the Ukrainian crystalline massif. Most deposits are composed of ilmenite containing rutile with zircon, vanadium, hafnium, niobium, and tantalum, all of which are used in rocket steel alloys and/or atomic industry. The Irsha River Basin is at present operational, while the Samotkane Basin is being prepared for exploitation. Demand for titanium in Ukraine, it is estimated, will increase 685 per cent between 1965 and 1970. In 1967, titanium was exported for the first time to the United States, where it sold much cheaper than the domestic and Japanese supplies.

**Mercury**

Ukraine possesses large mercury reserves, which before World War II were appraised at 4.3 million tons, or about 8 per cent of the total world reserves. Later statistics are not available because this also is a strategic metal. It is known, however, that the Mykytivka Basin in the Donets Basin has recently doubled its capacity, and considerable quantities of the metal have been exported to the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Hungary, and other countries. New industrial

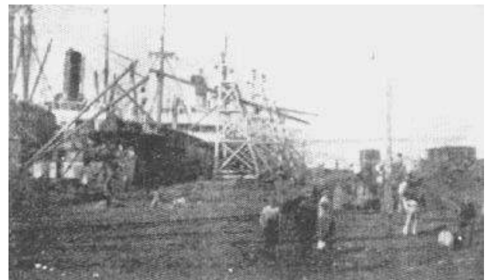

FIGURE 418. LOADING OF ORE IN THE PORT OF KERCH, 1925

deposits of mercury have been found recently in the Tysa River valley in Transcarpathia, and near the city of Tuapse in the Kuban region. Both deposits are being prepared for exploitation. The Transcarpathian Mercury Combine has been nearing the end of construction. Kuban cinnabar (HgS) is said to be the cheapest in the Soviet Union. Total demand for mercury in the Ukrainian SSR was expected to rise 330 per cent between 1961 and 1970.

### Magnesium

Ukraine's deposits and production of magnesium are also probably of world importance, although statistics are kept secret. Magnesium deposits are known to be large in the Subcarpathian potassium salts (see p. 747) and in the saline brines of the Syvash and the Crimean lakes. Significant quantities of the metal have been exported and the growth in demand for magnesium in Ukraine was projected at 210 per cent between 1965 and 1970.

### Other Metals

It is known that the Ukrainian SSR is self-sufficient at the present time in both reserves and output of zircon, niobium, hafnium, and cerium. COBALT deposits recently discovered in Western Ukraine are said to be large enough to satisfy part of Ukraine's demand; their exploitation has already begun. Two small but minable NICKEL basins have also been discovered since the war—in the Boh (South Buh) Valley (Kirovohrad *oblast*) and near the Dnieper River in the Dnipropetrovske *oblast.* Of some economic interest are the newly found TIN and ZINC deposits in two places in Transcarpathia (Berehove and Bihanky); small quantities of GOLD and SILVER may be derived as byproducts from these polymetallic deposits, if they are judged to be operational. A small worthwhile POLYMETALLIC deposit was producing in the Donets Basin, but is probably exhausted now. The Ukrzinc Plant at Konstantynivka is known to be working on concentrates imported from China, North Korea, and Central Asia. (The tungsten–molybdenum–bismuth ores of Tyrny-Auz [North Caucasus] are used by the hydrometallurgical plant at Nalchyk.) According to some reports in the Western press, URANIUM is being mined in Ukraine at Zhovti Vody in the Dnipropetrovske *oblast.* These reports have not been officially confirmed. It is known, however, that highly radioactive mineral waters (full of radon) are found in many places between Zhytomyr and Kirovohrad, and especially near Bila Tserkva.

Generally speaking, Ukraine is poor in the non-ferrous and rare metals. It lacks a number of metals—copper, gold, silver, tin, zinc, lead, to name a few. Aluminium and chromium ores are presently imported, although Kiev authorities insist that deposits of these ores can be found in Ukraine and exploited with profit. Chromites are located in the Kirovohrad and Dnipropetrovske *oblasts.* Bauxites are scarce, but alunites, nepheline syenites, and other alumina clays are available in virtually inexhaustible quantities. But to use these resources Ukraine needs a very large supply of electric power.

## NON-METALS

### Refractory Materials

Ukraine's output of refractory materials has been more than sufficient for domestic consumption, and some 20 per cent of it has been exported to other parts of the USSR and eastern Europe. Industrial reserves ($A + B + C_1$) of silica, limes, and dolomites comprised 556.5 million tons in 1961, or 32 per cent of the USSR total. At the given rate of consumption, they are adequate for about 65 years. However, some of the refractory inputs, viz., magnesite, chromite, and dunite are lacking and must be brought in from the Urals and Kazakhstan. Local substitutes have been sought recently, in particular magnesite from the Syvash Gulf. Some talc had to be

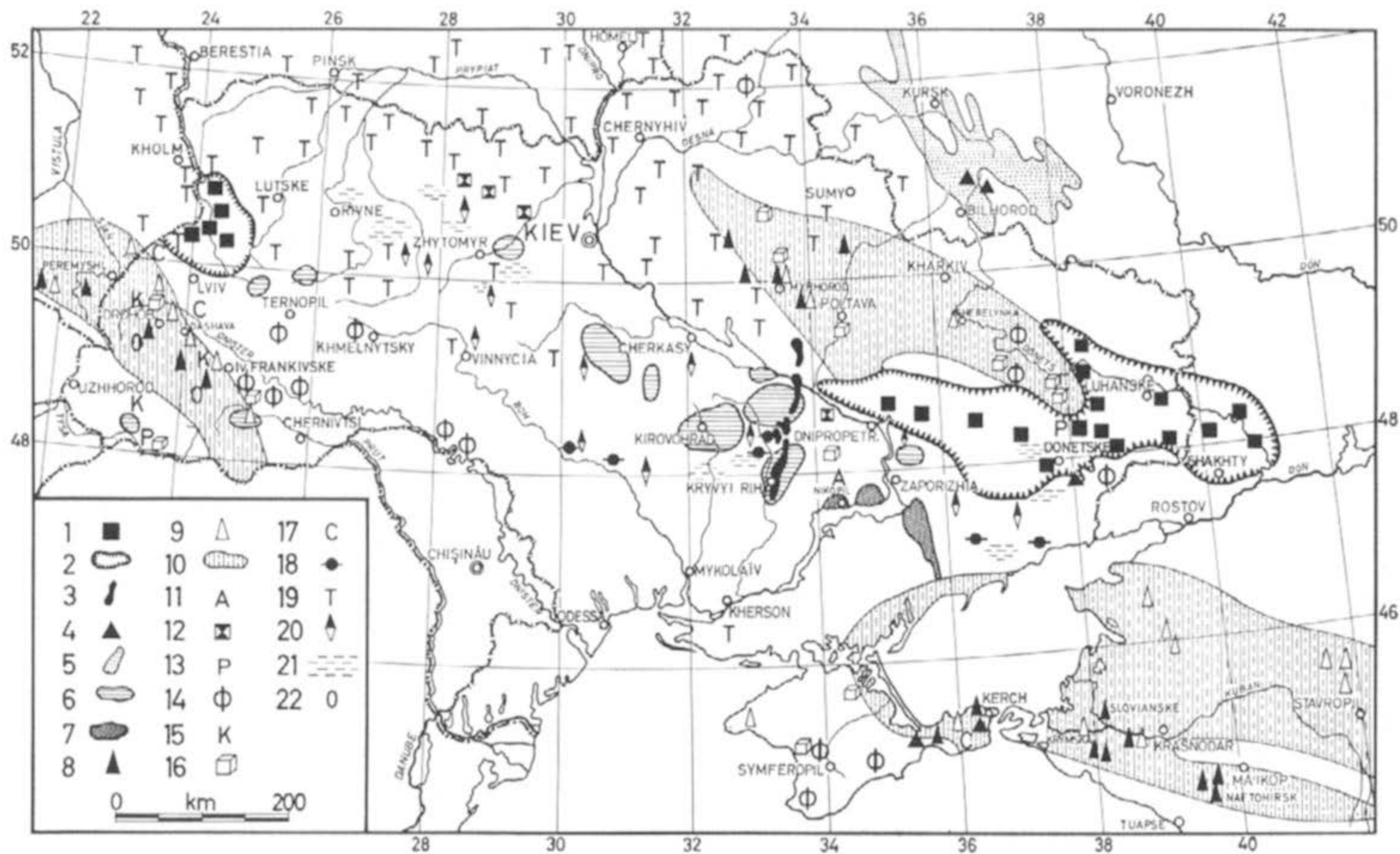


FIGURE 419. MINERAL DEPOSITS

1, coal; 2, coal regions; 3, Kryvyi Rih and Kremenchuk iron ore basins; 4, iron ore; 5, Kursk magnetite fields; 6, brown coal deposits; 7, manganese ore deposits; 8, oil; 9, natural gas; 10, areas of natural gas deposits; 11, alunites; 12, titanium; 13, mercury; 14, phosphates; 15, potassium; 16, salt; 17, sulfur; 18, graphites; 19, peat; 20, kaolin; 21, fire clay; 22, ozocerite.

*Note*: Mineral springs and construction materials are not indicated on the map.

imported from as far away as China and North Korea to supplement that from the Ural sources. Demand for talc has been growing in the chemical and pharmaceutical industries. Intensive prospecting resulted in a recent discovery of the talc and magnesite deposit of about 132.3 million tons ($A + B + C_1$) near the Veselianky, Zaporizhia *oblast.*

Industrial reserves of limestone flux ($A + B + C_1$) used in iron smelting were estimated at 2.7 billion tons in 1965 in the Ukrainian SSR, which was 40 per cent of the USSR total. Demand for fluorspar in the Ukrainian steel industry has been satisfied by imports from the Far East. Recently, however, fluorspar deposits have been discovered in the Donetske *oblast.* In the categories $C_1 + C_2$ they amount to 2.2 million tons, but are not yet in use.

Potash mica (muscovite) is found in numerous small deposits in Right-Bank Ukraine in pegmatites, granites, and gneisses. Strategic-grade mica is imported, however, mainly from Siberia. Asbestos deposits are located at Labynska in the Kuban region.

Graphite deposits are found in significant quantities near Dnipropetrovske (about 24 million tons) and in several other places on the Right Bank. Total deposits in Ukraine, 59.3 million tons, amount to 38 per cent of all graphite deposits in the USSR (1963). Production of natural graphite (28 per cent of USSR total) is also supplemented by high-grade material recovered from metallurgical wastes at Kryvyi Rih and Azovstal. Reserves are sufficient for 140 years.

**Moulders**

Moulding and casting sands are available in Ukraine in practically inexhaustible quantities. In some thirty known deposits, their industrial reserves were estimated in 1965 at 470.3 million tons, while output is slightly more than 2 million tons per year. Deposits are not far from the main metallurgical centers.

Bentonite clays, composed of colloidal silica, are found in the Kharkiv and Cherkasy *oblasts* and in Western Ukraine. Their industrial reserves in 1965 were, however, appraised at only 31.5 million tons. Since they are in demand not only in iron casting, but also in oil drilling, abrasives, ceramic, and toxic chemical industries, their supply is inadequate.

**Abrasives**

As is the case in the entire USSR, the Ukrainian abrasives industry has been inadequately developed to meet domestic demands, and large quantities of abrasives are imported from East Germany and Czechoslovakia. There is only one corundum plant in operation—at Zaporizhia. Deposits of abradant raw materials, such as feldspar, tripoli, diatomites, and pyrophyllites have been discovered in Right-Bank Ukraine, the Donets Basin, and the Crimea. Industrial reserves of feldspar amounted to only 1.9 million tons in 1961, but prospecting was incomplete. In oil-well drilling bentonite clays were successfully used. Synthetic diamonds and other cutting stones were invented with encouraging results in 1964.

**Mineral Pigments**

Geologic reserves of the mineral earth pigments in the Ukrainian SSR amounted to 8.6 million tons in 1959. Deposits of minium in the Dnipropetrovske *oblast* and of ochres in the Kharkiv and Donetske *oblasts* are among the largest in the USSR, and are worked industrially. Twelve other deposits of various ochres, umbers, siennas, colcothars, rutiles, and glauconites are scattered over other *oblasts,* but have only local significance. Glauccnites are used commercially as water softeners.

**Fillers**

There are substantial reserves of various industrial fillers, such as kaolin, chalk, pyrophyllite schists, diatomites, tripoli, etc. which are used in paper, rub-

ber, textile, plastics, cables, ceramics, and similar industries. Ukraine produces 88 per cent of the kaolins in the USSR, and exports three-fourths of this output to the Russian SFSR, Czechoslovakia, and other republics. Known kaolin reserves in Ukraine are estimated at 287.3 million tons (1964), which is 41.6 per cent of the USSR reserves. Output, however, is only about 3 million tons a year. Ukraine also possesses very large deposits of chalk, gypsum, and melting clays.

FIGURE 420. PART OF THE SHEBELYNKA NATURAL GAS FIELD

### Natural Construction Materials

Building limestone, dolomite, and sandstone deposits exceed 600 million cu. meters each, while output for each is less than 6 million cu. meters a year. Commercial utilization of these and other construction materials has been generally retarded by insufficient demand, secondary priority given to private and public housing construction in the economic and financial plans, and sometimes because of shortage of transportation facilities. Ukraine also has virtually inexhaustible deposits of construction granites, granodiorites, marbles, tuffs, and various tile and lining stones, all of which are underutilized.

Cement raw materials have been appraised as superabundant and among the largest in the world, although production of cement in Ukraine has continuously fallen behind demand. Total resources of various limestones, limes, cement rocks, glauconites, gypsum, marls, chalk, puzzolan, and tripoli, useful for Portland cement production, have been estimated ($A + B + C_1$) to be 2,693 million tons in 1965, while output of these raw materials was only 15 million tons a year. Reserves of clays for brick and tile manufacturing are similarly large. Reserves of glass sand of the best grades are more than 300 million tons. Of 60 large deposits only seven are in use, even though in terms of glass production Ukraine stands in first place in the USSR. Ukrainian plate glass is imported by the United States.

New heat and sound insulating raw materials have also been discovered recently (vermiculite, perlite). Because of their foaming qualities, they are used as light fillers in such construction materials as reinforced concrete and prefabricated walls.

## CHEMICAL MINERALS

Ukraine's supply of natural resources for the chemical industries is both sufficiently diverse and large, but relative shortages of water and electric power, among other reasons, have prevented their full utilization. Particularly underutilized are coal, oil, wet and dry natural and coking gases, and some other valuable hydrocarbon sources of organic synthesis, which can serve as a foundation for various synthetic fiber, resin, plastic, lubricant, and fuel industries. Various chlorides and sulfates are most highly developed in Ukraine, but even in this case supply of the finished products has been falling far short of demand, despite the presence of sufficient mineral resources.

### Mineral Salts

In terms of present, and even possible accelerated future rates of utilization, Ukraine possesses practically inexhaustible resources of rock and table salts (sodium chloride), large deposits of potassium chlorides and sulfates and of

magnesium chlorides and sulfates. Probably as much as one-half of the present total output of Ukrainian chemical industries uses these salts and their combinations to produce various sodas, chlorines, acids, bleach, detergents, fertilizers, explosives.

Industrial ROCK SALT deposits of the Ukrainian SSR comprise at present 7.6 billion tons or about 18 per cent of the USSR total. Output amounts to 46 per cent of the USSR total. The largest deposits are located in the Donets Basin

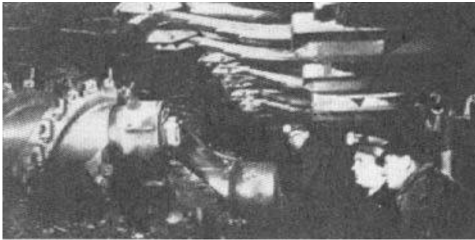

FIGURE 421. DEEP IN THE MINING PITS, LUHANSKE *oblast*

(Artemivske, Slovianske), where geological reserves have been put at a fantastic 100–120 billion tons. With nearby deposits of good limestones and coal, they constitute a natural base for low-cost sodas and chlorine production. The second largest deposits of 99.8 per cent pure table salt are located at Solotvyna (Transcarpathia). This salt has not yet been used in chemical processing on the spot; almost all of it has been exported to other regions of Ukraine, the Baltic republics, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. The third largest rock salt deposits have been discovered recently in the Kharkiv *oblast* (around Shebelynka), where in only two places (Yefremove and Luhovykove) reserves are estimated to be some 900 million tons. They will be used by the projected Shebelynka chemical combine. Next come lake salt and brine reserves of the Crimea, where the Syvash sodium chloride reserves alone are about 235 million tons. Two plants are in operation here at present (at Saky and Krasnoperekopske), but the saline waters of the Syvash and the surrounding lakes are extremely rich in numerous other salts and chemical solutions (especially magnesium, bromine, and iodine), which make up an important potential base for a diverse primary chemical industry. Finally, very large rocksalt deposits have been discovered since 1952 in the Kuban region, near the village of Shedok. They amount to some 32–7 billion tons, but are as yet unused.

POTASSIUM SALTS, located mainly in the Subcarpathian region between Boryslav and Kalush and found in the form of rock ores of sodium chloride, kainite, sylvinite, langbeinite, halite, carnellite, and other admixtures, make up about 10 per cent of the USSR's reserves. Their industrial reserves are estimated at 1.5–2.0 billion tons of raw material, or about 175 million tons of $K_2O$. Geologic reserves add up to an additional 1.0 billion tons to the depth of 800 meters. Reserves at Kalush are almost exhausted, but those at Stebnyk will last for about 65 years. Prospective deposits are located near Boryslav now. Primitive technology has prevented wider use of these deposits thus far. Only 42 per cent of Ukraine's demand for potassium fertilizers was satisfied in 1962, and even a portion of this was imported from the Russian SFSR. New deposits of potassium salts have recently been found in the Dnieper-Donets depression, but they have not yet been officially appraised.

MAGNESIUM and other salts are found in the Subcarpathian belt in potassium ores as well as in some especially interesting combinations in the Syvash and the Crimean lakes. The Subcarpathian magnesium has been presumably wasted, although with the current construction of the Kalush chemical-metallurgical combine its uses might increase in the future. The Dnieper Magnesium Plant has been using magnesium salts since before World War II, producing the alloy metal for the nearby aluminum plants and airplane factories and magnesium powders for incendiary bombs, sig-

nal flares, and other uses. The salts have been brought mainly from the Crimea. There, at Saky since 1916, and at Krasnoperekopske since 1933, two chemical combines produce magnesium and bromine salts from the lake water. The Syvash Gulf contains about 30 million tons of magnesium chloride and sulfate, or about 10 per cent of all the different salts contained in its waters. Magnesium sulfate is used as a dressing and filler in the textile and paper industries as well as in the fertilizer, pharmaceutical, and construction material industries. Magnesium oxide, which is also derived from the brines, plays an important part in modern ceramic metallurgy, and in the refractory, glass, and rubber industries, while magnesium carbonate in combination with asbestos is used for insulation in aviation and shipbuilding. BROMINE reserves of the Syvash amount to *ca.* 300,000 tons. There are also large reserves of IODINE. Both are widely used in medicine, of course, while bromine in combination with various salts is also important in photography and gasoline production. GLAUBER salt, too, has been distilled from the Syvash. BARIUM sulfate has been found recently in substantial amounts (42 per cent contents) in Transcarpathia. It will be used in radioelectronics and as a pigment. Reserves have been estimated at nearly 2 million tons.

### Mineral Fertilizers

It has already been stated that production of potassium fertilizers is inadequate in spite of the availability of potassium rocks. PHOSPHORITE ROCKS have been identified in the Ukrainian SSR in five small deposits in the Dniester Valley and in the Kharkiv and Chernihiv *oblasts*. Their geological reserves were estimated at about 60 million tons before the war; recent (1961) estimates of industrial reserves show 15 million tons, with $P_2O^5$ content of only 10 per cent on the average. Some new apatite deposits have been discovered in the Zhytomyr *oblast*, near Stremyhorod; they are of good quality, but the reserves are less than 8 million tons. Another small apatite field has been discovered recently on the Mala Laba River in the Kuban region. It is evident that Ukraine has insufficient phosphate ore reserves, and that, as previously, raw materials for these fertilizers must be brought either from the Kola Peninsula, Kazakhstan, or Morocco. With continuous development of the Kerch iron ore deposits containing phosphorus, the Azovstal Steel Works at Zhdanov will be able to augment output of Thomas slag beyond the present 240,000-ton level (1965), but even this will not satisfy Ukraine's demand for phosphorus fertilizer. In 1962 only 36 per cent of this demand was met.

The bulk of nitrogen consumption in Ukraine to date has been in the form of ammonium sulfate and nitrate fertilizers, produced at the Lysychanske, Horlivka, and Dniprodzerzhynske chemical combines from synthetic ammonia in conjunction with production of sulfuric acid. Since 1963, however, the conver-

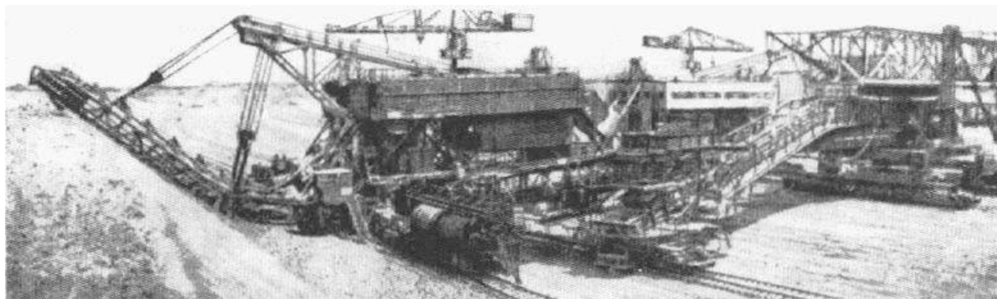

FIGURE 422. MODERN SURFACE COAL MINING AND LOADING MACHINERY IN THE KIROVOHRAD *oblast*

sion of the nitrogen industry to a new raw-material base has been gaining momentum. Now about 60 per cent of the nitrogen fertilizer is produced from natural and coking gases. Two new plants, which will use gas, are under construction at Cherkasy and Rivne; two others are being built in the Kuban—at Afip and Nevynnomysk. Only 37 per cent in 1962 of Ukraine's demand for nitrogen fertilizers was satisfied.

Ammonium sulfate can also be produced from GYPSUM, which is available in very large deposits throughout the Ukrainian SSR and the Kuban.

Experiments with new fertilizer raw materials are being carried out. MENILITHIC SHALES, found in large quantities in the Subcarpathian region, seem to be useful as sugar beet fertilizer. SERPENTINITE, found in the Kuban region, has been also found to boost the sugar content of fruits. ALUNITES, discovered in Transcarpathia recently, can be used to produce potassium sulfate in addition to sulfate of aluminum and sulfuric acid.

**Sulfur**

Producing almost one-fourth of the USSR's output of sulfuric acid, Ukraine relied until recently mainly upon the import of the Ural pyrites for its raw material, supplemented by waste gases of the coking and zinc industries. In 1961, however, the Rozdil Sulfur Combine became operational, opening up the Subcarpathian natural sulfur deposits. Their estimated reserves amount to 10–30 million tons of elemental sulfur, the largest deposit in the USSR. The use of the Ural pyrites in Ukraine is coming to an end. A new natural sulfur combine is under construction at Yavoriv.

**Ozokerite**

Ozokerite, or mineral wax, a solid hydrocarbon associated with petroleum, is found in large quantities near Boryslav, where the largest deposits in the USSR are located. At present it is used by the pharmaceutical industry. Output stood at more than 1,300 tons a year (1962) and amounted to more than 16 per cent of the USSR total.

*V. Holubnychy*

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# 5. INDUSTRY

## GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

### Before the Eighteenth Century

From prehistoric times, the inhabitants of Ukraine were engaged in the production of goods which could be classified as industrial. These activities were supplementary to the main occupation of the population—farming—and were intended to satisfy the increasing range of human needs. There are indications that iron was already being smelted in the seventh century B.C. and used for the production of weapons, utensils,

tools, and the like. In time, industrial activity became separated from agriculture and more specialized. During the peak of power of the Kievan and Halych *Rus'*, as many as one hundred different specialized branches of industry had been developed: iron and copper smelting, iron, gold, silver, and copper smitheries, weaving, pottery, shoe and dress making, saddlery, ale brewing, wine making, flour milling, etc., just to mention a few. Consumers of these products were primarily the princely courts and the nobility. To provide an adequate supply of goods and to remain close to the market, the artisans tended to concentrate in the contemporary cities. In such important trade and administrative centers as Kiev, Lviv, and other cities, artisans of the same branch were organized into guilds.

FIGURE 423. SOME PRIMITIVE TOOLS USED IN SMITHERY IN THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES, CHERKASY AREA

This rather well-developed economic life was interrupted by the Mongol invasion of the thirteenth century. A revival of the country's economy took place within the Great Lithuanian Principality and, later, within the Polish Kingdom in Western Ukraine and in Right-Bank Ukraine during the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries. Economic activity spread into Left-Bank Ukraine and Slobids'ka Ukraïna (northeastern frontier land) in the seventeenth century with the settlement of these areas.

**Eighteenth Century and First Half of the Nineteenth**

The development of industry in the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth proceeded somewhat differently in the three main regions of Ukraine: (1) Right-Bank and Western Ukraine, and Transcarpathia; (2) Left-Bank Ukraine and Slobids'ka Ukraïna; (3) southern Ukraine. In Right-Bank Ukraine, which was under Polish rule during the last third of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth, there was little opportunity for the development of modern industry. The whole economic life was stifled by the institution of serfdom which involved more than 80 per cent of the total population. Because of their legal status and their extremely poor agricultural productivity, the peasants' standard of living was unspeakably low. Their demand for goods not produced at home was practically nil. Their legal status prevented their mobility and the search for any alternative employment. The demand of landowners for consumer goods was easily satisfied by the few artisans concentrated in towns. A similar situation existed in Western Ukraine, which was also under the Polish rule, and in Transcarpathia. It was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that some important changes took place in the economic life of Right-Bank Ukraine. Conditions at that time were very favorable to the development of the sugar industry. Since the cultivation of sugar-beet requires a great deal of labor, it was profitable for large landowners to use their serfs for this purpose. Because sugar beet cannot be transported over long distances, the landowners began to build their own sugar refineries. The landowners also became interested in the distilling of alcohol.

Left-Bank Ukraine and Slobids'ka Ukraïna were settled later and their population density was lower than that of Right-Bank Ukraine. However, these areas were incorporated in the Russian

empire earlier than the rest of Ukraine. All these factors had a significant effect on the development of industry in these regions. Agriculture here was also dominated by large landowners but, unlike their counterparts in Right-Bank Ukraine, they engaged in industrial activities at an earlier date, using both serfs and hired labor. As early as the seventeenth century, various branches of industry in Ukraine enjoyed a relatively high degree of development, e.g., saltpeter, salt, window glass, crude iron, alcohol distilling. These commodities were produced not only for the local market but also for export to Russia, despite the existing tariff barriers between Ukraine and Russia. The expansion of the market to Russia had an economically beneficial effect on the growth of these industries. In addition, in the rapidly growing cities (there were already nine towns each with a population of over 10,000 in 1840 in this region), the artisans were producing a whole range of consumer goods. The economic policy of Hetman Mazepa and Peter I was important for the development of industry in this region. The protective tariffs introduced by the Czar facilitated the formation of some new industrial enterprises which produced commodities previously imported from abroad. The textile factory in Putyvl, the tobacco plant in Okhtyrka, sail and linen plants in Pochep and Sheptakivka, the Shostka gunpowder plant, silk plants in Kiev, Nizhyn, for example, can be traced to this period. However, Peter I prohibited manufacturing of weapons in Ukraine.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, southern and Steppe-Ukraine were incorporated into the Russian empire. The settlement of this region was encouraged by the state through land grants and loans without interest to both nobility and peasants. The relatively large land holdings and the proximity to seaports facilitated the development of agricultural products for export. As a result of these factors and of the relatively low population density, local agriculture represented a good market for agricultural machinery. Significant development of this branch of industry, however, did not take place until the 1840's.

Generally speaking, industry was fairly well developed in Ukraine during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. In the cities, artisans were producing many consumer goods such as woolen textiles, linen, carpets, furs, shoes, pottery, etc. Some of these commodities were well known outside Ukraine and were produced for export, e.g., carpets of the Kharkiv *guberniya* and furs of the Poltava *guberniya*. The landowners, chiefly in Right-Bank Ukraine, were engaged in the production of sugar, alcoholic beverages including beer, and to a lesser extent textiles. Outside the manorial economy, many commercial enterprises were emerging in the cities, producing such commodities as rope, leather, tallow, soap, candles, tobacco, silk, linen, hemp, woolen textiles, crude iron, glass, etc. In the early nineteenth century, the Russian government began to take a more active part in the economic life of the empire. It organized some important industries and either continued to manage them itself or leased them to private entrepreneurs. The most important in this category were: the foundry in Luhanske, the Shostka gunpowder plant, the arsenal

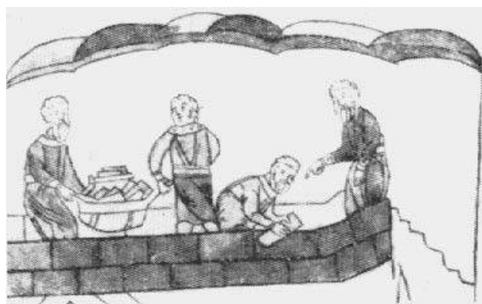

FIGURE 424. MASONS AT WORK (SEVENTEENTH CENTURY)

in Kiev, woolen textiles in Katerynoslav, china in Mezhyhiria, and various coal mines in the Donbas. This period (particularly the 1840's) also marks the beginnings of machine-building.

In the nine Ukrainian *guberniyas* within the Russian empire, between 1825 and 1860, the number of mechanized plants increased from 674 to 2,709 (or four times); workers from 15,200 to 85,100 (or 5.6 times); and output from 15.7 to 34.4 million rubles (or 2.2 times). In the latter year, Ukraine accounted for 17.6 per cent of all plants, 15.1 per cent of all workers, and for 11.8 per cent of all output in the Russian empire. The Kiev *guberniya* was the most industrialized area, mainly because of the importance of Kiev as a city and also because of a well-developed sugar industry. This area accounted for 38 per cent of all workers and 42 per cent of the total output of Ukrainian industry, and was followed by the Kharkiv and Chernihiv *guberniyas*.

**1860–1914**

The defeat of Russia in the Crimean War proved that its military potential (and, therefore, its industrial potential) was too weak to support the political aspirations of the Czarist régime. The Emancipation Act of 1861 was designed to improve this situation by creating the necessary conditions for industrialization. The goals were to increase the productivity of agriculture and in this way to provide a greater market for industrial goods, to secure greater mobility of labor, to increase financial liquidity, and to commercialize the economy. Since the market forces alone would have been too slow to achieve these objectives, the Russian government decided to speed up this development through active and comprehensive intervention in the economic life. This intervention became particularly effective in the last third of the nineteenth century.

The participation of government in the economic life assumed different forms. For the development of Ukrainian industry the single most important factor was probably the construction of railroads, which started late in the 1870's and had its greatest expansion in the 1880's. The effects of railroad construction on the Ukrainian economy were manifold. The relatively inexpensive transportation provided made it possible to convert the existing resources of coal in the Donbas and of iron ore in the Kryvyi Rih region into a modern iron and steel industry. The railroads connected Ukraine with other regions of Russia and with foreign countries through the Azov and the Black Sea ports. This provided the growing Ukrainian industry with large markets for export of sugar, coal, iron, locomotives, rails, etc. Also, the opportunity to export grain and other agricultural raw materials tended to commercialize Ukrainian agriculture with a reciprocal demand for machinery, for other inputs, and for consumer goods, which, in turn, created incentives for domestic suppliers of these commodities. The expansion of markets allowed Ukrainian enterprises to develop on a large scale and to take advantage of the resulting economies. Finally, the construction of railroads itself required large supplies of all kinds of commodities, primarily those produced by the expanding iron and steel industry, i.e., locomotives, rails, passenger and box cars.

In order to protect the newly organized enterprises from competition with the well-established firms in foreign countries and to encourage further investment through safe profits, the government imposed protective tariffs on such products as ferrous metals, coal, and sugar. It failed, however, to impose similar tariffs on finished products, agricultural and other machinery, metalworking and textile products, thus retarding the growth of these industries in Ukraine. The government was also active in the financing of industrial enterprises through loans, subsidies, reduc-

FIGURE 425. INSIGNIA OF SOME OF THE LVIV GUILDS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

tion or complete elimination of taxes, and licensing. Finally, it facilitated the financing of industrial enterprises by foreign investors through the introduction of the gold standard convertibility, special concessions, guaranteeing investment, and mainly by exacting the payment of taxes and emancipation bonds by peasants, thus ensuring sufficient export of grain to service the debt and transfer the profits. As a result, on the eve of World War I, foreign investors, primarily French and Belgian, owned or controlled the enterprises in Ukraine which produced 70 per cent of coal, 67 per cent of pig iron, 58 per cent of steel, 87 per cent of iron ore, almost 100 per cent of machine-building, etc. At that time, foreign-owned companies in Ukraine, with a capital of 413.8 million gold rubles, accounted for more than one-third of all foreign industrial investment in Russia. Some of Ukraine's industrial capital was also owned or controlled by German, English, Russian, Polish, and other financiers. Some Ukrainians also, mostly in the sugar industry, became important industrialists for a while, e.g. Yakhnenko, Symyrenko, Kharytonenko, Tereshchenko, Kandyba, Arandarenko, and Alchevsky, but they always formed a small minority, and the Czarist government discriminated against them.

The period between the reform and the severe depression at the end of the nineteenth century (i.e., between 1860 and 1895) can be illustrated with the data (Table I) on the number of industrial enterprises, the number of workers, and the output (the data refer to nine Ukrainian *guberniyas* under Russia).

TABLE I

| Year | Number of industrial enterprises | Number of workers (thousands) | Output in thousands of rubles |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1860 | 2,147 | 85.8 | — |
| 1865 | 5,224 | — | 47,222 |
| 1875 | 5,332 | 115.5 | 105,778 |
| 1885 | 10,699 | 155.6 | 214,998 |
| 1895 | 30,310 | 205.3 | 260,897 |

As can be seen, the number of enterprises increased 14.1 times and of workers 2.4 times between 1860 and 1895, while the output increased 5.5 times. The faster rise in output than in the number of workers indicates the growing productivity resulting from increased investment per worker. The increase in output was due to the exceedingly rapid growth of such extractive industries as coal and ore mining and of the primary processing industries such as the iron and steel industry. The growth of these industries

TABLE II

| | Year | Rate of growth per annum |
|---|---|---|
| Coal (phys. units) | 1860–1900 | 12.6 |
| Iron ore (phys. units) | 1870–1900 | 18.4 |
| Pig iron (phys. units) | 1880–1900 | 23.7 |
| Rolled steel (phys. units) | 1880–1900 | 19.8 |
| Metal-working and machine-building (rubles) | 1865–95 | 11.1 |
| Granulated sugar (phys. units) | 1881–2, 1889–1900 | 6.1 |
| Bricks (rubles) | 1865–95 | 6.0 |
| Woolen textiles (rubles) | 1865–95 | 9% decrease (for whole period) |

was particularly fast in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. In contrast, the growth of industries producing goods for final use, such as metal-working and machine-building, was much slower and the output of certain consumer goods even declined during this period (Table II).

Industry was unevenly distributed throughout Ukraine at the end of the nineteenth century. Heavy industry was limited to the Katerynoslav *guberniya* because it was rich in minerals necessary for its development. The rest of Ukraine was little industrialized and the existing industry was primarily engaged in the processing of agricultural raw materials. The well-developed sugar industry was concentrated in the Kiev *guberniya* and, to a lesser extent, in other Right-Bank *guberniyas.*

TABLE III

| Year | Employment (in thousands) | Year | Employment (in thousands) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1901 | 360.2 | 1909 | 441.7 |
| 1902 | 354.7 | 1910 | 481.0 |
| 1903 | 370.7 | 1911 | 513.4 |
| 1904 | 372.4 | 1912 | 549.4 |
| 1905 | 371.0 | 1913 | 631.6 |
| 1906 | 418.0 | 1914 | 631.4 |
| 1907 | 431.3 | 1915 | 635.5 |
| 1908 | 449.5 | 1916 | 812.5 |

Because of the lack of consistent output data, the employment data for the whole industry must serve as a basis for the analysis of the cycles in Ukrainian industry between 1900 and 1917 (Table III). The crisis of 1900–3 is evident in the 2 per cent decrease in employment between 1901 and 1902. It was much larger in heavy industry and amounted, for example, to 13.6 per cent annually in the iron and steel industry and in iron and manganese ore mining between 1900 and 1902. Employment was stabilized between 1903 and 1905 (around 370,000). During 1906–13, it increased to over 631,000, thus rising annually at a rate of 6.1 per cent. In the iron and steel industry, the rate was higher (8.0 per cent). Industrial growth was particularly rapid between 1910 and 1913. The output of some commodities rose annually at the following rates: iron ore—17.2 per cent, pig iron—14.5 per cent, and coal—21.4 per cent. Consumer goods industries lagged behind heavy industry. For example, the number of workers in both sugar and other branches of the food industry rose at a rate of 4.5 per cent between 1910 and 1913.

World War I had a considerable impact on Ukrainian industry. Since Ukraine's heavy industry was of vital importance for the war effort of imperial Russia, the demand for its output increased. The output, however, instead of rising declined consistently, mainly because many skilled workers were inducted into the army and even a higher number of unskilled workers and prisoners of war could not replace them. In addition, the disruption of transportation, communication, supply of inputs, and administration caused the output of basic products to decrease significantly during the war years.

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS AND GROSS OUTPUT IN 1912, IN PERCENTAGES

| | Workers | Gross output |
|---|---|---|
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Coal mining | 28.5 | 11.0 |
| Iron and manganese ore mining | 4.0 | 1.7 |
| Extraction and processing of other minerals | 6.7 | 2.0 |
| Iron and steel | 15.3 | 30.7 |
| Metal-working and machine-building | 10.1 | 10.4 |
| Wood-working | 2.1 | 2.1 |
| Chemical | 1.0 | 1.8 |
| Sugar | 20.6 | 16.2 |
| Other food processing | 7.3 | 20.1 |
| Leather | 0.4 | 1.1 |
| Textile | 1.3 | 1.5 |
| Paper | 0.9 | 0.6 |
| Printing and publishing | 0.8 | 0.3 |
| Other | 1.0 | 0.5 |

No final inference must be made as to the composition of the total output and employment shown in Table IV because

a significant share was contributed by artisans, whose output is not taken into account. The inclusion of artisans would increase significantly the total employment, particularly in consumer goods industries. Of great importance to the Ukrainian industry were: mining of coal and ores, iron and steel industry, and food processing, especially the sugar industry. Manufacturing branches such as metal-working and machine-building, chemical, and wood-working were much less developed. Of negligible importance in the total non-artisan industry were branches producing consumer goods such as textiles, leather, and paper and publishing and printing. The specialized structure of Ukrainian industry becomes even more apparent when the Ukraine's percentage in the output of certain commodities is compared with that in the Russian empire. In 1913, Ukraine produced 78.2 per cent of coal, 100 per cent of coke, 74.5 per cent of iron ore but 69.5 per cent of pig iron, and even smaller percentages of steel and rolled steel (57.7 and 58.1 per cent, respectively). Thus, the higher the stage of processing the lower was Ukraine's percentage in the total output of the Russian empire, partly because basic inputs were exported from the former to the latter. With regard to the final stage of metal processing (metal-working), the Ukrainian share was 20.2 per cent, and of actual machine-building 18.4 per cent. In general, Ukraine accounted for 24.3 per cent of the total gross industrial output of Russia in 1913, and while its share in the extractive industries was very high (70 per cent), its share in the processing and manufacturing industries amounted to a mere 15 per cent.

FIGURE 426. THE CITY EMBLEM OF LUHANSKE, SHOWING A BLAST FURNACE IN THE CENTER (1797)

A number of economic and non-economic factors could be cited for this disproportionate structure of the Ukrainian industry. Considering the economic factors first, it is necessary to remember that until the middle of the nineteenth century Ukraine was industrially underdeveloped in relation to other European countries as well as to some regions of the Russian empire. In this situation, the expansion of industry in Ukraine could have started only through the development of those branches in which Ukraine had a comparative advantage, i.e., in extractive industries where natural endowment and primary processing were important. Their development was attractive to foreign investors because the transfer of profits was assured. The development of industries producing goods for final use was much more difficult. Favorable conditions had already been established for the development of these industries in central Russia and thus the profitability of similar industries in Ukraine would have been lower even if the necessary capital had been available for this purpose. Finally, the bulk of the population of Ukraine was engaged in agriculture, in which the productivity, with some exceptions, was extremely poor. Moreover, the peasants' already low income was heavily taxed, with the result that the demand for consumer goods was not high enough to stimulate local supply. This factor was reinforced by the transfer of industrial profits to foreign and Russian investors and by the notorious proclivity of large landowners to spend their profits abroad instead of investing them at home or spending them on consumer goods produced by local industries.

Conditions for greater profit for the manufacturing industries in Russia proper were created by the deliberate economic policy of the St. Petersburg government. Among such measures was the territorial planning of railroad construction, transportation tariffs, and the structure of customs duties. In planning the railroad network in the second half

of the nineteenth century, the government sought to link the north with the south. Ukrainian industrial centers in the Donbas and Dnieper regions were thus connected with Russia in the north. The construction of the Kiev–Kursk–Moscow line connected the Ukrainian sugar producing regions with Russian markets. These steps tended to integrate certain branches of Ukrainian industry directly into the all-Russian markets. However, the failure to construct an adequate railroad system between the east and the west of Ukraine (except for the Kovel–Kiev–Poltava–Donbas line) precluded effective integration of complementary agricultural Right-Bank Ukraine with the industrial Left-Bank Ukraine. Furthermore, the tariff policy was designed to favor the export of primary products such as coal, ferrous metals, granulated sugar, etc. from Ukraine to Russia instead of abroad. For example, tariffs on the transportation of

FIGURE 427. SUGAR REFINERY IN SHPOLA, KIEV *guberniya* (LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY)

coal to the Black Sea ports were significantly higher than those to the Russian industrial centers. Thus a supply of cheap inputs to the Russian processing and manufacturing industries was assured and at the same time development of these industries in Ukraine was made less attractive.

Table V shows the distribution of the total industrial output by major Ukrainian regions and their structure at the end of 1910.

The data refer to large-scale industry only. Its total output was estimated at 1,052 million rubles. As shown in Table V, the most important branch in Ukraine was food processing, which accounted for nearly one-half of the total. It was followed by mining and metal-working and machine-building. The most industrialized region was the South–East, thanks primarily to the latter two branches. The character of the South–West and North–East regions was determined by the food industry. The branch distribution in the remaining three regions is in better proportion, with machine-building and metal-working important in the Dnieper region, food processing in the Black Sea region, and no particular specialty in the western region.

**Western Ukraine before 1914**

The western regions of Ukraine (Galicia, Volhynia, Transcarpathia, and northern Bukovina), which remained within the Austro-Hungarian empire until World War I, experienced an even slower growth of industry. This was primarily due to the lack of a middle class which could supply entrepreneurial talent, as well as to lack of domestic capital and local demand caused by a low standard of living. The area could hardly compete with the highly industrialized regions of the Austrian empire. In 1841, Galicia (Ukrainian part) accounted for 7.5 per cent of the total Austrian (not Austro-Hungarian) industrial output, and for 5.5 per cent of all Austrian artisans, although it made up one-fifth of the total population of the empire. In the early 1850's, there were some seventy enterprises (with at least ten workers) in Galicia, employing a total of 5,600 workers. Food processing branches such as flour milling and alcohol distilling were of the greatest importance in the structure of industry. The discovery of oil in the Boryslav region provided the impulse for the development of oil extraction and, to a lesser extent, the oil

TABLE V

| Industrial regions* | Percentage of total | Branch Distribution: Total | Mining and metallurgy | Metal-working and machine-building | Wood-working | Food: Total | Food: Sugar | Chem. | Textile | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 22.3 | 13.6 | 4.8 | 49.5 | 19.5 | 2.3 | 1.3 | 6.2 |
| I. South–East | 33.0 | 100 | 38.6 | 39.3 | 0.4 | 18.3 | 0.4 | 2.9 | 0.1 | 0.4 |
| II. South–West | 23.6 | 100 | 1.3 | 5.0 | 3.3 | 85.3 | 56.3 | 0.7 | 0.4 | 4.0 |
| III. North–East | 17.1 | 100 | 2.0 | 6.3 | 3.4 | 82.0 | 36.3 | 1.0 | 3.1 | 2.2 |
| IV. Black Sea | 12.8 | 100 | 0.6 | 12.4 | 2.5 | 53.7 | 10.5 | 3.0 | 1.3 | 26.5 |
| V. West | 13.5 | 100 | 28.4 | 13.3 | 22.7 | 20.0 | — | 5.3 | 3.2 | 7.1 |

*These industrial regions include the following smaller territorial subdivisions: I. South–East: Yuzivka, Luhanske, Mariupil, Katerynoslav; II. South–West: Kiev, Zhytomyr, Rivne, Berdychiv, Kamianets Podilsky, Vinnytsia; III. North-East: Kharkiv, Chernihiv, Sumy, Poltava; IV. Black Sea: Odessa, Kherson, Mykolaïv, Sevastopol, Theodosia, Symferopol; V. West: Lviv, Boryslav, Drohobych, Chernivtsi, Mukachevo.

refining industry. This growth was extremely rapid: the output increased almost eighty times between 1875 and 1910 and more than nine times during the last fifteen years of this period. In 1910, for a short while, Galicia accounted for 3.9 per cent of the world output of oil. This was the peak year and since then the oil industry has continued to decline. In 1902, there were 335 plants (with at least 20 workers) employing a total of 26,400 in Galicia. The number grew to 448 and 36,000, respectively, in 1910. In the early twentieth century, the structure of industry in terms of employment was as follows (in per cent of total): food industry—34.3, lumber and wood-working branches—20.0, apparel—16.1, extraction and processing of minerals (mainly oil)—14.7, machine-building, metal-working, and repair—10.0, others—4.9. The structure was typical of an industrially underdeveloped country.

In Transcarpathia, early in the twentieth century, there were approximately 20,000 industrial workers, employed primarily in lumber, wood-working, and wood chemical industries.

At the same time, in Bukovina approximately 10,000 workers were employed in industry. Most of them were concentrated in Chernivtsi and were employed in the production of construction materials, food, and lumber.

### 1917–20

Late in 1917 and early 1918, the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic proclaimed the establishment of state control over the industries, but the Russo-Ukrainian war made such measures impracticable. Heavy industry came to a standstill because its owners and managers fled, while many workers joined the armed struggle or drifted to the villages in search of food. Only sugar, flour-milling, and other food industries continued to operate to some extent. The sugar industry provided tax revenue for the Ukrainian government. Having achieved the power, the Soviet leaders nationalized some 11,000 plants, factories, and shops, which employed 82.2 per cent of all industrial workers, but there was hardly any improvement in Ukraine's economic life. As compared with 1913, the output of selected basic commodities was extremely low in 1920; for example, coal—17.7 per cent, pig iron—0.5 per cent, steel—1.7 per cent, rolled steel—1.8 per cent, sugar—4.4 per cent, flour—22.3 per cent. In general, the total industrial output of Ukraine in this year was only about 1/7 to 1/8 of the 1913 total.

FIGURE 428. METALLURGICAL FACTORY IN YUZIVKA (1870's)

### 1921–8

The period between the revolution of 1917 and the Xth Party Congress in 1921 is usually referred to as the period of War Communism. It was succeeded by the period of the New Economic Policy, which is considered to have lasted until the introduction of the first Five-Year Plan in October 1928. These changes in the economic policy had a profound influence on the Ukrainian economy and its industry in particular. The main objective of the NEP policy was the re-establishment of equilibrium exchange between agriculture (village) and industry (city). The peasants were induced to supply food for the urban population and raw materials for industry. Requisitioning and arbitrariness in levying taxes on the peasants were eliminated. It was thought that the supply of consumer goods would be better if enterprises were managed by private entrepreneurs instead of by the state. Therefore, the bulk of enterprises producing consumer

as well as other goods, which had been nationalized during the period of War Communism, were rented to the former owners, private entrepreneurs, or to the cooperatives. The state retained only 2,500 large and medium enterprises in Ukraine, primarily in heavy industry [see The Soviet Economic System].

During this period, the institutional framework of Ukrainian industry was as follows: until 1921, the Prombureau, an agency of the Supreme Soviet of National Economy in Moscow, was in charge of all industrial activity. After 1921, the enterprises producing similar commodities were grouped into twenty-four trusts which were coordinated by the Ukrainian Council of National Economy. With the formal inclusion of Ukraine into the USSR after December 1922, all industrial enterprises were divided into union, union republic, and republic classes according to their importance for the national economy of the USSR. Since September 1923, however, all have been coordinated by the newly created Supreme Soviet of National Economy of the Ukrainian SSR. In the meantime, also, the Ukrainian State Planning Commission was created in 1921, and was made responsible for drawing up plans for the Ukrainian economy.

In the middle 1920's, in terms of gross output, state ownership accounted for 86 per cent of large-scale industry; cooperatives and the private sector for 7 per cent each. In small-scale industry and artisan production, the respective figures were 1.5, 4.5, and 94 per cent. Combining large and small-scale industries, the share of the state was 54, cooperatives 6, and private entrepreneurs 40 per cent.

The period of the NEP in Ukraine is comparatively well documented with industrial statistics. However, they are not always comparable. Until 1925–6, the value data are given in the prewar 1913 prices, while in the succeeding period, the 1926–7 constant prices are used. Therefore, these two periods must be treated separately. Table VI indicates the growth of the gross output and the employed workers in the Ukrainian industry, in per cent (1912 = 100).

Between 1925–6 and 1927–8, large-scale industry increased its output from 2 to 2.9 billion rubles, or 1.45 times. The increase was larger in producer goods (1.6 times) than in consumer goods (1.3 times). The output of artisans and small-scale industry still accounted for a significant share of the total output. For example, in 1926–7, they produced 15.2 per cent of the total. Small-scale enterprises were primarily engaged in the output of consumer goods; however, because of emphasis on the development of heavy industry, the importance of small-scale industry tended to decline, and in 1939 it accounted for only 7.8 per cent of the total industrial output. During the second half of the 1920's, before the official introduction of the first Five-Year Plan, pressures were developing to replace the NEP with the policy of the all-out development of heavy industry which is usually associated with the pre-war Five-Year plans.

For the whole period between 1913 and 1928, the gross output of all Ukrainian SSR industries increased by 19 per cent, and of its large-scale segment by 41 per cent. (The number of workers in large-scale industry, however, increased from 642,300 to 689,500, or by about 7

TABLE VI

| | Gross output | | Workers | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1921–2 | 1924–5 | 1921–2 | 1924–5 |
| Total industry | 12.9 | 55.7 | 44.5 | 79.7 |
| Heavy | 11.6 | 52.2 | 52.3 | 83.5 |
| Light | 31.0 | 100.8 | 68.7 | 104.7 |
| Food | 11.6 | 51.4 | 18.8 | 59.8 |

per cent.) These increases were larger in the USSR as a whole (pre-1939 borders), i.e., 32 and 52 per cent, respectively.

As a result, the output structure of the Ukrainian industries changed somewhat in 1927–8, as compared with 1913 (in terms of the Soviet statistics). In Table VII, a significant decrease in the share of food industry and a smaller increase in machine-building and metal-working can be observed. An increase in non-food consumer goods is evident also.

TABLE VII

| | 1913 | 1927–8 |
|---|---|---|
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Electric power | 0.4 | 0.8 |
| Coal | 11.3 | 9.6 |
| Iron and steel | 19.4 | 14.3 |
| Machine-building and metal-working | 11.3 | 13.7 |
| Chemical | 3.1 | 3.0 |
| Building materials | 1.6 | 1.1 |
| Light | 2.6 | 8.7 |
| Food | 43.5 | 38.6 |
| Other | 6.8 | 10.2 |

The rise in the share of non-food consumer goods industries, however, is primarily due to the absorption of small-scale enterprises into the large-scale industry. This phenomenon occurred in Ukraine—both statistically and in fact—some five years earlier than in the RSFSR.

**The Prewar Five-Year Plans**

The great emphasis on the expansion of heavy industry has not only caused certain peculiar traits (that of an industry with well-advanced producer goods branches and with backward consumer goods branches), but at the same time laid a firm foundation for the possibility of future more balanced growth of the whole industry and, indeed, of the entire economy. This period also witnessed the decline of Ukraine's importance in some branches of Soviet industry, because of rapid growth of other regions of the USSR. An analysis of this period is complicated by the fact

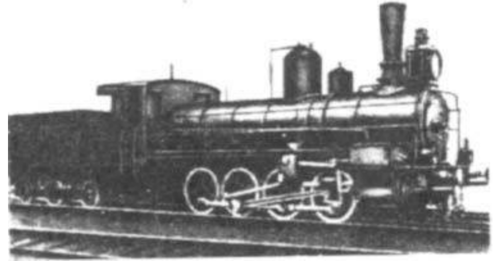

FIGURE 429. THE FIRST STEAM LOCOMOTIVE BUILT IN 1900 IN LUHANSKE

that in the second half of the 1930's there was a definite decline in the quantity and quality of available statistics. The official value data on 1926–7 prices became gradually less reliable, but no analysis of important aggregates is possible without data in ruble terms.

According to official statistics, the growth of gross output of the Ukrainian SSR's large-scale industry by main subdivisions between 1928 and 1937, i.e., during the first two Five-Year plans, is shown in Table VIII. (The output of large-scale industry can be considered as indicative for the growth of all industry, because of the overwhelming importance of the former in the latter; e.g., in 1926–7—84.8 per cent, and in 1939—92.2 per cent.) The figures in parentheses next to the data indicate the Ukrainian shares in the total output of the USSR for the respective branches.

Table VIII indicates an increase of more than five and one-half times in the total output of Ukrainian large-scale industry. Large- and small-scale industry combined increased 4.52 times during this period. The growth was particularly high in metal-working and machine-building, followed by light industry, other producer goods branches, and, finally, the food industry. As a result, the structure in 1937 was very different from that in 1928; the share of machine-building and metal-working more than doubled exclusively at the expense of the food industry. The shares of the Ukrainian SSR in the total and individual

TABLE VIII

| | Millions 1926–27 rubles | | Index 1937 (1928=100) | Structure of total output | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1928 | 1937 | | 1928 | 1937 |
| TOTAL | 2,926 (17.4) | 16,152 (17.9) | 552.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Producer goods other than machine-building and metal-working | 1,127 (20.6) | 6,011 (18.4) | 533.4 | 38.5 | 37.2 |
| Machine-building and metal-working | 392 (17.5) | 4,723 (17.8) | 1,204.8 | 13.4 | 29.2 |
| Food | 1,107 (30.3) | 3,529 (27.5) | 318.8 | 37.8 | 21.9 |
| Light | 300 (5.5) | 1,889 (10.5) | 629.7 | 10.3 | 11.7 |

branches of USSR's large-scale industry varied slightly between these two benchmark years. There was a noticeable decline in other producer goods industries and the food industry, almost doubling in the light industry. There is, however, general agreement among economists that these indexes, based on 1926–7 prices, are inflated by the following factors: (1) change in the scarcity relations among the commodities, (2) use of gross value added index which is biased by the increased specialization, and (3) introduction into the index of new goods valued at current (inflated) prices. Some independent estimates show the indexes for 1937 (1928 = 100) for the total industry and its four main subdivisions as follows: total industry—344.2, producer goods other than machine-building and metal-working—311.2, machine-building and metal-working—611.5, food—142.3, and light industry—299.4.

It is believed that the revised data show the growth of Ukrainian industry more truthfully than the official statistics. However, this growth still remains impressive. Both sets of data show clearly the lopsided development of Ukrainian industry, i.e., the rapid growth of producer goods and the modest advances of consumer goods. That the latter took place at all is in many cases due to the industry's takeover of many activities that were previously performed within the households. This uneven growth is shown by the following indexes for 1940 (1928 = 100), based on the data in physical units. Table IX also shows the Ukrainian shares in the total output of the USSR in 1928 and 1940.

As can be seen from Table IX, the growth of producer goods was much faster than that of consumer goods. Also noticeable was the decline of the Ukrainian SSR's share in the total USSR output of many important producer goods, primarily basic commodities of the iron and steel industry, resulting from the construction of new industrial centres in the Urals and western Siberia. The increase in the output shares of many consumer goods for 1940 was influenced by the inclusion of output data of the newly incorporated Western Ukraine. Despite the fact that Galicia and Bukovina were poorly industrialized, the bulk of their industries was nevertheless engaged in the production of consumer goods. For example, the structure of Galician industry before 1939 was as follows (in per cent): food—68, light—12.6, wood-working—12.1, machine-building and metal-working—1.2, others—6.1.

Industrialization was also proceeding rapidly in the Krasnodar region before World War II. The number of large- and small-scale enterprises increased between 1913 and 1940 from 193 to 1,685 (8.73 times), while the number of workers increased from 15,200 to 147,900 (9.7 times). There was also a definite change in the structure of industry between these two years. Before World War I, 58 per cent of all plants were engaged in the processing of food products, whereas

TABLE IX

| | Index 1940 (1928=100) | Shares in USSR total 1928 | Shares in USSR total 1940 |
|---|---|---|---|
| A. Producer goods | | | |
| Pig iron | 408.4 | 71.9 | 64.7 |
| Steel ingots | 371.0 | 56.7 | 48.8 |
| Rolled steel | 326.8 | 58.1 | 49.7 |
| Coke | 393.1 | 95.7 | 74.5 |
| Iron ore | 427.5 | 77.0 | 67.6 |
| Coal | 337.4 | 69.9 | 50.5 |
| Electric power | 983.3 | 25.2 | 25.7 |
| Mineral fertilizers | 1,775.4 | 41.9 | 31.3 |
| Soda ash | 246.6 | 81.6 | 81.0 |
| Industrial timber | 520.0 | 2.4 | 4.4 |
| Plywood | 125.8 | 14.3 | 4.3 |
| Paper | 135.4 | 7.2 | 3.4 |
| Cement | 410.1 | 16.1 | 21.5 |
| Building bricks | 243.2 | 25.6 | 21.5 |
| Window glass | 164.5 | 31.5 | 34.2 |
| Machine-building and metal-working (revised value data) | 564.7 | 17.5 | 19.6 |
| B. Consumer goods | | | |
| Granulated sugar | 151.8 | 78.1 | 73.0 |
| Fish, marine animals, whales | 311.2 | 5.3 | 9.9 |
| Butter | 378.4 | 10.7 | 14.8 |
| Vegetable oil | 339.1 | 10.4 | 19.9 |
| Confectioneries | 883.9 | 21.9 | 24.3 |
| Salt | 170.7 | 50.6 | 22.1 |
| Cotton fabrics | 690.0 | 0.1 | 0.3 |
| Woolen fabrics | 611.0 | 2.3 | 10.0 |
| Hosiery | 827.1 (1927–8=100) | 14.2 | 16.4 |
| Knit underwear | 376.0 (1928–9=100) | 11.7 | 24.4 |
| Leather footwear | 329.0 (1929=100) | 16.1 | 19.3 |

in 1940 a much smaller percentage of workers was employed in this way, as can be seen from the following distribution of workers (in per cent): fuel–1.7, electric power–1.4, metal-working and machine-building–25.6, wood-working–20.4, construction materials–6.2, light–15.9, food–23.9, and others–4.9.

The growth of industry in the Ukrainian SSR, as elsewhere in the USSR, was possible mainly because of the rapid accumulation of capital and the increase in the labor force employed in industry. The number of workers employed in industry increased from 855,000 to 2,213,000 (2.59 times) between 1929 and 1940. This represented 36.3 and 35.7 per cent of the total labor force (without collective farmers) in the Ukrainian SSR. In 1940, the Ukrainian SSR accounted for 20.2 per cent of all workers employed in USSR industry. The distribution of workers in large-scale industry as of January 1, 1929, and January 1, 1936, and the growth from 606,700 to 1,308,500 between these two dates are shown in Table X.

The greatest increase is observed in the metal-working and machine-building and chemical industries. The remaining branches in terms of growth did not deviate much from the average of the total large-scale industry. The consumer goods industries, primarily those producing non-foods, employed a very small percentage of all workers.

The institutional arrangements (e.g., collectivization of agriculture) and fiscal measures (e.g., turnover taxes on consumer goods) were used to channel a

TABLE X

| | Index Jan. 1, 1936 (Jan. 1, 1929 = 100) | Percentage | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Jan. 1, 1929 | Jan. 1, 1936 |
| TOTAL | 215.7 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Coal | 137.0 | 31.9 | 20.3 |
| Iron and steel | 152.1 | 16.6 | 11.7 |
| Iron and manganese ores mining | 112.6 | 3.3 | 1.7 |
| Chemicals (incl. coke and oil refining) | 364.7 | 2.2 | 3.8 |
| Lumber and plywood | 295.2 | 0.7 | 0.9 |
| Metal-working and machine-building | 398.4 | 14.8 | 27.3 |
| Food | 201.7 | 14.6 | 13.6 |
| Textile and apparel | 175.3 | 3.5 | 2.9 |
| Leather footwear | 197.1 | 1.2 | 1.1 |
| Others | 320.5 | 11.2 | 16.7 |

large share of the national income into investment in the national economy. In turn, a high percentage of the total investment was allocated in industry; during the first, second, and three and one-half years of the third Five-Year plans these percentages were 47.9, 46.7, and 42.6, respectively. In accordance with the prevailing economic policy, the bulk of investment went to heavy industry, such as iron and steel, coal, electric power, machine-building. Very little was invested in consumer goods industries.

During the prewar Five-Year plans, many new plants were constructed in the Ukrainian SSR. The most important are (year of completion in parentheses): Kharkiv tractor plant (1931), Dniprodzerzhynske coking and chemical plant (1931), Dniprospetsstal' ferro-alloys plant (1932), Zuïvka, Siverskodonetske, and Kryvyi Rih thermal electric plants (1932), Dnieper hydroelectric plant (1932), Azovstal' (1933), Zaporizhstal' (1933), and the Lenin Kryvyi Rih iron and steel plants (1934), the ferro-alloys plant in Zaporizhia (1933), the Kirov Dnieper aluminum plant (1933), the machine-building plant in Novokramatorske (1934), the metallurgical plant in Nykopil (1935), the Gorky machine-building plant in Kiev (1936), the Dniprordzerzhynske chemical plant (1938), and a heavy machine-building plant in Kramatorske (1940). In addition, many plants were completely reconstructed and expanded. Most of the machinery and equipment for these plants was imported from the United States, Germany, France, and England, and paid for with agricultural produce, ores, and other raw materials

FIGURE 430. CAST IRON FURNACE IN A KRAMATORSKE FOUNDRY (1922)

sold in the world markets. Few long-term credits abroad were available to the Soviet Union at this time. There was a small American loan, and a Swedish one, but of great importance for the Soviets was the know-how of the American and German engineers who came to

Ukraine to install the imported equipment.

During the period of the prewar Five-Year plans a number of problems emerged which affected the development of Ukrainian industry. One was the decision of the XVIth Party Congress in 1930 to construct an iron and steel center in the Urals and western Siberia in addition to the one already in Donbas. This decision resulted in a decrease of investment in the Ukrainian iron and steel industry. Consequently, this industry grew at a faster rate in other regions of the USSR (mainly RSFSR) than in the Ukrainian SSR, as is clearly illustrated by the decline of the Ukrainian share in the production of most important iron and steel commodities in the USSR. Moreover, the data indicate that processed and manufactured goods, such as rolled steel, showed the lowest growth in the Ukrainian SSR. Consequently primary goods, such as pig iron and iron ore, produced in Ukrainian SSR were exported to the RSFSR. The disparity between the development of the iron and steel and heavy industry, on the one hand, and metal-working, machine-building, and similar finished goods industries (chemistry), on the other, was already observable in Ukrainian industry before 1917. There are no indications that this disparity changed during the prewar Five-Year plans. In consumer goods industries, two tendencies could be clearly discerned. The opening of new regions in the Asian part of the USSR presented a need for the development of the food industry in these areas, because of the high transport costs from the western parts of the USSR. This again resulted in the decline of the Ukrainian SSR's share in the output of the food industry in the USSR. At the same time, the official policy was to disperse light industry more evenly throughout the USSR instead of concentrating it in the central regions of Russia proper. The Ukrainian SSR profited from this policy, as evidenced by its increasing share in the production of some commodities of light industry. The gains, however, were limited to such branches of light industry as knitting, hosiery, woolen textiles. The output of the main component of the textile industry, cotton textiles, remained concentrated in the Russian regions. Despite the relatively rapid growth of light industry in the Ukrainian SSR, its share in the total Ukrainian industry remained far below that in most other national economies.

Another problem was the rate of growth of Ukrainian SSR's industry in relation to that of the USSR. It can be assumed that under existing conditions at that time, the constraining factor for growth was capital. Therefore, the distribution of investment among various regions of the USSR was of decisive importance for their differential growth.

As Table XI indicates, the Ukrainian SSR accounted for slightly more than one-fifth of the USSR's industrial potential. The investment share, however, was also one-fifth only during the First Five-Year Plan, somewhat smaller during the Second, and much smaller during the peace years of the Third. Two factors could have been responsible for the lower share of Ukraine in investment than in fixed capital or workers: (1) the return on capital was lower in the Ukrainian SSR than in other regions of the USSR; (2) other regions received preferential treatment because of military and ideological motivations.

TABLE XI

UKRAINIAN SSR AS PERCENTAGE OF THE USSR

| | |
|---|---|
| A. Fixed capital (large-scale industry) | |
| October 10, 1928 | 21.1 |
| January 1, 1938 | 20.7 |
| B. Employment | |
| 1928 | 20.4 |
| 1937 | 18.0 |
| 1940 (including Western Ukraine) | 20.2 |
| C. Investment | |
| First Five-Year Plan | 20.5 |
| Second Five-Year Plan | 18.4 |
| Third Five-Year Plan ($3\frac{1}{2}$ years) | 14.9 |

In regard to the first point, some independent calculations indicate that between 1928 and 1937 the return on invested capital in industry was higher in the Ukrainian SSR by approximately 20 per cent than in the USSR (including the Ukrainian SSR). This advantage varied among different branches of industry. The incremental capital-output ratios in the Ukrainian SSR as a percentage of those for the USSR were as follows for individual branches: coal–85, iron ore–63, iron and steel–97, sugar–90, food processing (excluding sugar)–55, glass, china and pottery–61, apparel–96, machine-building and metal working–94, electric power–76, peat–28, leather, fur, and shoemaking–85, paper–53, wood-working–163, textile–117, chemical–47. Thus in order to maximize the growth of the USSR as a whole, the Ukrainian SSR should have received a higher share in investment than in fixed capital or workers. Furthermore, the above data refer to the investment in productive facilities of industry only. Additional investment in transportation, communication, urbanization was required in the undeveloped regions. A large proportion of the investment in heavy industry during the prewar Five-Year plans went to the Upper Volga, the Urals, and other eastern regions of the Russian SFSR which were previously underdeveloped and are characterized by a severe climate. These additional expenditures would not have been necessary in the Ukrainian SSR. In other words, in terms of total investment (productive and social overhead combined), the return on capital in the Ukrainian SSR was considerably higher than in the USSR as a whole.

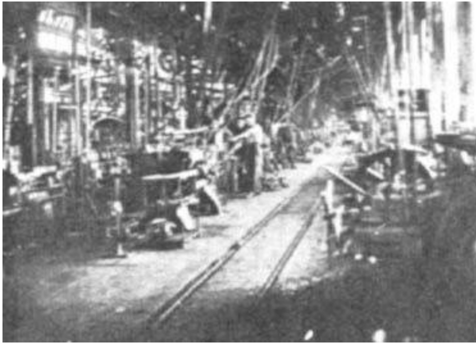

FIGURE 431. MACHINE-BUILDING FACTORY IN KATERYNOSLAV (1918)

The second factor (military and ideological considerations), therefore seems to have been responsible for the contemporary investment policy. The regions of the Urals and western Siberia, being much farther removed from the western borders of the USSR, were militarily preferable. Their proximity to the eastern borders, in view of the threat from Japan, was also of strategic importance. However, in view of the inevitability of war in the 1930's, it might have been wiser to continue to invest primarily in Ukrainian heavy industry, and thus obtain higher and quicker returns during the time that remained before the outbreak of the war.

In terms of ideological considerations, the official doctrine required a proportional distribution of industry throughout the USSR which should have been achieved through the industrialization of underdeveloped regions, mostly inhabited by the non-Russian nations. Investment, however, went chiefly into the development of one additional iron and steel center in Russia because of military considerations, and for the further expansion of finished goods industries in the regions of Moscow and Leningrad, which were already relatively well industrialized. The non-Russian underdeveloped regions shared only marginally in the investment distribution. Although the Ukrainian SSR was not considered an underdeveloped region, it must be remembered that the bulk of Ukrainian industry was concentrated in the Donbas and Dnieper regions. In the remaining Ukrainian *oblasts* small-scale food processing enterprises made up the dominant industry.

## The Period of World War II

Because of its western location and economic importance, the Ukrainian SSR suffered most among all regions of the USSR during World War II. Immediately after the outbreak of hostilities, Soviet leaders realized that they would have to retreat to the east. In order to save as much industrial potential as possible for the future war effort, they decided to evacuate all equipment and machinery from the threatened areas, from Ukraine first of all. Two basic trends could be detected during this period. On the one hand, as long as the enterprises remained in the old locations they continued to produce necessary supplies for the front, and many were converted from the production of civilian to military goods. On the other hand, the evacuation at the last moment before the arrival of the Germans could not proceed in orderly fashion. The quickly advancing German armies often destroyed the plants by bombing or prevented their evacuation. In the short period between July and November 1941, the Soviets succeeded in evacuating 544 complete industrial enterprises. Whatever could not be evacuated was systematically destroyed by the demolition squads of the Red Army and the security troops. Mines were flooded, blast furnaces, factory buildings, and immovable equipment were blown up, river ships were scuttled, city waterworks clogged. Much of the evacuated equipment and machinery was destroyed during transport or deposited at some place and never used again. Workers and their families were often evacuated along with plant equipment. The usual destinations for the evacuated Ukrainian plants were remote locations in the Asian parts of the USSR. Some equipment and machinery was reassembled, but was often only partially utilized because of the lack of skilled workers and other inputs. In other cases, the evacuated equipment and machinery were incorporated into already existing plants, thus considerably expanding their production capacity. In both cases, there was little inducement to return the equipment and machinery to Ukraine after the war.

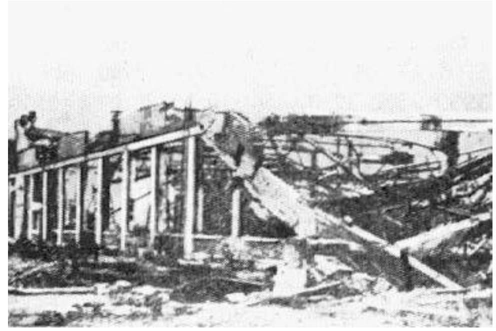

FIGURE 432. MACHINE TRACTOR FACTORY IN KHARKIV DESTROYED BY THE COMMUNISTS DURING THEIR RETREAT IN 1941

During the occupation of Ukraine, the German authorities made unsuccessful attempts to reactivate the remaining facilities for industrial production. Before its retreat, the German army, applying the "scorched earth" policy, destroyed systematically whatever was left of the Ukrainian industries. The total loss has been officially estimated at 44 billion rubles in 1941 prices. Specifically, a total of 16,150 enterprises were damaged or completely destroyed. In the coal industry, 883 mines were destroyed, as were many plants which produced mining equipment. In the iron and steel industry, 47 blast furnaces, 117 open hearth furnaces, and 135 rolling steel mills were destroyed. Also destroyed were 26 chemical and 599 machine-building plants, electric power stations, and many other industrial enterprises. It is difficult to apportion this destruction among the perpetrators, but there is no doubt that the Soviet authorities were as guilty as the Germans.

## Post-War Period

**General characteristics.** The history of the Ukrainian SSR's industry, as well as that of its national economy, is usually classified in accordance with the Five-Year plans. The period of the Fourth

Five-Year Plan extends from 1946 to 1950, of the Fifth—1951–5, the incomplete Sixth—1956–8, of the Seven-Year Plan—1959–65, and, starting in 1966, the Eighth Five-Year Plan. A less formal but more useful division of the period would be as follows: reconstruction, lasting until the end of the 1940's, the period of impressive growth, ending in the late 1950's, followed by a slowdown during the first half of the 1960's.

As indicated above, the Ukrainian economy, particularly its industry, suffered severely from the war. In order to restore the economy, Ukrainian industry had to be reconstructed first. The achievement of this goal required a great effort from the people. The reconstruction was helped by the installation of some equipment and machinery taken by the USSR as a reparation from its former enemies. There is little indication that much of the equipment evacuated from the Ukrainian SSR at the beginning of the war was returned.

During the immediate postwar period, the emphasis on the development of industry continued. Its share in the total Gross Social Product (Soviet definition) continued to rise: 1956—58.2 per cent, 1960—59 per cent, and 1963—61.7 per cent. The expectation that after the victorious war and the dreadful deprivation of the population the régime would be willing to devote more resources to the production of consumer goods (Group B) remained largely unfulfilled. The share of consumer goods industries in the total output of industry continued to decline: 1940—38 per cent, 1956—30 per cent, 1960—28.6 per cent, 1966—26.5 per cent. Despite this decline, when there was rapid growth (the late 1950's) the standard of living showed a marked rise.

The official indexes of the gross output of Ukrainian industry for selected years are shown below:

| *1940* | *1945* | *1950* | *1958* | *1965* | *1968* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 100 | 26 | 115 | 302 | 556 | 713 |

In 1950 the prewar production was already exceeded and in 1968 it was 7.1 times as high. (The indexes for the industry of the Krasnodar region are as follows (1940 = 100): 1950–104, 1958–262, 1960–318, and 1967–579.) The rapid growth before 1950 is characteristic for

FIGURE 433. AIRCRAFT PLANT IN KHARKIV (1940)

a reconstruction period in any country. The years between 1950 and 1958 were relatively favorable for Ukrainian industry; its annual rate of growth amounted to almost 13 per cent. A period of considerable slowdown followed, with the rate of growth declining to 9 per cent. In 1963 and 1964 it fell to 7 per cent. For the reasons discussed above, the Soviet official indexes tend to exaggerate the rate of industrial growth. Some independent estimates indicate that the growth rate of Ukrainian industry between 1950 and 1958 was 9 per cent per annum and not 13 per cent as shown by official indexes. Between 1950 and 1965, the industry of the Ukrainian SSR increased its output 4.8 times, a greater rise than that of the USSR or the RSFSR (4.6 and 4.1 times, respectively). The growth of Ukrainian industry between 1940 and 1968 (7.13 times) was lower, however, than that of the USSR (10.22 times), RSFSR (9.21 times), and almost all other Soviet republics. This indicates that, despite its slightly faster rate of growth after the war, the Ukrainian SSR did not regain its 1940 position within the USSR, first, because of severe

war damages, and second, because not enough resources had been allocated to it by the Moscow authorities, which continued throughout the postwar period to favor the accelerated development of the Upper Volga, the Urals, Siberia, and lately also Kazakhstan. The postwar growth of the Ukrainian SSR's industry compares favorably with the growth in the European countries of the Socialist bloc. The increase of 4.39 times between 1950 and 1964 was only exceeded by Rumania and Poland (6.0 and 4.66 times, respectively). Industry in Ukraine grew, in general, at a faster rate after World War II than in the advanced western nations. Still, the total output of Ukrainian industry in 1964 was much below that in selected nations of the West, as shown in Table XII.

The industrial output of the United States, for example, was 12 times, of the USSR 5.9 times, of West Germany 3.38 times larger than that of the Ukrainian SSR. In terms of industrial output per capita, the Ukrainian SSR was far below such nations as the United States (2.8 times), West Germany, United Kingdom, and France, but it was on about the same level as the USSR, Italy, and Japan.

TABLE XII

UKRAINIAN SSR'S AGGREGATE INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT IN 1964 COMPARED WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

| | Total output of industry (Ukrainian SSR = 100) in 1964 | Output of industry per capita (Ukrainian SSR = 100) in 1964 |
|---|---|---|
| Ukrainian SSR | 100 | 100 |
| USSR | 591 | 116 |
| USA | 1,210 | 281 |
| West Germany | 338 | 267 |
| United Kingdom | 248 | 204 |
| France | 228 | 210 |
| Italy | 131 | 115 |
| Japan | 207 | 96 |

The growth of individual branches of Ukrainian industry varied considerably. In general, producer goods industries grew faster than consumer goods industries. The indexes for 1966 (1950 = 100), from the highest to the lowest for the producer goods branches, were as follows: non-ferrous metals–2,100, chemical–1,302, metal-working and machine-building–961, construction materials–841, celluloid and paper–839, electric power–784, iron and steel–419, woodworking–297, fuel–313 (however, there are great differences here, for example, natural gas–1,989, oil extraction–2,022, while coal only–276), lumber–104. Among the consumer goods industries, light industry showed a growth of 424 and the food industry of 407.

The growth of Ukrainian industry was to a great extent due to an increase in employment. The relevant data are summarized in Table XIII.

As a result of war, employment declined by almost one-half between 1940 and 1945. The prewar level was slightly exceeded in 1950, and between 1950 and 1965, employment more than doubled. The rate of growth in industrial employment was only slightly higher than in

TABLE XIII

| Years | Employed in industry (in thousands) | Index | Industrial employment as percentage of all employed in Ukrainian economy (without collective farms) | Industrial employment as percentage of the USSR industrial employment |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1940 | 2,213 | 100.0 | 35.7 | 20.2 |
| 1945 | 1,207 | 54.5 | 27.8 | — |
| 1950 | 2,305 | 104.2 | 34.5 | 16.4 |
| 1955 | 2,948 | 133.2 | 35.3 | 17.0 |
| 1960 | 4,028 | 182.0 | 37.8 | 18.1 |
| 1964 | 4,763 | 215.2 | 37.5 | 18.4 |
| 1966 | 5,256 | 237.5 | 37.6 | 19.0 |

the entire national economy of the Ukrainian SSR (without collective farm employment), however. This can be seen from the fact that the share of industry in total employment rose by only three percentage points between 1950 and 1964. The share of the Ukrainian SSR in the total industrial employment of the USSR decreased considerably between 1940 and 1950 (from 20.2 to 16.4 per cent). This was the result of the relatively larger war losses in Ukraine. Between 1950 and 1965, however, the growth rate of industrial employment in the USSR was only about three-quarters of that in the Ukrainian SSR, whose share had been stabilized in the 1960's at a level between 18 and 19 per cent.

FIGURE 434. VARIOUS TYPES OF LOCOMOTIVES BUILT IN UKRAINE IN 1945–49

The employment of women plays a very important role in Ukrainian industry. Their share in the total employment in selected years was (in per cent): 1950–37, 1955–40, 1960–38, 1965–41.

Table XIV shows the distribution of workers in various industries (the workers in the industries listed accounted for 81 per cent of all employed in Ukrainian industry in 1950 and 82 per cent in 1966). As can be seen from Table XIV, there was an increase in the shares of the iron, steel, machine-building, and metal-working industries during the postwar period. This indicates that the Ukrainian SSR was slowly regaining its position within the USSR as an important center of heavy industry. The increase in the share of light industry, particularly in the 1950's, shows that greater attention was being paid to the welfare of consumers. The decline in the fuel industry means that there was a transition from the labor intensive branch (coal) to capital intensive branches such as natural gas and oil.

The increases in the output of industry resulted also from continually rising investment. Table XV shows the relevant data.

As shown in Table XV, about one-half of the total investment in the Ukrainian economy (without collective farm investment and private house construction) goes into industry. During the postwar period, there has been a definite decline in this respect. The main beneficiaries of this trend are public housing, trade out-

TABLE XIV

DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY BRANCHES IN UKRAINIAN INDUSTRY

| | 1940 | 1950 | 1964 | 1966 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy | 7.8 | ? | ? | ? |
| Ferrous metallurgy | ? | 7.9 | 9.5 | 8.8 |
| Fuel (including coal) industry | 14.6 | 14.9 | 12.5 | 11.5 |
| Electric power | 1.0 | 1.3 | 1.4 | ? |
| Machine-building and metal-working | 29.3 | 28.8 | 32.6 | 34.5 |
| Chemical industry | 2.6 | 2.0 | 3.1 | ? |
| Timber, wood-working, and paper | 8.9 | 12.7 | 6.1 | 5.5 |
| Construction materials | 4.3 | 7.4 | 6.9 | 7.0 |
| Glass, china, and pottery | ? | 1.5 | 1.3 | ? |
| Light | 13.7 | 10.1 | 13.0 | 12.3 |
| Food | 13.5 | 11.2 | 10.3 | 10.7 |
| Other | 4.3 | 2.2 | 3.3 | 9.7 |

TABLE XV

| | Investment in industry including construction (Mill. constant rubles) | Share of industrial investment in the total investment of Ukrainian economy (without collective farms) | Share of the Ukrainian SSR in the industrial investment of the USSR |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1946–50 | 3,652 | 45.6 | 21.7 |
| 1951–5 | 5,553 | 43.0 | 16.4 |
| 1956–8 | 5,243 | 40.1 | 17.4 |
| 1959–65 | 19,000 | 39.2 | 18.8 |
| 1946–65 | 33,448 | 40.6 | 18.3 |

TABLE XVI

| | Rate of growth of output | Rate of growth of investment (including construction industry) | The ratio of growth rates of output to investment |
|---|---|---|---|
| Ukrainian SSR | | | |
| 1951–8 | 12.3 | 11.2 | 109.8 |
| 1958–65 | 9.1 | 7.9 | 115.2 |
| 1951–65 | 10.7 | 9.6 | 111.5 |
| USSR | | | |
| 1950–8 | 12.1 | 11.7 | 103.4 |
| 1958–65 | 9.1 | 8.6 | 105.8 |
| 1950–65 | 10.7 | 10.2 | 104.9 |

lets, communal enterprises, educational, cultural, and health institutions. The share of the Ukrainian SSR in the USSR's investment in industry varied considerably during the period under discussion. It was relatively high during the reconstruction period in the late 1940's. During the Fifth Five-Year Plan it declined to 16.4 per cent. Since then, it has stabilized at about the 17–18 per cent level.

**Analysis of Recent Conditions**

The productivity of investment in the Ukrainian industry in relation to the USSR can be roughly estimated by relating the growth rate of output to the growth rate of investment, assuming the construction periods to be the same in both industries. The larger the obtained ratio, the higher is the effectiveness of investment.

As can be seen from Table XVI, the growth rates of output and investment were much higher during the 1950's than during the succeeding years in both the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR as a whole. However, during both periods the ratio between the growth rate of output and the growth rate of investment was considerably higher in the Ukrainian SSR than in the USSR, thus indicating a higher productivity of capital in the former.

According to some Soviet Ukrainian economists (A. Khramov, M. Seredenko, and others), however, the capital productivity of Ukrainian industry tended to decline in the late 1950's and early 1960's, although this decline seems to have been arrested in recent years. The main reason for this phenomenon was the interindustry distribution of investment on the union scale, its increasing share being allocated to the more capital-intensive branches such as the chemical, oil, natural gas, and machine-building industries.

The fixed capital in the Ukrainian industry was continuously rising throughout the postwar period. The value data for the period before 1960 are not available. The inventory on January 1, 1960 showed that the gross value of the productive fixed capital was equal to 14.4

billion rubles. These assets accounted for 26.0 per cent of all assets in the Ukrainian economy. On this date the Ukrainian SSR's share in the fixed capital of the USSR industry was equal to 17.5 per cent. Between 1960 and 1966 the fixed capital in Ukrainian industry increased 78 per cent. The increase varied among individual branches, with the highest in the chemical industry, and the lowest in timber, wood-working, and celluloid-paper and fuel industries. The increases in fixed capital are reflected in the number of newly constructed and thoroughly reconstructed large-scale enterprises: 527 during 1951–5, 563 during 1956–8, 907 during 1959–65, and 63 in 1966. For the whole period between 1946 and 1966, their number amounted to 6,160. In addition, a large number of small-scale enterprises were put into operation. The distribution of fixed capital among individual branches can serve as one of the indicators of the changes in the structure of total industry. Table XVII presents the distribution for selected years.

The distribution of output by branches can serve as another indicator of structural changes. Table XVIII presents the gross output of Ukrainian industry broken down by individual branches for selected years.

TABLE XVII

FIXED CAPITAL

| | Jan. 1, 1938 (large-scale only) | Dec. 31, 1950 | Jan. 1, 1960 | Jan. 1, 1967 | 1966 (1960 = 100) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 178 |
| Iron and steel (including ore mining) | 23.8 | 19.5 | 22.5 | 22.4 | 173 |
| Fuel (including coal) | 9.5 | 15.2 | 23.1 | 18.1 | 151 |
| Electric power | 9.2 | 7.2 | 8.3 | 11.0 | 214 |
| Chemical (including rubber) | 10.6 | 4.2 | 4.7 | 6.9 | 259 |
| Machine-building and metal-working | 20.2 | 21.1 | 16.0 | 17.4 | 181 |
| Lumber, wood-working, and paper | 1.1 | 2.6 | 2.1 | 1.8 | 150 |
| Construction materials | — | 5.5 | 4.9 | 5.7 | 177 |
| Light | 2.4 | 2.2 | 2.1 | 2.5 | 183 |
| Food | 11.7 | 10.6 | 9.9 | 10.0 | 173 |
| Other | 11.5 | 11.9 | 6.4 | 4.2 | — |

TABLE XVIII

GROSS OUTPUT

| | 1940 (large-scale only) | 1958 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|---|
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Iron and steel | 10.3 | 14.3 | 13.5 |
| Coal | 4.5 | 8.1 | 4.6 |
| Electric power | 2.9 | 1.9 | 2.7 |
| Chemical (including rubber) | 5.5 | ? | ? |
| Machine-building and metal-working | 36.4 | 19.2 | 23.9 |
| Lumber, wood-working, paper | ? | 4.3 | 3.3 |
| Building materials | 1.8 | 3.9 | 4.5 |
| Light | 9.7 | 13.1 | 11.3 |
| Food | 17.6 | 28.4 | 26.7 |
| Other | 11.3 | 6.8 | 9.5 |

Tables XVII and XVIII both show decreases at the present time as compared with the prewar period in the importance of machine-building and metal-working in the total industry of the Ukrainian SSR. In terms of fixed capital, an even larger decrease is observed in the chemical industry. The decrease in the shares of these two branches is of particular importance for the entire Ukrainian economy because most of the technological progress can be achieved mainly through new investment in these two branches. However, the relative increase in fixed capital of the coal industry is not accompanied by a corresponding increase in its output. In terms of output, a definite increase in the food industry, and smaller ones in the construction materials, iron and steel, and light industries are observed. The

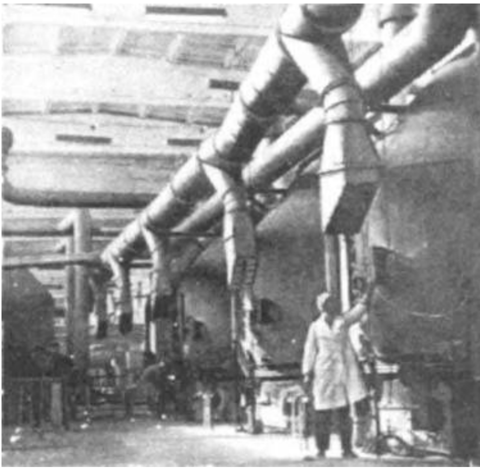

FIGURE 435. SUGAR REFINERY IN HUBYNYKHA, DNIPROPETROVSKE AREA

two tables also illustrate Soviet investment policy, which in terms of distribution of investment pays very little attention to consumer industries. Disregarding the Soviet price vagaries, the food and light industries, which produced 38 per cent of the total output of Ukrainian industry in 1965, accounted for less than 13 per cent of the total fixed capital. It is not surprising that these two industries are so backward in the USSR (as well as in the Ukrainian SSR) with low labor productivity and outmoded technology, resulting in a low standard of living.

**Current problems.** The industry of the Ukrainian SSR faces a number of problems which, if not satisfactorily solved, may retard its future growth.

One of the most important problems is the slow growth of the fuel industry which lags behind industry as a whole. Between 1950 and 1966, Ukrainian industry increased its gross output 5.23 times, but the fuel industry only 3.13 times. Coal is chiefly responsible for the lower growth rate of the fuel industry, insofar as it increased its output only 2.76 times, but continued to supply almost three-quarters of all fuel when converted to comparable units. The other components showed exceedingly rapid growth, for example, oil extraction increased 20.22 times, oil refining 11.82, and natural gas production 24.84 over this period. The peat industry, a minor component of the fuel industry, increased its output by only 78 per cent. This situation is to a certain extent alleviated by the relatively rapid growth of electric power industry (7.64 times between 1950 and 1966) which is often a perfect substitute for other types of fuel. As a result, the economy of the Ukrainian SSR is troubled by severe shortages of fuel and energy. This situation is further exacerbated by the fact that the planners, instead of closing this gap with imports from other regions of the USSR or other countries, continue to export Ukrainian coal and gas to industrial centers of western RSFSR and eastern Europe.

There are two basic reasons for this divergency between the growth rates of Ukrainian industry as a whole and its fuel branch. Since the 1930's there has been a deliberate and determined, but often not economically justifiable, effort to develop the Asian part of the USSR faster than the European part. Consequently, the bulk of investment in fuel and energy has been directed to eastern

regions in order to create a basis for the processing industries. These industries, however, showed a stubborn tendency to cluster in the western areas of the USSR, primarily in the Leningrad and Moscow regions. Obviously, the Donbas coal industry was the main victim of this investment policy, despite the fact that the demand for its output continued to rise. The war also contributed to the slow development of the coal industry. The Donbas suffered severe damages, and investment requirements for its reconstruction were extremely high. These funds never seemed to be available, with the result that Donbas has not recovered completely from the effects of the war. Soviet leaders are aware of this situation and have undertaken palliative measures to relieve it. Since the cost of production of one unit of conventional fuel is much higher for coal than for oil or gas (according to some estimates, 100, 23.2, and 8 per cent respectively), relatively more investment in recent years has gone into the oil and gas industry. In addition, considering only investment, the capital-output ratio is rising in Donbas coal industry because of the less favorable geological conditions now being encountered and the need to introduce new technology (automation, mechanization, safety measures) to meet rising labor costs. The rising share of investment in oil and gas and the rising shares in output are shown in Table XIX.

More radical measures, however, are needed to solve the fuel shortage in the Ukrainian economy. While the Ukrainian SSR accounted for 56.1 per cent of the fixed capital of the USSR coal industry as of January 1, 1938, this share had declined to 43.8 per cent as of January 1, 1960. This decline took place despite the opening of the new Lviv–Volhynia coal basin. Therefore, in order to restore the balance between demand and supply of coal in the Ukrainian economy, a larger share of all USSR investment in the coal industry must be directed to Donbas. At the same time, the Ukrainian SSR should discontinue the export of coal to western industrial centers in the RSFSR (at the present time, Donbas still exports almost 30 per cent of its coal to the European part of the Russian SFSR) and its gas to urban centers outside its borders. In turn, the USSR is in a position to divert a share of its oil from the Volga–Urals region for export to the Ukrainian SSR by way of the pipeline "Friendship" which is laid through the northwestern part of the Ukrainian SSR (this sector is 680 km long), or to import coal from other nations, notably Poland. Furthermore, as of January 1, 1938, the Ukrainian SSR accounted for 19.3 per cent of the fixed capital in the electric power industry in the USSR and as of January 1, 1960, for only 12.6 per cent, far below the percentage for all industry (18 per cent). Since electric power is in many cases a perfect substitute for coal, gas, or oil and since Ukraine possesses numerous opportunities for the development of thermal and hydroelectric power, it should receive a larger share in the total USSR investment. Finally, the fuel and energy shortage in the Ukrainian SSR could be relieved through the diversion of uranium available in Ukraine to peaceful uses.

TABLE XIX

| | Investment | | Output | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1958 | 1964 | 1958 | 1964 | 1966 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100.0 |
| Coal | 89.8 | 75.5 | 89.1 | 72.3 | 69.3 |
| Oil | 4.9 | 14.3 | 1.2 | 4.2 | 6.0 |
| Gas | 5.0 | 9.3 | 7.6 | 22.3 | 23.5 |
| Peat | 0.3 | 0.9 | 2.1 | 1.2 | 1.2 |

FIGURE 436. OIL REFINERY IN KHERSON (1965)

One characteristic of Ukrainian industry before World War II was its lopsided development in relation to the total industry of the USSR, i.e., the well-developed basic industries, primarily iron and steel, and less-developed machine-building and metal-working industry. Moreover, even within the iron and steel industry, the branches of extracting raw materials or of primary processing were better developed than the branches of more advanced processing. This situation seems to have deteriorated between 1950 and 1966, as can be seen from the significantly declining shares of the Ukrainian SSR in the output of steel and rolled steel in the USSR (Table XX).

TABLE XX

| | 1950 (%) | 1966 (%) |
|---|---|---|
| Iron ore | 53 | 54 |
| Pig iron | 48 | 50 |
| Steel | 49 | 42 |
| Rolled steel | 49 | 43 |

The lopsided development of the Ukrainian iron and steel industry is also illustrated by the fact that in 1962 the Ukrainian SSR consumed 78 per cent of its total pig iron output and 63 per cent of its total rolled steel output, with the balance exported mostly to other regions of the USSR. At the same time, some specialized products of this industry were imported to Ukraine from these other regions, for example, steel pipe (50 per cent of total Ukrainian consumption). Obviously, the share of imports in total machinery in the Ukrainian SSR was even larger in certain cases. In regard to machine-building and metal working, the position of the Ukrainian SSR in the USSR deteriorated even more.

| | *Fixed capital* |
|---|---|
| January 1, 1938 | 16.5 per cent |
| January 1, 1960 | 14.2 |
| | *Output* |
| 1937 | 17.8 per cent |
| 1960 | 13.8 |

It is evident that the share of the Ukrainian SSR declined in both fixed capital and output in 1960 as compared with the prewar period. Moreover, it is necessary to emphasize that the share of the Ukrainian SSR in the total employment of the machine-building and metal-working industry in the USSR amounted to 17.8 per cent in 1964. Thus either Ukrainian machine-building and metal-working specializes in labor-intensive branches or, on the average, employees in this industry are equipped with less capital than their counterparts in the USSR.

The lag in the machine-building and metal-working industry in the Ukrainian SSR can be explained by two factors. Even before the revolution, a solid groundwork was laid for the development of this industry in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Nizhnii Novgorod, for example. This led to the development of specialized production by these enterprises, pooling of skilled labor, expansion of repair facilities, organization of marketing and servicing enterprises. All these external economies tend to make the cost of production in these centers lower than in other regions of the USSR, including Ukraine. Furthermore, the economies of scale are particularly important in this industry. Thus for purely economic reasons, it is difficult for the Ukrainian SSR to compete, unless transportation costs outweigh advantages in production costs. Because of the Soviet price and tariff policy, however, it is often difficult to determine these variables. Inasmuch as the machine-building and metal-working industry is the main supplier of military equipment, defense

is another factor responsible for the declining share of the Ukrainian SSR in the total output of this industry. To be sure, some military equipment (data unavailable) is produced in the Ukrainian SSR, such as aircraft in Kharkiv and Kiev, tanks in Kharkiv and Donbas, shipbuilding in Mykolaïv and Kherson, explosives in Donbas; however, the bulk of it is still produced either in the western centers of Russia proper or in the Urals and western Siberia developed during World War II. The tendency to produce military equipment in the Asian regions of the USSR is reinforced presently by the emphasis on the development of nuclear weapons and space exploration, because these regions can provide a measure of secrecy for the necessary experimentation and testing.

The Soviet leaders never paid much attention to the development of consumer goods industries. As a result, the share of food and light industries stagnated in the industry of the USSR as well as in that of the Ukrainian SSR in comparison with other nations. As of January 1, 1960, the food industry accounted for 9.9 per cent and light industry for 2.1 per cent of the total fixed capital of Ukrainian industry. The respective percentages for the USSR were 9.1 and 4.5. The share of Ukraine in the food production of the USSR was 19.4 on this date, corresponding almost exactly to its share in the total population. The sugar industry, however, plays an important role in the Ukrainian SSR's food industry; it accounted for 19.7 per cent of all employed in the former, for 10.2 of the gross output, and for 32.4 per cent of fixed capital in 1964. As a result, the Ukrainian SSR accounted for a large share of the sugar output in the USSR (59 per cent of granulated sugar in 1968). Consequently, Ukraine had a much smaller share in the output of many other food products in the USSR, despite the fact that it produced 26.1 per cent of basic agricultural crops and 22.3 per cent of basic livestock products. It can be concluded that the Ukrainian food industry, except for sugar, consumed on the average a smaller share of basic agricultural products than the percentage of the Ukrainian SSR in the total population of the USSR. What is left of the output after the food industry has taken its share has been either processed by the population itself and then consumed or exported to other regions of the USSR.

The lagging of light industry behind other branches during the postwar period is not a new phenomenon in Ukraine. The same situation existed before the revolution and between the two world wars.

| *A. Fixed capital* | |
|---|---|
| January 1, 1951 | 2.2 |
| January 1, 1960 | 2.1 |
| January 1, 1966 | 2.5 |
| *B. Output* | |
| 1958 | 13.1 |
| 1965 | 11.3 |

The data above show that light industry, in terms of fixed capital, increased insignificantly, if at all, its share in the total industry of the Ukrainian SSR, and in terms of gross output it decreased slightly. The importance of the Ukrainian SSR in the light industry of the USSR was much below its share in either population or the total industry. In terms of fixed capital, it was 8.4 per cent as of January 1, 1960, and in terms of gross output 11 per cent in 1964. Within the total light industry, however, there existed a wide variation in the Ukrainian share. In the output of hosiery (20.0), knitted underwear (20.6), knitted outerwear (17.3), and leather shoes (19.5), the percentages in 1966 were very close to that of Ukraine in the total population of the USSR. The textile industry in 1966 showed much lower shares: in cotton (2.8), wool (6.3), and silk (5.6). Moreover, textiles failed to show any improvement as compared with the prewar period.

The only explanation for this unsatis-

FIGURE 437. HOUSE-MANUFACTURING PLANT IN KIEV

factory situation in the Ukrainian SSR's light industry (textiles in particular) is the insufficient allocation of investment. It is true that a relatively small share of the total investment in the USSR industry is directed towards the development of light industry (3.2 billion rubles or 3.5 per cent of the total between 1958 and 1964), but Ukraine received only 262 million rubles of the total (8.1 per cent). This share is much below the percentage of Ukrainian SSR's population as well as its share in the total industry. Although approximately three-quarters of this investment in Ukrainian light industry is allocated for the development of the textile industry, it is much too small for the expansion required to satisfy the needs of the population in the Ukrainian SSR. It is clear that such a policy on the part of Soviet planners is economically unjustified. Further expansion of the textile industry, which takes the bulk of investment, is not accompanied by the economies of scale and, as a result, the cost of production is not decreasing. By the same token, insofar as external economies are concerned, the Ukrainian SSR is not inferior to the Moscow region, because the necessary social overhead and labor force are available. With regard to inputs, cotton has to be imported to both the Ukrainian SSR and the Moscow region; fuel is available in the former, but lacking in the latter. At the present time, the textile industry depends increasingly on synthetic and artificial fibers, of which the Ukrainian SSR produced 11.1 per cent of the USSR total in 1966. Part of this output was exported to other regions of the USSR. Thus it could easily support the textile industry in the Ukrainian SSR. The development of this industry in Ukraine would benefit the entire economy of the USSR, because of the saving on the transportation costs of both inputs and outputs. The Ukrainian population, on the other hand, would enjoy greater job opportunities, particularly for the female labor force. It seems that these obvious advantages are not realized either because of the irrational insistence of the Moscow planners to keep this industry concentrated in the traditional Russian centers or because of their bureaucratic inflexibility.

**Location of industries in Ukraine.** Despite the fact that Ukraine is considered to be relatively well industrialized, the geographical distribution of its industry is uneven. At the present time, the Ukrainian SSR is divided into three large economic regions: the Donets–Dnieper, consisting of eight *oblasts*, South-West, consisting of 13 *oblasts*, and South, consisting of four *oblasts*. Table XXI shows the distribution of population and the gross output of industry on selected dates.

The Donets–Dnieper region, with two-fifths of the total population, pro-

TABLE XXI

| | Population | | Gross output of industry | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | April 1, 1956 | Jan. 1, 1966 | 1958 | 1965 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Donets-Dnieper | 41.5 | 43.0 | 60.7 | 57.6 |
| South-Western | 46.5 | 44.0 | 27.7 | 29.3 |
| Southern | 12.0 | 13.0 | 11.6 | 13.1 |

duces approximately three-fifths of the total output, while the South-Western region, with a slightly larger population, produces only three-tenths of the total. The percentage of the South region in the population is approximately equal to its percentage in the total output. This variation is largely due to the fact that the bulk of Ukrainian heavy industry such as coal mining, iron and steel, chemical, and heavy machine-building, is located in the Donets-Dnieper region (availability of mineral resources). In contrast, mostly processing industries are located in the South-Western region, including many of the important consumer industries. Since the emphasis in the industrialization of Ukraine before and after the revolution was on the expansion of heavy industry, the former region grew faster than the latter. The Donets-Dnieper region housed 42.7 per cent of all 8,260 enterprises of the Ukrainian SSR in 1964, the South-West region 43.0 per cent, and the South 14.3 per cent, thus indicating that the enterprises in the Donets-Dnieper region were larger in terms of gross output than those in the South-Western region. This fact is explained by the greater importance of economies of scale for heavy industry, while for the processing industries, primarily those using agricultural raw materials, proximity to their sources, which are of necessity scattered, is of decisive importance. Table XXI also indicates that in recent years a trend towards regional balance between population and gross output is discernible. Specifically, the Donets-Dnieper region gained slightly in population between 1956 and 1966, while its importance in

TABLE XXII

| | Ratio between heavy and light industry in 1962 | Gross output (per cent per capita) | Fixed capital (per cent per capita) | Electricity (consumption per 1,000 population) | Employment (per 1,000 population) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ukrainian SSR | 0.49 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Donets-Dnieper region | | *137* | *166* | *181* | *139* |
| Dnipropetrovske *oblast* | 4.10 | 165 | 242 | 284 | 148 |
| Zaporizhia | 3.75 | 189 | 152 | 283 | 140 |
| Donetske | 4.59 | 152 | 243 | 239 | 174 |
| Luhanske | 3.96 | 132 | 204 | 220 | 162 |
| Kharkiv | 1.52 | 166 | 96 | 100 | 157 |
| Sumy | 0.41 | 72 | 57 | 34 | 81 |
| Poltava | 0.79 | 75 | 45 | 31 | 73 |
| Kirovohrad | 0.76 | 58 | 67 | 51 | 58 |
| Southern region | | *101* | *72* | *55* | *86* |
| Crimea | 0.54 | 105 | 85 | 68 | 84 |
| Kherson | 0.63 | 96 | 87 | 49 | 90 |
| Odessa | 0.51 | 107 | 62 | 51 | 84 |
| Mykolaïv | 1.29 | 86 | 63 | 50 | 89 |
| South-Western region | | *64* | *44* | *35* | *67* |
| Kiev | 0.98 | 125 | 70 | 67 | 123 |
| Lviv | 0.93 | 97 | 73 | 60 | 93 |
| Chernivtsi | 0.17 | 61 | 31 | 66 | 68 |
| Cherkasy | 0.32 | 54 | 44 | 36 | 52 |
| Zhytomyr | 0.44 | 55 | 38 | 24 | 66 |
| Chernihiv | 0.30 | 53 | 35 | 12 | 47 |
| Ivano-Frankivske | 0.41 | 41 | 51 | 20 | 56 |
| Transcarpathia | 0.19 | 47 | 32 | 20 | 66 |
| Vinnytsia | 0.20 | 46 | 29 | 20 | 43 |
| Rivne | 0.41 | 41 | 32 | 26 | 51 |
| Volhynia | 0.57 | 36 | 37 | 21 | 47 |
| Khmelnytske | 0.25 | 37 | 26 | 18 | 39 |
| Ternopil | 0.21 | 28 | 22 | 14 | 32 |

the total output of Ukrainian industry declined somewhat between 1958 and 1965. The movement in the opposite direction can be observed in the South-West region. This change took place chiefly as a result of above average growth rates of industrial output in the western *oblasts* of the Ukrainian SSR. A much clearer picture of the differential development of the *oblasts* and large regions can be obtained from Table XXII, which, however, refers only to 1964.

It is evident that, in terms of gross output, fixed capital, consumption of electricity, and employment in industry per 1,000 of the population (all per capita), the *oblasts* of the Donets-Dnieper region are above the average for the Ukrainian SSR. On the other hand, the *oblasts* of the South-West region are industrially least developed.

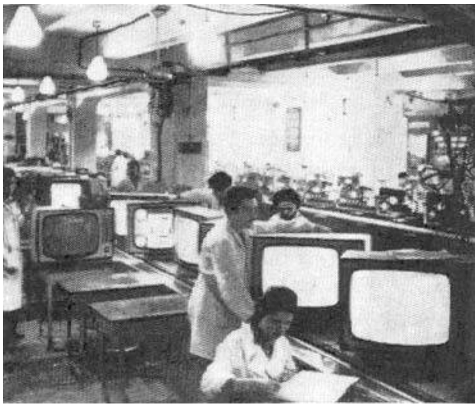

FIGURE 438. TELEVISION MANUFACTURING PLANT IN LVIV

The variations among the individual *oblasts* are extremely wide. The development of the most advanced is closely associated with the development of heavy industry, whereas the lack of appropriate mineral resources for this industry was the main reason for the lag in the industrialization of other *oblasts*. This can be shown with the help of the ratio between heavy and light industry (although it refers to a different year—1962) in the first column of Table XXII. The average ratio for the Ukrainian SSR was equal to 0.49. The higher the ratio, the more important is heavy industry in the structure. The direct correlation between this indicator and the remaining four criteria of industrialization is clearly evident.

**Development of Western Ukraine**

The term Western Ukraine applies to the territories which were outside the Ukrainian SSR between the two wars. Eastern Galicia and Volhynia, which were occupied by Poland, are at the present time incorporated into the following *oblasts*: Lviv, Ivano-Frankivske, Ternopil, Volhynia and Rivne. The area which was under Rumania now constitutes the Chernivtsi *oblast*, while the Izmaïl and Akkerman counties are incorporated in the Odessa *oblast*. The region which was under Czechoslovakia at present constitutes the Transcarpathian *oblast*.

All these regions were economically and industrially underdeveloped, particularly before World War II. Despite its relatively large population (5,147,000 in 1939), eastern Galicia had only 43,900 workers employed in 534 enterprises with over 20 employees (1938). In terms of workers employed the following branches of industry can be listed in order of importance: wood-working—35.2 per cent, food processing—20.9, building materials—14.0, and metal-working—12.5. The remaining branches accounted for 17.4 per cent of all workers. In the Volhynia and Rivne *oblasts* between seven and eight thousand workers were employed in enterprises of similar size before the war. In addition, about 7,000 workers were employed seasonally in basalt and granite quarries and 4,000 in the lumber industry. In Bukovina there were 105 enterprises employing 21 or more workers in 1939. Altogether they employed 14,780 workers. The leading branches in terms of employment were: food industry—39.7 per cent, wood-working—26.7, and textile—17.1. In Transcarpathia, there were

only 10 larger plants (four metal-working, three wood chemistry, and one each in furniture, tobacco processing, and salt mining) employing some 4,000 men. In addition to these large-scale enterprises, there were many small-scale enterprises and artisans in these regions producing various industrial goods. This can be seen from the fact that in five *oblasts* which were under Poland, 2,218 industrial enterprises were nationalized in 1939 and in Bukovina 266 enterprises in 1940.

Following the incorporation of eastern Galicia, Volhynia, and Bukovina in the Ukrainian SSR, Soviet authorities launched a series of improvement plans. Interrupted by World War II, they were resumed with the same intensity after the cessation of hostilities in 1945. Transcarpathia was also incorporated in the Ukrainian SSR in 1945. Table XXIII shows the growth of the gross output of industry in these areas.

Thus, all Western Ukrainian *oblasts* had exceeded their prewar output by 1950. Between 1950 and 1958, the rate of growth for all of them was higher than in the Ukrainian SSR as a whole. After 1958, the Ivano-Frankivske, Chernivtsi, and Transcarpathian *oblasts* lagged behind the average growth for the entire Ukrainian SSR. Rapid growth can be observed in the Lviv *oblast* for the whole period. The city of Lviv, in particular, became an important center of electronic, metal-working, and machine-building industries for the Ukrainian SSR as well as for the USSR as a whole. Furthermore, the opening of the Lviv–Volhynia coal basin in the early 1950's was of great importance for the Ukrainian economy. The increases in output resulted mainly from increases in inputs. For example, the number of workers rose in all seven *oblasts* from 89,200 to 270,100 between 1945 and 1950. In 1950 they accounted for 14.5 per cent of all workers in Ukrainian industry, although in terms of total population Western Ukraine made up 19.2 per cent of the Ukrainian population as of April

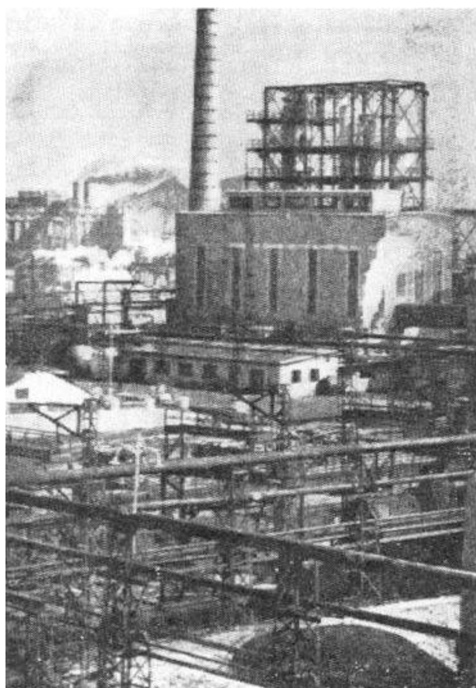

FIGURE 439. CHEMICAL PLANT IN KADIÏVKA (1966)

TABLE XXIII

GROWTH OF GROSS OUTPUT OF INDUSTRY (1940 = 100)

| | 1950 | 1958 | 1964 | 1966 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ukrainian SSR | 115 | 302 | 504 | 601 |
| Lviv *oblast* | 292 | 928 | 1,783 | 2,159 |
| Ivano-Frankivske *oblast* | 169 | 405 | 634 | 823 |
| Ternopil *oblast* | 110 | 359 | 731 | 950 |
| Volhynia *oblast* | 132 | 497 | 961 | 1,131 |
| Rivne *oblast* | 166 | 516 | 1,037 | 1,394 |
| Chernivtsi *oblast* | 177 | 467 | 667 | 834 |
| Transcarpathian *oblast* | 100 | 224 | 317* | * |

*No data for 1940 and 1966.

1, 1956. There was also an increase in fixed capital. For example, the value of fixed assets in the industry of Western Ukraine increased from 204.6 to 919.0 million (old) rubles between January 1, 1946 and the end of 1958. On January 1, 1960, the total fixed capital in Ukrainian industry was estimated at 14.4 billion rubles. This would suggest an extremely low share for Western Ukraine and, together with a relatively low share in the number of workers, would indicate that this region still remains poorly industrialized, particularly in view of the traditionally large rural population. This lack of industrial job opportunities is freely admitted by the Soviet leaders. The situation is aggravated by the fact that the best jobs are occupied by workers from other regions of Ukraine and from areas outside Ukraine, with local workers accounting for approximately two-thirds of all employed in industry. Thus many young people are forced to look for jobs far away from home, in Asiatic regions of the USSR and in other parts of Ukraine, such as Donbas, the Kryvyi Rih Basin, and the Crimea.

There is great disparity among individual *oblasts* in the degree of industrialization, in terms either of employment or of gross output as related to the total population. Table XXIV shows the relevant data. The most highly industrialized area is the Lviv *oblast*, the least the Ternopil *oblast*.

The structure of Western Ukrainian industry underwent certain changes during the postwar period. The increase in the building materials and glass industry, and, to a lesser extent, in the metal-working and machine-building industries is evident. Conversely, the importance of the lumber and food industries declined considerably. The structure in terms of gross output was as follows in 1958 (in per cent): machine-building and metal-working–16, fuel and energy –8, building materials and glass–11, lumber–14, wood-working and paper–15, light–16, food–15, others–5.

### Industrial Development of Individual Western Oblasts in 1964

**Lviv oblast.** There are 387 enterprises: machine-building and metal-working–28.2, food–23.9, light–16.5, lumber, wood-working, and paper–7, producing 88.5 per cent of autocranes, 59 per cent of TV sets, 94.8 per cent of buses, 100 per cent of motor bicycles, 98 per cent of electronic tubes in the Ukrainian SSR. Oil is extracted in Boryslav and refined in Drohobych. Gas is extracted in Dashava and transported to Kiev, Minsk, Moscow, the Baltic republics, and Poland. The chemical industry operates in Yavoriv, Stebnyk, and other areas. Many food and light enterprises are located throughout the *oblast*. There are nine coal mines.

**Ivano-Frankivske oblast.** There are 170 enterprises: food–26 per cent, light–26 per cent. The instrument industry is represented in Ivano-Frankivske. Oil extraction and refining take place in Dolyna and Nadvirna. Kalush is the site of the potassium industry.

**Ternopil oblast.** 184 enterprises: food –57.6, light–13.1, machine-building and

TABLE XXIV

| | Population (1959) | Workers (1958) | Gross output (1958) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total—Western Ukraine | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Lviv *oblast* | 27.1 | 34.4 | 42.9 |
| Ivano-Frankivske *oblast* | 14.0 | 14.6 | 11.2 |
| Ternopil *oblast* | 13.9 | 6.7 | 6.0 |
| Volhynia *oblast* | 11.4 | 10.1 | 7.0 |
| Rivne *oblast* | 11.9 | 9.5 | 7.9 |
| Chernivtsi *oblast* | 9.9 | 10.7 | 12.6 |
| Transcarpathian *oblast* | 11.8 | 14.0 | 12.4 |

metal-working–12.5, building materials–7.3, lumber and wood-working–4.9 per cent. Industry is concentrated in Ternopil, but there are sugar refineries in several cities, constructed after the war.

**Volhynia oblast.** There are 142 enterprises; the food industry accounts for 41.2 per cent of the total output, machine-building and metal-working–19.7 per cent, and wood-working–9.2 per cent. The machine-building industry is concentrated in Lutsk. Nine coal mines are located near Novovolynske.

**Rivne oblast.** There are 175 enterprises: food–38.4, lumber, wood-working, and paper–17.0, light–15.6, building materials–13.5 per cent.

**Chernivtsi oblast.** There are 169 enterprises: food–42.3, light–29.5, lumber and wood-working–9.3, machine-building–9.3 per cent. Except for lumber and wood-working, most of the enterprises are concentrated in Chernivtsi.

**Transcarpathian oblast.** There are 193 enterprises: food–36.8, lumber, wood-working, and furniture–28.8, light–19.5 per cent.

*I. S. Koropeckyj*

## BRANCHES OF UKRAINIAN INDUSTRY

### Electric Power Industry

The electric power industry was poorly developed in the Ukrainian SSR before World War I. In 1913, its capacity was equal to 304,300 kw, and its output to 543.4 million kwh, or 26.7 per cent of the USSR total (within present borders). Electricity was produced mainly in the Donbas and in large cities, and was used primarily for lighting.

Since the Soviet concept of industrialization is so intimately connected with electrification, the development of this industry always had high priority in the USSR and in the Ukrainian SSR (Table XXV).

The output of electric power in the Ukrainian SSR increased 9.8 times between 1928 and 1940, slightly faster than

TABLE XXV

| Year | Million kwh | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR |
|---|---|---|
| 1928 | 1,261.0 | 25.2 |
| 1932 | 3,247.9 | 24.0 |
| 1937 | 9,450.8 | 26.1 |
| 1940 | 12,411.4 | 25.7 |

in the USSR. In addition, the output in the Krasnodar region amounted to 393.9 million kwh in 1940. In the prewar period, the growth of output in the Ukrainian SSR was probably the fastest in the world. Between 1928 and 1937,

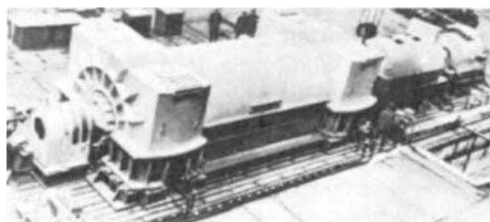

FIGURE 440. 500,000-KWT TURBOGENERATOR AT THE LENIN PLANT IN KHARKIV

the output of electric power increased in Ukraine 7.5 times, while for selected countries this increase was as follows: USSR–7.2, Russian SFSR–7.3, Rumania –4.6, Great Britain–3.1, Germany–1.8, Hungary–1.6, United States–1.4, CSR–1.5, Poland–1.3. As a result, the output per capita was relatively high in the Ukrainian SSR (for example, in 1940 it was equal to 303 kwh as compared to 287 kwh in the RSFSR). It was still far behind many industrialized countries: in 1937 the output per capita in the United States was 940 kwh, Great Britain –609, Germany–725, France–433. The Ukrainian SSR, however, was ahead of some eastern and central European countries in this respect. For example, the output of electric power per capita in 1937 in Czechoslovakia was 263 kwh, in Hungary–118, Poland–98, Rumania –55.

The output increase resulted from vast increases in the capacity of the Ukrainian electric power industry. Before World

War II, many electric stations were constructed; the most important thermal stations were: Shterivs'ka Dres in Shterhres (1926), Siverskodonetske, Chuhuïv, Kiev, Kryvyi Rih (1930), Dniprodzerzhynske (1931), and Zuïvka (1932). For the Ukrainian electric power industry the construction of the Dnieper hydroelectric station, the largest in Europe at that time, was of great importance. As a result, the capacity of this industry in the Ukrainian SSR grew from 464,000 kw in 1928 to 1,400,000 in 1932, and 1,994,000 in 1937. The Ukrainian share in the USSR amounted to 24.4 per cent, 29.9 per cent (introduction of the Dnieper hydroelectric station), and 24.4 per cent, respectively. Return on the invested capital during this period was approximately 25 per cent higher in the Ukrainian SSR than in the USSR.

Like other branches of Ukrainian industry, electric power suffered severe damage during World War II. Its greatest single producer, the Dnieper hydroelectric station, was completely destroyed. At the end of the war, the Ukrainian SSR produced merely one-quarter of its 1940 output of electric power (Table XXVI).

TABLE XXVI

| Year | Million kwh | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR |
|---|---|---|
| 1945 | 3,150.0 | 7.3 |
| 1950 | 14,711.2 | 16.1 |
| 1955 | 30,099.1 | 17.7 |
| 1958 | 43,947.3 | 18.7 |
| 1964 | 86,876.0 | 18.9 |
| 1968 | 116,176.0 | 18.2 |

Its share declined in 1945 to 7.3 per cent of the USSR output. The output in Ukraine grew rapidly in the postwar period. It increased 4.67 times between 1945 and 1950, and 6.8 times between 1950 and 1966. In the USSR, the increase was 5.03 during the latter period. The increases in Ukraine, however, were not high enough to reach the prewar share. The 1968 share was much below that of 1940. The growth of electric power output in the Ukrainian SSR after the war was again one of the highest in the world. For selected western countries, the output increases between 1950 and 1966 were as follows: France–3.2 times, West Germany–3.7, Great Britain–3.0, United States–3.2. The growth was generally larger in the Soviet-type economies: Rumania–6.6 times, Yugoslavia–5.9, Poland–4.3, Hungary–3.8, Czechoslovakia–3.5, East Germany–2.7. Despite this impressive rate of growth, the output of electric power per capita in the Ukrainian SSR was below that of many countries. It was 4 per cent higher in the USSR, 25 per cent in the RSFSR, 189 per cent in USA, 73 per cent in Great Britain, 54 per cent in East Germany, 47 per cent in West Germany, and 16 per cent in Czechoslovakia. The Ukrainian SSR was on a par with France. (For map of electric power stations and lines, see Fig. 501 on p. 911.)

In the postwar period, damaged stations were reconstructed and many new ones were built. The most important new thermal electric stations are (in the order of capacity): Prydniprovs'ka Dres near Dnipropetrovske, Luhanske, Starobesheve, Zmiïv, Slovianske, Myronivsky, Dobrotvir, Darnytsia, and Odessa. The Dnieper hydroelectric station was reconstructed in 1947 with the help of imported machinery from the United States, and its capacity increased to 650,600 kw. The new hydroelectric stations are Kakhivka, Kremenchuk, and Dniprodzerzhynske. In 1963, there were 5,709 electric power stations, of which 75 produced more than one million kwh annually. The thermal plants produced 91 per cent of all electric power in Ukraine in 1966. Power transmission facilities were also expanded. They increased from 4,121 km in 1940 to 6,829 km in 1955 and 37,676 km in 1964. The length of the facilities transmitting central heating was equal to 1,317 km in 1964. The Ukrainian electric power industry was organized in 1964 into two systems, southern and western.

In 1966 both were combined in a single Ukrainian grid system, which in its turn is connected with the *Peace* system of east-central Europe.

The relation between the production and consumption of electric power fluctuated in the Ukrainian SSR. In 1955 consumption exceeded production by 4 per cent, while in 1966 production was slightly higher than consumption. Industry remains the main consumer of electric power, accounting for 78 and 75 per cent of all consumption in 1927–8 and 1938 respectively, 78 per cent in 1955 (together with construction), and 71 per cent in 1964. Iron and steel, fuel, machine-building, and metal-working consumed about 70 per cent of all electric power allocated to industry. The share for households and communal enterprises declined during the postwar period as compared with the prewar period. It was equal to 8.6 per cent in 1964, compared with 15.0 in 1927–8, and 10.1 in 1938. Consumption by transportation rose from 2.2 per cent during the prewar period to 5.6 per cent in 1964. However, most railroads in the Ukrainian SSR still await electrification.

**Fuel Industry**

The fuel industry in the Ukrainian SSR consists of the following branches: coal, oil, gas, and peat. Their importance in terms of enterprises, workers, gross output, and fixed capital in 1964 (in percentages) is shown in Table XXVII.

The total number of enterprises in 1964 was 606, the number of workers 496,500 and the value of fixed capital 4,551.9 million rubles. As indicated in Table XXVII, the most important fuel in the Ukrainian economy is coal. Its importance, however, has tended to decline in recent years. When converted to comparable fuel units, the share of coal output in the total production of fuel fell between 1940 and 1965 from 97 to 74 per cent; the share of peat also decreased slightly from 1.7 to 0.7 per cent, while the shares of gas and oil increased from 0.7 to 20.5 and from 0.6 to 4.8 per cent, respectively.

**Coal industry.** Coal has been available in Ukraine for a long time. The first attempts to mine it on a commercial basis were made in Donbas at the end of the eighteenth century. The mines were not developed for another century, despite the rapid growth of industry, with concomitant increasing demand for fuel, particularly after the middle of the nineteenth century. Lack of cheap transportation prevented the possible exploitation of the Donbas coal deposits. In addition, the available timber resources supplied the necessary fuel in the form of firewood at very low cost. Their advantageous location near the rivers, which resulted in low transportation cost, increased their appeal to commercial and private consumers. Ruthless exploitation of the timber resources harmed the Ukrainian economy for many years. A number of forests were completely destroyed, resulting in land erosion, soil sanding, and decrease in the water level of rivers. Some smaller rivers disappeared completely.

The construction of railroads, connecting the Donbas with other regions of the country, provided the necessary stimulus to the expansion of coal mining. The Kursk–Kharkiv–Azov and the Voronezh–Rostov lines were of particular impor-

TABLE XXVII

| | Number of enterprises | Number of workers | Gross output | Fixed capital |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total fuel industry | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Coal | 70.8 | 96.0 | 86.3 | 89.5 |
| Oil | 2.5 | 1.9 | 8.0 | 6.5 |
| Gas | 1.1 | 0.5 | 4.2 | 3.0 |
| Peat | 25.6 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 1.0 |

tance. Railroads also were important consumers of coal, and, together with the iron, steel, sugar, and other industries pressed for an increase in the coal supply. The influx of foreign capital, mainly from France, facilitated the growth of this branch of industry. The interest of foreign entrepreneurs in Donbas coal mining began as early as the 1870's, but did not assume real significance until the 1890's when Russia put its currency on the gold standard and when, because of a slowdown in the economic growth of western Europe, investment opportunities in Russia gained in appeal. Foreign capital became increasingly important in the financing of Donbas operations, with the result that immediately prior to World War I only about 30 per cent of the capital employed in coal mining was of domestic origin.

The data in Table XXVIII show the growth of coal mining in all of Donbas. The area which presently belongs to the Ukrainian SSR accounted in 1913 for

TABLE XXVIII

| Year | Million *poods* | Donbas as percentage of the Russian empire before 1914 |
|---|---|---|
| 1860 | 6.0 | 33 |
| 1870 | 15.6 | 37 |
| 1890 | 183.3 | 50 |
| 1900 | 671.7 | 68 |
| 1905 | 785.3 | 69 |
| 1910 | 1,018.8 | 67 |
| 1913 | 1,543.8 | 70 |

90 per cent of the total. The data clearly indicate the rapid growth since the 1870's as a result of increased facilities, then the slowdown between 1900 and 1905, reflecting the general depression in the economy. The highest output was achieved in 1916 (1,751 million *poods*), but the increases during the war were much too small to meet the great demand for fuel. Despite remarkable growth, the prewar coal output in Donbas represented less than 1 per cent of the world output. Its share in the Russian empire, however, as shown in Table XXVIII, was rising, and during the war years amounted to almost three-quarters of the total. In the present borders of the USSR, Donbas coal accounted for 80–90 per cent of the total coal output.

During the war of Ukrainian liberation, the coal output in Donbas declined drastically. It amounted to 541, 338, and 273 million *poods* in 1918, 1919, and 1920, respectively (1 *pood* = 0.0164 metric tons).

The prewar Five-Year Plans had a great impact on the development of Donbas coal mining. Because great emphasis was placed on the growth of heavy industry, the coal industry, as a main supplier of fuels, deserved and enjoyed attention. The data in Table XXIX

TABLE XXIX

| Year | Thousand tons | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR |
|---|---|---|
| 1928 | 24,832 | 70 |
| 1932 | 39,316 | 61 |
| 1937 | 69,072 | 54 |
| 1940 | 83,841 | 51 |

show that the coal output increased in the Ukrainian SSR 3.8 times between 1928 and 1940. The year 1940 includes the output of the incorporated regions of Western Ukraine. Compared with such nations as the USA, Great Britain, and France, Ukraine's coal output increased between 1928 and 1940 from 4.6 to 17.5, 10 to 37.8, and 47.7 to 200 per cent, respectively. The substantial increase in output per capita should also be noted. These gains, however, reflect to a certain extent the shift in western countries from coal to oil and electricity, which was not matched by the Ukrainian SSR.

As Table XXIX indicates, the Ukrainian share in the total USSR output declined sharply. This was due to the contemporary policy of the Soviet government, which, mainly because of defense considerations, decided to shift the location of heavy industry from the European

to the Asian part of the USSR. Since the newly constructed centers of heavy industry in the Urals and western Siberia had to be supplied with coal, deposits located closer than Donbas (the basins of the Urals, Karaganda, Kuznetsk, etc.) were opened for exploitation. The faster growth of Asian coal basins was achieved by means of an appropriate investment policy. Despite the significance of Ukrainian coal mining in the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR's share in the total coal industry investment amounted to about 35 per cent during the First and Second Five-Year plans. As a result, the fixed capital in the Ukrainian coal industry increased from 359 to 1,139 million (current) rubles (3.17 times) between 1928 and 1937, while for the USSR this increase was 5.97 times.

Such an investment policy, even if justified on military grounds, was detrimental to the economic growth of the entire national economy of the USSR. The return on investment was approximately 15 per cent higher in the coal industry in the Ukrainian SSR than in the USSR. In addition, the Donbas industry did not require as much additional non-productive investment as did the new centers in the east. Employment increased in Donbas from 193,800 to 265,600 between January 1, 1929, and January 1, 1936, or by 37 per cent, while the increase in the USSR during the same period was equal to 61 per cent. This larger increase in employment, however, was not sufficient to meet the requirements of the eastern coal industry, which experienced constant difficulties in this respect because of the sparse local population and severe climate. In many cases, prisoners from the concentration camps had to be used for labor in the mines. The expansion of the eastern coal industry was not accompanied by a similar expansion of its consumers (final goods industries) which remained clustered in the western part of the USSR. Because of underinvestment in the Donbas, the coal from the east had to be transported to the old industrial centers, with the obvious effect on transportation facilities.

FIGURE 441. O. ANTONOV, AIRCRAFT ENGINEER AND DESIGNER, INTERVIEWED BY JOURNALISTS. THE NOSE OF THE PLANE *Antei,* DESIGNED BY ANTONOV CAN BE SEEN IN THE BACKGROUND

According to official statements, the reconstruction of the Ukrainian economy was completed by 1950. By 1950 coal mining had exceeded the prewar level (Table XXX). Since 1954, growth has been reinforced by the exploitation of coal deposits in the South-West region. Lignite deposits were brought into operation also, because of continuous shortage of fuel. As a result, the share of lignite output in the total output of coal increased from 4 per cent in 1950 to 8 per cent in 1958 and then declined to less than 6 per cent in 1966.

TABLE XXX

| Year | Thousand tons | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR |
|---|---|---|
| 1945 | 30,262 | 20 |
| 1950 | 78,014 | 30 |
| 1955 | 125,974 | 33 |
| 1958 | 164,532 | 33 |
| 1963 | 179,710 | 34 |
| 1968 | 200,447 | 34 |

As Table XXX indicates, the Ukrainian share in the coal output of the USSR was much lower after the war than before it, despite the fact that the postwar growth was slightly higher in the Ukrainian SSR than in the USSR (2.49 and

TABLE XXXI

| | | Ukrainian SSR | USSR |
|---|---|---|---|
| Output (per cent) | 1950–5 | 161 | 150 |
| | 1958–65 | 118 | 117 |
| Employment (per cent) | 1950–5 | 134 | 119 |
| | 1958–65 | 90 | 91 |
| Productivity (per cent) | 1950–5 | 120 | 126 |
| | 1958–65 | 131 | 129 |

2.21 times, respectively) between 1950 and 1965. Table XXXI shows that the higher output increase in the Ukrainian SSR between 1950 and 1955 was largely due to increased employment. The increase in productivity was larger in the USSR during that time. Between 1958 and 1965, the productivity of labor was rising slightly faster in the Ukrainian SSR than in the USSR, presumably as a result of greater investment in the Ukrainian coal industry.

The failure of the Ukrainian SSR to regain its prewar position in the total output of the USSR can be explained by locational changes which took place during the war. At that time, many coal centers in the Asian part of the USSR were expanded. In many of these locations, the cost of production was much lower than in Donbas. For example, the monthly output per worker in 1955 amounted to 62.4 tons in Karaganda, 61.1 in the Urals, and 46.7 in Kuzbas, while in the Donbas it was only 25.8 tons. This was the result of exhaustion of the most favorably located deposits in the Donbas; consequently, thinner and deeper deposits had to be exploited. Such cheap processes as surface mining accounted in 1966 for only 5 per cent of the total coal mining in the Ukrainian SSR, as compared with 24 per cent in the USSR. Considered in isolation, there was, indeed, little attraction in increased investment in the Donbas coal mining industry. Within the framework of the whole national economy, however, the situation looks quite different. Since in 1960, in terms of the fixed capital, the share of the coal industry in the total fuel industry of the Ukrainian SSR was equal to 93 per cent, its postwar growth was inadequate to meet the increasing demand for fuel of the entire national economy and of industry in particular. Three different courses seem to be open to solve the continuous shortage of fuel in Ukraine: (1) much higher investment in Ukrainian coal mining could compensate for geological disadvantages. The available indications, however, are that investment grew at approximately the same rate in the Ukrainian SSR as in the USSR; (2) alternative sources of energy, such as oil, natural gas, or atomic power could be developed as substitutes for coal; (3) coal or other fuels could be imported into the Ukrainian SSR.

Ukraine is one of the world's leading nations in coal mining. Its output of almost 196 million tons in 1966 compared favorably with outputs of the USA–434 million tons, West Germany–249, and Great Britain–199. In terms of output per capita, Ukraine (4.294 kg) is only surpassed by West Germany (4,896) and is followed by Great Britain (4,223), USSR (2,512), and USA (2,512).

**Oil extraction industry.** There are three basic oil regions in the Ukrainian SSR: western (Carpathian), eastern (Dnieper–Donets Basin), and southern (Black Sea coast and the Crimea). In addition, important oil deposits are located in Kuban (presently the Krasnodar region). The existence of oil in Western Ukraine was already recognized in the sixteenth century. Its economic exploitation on a larger scale began only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, thanks to the large investment of Austrian and, later, British capital. At the turn of the century, British–Austrian interests controlled

78 per cent of the oil output and 73 per cent of its processing. As Table XXXII shows, the peak output was achieved in 1909.

TABLE XXXII

| Year | Thousand tons |
|---|---|
| 1875 | 22.1 |
| 1895 | 188.9 |
| 1909 | 2,053.1 |
| 1914 | 877.0 |

Despite its substantial growth, oil output in Western Ukraine accounted for only a very small share in the world output (between 1 and 2 per cent). The highest percentage (slightly less than 4) was reached in 1909 and 1910. Between the two world wars, oil output in Western Ukraine never achieved its prewar level. In 1923 it amounted to 737,200 tons, but declined drastically in the 1930's as a result of the general depression. In 1938, the output in the Boryslav and Drohobych regions was equal to 33.7 per cent of the 1913 output. After the unification of Western Ukraine with the Ukrainian SSR, the oil output rose somewhat and reached a level of 352,800 tons in 1940. This figure includes an insignificant amount produced in eastern Ukraine.

Before World War I, oil was also extracted in Kuban, the extreme eastern region of the Ukrainian ethnic territory, near the city of Maikop. The oil output in this region represented only a small percentage of the total output of the Russian empire, because the major portion was supplied by the Baku fields. However, the share of the Maikop fields, together with that of the neighboring Russian fields near the city of Grozny, tended to increase, and in 1913 they accounted for 17 per cent of the total Russian oil output. After the revolution, the oil output in the Maikop region continued to grow and reached 1,480,000 tons in 1937, which represented 26 per cent and 5 per cent of the total oil output of the RSFSR and the USSR, respectively.

Table XXXIII shows the oil output in the Ukrainian SSR and its share in the USSR for selected years after World War II. The Ukrainian output grew very rapidly during this period and increased 31.7 times between 1950 and 1966, while in the USSR 7.0 times, the RSFSR 11.8 times, and in the formerly most important producer, Azerbaidzhan, only 1.4 times. Among eastern and central European nations, Rumania increased its output 2.46 times and Hungary 3.52 times over the same period. By 1968 Ukraine's output amounted to that of Rumania.

TABLE XXXIII

| Year | Thousand tons | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR |
|---|---|---|
| 1950 | 293 | 0.9 |
| 1955 | 531 | 0.8 |
| 1958 | 1,236 | 1.1 |
| 1964 | 5,648 | 2.5 |
| 1965 | 7,580 | 3.1 |
| 1968 | 12,130 | 3.9 |

The output in the Krasnodar region continued to grow and in 1956 increased 1.5 times compared to 1940. Despite the rapid growth of oil output, the Ukrainian SSR's share in the USSR production remained very low.

Ukrainian oil deposits are characterized by a larger supply of available incidental gas than any other deposit in the USSR. The output of incidental gas rose with increased oil extraction. In 1962, it amounted to 864.3 million cubic meters, an amount equal to 3.4 per cent of the natural gas extracted in the Ukrainian SSR. Incidental gas serves as a raw material for many industries, primarily the chemical industry. It is also used for home heating. However, its utilization in Ukraine was fragmentary. For example, in the Radchenkovo and Nadvirna regions, only about one-third of all incidental gas was used; the rest was burned at the boring wells or wasted in different ways. Insufficient investment prevented the construction of necessary tanks,

transmission, and processing facilities. This waste of gas took place despite a critical shortage of fuels in the Ukrainian economy.

The increase in oil output was the result of two factors: (1) new oil fields were discovered and exploited in Dolyna (Ivano-Frankivske *oblast*), Radchenkovo (Poltava *oblast*), Pryluky (Chernihiv *oblast*), Zhovtneve (Crimea *oblast*), among others; (2) the output per boring well increased 18 times on the average in the Ukrainian oil industry between 1950 and 1962. In the Dolyna region, which accounts for the highest share in Ukrainian oil production, this increase was almost 68 times. The output per boring well was particularly high in all newly discovered oil fields in Ukraine because of the existence of oil gushers. These fields are, therefore, the most productive in the USSR. (It is important that new oil discoveries have been made in the Chernihiv, Sumy, and Poltava *oblasts*, which are predominantly agricultural. This might serve to encourage industrialization.)

The output increases were made possible through substantial investments in this branch of industry. In 1951–5, they amounted to 19.74 million rubles, in 1956–60 to 59.34 million, and for the years 1961 and 1962 to 53.48 million rubles. They represented, however, a very small percentage of the total investment in Ukrainian industry, namely, 0.4, 0.6, and 1.0 per cent, respectively. The investment in the oil industry (including gas) accounted for a much higher percentage in the USSR industrial investment, fluctuating around 11 per cent during this period. The money is used for exploratory boring, including the increase in fixed capital for this purpose, and to increase the capacity for actual oil extraction. Approximately three-fourths of Ukrainian investment was used between 1950 and 1962 for the former purpose. As a result of these investments, the fixed capital increased from 94.8 million rubles in 1950 to 153.8 million rubles in 1962. In 1962, 88 per cent of the fixed capital was located in the Lviv and Ivano-Frankivske *oblasts*. In 1959, the fixed capital in the Ukrainian oil industry accounted for 0.8 per cent of all capital in industry. In fixed capital, structures (primarily boring wells) rank first in importance, accounting for more than four-fifths of total value in this branch.

Because of considerable investments and the introduction of new technology coupled with better organization of production, the productivity of labor rose rapidly in the Ukrainian oil industry. Between 1950 and 1962, productivity increased 13 times, whereas the cost of production decreased 8.3 times. As a result, despite rapid increases in output and exploitation of new fields, the number of employees in the oil industry declined by 7 per cent between 1950 and 1962. In the USSR, the increase in labor productivity was less than four times for the comparable period of time.

**Oil refining industry.** Crude oil and its by-products serve as raw materials for the processing of fuels as well as for the production of numerous chemicals. Crude oil extracted in Ukraine is of very high quality and is well suited to the production of such final products as gasoline, diesel engine fuel, black and heavy oils, lubricants, and oil bitumens.

The development of oil refining in Ukraine lagged behind extraction. The gross output of oil refining increased 11.82 times between 1950 and 1966, while extraction increased almost 20 times. The growth of refining was mainly due to the construction of large and modern refineries in Kherson and Berdianske, and to the reconstruction and expansion of existing refineries in Odessa, Drohobych, Nadvirna, and Lviv. The increase in facilities resulted from increased investment which for the years 1951–5, 1956–60, and 1961–2 amounted to 13.4, 27.2, and 17.0 million rubles, respectively. During this period, the productivity of labor increased three times,

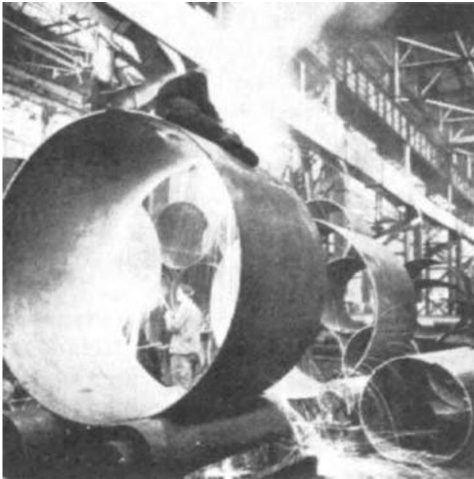

FIGURE 442. OIL PIPE MANUFACTURING PLANT IN CHERNIVTSI (1968)

while the cost of production declined by 35 per cent.

Despite this substantial growth in oil refining, domestic production was able to satisfy only 33.6 per cent of the needs of the Ukrainian economy in 1962. As a result, oil products had to be imported from other regions of the USSR. The cost of transportation amounted in one year (1962) to 47 million rubles, or more than 80 per cent of the total 12-year investment in this industry. This expense would have been saved if the Ukrainian oil refining capacity had been expanded at least far enough to enable it to process all available supplies of crude oil and its by-products. Insufficient investment allocation, however, prevented this despite continuous shortages of fuel in the Ukrainian economy.

**Natural gas industry.** Natural gas was known to exist in Western Ukraine as early as 1910. Commercial exploitation on a small scale began in Dashava (Lviv *oblast*) in 1924. Table XXXIV shows the output of gas in the Ukrainian SSR and its share in the total output of the USSR. The data include, in addition to natural gas, the output of gas incidental to oil production. Natural gas accounted for 97 per cent of the total in 1962. The

TABLE XXXIV

| Year | Million cubic meters | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR |
|---|---|---|
| 1940 | 495.1 | 15.4 |
| 1950 | 1,536.5 | 26.7 |
| 1958 | 9,500.7 | 33.9 |
| 1964 | 35,645.0 | 32.8 |
| 1968 | 50,942.0 | 29.8 |

Ukrainian SSR also produced insignificant amounts of gas from coal and shale, amounting to 7.8 million cubic meters in 1950, 12.3 in 1960, and 2.6 in 1964. The growth of gas production was rapid; the output increased between 1950 and 1966 more than 27.4 times. After 1956, this rapid growth was due mainly to the exploitation of rich gas fields in Shebelynka, which accounted for 69 per cent of the total Ukrainian output. The Ukrainian share in the output of the USSR has been increasing steadily since World War II, and in the middle 1960's was stabilized at about one-third of the total. This share would be higher if the output of the Krasnodar region were included. It amounted to 18,113 million cubic meters in 1964.

Natural gas is exported from the Ukrainian SSR to other regions of the USSR, e.g. Moscow, Riga, and also to Poland. Domestic consumption took up 87 per cent of production in 1964. The consumer structure has changed considerably in recent years. In 1958, the main consumer of gas was the electric power industry (45 per cent), followed by the iron and steel industry (10 per cent), which is becoming increasingly important in this respect. In 1962, the iron and steel industry consumed 29 per cent, electric power stations 24 per cent. Other main consumers were: households and local governments, chemical and machine-building industries.

The increase in output of natural gas in the Ukrainian SSR was due to the increase in investment, which amounted to 42 million rubles for the period between 1951 and 1955 and tripled to 152 million

between 1956 and 1960. For the years 1961 and 1962 investment totaled 126 million rubles. These funds were used for two purposes: for prospecting, geological research, and exploratory boring and for the increase in productive capacities. In the latter, structures accounted for 62 per cent and transmitting facilities for 30 per cent in 1962. Up to 90 per cent of the total investment is used for the first purpose. The fixed capital in the Ukrainian gas industry increased from 10.7 million rubles in 1950 to 84 million rubles in 1962. In the 1960 census it represented only 0.3 per cent of the total fixed capital of Ukrainian industry. About four-fifths of the productive capacities were constructed in the second half of the 1950's. The number of boring holes increased from 138 to 408, while gas pipelines increased from about 1,000 km to about 7,000 km between 1950 and 1965. Approximately 25 per cent of all gas pipelines in the USSR were located in the Ukrainian SSR.

Further increase in the output of natural gas is desirable for the national economy of the Ukrainian SSR because the production cost is lower than that for other kinds of fuel. The cost of production for gas, oil, and coal in terms of comparable fuel shows the following relation: 8, 23.2, and 100, respectively.

**Peat industry.** Peat is used as a low-calorie fuel. It is known to have been used in Ukraine as far back as the seventeenth century. Large scale extraction for industrial and domestic heating purposes was prevented by the ample availability of high-calorie coal in the Donbas. Only during the prewar Five-Year plans was greater attention paid to the development of the peat industry.

As Table XXXV shows, the output increased more than 24 times between 1928 and 1940. To a small degree, this jump was due to the incorporation of Western Ukraine, but the main reason was the increase in fixed capital from less than 1 million rubles in 1928 to 17 million rubles in 1937. The growth after World War II was much less spectacular. The output increased by 78 per cent between 1950 and 1966. At the present time, peat is processed in bricks which are used mainly for house heating. In the Ukrainian fuel balance it represents only about one per cent. The highest share achieved by the Ukrainian SSR in the total output of peat in the USSR was over 10 per cent in 1940. After the war, this share remained relatively stable at a level between 8 and 10 per cent.

TABLE XXXV

| Year | Thousand tons | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR |
|---|---|---|
| 1928 | 145 | 2.7 |
| 1932 | 901 | 6.7 |
| 1937 | 1,552 | 6.5 |
| 1940 | 3,544 | 10.7 |
| 1945 | 1,494 | 6.7 |
| 1950 | 2,928 | 8.1 |
| 1955 | 4,119 | 8.1 |
| 1958 | 4,503 | 8.4 |
| 1963 | 5,133 | 8.7 |
| 1964 | 5,132 | 8.6 |
| 1967 | 4,731 | 9.5 |

## Metallurgy

**Iron and steel industry** The modern iron and steel industry comprises production of pig iron, steel, and rolled steel. It often includes such input preparing industries as iron and manganese ore mining and coke preparation.

The availability of iron ores in Ukraine facilitated the production of iron. There are indications that it was known as far back as the seventh century B.C. Primitive iron smelting was quite well developed during the period of the Kievan *Rus'*. The blast furnace process was introduced for the first time in the Polisia region in the middle of the eighteenth century, where the easily found bog iron ore was smelted with the help of charcoal. This process became widespread in Ukraine, primarily on the Right Bank. In 1836 there were 153 such enterprises in the country. Because they operated on

a small scale, the total output of these enterprises was also small, and in the first half of the nineteenth century it began to decline owing to exhaustion of the timber resources which served as a fuel base.

The first blast furnace to use coke was introduced in the Kerch peninsula in the middle of the nineteenth century. The rapid expansion of the iron and steel industry in Ukraine in the 1880's was spurred by the construction of the Catherine Railroad, which connected the Kryvyi Rih iron ore and the Donbas coking coal. Many new iron and steel producing corporations were established, and before long a modern iron and steel industry was developing on a large scale in the Donbas, Dnieper, and Azov regions (Kerch peninsula). At the turn of the century, there were 17 integrated metallurgical plants: 10 in the Donbas, three in the Dnieper region, and four in the Azov region. Some of these plants produced not only basic products but bricks, chemicals based on coking process and the like. Of the 17 plants, only 3 or 4 were domestically owned; the rest were either partially or wholly controlled by foreigners, mainly French, Belgian, German, English, and American investors.

The output of ferrous metals rose rapidly in Ukraine during the last two decades of the nineteenth century (Table XXXVI). Growth was faster than in other regions of the Russian empire and consequently the Ukrainian share enlarged. This increase in the Ukrainian share was due primarily to the relatively slow growth of the Ural metallurgy, which until this time had been the principal center of this industry. The following reasons can be cited for the rapid growth of the Ukrainian iron and steel industry: (1) corporate organization of enterprises provided a better capital basis; (2) the industry was relatively new and therefore its fixed capital was technologically more advanced; (3) modern methods of production were utilized; (4) foreign specialists were employed because many enterprises were owned and controlled by foreign interests; (5) Ukraine became the center of rail production (73 per cent of rails in the Russian empire in 1896) needed by the state for the expansion of railroads; since the state had a constant demand for rails, it granted subsidies and protected this industry from foreign competition through tariffs on imports. The growth of pig iron and steel in Ukraine was quite impressive in relation to both other regions of the Russian empire and foreign countries. Between 1890 and 1900, the output of pig iron and steel increased in Great Britain by 18 and 8 per cent, respectively; USA–50 and 63; Germany–72 and 78; France–31 and 67; Belgium–32 and 48; Russia–196 and 116; in Ukraine it increased by 585 and 588 per cent. The consumption of ferrous metals in Russia and Ukraine was still very low. As compared with Great Britain or Belgium, the consumption in the Russian empire was five times smaller at the end of the 1890's.

The expansion of the iron and steel industry was interrupted by a severe de-

TABLE XXXVI

| | Pig iron | | Rolled steel | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Million *poods* | Ukraine as percentage of the Russian empire | Million *poods* | Ukraine as percentage of the Russian empire |
| 1880 | 1.3 | 5.0 | 1.6 | 4.5 |
| 1890 | 13.4 | 24.3 | 8.6 | 17.8 |
| 1900 | 91.6 | 51.8 | 59.2 | 44.0 |

TABLE XXXVII

| | Pig iron | | Rolled steel | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Million *poods* | Ukraine as percentage of the Russian empire | Million *poods* | Ukraine as percentage of the Russian empire |
| 1903 | 83.5 | 55.4 | 69.0 | 50.7 |
| 1907 | 111.1 | 64.5 | 73.1 | 49.9 |
| 1910 | 126.4 | 68.1 | 98.9 | 53.7 |
| 1913 | 189.7 | 67.0 | ? | ? |

pression between 1901 and 1904. The output of pig iron declined considerably, while the output of rolled steel continued to grow in Ukraine (Table XXXVII). Since other regions of the Russian empire were affected more severely, the Ukrainian share in both categories continued to grow. Economic conditions

FIGURE 443. DONETSKE IRON AND STEEL WORKS, THE OLDEST IN UKRAINE (ESTABLISHED IN 1821)

improved mainly because of the increased demand resulting from the Russo-Japanese war. The increase in the output of pig iron in Ukraine amounted to 70 per cent between 1907 and 1913. The output of rolled steel in Ukraine was also rising at about the same rate as in other regions of the Russian empire. Consequently, the Ukrainian share did not change significantly, being slightly over 50 per cent. This share varied, however, in the output of different types of rolled steel. In 1912, the Ukrainian share in the Russian empire was as follows: rails–79.3, beams and girders–88.8, profiled shaped steel–47.5, wire rod–55.5, roofing iron–24.5, sheet steel–57.3. At the outbreak of war in 1914, Ukraine accounted for 74.6 per cent of the total pig iron output in Russia (USSR borders of 1924–5), 62.9 per cent of open-hearth steel, and 65.1 per cent of rolled steel. In 1913, the Ukrainian iron and steel industry employed 89,500 workers.

The development of the Ukrainian iron and steel industry was accompanied by changes in its organizational structure. In order to minimize harmful competition and market fluctuation, the corporations in Ukraine, which had previously operated independently, organized the cartel Prodamet in 1902. This cartel, controlled by French banks, had an elaborate organizational structure. In 1906, its members produced 80 per cent of the ferrous metals in Ukraine and 40–50 per cent of those in the Russian empire. By 1914, Prodamet had expanded and its percentage for the empire rose to 90 per cent. The bulk of the Ural iron and steel industry was organized in the cartel Krovla. In time, Prodamet became more centralized, behaving like a syndicate without actually being one. It distributed production quotas, allocated geographical markets, determined prices, and controlled the level of output. Such a policy, although profitable to the owners, was detrimental to the interests of the national economy as a whole. Not only were there shortages of ferrous metals, but the prices were generally too high and the wage level was kept low.

TABLE XXXVIII

| | Pig iron | | Steel | | Rolled steel | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Thousand tons | Ukraine as percentage of the USSR | Thousand tons | Ukraine as percentage of the USSR | Thousand tons | Ukraine as percentage of the USSR |
| 1913 | 2,892 | 68.5 | 2,442 | 57.7 | 2,086 | 59.4 |
| 1928 | 2,361 | 71.9 | 2,409 | 56.7 | 1,995 | 58.1 |
| 1932 | 4,243 | 68.8 | 3,301 | 55.7 | 2,668 | 60.2 |
| 1937 | 9,216 | 63.6 | 8,738 | 49.3 | 6,468 | 49.9 |
| 1940 | 9,642 | 64.7 | 8,938 | 48.7 | 6,520 | 49.7 |

The war caused a great deal of damage to the Ukrainian iron and steel industry. Of the existing 63 blast furnaces, only one was partially operating in 1919. The output of pig iron decreased from 189.1 million *poods* in 1913 to 12.6 in 1918 and to 0.904 million *poods* in 1920. The destruction was much greater in Ukraine than in the rest of the USSR, because the share of the former declined from 73 to 14 per cent between 1913 and 1920. Since the functioning of the whole national economy in the USSR depended on the output of ferrous metals, Soviet leaders insisted on its reconstruction and rehabilitation. As a result, the output of basic products of this industry rose rapidly (Table XXXVIII). By 1925–6 the output of pig iron had reached 104.5 million *poods*, of steel 98.5, and of rolled steel 73.9 (or 55.3, 60.8, and 53.4 per cent in relation to the 1913 level).

Despite its rapid rate of growth during the NEP period, the iron and steel industry had failed to reach its prewar level at the time of the launching of the First Five-Year Plan in 1928. Since this industry was of paramount importance for both the industrialization and defense of the USSR, it received the expected attention of Soviet planners. The increases for basic products of the Ukrainian iron and steel industry between 1928 and 1940 were as follows: pig iron—4.08, steel—3.30, and rolled steel—3.27 times. The output of these products was rising at an even faster rate in other regions of the USSR, primarily in the newly developed Ural–Kuznetsk Combine. As a result, the Ukrainian shares declined significantly during these years, although they stabilized again around 1937.

The output of the Ukrainian iron and steel industry grew at a very rapid rate during the prewar period. Thus the increase in output of pig iron in Ukraine was exceeded only by that in the entire USSR between 1928 and 1937. The increases for selected countries were as follows (in per cent): USSR—341, Ukrainian SSR—290, Italy—56, Germany—35, Great Britain—29, Hungary—25, Czechoslovakia—7, Poland—6, United States—a decline of 3 per cent. The same was true for the growth of steel output: USSR—317, Ukraine—263, Great Britain—52, Germany—38, Hungary—37, Czechoslovakia—17, Italy—7, Poland—1, United States—a decrease of 2 per cent. In 1937, the volume of steel output in the Ukrainian SSR was exceeded only by that in the United States, Great Britain, and Germany. In 1939, the per capita output of steel in the Ukrainian SSR was 213 kg, and in the USSR 103 kg. This level was exceeded in the United States, Germany, and Great Britain (399, 293, and 279 kg, respectively, in 1937). In the same year, the output per capita in Poland was 42 kg, in Italy 49, Hungary 74, and Czechoslovakia 152. Since the output of steel per capita serves as an indicator of the level of industrialization, the conclusion can be drawn that before World War II, the Ukrainian SSR was well advanced in this field.

The large output increases in this industry were achieved through higher inputs. During the First and Second Five-

Year plans, the Ukrainian SSR (including a very small North Caucasus steel industry) received nearly 30 per cent of the 10.8 billion rubles (in 1955 prices) invested in the iron and steel industry, including its servicing branches. As a result, the fixed capital in the Ukrainian iron and steel industry increased from 415 to 2,681 million rubles at original cost, or 6.46 times between October 1, 1928, and January 1, 1938. In the USSR, this increase was 7.73 times. Until 1931 the Ukrainian SSR received also the entire investment allocated for the expansion of the existing enterprises in the USSR. Between 1931 and 1937, the Ukrainian SSR received two-thirds of this investment. The remaining investment funds, designated for the construction of new facilities, were used for the construction of three large metallurgical works: Azovstal' and Zaporizhstal' plants and the Lenin plant in Kryvyi Rih. The first two were opened in 1933 and the third in 1934. As a result, the number of blast furnaces in Ukraine increased from 30 to 46 and of open hearth furnaces from 82 to 130 during the first and second Five-Year plans. Altogether, in 1928–40 the following facilities were introduced in the Ukrainian iron and steel industry: 28 blast furnaces, 42 open hearth furnaces, 12 electric furnaces, 6 converters, 32 rolled steel and steel pipe mills, 11 large iron ore mines, and a number of other auxiliary plants. The number of workers in this industry rose in the Ukrainian SSR from 100,600 to 153,000 (or 52.1 per cent between January 1, 1929, and January 1, 1936). The increase in the USSR was 67.9 per cent.

At the beginning of the industrialization drive in 1928, the Ukrainian SSR accounted for 61 per cent of all productive fixed capital in the USSR iron and steel industry. Its share in the total investment in this industry, however, was slightly less than 30 per cent. This was due to the fact that in the early 1930's the Soviet leaders decided to develop a second metallurgical base in the Urals and western Siberia (Ural–Kuznetsk Combine). Its construction was accomplished at the expense of further expansion of the Ukrainian iron and steel industry. Some Ukrainian economists, notably J. Dimanshtein, pointed out that the decision was economically wrong. As later events confirmed, Ukraine was more productive than the eastern regions of the USSR during the prewar period. Moreover, the Combine required additional investment for the transportation of inputs (2,000 km distance between Magnitogorsk iron ore and the Kuznetsk coking coal) and outputs (metal consumers remained in the Moscow and Leningrad regions), urbanization, social overhead, etc. Such an approach towards the geographical distribution of the iron and steel industry had a detrimental effect on the rate of growth not only of Ukrainian industry but of Soviet industry as a whole. It could be justified only by long-term defense considerations, and by putting the national interests of Russia above those of the non-Russian nations such as Ukraine.

With the outbreak of World War II, the Ukrainian iron and steel industry was faced with a dilemma: on the one hand, it had to continue output in order to meet the increased needs of the defense industry, and on the other, it had

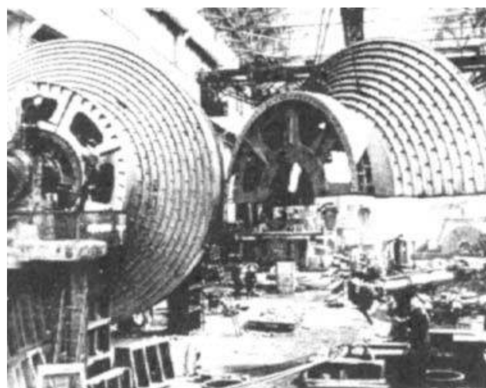

FIGURE 444. MINING MACHINES BEING ASSEMBLED AT THE ENGINEERING WORKS IN NOVO-KRAMATORSKE

to prepare for the evacuation of all movable assets. As a result, the evacuation of most plants was left to the last moment, with the resulting confusion and disorder leading to great losses. A large part of the evacuated equipment found its way to the Magnitogorsk metallurgical plant where it augmented the existing facilities, thus contributing significantly to the war effort of the USSR. The Ukrainian iron and steel industry under German occupation was at a standstill. Before their retreat, the Germans systematically destroyed everything of any value. Upon its return, the Soviet régime ordered immediate reconstruction of this all-important industry. By 1943–4, 13 blast furnaces, 70 open hearth furnaces, and 28 rolled steel mills had been reconstructed and put into operation. In 1945, the Ukrainian SSR produced 1,646,700 tons of pig iron, 1,373,700 tons of steel, and 1,005,300 tons of rolled steel (18.7, 11.2, and 11.8 per cent of the USSR output, respectively).

Between 1945 and 1950, the reconstruction of the Ukrainian iron and steel industry proceeded at a very rapid rate. This was achieved mainly through new construction, although some equipment was obtained in the form of reparations from countries defeated in World War II. For example, between 1945 and 1950 the following facilities were introduced: 36 blast furnaces, 80 open hearth furnaces, 8 electric furnaces, 8 converters, 78 rolled steel mills, 21 steel pipe mills, 82 coking batteries, 7 ore enrichment complexes. Between 1951 and 1958, the following were added: 21 blast furnaces, 34 open hearth furnaces, 33 rolled steel mills, 5 iron ore mines, 5 ore enrichment plants; in 1959 and 1965: 25 ore agglomerators, 10 coking batteries, 8 blast furnaces, 12 open hearth furnaces, 5 electric furnaces, 6 converters, 21 rolled steel mills, and 12 steel pipe mills.

The 1940 output of rolled steel was exceeded in 1950, although the output of pig iron and steel lagged behind. The Ukrainian iron and steel industry's output, including the mining of ores, increased 4.5 times between 1950 and 1966 (4.6 in the USSR). The output of basic products of this industry grew at an even faster rate in the Ukrainian SSR during this period. Between 1950 and 1966, the output of pig iron increased 3.84 times, steel–4.84 times, and rolled steel 4.67 times. As a result, the Ukrainian shares in the USSR total increased as shown in Table XXXIX. Actually, the growth of the Ukrainian iron and steel industry was one of the fastest in the world. Between 1950 and 1964, the increases in steel output in selected countries was as follows: USA–1.31, Great Britain–1.61, West Germany–2.61, France–2.29, Italy–4.15, while in Ukraine the increase was equal to 4.05 times. In the people's democracies these increases were as follows: Rumania–5.48, East Germany–4.40, Yugoslavia–3.92, Poland –3.41, Czechoslovakia–2.68, and Hungary–2.26 times. Because of this rapid growth, the output of steel per capita in

TABLE XXXIX

| | Pig iron | | Steel | | Rolled steel | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Thousand tons | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR | Thousand tons | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR | Thousand tons | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR |
| 1950 | 9,167.7 | 47.8 | 8,350.9 | 30.6 | 6,929.2 | 33.2 |
| 1955 | 16,607.3 | 49.9 | 16,934.7 | 37.4 | 13,609.9 | 38.5 |
| 1958 | 20,092.2 | 50.7 | 21,717.3 | 39.5 | 17,914.6 | 41.5 |
| 1960 | 24,173.5 | 51.7 | 26,155.1 | 40.1 | 21,105.1 | 41.4 |
| 1964 | 31,264.0 | 50.1 | 34,631.1 | 40.7 | 28,100.0 | 42.2 |
| 1968 | 38,565.0 | 48.9 | 44,238.5 | 41.5 | 35,711.5 | 42.7 |

the Ukrainian SSR was the highest in the world (77.6 kg in 1964). The steel output per capita for some selected countries in relation to the Ukrainian SSR was as follows (in per cent): USA–77.3, Czechoslovakia–76.5, West Germany–72.6, Great Britain–63.4, France–52.7, USSR–48.6 (Russian SFSR–48.6, USSR without Ukraine–35.7), Poland–35.4, East Germany–33.2, Hungary–30.2, and Rumania–20.7.

The productive fixed capital in the Ukrainian iron and steel industry (including the mining of ores) accounted for 19.5 and 19.2 per cent in 1950 and 1955, respectively. This percentage rose to 22.5 by January 1, 1960, and to 22.4 per cent by January 1, 1967. The value of fixed assets (including depreciation) was equal to 3,239 million rubles by January 1, 1960, and accounted for 42.1 per cent of fixed assets in this industry in the USSR. Between 1950 and 1955, the productivity per worker increased by 51 per cent. Between 1958 and 1965, the output of the Ukrainian iron and steel industry increased by 70 per cent, employment by 23 per cent, and productivity by 38 per cent (in the USSR by 78, 26, and 41 per cent, respectively). In absolute terms, the productivity per worker was higher in the Ukrainian SSR than in the USSR. In 1966, in the Ukrainian SSR the annual output of steel per worker was 2,028 tons and of pig iron 4,596 tons.

The cost of production of ferrous metals in the Ukrainian SSR is lower than the average for the USSR. It is, however, higher than that in Magnitogorsk or Kuznetsk mainly because of the higher cost of raw materials and, to a lesser degree, of fuels.

A potentially faster growth in the Ukrainian iron and steel industry during the postwar period was prevented by institutional factors and by the low quality of ores and their irregular deliveries.

The exploitation of iron ore deposits in Ukraine on a commercial basis started in the 1880's with the construction of railroad lines connecting these deposits with the deposits of coking coals in the Donbas, thus facilitating the expansion of the iron and steel industry.

The growth of iron ore mining was quite rapid, much faster than in other regions of the empire (Table XL). As a result, before World War I, Ukraine accounted for more than 70 per cent of the total output of this product in the Russian empire. The Kryvyi Rih iron ore was not only used by the domestic iron and steel industry but was exported abroad. Exports amounted to 29.3 million *poods* in 1909 and to 51.2 million *poods* in 1911, which represented about 93 per cent of all exports of iron from the Russian empire. At the turn of the century, about 85 per cent of all Ukrainian ore was mined in the Kryvyi Rih region and the rest in the Kerch Peninsula. The share of the former rose to 94 per cent in 1913. Attempts to reconstruct this industry after the war met with failure; the 1913 level of output was not reached until 1929–30. Only then did the output of iron ore rise rapidly (period of the prewar Five-Year plans). It increased 4.27 times between 1928 and 1940. How-

TABLE XL

Output of Iron Ore in Ukraine

(Million *poods*; 1 *pood* = 0.0164 metric ton)

| Year | Kryvyi Rih Basin | Kerch Basin | Total | Ukraine as percentage of the Russian empire (without Poland) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1880 | 2.7 | — | 2.7 | 5.4 |
| 1890 | 23.0 | — | 23.0 | 24.7 |
| 1900 | 190.4 | 19.6 | 210.0 | 62.1 |
| 1909 | 213.2 | 16.1 | 229.3 | 74.5 |
| 1913 | 388.0 | 29.3 | 417.3 | 74.5 |

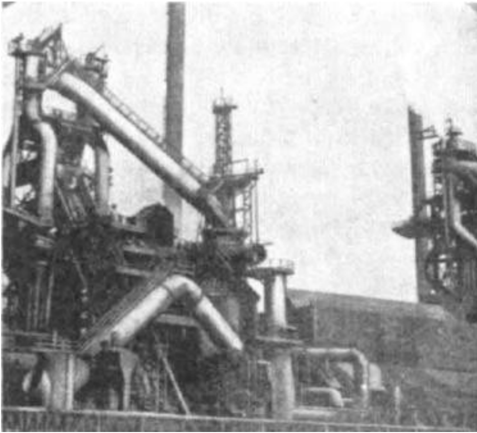

FIGURE 445. LENIN METALLURGICAL WORKS IN KRYVYI RIH

ever, the Ukrainian share in the total output of iron ore in the USSR tended to decline between 1928 and 1937 from 77 to about 62 per cent (Table XLI). This was the result of the construction of the Ural–Kuznetsk Combine and the increased exploitation of the Magnitogorsk iron ore deposits.

TABLE XLI

| Year | Thousand tons | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR |
|---|---|---|
| 1928 | 4,722.1 | 77.0 |
| 1932 | 8,441.8 | 69.8 |
| 1937 | 17,185.3 | 61.9 |
| 1940 | 20,185.0 | 67.6 |

The decline in importance of Ukrainian iron mining in the USSR can be observed even better in the changes of fixed assets in this industry. These assets increased from 27 million rubles in October 1, 1928, to 162 million rubles by January 1, 1938 (or six times), but the Ukrainian share in the USSR declined drastically between these two dates, from 71.2 per cent to 39.3 per cent, respectively. This indicates that the bulk of investment for the development of this industry was directed to other regions of the USSR.

The number of workers in the Ukrainian iron ore industry increased between 1926–7 and January 1, 1936, from 11,500 to 22,300. As a result of substantial investment, the productivity of labor increased by 100 per cent in 1932 as compared with 1913.

The iron ore industry suffered as much from war damages as other branches of Ukrainian industry. Its output amounted to only 3,818,200 tons in 1945. Reconstruction, however, proceeded rapidly and the prewar output was exceeded by 1950. The growth of iron ore mining was slightly faster in Ukraine than in the USSR between 1950 and 1968.

TABLE XLII

| Year | Thousand tons | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR |
|---|---|---|
| 1945 | 3,818 | 24.1 |
| 1950 | 21,030 | 53.0 |
| 1958 | 49,825 | 56.1 |
| 1964 | 80,336 | 55.1 |
| 1968 | 99,082 | 56.1 |

As a result, the Ukrainian share in the USSR increased slightly (Table XLII). During the postwar period, Ukraine became one of the largest iron ore producers in the world. For example, in 1966 its output of 87 million tons was exceeded only by that of the United States (92.2 million tons).

The main center of iron ore mining in Ukraine is Kryvyi Rih (90 per cent of the total). The remaining 10 per cent is mined primarily on the Kerch Peninsula. There were twenty-four mines and six quarries in the Kryvyi Rih region in the early 1960's. Increasing quantities are mined on the surface (16 and 41.7 per cent in 1958 and 1963, respectively) because the subsurface deposits are exhausted. Deposits which are mined by the open pit method have a lower iron content (33–38 per cent) and, therefore, need to be chemically enriched. At the present time, there are seven such plants in the Kryvyi Rih region. Surface mining has great disadvantages, since it destroys fertile land and water resources. In general, the supply of iron ore lagged be-

hind the development of the iron and steel industry in the Ukrainian SSR. Consequently, attempts have been made to develop alternative sources of supply, primarily in the Kremenchuk and Velyka Bilozerka regions.

**Manganese ore industry.** Manganese ore is used for the production of a variety of commodities. Its greatest importance lies, however, in its use as an input in the iron and steel industry.

Industrial exploitation of manganese ore started in the 1860's in the Nykopil region, at the same time as the Marten and Bessemer processes were introduced in the iron and steel industry. Output grew rapidly prior to World War I. It increased from 2,608,100 to 13,995,900 *poods* between 1895 and 1915. The number of employed increased also, from 1,120 to 1,695 men between 1899 and 1915. During this time, Ukraine produced approximately two-thirds of the total output of manganese ore in the Russian empire.

Reconstruction of this industry after the revolution proceeded slowly. The growth of its output lagged behind that in other branches of Ukrainian heavy industry. Output increased only by about 92 per cent between 1928 and 1937 (Table XLIII). Growth was much faster in other regions of the USSR and, consequently, the Ukrainian share declined by more than one-half at this time.

TABLE XLIII

| Year | Thousand tons | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR |
|---|---|---|
| 1928 | 499.7 | 71.2 |
| 1932 | 443.3 | 53.3 |
| 1937 | 956.9 | 34.8 |

During the post-World War II period, the output of manganese ore continued to grow in the Ukrainian SSR. It increased from 2,094,000 to 5,020,000 tons between 1958 and 1966. Since the Ukrainian SSR's growth was faster than that of the USSR, its share increased from 39.0 to 65.1 per cent between these two years. This growth, however, took place only in lower grade ores. The plan for high quality ores remained unfulfilled most of the time. At the present time, only deposits near Nykopil are being exploited. In 1965, twenty-two mines and six quarries were in operation and more than one-half of the total output was mined by open pit.

**Coking industry.** The coking industry is a part of the iron and steel industry. In addition to coke, it produces a large variety of other products, primarily chemicals. Since the main input in the production process is coal, this industry is located near coal deposits. Since coke is used for smelting of pig iron, facilities must be also located near iron and steel centers.

Donbas coal is particularly suited to the coking process because of its chemical quality.

As shown in Table XLIV, before World War I Ukraine was the sole producer of coke in the Russian empire (within present borders). During the prewar Five-Year plans, despite considerable growth, Ukraine lost its dominant position, and before the outbreak of war produced about three-quarters of the total. The increases in output took place mainly as a result of elimination of some inefficient plants and the introduction of modern large-scale facilities (in Dniprodzerzhynske, Dnipropetrovske, Zaporizhia, Kryvyi Rih). The prewar level of output was regained in 1951, but because of the construction of new facili-

TABLE XLIV

| Year | Million tons | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR |
|---|---|---|
| 1913 | 4,443 | 100.0 |
| 1928 | 3,997 | 95.7 |
| 1937 | 14,981 | 74.8 |
| 1945 | 3,134 | 23.0 |
| 1950 | 15,032 | 54.2 |
| 1958 | 27,201 | 53.4 |
| 1967 | 35,863 | 52.0 |

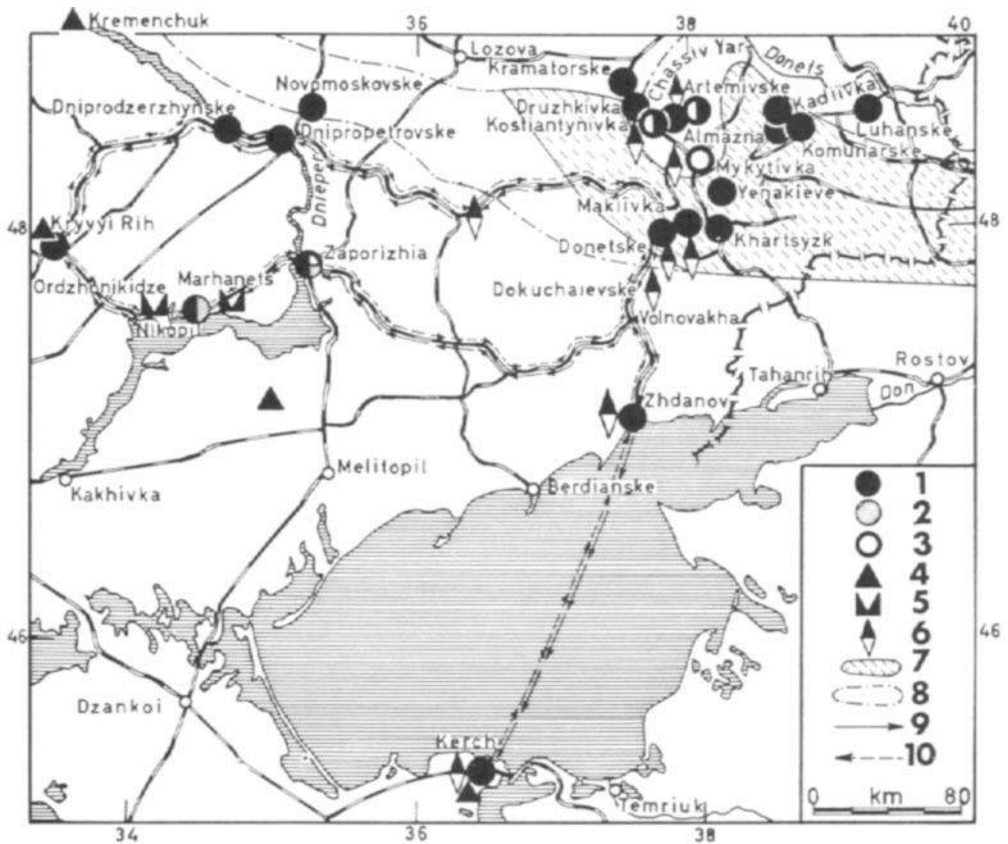


FIGURE 446. FERROUS AND NON-FERROUS METALLURGY
1, ferrous metallurgy; 2, ferro-alloys; 3, non-ferrous metallurgy; 4, iron ore; 5, manganese ore; 6, limestone and fire clay; 7, boundaries of the old Donbas; 8, boundaries of the new Donbas; 9, lines of transportation of coke; 10, lines of transportation of iron ore.

ties during the war in eastern regions of the USSR, the share of the Ukrainian SSR became smaller. At the present time, it accounts for slightly more than one-half of the total USSR output. In 1965 there were 18 coking plants in the Ukrainian SSR, of which 12 are located in the Donets region, 4 in the Dnieper region, and 1 in the Azov region. One plant is located outside these three metallurgical regions.

**Non-ferrous metallurgy.** Limited deposits of numerous non-ferrous metals are located in Ukraine. Statistical data on their exploitation are lacking because of this industry's military importance.

Mineral resources which can serve as a basis for the aluminum industry are bauxites, nephelines, alunites, and kaolines. Most important are the bauxites which are found near Smila (Cherkasy *oblast*) and the Vysokopillia deposit (Kherson *oblast*), not yet exploited. An aluminum plant was put into operation in Zaporizhia in 1933 which utilized the power from the Dneiper electric station. Bauxites for it were brought at high cost from northern Russia.

Titanium is highly important in the production of chemical machinery, airplanes, space vehicles, and various weapons. It is usually found in deposits of

ilmenite and rutiles, which are located in Irshanske and Stremyhorod (Zhytomyr *oblast*) and near Samotkane (Dnipropetrovske *oblast*). Titanium is extracted by quarrying and, therefore, the cost of production is low.

Magnesium can be extracted from potassium-magnesium salts which are found in large quantities in Stebnyk (Lviv *oblast*) and Kalush (Ivano-Frankivske *oblast*). They are also available in Syvash (Azov region). These deposits formed the basis for a magnesium plant during the prewar Five-Year plans.

Zirconium, which is also very important for many technological processes (nuclear, space, airplanes), is found near Samotkanske and the Azov region. The Azov plant, which worked on imported ores, was constructed in the early 1930's in Konstiantynivka (Donetske *oblast*). There are also small deposits of nickel, cobalt, lead, and zinc. Mercury can be found in the Donbas, the Crimea, and Transcarpathia. It has been exploited only in Donbas (Mykytivka) since 1879. Uranium is reportedly located in the region of Zhovti Vody (Dnipropetrovske *oblast*).

Non-ferrous metallurgy is a great consumer of electric power, the cost of which accounts for about 25–35 per cent of the total costs of production. The investment in the sources of power and fuel often represents one-half of all investment in this industry. Despite the relatively low cost of electric power production in Ukraine, its shortage is basically responsible for the almost negligible development of non-ferrous metallurgy.

Virtually all facilities in this industry were destroyed during the war and reconstruction proceeded slowly. In 1950 its output was equal to 75 per cent of the 1940 output. Presently it is reported that this branch is growing at a faster rate than the iron and steel industry. Between 1950 and 1966 the output increased 21 times. As of January 1, 1960, the value of fixed capital in this industry was equal to 137.4 million rubles, or 1 per cent of fixed capital of all Ukrainian industry. The Ukrainian SSR accounted for 4.1 per cent of the USSR total in this respect. Between 1960 and 1966, the increase in productivity of labor in this industry in the Ukrainian SSR amounted to 60 per cent.

*I. S. Koropeckyj*

### Machinery, Equipment, and Fabricated Metal Products

Although its aggregate statistics are not entirely reliable, the so-called "machine-building and metal-working industry" has been the largest single sector of Ukrainian industry since the late 1930's. It is equalled in value of product output only by the food industry. The range of its official statistical definition, however, has been subjected to frequent changes, while published figures have been both incomplete and affected by rapid changes in groupings of products and pricing of new product items. The Soviet definition of "machine-building" has always been broader than that employed by Western statisticians. It includes not only the usual machines, mechanisms, transportation equipment, instruments, tools, engines, motors, generators, home appliances, weapons, ordnance, and parts and accessories, but also such unfinished or semifinished products as castings, forgings, welded parts, prefabricated structural metal products, such equipment as boilers, tanks, and cisterns, and such items of general use as iron beds and tin cans for the food industry. In addition, the Soviet "machine-building and metal-working industry" includes service establishments, that is, shops and plants which supply parts and do repair and maintenance work on these machines, tools, and equipment.

The machine-building industry, by accelerating reconstruction, mechanization, and the growth of the productivity of labor and machines, played a decisive

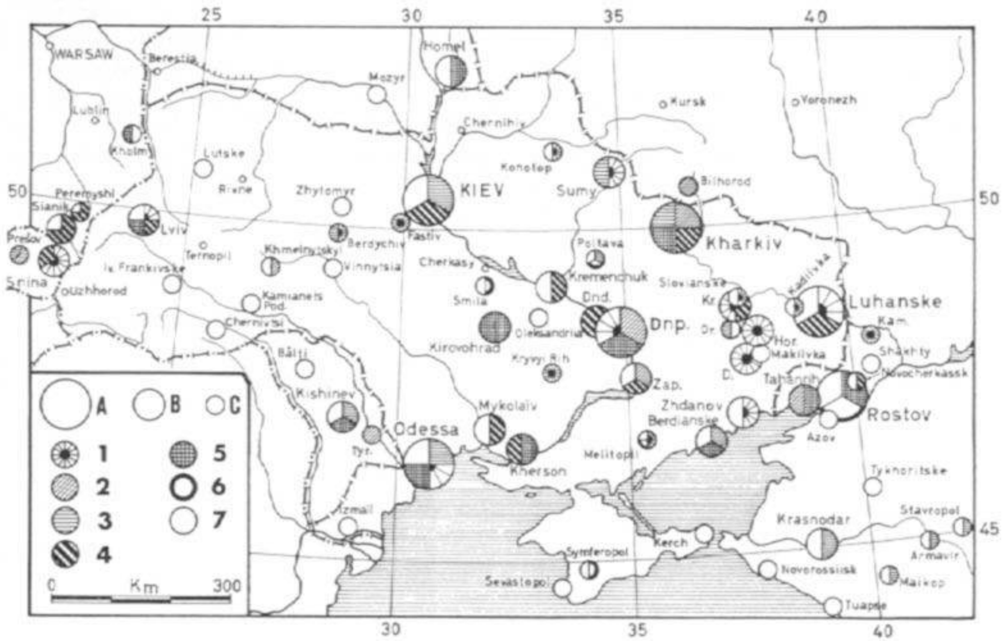


FIGURE 447. MACHINE-BUILDING (MAJOR CENTERS)

Branches: 1, heavy and chemical; 2, energetic and electro-technical; 3, tools and instruments; 4, transportation; 5, agriculture; 6, light, food, and wood-working industries; 7, miscellaneous.

*Note*: The size of the markings indicates the volume of production

*Abbreviations*: D, Donetske; Dnd, Dniprodzerzhynske; Dnp, Dnipropetrovske; Dr, Drushkivka; Hor, Horlivka; Kam, Kamensk Shakhtinskii; Kr, Kramatorske; Tyr, Tyraspil; Zap, Zaporizhia.

role in the process of Ukrainian industrialization.

In 1960, one million workers, or close to 28 per cent of the total industrial labor force, were employed in the machine-building industry (including metal-working). The figure was 29.3 per cent in 1940 compared with 14.3 per cent in 1925. Moreover, in 1963, 17.5 per cent of the total fixed capital invested in Ukrainian industry was in machine-building, as compared with 20.5 per cent in 1955, 23.6 per cent in 1940, 18.5 per cent in 1932; and 20.1 per cent for the USSR as a whole (1963).

In accordance with Soviet classification, machine-building is divided into 25 broad industry groups (14 in 1940 and 19 in 1958), including such industries as defense, aircraft, and shipbuilding. At present, all these industries are functioning in the Ukrainian SSR. The degree of their development varies, however, because some are involved in highly specialized production. The type of specialization in the Ukrainian machine-building industry is the result of three basic factors: the presence of a highly developed metallurgical industry, a high state of agricultural development, and the planning policies of the Soviet government. Consequently, machine-building requiring high metal content (such as heavy machinery and transportation equipment) and the tractor and farm machinery industries are particularly well developed. On the other hand, industries such as the automobile, instruments, electronics, telemechanics, and instrumentation and controls are underdeveloped. Furthermore, production of consumer durables (radios, television

sets, and washing machines, for example) is also limited despite the existence of great untapped labor resources, particularly in small cities. In general, the Ukrainian machine-building industry could have been developed to a much greater extent than it is at present.

**Machine-building industry before 1917.** The first machine-building plant in Ukraine was built in 1841 in the Chernihiv province by a Ukrainian landowner named Kandyba. This plant produced agricultural machinery, steam boilers, equipment used in sugar refineries, and textile machinery. By 1846, there were 4 machine-building plants operating in Ukraine (8 in 1854 and 25 in 1863). Compared with Western Europe and Russia, however, the Ukrainian machine-building industry was backward, constituting a mere 2.2 per cent of the total machine production of the Russian empire in 1866. Only later did it show a marked increase. During the 1870's and 1880's, production of agricultural machinery and equipment used in sugar refineries underwent significant growth in such cities as Oleksandrivske, Yelysavethrad, Kharkiv, Odessa, Berdianske, Kiev, Kherson, although most of this work was carried on in assembly plants of German firms which imported machine parts from Germany and Czechoslovakia. During the 1890's, very rapid growth occurred in the production of steam locomotives (Luhanske and Kharkiv), railway cars (Katerynoslav, Kiev, Mykolaïv, and Stryi), mining and metallurgical equipment (Donbas), and shipbuilding (Mykolaïv and Kherson) because of the intensive development of metallurgy and railroad construction. The plants involved in this production were usually built with foreign capital (from France, Belgium and, to a lesser extent, Germany), and were equipped with modern West European machines. The share of Ukrainian machine-building in the total production of the Russian empire (not including Poland and the Baltic states) rose to 25 per cent in 1913. In that year Ukraine produced 52.9 per cent of the farm machinery, 40 per cent of the steam locomotives, 17 per cent of the railway cars, and 3.7 per cent of the machine tools. Other industries, however, were almost non-existent, with the result that approximately half of all machines were imported from abroad and from Russia.

**1917–40.** The Ukrainian machine-building industry collapsed during the years of the war and the struggle for national liberation, and it was not until 1925 that it was able to attain its prewar level of 25 per cent of total Soviet production. Of the new enterprises built before 1925, the electrical engineering plant in Kharkiv (evacuated from Latvia in 1915), the Kharkiv bicycle plant (built in 1923), the Dniprodzerzhynske railway car works (1925), and the thoroughly rebuilt Odessa machine tools plant (1924) must be mentioned. The planned development of machine-building began with the first Five-Year plan (1928–32), when accelerated growth of heavy industry, with emphasis on machine-building, was set as one of the principal objectives in the industrialization of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR. Thus, as early as 1934, machine-building rose from fourth to first place among the industries of the Ukrainian SSR, and at that time was responsible for almost half of all new machine-building products not previously made in Ukraine.

By 1934, more than three fourths of all machine-building plants were renovated. In several enterprises (such as the Luhanske iron works which in 1933 was converted into a plant producing coal mining machinery) the reconstruction undertaken was substantial. The following were also included: the Horlivka machine-building plant in 1935, the Kriukiv railway car works in 1934, the Krasnodar machine tools plant in 1935, the Voroshylovhrad steam locomotive plant (which in 1938 was made into the largest enterprise in Europe), the Sumy chemical equipment plant, the Kiev

plant "Lenins'ka Kuznia" (Lenin's Forge), which in 1940 became a large shipbuilding yard. In addition, a whole series of completely new machine-building plants, some of gigantic size, was constructed. Among them were the "Komunar" combine in Zaporizhia in 1930, the Kharkiv tractor plant in 1931, the Kharkiv plant for producing turbogenerators in 1934, the Novo-Kramatorske heavy machinery plant in 1934, the Kharkiv machine tools plant in 1936, and the Kiev automatic machine tools plant in 1937.

Essential machines and equipment for these plants were imported from the United States and Western Europe. American and European technical experts and engineers often accompanied the equipment and came to the Ukrainian SSR to train local technicians and workers in their use and maintenance. Some Soviet Ukrainian technicians and engineers visited the United States and other countries, and worked in the plants and factories to learn production methods (for example, assembly line techniques).

As a result of reconstruction and new construction, the number of machine-building plants in the Ukrainian SSR increased from 94 in 1927 to 150 in 1940. As a result heavy coal-cutters, tractors, aircraft engines, civilian and military aircraft, armored vehicles, construction cranes, submarines, and other products which previously were not manufactured in Ukraine, began to appear.

FIGURE 448. BUILDING OF A METALLURGICAL COMPLEX IN KRYVYI RIH

At the same time the make-up of the machine-building industry also changed. Between 1928 and 1929 agricultural machinery represented 34 per cent of total machine-building; rail equipment, 21 per cent; shipbuilding, 14 per cent; electrical engineering, 10 per cent; other industries, 21 per cent. By 1934, despite rising total production, the output of farm machinery as a percentage of total machine-building activity fell to 20 per cent; rail equipment fell to 16 per cent of the total. In contrast, the production of heavy, mining, electrical, and chemical processing machinery, and of machine tools rose substantially, although detailed statistics have not been published. During the 1934–40 period, the development of defense-oriented industries increased appreciably in Kharkiv, Dniprodzerzhynske, Mykolaïv, and other cities.

**After 1945.** At the beginning of the German-Soviet war some 140 machine-building plants were evacuated from the Ukrainian SSR to the eastern areas of the USSR where they remained after the war. The rest were destroyed during the retreats of both armies. After the war, the Ukrainian machine-building industry had to be completely rebuilt. Only 104 of those plants which had been in operation before the war were reconstructed. They were for the most part supplied with new machines and with equipment reassembled from captured German plants. At the same time, such new machine-building industries and plants were created as the Kiev motorcycle plant in 1945, the Odessa automatic lathes plant in 1946, the Elektrotiazhmash (heavy electrical machinery) plant in 1946, the Kharkiv bearings plant in 1947, the Zaporizhia transformer plant in 1949, and the Lviv plants for producing automatic loaders and buses in 1951. In 1953 the Komunar combine works in Zaporizhia were rebuilt for the production of small passenger cars ("Zaporozhets'"), while the combine production was concentrated in the Rossel'mash plant in Rostov. In 1954, a large enterprise at Symferopol

was developed to produce automatic machinery for the food industry. In 1956, the Dnipropetrovske plant was built for the production of heavy presses; in 1959, the Khmelnytsky plant for the production of transformer substations and the Kremenchuk automobile plant; and in 1961, the Pervomaiske diesel-engine plant. A plant for the production of electrical machinery at Nova Kakhivka is under construction at the present time. In 1955, the number of large-scale machine-building plants in the Ukrainian SSR reached a total of 134.

By 1963, more than 80 per cent of the total output of the Ukrainian machine-building industry was produced by 159 large plants and factories (each producing a volume of 5 million rubles or more). This figure does include metal-working plants. The total number of machine-building enterprises, including smaller shops, was 767.

The automotive industry numbered 35 manufacturing and assembly plants and about 400 repair shops in 1967. The larger plants are: the Kremenchuk heavy truck plant; the Komunar plant in Zaporizhia producing the "Zaporozhets'" passenger sedan; the Lviv bus plant; the Odessa trailer plant; the Lviv automotive crane plant; the Kiev motorcycle plant; and the Melitopil motor works. The Lviv automotive crane plant is a highly specialized enterprise producing all the automotive cranes in the Soviet Union. A considerable percentage of its production is exported abroad. The Lviv bus plant makes 20 per cent of all the buses in the USSR as well as a substantial number for export. The Komunar plant produced 150,000 "Zaporozhets'" cars between 1948 and 1966 and now turns out about 20 per cent of all passenger cars in the USSR. However, the total production of the Ukrainian automotive industry amounts to only 0.7 per cent of European production and 0.3 per cent of world production.

The aircraft industry is located in three Ukrainian cities: Kharkiv, Kiev, and Zaporizhia. Production data are kept secret, but it is known that such turbo-prop short-range passenger liners and transports as AN-10, AN-24, and TU-124 are in serial production in Kiev and elsewhere. Antonov's largest plane, the transport "Antei," and serial AN-22 was developed and produced in the Ukrainian SSR. Kharkiv was the center of the military aircraft industry before the war, but now most of the Soviet Union's planes are produced in Russia, with the production potential of the Ukrainian SSR probably not exceeding 800 aircraft of all types per annum.

Shipbuilding is concentrated in Mykolaïv, Kherson, Odessa, and Kiev, and is highly specialized. Fishing trawlers (3,700 d.w.t.), dry-cargo turbo-tankers (22,000 d.w.t.), and various types of coast and river craft are its main concerns. The shipyards of Mykolaïv have facilities for building 44,000-ton whale-processing factory ships. Small and medium naval vessels are built in Mykolaïv and Kherson.

Railroad equipment is the basis of one of Ukraine's best developed machine-building industries. Nearly all diesel locomotives in the USSR are produced by the Kharkiv and Luhanske locomotive works, which also turn out engines for electrified lines. The Ukrainian SSR's locomotive production at present constitutes 11 per cent of the world total and about one-third of European production. Similarly, the Ukrainian SSR produces 7 per cent of the world's freight cars. The Zhdanov heavy machine works make all the railroad oil tanks and chemical cisterns in the USSR.

Tractors and farm machines produced in the Ukrainian SSR are also significant in world figures. Ukraine produces 10 per cent of all tractors in the world (17 per cent of the European total and 30 per cent of the socialist bloc total). The figures for many types of farm machines are even higher. However, production is highly specialized and much of it is exported abroad, while

Ukrainian agriculture remains undermechanized, with small tractors and non-harvesting equipment in particularly short supply.

FIGURE 449. DIESEL LOCOMOTIVE PLANT IN LUHANSKE

MILITARY EQUIPMENT, ORDNANCE, AND ACCESSORIES are produced in the Ukrainian SSR in a highly specialized variety, while the bulk of common arms are produced in central Russia. It should be noted, however, that Ukraine possesses the capacity for expansion of the arms industry in case of need. Most Soviet civilian plants are designed with the view of possible quick convertibility to military production. Thus, the production of tractors in the Ukrainian SSR declined on the eve of World War II and during the Korean War because the facilities were used to produce tanks. From recently published official sources, it has been established that more than one-half of all tanks in the USSR on the eve of World War II were made in the Ukrainian SSR. The prewar (1941) defense establishments in the Ukrainian SSR included 9 aircraft plants, 3 shipyards, and 14 ordnance plants which were evacuated to the Urals at the outbreak of the war.

The first Soviet uranium-graphite reactor began producing plutonium for atomic bombs in Kharkiv in 1946, four years after the United States. Kharkiv is an important nuclear industry center today, especially in the field of hydrogen energy control, which requires the production of complicated plasma-control equipment.

Other branches of the Ukrainian machine-building industry of All-Union importance are plants producing heavy equipment and tools for the iron and steel industry, continuous casting machines, electroslag welding machines, machines for coal and ore mining and concentration of ores, chemical equipment, road-building machines, and equipment for the construction industries (housing and factory building). The Ukrainian SSR also produces heavy turbines, pumps, transformers, and electrical equipment for the nuclear industry in quantities which allow for export. Precision equipment such as computers, missile and satellite radio-electronic equipment and guidance mechanisms, and missile launching installations are also manufactured in the Ukrainian SSR.

The production of radios, television sets, washing machines, refrigerators, and other consumer durables began to increase rapidly in the late 1950's. The expansion of the machine-building industry is demonstrated, e.g., by the fact that between 1961 and 1962 more than 1,300 new types of machines, mechanisms, devices, and technological equipment were developed and put into production in the Ukrainian SSR (15.5 per cent of this throughout the USSR), while 250 obsolete types of machines and equipment were taken out of production

during the same period. Nevertheless, such branches of the machine-building industry as machine tools (20.1 per cent of the total Soviet production in 1940 and only 13.1 per cent in 1966), instruments (only 6 per cent of the total Soviet output in 1961), scientific and medical instruments, office equipment and consumer appliances, are still underdeveloped (see Table XLV). The Kuban (Krasnodar) region was producing the following quantities of machine tools (units): 1940 –500, 1950–1,536, 1960–3,539, 1964–4,567.

Data on the structure of the machine-building industry were not published during the postwar period. The rank occupied by certain branches in this industry, based on the proportion of production that each group constitutes in total machine-building, is the only thing that can be ascertained. They are ranked in the following manner: (1) tractors

TABLE XLV

Machine-building Production in the Ukrainian SSR

| Products | 1913 | 1940 | 1950 | 1960 | 1967 | Per cent of the USSR, 1967 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Metallurgical equipment (thousand tons) | ? | 16.0 | 42.7 | 106.5 | 137.5 | 47.4 |
| Heavy electric machines (units) | — | 200 | 600 | 3,300 | 5,800 | 36.5 |
| Electric motors over 100 kwt (millions of kwt) | — | 0.02 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 0.31 | 5.3 |
| Electric motors up to 100 kwt (thousands of units) | — | 72.3 | 181.8 | 646.2 | 1,219.9 | 23.8 |
| Turbines (1,000 kwt) | — | 139.0 | 405.0 | 2,541.0 | 4,865.0 | 33.1 |
| Power transformers (millions of kwt) | — | — | 0.6 | 24.7 | 48.3 | 47.9 |
| Metal-working machine tools (thousands of units) | 0.07 | 11.7 | 10.5 | 20.5 | 27.7 | 14.0 |
| Locomotives, units | 189 | 672 | 518 | 1,142 | 1,439 | 96.1 |
| Freight cars (thousands of units) | 1.7 | 10.3 | 18.3 | 17.6 | 19.7 | 45.0 |
| Electric trains for mines (units) | — | 1 | 1,073 | 1,244 | 1,064 | 39.1 |
| Excavators (thousands of units) | — | 0.02 | 0.16 | 3.0 | 6.8 | 26.3 |
| Bulldozers (units) | — | 100 | 1,808 | 4,452 | 9,989 | 37.3 |
| Coal combines (units) | — | 22 | 344 | 871 | 1,057 | 93.1 |
| Automobiles, trucks and buses (thousands of units) | — | — | 18.3 | 7.5 | 88.0 | 12.1 |
| Grain combines (thousands of units) | — | 7.3 | 9.0 | — | — | 0.0 |
| Tractors (thousands of units) | — | 10.4 | 22.6 | 88.0 | 133.2 | 32.9 |
| Tractor plows (thousands of units) | — | 19.8 | 40.8 | 80.7 | 98.7 | 50.5 |
| Equipment for the oil industry (thousand tons) | — | 0.1 | 2.8 | 12.2 | 22.0 | 15.7 |
| Motorcycles (thousands of units) | — | — | 12.5 | 18.0 | 35.2 | 4.5 |
| Bicycles (thousands of units) | — | 49.5 | 216.5 | 610.1 | 887.1 | ? |
| Washing machines (thousands of units) | — | — | — | 78.4 | 391.3 | 9.0 |
| Refrigerators (thousands of units) | — | 0.2 | 1.0 | 111.9 | 400.7 | 14.8 |
| Radios (thousands of units) | — | 1.7 | 8.5 | 231.2 | 761.9 | 11.9 |
| Television sets (thousands of units) | — | — | — | 98.7 | 917.7 | 18.5 |
| Cameras (thousands of units) | — | 32.3 | 30.4 | 301.2 | 180.5 | ? |

*Note*: ? = not certain, — = not produced.

and farm machinery, (2) mining and metallurgical equipment, (3) electrical engineering, (4) transportation equipment, (5) instruments, (6) machine tools, (7) automobiles, (8) power-generating equipment, (9) construction and road building machinery, (10) lifting and loading machinery, (11) chemical processing machinery and (12) equipment for the food industry.

The share of machine-building and metal-working in the gross product of all Ukrainian industry increased at a rapid rate before World War II, from 11.3 per cent in 1913 and 12.1 per cent in 1929 to 23 per cent in 1932, 29.2 per cent in 1937, and 36.4 per cent in 1940. This trend was interrupted by the outbreak of the war, and in the postwar period the share declined to 19.3 per cent in 1958. There was new growth, however, and by 1965 the share was 25.5 per cent. Present plans now call for 27.6 per cent in 1970 and 37 per cent in 1980. However, because of the difficulty in evaluating new products that are added to the constant-price indexes in current prices, not too much faith can be placed in the accuracy of the statistical indexes quoted from Soviet sources in Table XLVI.

Table XLVI shows the postwar growth of the machine-building industries (including metal-working) and the total industrial output (figures in parentheses) of the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR.

TABLE XLVI

INDEX (1940 = 100)

| Year | Ukrainian SSR | USSR |
|---|---|---|
| 1940 | 100 (100) | 100 (100) |
| 1945 | 64 ( 26) | 129 (92) |
| 1950 | 144 (115) | 215 (173) |
| 1955 | 331 (220) | 466 (320) |
| 1960 | 670 (365) | 903 (524) |
| 1965 | 1,240 (556) | 1,621 (791) |
| 1968 | 1,754 (713) | 2,278 (1,022) |

From the above figures it is evident that since the war the Ukrainian machine-building industry has lagged significantly behind that of the Soviet Union as a whole. This situation reflects the fact that during the war machine-building continued to be carried on in unoccupied areas of the USSR while in the Ukrainian SSR it came to a halt, and that when the war ended the capital funds invested in the Ukrainian portion of the industry from the Soviet budget were proportionately smaller than before the war. In contrast, the government of the USSR allocates disproportionately large capital funds for the machine-building industry of the Russian SFSR.

FIGURE 450. COMPUTER CONTROL ROOM AT THE AZOVSTAL' PLANT

The build-up of heavy industry in the RSFSR continues despite the fact that nearly 80 per cent of all machine-building production in the USSR already originates in the RSFSR, in the regions of Moscow, Leningrad, the Urals and western Siberia. According to official statistics, the per capita production of the machine-building and metal-working industries in the RSFSR increased by a factor of 357 between 1913 and 1964, while the corresponding figure for the Ukrainian SSR is only 262. Ukraine's share in the Soviet Union's machine-building total, which was about 25 per cent in 1913 and the early 1920's, declined to 18.3 per cent in 1936 and to about 15 per cent in the early 1960's.

Official indexes of the gross production of machine-building and metal-working in the Ukrainian SSR show a high but obviously falling rate of growth. The annual averages were: 1928–32, 41.6 per

cent; 1932–7, 20.7; 1937–40, 19.8; 1945–50, 37.7; 1950–5, 18; 1955–60, 15.2; 1960–5, 13; and 1966–8, 12.

Structural changes within the aggregate figures (such as the overemphasis on the growth of the capital-intensive industries) may partly explain this decline in growth. Other probable reasons are slow technical progress, lack of innovations, few new inventions and substitute materials (the top bonus or incentive payment for an inventor in the Soviet Union is a 20,000 ruble [$22,000] lump sum award, without subsequent royalties). Since most capital to output coefficients in the Ukrainian SSR are lower than in the rest of the USSR, the falling rate of growth is also partly due to the inadequacy of capital investments in Ukrainian machine-building, whereas such investments in the RSFSR appear to be excessive.

Ukrainian machine-building, with the exception of certain enterprises, lags behind that of Western Europe and the United States in technology and productivity of labor. Assembly lines, transfer machines, and automation techniques are still inadequately developed, and most machining is still carried on by means of individual machine tools. There is a shortage of instruments and controls and of precise stamping and casting. This results in overutilization of finishing tools and significant losses of metal for scrap. Furthermore, many old machines are used until they become completely inoperative. This state of affairs reflects the lack of competition in Soviet business and inadequate rates of capital depreciation (only one-third of those of the United States, for example). There are more workers per machine in the Ukrainian SSR than in the West, so that the productivity of labor was only 38 per cent of that in the U.S. in 1962, according to Soviet estimates. The productivity of the machines, however, is sometimes higher than abroad, since in the Ukrainian SSR machines are used more intensively (in two or three shifts per 24-hour period) than in the West.

*V. Holubnychy*

**Chemical Industry**

Despite the availability of a rich resource base for the production of chemicals and a growing demand, the chemical industry (usually including rubber industry) was poorly developed in Ukraine before the revolution. In 1884 there were only about 380 workers employed in this industry and its output was valued at 1,928,000 rubles. In 1900 the value of the output grew to 7,742,000 rubles, in 43 enterprises, employing 2,090 workers. In 1912 it reached 23,988,000 rubles, or 1.8 per cent of the total output of Ukrainian industry; 5,154 workers were employed. In terms of output, Ukraine accounted for about 9 per cent of the total output of the Russian chemical industry in the early twentieth century. The main branches of this industry at that time were: the match industry, located primarily in the Poltava, Kherson, and Chernihiv regions and employing 1,200 workers in 1907, and to a lesser extent, the saltpeter, potash, wax, cosmetics, and varnish industries. The production of chemicals based on the coke industry became increasingly important as the iron and steel industry in Ukraine developed. The main products of the chemical industry based on the coking process were ammonium chloride, ammonium sulfate, benzene, pitch, and various lubricants.

In terms of main products of modern chemical industry, Ukraine produced in 1913 (in thousand tons): mineral fertilizers–35.6, sulfuric acid–45.3, caustic soda–39.6, and soda ash–119.0. These products represented a substantial share in the output of Russia (within present borders), i.e., 40, 31, 72, and 74 per cent, respectively.

World War I and the revolution caused severe damage to the chemical industry of Ukraine, with the result that its out-

put in 1921–2 was equal to only one-fifth of the 1912 output. The 1924–5 output was already valued at 24,934,000 rubles (prewar), thus exceeding the 1912 level by 4 per cent. Employment in that year reached the level of about 5,150 men. The development of this industry was particularly emphasized during the prewar Five-Year plans. The output of the large-scale chemical industry, according to official calculations, increased from 84 to 1,141 million (1926–7) rubles between 1928 and 1937, or 13.6 times. The increase in the USSR for the same period was 9.6 *times*. The increase in the output of basic chemicals was substantial before World War II. Between 1928 and 1940 the increases were as follows: mineral fertilizers—17.8 times, sulfuric acid—5.7, caustic soda—2.0, and soda ash—2.5 times. However, since the output growth of these chemicals was faster in other regions of the USSR, the Ukrainian shares, except for the output of soda ash, declined considerably during this period (Table XLVII).

TABLE XLVII

| | Mineral fertilizers | | Sulfuric acid | | Caustic soda | | Soda ash | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year | Thousand tons | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of USSR | Thousand tons | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of USSR | Thousand tons | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of USSR | Thousand tons | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of USSR |
| 1928 | 56.8 | 41.9 | 71.6 | 34.0 | 42.8 | 73.0 | 175.7 | 80.9 |
| 1937 | 848.0 | 26.2 | 386.1 | 28.2 | 73.0 | 44.6 | 415.7 | 78.7 |
| 1940 | 1,012.3 | 31.3 | 406.6 | 25.6 | 84.4 | 44.3 | 434.3 | 81.0 |

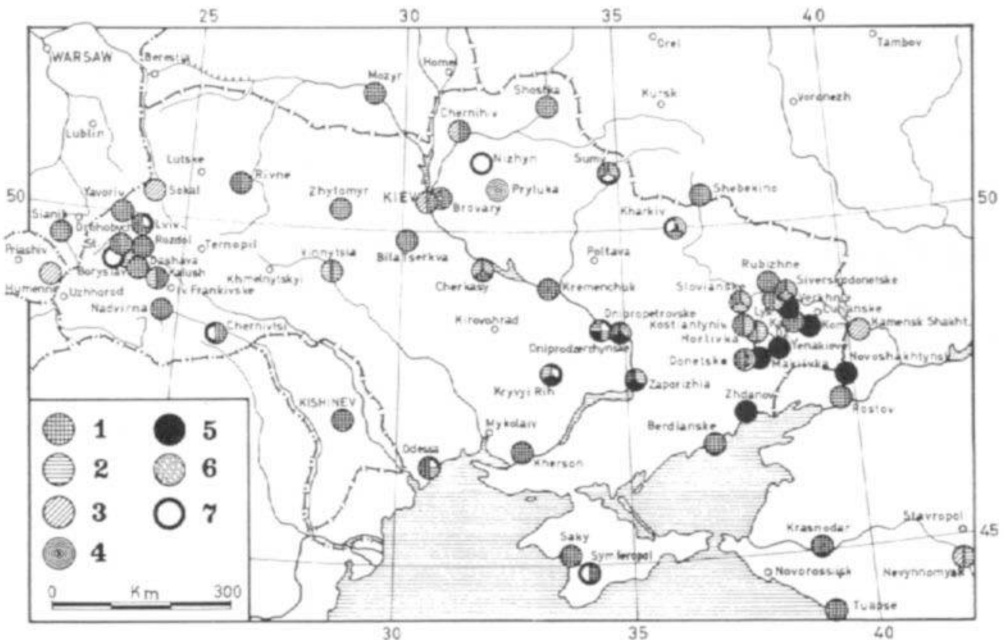


FIGURE 451. CHEMICAL INDUSTRY (MAJOR CENTERS)
Branches: 1, miscellaneous; 2, mineral deposits; 3, synthetic fibers; 4, plastics; 5, coke; 6, soda; 7, lacs and paints.

*Abbreviations*: DZ, Dzerzhynske; KA, Kadiïvka; KOM, Komunarske; LYS, Lysychanske; ST, Stebnyk

Despite these decreases, the output in value terms of the large-scale chemical industry in the Ukrainian SSR before World War II accounted for a higher share (32.5 per cent in 1937) than the total Ukrainian industry (17.9 per cent) in the USSR. If the output had been retained in Ukraine it would have satisfied the needs of Ukrainian economy for chemicals to a larger extent than was the case in other regions of the USSR. For example, the output of mineral fertilizers in 1940 accounted for about one-third of the USSR output, while the Ukrainian share in regard to the land under cultivation was exactly 20 per cent.

These increases in output were made possible by the increased capacities of existing plants and the construction of new plants. Among the existing plants the most important were: the Kostiantynivka chemical plant, Rubizhne chemical plant, Donetske nitric acid plant, Donbas and Slovianske caustic soda and soda ash plants, and the Odessa and Vinnytsia superphosphate plants. Among the newly constructed plants the most important were: the Dniprodzerzhynske and Horlivka nitric fertilizer plants, Saky chemical plant, Krasnoperekopske bromine plant, Shostka film plant, Kharkiv and Dnipropetrovske plastic plants, Kryvyi Rih red lead plant and synthetic silk plant in Kiev. In addition, there were several chemical plants in Western Ukraine (Stebnyk and Kalush) which produced potash fertilizers. Western Ukraine accounted for over 4 per cent of the total output of chemicals in prewar Poland. The fixed capital of the large-scale chemical industry (including oil refining) in the Ukrainian SSR increased from 154 to 1,270 million rubles between October 1, 1928, and January 1, 1938, or 8.2 times. During the same period this increase in the USSR amounted to 9.9 times. The Ukrainian SSR did not have many advantages in the development of this industry in comparison with other regions of the USSR; the incremental capital-output ratio was almost the same for both during the First and Second Five-Year plans.

The evacuation and deliberate destruction during World War II severely damaged the capacities of the Ukrainian chemical industry. In all, 26 plants, including the most important ones, were completely put out of operation. As a result, after the reestablishment of Soviet power in 1945, the total output of this industry was less than one-fifth of the 1940 output. By 1950, it was reported, the prewar level had been achieved.

In the meantime, the chemical industry in other regions of the USSR was expanding significantly and, consequently, the Ukrainian shares in the output of most important products were much smaller in 1950 than in 1940. The increases in output of these products between 1950 and 1968 were as follows: mineral fertilizers–6.14 times, sulfuric acid–4.86, caustic soda–4.47, soda ash–1.53, and artificial and synthetic fibers –20.24 times (Table XLVIII).

The recently started production of automobile and motorcycle tires rose from 316,000 pieces in 1961 to 3,146,000 in 1968. The output growth of these basic products of the chemical industry was even higher in the USSR during the postwar period. As a result, the Ukrainian shares were lower in 1968 than in 1950. The output of products for which no statistical data are available, however, must have been much higher in the Ukrainian SSR than in the USSR and more important in value terms, because the total gross output of this industry in the former increased 11.52 times between 1950 and 1965, while in the latter it increased 7.86 times. However, in the middle 1960's, the output of the chemical industry per capita was 30 per cent lower in the Ukrainian SSR than in the USSR. The branches of basic chemistry in Ukraine, producing inorganic acids, salts, oxides, mineral fertilizers, etc., are concentrated primarily in the Donets–Dnieper region. Only about one-third of this industry is located in other regions

TABLE XLVIII

| | 1950 | 1958 | 1964 | 1968 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mineral fertilizers | | | | |
| Thousand tons | 1,535.6 | 3,375.4 | 5,784.0 | 9,427.0 |
| Ukrainian SSR within USSR | 27.9 | 27.4 | 22.6 | 21.7 |
| Sulphuric acid | | | | |
| Thousand tons | 394.9 | 1,148.5 | 1,778.0 | 1,918.0 |
| Ukrainian SSR within USSR | 18.6 | 23.9 | 23.3 | 18.8 |
| Caustic soda | | | | |
| Thousand tons | 45.0 | 95.5 | 150.5 | 201.0 |
| Ukrainian SSR within USSR | 13.9 | 13.5 | 13.1 | 12.1 |
| Soda ash | | | | |
| Thousand tons | 558.6 | 789.8 | 843.0 | 886.0 |
| Ukrainian SSR within USSR | 74.6 | 46.7 | 30.8 | 26.9 |
| Artificial and synthetic fiber | | | | |
| Thousand tons | 2.9 | 9.25 | 38.6 | 58.7 |
| Ukrainian SSR within USSR | 12.0 | 5.6 | 10.7 | 10.6 |
| Automobile tires | | | | |
| Thousand pieces | — | — | — | 3,100.0 |
| Ukrainian SSR within USSR | — | — | — | 9.9 |

of the Ukrainian SSR. Since there has been emphasis in recent years on the intensification of agriculture, the mineral fertilizer industry enjoys understandable attention from Soviet planners. In the Ukrainian SSR the output of nitric fertilizers accounts for about one-half of the total output of mineral fertilizers, phosphor fertilizers for about one-third, and potassium for one-fifth. Until quite recently, the main input for the production of nitric fertilizers was coal or the by-products of coking processes. For this reason, this industry was concentrated in the Donbas. At the present time, natural gas can be used for this purpose. Thus it is possible that this industry will spread to other regions of the Ukrainian SSR, mainly to Western Ukraine, because the demand for these fertilizers coincides with the distribution of agriculture. There are now four plants in the Ukrainian SSR (Kostiantynivka, Sumy, Vinnytsia, and Odessa) which produce phosphor fertilizers. Since the necessary raw materials are scarce in Ukraine, these plants use imported raw materials. However, they do not satisfy the demand of Ukrainian agriculture. Potassium fertilizers are produced in Stebnyk and Kalush. Since the natural resources are almost exhausted, the output is relatively small and meets only about one-fifth of Ukraine's needs. The production of sulfuric acid can also be included in the category of mineral fertilizers because it accompanies the production of nitric and phosphor fertilizers. Because the transportation of sulfuric acid is quite expensive, it is produced near its consumers. Historically the main consumers have been various industries located in the Donbas; consequently, the output of sulfuric acid is also concentrated there, primarily in the Donetske and Luhanske *oblasts*.

The growth in the output of mineral fertilizers in the Ukrainian SSR between 1950 and 1964 (3.8 times) was faster than in some other countries. The output of nitrogenous fertilizers increased in selected countries during this period as follows: France–3.52 times, West Germany–2.77, Yugoslavia–22.31, Hungary –7.14, East Germany–1.45, Poland–4.62, CSR–4.51. The output of phosphate fertilizers increased in France–1.32 times, Yugoslavia–24.82, Hungary–3.60, East Germany–8.00, Poland–3.83, CSR–3.95. The Ukrainian SSR was still behind some important countries in regard to the output of mineral fertilizers per capita. For example, the 1963 figures are: Ukraine–121.3 kg, France–274.8, West

Germany–263.9, USA–205.9. Ukraine, however, was ahead of Great Britain–87.9 and the USSR–88.7 kg.

The growth in the output of artificial and synthetic fibers is of great importance because Ukraine has a poor natural base for the development of the textile industry owing to unfavorable climatic conditions for the growing of cotton, hemp, and flax, on the one hand, and poorly developed animal herds, on the other. The growth in the output of these fibers was very rapid between 1950 and 1963 (9.59 times), faster than in other countries of the socialist bloc (Hungary –1.78, East Germany–1.81, Poland–1.56, Rumania–2.48, CSR–2.86), but slower than the USSR growth (12.75 times) and the RSFSR growth (13.46 times). However, in terms of output per capita, Ukraine was still one of the least developed among bloc countries. The data in kilograms per capita for 1963 are as follows: Ukraine – 0.63, USSR – 1.39, RSFSR–2.04, Hungary–0.47, East Germany–9.76, Poland–2.83, Rumania–0.30, CSR–5.63. For western countries the respective figures are: USA–5.4, Great Britain–5.3, France–4.1, West Germany –6.2.

Other important branches of the chemical industry include the production of many types of explosives, aniline paints, varnishes, plastics, and synthetic rubber which is made of grain alcohol. In view of recent emphasis on the chemical industry, these branches also show fast growth but statistics are not published.

The increases in the output of the chemical industry during the postwar period were due to the reconstruction and widening of existing facilities, as well as to the construction of new plants, the most important of which are: Lysychanske chemical plant, Sumy superphosphate plant, artificial and synthetic fibers plants in Kiev, Chernihiv, and Cherkasy, synthetic dye plants and an automobile tires plant in Dniepropetrovske, and the Rozdil plant of mineral chemistry. The fixed capital in this industry amounted to 679.6 million rubles as of January 1, 1960, and accounted for 4.7 per cent of fixed capital in all Ukrainian industry. It had risen to 6.9 per cent by January 1, 1967, as compared with 4.2 and 5.0 per cent in 1950 and 1955, respectively. In the USSR, this percentage was 4.9 on January 1, 1960. On this date, the Ukrainian SSR accounted for 17.3 per cent of fixed capital in the total USSR chemical industry. Between 1959 and 1965, this industry in Ukraine received 1,118 million rubles of investment.

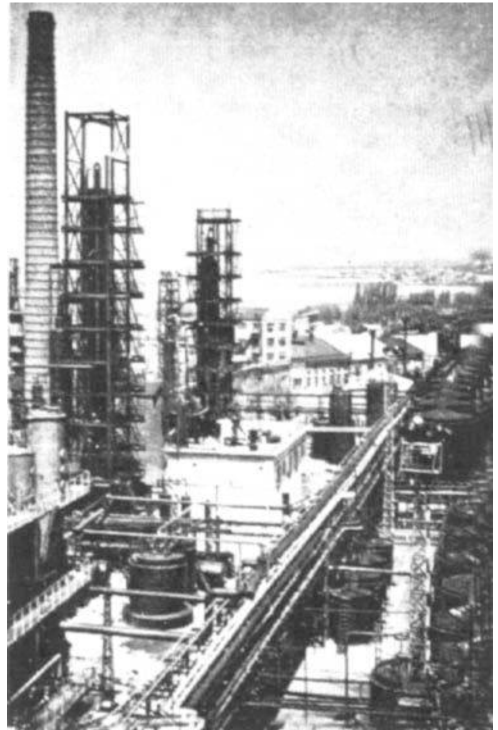

FIGURE 452. PHENOLIC-CHEMICAL PLANT IN THE DONBAS

The workers employed in the chemical industry accounted for 2.0 and 2.5 per cent of the Ukrainian SSR's total industrial labor force in 1950 and 1955, respectively. Their number increased (not counting workers in rubber and asbestos branches) by 62 per cent between these

two years and the productivity per worker rose by 55 per cent. Between 1958 and 1963, the increase in employment in the chemical industry was 48 per cent, and in productivity per employee 47 per cent.

**Construction Materials**

Ukraine is endowed with a particularly rich natural base for development of the building materials industry. Its origin dates back many centuries. However, production was carried on in very small enterprises, organized mainly on a handicraft basis.

The development of a modern cement industry was retarded by low domestic demand and by cheap imports from abroad. Only in the mid-1870's was the first cement plant built in Ukraine (in Podilia). The economic boom of the last quarter of the nineteenth century facilitated further expansion of this industry so that by 1912 there were 12 large-scale plants, located chiefly in the Donbas. The roof-tile industry consisted of 826 small plants in 1875, primarily in the Kiev and Kharkiv *guberniyas*, which employed 7,223 workers and produced 2,658,000 rubles worth of output. The number of plants increased to 1,546 in 1895, the number of workers to 11,258, and the value output to 3.4 million rubles. In 1900, there were 197 brick plants in Ukraine and their number grew to 252 in 1912, when they produced 456 million bricks. Rich and ubiquitous resources of lime facilitated the development of exploitation. In 1875 there were 79 such plants, employing 899 workers and producing 101,000 rubles worth of lime for construction and technical purposes. The respective figures for 1895 were 232 plants, 1,233 workers, and 273,000 rubles of output. In the mid-1880's there were 11 alabaster plants, mainly in the Katerynoslav *guberniya*, and 16 floor-tile plants. Work, however, was on a very small scale. Immediately before World War I, Ukraine produced 269,000 tons of cement and 618 million bricks, or 15.1 and 18.4 per cent, respectively, of the Russian output (within present borders).

During the interwar period, the Ukrainian construction materials industry grew rapidly as a result of the large demand for its products caused by the continuously expanding investment activity. Since the emphasis was primarily on the development of heavy industry (concentrated in the Donbas and Dnieper regions), Kiev, Donetske, Dnipropetrovske, and the Kharkiv *oblasts* produced 85 per cent of all bricks in the Ukrainian SSR. The last three and the Vinnytsia *oblasts* produced 90 per cent of all lime. Between 1928 and 1940, the increases for the four most important products of this industry were as follows: cement–4.10 times, bricks–2.43, construction and technical lime–8.50, window glass–1.65 (Table XLIX).

TABLE XLIX

| | Cement | | Bricks | | Lime | | Window glass | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year | Thousand tons | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR | Million pieces | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR | Thousand tons | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR | Million sq. meters | Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR |
| 1928 | 297.0 | 16.1 | 660.0 | 25.6 | 192.1 | 36.9 | 9.3 | 31.5 |
| 1937 | 1,220.0 | 22.4 | 1,941.0 | 22.4 | 1,174.6 | 24.5 | 26.8 | 33.8 |
| 1940 | 1,218.3 | 21.5 | 1,605.3 | 21.5 | 1,932.4 | 36.5 | 15.3 | 34.2 |
| 1945 | 335.0 | 18.2 | 333.6 | 16.4 | 544.2 | 28.2 | 7.4 | 31.8 |
| 1950 | 2,012.7 | 19.7 | 2,092.4 | 20.5 | 2,029.0 | 31.5 | 24.7 | 32.1 |
| 1958 | 6,289.8 | 18.9 | 5,574.7 | 19.4 | 4,226.4 | 31.2 | 37.6 | 28.3 |
| 1963 | 10,287.9 | 16.9 | 7,748.0 | 21.8 | 5,068.0 | 30.6 | 44.0 | 26.0 |
| 1965 | 12,300.0 | 17.0 | 8,098.0 | 21.9 | 6,449.0 | 36.5 | 46.1 | 24.2 |
| 1967 | 14,923.0 | 17.6 | 8,735.4 | 21.8 | 6,982.0 | 35.5 | 47.5 | 23.1 |

The share of Ukraine in the output of these products in the USSR, as can be seen, is a little higher than its share in the output of total industry: for the first two, about one-fifth and for the remaining two approximately one-third. There was little change in the level of these shares during the period analyzed. In addition, immediately before World War II (1940), the Ukrainian SSR produced the following building materials (the Ukrainian shares in the USSR in parentheses): slate–42.4 million pieces (20.6), roof tiles–56.9 million pieces (54.7), gypsum–247.5 thousand tons (27.7), soft roofing material–40.1 million square meters (31.5), fire clay bricks and allied products–840.1 thousand tons (48.5), quartzite bricks–383.3 thousand tons (70.2), floor tiles–750.7 thousand square meters (82.1). In the Krasnodar region, the following were produced in 1940: slate–41.3 million pieces, roof tiles–9.5 million pieces, construction lime–68.3 thousand tons, and gypsum–12.6 thousand tons. It can be concluded that the Ukrainian SSR was an important producer of construction materials in the USSR before World War II.

The reconstruction of the Ukrainian economy after World War II required a great deal of building material. The prewar level of production was in most cases exceeded by 1950. Between 1950 and 1966, the gross output of this industry in Ukraine increased 8.41 times, in the USSR 9.07 times. Between 1950 and 1966, the output of products listed in Table XLIX increased as follows: cement–6.83, bricks–4.03, lime–3.39, window glass–1.84 times. The growth of cement and window glass was faster in other regions of the USSR and, as a result, the Ukrainian shares declined. The growth of output of some other important products between 1950 and 1966 and their share in the USSR total in 1966 (in parentheses) were as follows: gypsum–2.18 times (19.9), wall materials–3.97 (25.4), soft roofing materials–4.40 (29.0), slate–7.07 (13.07), roof tiles–2.52 (66.5), floor tiles–5.71 (49.2). The growth of precast reinforced concrete blocks of walls, rooms, and other elements was from 3,252.8 to 11,691 thousand cubic meters (or 3.59 times) between 1958 and 1966. In addition, the Ukrainian SSR produced one-half of the refraction materials and construction and technical glass of the USSR in the mid-1960's. The building material industry is also quite well developed in the Krasnodar region. Its output of cement increased from 1,002 to 2,805.7 thousand tons between 1950 and 1960 (or 2.8 times). In 1960 it accounted for 9.5 per cent of the output of cement in the RSFSR. The output of lime increased from 98.9 to 236.4 thousand tons, or 2.4 times. Its share in the RSFSR in 1960, was 4.7. The output of gypsum rose from 18.7 to 65.4 thousand tons between 1950 and 1960, or 3.5 times. The share in 1960 was only 2.3. Finally, the output of bricks increased from 186.6 million in 1950 to 720.3 million in 1960 (or 3.8 times), the Krasnodar region accounting for 3.4 per cent of the total RSFSR output.

FIGURE 453. ELECTRONIC COMPUTER PLANT IN KIEV

Although the growth of the Ukrainian construction materials industry was impressive during the postwar period, Ukraine was still behind other countries in this respect. Cement can be taken as a representative commodity since it is

closely associated with investment activity as well as with housing and road construction. The output of cement increased 5.4 times in the Ukrainian SSR between 1950 and 1964, in the USSR and the RSFSR–6.37 and 6.04, respectively. The growth in other socialist countries during this period was slightly lower: Bulgaria–4.33, Hungary–2.88, East Germany–4.14, Poland–3.52, Rumania–4.80, CSR–2.75. However, the output of cement per capita was generally higher in these countries than in Ukraine. In 1964, it was (in kg) as follows: Ukrainian SSR–244, USSR–287, RSFSR–319, Bulgaria–321, Hungary–228, East Germany–341, Poland –282, Rumania–254, CSR–390. In western countries it was higher, for example, West Germany–551 (1963), France–444, USA–323, Great Britain–313.

In the postwar period, the capacities of the Ukrainian building materials industry increased significantly. In 1963, there were 12 enterprises (including 15 plants) in cement. Among the new enterprises designed for large-scale production of cement, the plants in the following cities deserve mention: Mykolaïv, Kryvyi Rih, Amvroziïvka (Donetske *oblast*), Zdolbuniv (Rivne *oblast*), and Balakliia (Kharkiv *oblast*). In all, there were 351 enterprises in the Ukrainian building materials industry in 1963, 46 per cent of them operating on a small scale. Their productivity was lower than that of large-scale enterprises. As of January 1, 1960, the fixed capital in this industry amounted to 707.1 million rubles, or 4.9 per cent of fixed capital in all Ukrainian industry. This compares with 5.5, 6.1, and 5.7 per cent in 1950, 1955, and on January 1, 1967, respectively. In 1960, Ukraine accounted for 16.7 per cent of fixed capital in the building materials industry of the USSR. In 1950 and 1955, the workers employed in this industry in Ukraine represented 7.4 and 7.9 per cent of all workers in industry. Between 1960 and 1966, the number of employed increased from 330,000 to 370,000.

Since most of the construction materials cannot be transported over longer distances, the needs of Ukrainian economy must be satisfied by domestic production. Despite its undeniable progress, the Ukrainian building materials industry has not developed sufficiently to accomplish this task. Success has been achieved mainly in the output of commodities which are utilized for industrial purposes. In this respect, the importance of the Ukrainian SSR in the USSR was relatively high, often reaching 50 per cent of the USSR output. Other products, such as cement and bricks, are essential for the construction of housing, utilities, etc. There is an urgent need in the Ukrainian SSR for these services, the result of continuous neglect and war destruction. Since the building industry's output expanded at a less than satisfactory rate, these needs remained largely unsatisfied. Consequently, the housing situation in the Ukrainian SSR, in both the cities and the rural areas, is critical.

**Glass, China, and Pottery Industry**

The glass industry is known to have existed in Ukraine as far back as the sixteenth century. Before World War I, there were 23 large-scale plants, employing 9,269 workers (1913) or 1.4 per cent of all workers in Ukrainian industry. In Western Ukraine at the same time, there were nine glass plants. Pottery was produced in Ukraine from prehistoric times and continued on a handicraft basis until recent times. China production began in Ukraine in the Kiev *guberniya* at the end of the eighteenth century. Before World War I, there were nine large-scale china plants in Ukraine. The number of workers was 27,594, or 4.3 per cent of all workers in 1913. In terms of value of output, Ukraine accounted for 8.8 per cent of the total output of these industries in the Russian empire before World War I.

Between the two world wars, the glass, china, and pottery industry did not enjoy a high place on the priority list of the planners. The output value of the china and pottery industry increased from 15 to 80 million (1926–7) rubles (or 5.33 times) between 1928 and 1937. For the same period, the output of the glass industry increased from 29 to 219 million rubles (or 7.55 times). Combined, these industries accounted for 1.5 and 1.9 per cent of the total output of Ukrainian industry in these years. The fixed capital for china and pottery increased between 1928 and 1938 from 9 to 43 million rubles (or 4.78 times), and for the glass industry from 21 to 98 million rubles, (or 4.67 times). Combined, these industries accounted for 1.3 and 1.2 per cent of all fixed capital in Ukrainian industry and for 25.7 and 28.5 per cent of all fixed capital in the USSR glass, china and pottery industry, respectively. Among the largest plants constructed during this period were glass plants in Lysychanske and Kherson.

In the postwar period, many of the existing plants were expanded and several new ones constructed, notably in Kiev, Lviv, Kerch, as well as the Buchanske and Berdianske plants. In 1965, there were 65 enterprises working in this industry. Fixed capital amounted to 103.1 million rubles as of January 1, 1960, and accounted for 0.7 per cent of all fixed capital in the Ukrainian industry, as compared with 0.6 per cent on January 1, 1967. In 1960, the Ukrainian SSR accounted for 21.5 per cent of the fixed capital in the USSR. The output of the glass industry increased 7.7 times between 1940 and 1965 and that of the china and pottery industry 7.4 times. In the mid-1960's, the output of these industries in the Ukrainian SSR accounted for over 30 per cent of the USSR total.

**Wood-Working and Allied Industries**

Before World War I, this industry was developed on a very small scale, mainly as handicrafts. In Ukraine, under Russia, in the late 1890's, there were 121 plants, employing 4,050 workers and producing 2.1 million rubles worth of sawn wood. Most of these plants were located in the Volhynia and Kiev *guberniyas.* Sawn wood served as a basic input for such industries as floor parquets, furniture, and cooperage, which were also developed on a limited scale in Ukraine. In 1885, there were 20 paper plants, mainly in the Volhynia *guberniya,* which employed 1,800 workers and produced 1,433 thousand rubles worth of different sorts of paper. The number of paper mills grew to 32 in the years immediately before World War I. In 1913, the wood-working industry employed 14,677 persons, paper—5,994 and publishing—6,813. The total accounted for 4.3 per cent of all workers in Ukrainian industry (642,300). The wood-working and allied industries were of primary importance for the economies of Transcarpathia and Bukovina, and, to a lesser extent, Western Ukraine.

The wood-working industry developed at a very slow pace between the two wars, as shown in Table L.

Characteristically, no substantial increases are observed in 1940, despite the fact that the output of Western Ukraine is included. The furniture industry increased its output from 7 million in 1928 to 171 million (1926–7) rubles in 1937, or more than 24 times. As a result of this slow growth, the Ukrainian shares in the output of the wood-working industry of the USSR were far below the population and total industry percentages. This situation is explained by the relatively small wooded area of Ukraine and by the fact that little attention was paid to the development of this industry. Fixed capital in the large-scale wood-working industry in the Ukrainian SSR amounted to 15 million rubles on October 1, 1928, and rose to 105 million rubles by January 1, 1938 (increase of 7 times). This industry represented only 0.69 and 0.88

TABLE L

| | 1928 | 1937 | 1940 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Firewood | | | |
| Mill. cu. meters | 1.4 | 3.0 | 2.6 |
| Ukrainian SSR within USSR | 2.8 | 3.2 | 2.8 |
| Industrial timber | | | |
| Mill. cu. meters | 1.0 | 3.9 | 5.2 |
| Ukrainian SSR within USSR | 2.4 | 3.4 | 4.4 |
| Sawn Wood | | | |
| Mill. cu. meters | 0.8 | 1.3 | 3.0 |
| Ukrainian SSR within USSR | 5.8 | 3.8 | 8.6 |
| Plywood | | | |
| Thous. tons | 24.8 | 36.6 | 31.2 |
| Ukrainian SSR within USSR | 14.3 | 5.4 | 4.3 |
| Paper | | | |
| Thous. tons | 20.6 | 28.4 | 27.9 |
| Ukrainian SSR within USSR | 7.2 | 3.4 | 3.4 |
| Cardboard | | | |
| Thous. tons | 14.8 | 25.4 | 20.6 |
| Ukrainian SSR within USSR | 31.8 | 17.6 | 13.7 |
| Cellulose | | | |
| Thous. tons | 2.4 (1932) | 3.3 | 2.8 |
| Ukrainian SSR within USSR | 1.3 | 0.8 | 0.5 |

per cent in the fixed capital of all Ukrainian industry on these dates. Fixed capital was growing faster in the Ukrainian SSR than in the USSR, because Ukraine's shares in the USSR increased from 6.4 to 17.6 between the two dates. The number of workers employed in the large-scale wood-working industry in the Ukrainian SSR increased from 4,200 to 12,400, or 2.95 times, between January 1, 1929, and January 1, 1936. They accounted for 0.69 and 0.95 per cent of all workers in the Ukrainian industry. Their percentages in the number of workers in the USSR wood-working industry were 5.7 and 6.2 on the respective dates.

After the reconstruction following World War II, the Ukrainian wood-working industry progressed very slowly. Between 1950 and 1966, its gross output increased 2.73 times, while that of its component industries—timber cutting and wood procurement—2.52 times, and the cellulose and paper industries 8.39 times. In the USSR, the increase for industries was 2.74, 2.65, and 3.54 times. This situation is confirmed by the data on the output of most important products in physical units, as shown in Table LI.

The output of firewood decreased in the Ukrainian SSR between 1950 and 1966, while the output of sawn wood increased by 50 per cent. Increases of 4.7 and 7.21 times were registered by the paper, cardboard industries, respectively. The output of the defense-oriented cellulose industry increased from 33,000 tons to 1,016,000 tons (30.29 times). Ukrainian shares in the output of these products in the USSR total rose somewhat. Similarly, an increase in the output of furniture from 132.4 million rubles to 408.2 million rubles, or 3.08, between 1957 and 1966 can be observed. The Ukrainian share in the USSR remained unchanged (approximately one-fifth). Since the raw material base was too small in Ukraine for the processing of such commodities as paper, cardboard, or cellulose, the raw materials had to be imported from the northern and eastern regions of the RSFSR. Despite this fact, Ukraine is still far below the USSR in the output per capita of such an important product as paper. In 1966, it was 3.7 kg in the Ukrainian SSR as compared with 15.1 kg in the USSR. Thus the Ukrainian SSR's per capita production of paper was less than one-third that of the USSR and one-fifth of the total produced in the RSFSR. This trend remains unchanged

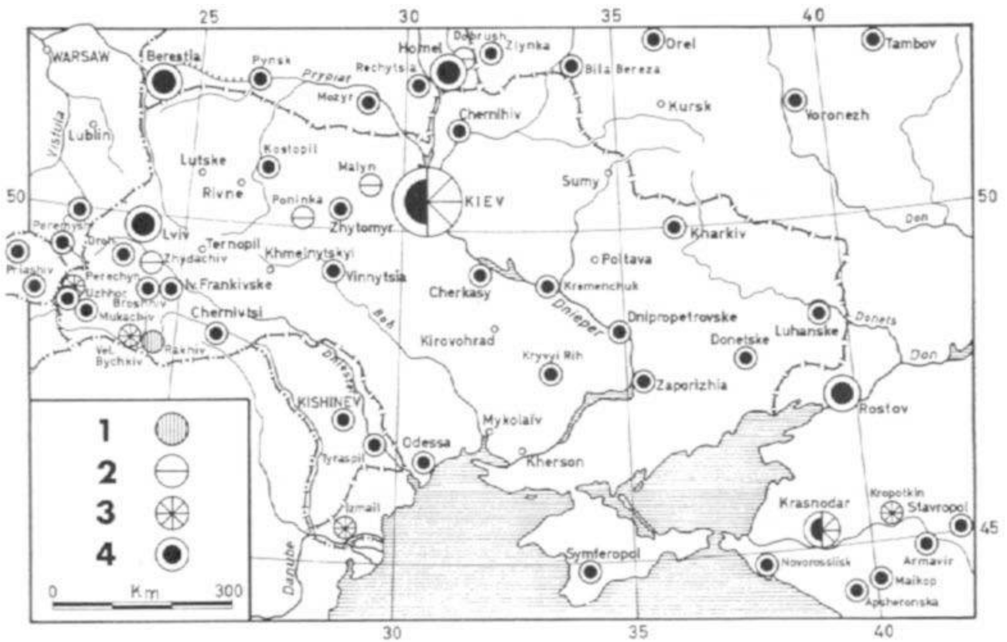


FIGURE 454. WOOD-WORKING AND ALLIED INDUSTRIES (MAJOR CENTERS)
Branches: 1, Sawn wood; 2, paper; 3, wood-chemical; 4, plywood and furniture. *Note:* Size of the markings indicates the volume of production

TABLE LI

| | 1950 | 1958 | 1964 | 1967 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Firewood | | | | |
| Mill. cu. meters | 4.1 | 3.8 | 3.0 | 2.9 |
| Ukrainian SSR within the USSR | 3.9 | 3.1 | 2.8 | 3.0 |
| Industrial timber | | | | |
| Mill. cu. meters | 11.2 | 12.5 | 9.0 | 7.9 |
| Ukrainian SSR within the USSR | 7.0 | 5.0 | 3.3 | 2.7 |
| Sawn wood | | | | |
| Mill. cu. meters | 6.2 | 9.3 | 9.2 | 9.2 |
| Ukrainian SSR within the USSR | 12.4 | 9.9 | 8.3 | 8.4 |
| Plywood | | | | |
| Mill. cu. meters | 45.9 | 94.6 | 142.2 | 159.2 |
| Ukrainian SSR within the USSR | 7.0 | 7.7 | 8.6 | 8.7 |
| Paper | | | | |
| Thous. tons | 36.0 | 121.2 | 159.9 | 173.1 |
| Ukrainian SSR within the USSR | 3.0 | 5.6 | 5.5 | 4.5 |
| Cardboard | | | | |
| Thous. tons | 38.5 | 203.4 | 248.5 | 284.1 |
| Ukrainian SSR within the USSR | 13.2 | 25.8 | 20.4 | 15.1 |
| Cellulose | | | | |
| Thous. tons | 3.3 | 11.3 | 38.3 | 112.7 |
| Ukrainian SSR within the USSR | 0.3 | 0.6 | 1.3 | 2.8 |

as compared with 1959, for example, but shows considerable improvement over the prewar situation when the output of paper per capita was 16 per cent of that in the USSR. This low level of paper output in the Ukrainian SSR has very important repercussions on cultural life, particularly on publishing, hygiene, etc. The wood industry was also developed in the Krasnodar region. In 1966, the output was as follows: firewood—1.1, industrial timber—2.2, sawn wood—1.4 million cubic meters, plywood—28.2 thousand cubic meters, and carton—68.1 thousand

tons. In 1950, the fixed capital in the wood-working industry accounted for 2.6 per cent of all fixed capital in Ukrainian industry; in 1955–2.2 per cent. The percentage of workers in these two years was 12.3 and 9.4 of the total labor force. On January 1, 1960, the value of fixed capital was 293.1 million rubles and its share in all Ukrainian industry was 2.1. It had declined to 1.8 per cent by January 1, 1967. On January 1, 1960, the Ukrainian SSR accounted for 6.2 per cent of fixed capital in this industry in the USSR.

**Light Industry**

The production of goods now classified as light industry is as old in Ukraine as its population. The organization of production has changed. At first, each household produced all the goods it needed. However, even during the Kievan *Rus'* period this economic activity was performed by artisans, who supplied the princely courts as well as the population on periodic market days. By the seventeenth century, the production of such goods as linen, cloth, sacking, fishing nets, furs, carpets, shoes, and boots, was widespread in Ukraine. The output was consumed domestically and also exported abroad. The raw materials used were mainly products of local agriculture. The industrialization policies of Peter I in the Russian empire affected the development of industry in Ukraine. The origin of the silk industry in Kiev, Katerynoslav, and Nizhyn could be traced to these policies. However, the tariff policies of Russia in the early nineteenth century (particularly in 1822) had an adverse effect on the development of Ukraine's light industry, particularly the textile industry. The duties were high on textiles and low on such raw materials as wool and cotton. The established textile enterprises in the Moscow region eliminated competition with foreign textiles and, having an advantage of economies of scale, made the launching of new textile centers in other regions of the empire, primarily in Ukraine, unprofitable. As a result, light industry in Ukraine was poorly developed in the first half of the nineteenth century. Whatever demand for textiles existed in Ukraine was satisfied by imports from Russia proper and from Poland.

The situation deteriorated even further in the second half of the nineteenth century (after the emancipation). Instead of expanding, light industry in Ukraine showed a downward trend. The increased demand for the commodities of light industry was met by imports from Russia and to a very small extent by domestic production. In 1865 there were only five small cotton processing plants in Ukraine. By the end of the century, all of them were closed because of their inability to compete with the Russian textile industry. The linen industry was more successful. The number of plants increased from 2 to 42 between 1865 and 1895 and the value of output from 9,300 to 413,000 rubles. The jute and rope industry also developed slowly. The number of plants increased from 11 to 63, but the output less than doubled during the same period. The canvas, hosiery, and glove industries, which had been of some importance during the preceding century, declined considerably by the end of the nineteenth century. Of great importance in Ukrainian light industry was the woolen textile industry. The number of its enterprises rose from 144 to 194 between 1865 and 1895. The output declined somewhat, from 3,594,000 to 3,281,000 rubles, during this period. In 1895 employment in this industry totaled 4,125 persons. The industry was concentrated at first in the Podilia and Volhynia *guberniyas*, and later in the Poltava *guberniya* as well. The woolen washing industry also developed at this time. There were six plants in 1895, employing 677 persons, and the value of the output was 3,889,000 rubles. This industry was concentrated in the Kharkiv and Kherson *guberniyas*. The leather industry was also important dur-

FIGURE 455. A SILK MILL IN KIEV (1962)

ing this time. It was organized in small plants, numbering 449 in 1865, with a production amounting to 1,364,000 rubles worth of leather. They were spread throughout the whole country. The fur industry was concentrated in the Kiev *guberniya*. In 1885, there were 55 plants employing a total of 540 persons. The value of output amounted to 790,000 rubles. Finally, in 1885, five plants in the Chernihiv *guberniya* were engaged in the processing of bristles, employing 140 persons and producing 235,000 rubles worth of output.

The development of light industry in Ukraine continued to lag behind the development of heavy industry at the beginning of the twentieth century. As a result, before World War I, light industry accounted for only 2.6 per cent of the total output of Ukrainian large-scale industry and for less than 2 per cent of workers in 1913. The branch distribution of large-scale light industry in terms of workers and gross output (in parentheses) was as follows (in percent): wool cleaning–6.1 (9.5), cotton–20.2 (17.9), woolen textiles–16.2 (8.6), processing of hemp and jute–36.8 (25.7), apparel–3.7 (2.4), leather–15.2 (35.7), shoes–0.5 (0.1), others–1.3 (0.1). The data indicate clearly that large-scale industry was primarily engaged in the production of semi-fabricates. The percentages for final goods industries (apparel, shoes) are very small. They continued to be produced in small enterprises or by individual artisans. For example, in the years 1910–12 out of the total of 165,600 workers employed in the textile industry, only 8,900 were employed in large-scale enterprises, in the apparel industry only 400 out of 47,400, and in the leather goods industry (including shoe industry) only 1,700 out of 75,400. Immediately before World War I, Ukraine accounted for only 8.8 per cent of the light industry output in the Russian empire. In terms of specific products, the Ukrainian share was: all leather–10, hard leather–16, cotton textiles–0.2 (within present borders), woollen textiles–4.9 (within present borders). In general, the per capita output in Ukraine of the most important products of light industry was extremely low as compared with Russia or with most European countries.

The war and the revolution had an adverse effect on light industry in Ukraine. For example, the output of the leather and fur industry (without the output of artisans) declined in 1921 to 52.3 per cent as compared with the 1914 output, and the output of the textile industry to 13 per cent. But even this small output was not consumed by the population but was allocated to the Red Army for use (in 1920, 94 per cent of all shoes produced in factories were taken by the army). The introduction of the New Economic Policy in the spring of 1921 facilitated the reconstruction and expansion of light industry. According to this policy, in order to reinstate the exchange between agriculture and industry on a voluntary basis, light industry had to provide the necessary incentives for peasants. This objective was to be achieved through investment in this industry, but first of all through the concentration of production in a few large and technologically well-equipped enterprises which should have resulted in significant productivity increases. This concentration was possible because of the accompanying nationalization. The degree of concentration can be seen in the leather industry, for example, which

in 1920 comprised more than 2,500 enterprises (some were evacuated from Polish regions of the tsarist empire before the advancing German army during World War I). In 1921 they were combined into 140 large-scale enterprises, and in 1922 the bulk of the output of this industry was produced in seven enterprises with modern equipment. There were, however, other factors which hampered the development of this industry. Because the supply of raw materials was generally inadequate, the capacities were seldom fully utilized. In addition, before World War I, most of the machinery in light industry was imported from abroad, and, after the revolution, the emphasis was on self-sufficiency (transition to domestically produced machinery). The difficulties connected with this change are obvious (spare parts, etc.). Finally, in the wake of the dislocations caused by the war, lack of experience in the management of nationalized enterprises, lack of managers, low real wages, etc. decreased the productivity of labor and equipment. Considering only large-scale light industry, its output in 1926–7 prices was 4.5 times higher in 1927–8 than in 1913. The increases for its main branches were as follows: textile—almost 2 times, leather, shoe, and fur—6, apparel—47. These increases were to a great extent due to the absorption of small-scale enterprises into large-scale industry. Despite this growth of large-scale industry, the bulk of the light industry output was still produced by small-scale enterprises in the second half of the 1920's. In 1925–6 the census industry (for the most part equivalent to large-scale industry) produced 1.31 million pairs of shoes, while non-census industry and artisans produced 7.22 million pairs of shoes in 1925. For the output of apparel the respective figures were 24.3 and 153.8 million rubles.

Soviet economic policy during the period of the prewar Five-Year plans stressed the development of heavy industry, with the result that a very small share of resources was allotted to the development of consumer industries, including light industry. Ukrainian light industry lagged behind heavy industry but was a little ahead of USSR light industry. In terms of 1926–7 rubles, the output of large-scale light industry increased in Ukraine from 249.7 million rubles in 1927–8 to 1,419 in 1937 and 2,318.1 in 1940, or 5.7 and 9.03 times, respectively. In the USSR, the increase between 1927–8 and 1937 amounted to 3.21 times. For individual branches, the growth between 1927–8 and 1940 was as follows: textile—from 69.2 to 851.21 million rubles, or 12.3 times; leather, fur, and shoe—from 119.4 to 596.9 million rubles, or 5.0 times; and apparel—from 61.1 to 870.1 million rubles, or 14.2 times. These impressive increases are influenced by statistical deficiencies and biases, by the absorption of small-scale enterprises in the large-scale industry, and by the inclusion of Western Ukraine. The influence of the merging of small- and large-scale industries can be seen from the decreasing share of the former in the output of all light industry. Between 1926–7 and 1940 this share decreased for the textile industry from 35.3 to 4.2, for the shoe industry from 88.1 to 20.0, and for the apparel industry from 85.5 to 14.8. Western Ukraine contributed to the total output of individual branches of large-scale light industry as follows (in per cent): textile—6.3, leather, fur, and shoe—7.6, and apparel—5.7.

The faster growth of light industry in the Ukrainian SSR than in the USSR between 1928 and 1940, as shown in value terms, can be confirmed by the data in physical units for some commodities (Table LII). The Ukrainian share in the output of the USSR (in parentheses) increased significantly for such important commodities as knit underwear and outerwear, and leather footwear. These shares approached or exceeded the share of Ukraine in the total population of the USSR. However, the output of other im-

TABLE LII

| | 1928 | 1940 | 1950 | 1968 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cotton fabrics (million meters) | 2.0 ( 0.1) | 13.8 (0.3) | 20.6 ( 0.5) | 233.9 ( 3.1) |
| Woolen fabrics (thousand meters) | 1,964 ( 2.3) | 11,965 (10.0) | 7,890 ( 5.1) | 34,143 ( 7.5) |
| Linen fabrics (thousand meters) | 300 ( 0.2) (1932) | 2,124 ( 0.7) | 426 ( 0.2) | 48,671 ( 7.0) |
| Silk fabrics (thousand meters) | — | — | 1,297 ( 1.0) | 64,677 ( 6.0) |
| Hosiery (million pairs) | 9.6 (14.2) | 79.4 (16.4) | 79.9 (16.9) | 307.1 (20.9) |
| Knit underwear (millions) | 0.81 (11.7) | 30.2 (24.4) | 28.0 (18.6) | 162.1 (19.6) |
| Knit outerwear (millions) | 3.21 (14.3) (1934) | 12.0 (20.5) | 7.4 (15.7) | 50.1 (16.5) |
| Cotton thread (tons) | | 12,293 ( 1.9) | 9,989 ( 1.5) | 77,396 ( 5.6) |
| Woolen thread (tons) | | 6,068 ( 7.3) | 5,548 ( 5.5) | 27,262 ( 9.7) |
| Leather footwear (million pairs) | 12.4 (16.1) (1929) | 40.8 (19.3) | 28.8 (14.2) | 121.6 (20.3 |
| Rubber footwear (thousand pairs) | | 519 ( 0.7) | 1,469 ( 1.3) | 11,100 ( 4.6) |
| Felt footwear (thousand pairs) | | 413 ( 2.3) | 502 ( 2.2) | 1,619 ( 5.0) |

portant commodities, such as cotton, linen, and silk fabrics, felt and rubber footwear, was negligible in the Ukrainian SSR as compared with other regions of the USSR, primarily with central regions of European Russia. As a result, the entire Ukrainian light industry was very poorly developed as compared with that of the USSR or the RSFSR. This industry accounted for only 8.8 per cent of large-scale industry in the Ukrainian SSR in 1937, while for the USSR the percentage amounted to 18.7. In the same year, Ukraine accounted for 17.9 per cent of all large-scale industry in the USSR, but for only 8.4 per cent of light industry.

The increases in output before World War II took place because of improved management and organization, and an increase in employment and fixed capital. During the NEP period, many Soviet managers gained experience in running the socialized enterprises and the management of the entire industry became more efficient with time. The bulk of the output was now produced in large-scale enterprises with the accompanying returns to scale and the introduction of new technology. There were also some increases in the number employed in some branches of light industry. For example, the number of workers in the large-scale textile industry in the Ukrainian SSR increased from 21,500 to 37,700 and in leather footwear from 7,000 to 13,800 between January 1, 1929 and January 1, 1936. During the first and second Five-Year plans, the investment in selected branches of light industry (in millions of current rubles) was as follows: leather–30.9, shoe–35.9, apparel–34.0, knitting–37.7. As a result, the fixed capital of Ukrainian large-scale light industry rose from 63 to 285 million rubles between October 1, 1928 and January 1, 1938, or 4.52 times. For the USSR the respective increase amounted to 2.09 times. For individual branches of light industry in Ukraine this increase was as follows: textile–6.28, apparel–4.63, leather–1.9, and shoe–4.29. Among the plants constructed during this period the following deserve mention: Gorky clothing factory in Kiev, the Luxembourg knitwear plant in Kiev, the Krupskaia knitwear plant in Odessa, and a knitwear plant in Kharkiv, shoe factories in Kiev, Kharkiv, and Dnipropetrovske, a cotton

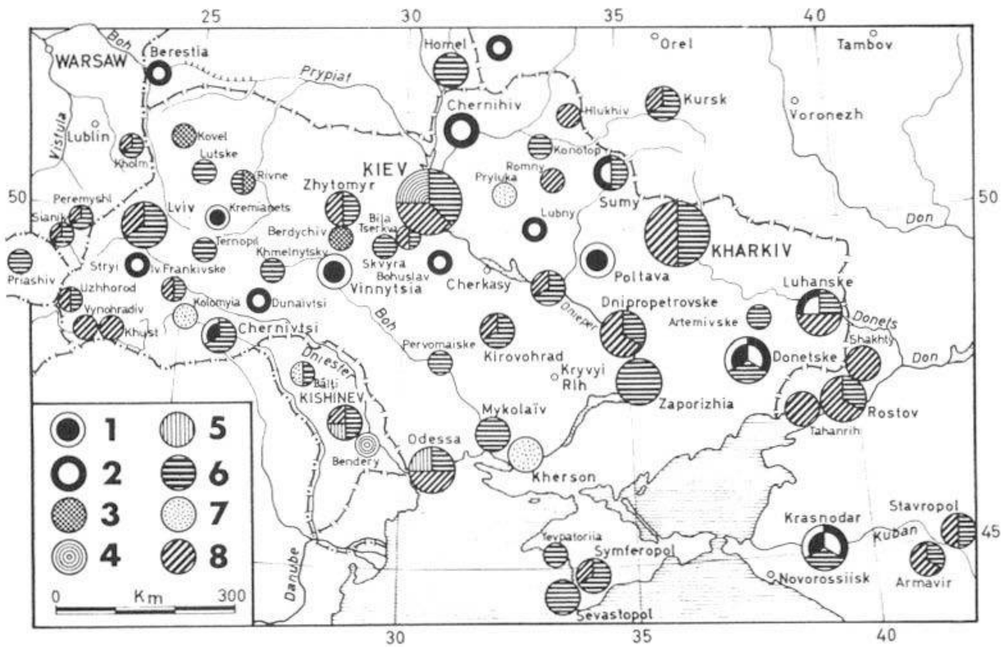


FIGURE 456. LIGHT INDUSTRY (MAJOR CENTERS)
Branches: 1, cotton; 2, wool; 3, linen; 4, silk; 5, jute and hemp; 6, sewn and knitted goods; 7, textiles; 8, leather goods. *Note*: The size of markings indicates comparative volume of production

spinning plant in Poltava. Altogether, there were 216 apparel plants and 136 footwear plants in 1941 in the Ukrainian SSR. As a result of these increases in fixed capital, 65 per cent of textiles, 85 per cent of leather, 82 per cent of shoes, and 75 per cent of apparel were produced immediately before World War II in the new or completely reconstructed plants. More rapid growth of this industry was blocked by the insufficient supply of raw materials from imports. This situation was aggravated by forced collectivization accompanied by extremely low productivity and wholesale slaughter of livestock. Synthetic and artificial fiber and leather could have served as a substitute, but the necessary plants were constructed in Russia proper and not in Ukraine. The more vigorous development of light industry in the Ukrainian SSR was justified by the higher return on investment (by 10 per cent) than in the USSR and by the fact that the commodities produced in central regions of European Russia had to be distributed throughout the USSR, thus exerting additional strain on the transportation facilities.

With the outbreak of World War II, about thirty-six large light industry plants were fully or partially evacuated from Ukraine to the eastern regions of the USSR. Most of the remaining plants were destroyed during the war or evacuated by the Germans. The total war losses to the Ukrainian light industry were estimated at 1.7 billion rubles. Of course, the output immediately after the war was extremely low. Light industry as a whole produced in 1945 only 21 per cent of the 1940 output. For some of its branches these percentages were as follows: woolen–5, cotton–11, knitting–9. Since the reconstruction efforts were centered on heavy industry, in 1950 light industry had regained only 79 per cent of its 1940 output. As a result, the per capita output of the most important commodities was extremely low in this

year. For example, there was a little more than one-half pair of shoes produced per capita, about one-fifth of one meter of woolen textiles, about two pairs of hosiery. This low output increased the sufferings of the population which bore the brunt of the war. In general, the Ukrainian share in the output of most important commodities in the USSR was much below the 1940 level. Between 1950 and 1955, the gross output of light industry increased 1.97 times and exceeded the 1940 level by 54 per cent. The highest rates of growth were experienced by the silk, cotton, and knitted goods industries. The leather and shoe industries showed the lowest rate of growth. Between 1955 and 1960, the increase was equal to 1.58 times, and between 1960 and 1966 to 1.36 times. Since 1958, the annual rate of growth has been declining steadily. Light industry accounted for 10 per cent of the output of all Ukrainian industry in 1959 and for 8.9 per cent in 1963. This indicates that the structure of Ukrainian industry remains unbalanced and instead of improving tends to deteriorate. The shares of the Ukrainian SSR in the output of USSR light industry improved somewhat as compared with the prewar period (1937 –8.4 per cent); it amounted to 12.5 per cent in 1958.

The output of cotton, linen, and silk textiles was higher between 1950 and 1966 and the shares of Ukraine in the USSR output increased. However, they were still much below the population share. Although the output of woolen textiles nearly tripled, the Ukrainian share did not regain its prewar level. The output of hosiery increased 3.70 times and the Ukrainian share increased considerably in 1966 as compared with 1950. The rate of growth in the output of knitted underwear and outerwear was 5.60 and 5.29 times, respectively, but the shares in 1966 were still lower than in 1940. The output of leather, rubber, and felt footwear increased 3.30, 5.07, and 3.55 times, respectively. The share of leather shoes in 1966 was almost the same as in 1940, while the remaining two goods increased to almost 5 per cent were still far below the population share of Ukraine in the USSR. The Krasnodar region produced some important commodities of light industry. Because of the availability of sheep, there was a well-developed woolen textile industry. In 1965, a total of 12 million meters of woolen textiles were produced. This represented only 4.3 per cent of the woolen textiles output in the RSFSR, but 50.8 per cent of the Ukrainian SSR total in this year. In 1966, a total of 12.6 million meters of woolen textiles was produced. This represented only 4.2 per cent of the woolen textiles output in the RSFSR, but 50.4 per cent of the Ukrainian SSR total in this year. In 1966, a total of 29.6 million meters of cotton textiles was produced, which accounted for 4.8 per cent of the RSFSR output and only 14.4 per cent of the Ukrainian SSR output. Smaller quantities of other consumer goods were produced in the Krasnodar region, e.g., knit underwear–436,000 pieces, knit outerwear–1,674,000 pieces, hosiery–7,755,000 pairs. The output of leather footwear, which amounted to 6.4 million pairs in 1966, represented 2.2 per cent of the RSFSR and 6.2 per cent of the Ukrainian SSR total.

In terms of per capita output of the most important products of light industry, the Ukrainian SSR remained far behind other countries in 1964. For example, the output of cotton textiles in Ukraine was a mere 3.8 meters, while for other countries it was as follows: USSR–25.6, Bulgaria–33.1, Hungary–30.1, East Germany–21.1, Poland–24.4, Rumania–16.0, CSR–32.6, USA–45.7, Great Britain–17.7, France–27.4, West Germany–19.9 (1963). The output of woolen textiles per capita was also lower in Ukraine than in the above listed countries: Ukrainian SSR–0.5, USSR–1.6, Bulgaria–2.2, Hungary–3.6, East Germany–2.2, Poland–2.9, Rumania–2.2, CSR–3.0, USA–1.2, Great Britain–3.9,

France–2.7, West Germany–1.9 (1963). As can be seen, in the case of textile production per capita, Ukraine is quite poorly developed as compared with both western countries and the people's de-

FIGURE 457. SYNTHETIC FIBER PLANT IN CHERNIHIV

mocracies. The situation is a little better in the per capita output of leather shoes. Ukraine, with 2.1, was equal in 1963 to the USSR and ahead of Bulgaria (1.2), East Germany (1.7), Poland (1.6), Rumania (1.3), but behind such countries as Hungary (2.8), CSR (3.3), USA (3.2), Great Britain (3.6), France (3.9), and West Germany (2.8).

Since the mid-1950's, there has been more emphasis on the development of light industry in the USSR. Between 1952 and 1958, this industry in Ukraine received 138.2 million (new) rubles of investment and 242.3 million between 1959 and 1964. As a result, the fixed capital increased 8 times between 1945 and 1960 and in the latter year amounted to 303.5 million rubles and accounted for 2.1 per cent of fixed capital in all Ukrainian industry and for 8.4 per cent of fixed capital in USSR light industry. In terms of fixed capital, the importance of light industry in the total Ukrainian industry tended to remain the same (percentage was 2.2 in both 1950 and 1955 and 2.5 on January 1, 1967). The fixed capital in individual branches of light industry in 1960 (in million rubles) was as follows: textile–146.4, apparel–66.3, and leather, fur, and shoe–70.9. Between 1960 and 1966, the fixed capital in light industry in Ukraine increased 83 per cent. Light industry employed 10.2 and 11.9 per cent of all workers in Ukrainian industry in 1950 and 1955, respectively. The increase in their number between these two years was equal to 51 per cent, while the increase in output per worker was 30 per cent. The labor force of the Ukrainian SSR's light industry was 513,000 in 1960 and 649,000 in 1966. When related to the average employment in 1964, the share of light industry in the total employment of Ukrainian industry amounted to 12.3 per cent. The increase in productivity per employee between 1960 and 1966 amounted to 11 per cent. The importance of Ukraine in light industry employment in the USSR tends to decline; its share fell from 11.6 to 10.2 per cent between 1958 and 1964. This confirms the conclusion based on the output data that Ukrainian industry is becoming less balanced not only internally but also in relation to the USSR industry.

Faster growth of light industry in the Ukrainian SSR during the postwar period was prevented first of all by insufficient investment, aggravated by extremely long construction periods. For example, it took seventeen years to build the silk fabrics plant in Darnytsia. The low productivity of agriculture and the inadequate development of the chemical industry were the main obstacles to the necessary supply of inputs. These inputs, whether relatively scarce or ample, were frequently exported from Ukraine for processing in other regions of the USSR and imported from there as final products into the Ukrainian SSR.

The output of textiles in Ukraine is far below its share in population, and in 1964, 885 million meters of textiles were imported; but in the same year 21,460 tons of chemical fibers and 17,100 tons of wool were exported. Obviously, this has an adverse effect on the supply of necessary goods and increases total transportation costs.

As of January 1, 1964, there were 538

light industry plants in the Ukrainian SSR. Since this industry tends to be distributed in proportion to the population, the plants were scattered throughout Ukraine. Some, however, were concentrated in individual *oblasts*. The cotton textile industry was to be found primarily in the Kherson, Chernivtsi, and Ivano-Frankivske *oblasts*; woolen textiles in Kharkiv, Luhanske, and Odessa; linen fabrics in Rivne and Zhytomyr; knit goods in Kharkiv, Zaporizhia, and Kiev; and the shoe industry in the city of Kiev, where it produces one-fifth of its total output.

**Other Branches**

The previously discussed branches do not account for the entire output of Ukrainian industry. There are branches which produce a variety of goods, primarily consumer goods, but also some producer goods. Among the consumer goods the most important are: printing and publishing, films, musical instruments, medical supplies, toys, jewelry, etc. Among the producer goods the following deserve mention: mining of nonmetallic ores, mixed feed for livestock, urban water supply.

The printing and publishing industry was developed in Ukraine as far back as the seventeenth century. During the nineteenth century and immediately during the prewar period, however, its level was much below that of other European countries. For example, there were 17 printing shops with 260 workers producing 180,000 rubles worth of output in 1875. By 1895, these figures rose to 58,900 and 638,000, respectively. These data, however, do not include the Kiev *guberniya* and the city of Kiev, which was an important publishing center not only in Ukraine but in eastern Europe, chiefly because of the activities of the Kievan Cave Monastery. Publishing was also relatively well developed in Lviv, where the first printing shop in Ukraine was founded by Ivan Fedorovych [see Book Publishing]. Between the wars, the development of this industry was not emphasized. Its fixed capital increased less than the average for the whole industry; from 22 to 41 million rubles (or 1.86 times) between 1928 and 1937, whereas in the USSR this increase amounted to 2.92 times. Output rose from 32 to 78 million rubles over this period. In 1932, Ukraine accounted for 23.5 per cent of the total output of printing and publishing in the USSR. Like other branches of industry, it was severely damaged during World War II. Its output in 1945 was only one-fifth of the 1940 output. The prewar level was achieved in 1949. In 1964, the output of books was already twice as high as in 1940 and the output of colored printing six times larger. After the war, new book and newspaper printing shops were constructed with the result that all *oblasts* and most of the *raion* centers had their own printing plants. Altogether, this industry comprised 549 enterprises in 1964.

Table LIII shows the output of selected consumer goods which are produced by the branches of this category and also by the previously discussed branches. The data refer to the postwar period only.

The figures indicate that most of these goods began to be produced only in the 1950's. The share of the Ukrainian SSR (in parentheses) in the USSR output in 1963 was equal to or even larger than the population share. The exceptions were radios, TV sets, motorcycles, and washing machines. Considering the output of radios, TV sets, and refrigerators per capita, it can be seen that Ukraine was poorly developed as compared not only with western nations but with the countries of the socialist bloc as well. The output of radios per 1,000 of population in 1963 (all countries except the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR refer to 1964) was as follows: Ukrainian SSR–8, USSR–21, USA–98, France–51, West Germany–70, Great Britain–49, Bulgaria–18, Hungary–15, East Ger-

TABLE LIII

| | 1950 | 1958 | 1963 | 1966 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Radios (in thousands) | 8.5 ( 0.8) | 285.5 ( 7.3) | 359.1 ( 7.5) | 699.4 (14.0) |
| TV sets (in thousands) | 1.7 ( 0.007) (1954) | 14.7 ( 1.5) | 329.2 (13.3) | 695.3 (14.0) |
| Cameras (in thousands) | 30.4 (11.6) | 270.6 (18.4) | 458.3 (32.3) | 172.3 (12.1) |
| Bicycles and scooters (in thousands) | 216.5 (33.3) | 760.6 (18.4) | 720.5 (21.5) | 814.7 (20.1) |
| Motorcycles (in thousands) | 12.5 (10.2) | 15.8 ( 3.9) | 21.6 ( 3.3) | 30.6 ( 4.1) |
| Pianos | 2,554 (21.5) | 12,274 (18.4) | 23,564 (18.1) | 30,500 (17.3) |
| Accordions (in thousands) | 78.7 (21.8) | 189.4 (18.0) | 164.5 (20.5) | 167,200 (36.0) |
| Vacuum cleaners (pieces) | 696 ( 4.5) (1951) | 100,857 (41.1) | 167,793 (23.1) | 206,600 (23.0) |
| Refrigerators (pieces) | 1,026 ( 1.1) (1954) | 80,799 (22.5) | 164,764 (18.1) | 358,300 (16.2) |
| Washing machines (pieces) | 79 ( 1.8) (1952) | 15,847 ( 3.4) | 204,684 ( 9.0) | 327,700 ( 8.5) |
| Furniture (million rubles 1955) | 66.1 (22.9) (1952) | 157.1 (20.8) | 325.6 (20.4) | 408.2 (20.4) |

many–37, Poland–16, Rumania–14, CSR 17; TV sets: Ukraine–10, USSR–13, USA–46, France–28, West Germany–41, Great Britain–40, Bulgaria–7, Hungary–27, East Germany–35, Poland–13, Rumania–3, CSR–17; refrigerators: Ukraine–4, USSR–4, Bulgaria–3, Hungary–7, East Germany–16, Poland–7, Rumania–5, CSR–16.

**Food Industry**

The food industry in Ukraine consists of a large number of branches engaged in the production of a variety of processed foods. The most important branches process the following groups of foods: sugar, meat, milk, butter, cheese, flour, grits, bakery, confectionery, macaroni, canned foods, margarine, vegetable oil, wines, beers and liquors, soft drinks, salt, tobacco, among others. The raw materials used for this production are predominantly supplied by agriculture. Thanks to the favorable climatic conditions and a fertile soil, Ukrainian agriculture always provided a relatively sufficient base for development of the food industry.

Development on an industrial scale in Ukraine can be traced to the beginnings of the nineteenth century. Despite the retarding effects of business fluctuations, its growth was rapid in the hundred years preceding World War I. This was partially the result of the growing demand for processed foods in conjunction with the rising standard of living, and increased urbanization, and, partially of the taking over by industry of the activities previously performed within the households. The general level of this industry in 1913 can be characterized by the following data: output–927 million (1926–7) rubles, number of plants–1,635, and number of workers–169,000. In terms of plants and workers, Ukraine accounted for 33.7 and 45.7 per cent respectively of the food industry of the Russian empire. The branch distribution according to the share in the total gross output of the Ukrainian food industry was as follows (in per cent): sugar–56.1, milling of flour and grits–18.7, distilling–6.4, tobacco–3.6, confectionery–2.9, canning–0.6, bakery–0.2, meat –0.2, others–11.3. The food industry played an important role in the structure of all Ukrainian industry. In 1912, it accounted for 51.7 per cent of all plants, 27.9 per cent of all workers, and 36.2 per cent of the total gross output.

The sugar industry experienced exceptionally rapid development before World War I. The first modern plant was built in Troshchyn (Kiev *guberniya*) in 1824. The contemporary institutional framework of agriculture facilitated the development of this industry. The large landowners saw immediately the advantage of growing labor-intensive sugar beets through the employment of their serfs. On the basis of an ample and cheap supply of sugar beets, the profitability of sugar mills was evident. This obviously encouraged the construction of additional sugar plants. As a result, their number grew rapidly in Ukraine: in 1865 there were already 181 such plants and the number rose to 210 by 1914. In the latter year, they accounted for 84 per cent of all sugar plants in the Russian empire. In addition, their scale rose continuously. The sugar industry was scattered throughout Ukraine; however, its largest concentration was in the Kiev, Volhynia, and Podilia *guberniyas*. The number of workers in this industry also rose. Between 1874 and 1914 it grew from 63,000 to 129,000. In the years immediately before World War I, about one-fifth of all industrial workers in Ukraine were employed in the sugar industry. As a result of these increases in inputs, the output of granulated sugar increased in Ukraine from 200,900 tons in 1881–2 to 1,104,800 tons in 1913–14 (5.5 times). In 1913–14, Ukraine produced 80–85 per cent of all granulated sugar and 73–75 per cent of all refined sugar in the Russian empire. In addition, a small amount of sugar was produced in Western Ukraine and Kuban.

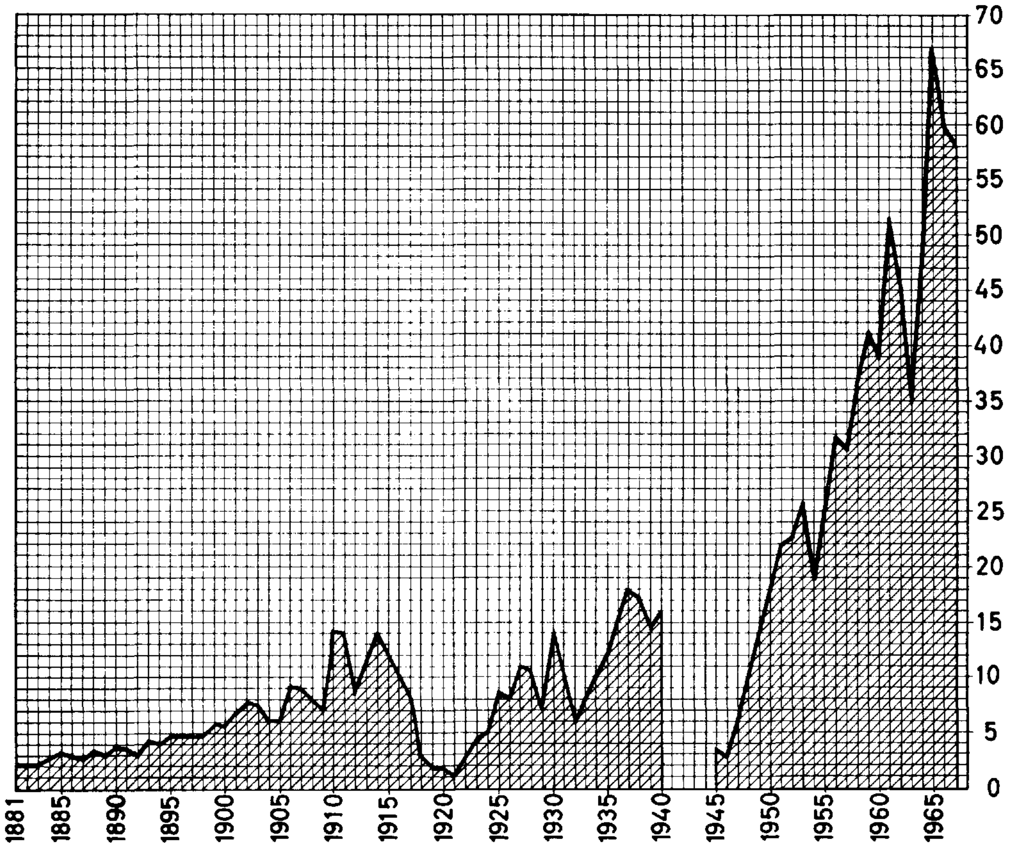


FIGURE 458. PRODUCTION OF SUGAR FROM 1881 TO 1967 (IN MILLION 100 KG UNITS)

The sugar industry was one of the important industries in Ukraine organized by local entrepreneurs (large landowners). After 1861, many new enterprises were founded on the stock company basis. In order to restrict the competition and to ensure high profits, sugar mill owners organized a cartel of the producers of granulated sugar in 1887. A similar cartel of refined sugar producers was organized in 1890. By 1892, these cartels controlled 92 per cent of all sugar plants in the Russian empire. The cartels, with the active help of the government, allocated output quotas to individual plants. They also forced them to export sugar abroad at the prevailing world market prices (between 2.50 and 3 rubles per *pood*) in order to keep the domestic supply of sugar short and the prices high (between 5 and 7 rubles per *pood*). As a result, despite the high per capita output of sugar in Ukraine, the per capita consumption was one of the lowest in the world. The per capita consumption in Russia (which is representative for Ukraine also) was 8 pounds in 1887, or ten times less than in Great Britain.

Other branches of the food industry were also developing during the fifty years before World War I, although at a slower rate than the sugar industry. Some data in regard to the number of plants, number of workers, and the level of gross output in 1895 are shown in Table LIV.

Flour and grits milling was second in importance to the sugar industry. Its level was closely connected with the

TABLE LIV

| | Plants | Workers | Gross output (thousand rubles) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Beer and mead | 186 | 1,417 | 2,878 |
| Soft drinks | 145 | 1,071 | 174 |
| Flour and grits | 15,293 | 23,703 | 39,242* |
| Vegetable oil | 2,218 | 4,667 | 1,291 |
| Tobacco | 72 | 5,303 | 7,738 |

*Without the Kiev *guberniya*.

grain output and it was concentrated in such grain producing *guberniyas* as Kiev, Podilia, Volhynia, and Chernihiv. Despite the fact that a substantial share of the grain output was exported abroad, only a negligible share of milling production was exported. The alcoholic beverages industry was also well developed in Ukraine. The distilling of spirits, like sugar producing, was organized by local landowners, mainly in the potato growing regions of Ukraine. The production of beer was countrywide, while the wineries were located mainly in the southern part of Ukraine, where wine grapes were grown. Vegetable oil was produced from sunflower, flax, or hemp, and the production plants were concentrated in the Kherson, Poltava, and Katerynoslav *guberniyas*. Tobacco processing was poorly developed in Ukraine, mainly as the result of an inadequate domestic supply of raw tobacco. Imports from abroad were prevented by the high tariffs. The centers of this industry were the Kiev, Podilia, and Poltava *guberniyas*.

The Russo-Ukrainian war destroyed much of the Ukrainian food industry. The introduction of NEP helped its reconstruction. The prewar output level was exceeded by 1926. However, during the subsequent period of rapid industrialization and the drastic decrease in the standard of living, on the one hand, and forced collectivization on the other, very little attention was paid to the development of this industry. Official output indexes indicate the growth of the gross output of the large-scale food industry in 1926–7 rubles from 1,107 million in 1928 to 1,533 million in 1932 and 3,529 million in 1937, or 1.38 and 3.19 times, respectively. This growth, however, reflects some statistical deficiencies as well as the absorption of small-scale industry. According to some independent estimates, there was a decrease of 20 per cent in the output between 1928 and 1932 and an increase of 42 per cent for the whole period between 1928 and 1937. The growth in the output of this industry was slightly faster in other regions of the USSR and, as a result, the Ukrainian share declined from 30.3 to 27.5 between 1928 and 1937. The output of most important products in the Ukrainian SSR and its shares in the USSR output (in parentheses) for selected years are shown in Table LV.

As can be seen, there were considerable increases in the output of most commodities between 1928 and 1940. No inferences should be made on this basis as to the increase in consumption, because many of these increases were the result of decreased production within the households. However, the comparison of shares for 1928 and 1940 indicates that the role of Ukraine in the output of selected foods in the USSR tended to increase. This can be partially explained by the fact that the 1940 data include output figures for Western Ukraine, where this branch was relatively well developed. The decrease in the Ukrainian SSR's share in the sugar output of the USSR can be explained by the attempts to develop sugar beet growing and sugar production in the Altai region,

TABLE LV

| | 1928 | 1940 | 1950 | 1964 | 1967 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Granulated sugar (thousand tons) | 1,041 (81) | 1,580 (73) | 1,806 (72) | 4,722 (58) | 5,814 (58) |
| Flour (thousand tons) | | 6,887 (24) | 4,371 (20) | 6,826 (20) | 7,360 (19) |
| Meat products (thousand tons) | 79.4 (12) | 299.3 (20) | 308.5 (20) | 864.5 (21) | 1,372 (21) |
| Fish, sea animals, whales (thousand tons) | 44.7 ( 5) | 139.1 (10) | 190.3 (11) | 495.5 (10) | 634 (10) |
| Butter (thousand tons) | 8.8 (11) | 33.3 (15) | 60.7 (18) | 202.8 (24) | 252 (24) |
| Vegetable oil (thousand tons) | 46.8 (10) | 158.7 (20) | 181.5 (22) | 685.9 (30) | 1,026 (34) |
| Margarine (thousand tons) | | 15.2 (13) | 35.4 (18) | 125.4 (21) | 119 (19) |
| Confectioneries (thousand tons) | 21.7 (22) | 191.8 (24) | 190.4 (19) | 449.3 (19) | 481 (20) |
| Macaroni products (thousand tons) | | 79.4 (25) | 68.7 (16) | 227.4 (18) | 194 (17) |
| Canned goods (million cans) | 13.7 (11) | 339.2 (30) | 297.9 (19) | 1,829.8 (25) | 2,232 (25) |
| Grape wine (thousand decaliters) | | 5,053.0 (26) | 3,247.0 (14) | 34,920.0 (27) | 49,228 (27) |
| Raw spirits (thousand decaliters) | 6,695 (29) | 26,476 (29) | 22,769 (31) | 35,368 (17) | 51,100 (19) |
| Salt (thousand tons) | 1,164 (51) | 1,987 (45) | 1,807 (40) | 3,919 (39) | 4,364 (41) |
| Cigarettes (billion units) | | 22.9 (23) | 22.2 (18) | 583 (21) | 58 (20) |

northern Kirgizia, and southern Kazakhstan, close to the new industrial and urban centers of the Asian part of the USSR. Out of fourteen new sugar plants constructed during this period only five were located in Ukraine, while the others were located in the eastern regions of the USSR.

Between the two world wars, the investment in the Ukrainian food industry was 1.5 billion of current rubles. The fixed capital of large-scale food industry in the Ukrainian SSR increased from 582 million to 1,400 million rubles, or 2.41 times, between October 1, 1928 and January 1, 1938, while the USSR increase was 3.98 times. The Ukrainian share in all food industry declined from 38 to 23 per cent, while in its two components, the sugar industry fell from 80.3 to 68.4 per cent and the remaining branches from 22.2 to 15.2 per cent. The importance of the food industry in Ukrainian large-scale industry in terms of fixed capital declined drastically between these two dates, from 26.9 to 11.7 per cent. These decreases in Ukrainian shares took place despite the fact that during this period the incremental capital-output ratio was significantly lower in Ukraine than in the USSR—for all food industry by 32 per cent, for the sugar industry by 10 per cent, and for the remaining branches by 45 per cent. The number of workers employed in this industry amounted to 88,300 on January 1, 1929 and rose to 178,100 on January 1, 1936. Thus they accounted for 14.6 and 13.6 per cent of all workers in Ukrainian large-scale industry on these dates. The shares of the Ukrainian SSR in the number of workers in the USSR food industry was 34.8 and 29.6 per cent, respectively.

The war destroyed between 80 and 90 per cent of the Ukrainian food industry. The output in 1945 was as follows in relation to the 1940 output of the most important foods (in per cent): granulated sugar—21, flour—40, grits—33, bakery products—35, macaroni—23, confectioneries—12, canned goods—16, margarine—5, meat—23, spirits—25, beer—24, cigarettes—11. The reconstruction of this industry was lagging behind that of other industries, and its prewar level was reached only in 1952, although some of its branches, like the sugar or fish industries, achieved it a little sooner. As a result of this low level of production, the output per capita of most foods was exceedingly low in the late 1940's.

In the 1950's, greater attention was paid to the development of consumer goods industries. According to official indexes, the average (arithmetical) rate of growth of the food industry between 1950 and 1959 was 11.1 per cent. Subsequently it declined sharply, and between 1959 and 1963 it amounted to only 5 per cent. For the whole period between 1950 and 1963, the increases in the gross output of the food industry in the Ukrainian SSR was 219 per cent, while in the USSR it was 187 per cent. For the period between 1940 and 1963, the increase in the Ukrainian SSR was 154 per cent while in the USSR it was 187 per cent. These data indicate that the lag resulting from war damages in the Ukrainian food industry was not yet overcome, despite slightly faster postwar growth. The increases in output of the most important foods between 1950 and 1964 were as follows: granulated sugar—2.6, flour—1.6, meat—2.8, fish—2.6, butter—3.3, vegetable oil—3.8, margarine—3.5, confectioneries—2.4, macaroni—3.3, canned goods—6.1, grape wine—10.8, raw spirits—1.6, salt—2.2, and cigarettes—2.3 times (1950–63). Since many of the products of the food industry are difficult to transport, the output data for a region could serve as a rough indicator of consumption. As Table LV shows, the share of the Ukrainian SSR in the output of the most important foods in the USSR in 1967 fluctuated around 20 per cent, which corresponds approximately to the share in total population.

The food industry in the Krasnodar region was of great importance. Its de-

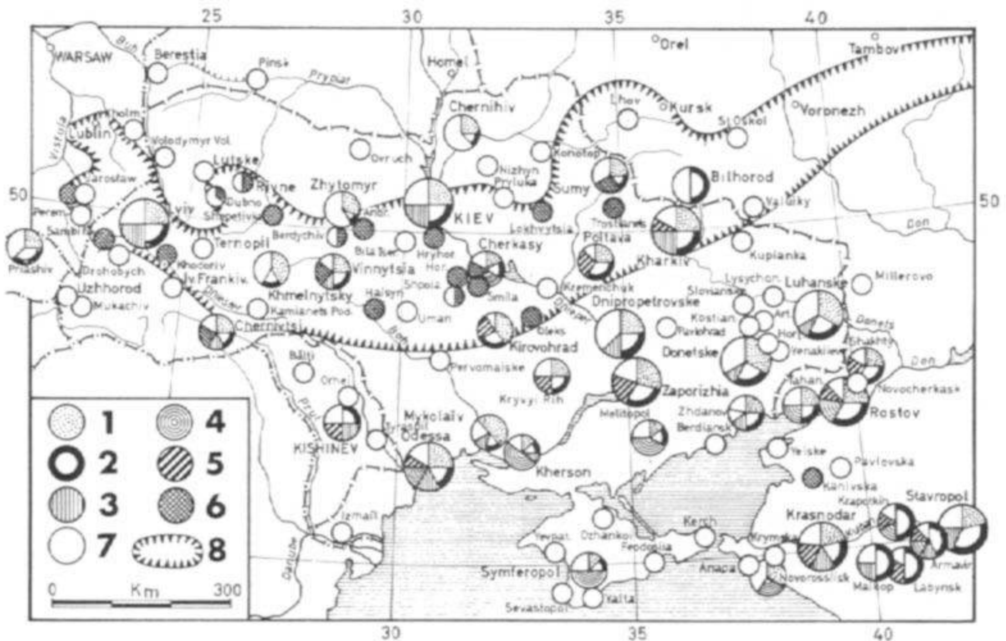


FIGURE 459. FOOD INDUSTRY

Branches: 1, bread and baked goods; 2, meat and dairy products; 3, confectionery and macaroni; 4, canned goods; 5, fats and oils; 6, sugar; 7, miscellaneous; 8, areas of growing sugar beets. *Abbreviations*: Andr, Andriïvka; Art, Artemivske; Bila Tser, Bila Tserkva; Hor, Horodyshche; Horl, Horlivka; Hryhor, Hryhorivka; Kostian, Kostiantynivka; Tahan, Tahanrih; Yevpat, Yevpatoria.

TABLE LVI

| | Output in 1966 | 1966 index (1940 = 100) | Output of Krasnodar Region in 1966 as percentage of | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | RSFSR | Ukrainian SSR |
| Granulated sugar (thousand tons) | 638.4 | 1,461 | 24.6 | 10.7 |
| Meat (thousand tons) | 205.3 | 377 | 6.5 | 15.8 |
| Butter (thousand tons) | 16.5 | 395 | 3.0 | 6.2 |
| Vegetable oil (thousand tons) | 300.6 | 228 | 29.7 | 31.3 |
| Canned goods (million cans) | 607.4 | 382 | 19.0 | 33.0 |
| Confectioneries (thousand tons) | 27.3 | 194 | 2.1 | 6.1 |

velopment during the postwar period was rather moderate. Exceptional increases in output can be observed for granulated sugar and butter, the output of which increased approximately 15 times between 1940 and 1966. Although the territory of the Krasnodar region accounts for less than one-half of one per cent of the territory of the RSFSR, it was an important producer of certain foods in the total output of the RSFSR. For example, in 1966, the Krasnodar region produced almost one-third of all vegetable oil and sugar and one-fifth of canned goods in the RSFSR. Also, the output of other foods accounted for a much higher share than the proportion of territory. The food production of the Krasnodar region was also substantial when compared with the Ukrainian SSR. Although the territory of Krasnodar made up only 14 per cent of the Ukrai-

nian SSR, the output, for example, of vegetable oil and canned goods was two-fifths and more than one-third, respectively, in 1966.

For selected products, the output per capita in 1964 in the Ukrainian SSR and some other countries was as follows: granulated sugar (on the basis of domestic raw materials): the Ukrainian SSR–105.9 kg, USSR–30.9, RSFSR–19.4, France–44.3, West Germany–34.2 (1963), USA–24.7, Great Britain–15.1; butter (home-made not included): the Ukrainian SSR–4.5, USSR–3.7, RSFSR –3.7, West Germany–8.8 (1963, including households), France–8.8 (including households), USA–3.4 (including households), Great Britain–0.9 (1963, including households), Bulgaria–1.4, Hungary –1.9, East Germany–10.1, Poland–2.8, Rumania–1.0, CSR–5.8; fish catch: the Ukrainian SSR–11.1 kg, USSR–22.8, RSFSR–30.5, Great Britain–18.9 (1963), France–15.5 (1963), USA–14.4 (1963), West Germany–11.7 (1963).

The food industry was always important in the structure of Ukrainian industry. In terms of fixed capital, which amounted to 1,414.7 million rubles on January 1, 1960, it accounted for 9.9 per cent of all industry as compared with 10.6 and 9.1 per cent in 1950 and 1955, respectively. The fixed capital of this industry increased 73 per cent between 1960 and 1966. As of January 1, 1960, the share of the Ukrainian SSR in the USSR food industry was 19.4 per cent. The percentage of workers in the total Ukrainian industry was 11.4 and 10.9 in 1950 and 1955 respectively, and it increased between these two years by 26 per cent. The productivity per worker increased over this same period by 34 per cent. Between 1960 and 1966, the number of employed increased by 25 per cent (from 449,000 to 562,000) and the productivity per employee by 28 per cent. The number of employed in the food industry accounted for 10.7 per cent of the total employed in the Ukrainian industry in 1966. In 1963, the most important branches of the Ukrainian food industry were (in terms of number of plants) bakery products, canned goods, and meat products; (in terms of the number of employed) sugar, bakery products, and canned goods; (in terms of gross output in 1955 prices) meat products, bakery products, and sugar; (in terms of fixed capital) sugar, fish catch, and meat products.

*I. S. Koropeckyj*

**Home Industry**

Home industry, as an auxiliary occupation of the rural population which was preoccupied essentially with agriculture, traces its origin to the early period of Ukrainian history. It flourished during the winter months when the peasant was relatively free of agricultural chores. After satisfying his own needs the peasant sold the domestically manufactured goods in the markets, thus giving rise to home industry.

Until the 1920's, home industry was particularly widespread in the impoverished and agriculturally overpopulated areas of Ukraine, where raw materials were relatively cheap and where factory industry was poorly developed. It throve in the forest zone of Ukraine, in the Carpathians, and in the Subcarpathian region, but was less well developed in the forest-steppe belt and was almost non-existent in the steppe region and the Subcaucasus. As the density of the population increased, a growing number of peasants gave up agriculture and became full-time handicraftsmen (58 per cent of peasants in the Poltava region). Their products were usually sold at local bazaars and fairs. At times, they distributed their products to distant markets. In some instances, handicraftsmen employed the services of middlemen for the sale of home manufactured goods and as they became increasingly dependent on them they lost their independent status as producers of goods. Although working

at home, they were in fact employees of the middlemen.

The products of home industry in Ukraine ranged from basic daily necessities to art pieces designed for sale to the richer classes of the urban population. Home industry can be divided into the following branches: wood-working, pottery, weaving, leather, and metalworking.

FIGURE 460. LINEN PRINTER IN PETRIVKA (1910)

Wood-working was widespread in the forest regions of Ukraine, mainly in the Carpathians and, to a lesser degree, in the forest-steppe. Actual forest works, such as lumbering and the making of tar, pitch, and galipot, were developed only in Polisia and the Carpathians. Home carpentry, most popular in the Poltava and Hutsul regions, produced mainly furniture and clothes chests and occasional art pieces. Cooperage was practised throughout Ukraine, particularly in the forest areas. Wheels and carts were made in the Kiev area (Radomyshl, Chyhyryn, Tarashcha), the Poltava area (Zinkiv, Lubny, Hadiach), and the Kharkiv area (Sumy, Okhtyrka). Basket-weaving was best developed in the Chernihiv, Kiev, Poltava, and Kharkiv regions. Products of the Sosnytsia basket-weaving shops, as well as reed furniture, were distributed throughout Ukraine.

Pottery was a well-developed craft in all areas of Ukraine.

The most important branch of home industry was weaving. It produced such goods as linen, table-cloths, towels, kerchiefs, sackcloth, sacks, carpets, multicolored flax cloth, decorative towels, and other products. Weaving was best developed in the Poltava, Kiev, Chernihiv, and Kharkiv areas and in the Hutsul region of Galicia. Ukrainian embroidery was a special branch of the home industry.

Leather-working and furriery were most popular in the Kiev area (Vasylkiv, Berdychiv, Radomyshl), the Chernihiv area (Baryshivka), the Poltava area (Zinkiv, Novi Sanzhary, Tsarychanka, Reshetylivka), the Kharkiv area (Okhtyrka, Valky, Nova Vodolaha, Zmiïv), and in Galicia (Tysmenytsia, Kuty). The shoe industry was best developed in Left-Bank Ukraine.

FIGURE 461. S. KORPANIUK (RIGHT), A MASTER IN WOOD-CARVING, IS SHOWN AT WORK WITH HIS SON IN YAVORIV, HUTSUL REGION

Smithery was widespread throughout Ukraine; it was particularly well developed in the Kharkiv (Bilovodske), Chernihiv, and Poltava areas. The products most frequently manufactured were wagons, plows, harrows, hoes, sickles, and other agricultural tools.

The significance of home industry prior to the 1917 revolution is reflected

in the fact that in 1911–12 it employed a total of 400,000 persons in the nine Ukrainian *guberniyas*, producing 144 million rubles worth of goods, which accounted for 10 per cent of the total industrial output. It satisfied one-fourth of the peasant demand for manufactured goods. Because of the low level of industrialization, home industry competed successfully with the few existing large-scale enterprises. The government, particularly the *zemstvos*, supported the development of home industry by extending subsidies and credits, providing teaching personnel, and offering other forms of assistance.

During the immediate post-revolutionary period, home industry assumed even greater significance than in pre-revolutionary times. In the mid-1920's, home industry constituted nearly 20 per cent of the total industrial output, but satisfied only 40 per cent of the peasant demand for manufactured goods. As of October 1, 1928, there were 820,000 persons engaged in home industry and handicraft production (only 22.3 per cent organized in cooperatives). Their total output was valued at 310 million rubles. However, forced collectivization, lack of raw material, and particularly heavy taxation led to a decline of home industry. By 1933, the number of persons employed in home industry and handicrafts fell to 48,000. The Soviet authorities forced the craftsmen to join cooperatives which were controlled by the regime. Craftsmen organized in cooperatives are required to pay an income tax based on norms applicable to workers and employees (ranging from 1.5 to 13 per cent). Non-cooperative craftsmen must pay a higher income tax which ranges from 4 to 81 per cent.

FIGURE 462. A YOUNG GIRL AT WORK IN A CERAMIC CO-OP, OPISHNIA, POLTAVA REGION

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# 6. AGRICULTURE

## AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN UKRAINE FROM THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY TO 1914

### Prior to 1861 (Period of Serfdom)

At the end of the eighteenth century serfdom was deeply entrenched in all of Ukraine. Land was progressively taken away from the peasants, except for a small part of the population which was officially designated as being within the Kozak class. The unpopulated lands of southern Ukraine were settled with imported serfs. The majority of the peasants together with the land became the property of landlords. The number of serfs in the nine Ukrainian *guberniyas* in the early 1860's was 5.4 million, or 40 per cent of the population of Ukraine. Another 4 million, or 30 per cent, were in the second category of the so-called state-owned peasants, who occupied state lands and, in addition to taxes, had to give services and pay rent (the majority of them were settled in Left-Bank Ukraine).

The peasant-serf had no property rights; he was merely a user of the land which the landowner assigned to him. He had no direct obligation to the state, either to pay taxes, or to serve in the armed forces. Taxes were paid by the landowner who also picked men for

military service. For the use of the land and as his contribution to taxes, the serf had to work for the landlord or, rarely, pay rent in produce [Vol. I, p. 669a]. Nevertheless the lot of serfs in Ukraine was not harder than in Russia. They were stimulated by the opportunity to escape to southern Ukraine, where landowners suffered a shortage of labor.

FIGURE 463. AGRICULTURE AND CONSTRUCTION IN ANCIENT *Rus'*-UKRAINE

Slave labor, accompanied by an extremely low standard of living, and the lack of means of communication on the huge areas of land contributed to the preservation of the natural system of agriculture which often clashed with the capitalist monetary system of Europe and the internal processes of industrial and commercial capital growth.

The landowners found themselves unable to develop their land holdings and to pay the state taxes. Tax arrears reached huge sums and resulted in deep crises in agriculture and in the fiscal system, which, in turn, contributed to a slowdown of industrial development and market relations.

The most obvious result of this crisis was Russia's defeat in the Crimean War (1853–6), which led eventually to agrarian reforms, and the abolition of serfdom, intended to save the landowners and the finances of the Russian empire. The first purpose of the Emancipation Act of 1861 was to free very cheap labor, creating conditions for the peasants that would obligate them to indentured labor on the huge grain and sugar estates; the second purpose was to make land subject to commercial transactions that would ensure the continued enrichment of the landowners; and the third, to free the landowners from tax liability. The improvement of state finances was to be accomplished by the following measures: (a) transfer of tax liability directly to the peasants and the establishment of a system that would guarantee collection of these taxes; (b) inclusion of peasant landholdings in land sale operations and partial discontinuance of the natural character of agriculture, thus allowing the establishment of a system of indirect taxation and state monopoly.

The principal agricultural system of the period in the forest-steppe and forest zone was the three-field system (see below) and in the steppe the fallow system. Arable land occupied 50–60 per cent of all land in the forest-steppe and only 10–15 per cent in the steppe. Agriculture was adapted to market requirements only in the steppe part of Ukraine and to some extent in Kuban: thanks to an abundance of feed and the demand of the western European market for wool, this area developed fine-wool merino sheep raising in the first half of the nineteenth century. These sheep increased in the three southern *guberniyas* of Ukraine from 0.4 million in 1823 to 3 million in 1848 and 7.1 million in 1866. Simultaneously, exports of Ukrainian wool from Imperial Russia increased from 1,400 tons in 1831 to 10,000 tons in the 1860's. Export of meat products was negligible.

**1861–1905**

Pursuant to the reform instituted by the manifesto of February 19, 1861 [Vol. I, pp. 676–7], the extent of peasant landholdings was considerably curtailed, particularly in Ukraine: 30.8 per cent of land previously used by the peasants was left in the possession of landowners. Out of the total of 48,100,000 hectares of land in nine *guberniyas*, 21,900,000 hectares were allotted to the peasants (45.7 per

cent), 22,500,000 hectares (46.6 per cent) were left with the large landowners, and the remaining 3,700,000 hectares were divided among the state and the church. Thus the ensuing "land hunger" became a factor in both the peasant economy and the peasant labor supply. Many peasants who had been employed in the truck gardens and households of the landowners were freed without any land allowance. This created a constant demand for land on the part of these peasants, and their liberation from serfdom with the right to acquire additional lands entitled them to borrow money from banks and landowners and thus increased the turnover in land transactions.

From 1861 to 1914 land prices in Ukraine increased by a factor of 14.4. In 1877, the distribution of land in Ukraine was 9.7 dessiatines (1 dessiatine equals 2.7 acres) per household in accordance with the land reform and 0.6 dessiatines of purchased land. In 1905 the figures were 6.7 dessiatines and 1.9 dessiatines, respectively.

According to the reform of 1861, the peasants were obligated to pay for the land allotted to them by the state; until the full price had been paid, they were users of the land only. The cost of land given to the peasants was paid by the government to the landowners in the form of debentures which were collected from the peasants as "required purchase payments" over a period of 48½ years at 6 per cent interest. Thus the estates were actually freed from their tax indebtedness.

The majority of peasant households received land as full-fledged owners (in Right-Bank Ukraine, the Poltava and partly the Chernihiv regions), but in the steppe *guberniyas* of Kherson, Katerynoslav, and Kharkiv, land awarded to the peasants was for the most part placed at the disposal of land communities (or communes), on the pattern of the Russian *obshchinas* which were unknown in

FIGURE 464. EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY PEASANTS

Ukraine. The land community was collectively responsible for the payment of taxes by the peasant and the amount of his indebtedness was equally distributed among all; the lien devolved upon the community, which was the guarantor of full and prompt tax payments to the state. However, even in those *guberniyas* which were formally under the rule of community land ownership, 80.2 per cent of the communities did not periodically redistribute the land as was done in the typical *obshchinas* in Russia.

Even after the abolition of serfdom, the prevalent method of agriculture was the three-field system, even in the steppe areas which abandoned the fallow system as a result of the rapid population growth. Under the three-field system the land was divided into three fields; one was not plowed, the second was planted with a winter grain, and the third with a spring grain, usually barley, oats, or spring wheat. In the eastern regions of Ukraine, even the second field was often planted with spring wheat.

The main disadvantage of the three-field system was the fact that under conditions of shallow plowing and insufficient tillage a one-year rest could not restore the soil's fertility, inasmuch as the fallow field, instead of being plowed in early spring, was used all summer for cattle grazing. This was necessary because of lack of natural pastures, especially in the forest-steppe zone. Thus the soil for winter planting was solid and lacked the required moisture. Under the three-field system, cattle were not provided with sufficient feed because the pasture areas were small. The farm machinery in use was completely inadequate also. Hence the yield was low (during the last decade of the nineteenth century, it dropped to 640 kg per 1 hectare). Even in the 1880's manure was never used as fertilizer by the peasant farmers who believed that it was harmful on black soil.

The cause of the low agricultural productivity in Ukraine was partly due to the existence of land communities which prevented the development of individual peasant farming. Every peasant in the community had to adhere to the same system. Each was only a temporary user of the land and could not apply better tillage methods or use fertilizers. He could not even plow the fallow land, because it was used for pasture by the entire community. To ensure its equal distribution, quality land was allotted in widely scattered strips to individual households.

The land shortage and population growth caused an acute agrarian overpopulation. The number of households was constantly increasing in the group with less than 3 hectares per household at the expense of the group with 3–9 hectares, and even the higher group, with 9–50 hectares. This was to be expected under the chaotic agrarian conditions. Between 1860 and 1900 the rural population of Ukraine increased 86 per cent, whereas their landholdings increased only 41 per cent. These conditions brought about an agrarian overpopulation and mass migration [Vol. I, pp. 193–4].

As a result labor became very cheap, both in the countryside and in the cities, thus hindering the improvement and modernization of agriculture. At the same time the already high price of land was increasing at a much faster rate than agricultural production. Land rent increased even faster, although it was almost non-existent prior to the reform. The number of livestock in the peasant households was relatively high but since these were mostly draft animals (horses and oxen), there was little return in meat or milk.

Thus, at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Ukrainian peasants lived in extreme poverty, and under the existing agrarian order could not increase the productivity of their small farms. They could not change over to the system of crop rotation which prevailed in Western and Central Europe and in Galicia.

In the second half of the nineteenth century agriculture in the steppe zone and in Kuban underwent radical changes. As a result of population growth, the fallow system was abandoned in favor of the three-field system (even four-field, where nothing was left fallow). Along with this, there was an increase in cultivated area (in the Kherson *guberniya* alone, between 1860 and 1887 arable land increased from 15 per cent to 48 per cent of all land, reaching 66 per cent in 1905 and 80 per cent in 1913). Since all this land was under grain (spring wheat and barley), there was a decline in animal husbandry due to a shortage of pasture land and feed. This was particularly true of sheep ranching (in 1860 there were 7 million sheep in the three southern Ukrainian *guberniyas* and only 1.2 million in 1911–12) and slaughter cattle (horses and machines replaced oxen). The steppe

area of Ukraine also became an important exporter of grain (spring wheat and barley) as a result of the development of railroads which connected the Ukrainian hinterland with the Black Sea harbors (see pp. 921 ff.).

A positive development was the introduction of sugar beets in the forest-steppe belt, particularly in Right-Bank Ukraine, where beets were introduced in the 1840's (see pp. 869 ff.).

**The 1905–13 Period and the Stolypin Agrarian Reform**

The failure of the revolution of 1905 and the inability of the State Duma to solve the agrarian problem [Vol. I, p. 687b) made the situation even more acute. The crisis was partially resolved by the so-called Stolypin Law of 1906 (amended in 1910) and the abolition of redemption payment indebtedness.

This law abolished the obligatory forms of land communities. Every peasant was entitled to leave the community and assume exclusive ownership of his land. He could also have the land turned over to him in a single lot (*vidrub*). The peasant had the right to attach his private holding to this lot, move his buildings, and thus establish a hamlet. The peasants also took advantage of the reorganization of the Peasant Land Bank which opened quite large credits for land purchases.

This contributed to the rather rapid disintegration of land communities and to the purchase of land by the peasants. In less than four years after the law went into effect, only one-fifth of the households remained in community landholding in Ukraine. From 1906 to 1917 the peasants purchased (chiefly from large landowners) a total of 7,278,000 dessiatines of land for the sum of 1,300,000,000 rubles. Nearly all this land was used for hamlets and contiguous plots. The standard of agricultural production improved considerably.

Although the Stolypin reform did not solve the problem of peasant land shortage, under the new agrarian system the peasants could show some initiative and improve their farming methods. Much was done in this direction by agricultural cooperatives and by the *zemstvo* institutions. Farm cooperatives rented machines and tools to their members, sold improved seed, and organized fallow land for the improvement of cattle; credit cooperatives loaned money to the peasants and thus helped them improve their farming methods (by 1914 there were more than 5,000 credit unions in Ukraine).

This period also witnessed large-scale development of agronomy. The *zemstvos* provided farming consultation services, organized small-credit loan associations, and operated village stores. The agronomists working for the *zemstvos* encouraged improved farming not only by staging popular lectures, but also by visual demonstrations, competitions, farm fairs, and experimental planting.

All these measures during the 1906–14 period brought about considerable improvement in agriculture in Ukraine. About 25 per cent of peasant households

FIGURE 465. NINETEENTH CENTURY FARMER SOWING FIELD

broke away into separate homesteads and part of the land of the estate owners was purchased by them. The use of farm machines doubled between 1907 and 1913 and steel plows replaced wooden implements. The peasants changed over from the three-field to the crop rotation system, planting clover and alfalfa and root plants for fodder. At the same time, sugar beet cultivation spread in the forest-steppe areas of Ukraine: between 1900 and 1913 the area under beets increased by a factor of 3.5, reaching 648,000 hectares in 1912–13. The yield also increased by about 20 per cent over a nine-year period. The process of subdividing farm land was halted and to some extent even reversed.

As a result of these processes, the peasants held 65 per cent of all land and as much as 83 per cent of all arable land on the eve of the 1917 revolution. The average land holding was 8.6 hectares per household, with local variations associated with population density. The Kiev area was the poorest in land with 3.4 hectares per household, but Kherson reached 9.3 and Tavria 12.4 hectares. However, only a small number of households achieved the average figure. Thus, out of 100 farm households 15 per cent had no land or less than one dessiatine, 20 per cent had from 1.1 to 3 dessiatines, 56 per cent from 3.1 to 9, and only 9 per cent more than 10. One third of the households were landless and not economically viable, and only the highest group was commercially important. The uneven distribution of land can be seen from the following figures: 35 per cent of households owned only 6 per cent of the land; 9 per cent of the farms owning more than 10 dessiatines had 30 per cent of the land; and 56 per cent middle class farmers owned 64 per cent of the land. Subdivision of land resulted in an increase of the rural proletariat. During the two decades before World War I the smallest and largest farm households in Ukraine were increasing whereas those in the middle range were decreasing. The owners of small plots were unable to hold onto them and sold out to the wealthy, migrating to Asia or to the cities, or becoming country proletarians.

Although farming in Ukraine under Imperial Russia was backward, it was still on a higher level than that of Russia proper and Belorussia. Because of the three-field system, only 70 per cent of the arable land was under crops while 30 per cent lay fallow. In the eastern borderlands of Ukraine, eastern Subcaucasus, and the Kherson steppes, where the fallow land system continued, only 60 and sometimes a mere 50 per cent of the land was under cultivation. As late as 1917, 45 per cent of the peasant farms had no implements of their own, 45.5 per cent had no draft animals, and 12.1 per cent had only one animal (the average was 1.16 horses and 0.45 team of oxen per household). Ancient wooden plows were still used in some localities (over half a million in 1910). Farm machines were coming into wider use, but only by estate owners and rich farmers, mainly in the steppes and in Kuban.

The system of land cultivation gave priority to grain production, which took 90.5 per cent of all arable land; 3.6 per cent was under other food crops (mainly potatoes), 3.5 per cent under commercial crops (mainly sugar beets), and 2.2 per cent was used for fodder production. The one-sided agricultural emphasis on grain exhausted the soil and prevented yield increase. The distribution of land under grain in 1913 was as follows (in percentages): spring wheat–27, winter wheat–10.7, rye–17.8, barley–24.5, oats –10.3, and other crops–9.7.

The yield of grain crops was unsatisfactory, although it was increasing (doubled in the fifty years preceding World War I) and was somewhat higher in Ukraine than in Russia proper. During the 1905–10 period the yield aver-

aged 800 kg per 1 hectare, the average for central Europe (Germany–1,900 kg.). The yield of landowner estates was 20 to 25 per cent higher than that of peasant farms and they produced the bulk of the marketable grain.

The average annual grain crop for the 1909–13 period in central and eastern Ukraine i.e., on the territory of the subsequent Ukrainian SSR prior to 1939, was 18.3 million tons, and for all Ukrainian ethnographic territories within the Russian empire 27.1 million tons, equalling 27 and 39 per cent of the total grain crop of Imperial Russia, respectively. The figures for individual grain crops (in millions of tons) were as follows: wheat –9.4 for all Ukrainian lands in the Russian empire (including the later Ukrainian SSR–6.6), rye–9.4 (6.7), barley–9.1 (4.4), oats–4.2 (2.5), and others–2.2 (1.6).

As an exporter of grain, Ukraine played an important role within the Russian empire. Of the total grain crops from all Ukrainian territories, 68 per cent was used for human and animal consumption, and 32 per cent, or 8.6 million tons, for export. The territory which subsequently became the Ukrainian SSR had a grain surplus of 5.1 million tons or 24 per cent of all production. Exported grain included wheat (46 per cent of the total) and barley (45 per cent). The steppe part of Ukraine produced large grain surpluses, as did Kuban and the Crimea, which had the greatest percentage of land under grain crops and where the population density was low, and large commercial farms predominated.

If all shipments of grain from the Ukrainian lands under Russia are taken into consideration, regardless of whether their destination was a foreign country or merely an area outside the borders of Ukrainian ethnographic territory, the Ukrainian lands within the Russian empire (Western Ukraine, as part of the Austro-Hungarian empire did not play any part as a grain exporter) prior to World War I (1909–13) occupied first place in grain exports in the world as can be seen from Table I.

Ukraine ranked first in export of wheat and barley, and without Ukraine Russia would not have had any significance as a grain exporter. Eighty per cent of Ukrainian grain shipments went abroad and only 20 per cent to Russia. The figures cited refer to all Ukrainian ethnic lands (including Kuban) but even Ukraine within the limits of the nine *guberniyas* contributed over 50 per cent to Russia's grain exports.

According to G. Kryvchenko (see p. 934), the nine Ukrainian *guberniyas* exported annually (mean for the 1909–11 period) grains worth 257 million rubles (32.5 per cent of all exports) and flour worth 110.7 million (14 per cent). The ranking importing countries were: Germany (barley and wheat), Italy (wheat),

FIGURE 466. THE FIRST MACHINE-AND-TRACTOR STATION IN THE USSR WAS ESTABLISHED AT THE SHEVCHENKO STATE FARM IN THE ODESSA *Oblast* (1928)

Great Britain, and France. It should be added that the intensive export of grain products, mainly from the estates of large landowners was made possible largely by the low consumption of grains by landless and small landowning peasants. Finally, thanks to a steady growth of sugar beet planting, Ukraine became an important world exporter of

TABLE I

World Grain Exports, 1909–13
(Annual average, in million centners; 1 centner = 100 kg)

| | Ukraine under Russia | Argentina | U.S.A. | Rumania | Canada | British India | Australia | Russia less Ukraine | World exports | Ukraine's percentage in exports of | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | | | World | Russia |
| Wheat | 43 | 26 | 27 | 14 | 25 | 14 | 14 | 1 | 215 | 20 | 98 |
| Rye | 6 | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | 2 | 28 | 21 | 75 |
| Barley | 27 | — | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | — | 10 | 63 | 43 | 73 |
| Oats | 3 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 2 | — | — | 8 | 35 | 9 | 27 |
| Corn (maize) | 7 | 29 | 11 | 11 | — | — | — | 1 | 73 | 10 | 84 |
| TOTALS | 86 | 61 | 41 | 31 | 28 | 16 | 14 | 22 | 414 | 21 | 80 |

sugar (265 million rubles worth in 1913, or 37 per cent of all exports).

Animal husbandry was poorly developed in Ukraine owing to the lack of feed and insufficient demand for meat in the cities and abroad. Before World War I, with the exception of northern and western areas, the number of animals even decreased. At the same time, there was a shift in the animal category: a reduction in the number of sheep (even in absolute figures), an increase in the number of horses and hogs, while in cattle the proportion of cows also increased. The inadequate number of domesticated animals is evident from the fact that, according to the census of 1917, 35.7 per cent of peasant households had no cow and 48.5 per cent had only one cow. Hence, animal products constituted one-tenth of the total agricultural exports (for more details on animal husbandry (see pp. 877 ff.).

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## AGRICULTURE IN WESTERN UKRAINE BEFORE 1914

### Before 1848

With the annexation of Galicia by Austria (1772), the lot of the peasant serfs improved somewhat as a result of the reforms instituted by Maria Theresa and Joseph II [Vol. I, p. 698]. Serfdom (*kripatstvo*) was abolished in Galicia in 1783 with the introduction of *panshchyna corvée* in its place. Pursuant to the decree of Joseph II of April 2, 1787, on the so-called Land Fund, land ownership was divided into two categories: dominial (estate owners) and rustic (peasant owners). This law provided that all lands held by the peasants on October 1, 1786, remain in their hands (nevertheless, dominial owners appropriated nearly 600,000 hectares of peasant land in Galicia between 1787 and 1834). The decree also limited the corvée. The peasants of Galicia were already impoverished at that time. The first official permanent record of land ownership introduced in 1819 showed that 19.5 per cent of all peasant households owned less than 1.12 hectares each and were thus economically deprived. According to the records of 1847–59 the number of such households reached 27.2 per cent.

### After 1848

Following the abolition of the corvée in Austria in 1848 [Vol. I, p. 699a], the peasants in Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia became full-fledged owners of the land which they were using at the time. The large estate owners in Galicia held 2,461,000 hectares at the time (44.4 per cent) and the peasants 3,069,000 hectares (55.6 per cent). This explains why Galicia had one of the worst agrarian structures in all of Europe, with 70 per cent of households unable to make economic progress since they were limited to production only for their own consumption. Unresolved matters such as compensating the landowners for the abolition of corvée in 1848, liquor permits, and the institution of servitude [Vol. I, p. 701a] hampered the development of agriculture up to the end of the nineteenth century. The liberal economic policy of the Austrian government since the 1860's (the law of 1868 abolishing all restriction on alienation of real property and unlimited credit) contributed to the subdivision of peasant households and usury. As a result, a considerable amount of land owned by peasants came into the hands of speculators and usurers, thus accelerating the process of fragmentation of farms and subdivision of land into strips which were scattered and non-contiguous. Although a law providing for consolidation of farm lands became effective in 1903, it was difficult to implement without breaking up the large estates, liquidating community holdings, and ameliorating the badlands. The Galician Diet, which was dominated by the Polish landlords, and the Land

Executive Board [Vol. I, pp. 721–2] did not carry out the required agrarian reforms and neglected agricultural education.

Under these circumstances, agricultural improvements were slow in coming. The three-field system of tillage disappeared in the first half of the nineteenth century and was replaced by inconsistent crop rotation. Potatoes, which became the "daily bread" of the countryside, and corn in Pokutia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia, often saved the small landowning peasants from starvation. In the absence of nearby industrial and commercial centers, truck gardening or intensive planting on small country plots did not develop. The owners of large estates were unable to adapt themselves to hired labor after the abolition of serfdom and were inept at introducing mechanized farming. Considering their land holdings as marks of social distinction and political privilege, they did not engage in any progressive forms of farm management. Almost to the very end of the nineteenth century, there was no distinction in the agricultural level of farm operation between estate and peasant owners, and even later it was only mechanical threshers and a few auxiliary machines for processing farm products which gave an advantage to the estates. The bulk of the estates cash income came from operating distilleries which processed potatoes into spirits, with the mash serving as feed for cattle.

Even so, at first the Polish estate owners, and in the twenty years before World War I the Jewish owners also, despite government aid, were so deep in debt that their only salvation lay in selling part of their land to the peasants. Although there were no restrictions upon alienation of real property in Galicia, the national-political factor was decisive, and because of that the Ukrainian peasants, who were poorer than their Polish counterparts, acquired only 38,000 hectares of estate land when the large estates were broken up between 1852 and 1912. The remaining 237,000 hectares went to Polish peasants, mostly settlers from western Galicia. During this period the percentage of land in large estates dropped from 44.2 per cent in 1852 to 37.8 in 1912.

The produce of peasant households was mainly for personal consumption. Home-made implements were used. Only small surpluses reached the market. Farm products were frequently sold to raise cash for tax and clothing, leaving too little for food. Consequently, the peasants resorted to raising cattle, hogs, and poultry as a cash crop, and in this respect they were more productive than the estate owners. Prior to the outbreak of World War I, the western Ukrainian lands were the chief supplier of meat to the central parts of Austria. But even this, the most convenient form of small peasant farming, was greatly hampered by the lack of land for growing fodder, neglected common pastures, and excessive rents for mountain pastures.

The improvement in farm conditions became apparent in Galicia and Bukovina only on the eve of World War I. This improvement was due chiefly to the efforts of Ukrainian educational and economic societies, such as the Prosvita society (see p. 335), the development of cooperative associations (see pp. 982–4), and the Sil's'kyi Hospodar (Village Farmer) Society. Founded as a local group in Olesko (county of Zolochiv) in 1899, it became national in scope in 1909 as an association of Ukrainian peasants with the stated purpose of defending their interests and spreading agricultural knowledge.

*I. Vytanovych*

## AGRICULTURE IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN UKRAINE, 1914–39

### 1914–21

The war of 1914–17 halted the process of peasant farm development and stopped the further emancipation of peasants

FIGURE 467. THE ONSET OF COLLECTIVIZATION (1930)

into hamlets and separate homesteads. The arable area, particularly of large estates, was slightly curtailed.

The revolution of 1917 and the years of national independence brought about much greater changes. The Ukrainian peasants believed that the revolution had solved the agrarian problem by the Third Universal of the Ukrainian Central Rada of November 20, 1917 [Vol. I, pp. 735–6] abolishing private ownership of land which was declared to be the property of the entire people without any compensation to the former owners. This legal act of extraordinary economic significance, as well as the provisions of the Fourth Universal and of the Land Law of January 31, 1918, and the law of the Directory of January 31, 1919, could not be implemented in a normal way because of political and military events. However, encouraged by such legislation and general anarchy, the peasants' local land reform committees and peasant unions (spilky) seized landlords and crown estates in 1917–19 and divided land, animals, and implements among themselves.

As a result of the final occupation by the Red Army in the early 1920's Ukraine was put under Soviet law and acts. The most important was the Land Law of February 5, 1920, issued by the All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee, which provided that all land not held by those who work on it should forever belong to the peasants, and without compensation. Disposition of land was vested in village communities (hromady). Actually, this first period of Bolshevik rule in Ukraine, the period of "war communism" [Vol. I, pp. 799–800], was a time of military requisitioning from a conquered nation. The peasants were allowed to keep 30 lb. of grain per month (the rule was not observed), with the rest going to the state. This grain was taken by armed detachments and the action was officially called "grain requisition." The same procedure applied to other agricultural products. The Ukrainian peasants answered the requisitioning of the products of their labor with a curtailment of plantings, producing just enough to live on. The cultivated area dropped from 18.5 million dessiatines in 1916 to 14.7 million in 1920. The drop in yield was even greater, so that the total crop was one-half that of the prewar figure. The drought in 1921 brought the cultivated area down to 12.2 million dessiatines, and the total crop to one-fourth of the prewar figure. Famine was rampant, mainly in the steppe areas. The proportional drop in farm animals was smaller: horses to one-half of the number for 1916 and cattle to two-thirds.

**The NEP Period**

Following the bankruptcy of the system of "war communism" and the

changeover to the new economic policy (NEP [Vol. I, p. 802 and Vol. II, pp. 700 and 711]), the Bolshevik regime promulgated legislation with new principles of agrarian policy. The Land Code of Ukraine was ratified on November 29, 1920, and subsequently amended several times. According to this code, the right to hold land for one's own use was vested "without limitation of time, which could only be abrogated under conditions indicated in the law itself." The maximum of land to be used by one household was 15 hectares in Right-Bank Ukraine, up to 48 hectares in the steppes. Within these limitations, the peasants were subsequently given the right to lease land for terms not exceeding nine years. The forms of land holding provided for its unrestricted use, with the land community having only a limited right of interference. Special protection was given to hamlets and isolated farms by a provision of the law: their location and bounds could be altered only for the paramount interest of the state. The land code permitted, with some restrictions, the use of hired help in agriculture.

The middle-class peasants, the bulk of the rural population, formed the principal category taken under the wing of agricultural policy. During this period the state itself used only a small percentage of land, mostly forests and some arable land (1,400,000 hectares, or 5 to 6 per cent), on which state farms (*radhosps*) and collective farms (*kolhosps*) were organized. The area of land held by the peasants, which amounted to 15,700,000 hectares before the war, now increased to 23,500,000 hectares. As a result of continuing subdivision and vesting of the landless with ownership, the number of peasant households increased from 3,500,000 to 5,200,000.

The size of the farms underwent significant changes. Large estates no longer existed; part of the land was also taken away from the rich farmers and turned over to the landless households. These changes are reflected in Table II (in percentages of all peasant farms):

TABLE II

| Size of farm | 1916 | 1928 |
|---|---|---|
| No land | 15 | 4 |
| Under 3 dessiatines | 20 | 48 |
| 3.1 to 10 dessiatines | 56 | 41 |
| 10 and over dessiatines | 9 | 7 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100 |

As a result of the agrarian reform, Ukraine became a land of small farms.

In the less densely populated Northern Caucasus and Crimea, the number of medium size and large farms was greater. Thus, in the northern Caucasus, 8 per cent of the households had no land, 33 per cent had up to 3 dessiatines, 31 per cent from 3.1 to 10, and 28 per cent over 10 dessiatines.

Since the agrarian policy of the NEP period permitted variety in land use, the development of agriculture proceeded rapidly and by the end of the period the yield had almost reached the prewar level. The NEP period was the second period of agricultural progress. Some farms still used the three-field system, but the homesteads and separate farms changed over to four- and five-field crop rotation. The agrarian policy of this period contained some favorable elements for the growth of agriculture. First of all, the thin strip fields were eliminated. Starting in 1924, the large villages began to be resettled on individual homesteads; the peasants also began to move to the lands in the south and southeast of Ukraine.

The area of cultivated land increased; the percentage of grain planted dropped to make way for cultivation crops (sugar beets, corn, and sunflower), clover and alfalfa increased. The percentage of commercial crops grew from 4 per cent of all tilled land in 1913 to 9 per cent in 1928 and potatoes from 2 to 7 per cent. The percentage of winter grains also increased. Animal husbandry began de-

FIGURE 468. MECHANIZED THRESHING AT THE LENIN COLLECTIVE FARM IN THE VILLAGE OF BOROVYTSIA, CHERKASY AREA (1935)

veloping at a fast rate, reaching the 1917 level by 1924 (see p. 879).

The Ukrainian cooperatives played a helpful role in the development of this period. Disbanded in 1919 they renewed their activities and established a dense network of marketing and credit co-operatives. Mobile units for renting agricultural machinery were organized, thus greatly helping those farms that lacked tools. During the NEP period individual farms had some access to modern farm machinery. At first, these were only tractor pools. Subsequently, machine-tractor-stations were organized in Ukraine for the first time in the USSR as cooperative organizations.

The NEP period also favored the development of experimental stations: a network of thirty-five stations served the different agricultural regions of Ukraine. Particularly noteworthy was the growth of selection stations for the development of new strains of grain cultures.

Grain surpluses decreased because of increased population and improved nutrition; the average annual grain surplus for all Ukrainian territories within the USSR was estimated at 3.5 million tons. Thus, Ukrainian participation in the world exports dropped to about 10 per cent. The direction of shipments also changed; before the war 80 per cent of exports from Ukraine went abroad, now the figure was halved, fifty per cent going abroad and fifty to other Soviet republics.

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**1929–44**

The abandonment of the NEP policy in 1929 brought about a complete change of conditions in agriculture. This change was accomplished by means of collectivization.

The theoreticians of communism believed that the existence of agriculture based on private property and independent enterprise was incompatible with the socialist economy. The principal reasons were: (1) low productivity and capital formation on small farms; (2) inability to apply new technological inventions and means of mechanized soil cultivation; (3) inability to integrate into a planned economy; (4) inherent dangers in the existence of free small producers, leading inevitably to the development of capitalistic market economy and competition which constitute a major threat to the building of socialism. Thus, the Communists resolved that the elimination of the private system of agriculture and the introduction of collectivization were priority tasks on the road to the realization of the basic economic and political goals in the building of a socialist society. However, the rather sudden and unexpected decision of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) to start forced collectivization in the fall of 1929 could also be traced to the specific circumstances of the times. The party discovered that because it had started construction of too many investment projects at once there was not enough capital on hand to complete the first Five-Year Plan of industrialization. Additional capital could only be formed by an immediate increase of exports of agricultural produce, and for that purpose it was necessary to procure the largest possible agricultural surplus at the lowest possible prices. Moreover, the 1929–33 world depression, which was

also unexpected, caused a considerable drop in agricultural export prices, while the prices of machinery, which the USSR was importing, remained high. This meant that in order to secure machinery imports the USSR had to export increased amounts of cheap agricultural produce. As long as the peasants remained free they had no intention of giving up their output to the state for almost nothing. Hence they had to be forced into collective farms.

The economic rationale of collective farming was plain. Collective farming abolished economic independence of the peasants in their relations with the state monopoly (monopsony). Unlike private farms, collective farms were now subject to: (a) centralized state planning, (b) thorough Party and government controls, (c) obligation to deliver to the state specific quotas of produce at extremely low prices, and (d) the use of state-owned machinery at an additional payment of a high rent in kind.

Forced collectivization was approved by a resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU on November 17, 1929, which provided that: "Ukraine must, within the shortest period of time, give an example of the establishment of a large socialized economy." A resolution of December 25, 1929 recommended that by October 1930 collectivization should encompass 21.6 per cent of all land. But a further resolution of the CC CPSU of January 5, 1930 ordered an acceleration of collectivization which was to be completed in the main grain regions within one to two years; and also "the liquidation of *kulaks* (*kurkuls*) as a class," the presumption being that the *kurkuls* were opposing collectivization. To implement these directives, the party dispatched a large number of its members to the rural areas of Ukraine (from 1930 to 1932 their number increased there from 38,500 to 112,000). Also, 10,500 city workers were appointed as collective farm chairmen and members of village councils, and 19,400 workers and officials were given temporary jobs in the villages. As admitted later by V. Chubar, head of the government of the Ukrainian SSR, collectivization proceeded according to the principle: "Join the collective farm, or else you'll be exiled to the Arctic islands of Solovky." Applications for membership in collective farms were often signed under the gun threat. Economic pressures were also used: individual farmers were ordered to deliver from 300 to 400 *poods* (1 *pood* = approx. 38 lbs.) of grain to the state, while collective farm members were exempt from this delivery; cash taxes paid by collective farm members ranged from 5 to 7 per cent of the net income, while the levy on all other peasants was 7 to 70 per cent [Vol. I, pp. 816–26].

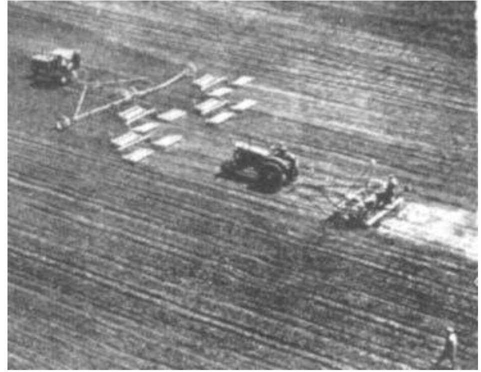

FIGURE 469. MECHANIZED SOWING IN A COLLECTIVE FARM

The process of collectivization is represented by Table III.

The pressure to collectivize was exerted primarily in Ukraine, also in Kuban and the Don regions. In central Russia collectivization was planned and proceeded at a slower pace.

In 1930–2 arbitrary requisitioning of grain and other produce prevailed in the newly formed collective farms (with the government often paying nothing for the deliveries inasmuch as the collectives were in debt to it for advances of credits

TABLE III

| Date | Percentage collectivized | | Number of collective farms |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Households | Land | |
| October 1, 1928 | 3.4 | 3.8 | 9,700 |
| October 1, 1929 | 8.6 | 8.9 | 14,300 |
| March 10, 1930 | 65.0 | 70.0 | (no fig.) |
| July 1, 1930 | 30.4 | 39.7 | 20,800 |
| April 1, 1931 | 55.4 | 61.9 | 35,800 |
| January 20, 1932 | 70.0 | 73.5 | (no fig.) |
| June 1, 1933 | 69.5 | 86.1 | 24,200 |
| June 1, 1934 | 78.0 | 90.6 | 25,900 |
| October 1, 1935 | 91.3 | 98.0 | 27,400 |

and machinery). Beginning on January 19, 1933, however, a new system of compulsory deliveries of produce at fixed prices went into effect. When by the decree of May 6, 1932, collectives were permitted for the first time to sell their surpluses in the city markets at free prices (after all obligations to the government had been met), the enormous divergence between free market prices and the government procurement prices was revealed. According to official statistics, market prices for grain in the Ukrainian SSR in 1933 were 20 to 25 times the fixed prices for obligatory deliveries, and in 1935 still 10 to 15 times.

As a result of collectivization, the state was able to purchase (practically for nothing) more than one-half of the gross output of Ukrainian agriculture, which was resold at higher prices partially in the cities and to the peasants and partially exported. The profit obtained was used by the state to finance the development of its heavy industry. By 1932 capital investment in the USSR exceeded the 1928 level by a factor of 5.2. At the same time collectivization created a large surplus of labor, which was pushed out into the cities and recruited according to plan from collective farms for industry.

Land distribution in the Ukrainian SSR, following collectivization, is shown in Table IV. The figures indicate that after collectivization the agricultural system was based on two principal forms —collective farms and state farms.

According to Communist theory, STATE FARMS represent a higher form of agriculture. They are owned by the state, as are all of their means of production, and they hire labor. Since state farms were large enterprises preferentially equipped with modern machinery and all the materials required for efficient operation, they were expected to function both as factories turning out agricultural products and as disseminators of agrotechnical culture.

At the beginning of the first Five-Year

TABLE IV

| Classification of holding (1938) | Thous. hectares | Percentage of total area |
|---|---|---|
| Collective farms | 35,239 | 79.1 |
| Individual households | 194 | 0.4 |
| State farms (incl. experimental stations, national parks, etc.) | 4,300 | 9.7 |
| State forests | 3,700 | 8.3 |
| Cities | 384 | 0.9 |
| Other state lands | 729 | 1.6 |
| TOTAL | 44,546 | 100.0 |

Plan, state farms controlled 687,000 hectares (2.8 per cent of all arable land) in the Ukrainian SSR, and by 1938 the figure was 4,300,000 hectares (9.7 per cent). On the eve of World War II, there were 803 state farms in the Ukrainian SSR, averaging 5,200 hectares each. State farms were organized to operate in various branches of agriculture, with the following classifications in 1938: 137 grain farms, 191 sugar beet, 82 dairy and meat, 113 hog, also a few specialized farms producing flax, cotton, raw silk. State farms delivered all of their net output to the government at very low prices.

State farms fell far below the theoretical expectations in productivity. They did not exceed the level of collective farms in grain production, nor was there any discernible improvement in other areas of farm productivity such as animal husbandry. Thus, as examples of efficiency and profitability, state farms were a disappointment. They also failed in their secondary purpose of being the chief suppliers of agricultural products for the state. Grain deliveries by state farms to the government amounted to only 22.9 per cent of the gross crop, that is, they did not exceed the pre-war productivity level of the peasants. In comparison with the large estates of the landlords, which had produced 40 to 50 per cent of total marketable grain, the productivity of the state farms was quite low. Some 80–90 per cent of all state farms were insolvent and had to be financially subsidized from the state budget. They ran at a loss because the state paid them very low prices for their output.

COLLECTIVE FARMS were the predominant form of agricultural organization in the Ukrainian SSR before World War II. The organizational principles of collective farms were set forth in the Master Charter of the Agricultural Artel which determined their structure and production activities. The charter provided that the artel should operate according to plan, strictly observing its duties toward the state. Schedules for planting, tilling, threshing, raising farm animals, and so forth were drawn up (in the form of directives) by government agencies, usually agricultural departments of the *raion* councils. The plans contained directives on the acreage to be planted, crops to be raised, quotas to be delivered to the state, work time schedules, and other details.

FIGURE 470. COLLECTIVE FARM WORKERS LUNCHING IN THE SUGAR BEET FIELD

According to the 1935 Charter, collective farms were "voluntary cooperative associations of peasants for joint use of the means of production and organized labor to build a common economy and ensure complete victory over the *kurkuls* and all exploiters and enemies of the toilers, to secure complete victory over poverty, illiteracy, and backwardness of individual farming, creating high productivity of labor and thus provide a higher living standard for all collective farm members."

As regards the "voluntary" aspect of collective farms, there was really nothing voluntary in either the letter or the spirit of their charter. It made no provision for resignation of a member, only for his expulsion. If a farmer was hired by the industry and had to leave the collective farm for the city, he was not permitted to take out his share of the cooperative capital, not to speak of the value of the land which was state property.

Initially work quotas were set by the

collective farms themselves, but since 1939 they have been set by the state. Quotas determined per workday (*trudoden'*) could not be fulfilled in a day because the concept "working time" had been replaced by the concept "working task" regardless of the actual time spent in its fulfillment. Hence the obligatory minimum quota of 120 workdays per year for each adult collective farm member was not the equivalent of actual 120 days but considerably larger. In order to fulfill the quota during the farm season, collective farm members were compelled to use their children for help.

Wages were paid in two forms: mostly in kind and partly in cash. They were residual wages in the sense that whatever produce was left on the farms after fulfillment of all obligations to the state and whatever cash was left after the payment of taxes was divided at the end of the year in proportion to the workdays earned by each farmer during the year.

Priorities in the distribution of the harvest were as follows: first, the state received its quota of obligatory deliveries and the rent in kind for the state machinery was paid; next, seeds borrowed from the state, if any, had to be returned; then the following year's seed fund was replenished and the fodder fund for the animals secured; only then the remainder was divided per workday among the farmers as their wages.

Even during the years of normal harvest before World War II, the grain paid for workdays did not exceed 23 per cent of the crop. When the harvest was poor, this percentage fell to zero. According to the law of April 7, 1940, collective farms had to surrender grain to the state not as a percentage of the harvest, but in fixed proportion to the entire land area, regardless of the crop sown or gathered.

In case of crop failure, the obligation towards the state was fulfilled at the expense of the seed fund, and for the next year's sowing seeds were borrowed from the state.

The following distribution of the grain crop in Ukrainian collective farms in 1939 is cited as a typical example:

| | |
|---|---|
| Deliveries to the state in kind | 22.6(%) |
| Payment to machine-and-tractor stations in kind | 21.4 |
| Seed and insurance funds | 14.9 |
| Feed for collectively-owned livestock | 15.8 |
| Other charges | 2.4 |
| Distributed among members as wages | 22.9 |
| | 100.0 |

Below is a list of products distributed by collective farms per person in 1938 (average crop year) in comparison with products consumed in 1926 or saved for consumption (according to the study of budgets made during that year).

| *Kilograms per person per year* | *Obtained in 1938* | *Consumed in 1926* |
|---|---|---|
| Grain, grits, legumes | 216 | 365 |
| Edible oils | 2.5 | 6 |
| Potatoes | 70 | 744 |
| Vegetables | 6.5 | 432.8 |
| Meat and fat | 0.002 | 36.5 |
| Milk and dairy products | — | 158 |

The collective farm, to which the peasant surrendered most of his resources and labor, could satisfy only a part of his nutritional needs. The rest had to be supplemented from the household plot. Many farmers lived permanently undernourished nonetheless. The household plots, averaging less than 0.5 hectare, were burdened with heavy taxes and obligatory delivery quotas in kind. Household plots of collective farm members amounted to less than 0.5 per cent of the total land, with the average plot amounting to 0.4 hectare per household. The law of May 27, 1939 reduced the plots to 0.25–0.30 hectare.

The only capital asset left in the hands of individuals was livestock, the number of which continued to drop. In 1938 collective farm members held as their personal property 4.7 per cent of all horses, 49.3 cattle, 42.2 sheep and goats, and 49.8 hogs.

Cash wages during 1938 averaged 503 rubles per household. Out of this sum,

92.5 rubles were payable in taxes, 30 rubles in compulsory insurance, and about 100 in obligatory state loans, so that the collective farm member and his family had only about 280 rubles left for a year's work. This was not always paid because the collective farms lacked funds to pay even these low wages. As of January 1, 1940 the collective farms owed their members over one billion rubles in wages.

Most of the collective farms were heavily in debt to the state and no less than 85 per cent of them were financially insolvent. This did not matter in practice, however, because from 1936 on all cost accounting was legally prohibited. Whatever accounts were kept and reported to the state statistical agencies were in physical terms only.

Collective farms obtained traction power from the MACHINE-AND-TRACTOR STATIONS (MTS) established by the state to provide farm machinery at fixed rentals in kind. Each MTS had between 30 and 60 tractors and other machines, depending on the specialty of the collective farms which they served (grain, sugar beets, cotton, etc.). The entire tractor pool was divided into 10 to 15 groups assigned to permanent work in specified collective farms.

On the eve of World War II, the MTS in the Ukrainian SSR had 88,500 tractors, 31,000 combines, and 50,000 trucks. The total number of MTS was 1,011 (47 in 1930). By 1938 the percentage of land serviced by the MTS reached 99.3 per cent. The rate of mechanization per unit of land or per collective farm worker was still very low, however. On the eve of World War II, the tractors and other machines replaced only the draft power of those horses and oxen which had been slaughtered by the peasants during the collectivization [see p. 878]. The total amount of draft power, both mechanical and live, did not significantly increase as compared with the pre-collectivization period.

FIGURE 471. HELICOPTER SPRAYING THE RICE FIELD OF THE KRASNODAR STATE FARM

Collective farms were required to use the MTS services not only because their own draft power resources were insufficient to carry out the work in the fields, but also because state plans called for a specific quota of work to be done by mechanized means. Rentals collected by the MTS for their obligatory services to the collectives were high, their total being almost equal to the compulsory delivery quotas. Most of the rent paid by the collectives to the MTS consisted of grain, which the MTS in turn sold to the state, but at the same minimal prices which the state paid to the collectives for their obligatory delivery quotas. As a result all MTS were financially insolvent and had to be, like the state farms, heavily subsidized from the state budget.

The MTS were also in charge of agrotechnical improvements. Considerable improvement in the quality of seed grain and industrial crops undoubtedly has had a beneficial effect on the collectivized agriculture. Ukrainian selection specialists produced many new strains of highly productive wheat. These strains included the renowned Ukraïnka and several types of Novokrymka which, in addition to being drought resistant and producing high yields, have high nutritional value.

The degree of inefficiency of the new socialized agriculture was incredible, especially in those elements where collective farming strongly resembled serfdom. State farms and MTS produced huge financial losses, and in the period immediately preceding World War II there were large losses of grain and other produce due to inefficient harvesting and transportation. These losses were as high as 30 to 35 per cent of the total grain harvest.

Although the new system stifled the incentive of the farmers and caused low productivity, it provided the government

TABLE IVa

| | State purchase price in the rural areas | State retail price in city stores | Gross "profit" markup |
|---|---|---|---|
| Milk, 1 liter | 6 kopecks | 160 kopecks | 2,500 per cent |
| Beef, 1 kilogram | 42 kopecks | 760 kopecks | 1,660 per cent |
| Potatoes, 1 kilogram | 2.5 kopecks | 40 kopecks | 1,500 per cent |

with low-cost farm produce amounting to some 50–55 per cent of the harvest in case of grain, for example, which could be resold at high prices in the cities and abroad. The monopsonistic profit from this operation, in the form of the turnover tax on procurements, accrued to the USSR treasury to be used in financing industrialization. Table IVa is an example illustrating the economic rationale of the new system (data for 1937).

In the course of the German-Soviet war Ukrainian agriculture suffered great losses. Most of the mechanical draft power and horses were mobilized for the Red Army in 1941; people and livestock were evacuated to the eastern parts of the USSR. During the occupation, in most parts of the central and eastern Ukraine the Germans tried to preserve collective and state farming as the main source of food supply for their armed forces. Only in the easternmost provinces did the Germans agree, in 1942–3, to disband collective farming experimentally and re-establish private family farming [Vol. I, p. 882].

*C. Kononenko, G. Makhiv, V. Holubnychy*

## AGRICULTURE OF WESTERN UKRAINE BETWEEN 1914 AND 1939

### 1914–19

Both World War I and the liberation struggle inflicted heavy damage on the agriculture of Western Ukraine. Nearly 20 per cent of the rural population lost their homes and farm buildings. In Galicia alone, the losses of farm animals were as follows: horses–38 per cent, cattle–36 per cent, hogs–77 per cent. The land under cultivation also decreased considerably. Peasants soon were able to rebuild their farms with their own resources, but estate owners could not do so for a much longer time.

### 1920–45

In all parts of Ukraine occupied by Poland the government immediately placed all land under its control. According to the decree of the Council of Ministers of September 1, 1919, all purchases of land from large estates had to be approved by the administration. Under a secret order of the Main Land Office, issued almost simultaneously with its establishment, Ukrainian peasants in Galicia were allowed to acquire only 5 per cent of the land obtained from breaking up the estates. Although the Polish land reform laws of 1920 and 1925 granted priority in purchasing estate land to landless farm hands employed by these estates and to owners of less than two hectares in the same or neighboring villages, in practice Ukrainian peasants were quite restricted in acquiring land. Moreover, a law on military settlement of the eastern borderlands, including Volhynia and Polisia, passed in 1920, provided free land to Polish war veterans, even in localities where the Ukrainian farmers had become the rural proletariat. By the end of 1920, military settlers in Volhynia had been allotted 112,000 hectares of land, and Polish settlers in Galicia had acquired nearly 200,000 hectares. Altogether, between 1919 and 1938, nearly 800,000 hectares were parcelled out in the Ukrainian territories under Poland, with only a small portion going to Ukrainians. A larger share was repurchased

by Ukrainian peasants from Polish settlers who had become burdened by debt.

In the 1930's only 59 per cent of the land in Galicia and Volhynia was owned by the peasants, 23 per cent by estate owners, and 18 per cent by the state. Almost all arable land (84 per cent of the total) was in the hands of the peasants. The unhealthy agrarian conditions are evident from the following figures: in Galicia and Volhynia very small farms (up to 2 hectares) constituted 42 per cent of all households: small farms (2 to 5 hectares)—39 per cent; medium farms (5 to 10 hectares)—14 per cent, and only 5 per cent exceeded 10 hectares. These very small farms occupied only 9 per cent of the land; the small farms—26 per cent; the medium farms—21 per cent, and the large farms—44 per cent of all land. These figures refer to all farms. Extrapolated for the Ukrainian population, they present an even more unfavorable picture.

Despite the war devastation and a hostile government policy, the Ukrainian peasants showed remarkable progress in agriculture. Thanks to the educational societies Prosvita and Ridna Shkola people in the rural areas were better educated than before the war. Nearly 3,500 cooperative associations (including 2,000 purchasing and marketing co-ops, see pp. 984–5) eliminated the previously uneconomic retailing methods. Better farm tools, artificial fertilizers, machine-leasing co-ops, a conversion to commercial and fodder crops, and an increase in wheat and corn planting, along with more efficient animal husbandry methods, contributed to the improvement of agriculture, which continued despite the depression of the 1930's.

Cooperative enterprises processed farm products for the market. Dairy products of the Maslosoiuz (Dairy Union) not only dominated the local market, but successfully established themselves abroad. Another country-wide organization, Tsentrosoiuz (Central Union), exported eggs, meat products, and fibers to Western European markets. The teaching personnel of these cooperatives spread all over the countryside. Financial support was given to the farm educational society Sil's'kyi Hospodar (Village Farmer) which, on the eve of World War II, had 63 county branches, 1,683 local units with 107,200 members, and 137 persons employed as agronomists (mostly graduates of higher educational institutions). The Khliborobs'kyi Vyshkil Molodi (Youth Farm Training) operated in 523 villages organizing farm contests, fairs, and exhibits, and ran experimental plantings and seed selection stations. However, because of the dismal agrarian structure, crop yields in Galicia did not improve (1,000 kg of grain from 1 hectare). Rural overpopulation, a consequence of restricted overseas migration and lack of industrialization, became even more acute than before the war.

This rural overpopulation was not as severe in the northwestern lands, particularly in Volhynia, as in Galicia, and crop yields improved in comparison with the prewar figures. This was due in large measure to the elimination of servitude and intense concentration of land holdings, which was almost nonexistent in Galicia (between 1920 and 1936, 406,000 hectares were turned into single-tract farms in the northwestern lands, and only 26,000 hectares in Galicia). However, because of interference by the Polish authorities [Vol. I, p. 840], the work of Ukrainian organizations in improving farm culture in Volhynia did not progress as well as in Galicia.

The Ukrainian territory of Bukovina, annexed by Rumania, progressed very little between the two world wars.

Transcarpathia, as part of Czechoslovakia, showed the greatest progress over the prewar conditions primarily because of the enlightened policies of the government. Education of the peasants improved, as did the number of schools for general and trade education (see pp. 381 ff.). Highway construction and land amelioration provided employment for the local population. Land reform af-

fected 87 per cent of the people, with a marked improvement apparent in animal husbandry, truck farming, and viticulture. Local farm organizations (mainly the Prosvita society) played an important part in this development, since they were not restricted in any way.

*I. Vytanovych*

## AGRICULTURE IN THE POSTWAR PERIOD (1945–68)

### Agricultural Policies

Throughout the postwar period agriculture was the most backward sector of the economy of the Ukrainian SSR. Having lost property, livestock, and equipment (including peasant property) during the war to the amount of 91.5 billion rubles (1941 prices), or twice as much as the manufacturing and mining industries, agriculture has suffered from a lack of capital resources, economic exploitation, and the vagaries of agricultural policies of the Moscow government. After a heavy drought in 1946, there was a famine in the countryside but, as in 1933, Moscow did not provide any assistance. Beginning in 1947, the volume of agricultural production slowly increased but was subject to the meteorological cycle which affected the entire economy. Out of the first twenty-two postwar years, ten recorded bad harvests, six were medium, and six were above average or bumper harvests. Thus a bad harvest occurred practically every third year. In 1949–52, Stalin initiated what was called the "Plan for the Reconstruction of Nature," the planting of a series of forest belts and the construction of irrigation canals and ponds in the steppe, but the Korean war sapped most of the money and after some waste of resources the plans were largely forgotten. By 1967, only 598,500 hectares of land were under irrigation, while the total amount theoretically adaptable to and in need of irrigation was 7.2 million hectares. In 1967 almost 60 per cent of all land in the Ukrainian SSR was in need of chemical amelioration. The supply of fertilizers was also extremely poor. In 1962, for example, collective and state farms of Ukraine requested 5.5 million tons of fertilizer but received only 1.9 million tons.

The mechanization of agriculture has made some progress since the collectivization years, but it was still very far from sufficient. Until 1952, tractors and other means of mechanization barely replaced the losses of tractors, trucks, horses, and oxen incurred during the war. By 1968, live draft power (horses and oxen) made up only 2.0 per cent of the Ukrainian SSR's total draft power. Yet to attain an optimum level of mechanization, the agriculture was still short at least 30–40 per cent of the mechanical draft power. In 1968, there were 4.7 HP of mechanical power and 600 kwt-hrs. of electric power per working farmer in Ukraine; by comparison, in the United States there were 70 HP and 5,250 kwt-hrs. per farmer (including passenger cars and consumption of electricity at home).

Rural labor supply in relation to land

TABLE IVa

STOCK OF MAIN MACHINERY IN UKRAINE'S AGRICULTURE

(in thousands)

| | 1940 | 1945 | 1950 | 1960 | 1968 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tractors (physical units) | 94.6 | 54.1 | 98.4 | 182.4 | 283.8 |
| (15-HP units) | 112.5 | 62.9 | 152.1 | 275.9 | 534.7 |
| Grain harvesters (units) | 33.4 | 15.4 | 31.9 | 64.8 | 65.7 |
| of which self-propelled | — | — | 4.5 | 28.7 | 65.0 |
| Trucks and lorries | 54.9 | 8.9 | 65.9 | 147.6 | 228.6 |

remained excessive. Crop area in the collective farms per member family decreased from 5.5 ha. to 4.6 ha. between 1940 and 1966. Crop area in the state farms per worker declined from 7.6 ha. to 5.8 ha. in the same period. Land supply in the Ukrainian SSR is largely fixed; hence, the decline of crop area per unit of labor or per family was due to the increase in labor supply accompanied by a slight decrease in the size of the family and a large increase in their numbers between those two dates. In conjunction with insufficient capital formation, these figures show the presence of relative overpopulation and hidden unemployment in agriculture.

Insufficient capital investment and monopsonistic exploitation of agriculture until 1965 were also the cause of the creeping grain crisis affecting not only the Ukrainian SSR but the entire USSR. The state of Ukrainian grain farming is characterized by the following statistics:

| | *Total harvest av. per year (in mill. tons)* | *Av. yield per hectare (in tons)* | *Total harvest per capita of population (in kilograms)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1940 | 26.4 | 1.24 | 647 |
| 1946–50 | 16.5 | 0.83 | 471 |
| 1951–5 | 22.7 | 1.16 | 591 |
| 1956–60 | 23.8 | 1.51 | 577 |
| 1961–5 | 29.3 | 1.71 | 664 |
| 1966 | 34.1 | 2.15 | 749 |
| 1967 | 31.8 | 2.01 | 691 |
| 1968 | 27.9 | 1.84 | 597 |

(These are official data; actually, they should have been reduced by about 8–10 per cent to take account of grain losses between harvesting and storing it in the barns. See pp. 857 ff.).

Grain shortages were especially acute during the 1950's, when because of export demands the USSR state reserves became almost exhausted. The sixth Five-Year Plan, promulgated in 1956, established a quota of "not less than" 33.6 million tons of grain to be produced by Ukraine in 1960; this target could not be reached even by 1968. Khrushchev tried to alleviate the grain crisis by cultivating dry virgin lands in the east-central regions of the USSR. Assuming that the virgin lands would justify the hopes and heavy investments, it was decided, at the same time, to reduce areas under wheat, barley, and rye in the Ukrainian SSR and in the Kuban region, and substitute for them green fodder crops and corn needed to sustain and develop the livestock industries which have constantly suffered from fodder shortages. Between 1953 and 1959, wheat crop area in Ukraine was cut by 35.6 per cent (in the Kuban region—50 per cent), while the areas under corn were expanded by 600 per cent. The heavy weight of corn (compared to wheat) increased the yield statistics and total grain harvests, but solved the grain problem only in part. The disastrous harvest of 1963 forced the Soviet Union, for the first time in its history, to import grain from abroad—mainly from Canada and the United States.

As a result of the growth of grain output in the east of the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR's share in the total USSR output (and in state procurements) declined from 27.6 per cent in 1940 to 20.2 in 1958–65 (on the average). Soon shortages of durum wheats produced only in Ukraine and Kuban began to be felt in the macaroni and other food industries (eastern virgin land wheat is poor in quality). To expand production of better-grade wheat, Khrushchev decided to do away with fallowing in the steppe and elsewhere. The area under clean fallow in the Ukrainian SSR was diminished from 12.3 per cent of the total in 1940 to 6.7 per cent in 1958 and 0.4 per cent in 1963—all this despite the fact that fallowing is practiced extensively all over the world (in the prairie provinces of Canada and in the Dakotas whose agriculture compares with that of Ukraine, area under fallow usually amounts to 20–35 per cent of the total). Without fallowing, erosion of the soils in the steppe accelerated and soon vast dust bowls began to develop. After Khrushchev's downfall in 1964, fallowing

| | *State purchase price in the countryside* | *State retail price in all city stores* | *Free market price, city of Lviv* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Milk, 1 liter | 15 kopeks | 24 kopeks | 30 kopeks |
| Beef, 1 kilogram | 143 kopeks | 190 kopeks | 220 kopeks |
| Potatoes, 1 kilogram | 8 kopeks | 15 kopeks | 25 kopeks |

was restored and the area under corn was cut back to rational proportions (see p. 864).

The Ukrainian SSR could have had much more grain fodder for its livestock if it were not obliged to deliver excessive compulsory quotas of food grains to the USSR. The average annual quota of these deliveries during 1961–7 was 44 per cent of the final harvest. The permanent shortage of fodder was the main reason for the insufficient supply of meat and dairy products, and for the predominance of bread, porridge, and potatoes in the daily diet of the average family (see p. 873). Prewar livestock numbers were not restored until 1953, but because of fodder shortages animal population declined time and again (in 1954 and 1955, and in the 1960's). Still, while having only 8 per cent of agricultural land of the USSR, Ukraine produced in the postwar period about 25 per cent of the total USSR agricultural output.

FIGURE 472. A LARGE POULTRY FARM NEAR SIMFEROPOL

Intensive exploitation of agriculture for the sake of capital formation and industrialization continued unabated through 1953. Prices received by the collective and state farms covered less than half of their production costs. (Cost accounting was officially reintroduced in collective farms in 1956.) After Stalin's death, however, obligatory delivery prices began to rise and agriculture's terms of trade with the state improved. Thus the price at which Ukrainian collective farms delivered their obligatory quotas of wheat to the state increased from 10 rubles per ton in 1953 (where it had remained unchanged since 1936) to 22 rubles in 1955 and 25 rubles in 1957. After the liquidation of the MTS in 1958, the wheat price was again augmented to 66 rubles per ton, and after Khrushchev's downfall in 1965—to 76 rubles. For voluntary sales to the state above the obligatory delivery quotas the wheat price is 50 per cent higher again. State farms have delivered their wheat to the government at 45 rubles per ton since 1965 (36 rubles per ton before 1965). Since the state resells the wheat to the food industry at 200 rubles per ton (since 1965), it still realizes a substantial "profit" of about 250 to 400 per cent. (The free market price of wheat at which collective farmers sell their earnings in the cities was 260 rubles per ton in 1966.) The decrease in the government's price discrimination can also be seen from the above data for 1968.

This means that Ukrainian agriculture is still exploited by the state monopoly although much less intensively than in earlier times. The farm-retail price spreads are now no longer larger than in the Western capitalist economies. In the latter, however, agriculture is subsidized by the state through price supports and not exploited as in the USSR. Herein lies the main reason for the comparatively lower productivity of Ukraine's agriculture.

Exploitation of Ukrainian agriculture has been consistently more intensive

than in the Russian SFSR. This fact is seen, for example, in price discrimination against Ukraine. The 1967 collective farm delivery prices (in rubles per ton) were fixed by Moscow as follows:

| | *Ukrainian SSR (main* oblasts*)* | *Russian SFSR (main* oblasts*)* |
|---|---|---|
| Wheat | 76 | 130 |
| Rye | 76 | 130 |
| Steers | 810 | 910 |
| Pigs | 950 | 1,040 |
| Milk | 155 | 166 |

**Collective Farming**

Collective farming was quickly rebuilt during 1944–5 and a compulsory collectivization of private farming in western Ukraine was pushed through during 1948–50 [Vol. I, p. 902]. The postwar collectives were, however, relatively small, poor in resources, and extremely inefficient. A reform to amalgamate them into larger units was carried out during 1950–1 [Vol. I, p. 900]. The total number of collective farms in the Ukrainian SSR changed as follows: 1940–28,374, 1949–33,653, 1950–19,295, 1955–15,404, 1958–13,192, 1960–9,634, 1967–9,529. The total number of collective farm member families increased from 3,990,000 in 1940 to 5,583,000 in 1956, and then declined to 5,242,900 in 1967. In 1959 and also slowly later, low-producing collective farms were turned into state farms and/or merged into larger units. An average size of a collective farm has changed as follows:

| | *1940* | *1950* | *1966* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Member families | 141 | 285 | 553 |
| Crop area (in hectares) | 773 | 1,289 | 2,605 |
| Cattle, heads | 120 | 273 | 1,392 |
| Pigs | 101 | 200 | 1,034 |
| Tractors (15 HP) | 3* | 6* | 36 |

*In the MTS.

In 1966 collective farms possessed 79.6 per cent of all the agricultural lands in the Ukrainian SSR, and 77.5 per cent of all agricultural fixed assets (buildings, machinery, equipment). They contributed about 80 per cent to the total obligatory state deliveries of grain, 96 per cent of sugar beets, 75 per cent of meat and dairy products, and 50 per cent of vegetables. In terms of capital and land productivity, they were at this time slightly more efficient than the state farms, but paid considerably lower wages (see p. 856). They were considerably more overpopulated than the state farms. In terms of money income per farm, the richest collective farms are to be found in the Crimea and the steppe *oblasts*; the poorest farms are located in the Carpathians and in Polisia. Income differentiation exceeds the proportion of 5 to 1.

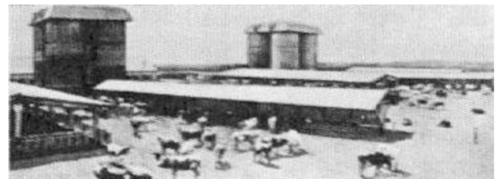

FIGURE 473. A MODERN CATTLE FARM

Collective farms were served by the machine-and-tractor stations until 1958 when the latter were abolished and their equipment sold to the collective farms. Compared to the MTS, the use of machinery in the collective farms has slightly declined. Non-mechanized manual labor still predominated in 1968 in trucking, gardening, and livestock raising. Grain farming, however, was almost fully mechanized, although the stock of machinery was insufficient for quick work during peak seasons. Prolonged harvesting especially resulted in great losses of grain.

Throughout the postwar period collective farms suffered much from centralized administrative planning and peremptory orders by the *raion* and *oblast* government and Party authorities. This was manifested particularly in the practice of dictating in minute details the scale and structure of production from central bodies without taking into consideration local geographic and economic

conditions. Such methods shackled the initiative of the farms and caused serious inefficiencies. Only since 1965 has centralized interference in the collective farms' affairs appeared to diminish gradually. The emphasis in planning now is on the delivery to the state of the specified produce quotas and not on production as such. The surpluses can be freely sold in the market or distributed to the members. In recent years, there has developed a considerable rural (intra-village) market. However, the government still lacks statistics on it.

**State Farms**

The number of state farms in the Ukrainian SSR increased from 929 in 1940 to 935 in 1950 and 1,418 in 1967. Their average size has changed as follows (per farm):

| | *1940* | *1950* | *1966* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Workers and employees | 326 | 349 | 683 |
| Crop area (in hectares) | 2,500 | 2,500 | 4,000 |
| Cattle, heads | 448 | 394 | 1,998 |
| Pigs | 576 | 578 | 1,366 |
| Tractors, 15 HP | 19 | 21 | 77 |

Most state farms in the Ukrainian SSR are narrowly specialized. There are very few grain state farms; most are dairy, poultry, and trucking farms. Because state farms are much better equipped with machinery than the collective farms and much less overpopulated, their labor productivity is usually 50–80 per cent higher than that of the collective farms. However, prices paid by the state for the produce delivered by state farms throughout the postwar period were insufficient to cover their costs of production, and these farms had to be subsidized from the state budget. Only after 1965 did there appear a trend toward solvency in these farms.

In the Ukrainian SSR state farms contribute only about 20 per cent of the total output of socialized agriculture, while in the Russian SFSR they contribute about 45 per cent (1967), and in Kazakhstan even more than that. Also, the proportion of the rural population

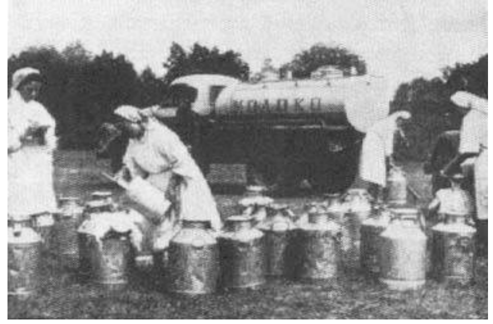

FIGURE 474. MEETING THE STATE DESIGNATED QUOTA OF MILK DELIVERY (1965)

employed by the state farms, as distinguished from collective farms, is about twice as large in Russia as in Ukraine. State farm workers receive money wages and usually live better than the collective farmers; they also have passports and are free to travel and change jobs. The fact that collective farming predominates so heavily in Ukraine as compared to Russia and the rest of the USSR reflects an aspect of Moscow's nationality policy and discrimination against Ukrainian peasantry.

*V. Holubnychy*

## PRINCIPAL BRANCHES OF AGRICULTURE

**Crop Cultivation**

Crop cultivation is the principal branch of agriculture in Ukraine. In 1967 crop cultivation provided 54 per cent of the total agricultural production in the Ukrainian SSR.

Classification of land according to farm use has existed in Ukraine as a result of the centuries-old plowing of steppe lands and simultaneous deforestation. Late in the eighteenth century, before the plowing of southern steppe Ukraine, the arable area occupied 30 per cent of all land (within the area of the present Ukrainian SSR), meadows and pastures over 40 per cent, and woodlands nearly 20 per cent. The comparative

state for 1890 and the 1920's for the Ukrainian SSR and all Ukrainian ethnographic territories (in approximate percentages) is shown in Table V.

The present utilization of land in Ukraine has reached a state of maturity, that is, the plowing of steppes and deforestation have reached the limit. According to data for 1965, the total land area of the Ukrainian SSR and the classification of agricultural uses is as shown in Table VI.

Classification of farm land according to categories of users for November 1, 1965 (in units of 1,000 hectares) is shown in Table VII.

The distribution of arable land is contingent upon natural conditions. It constitutes the largest percentage in the forest-steppe and steppe zones (more than two-thirds) and the least in Polisia (less than one-third) and the Carpathians (one-seventh). In recent years tilled land has shrunk at the expense of industrial and residential construction, reservoirs, and the like.

The greatest percentage of meadows is in Polisia (12 per cent of all farm land) and the least in the steppe. Pastures occupy large areas in the steppes (particularly in the southeast) and in the mountains.

TABLE V

| | Within the boundaries of the Ukrainian SSR | | Ukrainian ethnographic territories (1920) |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1890 | 1920 | |
| Tilled land and orchards | 60 | 68 | 66 |
| Meadows and pastures | 18 | 13 | 15 |
| Forests | 15 | 12 | 12 |
| Other | 7 | 7 | 7 |

TABLE VI

| | Thousands of hectares | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| All land | 60,103 | 100.0 |
| All agricultural land | 43,336 | 72.0 |
| inc. arable land (inc. fallow) | 34,451 | 57.5 |
| tilled land | (34,377) | (56.3) |
| Meadows | 2,667 | 4.4 |
| Pastures | 4,697 | 7.8 |

TABLE VII

| | All land | | Arable land | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1955 | 1965 | 1955 | 1965 |
| 1. Collective farm land | 44,980 | 38,718 | 38,906 | 33,625 |
| (a) land in community use | 42,593 | 36,593 | 36,738 | 31,594 |
| (b) garden plots used by collective farmers, workers, and employees | 2,388 | 2,125 | 2,168 | 2,031 |
| 2. State farm land | 4,949 | 9,848 | 4,417 | 8,554 |
| 3. Land individually used by workers and employees (excl. 1(b)) | 287 | 590 | 246 | 523 |
| 1–3. Total land used by agric. enterprises and households | 50,217 | 49,156 | 43,569 | 42,702 |
| 4. State land reserve, forest farms, etc. | 6,229 | 8,228 | 245 | 252 |
| 5. Other land users | 3,193 | 2,720 | 773 | 383 |

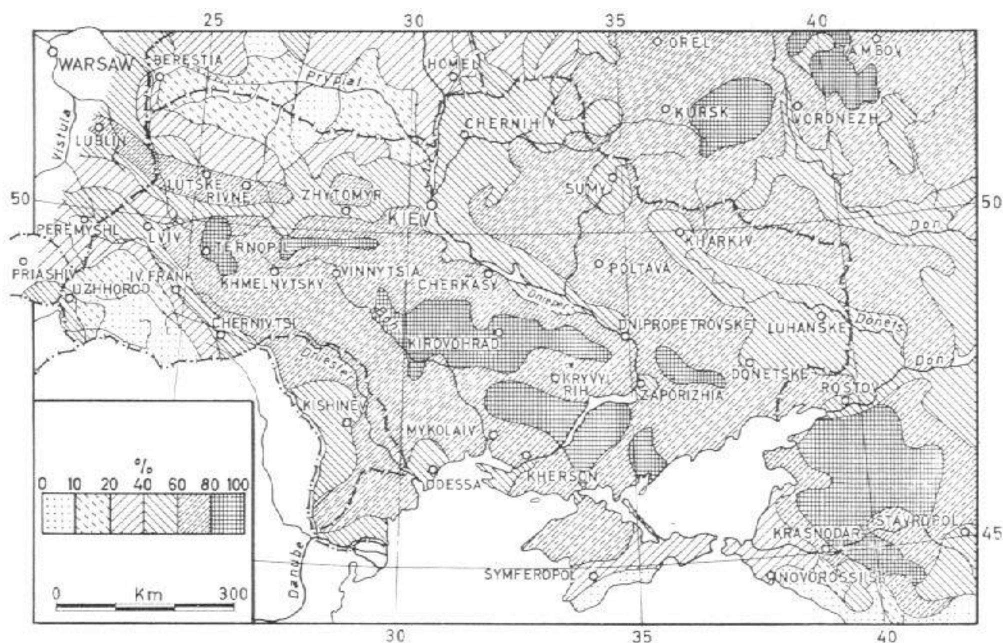


FIGURE 475. ARABLE LAND (IN PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL LAND AREA)

Badlands constitute the highest percentage in marshy areas (Polisia, nearly 20 per cent), peat bogs, shifting sands, salt marshes (the Dnieper delta, Kuban on the Sea of Azov, Tersk and Don regions), and in the high mountains. Land spits and in some places irrigation contribute to the reduction of badlands.

For the distribution of forests, see pp. 898 ff.

**Land under Crop**

As late as the 1920's, only about 80 per cent of the arable land was under cultivation, the remaining 20 per cent lying fallow.

In the eastern Subcaucasus and in the Don area, fallow land ranged from one-fourth to one-third of the arable land and in the eastern zone of the forest belt nearly one-fourth; in other Ukrainian areas, with the exception of Galicia, Bukovina, and the Kholm region, which did not use fallow land tilling, it constituted 10–20 per cent. In the 1920's and the 1930's the tilled area increased. Thus, in the Ukrainian SSR (prewar boundaries) tilled land increased from 22,900,000 hectares in 1913 to 24,900,000 hectares in 1924, and 25,300,000 in 1940, or 72, 79, and 80 per cent of all arable land, respectively. In the northern Caucasus the land under crop occupied 82 per cent of all arable land. This increase was associated with a transition from the three-field to the five-field system and crop rotation. The land under crop of the Ukrainian SSR within its present boundaries, increased from 28.0 million hectares in 1913 to 31.4 million in 1940, dropped during the war, and finally became stabilized at a figure between 30 and 30.5 million hectares. Another period of rapid growth began in 1954, reaching a maximum of 34,462,000 hectares in 1963, and then dropping to 33,785,000 hectares (or 98 per cent of all arable land) out of a total Ukrainian land area of approximately 50 million hectares. This excessive increase of tilled land occurred at the expense of fallow lands in the steppe which were plowed in spite of their importance in local agricultural practice.

There was a change not only in the

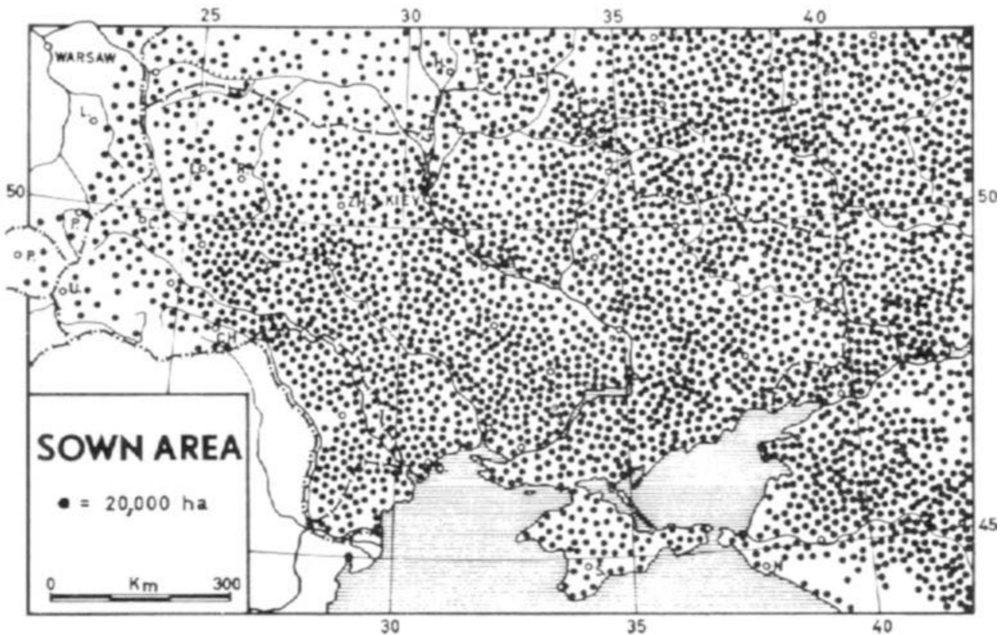


FIGURE 476. SOWN AREA OR LAND UNDER CROP IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR DURING THE 1960's

TABLE VIII

| Crops | Million hectares | | | | | Percentage ratio to all arable land | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1913 | 1940 | 1955 | 1960 | 1967 | 1913 | 1940 | 1955 | 1960 | 1967 |
| All land under crops | 28.0 | 31.3 | 32.9 | 33.5 | 33.3 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Grains | 24.7 | 21.4 | 20.4 | 13.7 | 15.5 | 88.4 | 68.2 | 62.1 | 40.9 | 46.6 |
| Industrial crops | 0.9 | 2.7 | 2.8 | 3.6 | 4.1 | 3.2 | 8.6 | 8.5 | 10.7 | 12.3 |
| Potatoes, vegetables, and gourds | 1.4 | 2.8 | 2.9 | 2.8 | 2.7 | 5.0 | 9.0 | 8.8 | 8.4 | 8.0 |
| Fodder | 0.9 | 4.4 | 6.8 | 13.4 | 11.0 | 3.2 | 14.2 | 20.6 | 40.0 | 33.1 |

land under crop, but also in its internal structure. Before World War II the eastern and central territories of Ukraine were given over to one-sided grain cultivation, particularly in the steppe zone (see below). Crops for fodder were grown only in the northern and western zones. Between the two world wars, however, there was a considerable increase in fodder production, since it was introduced as part of crop rotation. There was also an increase in commercial crops, potatoes, vegetables, and cucurbitaceous plants. Even greater changes took place in the 1950's, when Soviet agrarian policy stressed the importance of animal husbandry in Ukraine and fodder crops increased at the expense of grains. By 1960 the land under fodder crops equalled that under grains. Since 1961 there has been a levelling off, as indicated by Table VIII.

**Grain Economy**

Grain is the mainstay of Ukrainian agriculture. Among grains, millet, spring wheat, and barley were known even in the Trypilian period (4,000–3,000 B.C.). Rye appeared in the Halstadt period (1,000–500 B.C.), buckwheat in the first century A.D., and oats somewhat later. Corn came into use only in the eighteenth century and rice after World War II.

In modern times, the grain economy

achieved particular importance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when Ukraine became one of the principal exporters of grain in the world (see p. 846). During this time, the largest areas were given over to commercial grains: wheat and barley, with rye in third place, and oats in fourth, followed by corn, buckwheat, and millet.

After its decline during the war, the grain economy revived in the NEP period, and the area under grain regained the prewar level, although its percentage of participation in the total arable area declined in the central and eastern regions from 90.5 per cent in 1913 to 78.9 per cent in 1928 as a result of the transition to four- and five-field crop rotation. Because of a drop in barley exports, the area under barley was reduced. Planting of winter wheat increased at the expense of the lower-yielding spring wheat, and there was also an increase in corn planting.

The first years of collectivization of agriculture saw a decline in the grain economy. It began to revive only in 1936 and increased (with a wartime interruption in 1941–5) as a result, among other factors, of mechanization and improved agricultural methods. The following processes occurred during the period of collectivization: (1) a continued replacement of grain crops with fodder and commercial crops; (2) an increase in winter plantings, particularly substitution of winter wheat for spring wheat; (3) an increase in corn planting as a substitute for the less productive grains (oats and barley). The details, indicating conditions in the Ukrainian SSR within its present boundaries, are shown in Table IX.

The percentages of individual grain cultivation are subject to short-term changes from year to year, due mainly to meteorological factors (e.g., in 1956 the area under winter wheat dropped to 3.8 million hectares, while that of barley increased to 4.2 million, because most of the winter wheat was killed by frost). It should be added that the area under corn has been decreasing since 1964 (corn had been a pet project of Khrushchev; see below). The main grain crops in the Ukrainian SSR today are winter wheat, corn, and spring barley, which take up over 70 per cent of the area devoted to grain; rye and legumes follow, while oats, millet, buckwheat, and spring wheat are now of minor importance; small areas in Ukraine and Kuban produce rice, sorghum, and winter barley.

The yield, according to official data for 1913, was 9.4 centners per hectare; in 1940, 12.4; in 1950–53, 11.2; in 1958–61, 17.1; and in 1962–5, 16.9, mainly due to planting of more productive corn and winter wheat. This is much higher than the average yield for the USSR (10.0) and is the highest for any republic of the USSR. Actually the yield is somewhat lower than the official data indicate. The increase has been made possible by improving the planted areas, the introduction of more productive strains of grain, and the wider use of artificial fertilizers. The yield of the main grain crops in the Ukrainian SSR during 1962–5 (in centners per hectare) was, according to official data, as follows: winter wheat, 17.5; corn, 23.4; barley, 16.6; rye, 11.2; legumes, 14.1; spring wheat, 11.6. Because of natural conditions such as swamps, the productivity of grain crops is lowest in the Polisia region, and highest in Right-Bank Ukraine. Table X gives the average harvest of grain crops in the Ukrainian SSR from 1909 to 1965 (in million metric tons).

State procurement and purchases in recent years ranged from 4.9 (1954) to 12.9 (1961) million tons, depending on the total crop. The average annual figure for 1961–7 was 13.5 million tons, i.e., 44 per cent of the harvest went to the state.

As a result of more efficient farming methods, especially increasing mechanization, the cost of labor per production unit has been going down. In 1965 the cost of labor in producing 1 centner of grain (excluding corn) was 0.50 man-

TABLE IX

| Culture (crop) | Thousand hectares | | | | | Percentage ratio to all grain cultures | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1913 | 1940 | 1955 | 1960 | 1967 | 1913 | 1940 | 1955 | 1960 | 1967 |
| All grains | 24,697 | 21,385 | 20,446 | 13,729 | 15,501 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Winter wheat | 3,088 | 6,317 | 8,445 | 3,691 | 7,392 | 12.5 | 29.6 | 41.2 | 26.8 | 47.7 |
| Spring wheat | 5,770 | 901 | 172 | 261 | 178 | 23.4 | 4.3 | 0.1 | 0.2 | 1.1 |
| Rye | 4,517 | 3,685 | 2,645 | 1,347 | 946 | 18.3 | 17.2 | 12.9 | 9.8 | 6.1 |
| Corn (fully ripe) | 853 | 1,561 | 3,544 | 3,037 | 1,975 | 3.5 | 7.1 | 17.3 | 22.1 | 12.7 |
| Barley | 5,845 | 4,100 | 2,408 | 2,543 | 2,404 | 23.6 | 19.3 | 11.7 | 18.6 | 15.5 |
| Oats | 2,923 | 2,281 | 1,155 | 871 | 690 | 11.8 | 10.6 | 5.6 | 6.4 | 4.4 |
| Millet | 525 | 955 | 844 | 772 | 419 | 2.1 | 4.5 | 4.1 | 5.6 | 2.7 |
| Buckwheat | 698 | 723 | 626 | 393 | 342 | 2.8 | 3.4 | 3.1 | 2.8 | 2.2 |
| Legumes | 438 | 836 | 586 | 787 | 1,115 | 1.5 | 2.5 | 2.8 | 5.7 | 7.2 |

TABLE X

| Year | 1909 | 1924 | 1940 | 1950–3 | 1958–61 | 1962–5 | 1966–8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| All grains including: | 22.1 | 19.0 | 26.4 | 22.6 | 26.7 | 28.2 | 31.2 |
| Wheat | 6.5 | 5.9 | 8.1 | 7.6 | 13.1 | 11.1 | 16.6 |
| Rye | 5.3 | 5.2 | 4.1 | 3.8 | 2.1 | 1.5 | 1.3 |
| Barley | 5.0 | 3.1 | 5.8 | 2.5 | 3.2 | 3.9 | 4.7 |
| Oats | 3.4 | 2.1 | 2.8 | 1.5 | 0.9 | 0.7 | 1.0 |
| Corn | 0.8 | 1.7 | 2.5 | 5.5 | 6.0 | 7.5 | 5.1 |

labor-day in the collective farms and 0.20 man-labor-day in the state farms of the Ukrainian SSR.

Grain cultivation in the Ukrainian SSR in 1968 constituted 12 per cent of the total grain area in the USSR, and the total harvest (average for 1965–8) was 21 per cent. The Ukrainian SSR harvested 60 per cent of all corn in the USSR, 17.4 per cent of wheat, 30 per cent of legumes, and 12 per cent of rye.

There are no data available for grain surpluses and grain exports from Ukraine. These figures dropped in the 1920's (see p. 852), and in view of carloading statistics for the Ukrainian SSR should have amounted to about 3.3 million tons in 1940 and 2.8 million tons in 1965. Shipments of grain are presently directed to domestic Soviet markets (the central industrial region, Leningrad, etc.). The importance of Ukraine as a "breadbasket" has diminished and grain production per capita in the Ukrainian SSR (625 kg in 1965) was slightly higher than 476 kg for the entire USSR. Per capita grain output in some other countries in 1965 was as follows: USA–1,201 kg, Canada–1,533 kg, France–578 kg, West Germany–222 kg, Poland–496 kg, Czechoslovakia–374 kg. Ukraine also exports some of its grain to East and West Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

WHEAT is the mainstay of Ukrainian grain crops. Winter and spring wheat occupies nearly one-fourth of the cultivated land of the Ukrainian SSR, and nearly 40 per cent of land under grain. In 1965 it amounted to 7.7 million hectares in the Ukrainian SSR, and nearly 11 million on all Ukrainian territories (out of a total of 70 million hectares for the USSR). Black soil (*chornozem*) and warm, moderately rainy summers provide good conditions for extensive wheat planting in Ukraine (see Fig. 477). Wheat is rarely sown in the northern zone or in the mountains. Percentagewise it increases in the southern and eastern regions. Before World War I, most of the wheat sown was of the spring variety (66 per cent in 1913; only 6 per cent in 1965). At that time it was most prevalent in eastern Ukraine, where the winters are cold and the sparse snowfall does not protect the plants from frost. Owing to its higher productivity, winter wheat began replacing spring wheat, finally reducing it to insignificance. This was made possible by the development of frost-resistant strains of winter wheat.

The total wheat crop (see Table X) in 1962–5 was 11.1 million tons in the Ukrainian SSR (nearly 16 million tons on all Ukrainian territories) or 17.4 (25) per cent of the total crop of the USSR and between 4 and 5.5 per cent of the world crop (fifth to sixth place).

Until the 1950's RYE was the second main grain crop of Ukraine. Most of it was consumed locally. Rye is the dominant grain for post-glacial soils and cold climates that is, the forest zone, and becomes proportionately less important in the southerly direction. In the steppes rye does not even cover 5 per cent of the areas under grain. In geographic distribution it is the direct opposite of wheat. Planting of rye was greatly reduced in the 1950's in favor of winter wheat. The rye crop in 1965 was 18.8 million centners for the Ukrainian SSR (23 million

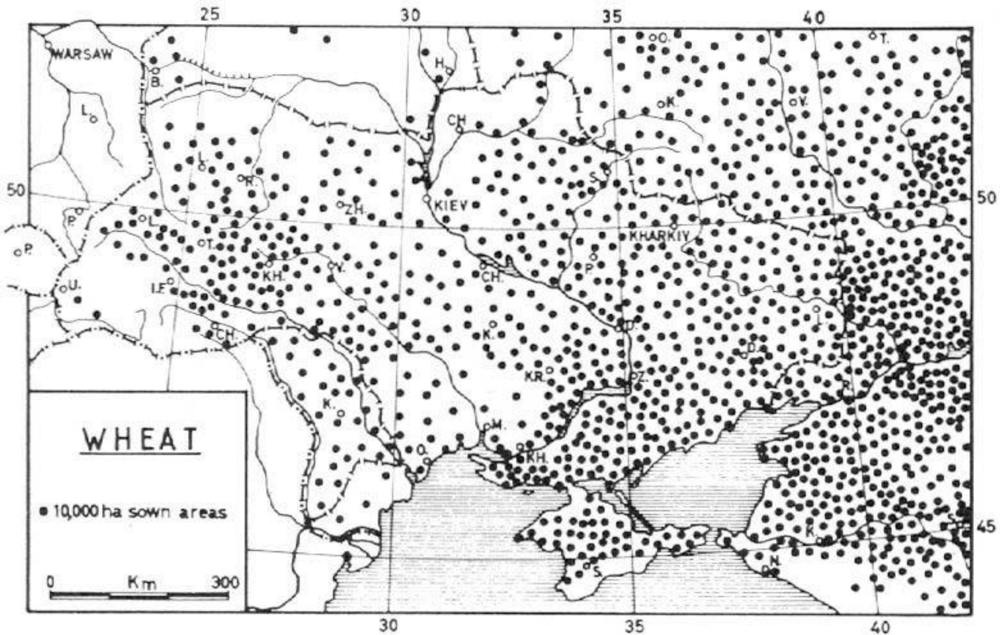


FIGURE 477

centners for all Ukrainian territories) or 11.5 (14) per cent of the USSR crop and 5.5 per cent of the world crop, that is, it held fifth place in the world.

Before the revolution CORN (maize) was widely grown in Ukraine, in Pokutia, Bessarabia, and their neighboring regions of Podilia and Transcarpathia, where it was the main crop. In the steppe, particularly in its northern zone, and in the southern forest-steppe, corn constituted 5–15 per cent of the entire cultivated area. It was used mainly as food for humans, and to a lesser extent for cattle and hogs.

After the revolution the area under corn increased considerably, mainly in the steppe. The crop rotation system was introduced and corn partly replaced barley as a feed crop; by 1929, 2.3 million hectares were under cultivation. Corn planting underwent a complete turnabout in 1955, when the January Plenum of the CC CPSU, at the suggestion of Nikita Khrushchev, decided to make corn the fodder base. Since that time, corn production has undergone an improvement in mechanization and farming methods and in new planting procedures. Until 1955 corn yielded primarily dry grain; now it is being grown in regions where it does not mature, but serves as green fodder (Polisia). Planting of corn has been increasing at the following rate (in units of 1,000 hectares): 1955–6,040 (including 3,544 for ripe grain harvesting, and 2,496 for semi-ripe milky grain, silage, and fodder); 1960–10,516 (3,037 and 7,478); 1963–9,648 (4,528 and 5,120); 1965–6,190 (1,815 and 4,378). During the highest pitch of the "corn fever" in 1960–3, as much as 31.4 per cent of the cultivated area of the Ukrainian SSR was growing corn. After the removal of Khrushchev, corn lost some of its importance as a green fodder crop. Still, it held second place among grains and first among fodder crops.

One-half of the corn grown as a grain crop is concentrated in the northern and central steppes, one-third in the forest-steppes, and over 10 per cent in the southern steppes. In Polisia, however, it

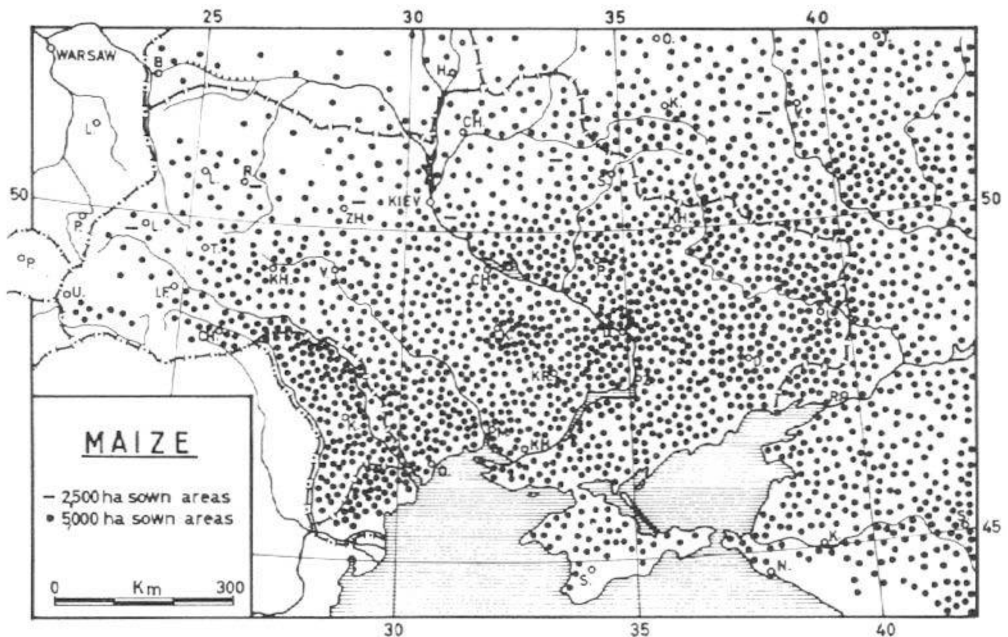


FIGURE 478

has been introduced only in recent years (see map for details). In Kuban, corn occupies about 20 per cent of all cultivated land. The total corn harvested in the Ukrainian SSR is 7.5 million tons (nearly 8.5 million in all Ukrainian lands) or 60 (66) per cent of the USSR and nearly 4 per cent of the world crop.

Barley is now seldom used as a food grain (only occasionally in the Carpathians). It is used mostly for grits, as fodder, and as malt for brewing. It is planted all over Ukraine, but chiefly in the steppes, where it ranked second to wheat for a long time (since 1950 winter barley has been cultivated in this region). Before the war, Ukraine exported considerable amounts of malt abroad. Exports dropped after the war, and with it the production of barley.

Oats, as in the world at large, has been diminishing in importance in Ukraine in the last decades, primarily because more productive fodder crops (corn, etc.) have been planted and the number of horses has declined. In the Ukrainian SSR, only one-fifth of the 1913 quantity is grown at the present time. The total in all Ukrainian lands given over to growing oats is 0.7 million hectares (out of 6.6 million for the USSR). The Carpathians produced the greatest quantity (more than one-third of all grain crops in the 1930's). Here and in Polisia it was used for food.

Millet and buckwheat are second-rate grain crops, giving a low yield (millet 12.5 and buckwheat 7.1 tons from one hectare in the 1962–5 figures for the Ukrainian SSR). Millet withstands drought best of all grains and is therefore widely planted in such periods. It is sown all over Ukraine, but sparsely in the western part. Buckwheat is undemanding as to warmth and soil. It is sown in the forest zone and in the neighboring areas of the forest-steppes, particularly in the Chernihiv region. The total harvest of millet in the Ukrainian SSR (average for 1962–5) is 7 million tons, of buckwheat 3 million tons.

Leguminous crops constitute a valuable item of nutrition for humans and an important source of high-protein fodder.

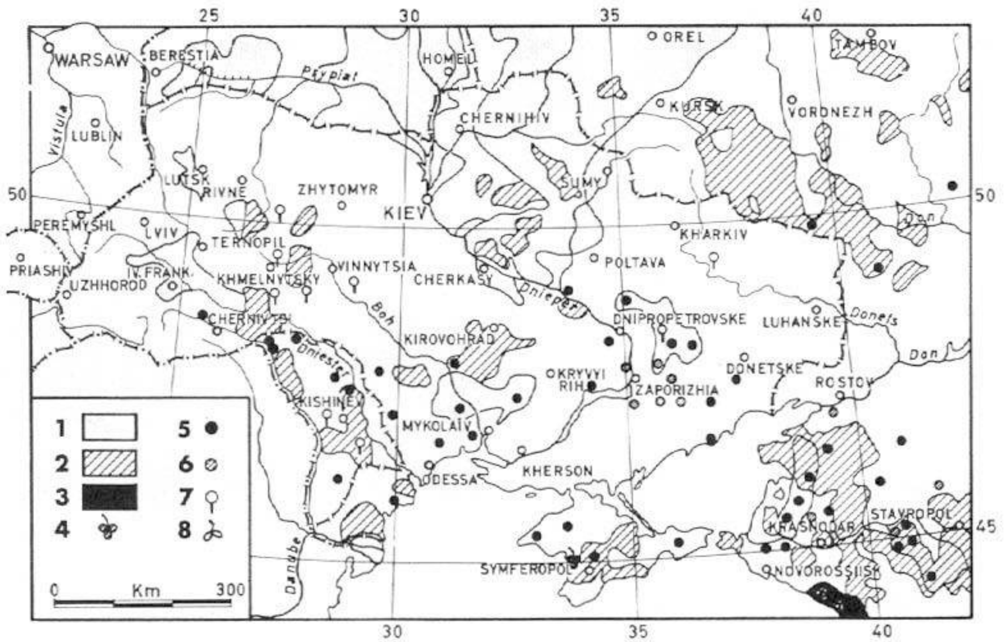


FIGURE 479. NEW AGRICULTURAL CROPS
1, southern hemp; 2, essential-oil plants; 3, tea; 4, olive trees; 5, soybeans; 6, castor beans; 7, oil poppy; 8, peanuts

Plantings have been extended in recent years. Peas have become the most widespread (in 1965, 878,000 out of 1,199,000 hectares for all leguminous crops), followed by lupine, vetch, and beans. Legumes are grown chiefly in the forest-steppes, particularly in Right-Bank Ukraine. The total crop (average for 1962–5) was 2.6 million tons (33 per cent of the total USSR crop), including 2.3 million tons of peas.

RICE has been introduced in the irrigated regions (mainly in the Dnieper estuary). In 1965 the area under rice was 12,400 hectares, with a total crop of 77,000 centners. Rice is grown in greater amounts along the river estuaries in Kuban.

### Industrial Crops

Industrial crops constitute the second ranking branch of agriculture and play a significant part in agricultural production. They provide raw materials for various branches of food processing and light industry. Some of the by-products provide highly nutritious feed for domestic animals. Finally, the growing of industrial crops requires a large supply of labor and thus provides an opportunity for the utilization of human labor resources. Some industrial crops have been grown in Ukraine for centuries (e.g., flax and hemp), some were not introduced until the nineteenth century (sugar beets, sunflower, hops), and cotton, tobacco, and others have appeared only in the last few decades. Attempts to cultivate some industrial crops, such as cotton, ended in failure.

Industrial crops are to be found in all climatic zones of Ukraine and in Kuban. Nearly all long-staple flax and hops are grown in Polisia, along with some hemp and coarse tobacco. Most of the plantings of sugar beets, tobacco, hemp, and sunflower are concentrated in the forest-steppes. In the steppes and in Kuban the main industrial crops are sunflower and tobacco. Other industrial crops grown in

Ukraine include: flax for oil, volatile-oil and medicinal plants, castor beans, soybeans, and sorghum.

The area in the Ukrainian SSR used for these crops has increased greatly since the revolution and in 1965 totaled 4,311 thousand hectares, or 12.5 per cent of all cultivated land (3.2 per cent in 1913), and 22 per cent of the entire area given over to industrial crops in the USSR.

The dynamics of planting industrial crops in the Ukrainian SSR are shown in Table XI.

SUGAR BEETS form Ukraine's main industrial crop. Sugar beet cultivation in Ukraine goes back to the 1840's in the forest-steppe zone (Right-Bank and Sumy regions), which had the most favorable natural conditions (good soil and moderately warm climate) as well as the necessary big landowner capital and labor force. The area planted in the nine Ukrainian *guberniyas* increased from 188,000 hectares in 1888–9 to 323,000 in 1898–9 and 574,000 in 1911–12, occupying 82 per cent of all sugar beet plantings in the Russian empire (excluding Poland). The plantations of the estate owners were the largest, followed by those of the refineries, and finally of the peasants (20 per cent). In pre-revolutionary times, the yield reached an average of 170 centners per hectare for a total production of about 93 million centners. Sugar beet planting declined during the revolution, but began to increase again, and by 1928 surpassed the prewar area (638,000 hectares); but the yield was considerably lower (130 centners per hectare). In the 1930's sugar beet cultivation spread to Left-Bank Ukraine and in the late 1930's stabilized at about 776,000 hectares (the 1938 figure for the Ukrainian SSR alone) or 67 per cent of the area under sugar beets in the USSR, reaching prewar yields with a total harvest of 120 to 140 million centners (131 million in 1940). After World War II, there was a considerable increase in Western Ukraine (from 31,300 hectares in 1940 to 346,000 hectares in 1964).

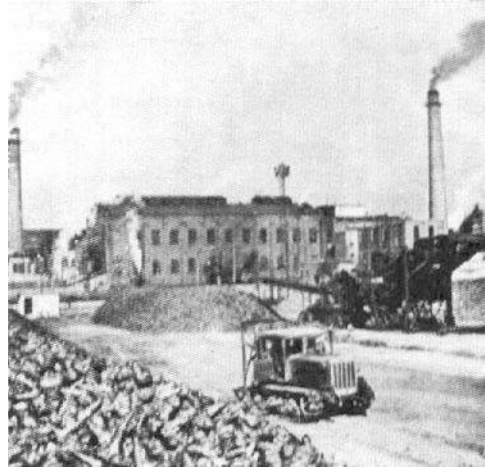

FIGURE 480. SUGAR REFINERY IN PERVOMAISKE, MYKOLAÏV *oblast*

Rather large sugar beet fields are located in Ukrainian ethnographic areas of the Russian SFSR in the southern parts of the *oblasts* of Kursk, Bilhorod, and Voronezh, and smaller ones in Kuban. In 1965 the area under sugar beet in the Ukrainian SSR was 1.86 million hectares or 48 per cent of all sugar beet plantings in the USSR, with an average yield of 200 centners per hectare in 1961–5 (159 centners in the USSR). The gross crop in the Ukrainian SSR in 1965 was 437.9 million centners (nearly 48 million tons for all Ukrainian ethnographic lands) or 60.6 (67) per cent of the crop of the USSR and 24 per cent of the world crop (first place).

FIBER PLANTS. Among the fiber-yielding plants, long-staple flax, grown chiefly for its fiber, and oil-yielding flax (kudriash) are among the oldest crops of Ukraine. Long-staple flax prefers moderately cool, damp weather, and hence is grown in the northern forest zone of Ukraine, where it is the basic industrial crop (nearly 7 per cent of all cultivated area and two-thirds of the area under industrial crops), in the Lviv region, and in the Subcaucasus. Acreage of long-

TABLE XI

| Industrial crops | Thousand hectares | | | | | Percentage ratio to all industrial crops | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1913 | 1940 | 1955 | 1960 | 1965 | 1913 | 1940 | 1955 | 1960 | 1965 |
| All industrial crops, | 904.1 | 2,699.6 | 2,808.2 | 3,573.6 | 4,247.9 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| including sugar beets | 558.2 | 820.0 | 1,091.6 | 1,457.5 | 1,863.2 | 61.6 | 30.4 | 38.9 | 40.7 | 44.0 |
| Long-staple flax | 16.4 | 118.2 | 169.4 | 22.34 | 22.40 | 1.8 | 4.4 | 6.0 | 6.2 | 5.3 |
| Seed flax | 93.0 | 77.6 | 42.3 | 37.8 | 19.6 | 10.3 | 2.9 | 1.5 | 1.1 | 0.4 |
| Hemp | 126.6 | 200.8 | 159.7 | 97.4 | 80.2 | 14.0 | 7.4 | 5.7 | 2.7 | 1.9 |
| Sunflower | 76.0 | 720.1 | 935.5 | 1,505.4 | 1,776.8 | 8.4 | 26.7 | 33.3 | 42.4 | 42.1 |
| Cotton | — | 282 | 109 | — | — | — | 10.4 | 3.9 | — | — |
| Castor beans | — | 52.5 | 18.6 | 36.9 | 93.2 | — | 1.9 | 0.7 | 1.3 | 2.8 |
| Winter rape | — | 91.2 | 65.0 | 8.5 | 6.0 | — | 3.4 | 2.3 | 0.2 | 0.1 |
| Tobacco | 8.6 | 22.5 | 25.5 | 25.6 | 27.5 | 1.0 | 0.8 | 0.9 | 0.7 | 0.6 |
| Coarse tobacco | 16.1 | 39.5 | 34.8 | 17.5 | 4.3 | 1.8 | 1.5 | 1.3 | 0.5 | 0.1 |
| Volatile-oil yielding crops | — | 44.3 | 45.6 | 40.2 | 44.5 | — | 1.6 | 1.6 | 1.1 | 1.0 |
| Medicinal plants | — | — | 2.4 | 3.0 | 3.1 | — | — | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 |

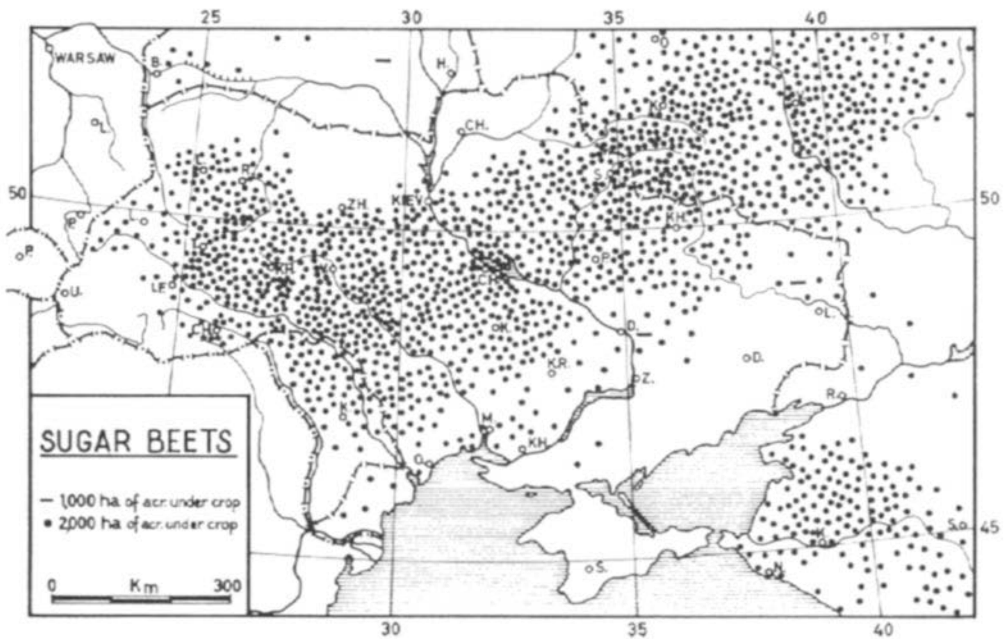


FIGURE 481

staple flax increased considerably in the 1950's because of its importance in making war materials. At the same time, there was an improvement in planting methods and processing was mechanized. The planted area in the Ukrainian SSR in 1965 was 224,000 hectares or 15.2 per cent of the total for the USSR. The average annual yield for 1961–5 was 66.7 thousand tons of fiber and 52 thousand tons of seed, or 15 per cent of the USSR total.

HEMP is grown both for its fiber and for its seed. The pulp is a highly-nutritious feed for cattle. Two types of hemp are grown in Ukraine, the common mid-Russian and the southern, which has spread intensively since the 1930's (nearly 90 per cent of all hemp plantings in Ukraine). The main and oldest region of hemp growing is Left-Bank Polisia and the forest-steppes, particularly the region of Chernihiv which borders on the vast Russian hemp region. In recent years the cultivation of hemp has been spreading in the central and northern steppes. The total area under hemp, however, has been gradually diminishing: in 1965 it comprised 80,200 hectares (in all Ukrainian ethnographic lands more than 100,000 hectares) or 30 (37) per cent of the entire area under hemp in the USSR. In 1961–5 production of fiber in the Ukrainian SSR averaged 25.4, stems—67.5, seed—6.7 thousand tons.

Soviet authorities began planting COTTON in the 1920's on the Black Sea and Azov coasts of the Ukrainian SSR and Kuban. Since the climate was unfavorable, the crop was intended not so much for textiles as for explosives. In 1940 in the Ukrainian SSR cotton was planted on 282,000 hectares (in Kuban more than 100,000), but the yield was low and variable (for example, 5.9 centners per hectare in 1938 and in 1940 only 2.2 centners). After 1955 the authorities stopped the experiment in both Ukraine and Kuban. As a consequence huge capital investments were wasted. The growing of another fiber plant, kenaf, introduced in the steppes and in Kuban in the 1930's, was also given up.

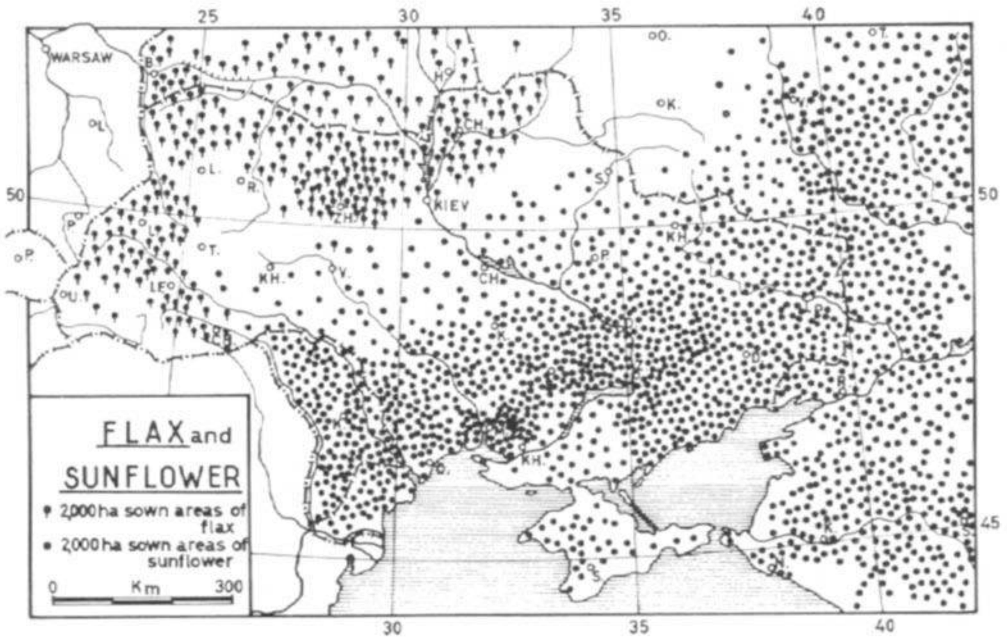


FIGURE 482

## Oil-yielding Plants

SUNFLOWER is the basic oil producing plant in Ukraine. It resists drought and is a valuable crop-rotation plant. Before World War I, it was grown mostly in Kuban, the Don and Voronezh regions, and subsequently in all steppe Ukraine and in the bordering forest-steppes. In 1965 sunflower was planted on 1,776,800 hectares in the Ukrainian SSR (in all ethnographic Ukraine, nearly 2.5 million) or 37 (54) per cent of all sunflower plantings in the USSR. The average annual crop in 1961–5 was 23.3 million centners (in all Ukrainian lands, 30.4 million centners or 46 (60) per cent of the entire crop of the USSR). The yield is 13.9 centners (1,390 kg) per hectare.

Oil is also produced from hemp, flax, and kudriash; the importance of kudriash is rapidly diminishing, with only 70,000 centners of seed harvested in 1965. It is grown mainly in the steppes and in the Subcaucasus.

As for other oil-yielding plants, cultivation of RAPE, once widespread in Right-Bank and Western Ukraine, has declined considerably. In 1950 it occupied 102,000 hectares, but in 1965 only 6,000 (crop—68,000 centners). SOYBEANS have also been neglected in Ukraine: from a peak in the 1930's, land under cultivation dropped to 2,800 hectares in 1965 with a yield of 16,000 centners.

However, there is an increase in CASTOR BEAN production—93,200 hectares in the Ukrainian SSR in 1965 with a yield of 380,000 centners. Castor beans are planted mostly in the *oblasts* of Zaporizhia and Dnipropetrovske and in Kuban.

Volatile-oil (essential-oil) and medicinal plants occupied 44,500 hectares in the Ukrainian SSR in 1965, with 22,300 under CORIANDER (yield—170,000 centners) grown chiefly in the *oblast* of Kirovohrad (also in Kuban). Other essential-oil plants grown in Ukraine are caraway, fennel, mint; and in the Crimea, roses for attar, lavender, and muscat sage. Among the medicinal plants grown in Ukraine are: mint, valerian, papaver somniferum, Dalmatian ro-

maine, foxglove (digitalis), medicinal sage, belladonna, and camphorous basil.

TOBACCO AND COARSE TOBACCO (*makhorka*) have been cultivated in Ukraine since the seventeenth century. Before collectivization they were grown mostly by peasants. In the last decade there has been a sharp drop in the planting of coarse tobacco (total crop in 1965–75,000 centners), mostly in the Chernihiv and Poltava regions. Planting of tobacco, however, is on the increase (total crop in 1965–242,000 centners), mainly in the Crimea, Podilia, Odessa, and Transcarpathia, and outside the Ukrainian SSR in Kuban.

HOPS (in 1964 cultivated area–6,100 hectares and yield–59,300 centners) are grown chiefly in the Zhytomyr *oblast*.

RUBBER-YIELDING PLANTS, introduced in the late 1930's, are no longer cultivated. The most important was koksahyz, which was grown on nearly 50,000 hectares in the Ukrainian SSR in 1940.

**Potatoes, Vegetables, and Cucurbitaceous Plants**

Potatoes appeared in Ukraine in the second half of the eighteenth century and became widespread in the second half of the nineteenth century. On the one hand, they were used as the basic raw material for the distilling industry (mainly on the large estates), and on the other, as the staple food of the poor peasants. In 1913 the area under potatoes in the Ukrainian SSR within its present boundaries occupied 1.1 million hectares (in all Ukrainian ethnographic lands, nearly 1.3 million hectares) or 3.9 per cent of all cultivated land. Between the two world wars potato plantings increased considerably in the central and eastern regions of Ukraine and by 1940 had reached 2.1 million hectares; the figure was the same for 1965 (or 6.3 per cent of the cultivated area of the Ukrainian ethnographic lands). Potatoes are the main crop of individual households and occupy 1,299,000 hectares, equal to 48 per cent of their individual plots, or 61.6 per cent of all land planted with potatoes (1965).

In Ukraine before World War I potatoes produced about 90 centners per hectare. The present average is 89 centners (1964–101, 1965–86). Comparable figures are: Germany–218; Great Britain –195; United States–161; Poland–116; USSR–110 (figures for 1964). The total potato crop in the Ukrainian SSR was 181.6 million centners in 1965 or 6.2 per cent of world production, placing Ukraine in fifth place in world production after the Russian SFSR, Poland, China, and West Germany.

The geographic distribution of potatoes is similar to that of rye. It is concentrated for the most part in northern Polisia with its light soils (14 per cent of the total cultivated area), the forest-steppes (8 per cent), and the Carpathians (20 per cent). Fewer potatoes are grown in the dry south and there the yield is poor.

Vegetables of many varieties are grown in Ukraine, but total production and consumption are still relatively low because not meats but grains predominate in the diet. There are more than forty popular varieties in Ukraine: cabbage, cucumbers, tomatoes, red beets, carrots, onions, garlic, for example, which together occupy more than 80 per cent of the area under truck garden crops. There is still a shortage of eggplant, peppers, lima beans, cauliflower, lettuce, and spinach. The most widespread cucurbitaceous plants are pumpkins, watermelons, and melons.

Before collectivization the peasants had individual garden plots mostly for their own needs. Commercial truck gardening appeared around the larger cities and some localities made this their specialty. For the most part Germans, Russian Old-Believers, and, particularly, Bulgarians engaged in truck gardening. Within the present boundaries of the Ukrainian SSR the area under garden crops in 1913 was 267,000 hectares, and under the melon-family crop 52,700 hec-

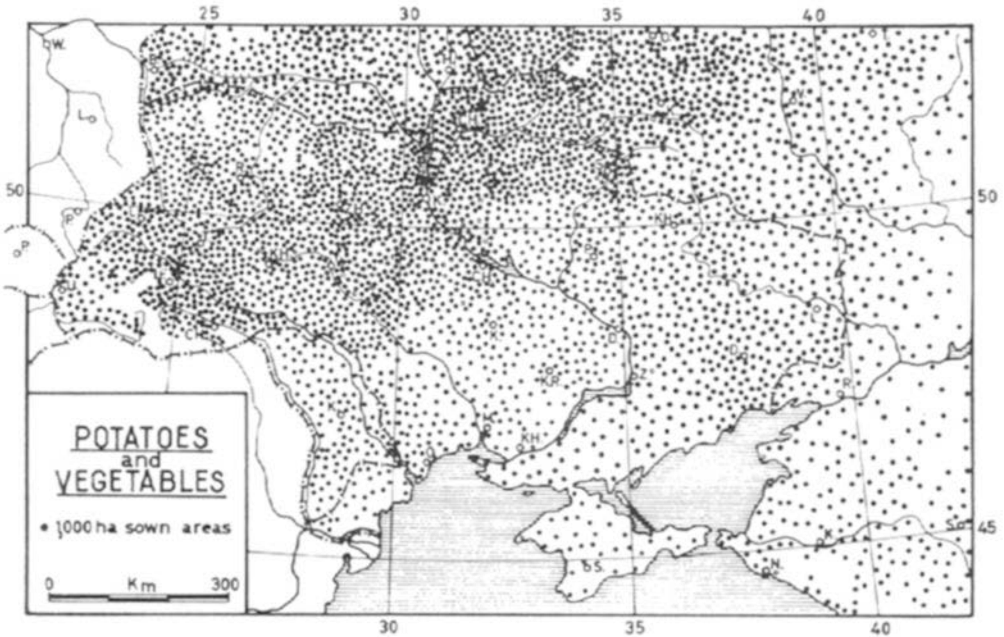


FIGURE 483

tares; subsequently it increased in 1940 to 486,400 and 261,000 hectares, respectively; the figures for 1965 are 464,000 and 141,000 hectares, respectively. Altogether the two groups occupy 1.8 per cent of the cultivated land of the Ukrainian SSR or 30 per cent of the USSR total. Collective farmers and private individuals hold 27 per cent of the gardens and only 5 per cent of the cucurbitaceous plantings in Ukraine. Most of the gardening is in areas close to cities and large canning plants: Cherkasy, Kherson. In these regions hothouse gardening is also practised. Cucurbitaceous plants are grown almost exclusively in the steppes and in the Left-Bank forest steppes, and outside the Ukrainian SSR in Kuban.

The average annual yield of garden plants for 1962–5 was 51.4 million centners and of gourds 22.8 centners; the figures for 1965 are 53.5 and 25.8 million centners, respectively, with an average yield per hectare of 107 and 157 centners. Some garden products are shipped to Russia (Moscow and St. Petersburg [Leningrad] were markets even before the revolution), particularly in the spring and early summer, because in Ukraine they ripen one to two months earlier.

## Fodder Crops

Fodder crops together with fodder grains constitute the basis of intensive animal husbandry (see pp. 877 ff.). Fodder grown in Ukraine includes sown grasses (annual and perennial), fodder root plants (mainly fodder beets), fodder gourds, and silage cultures (chiefly corn).

Until the late 1920's fodder crops were intensively cultivated only in western Ukrainian lands where they were incorporated in the crop rotation system and occupied 9.6 per cent of all cultivated land. In eastern and central Ukraine the area was only 2.7 per cent, mostly in the northern zone. Development took place during the Five-Year plans in order to increase the yield of agricultural crops and provide a permanent feed base for domestic animals. This development within the territory of

TABLE XII

| | 1913 | 1928 | 1933 | 1940 | 1950 | 1955 | 1960 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| In thousands of hectares | 893 | 1,350 | 2,330 | 4,428 | 5,238 | 5,518 | 13,406 | 10,282 |
| In percentage ratio of all cultivated lands | 3.2 | 4.3 | 7.1 | 14.2 | 17.1 | 16.8 | 40.0 | 30.5 |

TABLE XIII

| Fodder crops | 1913 | | 1940 | | 1960 | | 1965 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Perennial grasses | 490 | 55.0 | 2,034 | 45.9 | 1,254 | 9.4 | 1,372 | 13.4 |
| Annual grasses | 377 | 42.0 | 1,793 | 40.5 | 3,809 | 28.4 | 3,712 | 35.9 |
| Silage plants (excl. corn) | — | — | 251 | 5.7 | 288 | 2.2 | 191 | 1.9 |
| Silage corn and green fodder | — | — | — | — | 7,478 | 55.7 | 4,375 | 42.9 |
| Fodder roots | 26 | 3.0 | 350 | 7.9 | 471 | 3.5 | 532 | 5.2 |
| Fodder cucurbit. | — | — | — | — | 106 | 0.8 | 100 | 1.0 |
| TOTALS | 893 | 100.0 | 4,428 | 100.0 | 13,406 | 100.0 | 10,282 | 100.0 |

the present Ukrainian SSR is shown in Table XII.

Until the mid-1950's the most important fodder plants were the annuals: vetch, fodder peas, beans, lupine, Sudan grass, mohar, for example, and the perennials: clover, alfalfa, and sainfoin. Subsequently, corn became the most important crop. In some years (1960, 1962) it was planted on more than one-half of the area under fodder, but later its importance diminished somewhat (see pp. 867 ff.). Among fodder root plants, the most important is the fodder beet (1965 —235,000 hectares), followed by the fodder carrots and turnips. The structure of the cultivated area under fodder plants in the Ukrainian SSR underwent the changes shown in Table XIII (in thousands of hectares and in percentage ratio to the area under all fodder plants).

An analysis of the geographic distribution of fodder cultivation in the Ukrainian SSR reveals the following peculiarities: (1) fodder cultivation constitutes the smallest percentage in the forest zone and in the Carpathians, whose needs are met primarily by the natural meadows and pastures; (2) fodder grasses in all regions make up 40–60 per cent of the total area under fodder cultivation, and whereas in the steppes there is a relative preponderance of annual grasses and very few perennial grasses, the opposite is true of Polisia; (3) corn accounts for the highest percentage in the steppes (up to 62 per cent), and the lowest (25 to 30 per cent) in Polisia and the Carpathians; (4) most fodder roots are planted in western Ukrainian lands and the least in the steppes; (5) cucurbitaceous fodder plants are grown mainly in the steppes, where there is also the highest percentage of silage plants.

## ARBORICULTURE AND VITICULTURE

Orchards have an old tradition in Ukraine. Among the fruit trees, apple, pear, sour cherry (merello), plum, and cherry have long been the most important; in the warmer zones apricot, peach, quince, walnuts; on the south shore of the Crimea olives, almonds. The berries grown in Ukraine include raspberries, currants, gooseberries, strawberries.

For a long time orchards were maintained for the owners' use. Late in the nineteenth century only a few regions in Ukraine raised fruit commercially, notably, the warm part of Podilia, southern Crimea and the northern Chernihiv re-

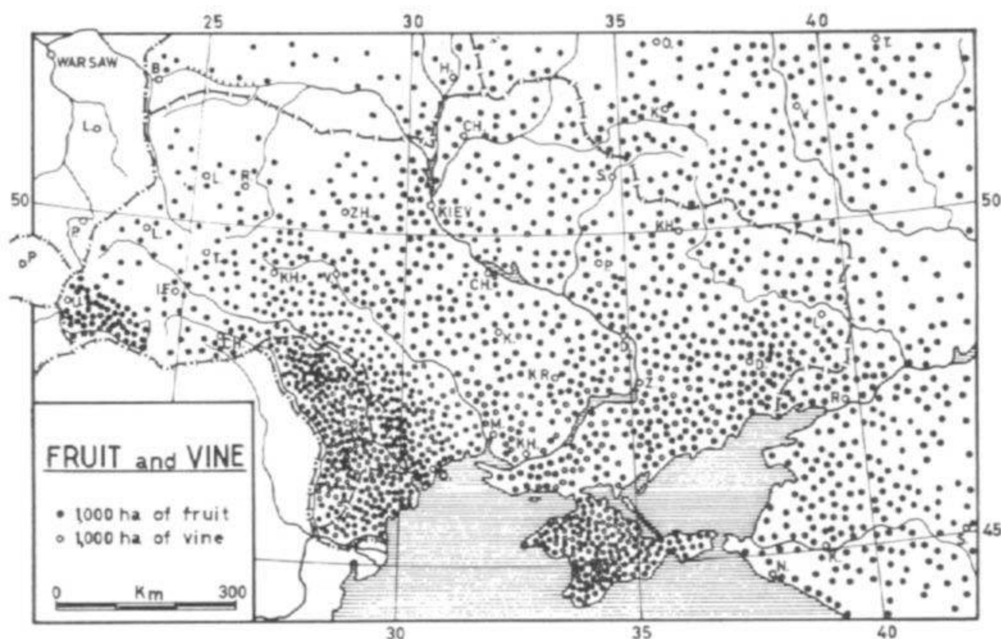


FIGURE 484

gion. By 1914 orchards occupied 250,000 hectares in Ukraine. Arboriculture developed in the 1920's and the 1930's, so that by 1940 orchards and berry patches in the Ukrainian SSR occupied 612,000 hectares. Subsequent development is shown in the following figures (in thousands of hectares): 1950–548, 1960–1,090, 1965–1,299 (including 586,000 in the bearing age), constituting 36 per cent of all orchards in the USSR and 3.7 per cent of the arable land of Ukraine. The collective and state farms also engage in arboriculture (one-third of all fruit trees grow on the private garden plots of the collective farmers). The average annual crop of fruits and berries for 1962–5 was 1,520 thousand tons (1965–1,860,000), and the yield per hectare was 26.9 centners (1965–31.1 centners). During this time there was also an improvement in the quality of the fruits and berries grown.

The largest area of arboriculture is the southwestern (warm) part of Podilia, Transcarpathia (where orchards occupy 15 per cent of all arable land), and the southern Crimea. In recent times arboriculture has developed around the Donbas and Dnieper industrial regions and near large cities.

Nearly one-half of all fruit products is consumed fresh, with large quantities being shipped beyond the Ukrainian SSR; the other half is processed by the food industry.

The beginnings of viticulture in Ukraine date back to the colonies of ancient Greece (seventh century B.C.), particularly in the Crimea: in Bessarabia it developed during the Moldavian rule, in the steppe part of Ukraine by the late eighteenth century, and in Kuban in the nineteenth century. The area of vineyards gradually increased and by 1914 had reached almost 40,000 hectares (within the present boundaries of the Ukrainian SSR) and nearly 20,000 hectares in the Subcaucasus. Nearly 90 per cent of the vineyards belonged to small owners. Substantial increases in vineyard cultivation in the Ukrainian SSR occurred in the 1930's and again even greater increases in the 1950's, the figures, in

thousands of hectares, being: 1940–103, 1950–76, 1960–397, 1965–330 (including 262 of producing age); Ukraine's percentage in the USSR total is 32 per cent. The main regions of viticulture in the Ukrainian SSR are: the Crimea, Odessa (mainly southern Bessarabia), Transcarpathia, Mykolaïv, Kherson (the sandy region Oleshia), and Zaporizhia, which together account for 91 per cent of all vineyards (the Crimean and Odessa *oblasts*–70 per cent). Viticulture is also very important in southern Kuban and on the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus.

The gross crop of grapes in the Ukrainian SSR averaged annually for the 1962–5 period 846,100 tons, and the yield per hectare was 34.3 tons (1965–977,700 and 35.9 tons, respectively).

About 90 per cent is processed into wine and brandy, and the rest is consumed fresh. A large part of the fresh grape crop is shipped to Russia.

## ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

### Before 1914

Under conditions prevailing in Ukraine, the raising of domestic animals was closely bound to land tillage. The animals provided the peasant with food, hides, traction power, and valuable fertilizer. Products of animal husbandry were easily marketed and often were the mainstay of the peasants' budget.

The connection between land tillage and animal husbandry differed under varying systems of agriculture. Where the fallow land system was in operation, there was abundant feed for cattle and so large numbers of them were kept. This was the situation in the Ukrainian steppes in the first half of the nineteenth century, where sheep and oxen abounded. With the changeover to the three-field system, the balance between these two branches of agriculture was upset: the source of feed for cattle was curtailed and their number diminished. This in turn made tilling the land difficult because there was a shortage of draft animals and manure. Hence, agricultural progress was retarded and productivity declined. These conditions prevailed in the forest-steppes, particularly in Left-Bank Ukraine, and since the 1860's, in the steppes also. The number of cattle, particularly sheep, dropped not only in proportion to the population, but in some regions in absolute figures as well. Conditions for animal husbandry improved somewhat under the crop rotation system, because more feed became available and soil fertility improved. But this system prevailed only in Western Ukraine.

Thus feed for domestic animals in Ukraine was inadequate, except in the Carpathians, in the forest zone, which had abundant meadows and pastures, and in Western Ukraine. In the greater part of Ukraine the basic fodder was straw, pasture, oats and barley, and the by-products of the sugar refineries where available, although a greater part of this highly nutritious feed (as well as oilcake) was exported abroad. Owing to this shortage of fodder and inferior breeds of cattle, Ukrainian herds produced little milk (on the average, 600 to 1,000 liters annually) and meat. There was a slight improvement immediately before World War I, thanks to the activities of the *zemstvos* in central and eastern Ukraine and measures undertaken by the large estates. Steps were taken to improve the cattle, particularly through better breeds.

The dynamics of the number of domestic animals in central and eastern Ukraine for the period 1882–1912 (in million head and in percentage ratio to 1861) can be seen from Table XIV.

The large drop in the number of sheep was caused by the plowing of the steppes and a diminishing demand for wool abroad (see p. 843). The growth in the number of cattle was insignificant and except in the case of hogs did not keep pace with the population growth. There was a marked increase in the number of horses, particularly in the

TABLE XIV

| Year | Cattle | | Hogs | | Sheep | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Million | % | Million | % | Million | % |
| 1882 | 5.4 | 100.0 | 3.0 | 100.0 | 15.2 | 100.0 |
| 1912 | 6.5 | 120.0 | 4.2 | 140.0 | 6.2 | 40.6 |

TABLE XV

| Year | Horses | Cattle | Hogs | Sheep |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1916 | 5.5 | 7.7 | 4.6 | 6.4 |
| 1923 | 3.8 | 7.4 | 2.4 | 8.4 |

TABLE XVI

| Year | Horses | Cattle | Hogs | Sheep |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1916 | 5.5 | 7.7 | 4.6 | 6.4 |
| 1928 | 5.5 | 8.6 | 7.0 | 8.1 |
| 1930 | 5.3 | 6.3 | 4.5 | 3.2 |
| 1933 | 2.6 | 4.4 | 2.0 | 2.0 |
| 1936 | 2.5 | 6.1 | 6.0 | 2.3 |
| 1938 | 2.9 | 7.8 | 7.7 | 3.3 |
| 1940 | 3.3 | 7.7 | 7.3 | 4.7 |

steppes, where they replaced oxen as a source of traction power (in the Kherson region, for example, the number of horses increased from 329,000 in 1881 to 814,000 in 1913).

**1914–41**

During the first years of World War I the number of cattle in central and eastern Ukraine increased because more land was left fallow and the supply of fodder rose as a result of the difficulties attendant upon the export of grain.

In the period of "war communism," the number of domestic animals dropped, with the drought of 1921 being a contributing factor. The lowest figures for domestic animals occurred in 1923, as can be seen from Table XV (in millions of head).

The number of domestic animals increased during the NEP period owing to the increase in farm households. The maximum figure was reached in 1928. The subsequent obliteration of individual farms by collectivization was accompanied by a decline in animal husbandry. The peasants slaughtered much of their livestock rather than surrender it to the collective farms. A further decline was caused by inept farming methods and the famine of 1933, when the number of horses dropped to 41 per cent of the pre-collectivization figure, cattle to 53 per cent, hogs to 40 per cent, and sheep and goats to 38 per cent. After 1934 the number of domestic animals began to increase. This was due in large measure to the fact that collective farm members now had the right to keep animals on their household plots. Hog raising grew at the fastest pace, horse and sheep raising at the slowest. The level of 1928 had not been reached by 1940, as can be seen from Table XVI, which shows conditions in the Ukrainian SSR within the 1938 boundaries (in millions).

The Soviet government paid increasing attention to the development of animal husbandry on the collective and state farms. Animal farms were established on all collective farms (usually two or three); state cattle farms were

organized and much was done to improve the breed. State procurement of animal products by a per-hectare system of deliveries to the state was introduced in 1940. The percentage increase in animal husbandry in the collective and state farms at the expense of private farms is evident from the following figures: in 1938 they owned 31 per cent of all cattle, and 49.5 per cent in 1941; hogs 33.8 and 49.6 per cent, respectively; and sheep 60.3 and 81.7 per cent, respectively. The remainder was individually owned by collective farm members, workers, employees, and private individuals.

**From 1941 to the Present**

The Soviet-German war and the German occupation of Ukraine caused the loss of many domestic animals, particularly in central and eastern Ukraine. There was a concomitant deterioration in their quality (breed). Ukrainian animal husbandry regained its 1941 level only in the early 1950's. In general, the restoration of animal husbandry encountered much greater difficulties than did other branches of agriculture, and it fell behind the growing demand of the urban population for animal products. As in previous times, mainly the supply of feed was inadequate. In the 1950's, however, the acreage under fodder plants, and later also the procurement prices, were increased. Livestock population increased as a result. By 1965/6, livestock herd per capita of human population (counting cattle as two units, and pigs and sheep as one each) was 1.5 in Ukraine and 1.6 in the USSR as a whole. In some other countries it was: U.S.A. and Canada–1.4; Poland and East Germany–1.2; West Germany–0.7; England –0.2; Czechoslovakia–1.0. But the productivity of animals in Ukraine (and the USSR) is still below international levels, again mainly because of the shortage of fodder.

According to official statistics, the number of cattle and hogs increased and the number of sheep remained the same, but the number of horses and oxen dropped considerably, because of the mechanization of farming. Details are shown in Table XVII (Ukrainian SSR in its present boundaries) in units of 1,000 head, as of January 1st.

There was an even greater increase in the supply of animal products, e.g., meat, lard, milk, and wool, and their sales to the state, as shown in Tables XVIII and XIX.

The main branches of animal husbandry in the Ukrainian SSR at the present time are cattle and hog raising, with sheep and fowl of minor importance; the raising of horses has declined. The raising of rabbits, bees, silkworms, fish, and pelt animals falls into this general category.

**Cattle.** Cattle raising is the most important branch of animal husbandry in the Ukrainian SSR. In 1966 the number of head of cattle in the Ukrainian SSR was 21.3 million (in all Ukrainian ethnographic territories approximately 26 mil-

TABLE XVII

| Years | Cattle total | Of which cows | Hogs | Horses | Sheep and Goats |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1916 | 9,132 | 4,116 | 6,469 | 6,455 | 6,904 |
| 1928 | 9,928 | 4,938 | 8,596 | 6,433 | 8,309 |
| 1935 | 5,113 | 2,514 | 3,865 | 3,740 | 2,161 |
| 1941 | 10,996 | 5,964 | 9,186 | 4,674 | 7,325 |
| 1946 | 8,275 | 4,312 | 2,887 | 2,000 | 3,390 |
| 1950 | 11,003 | 4,796 | 6,999 | 2,034 | 5,798 |
| 1955 | 11,674 | 5,727 | 9,026 | 2,294 | 9,304 |
| 1960 | 17,040 | 7,687 | 16,452 | 2,027 | 11,602 |
| 1965 | 19,777 | 8,554 | 16,236 | 1,526 | 8,821 |
| 1968 | 21,165 | 8,975 | 14,995 | 1,522 | 8,974 |

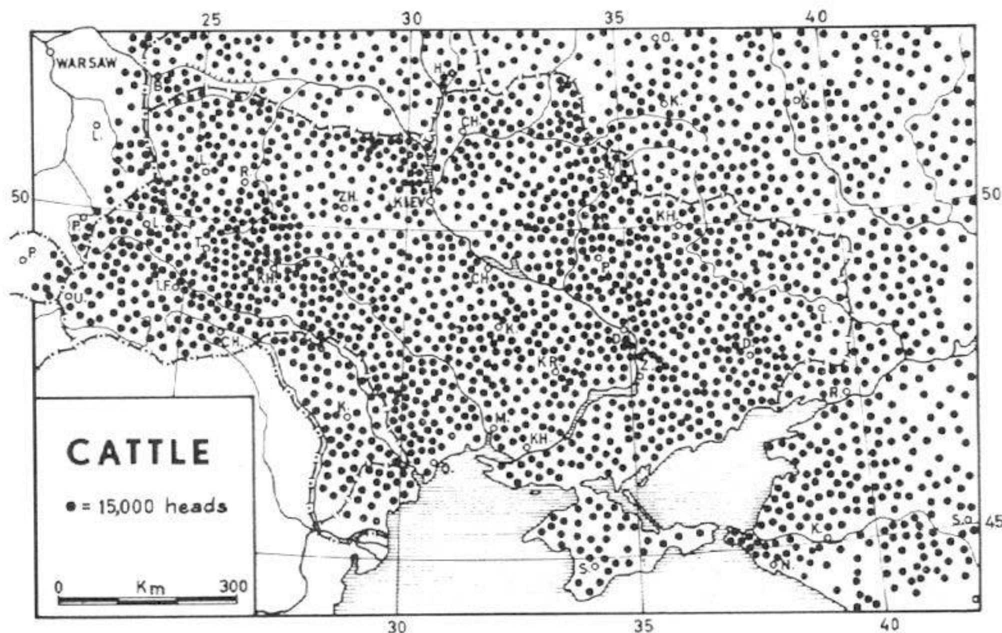


FIGURE 485

TABLE XVIII

| Animal products output (in thous. tons) | 1913 | 1940 | 1950 | 1955 | 1960 | 1967 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Meat and lard (in slaughter weight) | 1,122 | 1,127 | 1,195 | 1,351 | 2,068 | 2,645 |
| Milk | 4,667 | 7,114 | 6,804 | 9,670 | 13,995 | 17,494 |
| Wool | 14.8 | 13.5 | 11.9 | 18.0 | 27.6 | 24.0 |

TABLE XIX

| Procurement of the principal animal products (in thous. tons) | 1940 | 1953 | 1960 | 1967 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Livestock and fowl (in live weight) | 516 | 798 | 1,541 | 2,436 |
| Milk and dairy products | 1,006 | 2,348 | 5,998 | 9,420 |
| Wool (uncarded) | 12.2 | 16.4 | 28.0 | 24.9 |

lion) or 22.8 per cent of the total for the USSR (cows 22 per cent). Ukraine ranks second in Europe (after Russia) and eleventh in the world (2 per cent of the world total).

The percentage ratio of cows to the total herd of cattle in the Ukrainian SSR in 1965 was 41.4 per cent (43 per cent in the USSR).

The number of cattle classified according to the farm categories is shown in Table XX (the figures indicate the importance of public and private sectors in different time periods).

Collective and state farms tended to produce meat and milk, private farms chiefly dairy products. Cows in 1966 were distributed as follows: collective farms—

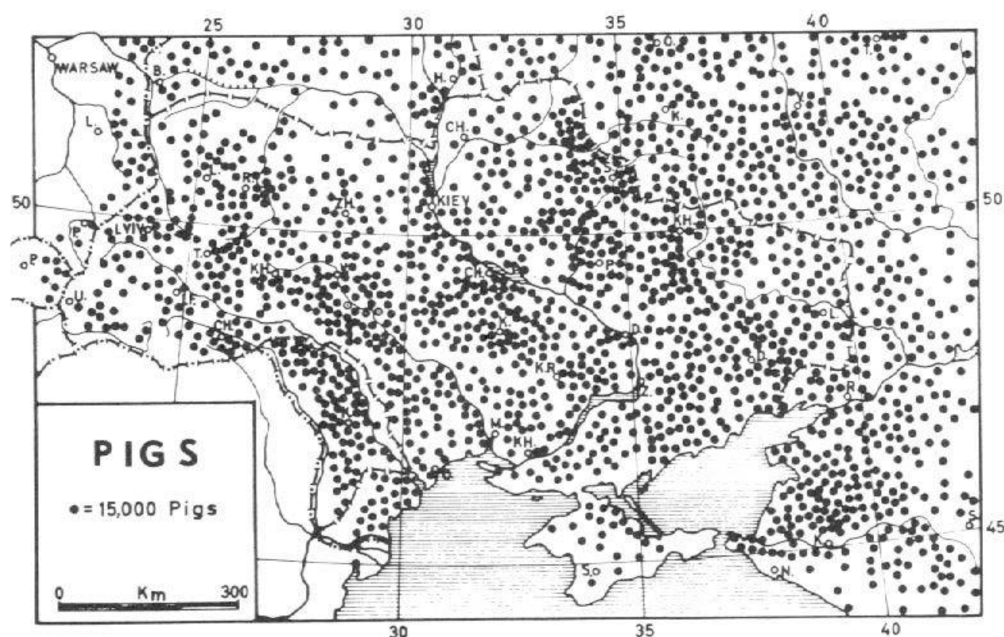


FIGURE 486

TABLE XX

| Type of farm | Cattle | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1941 | | 1955 | | 1958 | | 1963 | | 1968 | |
| | Thous. | % | Thous. | % | Thous. | % | Thous. | % | Thous. | % |
| Collective | 3,439 | 31.2 | 5,781 | 49.5 | 7,917 | 52.5 | 13,074 | 63.6 | 13,002 | 61.4 |
| State | 594 | 5.4 | 579 | 5.0 | 1,058 | 7.0 | 2,705 | 13.2 | 3,021 | 14.3 |
| Personal farming on household plots | 6,963 | 63.4 | 5,314 | 45.5 | 6,142 | 40.5 | 4,764 | 23.2 | 5,142 | 24.3 |
| TOTALS | 10,996 | 100.0 | 11,674 | 100.0 | 15,116 | 100.0 | 20,544 | 100.0 | 21,165 | 100.0 |

TABLE XXI

| Type of farm | Pigs | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1941 | | 1955 | | 1961 | | 1968 | |
| | Thous. | % | Thous. | % | Thous. | % | Thous. | % |
| Collective | 2,885 | 31.7 | 3,150 | 35.0 | 10,132 | 55.7 | 8,509 | 56.7 |
| State | 860 | 9.3 | 932 | 10.3 | 3,420 | 18.8 | 2,320 | 15.5 |
| Personal | 5,441 | 59.0 | 4,944 | 54.7 | 4,742 | 25.5 | 4,166 | 27.8 |
| TOTALS | 9,185 | 100.0 | 9,026 | 100.0 | 18,194 | 100.0 | 14,995 | 100.0 |

48.9 per cent, state farms—12.6, and private households—38.5. Non-dairy cattle owned by individuals amounted to a mere 16.1 per cent.

The number of cattle per 100 hectares of farm land indicates the intensity of animal husbandry. The figure for the Ukrainian SSR for 1966 was 50 (com-

pared with 25 in 1941), including 20.7 cows. The greatest density of cattle is found in Galicia, followed by Volhynia and the Right-Bank forest-steppes (55–67 per 100 hectares of land), then the Left-Bank and Kuban, and the lowest in the southwestern steppes (37.9). These figures follow closely the population density figures, thus indicating that livestock is more or less evenly distributed among the population.

The most important products of cattle farming are meat (beef and veal) and milk. Beef and veal accounted for 35.8 per cent of the meat produced in the Ukrainian SSR in 1965 (793,000 tons, compared with 552,000 tons in 1950). Total milk production in 1965 was 16,628,600 tons (of which collective and state farms produced 63.5 per cent and individual households 36.5 per cent), or 23.7 per cent of the total milk production of the USSR. For each 100 hectares of farm land the Ukrainian SSR produced 389.4 centners of milk in 1965 (162.5 in 1940, the USSR 134 in 1965), and the average yield per cow was 1,935 kg (1,569 kg in 1955; USSR 1,876 kg in 1965). Milk production per 100 hectares and the density of cows were the highest in Western Ukraine and near large cities, where cattle farming is quite common. Milk production per capita in Ukraine in 1965 was 368 kg, in the USSR–318, and in other countries (1964 figures): Poland –404, Czechoslovakia–288, West Germany–371, France–517, Denmark–1,108, and USA–299.

In recent years nearly all cattle in Ukraine have been purebred. Their share in the total herd of Ukraine increased as follows (in percentages): 1951–62, 1955–96, 1966–99.7 per cent.

The most widespread breeds for meat and dairy products in Ukraine are Simmenthal, Red Steppe, Ukrainian Whitehead, and Ostfriesland. Other breeds are raised in different regions, such as gray Ukrainian and brown Carpathian.

**Hog raising.** The fastest-producing branch of animal husbandry is hog raising. It plays a leading role in meat production and constitutes the chief reserve for meat production increase. For this reason hogs change in number more than other domestic animals: in Ukraine this number drops quickly in times of catastrophe (both world wars, famine, and collectivization), but it also recovers quickly (see Table XVII, p. 880). The intensification of animal husbandry attempted by the Soviet authorities was directed primarily towards pig raising. Hence pigs show the strongest increase in the Ukrainian SSR in the last decades (whereas the number of cattle increased 83 per cent in 1966 over the 1955 figure, the increase in pigs was 110 per cent).

The total number of hogs in the Ukrainian SSR in 1966 was 18.9 million (in all Ukrainian ethnographic territories about 23 million), or 31.7 per cent of the USSR total. In this respect Ukraine occupies second place in Europe (after Russia) and fifth place in the world (3 per cent of the world total). Pork production in the Ukrainian SSR was subject to the following changes (in thousands of tons):

| 1913 | 1940 | 1950 | 1955 | 1960 | 1966 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 659 | 568 | 484 | 718 | 955 | 1,150 |

According to farm classification, data on the number of swine are shown in Table XXI.

Nearly one-third of all swine are privately owned by collective farm members and other individuals. In 1965 they were responsible for 48.7 per cent of all pork produced. Hog raising is now more important to the collective farm members than it was before collectivization.

The main feed for hogs is corn, potatoes, by-products of sugar refineries and distilleries, and fodder grain. The corn-hog cycle became particularly pronounced in the 1960's.

In 1966 there were 55.4 hogs for each 100 hectares of farm land, compared with 26.2 in 1940. The largest number of

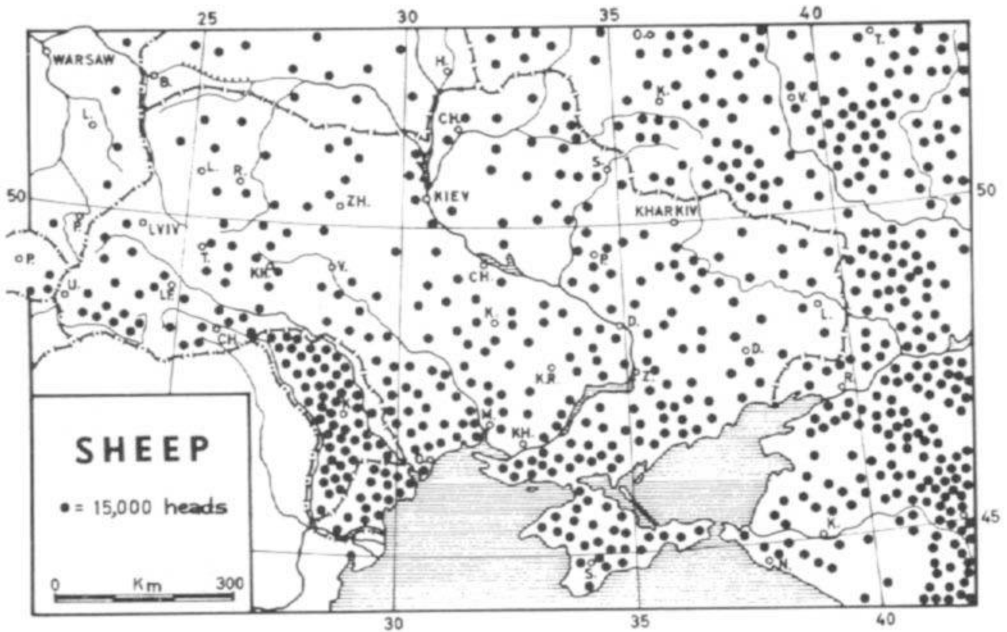


FIGURE 487

hogs per acre is in the Carpathian Mountains, in the Subcarpathian areas (Transcarpathian *oblast*—122.1; Chernivtsi *oblast*—79.0), and in the northern part of Ukraine (Rivne *oblast*—81.2 and Chernihiv *oblast*—74.7). The smallest number is in the steppes and the Crimea (34.4), with the forest-steppes and Kuban in the middle. In 1965 the percentage of pork in meat production was 51.6. Fat pork is still preferred for eating, with salt pork and lard predominating.

The most prevalent breeds of hogs in Ukraine are: large white; Ukrainian steppe white; Ukrainian steppe spotted; Myrhorod; long-ear white.

**Sheep raising.** The number of sheep in the Ukrainian SSR was stabilized at 10–11 million by 1958, then began dropping to 8.6 million in 1966 (6.9 per cent of the USSR total) or 20.3 for each 100 hectares of farm land (15.3 in 1940).

Sheep raising is concentrated on collective farms and responds to the needs of the market. Sheep are raised in all sections of Ukraine, with the largest concentration in the Carpathian Mountains and in northern Ukraine.

The breeds of sheep raised in the Ukrainian SSR are fine-wool (Askania for example), semi-fine, and coarse-wool (Caracul, for example).

**Goat raising.** Closely associated with sheep raising are goats. The impoverishment of the peasants as a result of collectivization contributed to a considerable increase in the number of goats, which among the poorer farmers replaced cows. Even in towns and urban settlements goats were kept. The figures (in thousands) are: 1916–55, 1941–625, 1955–1,470. The figure has since dropped to 696 in 1966 (all privately owned). Goats are raised chiefly for their milk. The most popular breed is the Russian.

**Horse raising.** Until World War I the number of horses rose steadily with the increasing number of peasant farms. Each farmer aspired to own a horse. Thus the number of horses in proportion to farm land and population was rather large. In 1929 within the present boun-

daries of the Ukrainian SSR the number of horses totaled 6.8 *million* (8.3 in all Ukrainian territories). Ukraine was the fourth-ranking country in the world after the Russian SFSR (24 million), USA (14), and Argentina (9.4).

Collectivization caused a reduction in the number of horses in central and eastern Ukraine from 5.6 million in 1929 to 2.5 million in 1934. A further decline was stopped by the Soviet authorities (chiefly for military reasons on the insistence of Marshal Budenny), and since then more attention has been paid to breed improvement and stud farming. A further reduction in the number of horses was brought about by World War II and the collectivization of Western Ukraine, in conjunction with the increasing mechanization of agriculture.

There were 1.5 million horses in the Ukrainian SSR in 1966, with 5.2 horses for each 100 hectares of farm land, and correspondingly 9.2 for 100 persons of the rural population, with the highest density in the western regions of Ukraine and the lowest in the steppes. In spite of mechanization, horses are still used in a number of farm operations for auxiliary power and transportation.

Eleven stud farms are engaged in raising and improving the breed. Among the numerous breeds in Ukraine are the following in order of numerical importance: Orlov and Russian, full-blood mounts, heavy Soviet and Russian draft breeds, light Hutsul mountain horses, Don, and Budenny.

**Poultry farming.** In all parts of Ukraine, particularly in Galicia, Right-Bank Ukraine, and Kuban, the raising of chickens, geese, ducks, and turkeys has long been widely developed. Before collectivization, poultry farming provided the peasants with a good income because marketing was easy, and even the poorest household could keep some fowl. Before World War I, Ukraine produced annually about 70 million poultry; after the war about 50 million. Although poultry farming was conducted on an extensive scale, eggs were rarely eaten by the peasant producers at all, but were exported almost entirely. Before World War I, the nine Ukrainian *guberniyas* exported annually about 70,000 tons of eggs, or about one-half of all exports from Russia. During the 1929–30 season Galicia exported about 30,000 tons of eggs. Even since collectivization, raising domestic fowl remains in the hands of individuals on the household plots. Collective and state farms raise poultry on a large scale, with processing plants adjacent to them.

In 1968, the number of fowl on all farms was 127.7 million (129.6 in 1961); 72.3 per cent of this total was privately owned. In 1965 collective and state farms of the Ukrainian SSR contributed the following (in thousands): all fully grown fowl–24,705, ducks–896, geese–3,887, turkeys–230, and all young fowl in all categories–5,872. Production of eggs in the Ukrainian SSR (by all types of farms) vacillated as follows (in millions): 1913–3,005, 1940–3,272, 1950–3,490, 1960–7,187, 1965–6,941 (including 5,259 from personal farming or 70 per cent of all categories). Production of dressed poultry reached 195,600 tons in 1965, but fluctuated with the supply of feed grain.

**Rabbit raising.** Rabbit raising is widespread among collective and state farm workers. The total number of rabbits was 3.7 million in 1968 (9.8 in 1961), 98 per cent owned privately. In 1965 Ukraine produced 27,200 tons of rabbit meat. Rabbit pelts produced in the Ukrainian SSR constitute about 50 per cent of the USSR total.

**Apiculture.** Since ancient times apiculture has been widespread in Ukraine. Deforestation, plowing of the steppes, and smaller demand for honey and wax (sugar and paraffin as substitutes) had completely wiped out apiculture by the seventeenth century. It was revived in the nineteenth century with the inven-

tion of the framehive by the renowned Ukrainian apiarist, Peter Prokopovych, in 1814 and had reached a high degree of development on the eve of World War I. At that time there were about 2,000,000 hives in Ukraine (90 per cent owned by the peasants).

Following collectivization, most of the apiaries were taken over by collective farms and today nearly all of them keep bees. In 1963 there were 2 million hives in the Ukrainian SSR, approximately one-half of which were privately owned. Apiculture is practiced all over Ukraine but is most widespread in Polisia, in the forest-steppes, and the Carpathians, and least in the Crimea.

FIGURE 488. A COLLECTIVE FARM APIARY IN THE CHERKASY AREA

**Sericulture.** Only in the last few decades has sericulture assumed significant proportions in the Ukrainian SSR. It has been developed chiefly in the Zaporizhia, Odessa, Dnipropetrovske, Mykolaïv, Cherkasy, Poltava, Kirovohrad, and Crimea *oblasts*. Silkworm plantations occupy more than 50,000 hectares of land and the harvest of cocoons was 1,700 tons in 1959 (as against 350 tons in 1938). In 1963 silkworms were raised on about 3,000 collective farms and 100 state farms.

*V. Kubijovyč*

## FISHING

Fishing has long been an important part of the national economy of Ukraine. In antiquity fish were exported to Greece and in the Middle Ages to Byzantium. The Zaporozhian Kozaks used fish as an important part of their diet. Since the nineteenth century, excessive fishing has depleted the fishing areas of Ukraine in spite of protective legislation.

About 180 species and subspecies of fish, of which about 50 are of commercial importance are found in Ukraine's waters. The main categories of commercial fish are sturgeon, herring, carp, pike, and anchovy. Most fish in Ukraine are caught in salt water, with rivers and ponds making some contribution.

Salt water fishing is done in the Black and Azov Seas, with the Sea of Azov being the more important. Its abundance of fish is due to a good food supply, spawning locations (the river estuaries of the Don and the Kuban river), and the presence of both migratory and semi-migratory fish.

The chief fishing grounds are located in the eastern part of the Sea of Azov—the mouth of the Don and Kuban rivers and the Kerch Strait. In the winter ice-fishing is practiced in the bay of Tahanrih. The commercial grades of fish from the Sea of Azov are sprats, anchovies, herring, pike, sturgeon, bream, searoach, and bullhead. The fish productivity of the Sea of Azov is very high, reaching 80 kg per hectare.

The productivity of the Black Sea is limited by its great depths which are filled with hydrogen sulfide. The main fishing grounds are in the Odessa region, the north shore of the Crimea, and near Novorossiisk. The northwestern shore of the Black Sea has many limans with flounder, bullheads, and mullet which come in from the sea. The productivity of the estuaries ranges from 0.5 to 136 kg per hectare. Fishing for dolphin is growing in importance along the Cri-

mean and Caucasian coasts of the Black Sea; the shellfish industry is also expanding.

Large fishing ports were built on the Black and Azov seas in the 1950's as bases for fishing fleets, which since 1958 have gone out to the central and south Atlantic Ocean (African coast). A great

FIGURE 489. NIGHT FISHING IN THE CARPATHIANS

ocean fishing base is growing up in Sevastopol. The Antarctic whaling fleet *Slava* (Glory, 28,175 tons) has been operating since 1946, and *Radians'ka Ukraïna* (43,800 tons) since 1959. The latter processes about 4,000 tons of raw whale. They are part of the Odessa Economic Region, with Odessa as their home port.

In the interior waters fish are found in the rivers, lakes, and manmade ponds. Fresh water fishing was developing well, but has recently suffered setbacks due to water pollution.

River fishing on the Dnieper, which has about 60 species of fish, is the best developed. In the upper reaches the catch (by weight) is chiefly roach, crucian carp, pike, and bream; in the lower reaches, where the fish are most abundant, bream, pike, and perch. With the construction of the dam and the artificial reservoir lake near Dnipropetrovske, and other reservoirs (see pp. 907 ff.), changes occurred in the fish population of the Dnieper. Not all fish could thrive under the conditions in a closed lake. Migratory fish were shut out and fish preferring moving water migrated northward. The fish now found in the reservoirs are bream, roach, sheat-fish, and dace, among others. Similar changes took place in other reservoirs.

Other rivers important to the fishing industry are: the lower Danube (71 species—herring, carp, bream, pike, sturgeon, etc.); the Dniester (75 species—in the upper reaches, trout, barbel, chub, etc., and in the lower flow, roach, bass, bullhead, bream, etc.); the Boh (carp, bream, roach, chub, etc.); the Donets (44 species—bream, ide, perch, pike, for example). The most important lakes for fishing are those in Polisia which produce 21 to 73 kg per hectare. Fish is also becoming more important in the reservoirs of hydro-electric power stations on the small rivers.

Pond fishing is well developed in Podilia where carp is most popular and cultivation is carried on. Trout is raised in hatcheries in the Carpathians. The total area of lakes and reservoirs in the Ukrainian SSR was 586,000 hectares in 1965 with a production of 33,900 tons of fish.

FIGURE 490. FISHING IN THE ATLANTIC

The amount of fish caught in Ukrainian waters on the eve of World War II totaled 400,000 tons annually (rivers—10 per cent, ponds—4 per cent). In 1964 the

total was 495,500 tons. This amount did not satisfy the domestic demand and Ukraine had to import fish, chiefly from the Caspian Sea region.

At the present time fish production in Ukraine is in the hands of collective state fisheries and collective and state farms. The most important centers of the fishing and processing industry are Kerch, Zhdanov, Berdiansk, Odessa, and Vylkove.

*E. Zarsky*

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# 7. FORESTRY

## FORESTS OF UKRAINE AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

The peculiar character of the forests of Ukraine is the result of the country's intermediate geographical position between relatively moist western Europe and the dry steppes and semi-deserts of Asia. In the western parts of Ukraine, the forests completely maintain their west European character, with luxuriant foliage and dense growth, while in the south and southeast there are only small steppe copses with steppe grasses predominating. The changes in climatic, soil, and hydrological conditions to the east and south affect the degree of forestation and the vigor of tree growth, as well as the composition of basic forest-forming strains. The important west European strains, fir (*Picca*), spruce (*Abies*), and beech (*Fagus*), which play a part in the biology and ecology of forests and in their exploitation value, are not plentiful in most of Ukraine's territory. The eastern and in part the southern limits of their growth, along with those of hornbeam, sycamore, ash, and other forest trees of lesser importance [Vol. I, Flora and Fig. 77] pass through Ukraine. Thus Ukraine represents a land of forest boundaries and borderlands. This peculiarity has an important effect on both the tasks performed and the methods used in Ukrainian forestry.

Forests have always played an important part in the life of the Ukrainian people, not only as a source of material goods (lumber and its by-products, game, honey, berries, mushrooms, grasses, pasture for livestock, etc.), but also as a strategic, political, and colonizing factor, and as a beneficial component of natural scenery.

The forest belt of Ukraine—Polisia—was the defensive hinterland and source of power of the first Ukrainian state, the Realm of Kiev, which was subjected during the tenth through the thirteenth centuries to continuous assaults by the steppe nomads [Vol. I, pp. 14–15]. Polisia not only provided shelter and food for the population, but also delivered the first products for international exchange (honey, wax, pelts).

The once dense population of Right-Bank Ukraine facilitated colonization and economic exploitation of its land (animal husbandry, hunting, etc.) and gave a certain amount of protection from Tatar and Turkish raids. This was even more pronounced in Left-Bank Ukraine, whose forests, rich in game, fish, and honey, became the starting points of Left-Bank and steppe colonization in the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries.

The origin of industry is also linked to the forests. It was first the lumber industry that, since the late fifteenth century, linked Ukraine with the markets of western Europe, primarily Danzig (exports of lumber and later products of the timber-chemical industry—potash, tar, pitch, charcoal), and provided fuel for the local iron smelting and glass-blowing industries. The first manufacturing plants appeared in the early part of the eighteenth century in the forest zones, using wood as fuel. Early in the nineteenth century came woolen mills, foundries, glass-works, tanneries, soap-works, etc. By the middle of the nineteenth century the old industries of chemical wood processing began to decline (potash, tar, pitch, and charcoal) and the lumber industry was mechanized, with most of the timber being cut in sawmills. At the same time, with the building of railroads and the changeover to coal, industry became independent of the forests as a source of fuel.

Instead of direct utilization of forests,

man now saw their naturally beneficial effects. Under the natural conditions of Ukraine, these effects included improvement of hydrological conditions in the surrounding area, strengthening the soil surface, particularly steep inclines and shifting sand, and health-giving effects

FIGURE 491. BEECH TREES IN THE CRIMEAN MOUNTAINS

for humans, as well as improvement of the continental climate of the Ukrainian steppes. Once the protective quality of forests was recognized, work was started in Ukraine on planting trees and utilizing the forests for the improvement of climatic conditions for steppe agriculture.

**Forest Planting**

Forest planting in central and eastern Ukraine developed its own characteristics due to natural conditions. These special features, which became manifest as early as the eighteenth century, included the study of steppe forestation, forest typology, and ameliorative forestry, all of which still are typical of Ukrainian forestry. Artificial forest planting and forest tending in the steppes were not utilized for the purpose of growing timber, but to improve agricultural conditions (so-called dry forestry). This purpose is served by protective strip forests, which were started in Ukraine in the late nineteenth century and developed widely after World War II. They serve to protect grain fields from dust storms, improve water supply in the soil, and prevent soil erosion. In some instances these protective plantings have been extended to form massive forests (e.g., the Great Anadol massif).

In the forest-steppe and in Polisia the main purpose of forestry is the preservation and establishment of the most productive forest formations in their natural form; this task is accomplished through the study of natural types of forests in their static and dynamic condition through the utilization of forest typology in forest growing.

The prevalence of unused land on hillsides, sandy ground, and valleys produced a need for ameliorative forestry, whose aim is the restoration of various types of protective forests; it began to develop systematically in the 1890's with the securing of slopes and shifting sands.

Before 1917, forestry in central and eastern Ukraine was connected with research conducted by establishments of higher education—the Forestry Institute in St. Petersburg, the Forestry Department of the Agricultural Academy in Moscow, and the Institute of Agriculture and Forestry in Nova Alexandria (transferred to Kharkiv in 1915). There were chairs of forestry at the Polytechnical Institutes of Kiev and Lviv. Research was also conducted at the Great Anadol forest and the Darnytsia station. Substantial research was done by the forest-owning institutions, i.e., the *zemstvos* in central and eastern Ukraine and the provincial government of Galicia. Outstanding researchers of this period were: Basil Dokuchaiev, a naturalist, and George Vysotsky, who pioneered scientific planting of forests in the steppes, Eugene Alekseiev (forest typology), Alexander Marchenko (timber economy), and George Morozov (biology and phytosociology of forests).

A great deal of scientific research was accomplished in the 1920's by the All-Ukrainian Administration of Forests which published fifteen issues of its findings. Much work was also performed by the Agricultural Scientific Committee of Ukraine. The professional journal was

*Lisovod Ukraïny* (Forester of Ukraine), later renamed *Ukraïns'kyi Lisovod* (Ukrainian Forester). In the 1930's Kiev was the center of forestry in Ukraine, with its Institute of Timber Economy and the Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of Forest Economy and Amelioration, founded in 1930 and still active. In addition, research work was conducted until 1962 by the Ukrainian Academy of Agricultural Sciences, and at present by the Institute of Botanics, the Starosilska Biological Station of the Academy of Sciences, Ukrainian SSR, the Institute of Forest Engineering in Lviv, the chairs of the Forest Amelioration Department of the Dokuchaiev Agricultural Institute in Kharkiv, the Dnipropetrovske and Kiev universities, the Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of the Economy and Organization of Agriculture, botanical gardens, dendroparks (in Trostianets near Chernihiv, Sofiïvka Park in Uman, Oleksandriia in Bila Tserkva, Veseli Bokoven'ky, etc.), and some reservations.

Nearly all research work in the Ukrainian SSR concentrates on natural and technical problems, with very little attention paid to forest management and statistics, because such works would undoubtedly expose the colonial methods of Soviet economy. The dictionary of Ukrainian forest terminology has never been published, although it has been ready for publication since 1930. At present, there is no professional forestry journal in the Ukrainian SSR. Nonperiodical publications are: *Naukovi pratsi* (Scientific Works) published by the Ukrainian Institute of Forest Economy and Amelioration, also by the Ukrainian Academy of Agricultural Sciences (until 1962), and the Carpathian Forestry Experimental Station.

Prior to 1917, prominent Ukrainian forestry researchers were: D. Lavrynenko, Peter Pohrebniak, D. Vorobiov, in typology; P. Kozhevnikov, Gregory Makhiv, in ecology; B. Lonhinov, M. Ustynovska, in forest planting in the steppes and forest amelioration; and G. Motovilov, Serhii Tiukov, and P. Vasyliev, in forest management.

An important center of Ukrainian forestry abroad was the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy in Poděbrady (Czechoslovakia), later renamed the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute.

Foremost among Ukrainian forestry specialists was Borys Ivanytsky, who advanced a number of original ideas in forest management from the standpoint of Ukrainian national interests. His major work is *Lisy i lisove hospodarstvo na Ukraïni* (Forests and Forest Management in Ukraine, 2 vols., 1936–9). Among other researchers were P. Nikitin and O. Paramoniv. A valuable monograph *Lisy Ukraïny* (Forests of Ukraine) was published in 1960 in Kiev by Anatole Soldatov, Serhii Tiukov, and Nicholas Turkevych.

FIGURE 492. A GROUP OF FORESTERS IN THE KHARKIV *guberniya* (EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY)

**Changes in Forestation**

The forests were affected by natural conditions and by the economic activities of the past and present populations of Ukraine.

In prehistoric times the following regions of Ukraine were almost completely covered by forests: the northern forest zone of Polisia (with the exception of marshlands), the mountains (except altitudes above the timber line), the Subcarpathian region, the lowlands along

TABLE I

| Year | Entire forest area | Land suitable for forests | | | Unsuitable | Percentage of forestation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | All | Forest covered | Not covered | | |
| 1880 | 4,856 (100) | 4,417 (91) | 4,198 (86.5) | 219 (4.5) | 439 ( 9) | 10.0 |
| 1913 | 3,861 (100) | 3,510 (91) | 3,335 (86) | 175 (5) | 351 ( 9) | 8.2 |
| 1923 | 3,711 (100) | 3,333 (90) | 2,666 (72) | 667 (18) | 378 (10) | 7.4 |
| 1932 | 3,546 (100) | 3,150 (89) | 2,466 (70) | 684 (19) | 396 (11) | 7.0 |

the Sian river, and Roztichia; from one-fourth to one-third of all land in the forest-steppe region, mainly along the high right banks of rivers and between rivers. In the steppes, forests were found only in river basins and lowlands. Altogether, forests constituted somewhat over one-third of all Ukrainian land. Subsequently, human activity arrested the natural spread of forests in the forest-steppe zone. The land was deforested both in the process of internal colonization and for agricultural purposes. Between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries large forests were destroyed for lumber exports and fuel, particularly in central and eastern Ukraine; deforestation on a large scale occurred during World War I and the revolution (1914 through 1923). The figures for the Ukrainian SSR within its 1938 boundaries are shown in Table I (units of 1,000 hectares, with percentages in parentheses).

As can be observed from the table, deforestation proceeded along two lines: (1) reduction of areas suitable for forests by uprooting or by reducing timber-producing lands (between 1913 and 1932 by 360,000 hectares) and (2) through neglect of reforestation (increase of the area of unforested stumplands by 509,000 hectares over the same period), obviously with an accompanying loss of timber growth.

Deforestation of Ukrainian lands under Austria-Hungary was not as rapid. Still, the forest area in Galicia decreased by about 250,000–300,000 hectares from the early nineteenth century to 1940.

Great losses occurred in all parts of Ukraine during World War II and in the postwar period until 1955, because of the wanton cutting of timber by the Communist regime, particularly in the Carpathians (see below). Consequently, the forest area of all Ukrainian lands dropped to about 13–14 per cent, and of the Ukrainian SSR from 18 per cent at the end of the eighteenth century to 15 per cent in 1890 and 12 per cent at present. There was a simultaneous decline in the quality of timber: e.g., in the Carpathians fir replaced beech and spruce to some extent; cedar has almost disappeared, yew has disappeared completely, and there is much less oak. In recent years the Soviet government has encouraged cultivation of such fast-growing genera (particularly in the forest-steppe and steppe zones) as poplar, willow, white acacia, and larch.

The present forest area in all Ukrainian ethnographic lands is about 12 million hectares. As of January 1, 1964, in the Ukrainian SSR according to categories, it was as follows: total area of forest land 9,598,000 hectares; actually forest-covered 8,480,000 hectares (12.8 per cent of the total area of the Ukrainian SSR); not covered with forests, 1,118,000 hectares. Deciduous trees occupy 52 per cent of the area and coniferous trees 48 per cent. The composition of forests in the Ukrainian SSR by types of tree was as follows in 1964: pine, 33.6 per cent of the total forest area; oak, 26.1 per cent; fir, 9.8 per cent; birch, 5.6 per cent; hornbeam, 5.0 per cent; alder, 4.5 per cent; spruce, 1.4 per cent; aspen, 1.4 per cent; others 12.6 per cent. Altogether, Ukraine has 12 genera of coni-

TABLE II

| | Polisia | Forest-steppe | Steppe | Carpathians | Crimean mountains |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| In thousand hectares | 2,650 | 2,250 | 500 | 1,250 | 180 |
| Percentage of total area | 31.0 | 10.7 | 2.0 | 40.0 | 50.0 |
| Percentage of zone in relation to total forest area of Ukrainian SSR | 39.0 | 33.0 | 17.2 | 8.2 | 2.6 |

ferous trees and 3 of bushes, and 59 genera of deciduous trees and 15 of bushes. The wooded area represents 0.19 hectares per capita (2.4 for the USSR).

Natural forestation zones are shown in Table II (see also map on p. 902 and Vol. I, p. 119).

The most wooded part of Polisia is its central area. The main timber growth is pine (about 60 per cent), with oak growing on the richer soils (15 per cent); other deciduous trees include birch (12 per cent) and alder (10 per cent), which have little value as lumber and often occupy areas cleared of pine.

The western part of the forest-steppe, including Roztichia, the lowlands along the Sian river, and the river Buh basin, is most heavily wooded. Here the forests are similar to those of western Europe (beech, pine, oak). In the remaining part of the forest-steppe, oak is the commonest (over 50 per cent) with some beech (only in western Podilia), hornbeam (mainly on the right bank of the Dnieper, 26 per cent of the wooded area), spruce, maple, and lime; pine forests cover the left-bank river terraces (30 per cent). In spite of considerable deforestation, some parts of the massive forests have survived, e.g., the Black Forest near Znamianka, Trostianets in the Sumy *oblast,* the Cherkasy pine forest along the Dnieper, the Lithuanian forest on the Vorskla river, and forests on the northern Don.

The forests of the Carpathians and the Subcarpathian region consist mainly of beech in the southwest, and elsewhere fir mixed with beech and spruce. In the Crimean and Caucasian mountains, the principal types are oak and beech with some hornbeam and maple. In the Crimea the Crimean pine is also found and in the Caucasus the Caucasian fir and spruce; the southern slopes are wooded with subtropical trees. All mountains are subject to vertical zonality.

There are no forests in the steppe, only low-lying and damp woods, pine on the sands of Oleshkiv and the Donets River, and types planted for ameliorative and protective purposes. The principal genera are: oak (60 per cent), pine, hornbeam, white acacia, ash, maple, and fibrous strains.

State parks and reservations have been set aside to preserve specimens that show the character of the forests in their primeval state.

FIGURE 493. CARPATHIAN FORESTS NEAR ZHABIE

## Forest Management

**Before 1917.** Legal protection of forests was not introduced in Ukraine until the second half of the nineteenth century. Many forests had already been destroyed and large areas of useless land resulted. Russia enacted laws in 1867 and 1888 and Austria in 1852 and 1904. Nevertheless, in central and eastern Ukraine, the average annual cut was 27,100 hectares of timber, of which only 4,000 were re-

forested (or one-seventh of the cut area). By 1913, however, up to 96 per cent of the cut areas were replanted in the state forests. Forest management reached its highest development in Western Ukraine; state forests were managed with the greatest efficiency, followed by large estates. Small community forests and farmer-owned woods were still extensively exploited. In the central and eastern parts of Ukraine, 20 per cent of the forests were owned by the state before World War I, 70 per cent by individuals, and 10 per cent by corporations.

**1917–39.** Forest management broke down completely during World War I, when the battle lines passed through the forest zones of Ukraine (Polisia and the Carpathians) and Ukraine supplied lumber for military purposes, often encroaching upon immature stands.

The Ukrainian state (law of the Ukrainian National Republic of January 13, 1919 and of the Western Ukrainian Republic of November 1918 and January 14, 1919) introduced nationalization of privately owned forests, with the exception of farmers' and community timberlands. Following the downfall of the Ukrainian state, private ownerships of timberlands was restored in Ukrainian territories under Poland, while the Ukrainian SSR continued the principle of nationalization, but with some individual holdings: peasants (only in the 1920's), collective farms, and so-called long-term users of timberlands (various governmental bureaus and institutions). Management in the Ukrainian SSR was placed under the All-Ukrainian Bureau of Forests in 1921, but by 1928 Ukraine's forests were under the direct authority of the Council of the National Economy of the USSR, which supervised the Ukrderzhlis (Ukrainian State Forests), successor to the Bureau of Forests.

Complete chaos reigned during the revolution, and forestry was completely neglected. As a result, there was an increase in barren areas which were suitable for timber in the Ukrainian SSR (within the 1938 boundaries) from 175,000 hectares in 1913 to 667,000 hectares in 1923 (18 per cent of timberlands), and the percentage of forestation dropped from 8.2 to 7.4 per cent. The subsequent Five-Year plans (beginning in 1928), with the demand for increased deliveries of raw material, completely violated the principles of efficient timber exploitation. In the course of the first two Five-Year plans, double the annual timber growth was cut (during the second Five-Year Plan the annual cut was 10.6 million cubic meters instead of the theoretically possible quota of 5.4 million cubic meters). It was not until 1936, thanks to the efforts of the newly established Ukrainian Bureau of Forest Protection and Reforestation, which took over the management of timberlands in Ukraine, that wanton deforestation was discontinued and the timber economy was able to operate normally for several years.

In Western Ukraine between the two world wars, forest management was conducted along normal lines, with the best conditions prevailing in Transcarpathia.

**1940–65.** Forest management in Ukraine experienced a deep crisis during World War II. After the reoccupation of all Ukrainian territories by the Soviets, the government began excessive exploitation of Ukrainian forests, particularly in the Carpathians. Thus, according to the status of January 1, 1956, annual cutting should have been 7.8 million cubic meters, but actually the figures were as follows (in million cubic meters): 1953–12.3; 1954–18.3; 1955–17.8; and 1956–18.6. Consequently, the variation in the age of the trees in the timber stands was abnormal. The forests of the Ukrainian SSR contained (as of January 1, 1956) the following percentages by age: young growth, 54.8; medium, 24.1; mature, 10.4; and past maturity, 10.7. Normally each class should constitute 25 per cent. Conditions in the timberlands of the collective farms were much worse. There young growth in 1953–4 was as high as 63 per cent. In a short period of time, timber was felled in Ukraine, especially in the Carpathians,

which needed 20 and, in some instances, 50 years to mature. As a result the quality of the lumber is very low (over 30 per cent is fit only for firewood) and part of the timber (averaging 5–8 per cent) is wasted through improper felling and logging. Erosion is widespread and has reached the danger point in the Carpathians (by 1960 there were 487,000 hectares of wasteland due to the stripping of timber on steep hillsides and

FIGURE 494. LOADING OF LUMBER IN THE RIVNE *oblast*

consequent erosion). The catastrophic state of the timber economy compelled the Soviet authorities to restrict lumbering in 1957. The quota was set at 6.2 million cubic meters annually, but the actual figure was twice that, as indicated (in millions cubic meters; commercial lumber in parentheses):

| *Year* | *Lumber* |
|---|---|
| 1940 | 7.8 (5.2) |
| 1958 | 16.3 (12.5) |
| 1960 | 13.5 (10.1) |
| 1965 | 12.5 (9.7) |

In 1959, the timber management of Ukraine was placed under the jurisdiction of the Chief Administration of Timber Economy and Lumber Procurement in the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR (until 1959 it had been part of the Ministry of Agriculture of the USSR).

**Present State.** According to economic categories, the forests of the Ukrainian SSR are divided into protective (water retaining, soil protecting, and special purpose forests) and commercial forests. The latter constitute 74.6 per cent of all timberland and provide most of the commercial lumber. The forests of the Carpathian Mountains are economically the most important, providing one-half of the lumber procured in the Ukrainian SSR, although constituting only 18 per cent of the timberland; one-third is provided by Polisia (39 per cent of the timberland), and one-seventh by the forest-steppe, steppe, and the Crimea (43 per cent of all timberland of the Ukrainian SSR); forests in the last-named group are mostly protective timberlands.

The average age of trees in the Ukrainian SSR is very low (under 40 years) because of excessive exploitation. The average yield is 2 per cent (higher in the Carpathian types of fir and spruce). The average growth of the timber mass for one hectare of forest in all of the Ukrainian SSR was 2.75–2.92 cubic meters (highest in the Carpathians with 4.21); state forests produce 2.98 cubic meters; collective farm forests only 1.99 cubic meters. By comparison, the figure for West Germany exceeds 5 cubic meters. The timber volume per hectare is 117 cubic meters (highest in the Carpathian fir types at 448 cubic meters). The grand total of all timber of the Ukrainian SSR is estimated at 681 million cubic meters, including 97 million cubic meters of mature and over-mature timber, with a total monetary value of 16.8 billion rubles. Renewal of forests in the Ukrainian SSR takes place by planting (two-thirds) and natural regrowth (one-third). In the 1950's annual timber planting covered 100,000 hectares; at present, more than one-third of all forests in the Ukrainian SSR have been artificially planted. The new plantings include an increasing number of fast-growing genera (poplar, larch, etc.). There is also an increase in oak and pine planting but a decrease in fir, spruce, and beech.

Forest protection is effected primarily by means of pest control, mainly of in-

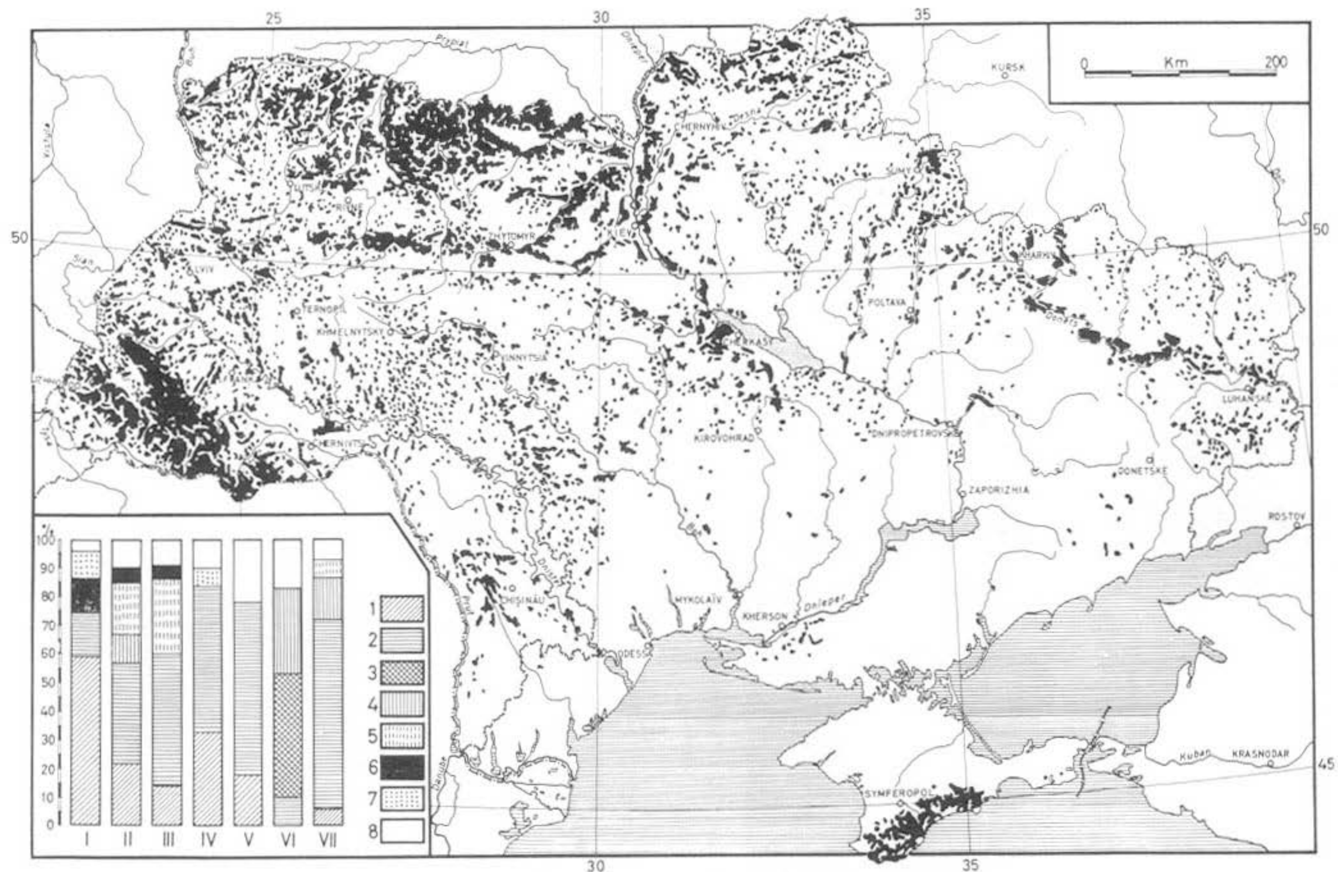


FIGURE 495. FORESTS OF UKRAINE

Principal types of forests in individual areas of Ukraine: I, Polisia; II, western forest-steppe; III, central forest-steppe; IV, eastern forest-steppe; V, steppe; VI, Carpathian Mountains; VII, Crimean Mountains. Principal types of trees: 1, pine; 2, oak; 3, fir; 4, beech; 5, hornbeam; 6, birch; 7, alder; 8, others.

sects (in some regions up to 10 per cent of the timberlands were infested by insects), and fire prevention. However, the importance of mountain streams has been overlooked. Water-run control was introduced in the Carpathians under Austria. Since it has not been continued, erosion of steep inclines has resulted. In general, because of inefficient methods, the state forests of the Ukrainian SSR alone contained 850,000 hectares (18 per cent) of low quality timber in 1956.

Personnel working in the timber industry in the Ukrainian SSR averaged about 19,000 persons in 1956–60, including 2,000 college graduates and 2,900 high school graduates. Lumbering (felling, logging, and hauling) in the Carpathians alone employed nearly 100,000 workers (some on a seasonal basis). For many years lumber operations were performed manually, but since 1950 machines have taken over an increasing number of tasks.

In comparison with the entire USSR, the timber economy of the Ukrainian SSR plays an insignificant part: timberlands comprise only 7 per cent of the USSR total, but some valuable genera constitute a much higher percentage, e.g., oak–15.3, beech–19.9, hornbeam–38.7, ash–9.1, and the stands make up 9 per cent of the USSR total.

At the present time the lumber demand of the Ukrainian SSR is 40 million cubic meters annually. About one-half of it is used as posts, props, and braces in the coal mines, as sleepers on railroads, etc., although metal could have been used instead. Consequently about 70 per cent of this demand has to be met by imports from Russia, Belorussia, and Lithuania. Ukrainian lumber imports amounted to 22.8 million cubic meters in 1958 and 29.8 in 1965. At the same time Ukraine has been exporting small amounts of lumber, mainly hardwoods (parquet flooring, etc.).

The Kuban region (Krasnodar) is much richer in timber, with forests covering 1.9 million hectares (23 per cent of all land). The main genera are: oak–46 per cent, beech–19.6, hornbeam –8.6, and fir–8.6; the timber mass is 3.5 million cubic meters. For this reason Kuban has timber surpluses and is able to export to Ukraine lumber in raw or processed form. (For details on the lumber industry, see pp. 817–20).

*B. Ivanytsky and B. Luchakovsky*

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# 8. UTILIZATION AND MANAGEMENT OF WATER RESOURCES

Water management in Ukraine is one of the most important branches of the national economy. Its purpose is the utilization of water resources, on the one hand, and prevention of damaging effects incurred by the action of water, on the other. This is now being accomplished by various bodies which deal with the study, regulation, distribution, and utilization of surface and underground waters. Although such efforts were made in the past, they were somewhat fragmentary and primitive. With the advances in technology, the development of industry, and the concentration of population in large urban centers, utilization of water assumed an organized and rather complex character. At the present time, management of water resources embraces various branches with common hydrotechnical structures: irrigation and drainage of swamp lands, utilization of hydroenergy, water supply for population and industry, purification of sewage, water transport, the fishing industry, flood control, erosion, and destruction of river banks. The needs of the individual branches often vary quite drastically (e.g., water transportation requires a high water level; drainage, a low level; in irrigation the river is depleted of water, which, in turn, is needed for navigation and electric power). Hence the object of water management is to coordinate properly and effectively all of these existing divergencies.

The utilization of Ukraine's main waterway, the Dnieper River, requires the solution of a whole complex of problems dealing with navigation, hydroenergetics, drainage (in the Polisia region), irrigation (in the steppe region), the water supply, and the fishing industry. Less complex is the utilization of such rivers as the Kuban and Dniester which also cut across distinct geographic areas of Ukraine, and the Desna, Prypiat, Boh, Donets, and Tysa. In general, the rivers of northern Ukraine are used for transportation (mostly the larger ones), water supply, fishing, and drainage. In the forest-steppe and steppe regions, small rivers are used primarily for water supply, irrigation, construction of small hydroelectric stations, and the fishing industry. The larger rivers are also used for transportation. The rivers of the Carpathian and the Caucasian mountains provide inexpensive hydroenergy (utilized to a very limited degree) and contribute to the fishing industry. Kuban and its tributaries are also used for irrigation. All mountain streams require control to prevent floods and landslides.

Subterranean waters are of great significance in water management [Vol. I, pp. 108–9] since they are the best source of water. The fresh water supply in the Ukrainian SSR does not meet the demand, particularly in southern Ukraine, where the subterranean fresh water supply is quite low.

## WATER MANAGEMENT

### Up to Early Twentieth Century

Water management did not develop in Ukraine until the late nineteenth century—actually, only after 1917—although some individual branches are known to date far back into history. Numerous rivers were used for transportation, water supply, and fishing. Some hydraulic structures were built in Ukraine in the ancient cities of the Black Sea region, later in Khersones and the Crimea, and, in the twelfth century, in Kiev and other cities of Kievan *Rus'*. Utilization of hydroenergy for water mills and sawmills began in the thirteenth century, and on a larger scale in

the fifteenth, when ponds were dug on the rivers to provide a better water supply, fishing, and power. Small rivers were of greater importance in the past owing to their higher water level, which has diminished in modern times because of the destruction of the forests (see pp. 900 ff.).

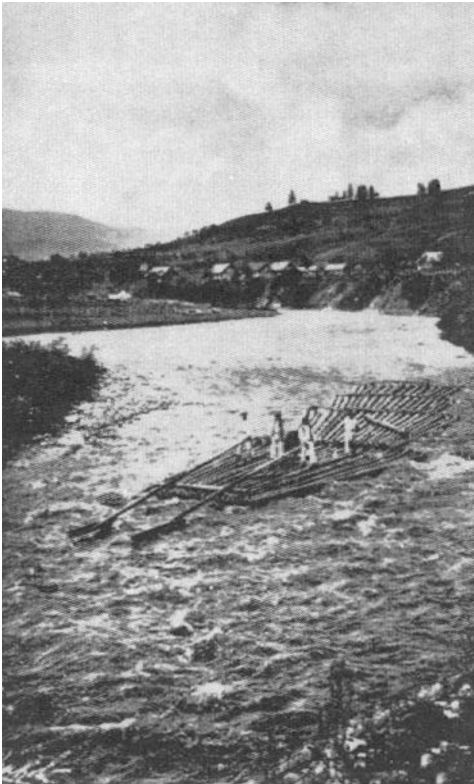

FIGURE 496. LUMBER CARRIED DOWN THE CHEREMOSH RIVER NEAR ZHABIE

Since the late eighteenth century, management of Ukraine's water resources has undergone many changes, particularly in water transport. Late in the eighteenth century a project was undertaken to connect the Dnieper River with the rivers of the Baltic Sea basin and a number of canals were constructed for that purpose. After it became part of the Russian empire, the Dnieper River assumed greater significance as a waterway, particularly when steam navigation was started in the middle of the nineteenth century. The river, however, was not wholly navigable because rapids divided it into two separate sectors (for more detail, see Transportation, pp. 925 ff.).

Hydroenergy was used on a very limited scale, although in the nineteenth century it was employed in small industrial plants such as fulling mills, distilleries, and sugar refineries. The only hydroelectric power station, the Tavria Station, was built in 1912 on the River Boh.

Subterranean waters provided the main source of water in the forest and forest-steppe belts. In the dry south, rivers also served this purpose, with water being stored in artificial ponds and dams before the streams ran dry. Wells and carriers (i.e. barrels filled with drinking water and carried by wagons) were used to supply water. Construction of modern water pumping stations did not begin until the 1870's. Stations were built first in Kiev, Lviv, Odessa, Kharkiv, and Chernihiv. In 1890, nine cities in central and eastern lands had water pumping stations; in 1899–12; in 1909–20; in 1915–33. Only the central areas of cities were served by the stations. Sewerage and water purification was limited. In this respect Galicia was ahead of all other areas.

Irrigation was not widely used, except in some areas near southern Ukraine's larger cities. In 1913, a total of 17,000 hectares of land in Ukraine was irrigated (according to some sources the figure was even smaller).

Little was accomplished in the reclamation of swamp land. Among the more significant efforts were: drainage of the Polisia swamps (expedition of General I. Zhylinsky, 1872–98); minor works conducted by the *zemstvos* and the Galician Land Administration (e.g., drainage of the Sambir swamps); drainage of the Tysa River lowland; clearing of the Dnieper, Desna, and Prypiat river beds to maintain the necessary navigation depth;

partial regulation of mountain streams in the Carpathian mountains.

All these efforts were largely uncoordinated and inadequate to meet the existing needs. This was particularly apparent after the massive plowing of the steppe and the ever increasing destruction of the forests of Ukraine in the nineteenth century. The entire water system of the country was dislocated. Erosion increased, and floods resulted from the fact that the rivers became shallower and the water flow irregular; in the south, the areas of land requiring irrigation kept growing larger, and transport along the Dnieper River required flooding of the rapids. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, studies in water management, including a planned, systematic effort in irrigation and drainage, were started in Ukraine. Major contributions in this field were made by Basil Dokuchaiev, George Vysotsky, Paul Kostychev, Basil Williams, and Nicholas Maksymovych. Little hydrotechnical work was accomplished before 1914. Such projects as flooding of the rapids, building of hydroelectric stations, and construction of navigable canals to connect the Dnieper and Desna rivers (Kherson-Riga watercourse), the Donets River and the Donets Basin were not carried out because of World War I. The Department of Water Management of the newly established Ukrainian independent state, which took over the projects, was also unable to implement them.

### The 1920's and 1930's

A broad project for the utilization of Ukraine's water resources was worked out in the early 1920's. It was based on the implementation of the so-called Great Dnieper project, which was closely related to the plan of large-scale electrification of the entire USSR, prepared on the initiative of Lenin in 1920 (GOELRO). In Ukraine the Hydrological Commission of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and later the Scientific Research Institute of Water Management

FIGURE 497. EARLY CONSTRUCTION ON THE DNIEPER HYDROELECTRIC POWER STATION (1927)

were involved in the work. The plan anticipated the implementation of a whole series of closely related measures: improvement of the already existing water transportation, utilization of secondary and tertiary tributaries (the question of "small rivers"), connection of the Dnieper River by means of canals with waterways of the neighboring basins, utilization of the Dnieper for irrigation and improvement. Through the construction of a whole series of hydroelectric power stations, a Dnieper waterway with numerous floodgates was to come into being. The water level would remain constant throughout the year, and the excess of water in the north would be used in the dry south, while the water from the tributaries stored by the stations would be converted into electric power. The first stage in the Great Dnieper project was the flooding of the rapids, the construction of a reservoir (the so-called Lenin Lake, 320 sq km in area and 1.5 million cubic meters in volume) and a Dnieper hydroelectric power station near Zaporizhia (Dniprohes or Dniprel'stan in Ukrainian) generating 540,000 kw (the largest in Europe). Thus the Dnieper River became a continuous waterway with increased freight traffic. (The work was done in 1927–33; the first aggregate produced electric power in 1932; the first ships passed through the floodgates in May 1933.) A series of hydroelectric power stations was built on smaller rivers

in the 1930's. The total production of hydroelectric power in the Ukrainian SSR increased by 1940 to 2,250 million kilowatt-hours.

Other branches of water management were given less attention between the two world wars. The network of drains and canals, destroyed or neglected during the war and necessary for the reclamation of swampland, were restored in the 1920's. New projects were started later, mainly in Left-Bank Ukraine. The partition of Polisia between Poland and the USSR hampered drainage work in this swampland area because of the difficulties in planning coordination. In spite of these problems, the area of drained land increased in the Ukrainian SSR in the 1930's from 414,000 to 822,000 hectares. As a result of the first irrigation systems built in the 1930's, the area of irrigated land increased to 102,000 hectares. However, excessive cutting down of forest trees and destruction of small rural ponds and dikes caused continuous water shortages.

The water supply continued to be inadequate even though the number of cities in the Ukrainian SSR (within current borders) with water power installations increased from 55 in 1917 to 145 in 1939. Most cities with a population of over 10,000 had such installations. However, running water was not available in all city zones or in all buildings. Galicia had the best water service, the Donets Basin the worst.

### 1940 to the Present

Water installations were almost totally destroyed during World War II. It was not until the late 1940's that water management regained its prewar state. Dniprohes power was increased to 650,000 kw. In the 1950's, work on the Great Dnieper project was resumed. The second hydroelectric power station (Kakhivka) was built on the lower Dnieper in 1950–5 (reservoir 2,155 sq km in area, 18.2 billion cubic meters in volume; electric power station, 352,000 kw, with an annual average output of 1.4 billion kw hours; a series of canals for transport and irrigation). The depth of the river below Dnipropetrovske doubled. The Kremenchuk station was built in 1954–60 (reservoir 2,550 sq km in area, 9 billion cubic meters in volume, 625,000 kw power). The construction of these two powerful stations provided irrigation for and an increased water supply to the most arid areas of the steppe. In 1956–65, the Dniprodzerzhynske station was built (reservoir 615 sq km in area, 3 billion cubic meters in volume, 352,000 kw power), and in 1960–4 the Kiev station (reservoir 992 sq km in area, 3.7 billion cubic meters in volume, 551,000 kw power). In 1963 construction was started on the Kaniv station, the last on the Dnieper River (420,000 kw power).

FIGURE 498. THE LENIN HYDROELECTRIC POWER STATION ON THE DNIEPER NEAR ZAPORIZHIA

Altogether, the reservoirs on the Dnieper River occupy a total area of 6,950 sq km, 18.4 billion cubic meters in volume, and the stations have a 3.1 million kw power capacity, averaging annually approximately 10 billion kw-hour electric power. Thus the water resources of the Dnieper River have been comprehensively utilized. The Great Dnieper project has provided Ukraine with inexpensive hydroelectric power, continuous deep-water navigation on the central and lower Dnieper, irrigation for southern Ukraine, and drainage systems, particularly in Polisia. Finally, the construction of reservoirs, especially on the central Dnieper, allows for better regulation of overflow spring waters and thus cuts down flooding. On the other hand,

plans for connecting the Dnieper River with other rivers and seas, notably the Niman, western part of Dvina, and Vistula, have not been realized.

While the problems of the Great Dnieper project were being successfully solved, other rivers were neglected, particularly the Dniester and, beyond the borders of the Ukrainian SSR, the Kuban. Their great hydraulic resources were left untapped. This was especially true of the Carpathian mountain rivers whose only hydroelectric power station—the Tereblia-Rika station—was built in 1949–55, with a power capacity of 27,000 kw and an average annual power output of 90 million kwh. Smaller stations operate on the rivers Boh, Ros, and Syniukha.

The total hydroelectric power potential of all rivers in the Ukrainian SSR is estimated at 5.7 million kw. This figure includes the Dnieper's 3.7 million kw. The average annual hydroelectric power output, however, approximates 44.7 billion kw-hours. The total power of all hydroelectric power stations in the Ukrainian SSR amounted to 2.2 million kw or 43 per cent of the total potential, while the actual power output was 6.3 billion kw-hours. The following changes took place (in million kw-hours; percentages of total electrical power production in parentheses): in 1950–2,460 (17), in 1955–3,224 (11), in 1960–4,017 (7.5), in 1962–7,617 (11), in 1965–6,300 (6.7). The vast hydraulic resources of the Kuban River watershed (4.3 million kw) are hardly tapped, only 5 per cent of the potential being used.

## IRRIGATION

The irrigated land area has increased markedly as a result of the implementation of the Great Dnieper project. Until the middle 1950's, irrigation depended primarily on small local streams and channels. In 1955, irrigated land in the Ukrainian SSR constituted 102,000 hectares or 0.5 per cent of the total agricultural land mass; 94.5 per cent of the irrigated land was in southern Ukraine. Only 67 per cent of the land with irrigation systems was actually watered, mainly because the canal network was imperfect and technical equipment was in short supply.

Efforts to combat droughts did not begin until the mid-1950's when large irrigation systems were built to use water from the large rivers, primarily the Dnieper. The most important of these systems are: the Inhulets system (60,500 hectares of irrigated land and 175,000 hectares of dry land; also supplies water to Mykolaïv), the Krasnoznamianske system (over 40,000 hectares of irrigated land), and a group of systems known as the Kamianets Pid (16,000 hectares). These three systems use the Dnieper River's water for irrigation. Among the smaller systems are: the Salhyr system (in the Crimea, 10,000 hectares) and the Maiako-Biliaïv (on the left bank of the lower Dniester, 2,200 hectares), and collective and state farm systems on the local channels.

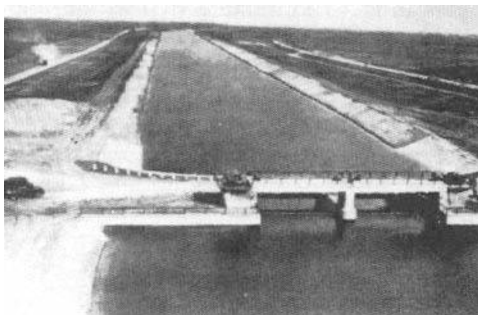

FIGURE 499. THE MAIN IRRIGATION CANAL IN THE KHERSON AREA

The increase in the irrigated land area was as follows (in thousand hectares): in 1950–159, in 1955–220, in 1958–244, in 1960–291, in 1962–343, in 1966–540 or 1.6 per cent of the total agricultural land area in the Ukrainian SSR. As previously, 95 per cent of the irrigated

land is in the steppe, particularly in the Kherson and Crimea *oblasts* (together constituting 5.3 per cent of the total agricultural land). Irrigated land is used first of all for gardens and melon plots (30 per cent of the total), then for fodder crops (30 per cent), grain crops (20 per cent), orchards and vineyards (16 per cent). One-fourth of all fruit and melon cultivation is on irrigated soil. Some suburban and industrial areas are also irrigated to provide vegetables, fruit, and milk for the population.

A whole series of new systems in southern Ukraine contributed to the increase in irrigated land. Among the more important systems, which are also used for water supply, are: the North-Crimean canal (partly operational in 1964), which extends from the Kakhivka reservoir to Kerch, a distance of 403 km (212 km of smaller branch canals, an irrigation network of 7,000 km, and many electric power stations). The North-Crimean canal is designed to irrigate a land area of 165,000 hectares and supply water to an area of 600,000 hectares. Upon completion of new installations, the area of irrigated land in the Ukrainian SSR should increase to one million hectares by 1970, and possibly to 4.5 million hectares in the future.

Irrigation is of even greater importance for the dry areas of the Caucasian Foreland, especially for its eastern regions on the Ukrainian border, where irrigation systems (partly constructed in the 1920's and 1930's) use the water of the large rivers—Kuban, Don, and Terek. There are four irrigation systems: Kuban-Yehorlyk (canals—Nevynnomysk, Right-Bank Yehorlyk, and Left-Bank Yehorlyk), the Kuban-Kalaus (canals—Kuban-Kalaus, Kalaus-Kuma, Stavropol), Terek-Kuma, and Volga-Don (canals—Don, Lower Don, Azov). One of the features of the Caucasian Foreland irrigation systems is the use of canals instead of reservoirs. The Kuban River supplies much of its water for irrigation of the eastern Caucasian Foreland. In the Kuban region (Krasnodar) the irrigated areas amount to approximately 150,000 hectares along the rivers and canals. Rice is grown only on irrigated soil here and there are special rice field irrigation systems.

## WATER SUPPLY AND SEWERAGE

Most of the water supply installations destroyed in 1941–4 were restored soon after the war. One of the essential objectives in the postwar period was the expansion of the water generation system, especially in the cities, and the implementation of measures to purify and preserve the sources of water. The shortage of water is particularly acute in the Donbas region, which requires water for both its dense population and industry. Surface waters are scarce here. Rivers, with the exception of the Donets which skirts the Donbas Basin, are small and polluted. Hence, the construction of artesian wells, local reservoirs, and ponds does not satisfy the needs of industry and of the population. This situation, in turn, prevents further development of industry. The Donets-Donbas canal (131 km in length), built in 1954–8, has only partially resolved the question of water supply for this area. Thus, a new canal is being contemplated to bring water from the Dnieper. The Dnieper-Kryvyi Rih canal (42 km), built in 1957–9 from the Kakhivka reservoir, offsets the water shortage in the Kryvyi Rih basin. The irrigation systems mentioned above are also important for the south.

The construction of reservoirs (in 145 cities in 1939, 315 in 1964; the average daily water supply increased from 1,241,000 to 4,578,000 cu m) is not keeping up with the needs arising from industrial development and population growth. Thus the water supply for the population remains inadequate. In 1966, in the Ukrainian SSR, the water available for each city dweller amounted to

140 liters. The sanitary standard is 200 liters (1 liter = 0.26 gallons).

Sewerage and drainage measures are also inadequate, although the number of cities with sewerage systems increased from 57 in 1939 to 191 in 1964 (increase in sewerage piping in cities from 1,332 to 5,566 km). Because of the shortage of purifying installations, most factories and city systems pour out raw sewage. The chemical industry alone annually discharges 350 million cu m into the rivers. Water pollution is not limited to the rivers of the Donbas and Kryvyi Rih basins; it affects the Dnieper River as well. The pollutants, of course, kill off the fish in the rivers. To prevent this, the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR issued an edict in 1961 on the prevention of water pollution in the rivers of Ukraine. In the last few years, drainage waters have been used to set up several irrigation systems: Poltva (2,500 hectares) in the Lviv *oblast*, Shkodohirska (1,300 hectares) near Odessa, Bortnytsia in the Kiev *oblast*. Their value lies in fertilizing the soil for agricultural crops.

FIGURE 500. LUMBER TRANSPORTED DOWN THE PRYPIAT RIVER (1965)

### Other Improvement Measures

SWAMPS occupy approximately 6 million hectares of the Ukrainian lands, of which close to 5 million hectares are in the Ukrainian SSR [Vol. I, pp. 116–17]. In 1965, there were 1,373,000 hectares of land covered by drainage systems, of which 40 per cent were used for pasture, and 29 per cent for agriculture. Most of them are in the forest zone (with the exception of its most swampy part, the Prypiat Polisia, where only initial steps towards improvement are being taken), in Galicia, and in Transcarpathia. Among the best of these systems are (statistics for 1964, area in thousands of hectares) those in Left-Bank Polisia and the neighboring forest-steppe—Trubezh (32.1), Oster (31.4), and Smolianska (16.0); in Right-Bank Polisia—Irpen (7.5), Zamyslovychi (10.5), and Korytnytsia (7.0); in the Cherkassy area—Tiasmyn (11.0) and Zolotopilia (6.5); in the Lviv area—Holohory and Tysmenytsia (7.4); in Transcarpathia—Chornomochary (13.5). In the Kuban region, most of the marshy meadows on the left bank of the Kuban River (the so-called Adygei marshy meadows) have been drained. Drainage work in the Kuban River delta has been started.

FLOODS have been prevented on the Dnieper River by reservoirs, and its water flow is now almost uniform. Elsewhere flood prevention measures are inadequate, except for a few rivers where hydroelectric power reservoirs have been built. Floods have increased in the Carpathian Mountains as a result of the destruction of forests.

## PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

The water resources of Ukraine are limited. The average annual water flow on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR is 51.5 cu km, i.e., 1,100 cu m per person (in the entire USSR—5,000 cu km, or 22,000 cu m per person). In dry years, it is two to four times less than the average. The needs of southern, particularly southeastern Ukraine, where the water shortage is constant, are filled at the expense of resources in the neighboring areas.

The Ukrainian SSR's own water resources will not suffice for more than the

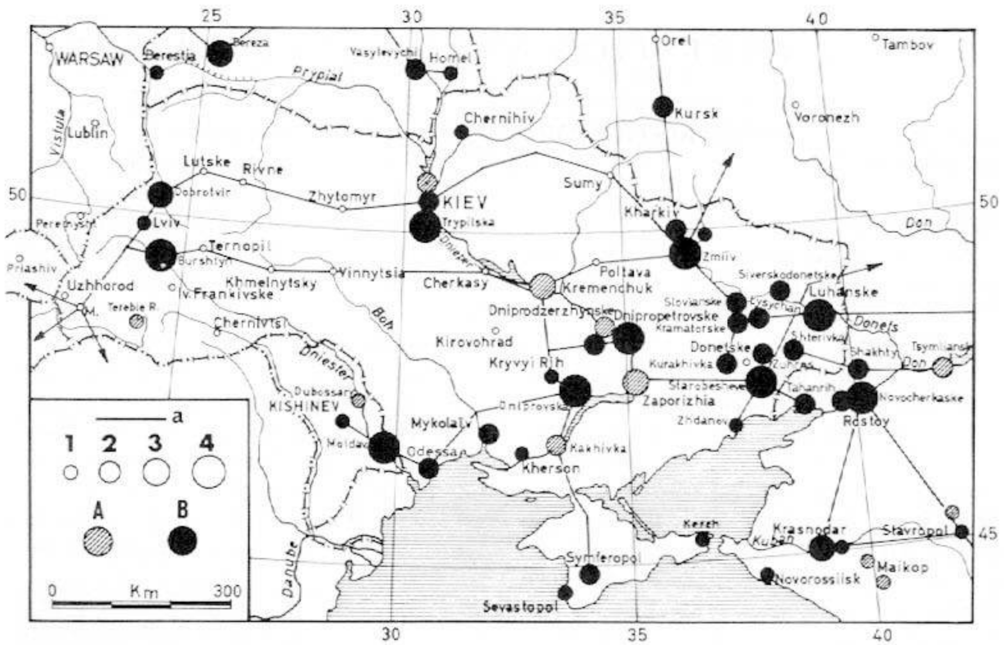


FIGURE 501. ELECTRIC POWER STATIONS AND LINES
1, small power output; 2, medium; 3, higher than average; 4, high. A, hydroelectric power stations. B, thermal stations.
*Abbreviations* Tereble R, Tereble-Ritska hydroelectric power station; Moldav, Moldavian electric power station; M, Mukachevo.

next few years. Subsequent shortages can be avoided only by diverting the waters from rivers outside the Ukrainian SSR into the Dnieper watershed. In the distant future, the desalinized waters of the Black and the Azov seas can serve as a source of irrigation and supply for southern Ukraine.

For other types of management of Ukraine's water resources, see River Transportation (pp. 924 ff.) and Fishing Industry (pp. 885 ff.).

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# 9. TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS

## GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TRANSPORTATION

### Natural Conditions

Natural conditions in Ukraine are generally favorable for transportation, thanks to the flatness of the land, which is only slightly above sea level. Mountains cover only a small part of the territory, and their borderland location minimizes difficulties with internal communication lines. To be sure, the Ukrainian territory extends beyond the Carpathian Mountains, but there are easy crossing points between Transcarpathia and the rest of the Ukrainian territory. Because of their relatively small area, the Crimean Mountains pose only local difficulties. The high and rocky Caucasus constitutes a greater obstacle to transportation, but only insofar as it affects the external line of communication between the Kuban region and Transcaucasia. The sharp slopes of the highlands present some difficulties in communication. The Podilian ravines, the Polisian swamps, and some wide rivers, however, present the greatest problems. The relatively gentle declivity of long rivers makes most of them convenient and inexpensive waterways.

Climatic conditions affect river and sea connections (freezing, low water level in the summer). Dirt roads, too, are unusable in the spring and fall, when the ground is soft, but are a practicable means of transportation in the winter. Lack of demand, and not of building material in most of Ukraine prevented the development of nation-wide turnpikes in the past. Recent technological advances have reduced the importance of natural conditions in the construction of highways and other transportation facilities. However, the small number of automobiles still does not exert enough pressure for rapid construction of hard-cover roads in the countryside.

### History of Transportation

The first concrete highways, which made possible normal postal communications, were built towards the end of the eighteenth century in those Ukrainian lands that were part of the Austrian monarchy. Thus even prior to the building of railroads, Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia had a relatively large network of concrete roads. Such roads were virtually non-existent in the Ukrainian lands under Russia. With the building of railroads in the 1860's, the construction of highways in all Ukrainian lands became of secondary importance.

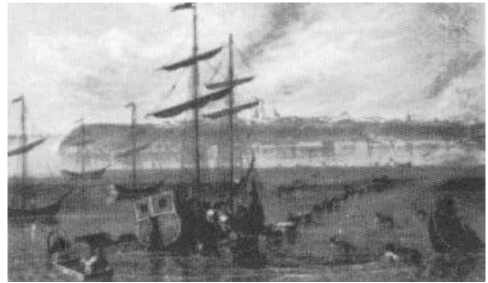

FIGURE 502. TAHANRIH PRIOR TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PORT (ca. 1800)

The generally favorable conditions for transportation were not properly utilized. Capital and labor investment in the construction of roads on Ukrainian territory under Russia was much lower than that in other leading branches of the national economy. Consequently, the construction of highways there never reached the European level. Moreover, the governments of the states among which Ukraine was partitioned did not build roads to draw the various Ukrainian lands together, but to bring them under tighter control of the governing centers. Thus, before 1940, there was little movement of any kind along the political borders that cut across the Ukrainian lands, and even today Ukraine has only a few major rail-

way centers. Differences in the construction of highway and railroad tracks in the Ukrainian lands under Russia and Austria-Hungary can be seen from the following statistics for 1914 (in kilometers per 100 sq km of territory):

| | *Central and eastern lands* | *Western Ukraine* |
|---|---|---|
| Railways | 2.7 | 4.9 |
| Concrete highways | 0.8 | 16.7 |

Since sea transport was poorly developed in the Russian empire and waterways largely neglected, the basic means of transportation in Ukraine was the railroad. In central and eastern lands of Ukraine, as much as 90 per cent of the total freight load was carried by railway. Ukrainian lands still lacked an adequate transportation system in the period between the two world wars. Transportation along political borders was disrupted even more than before World War I. Although the 1930's witnessed the initial phase in the development of motor transport and of expansion in the construction of concrete highways (in the Ukrainian SSR), railways continued to provide the basic means of transportation, to a greater extent than before the war of national liberation. In 1940, 92 per cent of the total freight was carried by railway (in the entire USSR, 86 per cent). Transport was not of prime importance in Soviet industrial planning. Because of the minimal help received, its development lagged far behind the national industrial growth. The vast increase in the amount of freight to be transported across the Ukrainian territory within the USSR as a result of rapid industrialization (without corresponding improvements in highway construction) resulted in a virtual breakdown of transportation during the period of the first Five-Year plans, and it was not until 1935 (Party decree of June 30, 1935) that the situation improved somewhat. However, the efforts to relieve the overtaxed railways by developing waterways were not successful.

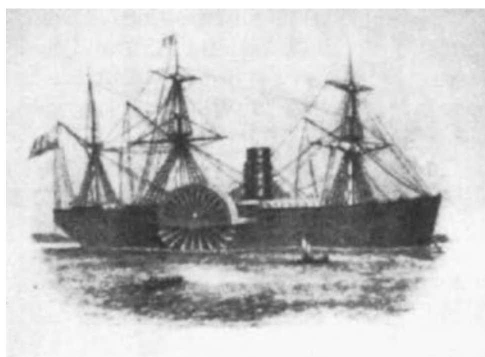

FIGURE 503. MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY STEAMSHIP IN THE BLACK SEA

As a result of World War II, it was not until 1948 that transportation could be restored to its 1940 level (see above). The postwar period saw a more intensive and practical utilization of railway transport, large-scale development of motor, air, and sea transport, and the introduction of gas and oil pipelines.

**Present State**

Since the disappearance of the political borders that had cut across the Ukrainian lands until 1945, present-day Ukraine is merely a province of the Soviet Union in matters of transportation and communication. All decisions regarding transport are made in Moscow and are dictated by the needs of the USSR's military-strategic policy. The Ukrainian SSR abdicated its power and authority over transport to Moscow in its first treaty with the Russian RSFSR on the unification of defense systems, armies, war industry, and transport (May 1919). Since that time, the Ukrainian SSR has had no ministries of railways or merchant marine, both of which are All-Union ministries with headquarters in Moscow. The Ukrainian SSR has only a Republic Ministry of Motor Transport and Highways and the Republic Administrations of Civil Aviation and River Fleet, administering types of transport which have only local significance. The Ukrainian SSR's Ministry of Communications is a Union-Republic ministry.

The length of all surface lines of transportation in the Ukrainian SSR and their ratios to those of the entire USSR can be seen from Table I (in thousand km; ratio of the USSR total in parentheses). The importance for the USSR of the length of railway tracks and highways in the Ukrainian SSR is significant. The Ukrainian SSR constitutes only 2.7 per cent of the USSR's territory, but it has a high density of population and industry.

TABLE I

| Type | 1940 | 1968 |
|---|---|---|
| Railways | 20.1 (18.9) | 22.7 (16.5) |
| Rivers | 3.3 ( 8.1) | 4.8 ( 3.4) |
| Highways | 29.3 (20.4) | 79.8 (17.5) |

The importance of various surface freight lines in the Ukrainian SSR and in the USSR can be seen from Table II (in billion ton-km; percentage of total freight volume in parentheses). Comparative freight transport statistics for the United States are as follows: railways, 56.2 per cent; rivers and lakes, 20.5 per cent; motor vehicles, 23.3 per cent.

It can be seen that river freight plays only a minor role in Ukraine, even though it is relatively inexpensive. Long-range highway transport, on the other hand, has been growing steadily. Short distance transportation is almost wholly by motor vehicles. (Horse-carting statistics are unavailable, but this type of transport is clearly on the decline.) Considering only the load and disregarding the distance, freight transport in the Ukrainian SSR is distributed as shown in Table III.

Sea transport has grown in volume and significance. The total freight volume in the Ukrainian SSR has risen from 7.4 billion ton-m in 1940 to 139 billion ton-m in 1965 (388.8 billion ton-miles in the USSR).

Air and pipeline transportation has also increased. Considering all types of transport and the distance covered, the distribution of freight carriage in the Ukrainian SSR in 1965 was approximately as follows: 50.2 per cent by railway, 44.2 per cent by sea, 4.6 per cent by motor vehicle, 0.7 per cent by river, 0.2 per cent by pipeline, 0.02 per cent by air. Total personnel engaged in transport in 1965 was 1,314,000.

## RAILROADS

### Before 1914

Before 1914, railroad development in the Ukrainian lands under Russia dif-

TABLE II

| Type | Ukrainian SSR 1940 | Ukrainian SSR 1965 | USSR (1965) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Railways | 71.9 (96.2) | 300.8 (90.4) | 1,950.2 (87.6) |
| Rivers | 1.1 (1.5) | 4.5 (1.4) | 133.9 (6.0) |
| Highways | 1.7 (2.3) | 27.4 (8.2) | 143.1 (6.4) |
| TOTAL | 74.7 (100.0) | 332.7 (100.0) | 2,227.2 (100.0) |

TABLE III

| Type | 1940 Million tons | 1940 % | 1965 Million tons | 1965 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Railways | 200.5 | 51.0 | 1,297.3 | 35.3 |
| Rivers | 4.6 | 1.2 | 17.4 | 0.7 |
| Motor vehicles | 187.2 | 47.8 | 2,362.2 | 64.0 |

FIGURE 504. THE UNLOADING OF COAL IN THE PORT OF BERDIANSKE IN THE 1920's

fered from that in the Ukrainian lands under Austria-Hungary. The first railway track in the central and eastern lands was built in 1865 between Odessa and Balta and was extended in 1868–70 through Kremenchuk to Kiev and Moscow. The underlying purpose of this and subsequent tracks was to connect main centers of the Russian empire with Ukraine, and the Black Sea, and thus facilitate the transport of grain and other agricultural products, coal, and metals, north and south. In the 1870's the following lines were among those built: Moscow-Voronezh-Rostov (running along the border of Ukrainian ethnographic territory), later extended to Vladykavkaz in the Caucasus; Moscow-Kursk-Kharkiv-Lozova, with a branch to Sevastopol through Zaporizhia, and another to Rostov; Kharkiv-Znamenka-Mykolaïv; Kiev-Kovel-Berestia-Hraievo (on the German border); Romny-Libava, which carried Ukrainian grain to the Baltic ports; several tracks connecting the Ukrainian eastern and central lands with the earlier network in Austria-Hungary (in Rumania). The first railway tracks in the Donets Basin were also built in the 1870's. In 1884 Donbas was connected with Kryvyi Rih (Catherine Railway). This network of railroads was supplemented later by tracks connecting the hinterland with the Donets Basin and the sea, lines across the swamps of Polisia (St. Petersburg-Vilnius-Lunynets-Sarny-Rivne; later, Briansk-Homel-Pynske-Berestia), and the installation of tracks in Podlachia which connected the center of the Russian empire with the Polish kingdom. Thus, before 1914, nearly 16,000 km of railway tracks had been built in all Ukrainian lands under Russia (1.9 km per 100 sq km, or 3.2 km per 10,000 inhabitants). On the territory that in 1920–38 was part of the Ukrainian SSR the length of railway tracks in 1913 was 10,600 km (2.4 km per 100 sq km, or 3.9 km per 10,000 inhabitants). The total freight tonnage carried in that year was 95.9 million. Over 30 per cent of the total was coal, while passengers numbered 49 million. The railroads were maintained by 167,000 employees.

A much denser network of railroads covered the Ukrainian lands under Austria-Hungary. The major junction was Lviv, which was connected with Cracow and Vienna in 1861 and with Chernivtsi and Rumania in 1866. Tracks were built later connecting Lviv with Brody (1869) and Pidvolochyska (1871), which, in turn, were connected with the railroads of eastern and central Ukrainian lands. In the 1870's, Galicia was connected with Transcarpathia for the first time (1874), and the line Khyriv-Stryi-Stanyslaviv-Husiatyn was built. The network covering Galicia, Transcarpathia, and Bukovina was expanded substantially in subsequent years, totaling 3,700 km in length in 1914 (4.9 km per 100 sq km and 6.0 km per 10,000 inhabitants).

It should be noted that railroad tracks in the Russian empire were wider than those in the majority of European countries, including the Ukrainian lands within the Austro-Hungarian empire (1,524 mm to 1,435 mm). This was the reason for the lack of direct connection between Galicia and central Ukrainian lands: both passengers and freight had to be transferred to other trains at the border.

The total track length in all Ukrainian lands in 1914 was 19,700 km, including 15,610 km on the territories of the present-day Ukrainian SSR (2.6 km per 100 sq km, 4.5 km per 10,000 inhabitants). In Austria-Hungary these railroads

were almost exclusively state owned. In the Ukrainian lands under Russia, especially during the early decades of railway construction, private joint-stock companies, notably the Society of South-Western Railroads, spearheaded the effort. But because the operation was unprofitable, the tsarist government bought the private companies in the 1880's and turned the railways into state property. On the eve of World War I slightly more than 20 per cent of all railroads in the central and eastern Ukrainian lands, mostly in the Donets Basin and the Dnieper industrial region, remained in private hands. Almost one-third of these were the property of French and Belgian owners. State-owned railroads were heavily indebted to bond holders abroad, however. Since the 1880's all new railroads built in Ukraine have been state owned, financed by funds borrowed mainly in France and Germany.

The construction of railroad tracks, which was at its height in the 1870's and 1880's, created a strong demand for Ukrainian rails and coal in the Russian empire. This had a favorable effect on the development of Ukraine's heavy industry, and also on the sugar industry, and the export of grain abroad. Railroad tariffs established by the tsarist government were higher for short distances, thus making it easier for Russia to transport raw materials from Ukraine. Inflation of prices in Ukraine, especially for bread and other foodstuffs, resulted. During the 1870's alone, the price of bread increased two and a half times faster than in St. Petersburg. Slowdowns and stoppages in railroad construction caused simultaneous agricultural crises and unemployment. Thus it is clear that the building of railroads had an enormous influence on the economy of Ukraine at that time.

The railroads of central and eastern Ukraine had many technical shortcomings, which were fully exposed during World War I when the system failed to meet the needs of both the military front lines and supply lines at the rear.

### 1914–39

For strategic reasons a number of new railroad lines were built during World War I, particularly in the border areas to connect with the older tracks disrupted at the borders. Railway transportation was in a state of complete chaos during the revolution and the war of liberation, and it was not until the 1920's that some semblance of order was restored. Of the 3,100 locomotives available in central lands in 1913, only 1,200 were operational in 1921 (approximately 2,000 in 1925).

The railroad system was expanded between the two world wars, particularly in the central and eastern Ukrainian lands, where nearly 4,000 km of new track were laid, mostly in the Donets Basin, the Dnieper industrial region, and the Kryvyi Rih area. Many of these lines had been planned before the war. The most significant among them were: the Kharkiv-Dnipropetrovske-Kherson, which connects the Dnieper region with Kharkiv and the sea; the Moscow-Donbas main line through Valuiky, supplemented by the Krasnyi Lyman-Kupianka line; and the Chernihiv-Ovruch line in Polisia, with a branch leading north to Homel. The main railroads of the Ukrainian SSR underwent major reconstruction; double tracks were built in some sections, automatic block-systems were installed, railway junctions were reconstructed and centralized, and new cars and locomotives were added. Old locomotives of the types *Z*, *ShCh*, *O* were replaced by the new and more powerful types *FD*, *SO*, *IS*; cars capable of carrying loads of 50–60 tons were put into operation. These and other improvements increased the freight volume from 19.6 billion ton-km in 1913 to 71.9 billion ton-km in 1940. Passenger traffic increased from 49 to 243 million persons.

Since the number of cars and locomotives, particularly, increased at a slower rate (the average gross weight of a freight train increased from 500 to 1,350 tons between 1913 and 1940, and the velocity almost doubled), railway transport became overtaxed, causing irregularities and damage to freight load. In the mid-1930's there was a virtual crisis on the railroads.

The railroads of Western Ukraine were subjected to only minor changes. Because of shifts in political borders, connections between Galicia and Volhynia improved. Connections with Transcarpathia, on the other hand, and to a greater extent with central and eastern lands, deteriorated considerably.

**From 1940 to the Present**

World War II caused enormous destruction of railroad tracks. Along five main lines alone, 9,200 km of track and more than 2,000 bridges were destroyed. It was not until 1948 that transportation was restored to its 1940 level. After the war, more than 2,000 km of new track were built, although a number of sections were discontinued in Galicia because their operation proved to be unprofitable (Fig. 506). Thus the length of track increased from 20,102 km in 1940 to 22,050 km in 1968 (nearly 27,000 km in all Ukrainian lands). In addition, there are 19,990 km of auxiliary tracks maintained by industrial plants. The density of railroad tracks is 3.6 km per 100 sq km and 5.0 km per 10,000 inhabitants. (Comparable statistics for the USSR are 0.6 km and 5.8 km.) The railroads of the Ukrainian SSR constitute 16.4 per cent of the entire system in the USSR, whereas the territory covers only 2.5 per cent of the total. The Donets Basin and the Kryvyi Rih region have the best area coverage (6.5 km per 100 sq km), followed by Galicia with Transcarpathia (5.2 km). Southern Ukraine (2.3 km) and Subcaucasus have the poorest coverage. A second line of track has been built in many sectors. As in prerevolutionary days, the tracks of the Ukrainian SSR, like those of the entire USSR, are wider than those of other countries, thus requiring reloading of freight on the borders with Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Rumania. Very little progress has been made in using electric power to move trains. By 1964, electrification of the following main lines was completed: Kursk-Kharkiv-Slovianske-Rostov, Kiev-Donbas, Kharkiv-Krasnyi Lyman-Debaltsevo, the line connecting Donbas with the Dnieper industrial region and Kryvyi Rih, Lviv-Stryi-Mukachevo-Chop, Biloirichenske-Sochi in the Kuban region, and several others. By 1965, a total of 3,600 km of track had been electrified (16.5 per cent of the total). Diesel-electric locomotives were in use along 7,300 km of track (33.6 per cent of the total). In 1965, 41 per cent of the total freight load was carried by electrically powered engines, 44 per cent by diesel-electric locomotives, and 15 per cent by steam engines (in 1958, comparable statistics were 2.3, 0.2, and 97.5 per cent). Diesel-electric locomotives of the types TE-3, TE-7, 2TE-10, Ukraïna 2 (2TE-10) and the electrically powered types VL-8, VL-60, VL-23 are displacing the older ones. Passenger trains are making increasingly wider use of the high-speed electric engines ChS-2 and VL-60P. The total number of all locomotives in the late 1960's did not exceed 3,700. The

FIGURE 505. RAILWAY DEPOT IN KHARKIV

cars most widely used were four-axle types with a capacity of 50–60 tons. In 1949, production of six-axle types with a load capacity of 94 tons was started. The average gross weight of a freight train in the late 1960's was slightly more than 2,500 tons. The average speed was 30 km/hr, more than before the war.

As a result of technological improvements, there has been a marked increase in the use of Ukrainian railroads. Freight volume has increased as follows: 71.9 billion ton-km in 1940, 88.4 in 1950, 145.9 in 1955, 223.0 in 1960, and 327.8 in 1967. The efficient output of Ukrainian railroads is 15–20 per cent above the average of the entire USSR. Interesting comparisons with other countries can also be drawn. The mean velocity of Ukrainian freight trains is one-fourth less than that of American trains; the gross weight is one-third less. Thus the per hour output of American trains in motion (ton-km per hour ratio) is higher. However, since trains in the Ukrainian SSR are in use more hours per day and more days per year, the intensity of utilization of Ukrainian railroads is almost four times higher than that of the United States (transport of load in tons-km per one kilometer of track in a single day; data for 1957). Locomotives in the Ukrainian SSR travel daily distances one-third longer than those of the United States, cars one-half longer. The railroad traffic in Ukraine in 1966 comprised 7.6 per cent of the total world railroad haulage (in 1953–5.2 per cent) and was 35 per cent larger than the total volume of railroad haulage in western Europe. Ukraine placed third in the world, after the RSFSR and the U.S.

Industrialization in the Ukrainian SSR has brought about changes in both the total freight volume and the composition of the load. In the 1870's, grain was the main load. But by 1913, grain represented only 10 per cent of the total freight volume. There was, instead, a marked increase in coal (28 per cent of the total), ores (13 per cent), construction material (7 per cent), and metals (4 per cent). This gradual increase in the transport of raw materials for industrial uses assumed particular importance in the 1930's. In 1967, railroads of the Ukrainian SSR transported mainly coal and coke (29.9 per cent of the total weight), along with ores and metals (21.6 per cent), construction material (20.7 per cent), oil products (4.5 per cent), timber (2.9 per cent), and grain (2.5 per cent).

Coal from the Donets Basin and Ukrainian grain are transported over distances of more than 2,000 km (to northern and northwestern Russia); Ukrainian sugar more than 3,000 km (to Russian SFSR, Central Asia); metal as far as the Urals. Timber is shipped into the Ukrainian SSR from distances of 2,000 km (mostly from northern Russia).

Ukrainian railroads are under the control of the All-Union Ministry of Railroads in Moscow, which has complete authority over the administrative bodies of individual railway lines (on the Ukrainian territory the lines are as follows: Donets, Dnieper, Odessa-Kyshyniv, Southern, South-Western, Lviv, and North-Caucasian). The training of future railway employees is the task of the Institutes of Railroad Transport Engineers in Dnipropetrovske and Kharkiv, several tekhnikums, and specialized railroad schools.

Large locomotive building plants are located in Luhanske and Kharkiv, and railroad cars are built in Kriukiv, Dniprodzerzhynske, and Darnytsia. There are large repair depots for locomotives in Lviv, Kiev, Dnipropetrovske, Poltava, Zaporizhia, Konotop, Izium, and Kharkiv; car repair depots in Kiev, Lviv, Kharkiv, Odessa, Popasna, Ivano-Frankivske, and other cities.

**Economics of Railroad Transport**

Soviet tariff policy adheres to the

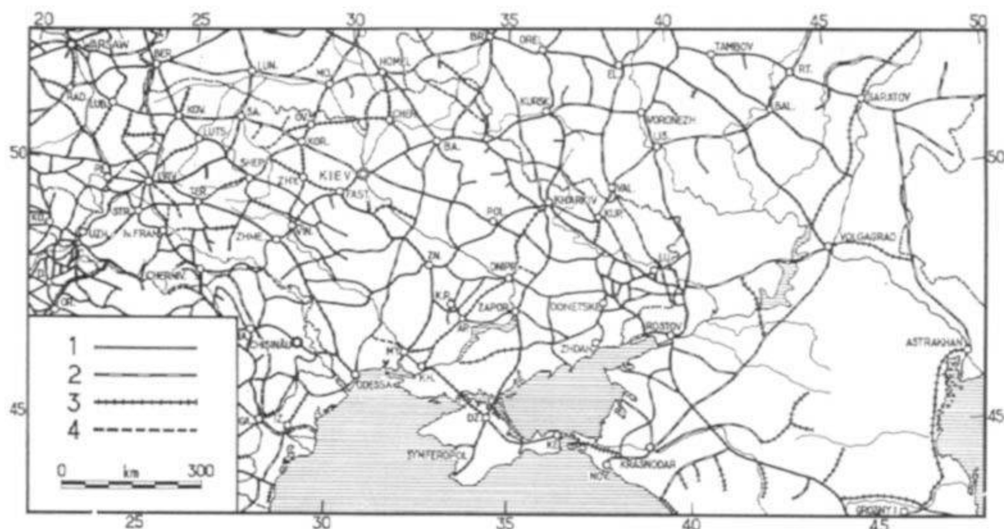


FIGURE 506. DEVELOPMENT OF RAILROADS

1, tracks built before 1875; 2, tracks built between 1876–1913; 3, tracks built after 1914; 4, tracks no longer in use.

*Abbreviations* AP, Apostolove; BA, Bakhmut; BAL, Balashov; BER, Berestia; BR, Briansk; KH, Kherson; C, Chop; CHER, Chernihiv; D, Debrechen; DNIPR, Dnipropetrovske; DZ, Dzhankoi; GA, Galats; IA, Jassy; IZ, Izmaïl; EL, Yelets; KE, Kerch; KO, Koshytsi; KOR, Korosten; KOV, Kovel; KR, Kryvyi Rih; KUP, Kupianka; LIS, Lisky; LU, Luhanske; LUB, Lublin; LUN, Lunynets; MO, Mozyr; MY, Mykolaïv; NOV, Novorossiisk; OR, Oradea; OV, Ovruch; PE, Peremyshl; POL, Poltava; RAD, Radom; RT, Rtishchevo; SA, Sarny; Iv. FRAN, Ivano-Frankivske; STR, Stryi; SHEP, Shepetivka; TE, Ternopil; VAL, Valuiky; ZN, Znamianka; ZHDAN, Zhdanov; ZHME, Zhmerynka; ZHY, Zhytomyr.

principles established by the tsarist regime. For the same products, tariffs are uniform throughout the Soviet Union. They vary with the distance traveled and the load carried. Tariffs levied on consumer goods are higher than those on the products of heavy industry. Tariffs for a distance of up to 50 km are as a rule 2–2.5 times higher than those for a distance of up to 100–150 km. They are twice as low for a distance of 350–450 km. For longer distances, the tariffs on most products (particularly those of heavy industry) fall gradually by 10–25 per cent for every additional 300–500 km. Some items (metals) remain on the same level, others (ores, construction materials) are subject to higher tariffs if transported a distance of 1,000 km or more. The existing tariff system is obviously designed to favor long-distance freight transportation. It facilitates the import of timber, oil, and metals into the Ukrainian SSR and favors the export of metals, machines, coal, grain, and sugar from the Ukrainian SSR to Russia. At the same time, the system does not favor transportation of these products within the borders of the Ukrainian SSR. Obviously, this kind of tariff discrimination makes the transportation costlier in Ukraine than beyond its borders. Since, according to the USSR's price system, it is the producer who pays the transportation costs, Ukraine suffers a double loss: first, because haulage within the borders of the Ukrainian SSR is too costly for the local producer, and second, because transportation beyond the borders of Ukraine is comparatively less profitable for Ukrainian railways than within Ukraine. There is little doubt

that the existing tariff policy is designed to promote Russian interests while deterring those of the Ukrainian SSR.

In general, the railways of the USSR are self-sufficient and profitable. Profits of the Ukrainian railroads are higher by some 20–25 per cent than those of the USSR as a whole. As compared with motor vehicle and river transport, however, railways are too costly. Motor vehicle transportation in the Ukrainian SSR costs 12 per cent less than transport by railway. There is little competition, however, between the two because of the slow development of the automobile industry. Costly as it is at the present time, nearly 35 per cent of transportation over distances of less than 200 km is handled by the railroads.

**Railroad Lines and Junctions**

Railroad lines in the Ukrainian SSR extend in two general directions, from north to south and from east to west. The north–south lines, connecting Ukraine with the sea, run across several geographic regions, allowing exchange of products between the forest and the steppe belts. They serve to link eastern Europe with the Black Sea. These lines are used to transport timber from the north, and to export coal, metals, ores, grain, and sugar. The east-west set of lines not only has great significance for internal transportation, but connects Ukraine with western Europe, on the one hand, and with the east (Don and Volga regions, Subcaucasus), on the other. Most important among them are: lines connecting Donbas with the Dnieper industrial region and Kryvyi Rih, the main line Donbas-Poltava-Kiev-Sarny, and Donbas-Dnipropetrovske-Fastiv-Zdolbuniv-Lviv-Peremyshl. They serve to transport coal, ores, metals, timber, and grain. A brief description of the most important railroad lines follows (see also Fig. 506).

Thirteen railroad lines (three of them in the Kuban region) connect Ukraine and the entire land mass of eastern Europe with the sea. Most important among them are the Lviv-Kiev-Odessa (passing through Zhmerynka); the Kharkiv-Zaporizhia-Sevastopol, which is a branch of the main line Moscow-Kharkiv-Sevastopol; Donbas-Zhdanov-Tahanrih; and the Moscow-Voronezh-Rostov, which runs alongside Ukrainian territory. The Caucasus and the Don region are connected with Ukraine through the line Moscow-Kharkiv-Tahanrih-Rostov-Armavir-Grozny-Baku; at the Tykhoritska station this main line is met by the Novorossiisk-Krasnodar-Volgograd line, which connects the Black Sea with the Volga River. Another line, Tuapse-Sochi-Adler, originates in Armavir. Supplementing the connection of southern Ukraine and the Crimea with the Caucasus, particularly the Kuban region, is a ferry-bridge built in 1955 across the Kerch tributary (the Dzhankoi-Kerch-Crimea line). Oil is carried into Ukraine and coal out of it by these lines.

The Donbas-Volgograd line connects Ukraine with the southern Volga region and the Kupianka-Lisky-Saratov line with the central Volga region. Inbound trains bring timber, while coal is transported out of Ukraine by these lines.

Ten lines run in the northern and northwestern direction, connecting the Ukrainian SSR with the Russian SFSR, Belorussia, and the Baltic countries. The lines connecting the Donets Basin with Russia (Kharkiv-Kursk-Moscow and Kupianka-Valuiky-Yelets-Moscow) are economically of the greatest significance. Kiev is joined with Moscow by the line that runs through Bakhmach-Briansk, with Leningrad and Belorussia by the line running through Homel and Mohyliv. Connecting the Dnieper region (including Kiev) and Western Ukraine with Belorussia, the Baltic countries, and Leningrad are the Korosten-Orsha and Zdolbuniv-Sarny-Vilnius lines. All these lines are used to transport coal, grain,

and metals from Ukraine, and timber into Ukraine.

Four railroad lines extend westward across the territory of Western Ukraine: Mozyr-Berestia-Warsaw (and farther on to East Germany), Zdolbuniv-Kovel-Kholm-Lublin, Lviv-Peremyshl-Cracow (economically the most important line, it serves to transport iron ore from the Ukrainian SSR), and Sambir-Sianik-Yaslo. The main line connecting Ukraine with Czechoslovakia and Hungary runs from Lviv through Stryi-Lavochne-Chop (export of ores, metals, grain). The Odessa-Kyshyniv-Jassy and Lviv-Chernivtsi-Bucharest lines join Ukraine with Moldavia and Rumania.

Among the most important inland lines are those connecting Donbas with the Dnieper industrial region, the Kharkiv-Sevastopol, Kiev-Odessa, Kiev-Donbas, Kiev-Lviv, and Dnipropetrovske-Kherson lines.

As a result of Russia's strategic policy, the Ukrainian SSR does not have too many major railway junctions. Only two lines cross in Kiev. Kharkiv is an important junction in Left-Bank Ukraine (six lines) and Lviv (nine lines) in Galicia. Five lines each intersect in Zaporizhia, Stryi, Ternopil, Kovel, Berestia, Korosten, Bakhmach, Kryvyi Rih. There are several junctions in Donbas (Yasynuvata, Debaltseve, among others). Of some significance are Dnipropetrovske, Zhmerynka, Koziatyn, Poltava, Ivano-Frankivske; Dzhankoi in the Crimea; Krasnodar, Tykhoritska, and Kavkazka in the Subcaucasus.

## SEA TRANSPORT

### Natural Conditions

The Black and the Azov seas are easily accessible to all of Ukraine either by the rivers, which flow concentrically, or by railroad. Both seas are of equal importance to countries with no direct access to them (Russia, Belorussia). The navigability of the Ukrainian seas is adversely affected by the shallowness of the waters near the coast (particularly in the Sea of Azov), unfavorable littorals, and freezing of the water in ports and near the shore [Vol. I, pp. 103–8]. Because of great technological advances, however, these disadvantages present no major obstacles to navigation (e.g., icebreakers ensure continuous access to ports).

### Before 1917

Regular utilization of the Ukrainian part of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov for transport commenced late in the eighteenth century after the settlement of Steppe Ukraine, which the Russian empire had secured from Turkey [Vol. I, p. 667]. Ports were constructed in Kherson (1778), Sevastopol (1784), and Odessa (1794). Steamship navigation on the Black Sea started in 1828. In 1833, the Black Sea Navigation Company was founded; in 1845 the administration of the Odessa Navigation Expedition; and in 1856 the Russian Society of Navigation and Commerce. The construction of railroads, which connected the interior of Ukraine with the

FIGURE 507. THE PORT OF ODESSA

sea (see p. 915), and the digging of the Suez Canal in 1867, which expanded transportation to the countries of the Indian Ocean, contributed greatly to the development of sea transport. The ports of Ukraine—Odessa, Mykolaïv, Kherson, Mariupil, Berdianske, and Novorossiisk (in the Caucasus)—became export centers for grain, particularly wheat. (Ukrainian grain was also exported through the Baltic ports—Danzig and Koenigsberg.) The overwhelming preponderance of exports over imports, which in 1913 had been a mere 13 per cent, was the result of the colonial status of Ukraine as part of the Russian empire. Prior to World War I, one half of all freight handled by Ukrainian ports was destined for foreign countries. Highest on the list of exports were grain, timber, iron and manganese ore, sugar, kaolin, etc. Of all freight cargo carried before World War I, grain held by far the highest position (in 1913, 45 per cent of all cargo handled by Ukrainian ports), followed by coal (20 per cent), ores (8 per cent), sugar (2.5 per cent), metals (2.6 per cent), building materials, oil (1.1 per cent). In 1913, Ukraine's ports handled over 13 billion tons of cargo (including seashore navigation). The ports of the Sea of Azov and Novorossiisk brought the total to 17 billion tons.

The merchant fleet was neglected during the period of tsarist rule. In 1914, the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov merchant marine (under the Russian flag) consisted of 416 steamships, 887 sail boats, and 22 motor boats, a total of 473,000 tons (42 per cent of the total Russian marine, thirteenth place in the world). Ukrainian ports were serviced mostly by foreign ships, primarily Greek.

### 1917–40

The events of 1917–21 virtually destroyed navigation. A mere 5 per cent of the prewar Black Sea merchant marine survived until 1922; port installations were at the lowest operational level. The merchant marine of the Ukrainian SSR (nationalized) consisted in 1922 of 66 steamships. Its freight cargo in 1925–6 barely reached 19 per cent of the 1913 total. The cargo of the Ukrainian SSR's three largest ports—Odessa, Mykolaïv, Mariupil—fell from 8 million to 1.7 million tons.

It was not until the late 1920's (period of the first Five-Year plans) that the merchant marine was rebuilt. Its freight cargo increased from 2.1 million tons in 1926 (12.3 per cent of the USSR total) to 7.6 million tons in 1934 and 10.3 million tons in 1940 (34 per cent of the USSR total). Ports were largely reconstructed, shipbuilding was expanded, and a number of new types of vessel were introduced (tankers, timber carriers, refrigerated cargo boats, etc.). In 1938 the Black Sea merchant marine consisted of 167 vessels with a gross tonnage of 469,000 tons and some 200 vessels of the local fleet. The nature of the cargo also changed, i.e., coal took over first place, followed by oil, grain, ores, metals, timber, salt, building materials, and sugar. Passenger traffic in the ports of the Ukrainian SSR increased to 2 million persons.

### 1940 to the Present

World War II seriously damaged port installations (particularly in Odessa and Sevastopol) and the Soviet Black Sea fleet (nearly 50 per cent). The prewar level was not regained until 1950, when the USSR acquired a number of German merchant vessels. Subsequent years saw the gradual reconstruction and expansion of ports (notably Odessa, Mykolaïv, Zhdanov), the building of the new port Illichivsk and of better ships (turbine-powered freighters and diesel tankers, high-speed passenger cruisers, etc.) to replace the antiquated types. Some new ships were built abroad: in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, East Germany, Italy, Japan, etc.

Statistical data on the number and tonnage of ships registered in Ukrainian ports have not been published. It can be

assumed that they constitute some 25–30 per cent of the Soviet merchant marine. This would mean about 480 ocean-going vessels (1968), with perhaps 3.0 million gross tons of cargo capacity (no more than 1.5 per cent of the world total). Soviet merchant ships are generally small in size (4,000–5,000 tons), and their average age is estimated to be 20 years. New ships, built in Ukrainian shipyards (see p. 805) are considerably larger, e.g., the turbine-powered *Lenins'kyi Komsomol* at 12,040 net tons, the tanker *Sofiia* 60,000 tons, the whaling factory-ship *Radians'ka Ukraïna*, the largest ship of its kind in the world, 44,000 tons.

The freight cargo is also increasing constantly: in 1965 it amounted to 139.3 billion ton-miles (in 1940, only 42.4) or 44.2 per cent of the total freight transported in the Ukrainian SSR (in 1940, only 10 per cent); passenger traffic was 425.2 billion passenger-miles. A total of 63.1 million tons of freight has been transported (46.4 per cent of the total in the USSR) and 23.5 million passengers (76 per cent of the total in the USSR). All freight cargo handled by the sea ports of the Ukrainian SSR in 1940 and 1965 and the type of freight (in million tons) are shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV

| | 1940 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|
| Total freight | 10.9 | 63.1 |
| Coal | 1.3 | 9.8 |
| Oil and oil products | 5.1 | 12.2 |
| Ores | 1.2 | 16.2 |
| Lumber | 0.1 | 0.2 |
| Grain | 1.2 | 2.4 |

Small cabotage, i.e., coastal trading among the Soviet ports of the Black and Azov seas, constitutes the bulk of the total freight traffic. International seaborne shipping, departing from the Ukrainian ports in 1966, carried 33.0 million tons of cargo. This was 32 per cent of the USSR total, but only 1.8 per cent of that of the world. The Danube international waterway permits navigation

FIGURE 508. BRIDGE ACROSS THE SOUTHERN BUH RIVER IN MYKOLAÏV

deep into Central Europe (direct connection—Dnieper-Black Sea-Danube). As before the war, chiefly foreign ships (Greek, English, Italian) are used in foreign transport. Small cabotage includes coal, oil, iron and manganese ores, cement, grain, fruit, fish, and other goods. The greatest flow of freight traffic is carried on the Zhdanov-Kerch line, which hauls Kerch ores and Donbas coal, coal from Zhdanov to Odessa and the Transcaucasus, and Caucasian oil to Odessa. The USSR's most important foreign exports are coal, oil and oil products, ores, sugar, machines, chemical products, grain. Imported goods include machines, jute, cotton, wool, coffee, and tea.

Local and foreign steamship lines operate regularly from the ports of the Ukrainian SSR. Passenger ships sail regularly between Odessa and Novorossiisk, Batum, Zhdanov, Kherson, and Izmaïl, and the foreign ports of Marseilles and Beirut, among others. Regular freight lines operate between Odessa and such ports as Bombay, Hanoi, and Havana.

Generally speaking, Soviet sea transport is self-sustaining and highly profitable. As a rule, each ship is considered an independent enterprise for financial purposes. Costs of water transport are only 70 per cent of railroad costs. This means that it is in Ukraine's interest to maximize sea-borne trade as compared with trade overland.

**Principal Ports**

Prior to World War I, Odessa was the principal port of Ukraine. It was the largest port on the Black Sea and ranked second in the Russian empire (after St.

Petersburg). It was the only port to show an equal balance between exports and imports (2.1 million tons). Other Ukrainian ports were used almost exclusively for exports, primarily grain: Mykolaïv (2.1 million tons of cargo handled), Mariupil (1.9), Kherson (1.1), Novorossiisk (2.0). In the 1930's Zhdanov (Mariupil), the port of Donbas, Novorossiisk, and Kerch were highly important ports.

ODESSA continues to be the principal port of Ukraine, handling almost half of all freight cargo and nearly one-fourth of the entire Black Sea-Sea of Azov complex. The following come into Odessa: oil (from Batum and Tuapse), agricultural products, whaling products, coal, construction materials (especially cement from Novorossiisk), groceries, etc. Oil products, metals, coal, machines, sugar, etc. are shipped out of Odessa. In terms of foreign import and export, Odessa is the leading port of the USSR. The major portion of its exports go to Cuba, followed by Rumania, Italy, Bulgaria, India, Egypt, and Vietnam. Odessa is also the main center of passenger traffic (connections with the Crimea and the Caucasus). It is the principal base for the whaling fleets *Slava* (Glory) and *Radians'ka Ukraïna* (Soviet Ukraine).

To ease the burden on the overloaded and technically backward port of Odessa, another port, ILLICHIVSK, was built 20 km southwest of Odessa in 1950–8. Modern and highly mechanized, it handles primarily foreign cargo and is currently the second most important port in the Ukrainian SSR.

Other important ports are MYKOLAÏV (at the mouth of the Boh River, 74 km from the sea) and KHERSON, whose significance has been increased by the construction of Dniprohes and the Kakhivka hydroelectric power station and the improvement of navigation along the Dnieper River. Shipments from these ports include grain, ores, construction materials, sugar, and machines, while shipments into them include timber, oil, metals, coal, construction materials, cotton, and wool. The most important ports of the Crimea are SEVASTOPOL (military), FEODOSIIA (export of grain and fruit), and KERCH (export of ores, import of coal). The principal ports of Northern Caucasus are NOVOROSSIISK, whose freight tonnage equals that of Odessa (export of grain, timber, cement) and Tuapse (export of Maikop oil, grain, timber).

The largest port on the Sea of Azov is ZHDANOV which is connected with the sea by a canal 10 km long. It is located between Donbas and the Kerch iron region. Its exports include coal, metals, machines, grain, salt; its imports, iron ore, wool, etc. BERDIANSKE ships out grain and other agricultural products. The main ports on the Don are Rostov and Tahanrih. The ports of Izmaïl and Reni at the mouth of the Danube, Bilhorod at the mouth of the Dniester, Ochakiv, Skadivske, Hola Prystan, Evpatoriia, Henycheske, and, in the Northern Caucasus, Temriuk, Anapa, and Sochi are of lesser significance.

## RIVER TRANSPORTATION

### General Characteristics

The length of navigable waterways on the ethnographic territory of Ukraine is nearly 6,200 km, including 200 km of canals. The length of rivers in the Ukrainian SSR is 177,000 km, of which 4,800 km are used for navigation and timber floatage. The following navigable rivers are used for transportation: Dnieper (1,100 km), Desna (520 km), Danube (200 km), Boh (155 km), Inhulets (120 km), Inhul (60 km), Prypiat (60 km in the Ukrainian SSR only).

Natural conditions are conducive to navigation along Ukrainian rivers [Vol. I, pp. 106–16]. There are few mountain rivers and since the slope of the rivers generally is slight, navigation is possible in the upper reaches. The rivers flow southward connecting a variety of geographical and economic regions. Finally,

the proximity of various up-river systems (especially in the west) permits relatively easy connection by means of canals. There are, however, some unfavorable aspects: the 2–5 month winter pause in navigation, sharp fluctuations in water level, particularly the low level in the steppe belt during the summer months, sharp and frequent turns, silting of river beds (especially in the loess and *chornozem* belts), shallowness of the limans, and a scarcity of rivers linking Ukraine in the east–west direction.

Man has contributed very little to the improvement of the favorable natural conditions. Canals represent barely 3 per cent of the navigable waterways (by comparison, 44 per cent in France and 19 per cent in Germany). Regulation of rivers, with the exception of the Dnieper (partially) has been largely neglected. More had been accomplished in those areas of Ukraine which until 1914 formed a part of Austria-Hungary. Since the construction of railways, river transportation has been neglected and handles a mere one per cent of the total freight cargo (20–30 per cent in western Europe).

Freight and passenger traffic on the rivers of the Ukrainian SSR can be seen from Table V (percentage of the USSR total for 1965 is given in parentheses).

Mineral construction materials constitute the highest percentage of cargo carried (55.2 per cent in 1964, as compared with 25 per cent in 1940); then comes coal, 22 per cent (7 per cent in 1940), and ores, 8 per cent (0.5 per cent in 1940). Transportation of grain (2.6 per cent as compared with 18 per cent in 1940), oil (1.7 from 7 per cent), and lumber (1.3 from 18 per cent) has declined. Three-fourths of the total freight traffic (the percentage is even higher for passenger traffic) is carried along the Dnieper.

Supervision over river transport in the Ukrainian SSR is vested in the Chief Administration attached to the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR (on the Danube, the Soviet Danube Navigation of the USSR's Ministry of the Merchant Marine).

**The Dnieper Basin***

The use of the Dnieper as a waterway dates back to ancient history. During the Princely period of Ukrainian history, the Dnieper River was one of the principal links in the "great road from the Varangians to the Greeks," connecting the Baltic with the Black Sea and Constantinople. The Dnieper was thus the main lifeline of the Kievan *Rus'* Realm [Vol. I, p. 14]. The importance of the river again became crucial in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The lower river provided the Ukrainian Kozaks with access to the Black Sea, while the upper reaches (notably the tributaries Prypiat and Desna) played a major economic role in the Lithuanian-Polish Kingdom, mainly in the transport of timber to the west and northwest—to Vistula, Niman, and the Baltic Sea. To improve this function the Dnieper was connected in 1765–75 with the Niman watershed by the Oginsky Canal and with the Vistula by the so-called Royal (now Dnieper-Buh) Canal (across the Mukhavets, a tributary of the Buh, with the Pyna, a

*See also Vol. I, pp. 113–15.

TABLE V

| | 1932 | 1940 | 1950 | 1955 | 1960 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Freight transported (million tons) | 3.2 | 4.6 | 4.3 | 9.8 | 12.8 | 17.4 (6.2) |
| Freight volume (billion tons km) | 0.6 | 1.1 | 1.1 | 3.3 | 4.0 | 4.5 (3.3) |
| Passenger traffic (million) | 8.7 | 6.8 | 4.4 | 11.9 | 15.2 | 18.7 (12.3) |
| Passenger volume (million km) | 407 | 356 | 183 | 299 | 309 | 413 (8.2) |

TABLE VI

| | Steamships | | Other vessels | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1884 | 1912 | 1884 | 1912 |
| Above the rapids | 74 | 265 | 959 | 1,447 |
| Below the rapids and the lower Boh | 65 | 141 | 766 | 1,119 |
| TOTAL | 139 | 406 | 1,725 | 2,566 |

tributary of the Prypiat; in 1846–8 and again in 1945–6, the canal was rebuilt).

The Dnieper regained its former significance towards the end of the eighteenth century when the entire waterway came under Russian control. Steamship navigation started in 1823. Some regulating work was started at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Dnieper rapids [Vol. I, p. 114] cut the flow of traffic on the river into two sections. The increase in traffic on the two sectors can be seen from Table VI. The data show the volume of freight in thousand tons.

Transportation along the Dnieper declined in 1917–22, and it was not until 1931 that it again reached its 1913 level. Its further development was connected directly with the implementation of the so-called Great Dnieper project (see Water Management, p. 906). The entire river was open to navigation in 1933 after the flooding of the rapids. The German-Soviet war, however, destroyed most of the Dnieper fleet, the ports, Dniprohes, and the shipyards. The 1940 volume of freight and passenger traffic was not equaled until 1951. It continued to increase with the construction of reservoirs on the Dnieper (see p. 907). The fleet was built up mainly by the addition of motor ships (600–2,000 tonnage) for freight and new passenger ships. After the completion of the Dniprodzerzhynske hydroelectric station, the Dnieper became a main waterline over a distance of 750 km from its mouth to Kaniv, with a uniform depth of 3.2 meters. In spite of these changes the Dnieper is not used to its full capacity. The transportation of cargo is especially off-balance—85 per cent of the total volume is carried upstream, 15 per cent downstream.

FIGURE 509. THE PIER ON THE DNIEPER IN KIEV

The type of freight moving along the Dnieper and its tributaries has undergone many changes. Until the end of the 1920's the principal cargoes were lumber (55 per cent of the total freight traffic in 1913) and grain (27 per cent). At the present time the combined total of these two products amounts to only 4 per cent. First place has been yielded to mineral construction materials (55 per cent), followed by coal (nearly 25 per cent, from Dnipropetrovske to Belorussia; also by way of the Sozh River), and ores (nearly 10 per cent, from Zaporizhia up the Dnieper and the Prypiat, through the Dnieper-Buh Canal to Poland), and grain (from Kherson to Kiev). Most of the timber is carried downstream.

Passenger travel is confined to rather short distances and is used primarily for suburban connections. The average distance for passenger travel is 15 km, whereas for freight it is 47 km. The pas-

senger lines are served by diesel-powered boats and motor ships, some with underwater fins (average speed, 60 km/hr) of the *Raketa* (Rocket) and *Meteor* types.

The principal ports of the Dnieper are located at the sites of main railroad junctions. Kiev, the most important port of the Dnieper basin (one-half of the total freight cargo) is an important junction for the Dnieper, Prypiat, Desna, and Sozh waterways and a major reloading center. Second in importance is Kherson, a sea and river port, which serves as a transfer point for oil (from the sea to the Dnieper), manganese ore, and metal (from the Dnieper to the sea; formerly, lumber and grain). Lumber shipped along the Dnieper used to be unloaded in the port of Dnipropetrovske and then shipped by railroad to Donbas. At the present time, this port is used for shipping coal and metal ores from Kryvyi Rih. Zaporizhia also served at one time for shipping lumber from the upper Dnieper; now it is used for shipping oil products from the lower Dnieper, iron ore from Kryvyi Rih, and coal, metals, and salt from Donbas. Other important ports are Cherkasy, Kremenchuk (formerly used for reloading lumber from the upper Dnieper), Dniprodzerzhynske, Nykopil (manganese ore), and Kakhivka.

### Transportation Along Other Rivers

The Danube plays a major role in connecting Ukraine with the countries of Central Europe. It assumed even greater importance after the completion of the direct Dnieper–Black Sea–Danube waterway. Transported upstream are ores, coal, oil, machines, agricultural products, timber; downstream, timber, agricultural products, Hungarian bauxites, products of light industry, and machines. Izmaïl and Reni are important river ports.

The following rivers are of lesser significance in transportation: the Dniester (unsuitable for navigation because of many sharp turns), the Boh (navigable near the mouth for a distance of approximately 100 km), the Inhul, Inhulets, and Donets (navigable for 360 km, but shallow; if rebuilt could be of great importance as part of the main Dnieper–Don–Volga waterway), the Kuban in the Caucasian Foreland (navigable for 230 km; freight transport of nearly 400,000 tons).

Works on the small river basins were started in the postwar years (total length, 2,000 km). Some of them (Styr, Horyn, Ros, Tiasmyn, Psiol, and Vorskla) use small boats for the shipment of freight from the hinterland to the Dnieper and its tributary, the Prypiat. The floating of timber was of special significance in the Carpathian Mountains and in Polisia. The small rivers are also used for local passenger travel.

## MOTOR VEHICLE TRANSPORTATION AND ROADS

### Before 1914

As already mentioned (p. 912), construction of cobblestone highways with ditches and bridges was started towards the end of the eighteenth century, but only in the Ukrainian lands under Austria-Hungary, notably in Galicia. Prior to World War I, Galicia had 10,000 km of paved highways with a density of 18.7 km per 100 sq km of area, with the same ratio per 10,000 inhabitants. At that time, the central and eastern lands of Ukraine had barely 3,500 km of cobble highways (density 0.8 km and 1.3 km). The most important highways were from Kiev to St. Petersburg through Homel and Chernihiv, Kiev to Berestia (strategic importance), and two Crimean highways, one along the mountains, the other along the Caucasian coastline from Anapa to Sochi and Sukhum. Steppe-Ukraine did not have a single highway, nor did such urban centers as Odessa, Katerynoslav, and Poltava.

Dirt roads (mostly without ditches

and bridges) were most common before 1914 (also in Galicia). Subject to weather conditions (dusty in summer and muddy in spring and fall), they were unsuitable for long-distance haulage. The costs of transporting one ton of cargo in the Russian empire for a distance of one kilometer were estimated to be 60 kopeks on a dirt road as compared with 6 on a hard-top highway, one by railway, 0.5 by river, and 0.0625 by sea. Dirt roads, however, were used for the delivery of goods from the countryside to railroad stations and ports. Frequent stoppages along the roads caused by poor weather conditions had a correspondingly adverse effect on the loading of freight cars at the railroad stations. (It was difficult, for example, during the fall months to deliver beets to the sugar refineries.)

**The 1920's and 1930's**

During World War I, the network of hard-top highways was neither improved nor expanded in Western Ukraine. Only in Transcarpathia were new highways added and the existing ones improved (2,400 km, or 18.7 km per 100 sq km of area, and 32.3 km per 10,000 inhabitants). Transcarpathia also had the largest number of motor vehicles, nearly 1,000 per 10,000 persons (1937). In the Ukrainian lands under Poland, which lagged far behind in this field, there were only 2,700 motor vehicles (3.5 per 10,000 persons). In Western Ukraine motor vehicles were used primarily to transport passengers (only 15 per cent were used to carry freight).

In the Ukrainian SSR, no progress was made in highway construction in the 1920's (1,500 motor vehicles in 1925). The situation improved during the period of the Five-Year plans. The network of paved highways increased from 3,900 km in 1928 to 7,500 km in 1932 and to 13,700 km in 1940 (Ukrainian SSR within the 1938 boundaries). The number of motor vehicles rose to 11,400 in 1932 and to 84,300 in 1937 (three-fourths of the total were trucks used in collectivized agriculture), or 27 vehicles per 10,000 persons.

**Present State**

Motor car transportation declined in 1941–4, but has been growing since at a rapid pace. It is of special importance in freight and passenger transportation over short distances (to railroad stations and ports), in hauling local freight, and in transporting agricultural products.

The network of paved highways has also expanded markedly. The highways in the Ukrainian SSR total 225,500 km, with 35 per cent of them paved (1968). The growth of the network of paved highways was as follows (in thousands of kilometers): 29.3 in 1940, 33.5 in 1950, 37.6 in 1955, 47.4 in 1960, 79.8 in 1968 (17.5 per cent of the USSR total). The density of paved highways is highest in Galicia, Transcarpathia, Bukovina, Donbas, and the Dnieper industrial region.

Some of the principal highways are: Kiev–Moscow, Moscow–Kharkiv–Symferopol, Kiev–Kharkiv–Rostov, Kiev–Rivne–Lviv, Kiev–Dnipropetrovske–Donetske, Leningrad–Kiev–Odessa, Zhytomyr–Kamianets-Podilsky, and Lviv–Chernivtsi.

Statistical data on the total number of motor vehicles in the Ukrainian SSR (or the entire USSR) are not available. It can be estimated that in 1962 the total was 230,000 (30 per cent passenger cars, 10 per cent buses, with the balance made up of trucks, vans, etc.).

The most widely used truck model is ZIL-150 with a capacity of 4 tons, a 97 h.p. motor, and speed of 75 km/hr; it is in the medium-power class. Also used is the smaller model GAZ-51 (2.5-ton capacity). The most popular bus model is LAZ-695, built in Lviv, with a seating capacity of 32 passengers, a 109 h.p. motor, and speed of 65 km/hr. Volga is the most popular passenger car model, with a capacity of five passengers, a 70

TABLE VII

| | 1940 | 1950 | 1955 | 1960 | 1968 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total freight carried (million tons) | 187.2 | 365.9 | 687.4 | 1,677.9 | 2,701.3 (21.1) |
| Freight volume (billion tons km) | 1.7 | 3.6 | 7.3 | 17.7 | 35.6 (19.0) |
| Passenger traffic by buses (million passengers) | 29.4 | 59.4 | 494.6 | 1,408.1 | 4,122.2 (17.6) |
| Passenger volume (billion passengers km) | 0.3 | 0.4 | 3.0 | 10.0 | 37.5 (22.2) |

h.p. motor, and speed of 130 km/hr.

Motor vehicle freight and passenger traffic figures in the Ukrainian SSR are given in Table VII (percentage of the USSR total in parentheses).

Motor vehicle freight transportation is commonest in the metropolitan centers, Donbas, the Dnieper industrial region, and the sugar beet growing areas (transportation of beets to refineries). The average hauling distance is 11 km, a comparatively low figure. Passenger vehicles are used not only for short-distance travel, but also as lines of communication between Kiev and *oblast* centers. In 1965, regular freight and passenger service operated by bus in 264 localities, by truck in 290 localities, and by taxi in 261 localities.

## AIR TRANSPORTATION

The establishment of Ukrpovitrshliakh (Ukrainian Air Line) in 1923 signalled the beginning of civil air transportation in Ukraine. The airline operated until 1930 as an independent enterprise under the Kiev government. Air transport was

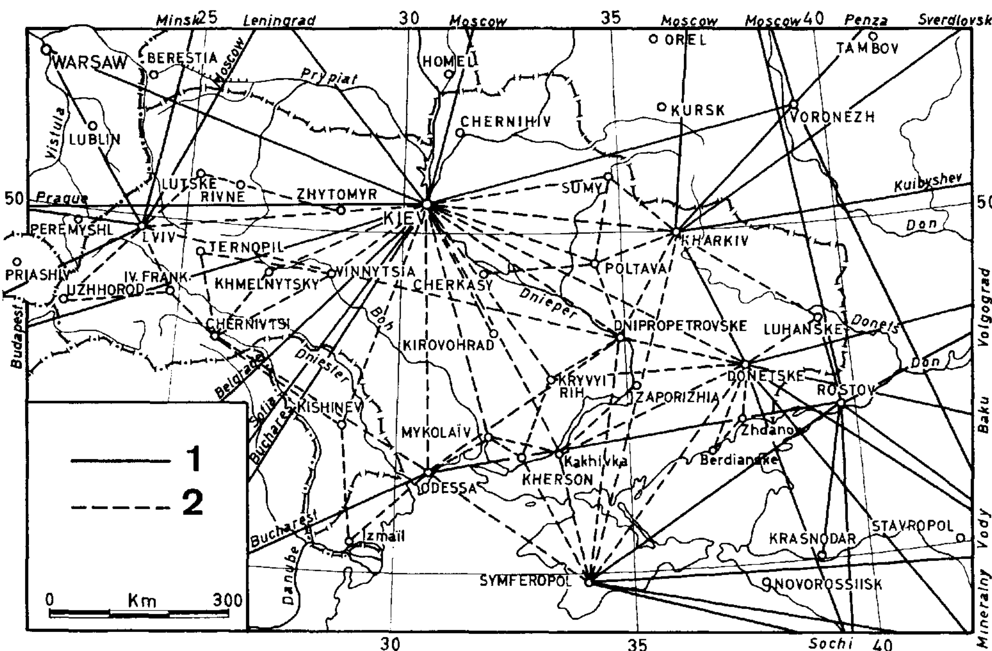


FIGURE 510. AIRLINES 1, International and all-union lines; 2, others

then centralized under a single administration in Moscow. The Kharkiv–Moscow and Kharkiv–Odessa lines were opened in 1924, followed by the establishment of air connections with the Northern Caucasus and Transcaucasus. The 1930's witnessed large-scale development of airline transportation. Passenger travel in the Ukrainian SSR increased in 1930–4 from 12,000 to 65,000. In 1940, the Ukrainian network of airlines was 24,000 km long, with airports in Kiev, Kharkiv, Odessa, Lviv, Luhanske, and Donetske.

After World War II air transport again flourished. Administrative control over all air travel and transportation is vested in the Ukrainian Republic Administration of Civil Aviation, which is subordinate to Moscow. The airline network at the present time has reached a total of 70,000 km (in 1960, it was estimated at 43,000 km). It extends to all *oblast* capitals of the Ukrainian SSR. Kiev is the largest airline center in Ukraine for domestic and international travel. In 1961 Kiev had direct lines with thirty cities in the Union Republics and thirty-one cities in the Ukrainian SSR. Kiev, Lviv, and Odessa have direct connections with Bucharest, Prague, Sophia, Belgrade, Vienna, and Budapest. These are not separate lines, however, but merely stop-overs between Moscow and the central European capitals. There are no direct connections with East Berlin, nor with west European cities. Other centers of air transportation in the Ukrainian SSR are Kharkiv, Odessa, Donetske, Symferopol, Lviv, and Krasnodar in Kuban (see also Fig. 510).

FIGURE 511. DNIPROPETROVSKE AIRPORT

The development of air transportation can be seen from Table VIII (percentage of the USSR total in parentheses).

Airlines of the Ukrainian SSR use turbo-prop planes of Ukrainian construction (model AN-10, passenger capacity –85, altitude–8 km, speed–650 km/hr). The jet-propelled aircraft TU-104 is used in long-distance travel, the turbo-prop IL-14 for shorter distances. A six-passenger model called *Bdzhilka* (Bee) of Ukrainian construction is used for local aviation. Helicopters are also coming into service. Civil aviation is used not only for carrying freight, passengers, and mail, but also for medical services and for sowing in agriculture (14.4 million hectares under chemical spraying in 1968).

## PIPELINES

Pipelines have become increasingly significant in the last few years.

The Ukrainian SSR has a relatively large gas line system (8,506 km in 1968; 16.2 per cent of the USSR), connecting such natural gas centers as Shebelynka and Dashava with Ukrainian cities, and

TABLE VIII

| | 1950 | 1960 | 1967 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Freight volume (million tons km) | 11.1 | 43.6 | 118.0 ( 7.1) |
| Freight transported (thousand tons) | 23.0 | 77.0 | 160.0 (10.6) |
| Passenger volume (million passengers km) | 108.0 | 675.0 | 4,275.0 ( 8.0) |
| Passenger travel (thousands) | 257.0 | 1,697.0 | 7,161.0 (13.0) |

carrying gas to Russia, Belorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland; and also to Czechoslovakia and Austria (the *Braterstvo* [Brotherhood] line, 600 km). Two main pipelines of more than 1,000 km each run from Dashava and Shebelynka to Moscow. All pipelines are now interconnected at Kiev. Kuban and North Caucasus gas fields are also connected by a large pipeline system with Moscow.

Oil pipelines are of lesser significance. They are rather short, the longest extending from Dolyna to Drohobych. In Kuban the pipelines are somewhat longer: from Krasnodar to Novorossiisk, and from Krasnodar to Khadyzhensk and to Tuapse, for example. An oil pipeline extends from Trudiv in Donbas to Grozny in the Caucasian Foreland. The main pipeline Druzhba (Friendship), which serves to transport oil to Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, and East Germany, crosses the Ukrainian SSR along the Mozyr–Rivne–Lviv–Uzhhorod line.

## COMMUNICATIONS

The principal means of communication in Ukraine—mail, telegraph, telephone, radio, and television—are under the control of the All-Union Ministry in Moscow and the Union-Republic Ministry in Kiev.

Postal services in Ukraine date back to the Princely period (postal stations, with mail delivery by horses). During the Hetmanate, there were special Kozaks on the General and *polk* staffs assigned to mail delivery. About 1750 postal services came under government control. Since the end of the nineteenth century railroads were extensively used for carrying mail. In the last decade air transportation has also played a part. The growth of postal communications can be seen from Table IX (percentage of the USSR in parentheses).

Thus, in 1913, there was one post office per 415 sq km area and 25,000 persons. The statistics for 1940 were as follows: 72 sq km and 4,900 persons (in the USSR as a whole—440 sq km and 3,800 persons); in 1965, 52 sq km and 3,880 persons (USSR—300 sq km and 160 persons). The annual average of letters and parcels mailed in 1913 was 8 per person (4 in the USSR), in 1940–13 (14), in 1965–23 (23). The average is quite low compared with that of western Europe and the United States.

FIGURE 512. POST OFFICE IN LUHANSKE (1915)

Telegraph service in Ukraine dates back to the 1840's (in Galicia) and the 1850's (central and eastern lands). Telegraph connection between Lviv and

TABLE IX

| | 1913* | 1928 | 1940 | 1950 | 1960 | 1967 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of communication centers (thousands) | 1.4 | 2.6 | 8.4 | 7.6 | 9.7 | 12.7 (16.7) |
| Distance mail carried (thousand km) | 11.2† | 15.4* | 166.8 | 158.9 | 238.5 | 372.4 (12.3) |
| Letters and parcels (millions) | 270.5 | 170.1 | 530.5 | 517.9 | 803.2 | 1,203.6 (18.7) |
| Periodicals (millions) | 105.8 | 84.0 | 1,264.5 | 949.3 | 3,031.8 | 6,076.6 (21.4) |

*Excluding Crimea.
†Within 1938 boundaries.

TABLE X

| | 1913* | 1928 | 1940 | 1960 | 1967 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Telegrams sent | | | | | |
| In millions | 9.2 | 4.5 | 23.3 | 36.4 | 49.6 |
| Per 100 persons | 26 | 11 | 58 | 84 | 108 |
| Number of long distance calls | | | | | |
| In millions | — | 3.7 | 19.1 | 31.2 | 54.0 |
| Per 100 persons | — | 9 | 44 | 73 | 117 |

*Excluding Crimea.

Vienna was established in 1846, between Kiev and St. Petersburg in 1855 (later between Kiev and Moscow). Telephone communication started in the 1880's. The first local telephone lines were installed in Odessa (1882), Lviv (1884), Kiev (1886), Kharkiv (1888). Long distance lines were not established until 1912 (Kharkiv–Moscow). Table X shows the development of telephone and telegraph communications in the Ukrainian SSR.

The number of telephones in the Ukrainian SSR increased from 187,400 in 1950 to 891,700 in 1967 (including automatic, from 63,600 to 759,400).

Telegraph and telephone communications in the Ukrainian SSR are inferior to those of western Europe and the United States, and even to those of the USSR. In 1967, there were only 19 telephones per 1,000 persons in Ukraine, whereas in the USSR as a whole the number was 25, in Rumania–28, in Poland–48, in Czechoslovakia–117, in West Germany–172, in Canada–406, and in the United States–518.

On radio and television see pp. 519–523.

*V. Kubijovyč, V. Holubnychy*

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# 10. EXTERNAL TRADE

## TRADE BALANCE OF UKRAINE IN 1909–13

It is difficult to compute Ukraine's trade balance for this or earlier periods because the country was partitioned among several states, and data were lacking. However, such compilations (Table I) do exist for 1909–11 (by George Kryvchenko) and for 1913 (by A. Koporsky) for the nine Ukrainian *guberniyas* within the Russian empire.

In the trade balance of Ukraine shown in Table I a distinction must be made between "foreign trade," that is trade with countries outside the boundaries of the Russian empire, and "internal" trade with countries within the Russian empire, including Poland, the Baltic countries, Finland, and others. Table I indicates that "internal" trade (787 million rubles) was two-thirds higher than foreign trade (470 million rubles). Ukraine exported goods worth 426 million rubles to other countries within the Russian empire and 364 million worth of goods to foreign countries (or one-sixth less). However, imports from within the empire were 3½ times greater than from abroad (361 to 106 million rubles), mostly from Russia (cotton goods).

A characteristic feature of Ukraine's trade balance was its continued high degree of activity, in both absolute and relative figures. The highly positive trade balance reflected the economic character of central and eastern Ukraine as a producer and supplier of agricultural products and industrial raw materials, particularly in relation to foreign countries to which Ukraine, as a developing country, was also financially indebted. With respect to Russia, all signs pointed to colonial dependence which was however more political than economic.

The overall trade volume increased in 1913 to 1,076 million rubles. The favorable trade balance of Ukraine was 413 million rubles (272 million with foreign countries), but the total favorable trade balance of Russia as a whole dropped to 146 million rubles in 1913, which means that without Ukrainian exports abroad Russia would have had a deficit of 126 million rubles.

The agricultural nature of Ukrainian exports was quite apparent: 85 per cent of all exports were composed of products of agriculture, some of which were exported in processed form (flour 14 per cent of the total, sugar 28 per cent). Exports to foreign countries were almost totally (99 per cent) agricultural products, and even in "internal" trade they predominated (74 per cent). Even here, however, there was a clearly discernible difference in the degree of industrial processing of export goods. In foreign trade the proportion of processed goods was very low (sugar 6 per cent, flour 2 per cent) and if animal products are added to processed goods, the total was no more than 15 per cent. In its relation with Europe, Ukraine was an extensive agrarian provider.

In intra-empire exports the proportion of processed agricultural products (sugar, flour) was high, reaching 65 per cent, and of raw products as low as 6.9 per cent. Thus, in relation to the Russian

TABLE I

TRADE BALANCE OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN LANDS (1909–11)

| Goods exported | Total exports | | Exports to other parts of the Russian empire | | Exports abroad | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | In mill. rub. | % | In mill. rub. | % | In mill. rub. | % |
| Grain | 257.7 | 32.5 | 4.7 | 1.1 | 252.3 | 69.3 |
| Flour | 110.7 | 14.0 | 76.7 | 18.0 | 34.0 | 9.4 |
| Other plant products | 30.9 | 3.9 | 6.1 | 1.4 | 24.8 | 6.8 |
| Animal products | 56.4 | 7.1 | 29.5 | 6.9 | 26.9 | 7.4 |
| Processed agric. products | 221.7 | 28.0 | 199.4 | 46.8 | 22.3 | 6.1 |
| Mining products | 12.4 | 1.6 | 9.0 | 2.1 | 3.4 | 1.0 |
| Metal and metal products | 90.1 | 11.4 | 90.1 | 21.1 | — | — |
| Other industrial products | 10.1 | 1.5 | 10.8 | 2.6 | — | — |
| TOTALS | 790.0 | 100.0 | 426.3 | 100.0 | 363.7 | 100.0 |

| Goods imported | Total imports | | Imports from other parts of the Russian empire | | Imports from abroad | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | In mill. rub. | % | In mill. rub. | % | In mill. rub. | % |
| Textiles | 188.6 | 40.4 | 187.9 | 52.0 | 0.8 | 0.7 |
| Machines and metal products | 34.6 | 7.4 | 5.3 | 1.5 | 29.3 | 28.0 |
| Oil and oil products | 33.5 | 7.2 | 30.7 | 8.5 | 2.8 | 2.4 |
| Leather and leather goods | 31.3 | 6.7 | 27.9 | 7.7 | 3.4 | 3.2 |
| Notions | 28.1 | 6.0 | 23.9 | 6.6 | 4.2 | 4.0 |
| Chemical products | 7.1 | 1.6 | — | — | 7.5 | 7.1 |
| Alcoholic beverages | 26.0 | 5.6 | 23.1 | 6.4 | 2.9 | 2.7 |
| Tea, coffee, and spices | 32.7 | 7.0 | 5.7 | 1.6 | 27.0 | 25.6 |
| Fish | 29.3 | 6.3 | 23.7 | 6.6 | 5.5 | 5.3 |
| Lumber | 12.1 | 2.6 | 12.1 | 3.4 | — | — |
| Others | 43.7 | 9.2 | 20.7 | 5.7 | 22.6 | 21.0 |
| TOTALS | 467.0 | 100.0 | 361.0 | 100.0 | 106.0 | 100.0 |
| Gross trade (exports and imports) | 1,257.0 | | 787.3 | | 469.7 | |
| Favorable trade balance | 323.0 | | 65.0 | | 258.0 | |

empire, Ukraine was a country with an intensive economy. However, Ukrainian exports included large amounts of raw materials and semi-manufactured goods, e.g., in the category of metals and metal products these were mainly pig iron, steel, and semi-processed metals. In the total export, processed goods predominated.

One-fourth of Ukraine's imports under Russia came from foreign countries and three-fourths from other areas within the empire. The latter category included only a small quantity of foods (about 20 per cent), while manufactured goods constituted two-thirds of the total, primarily textiles (cotton and linen from Russia and woolens from Poland), which accounted for 40 per cent. Lumber came from Russia and Belorussia, and machines from Germany. Spices were imported from abroad, but tea came through Russia, as did fish. Oil was brought in from Kuban.

The overall Ukrainian trade balance was similar to that of Ukraine under Russia. In Galicia it was about evenly balanced, so that the addition of these figures would increase the gross totals, but not the net favorable balance. Galicia exported large amounts of oil and oil products as well as lumber, and supplied great quantities of meat and meat products to Vienna and Bohemia.

FIGURE 513. THE CHAMBER OF INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE IN LVIV, 1930

Kuban enjoyed a highly favorable trade balance, and if its figures were added to those of Ukraine, the country's balance would be much stronger. This would be particularly true of Ukraine's grain trade, since the principal goods exported from Kuban were wheat and barley (66 per cent of export volume and 60 per cent of the value), sunflower oil, sunflower seed cakes, and tobacco. As mentioned above, Ukraine imported oil from Kuban, which, however, had to import sugar.

*R. Dyminsky*

## PERIOD OF UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD (1917–20)

The revolution and the Ukrainian-Russian war of 1918–20 were hardly conducive to the development of foreign trade. It was only during the Hetman period that Ukraine was able to maintain more or less regular trade relations with the Don, the Crimea, the Kuban, and Georgia. A separate treaty was concluded with the Supreme Don Cossack Command on normalizing jointly the economic conditions of the Donbas. In October 1918, an economic-commercial pact was signed with Rumania, and on December 5, 1918, a similar treaty was concluded by the Directory with Georgia. There were attempts to establish commercial relations with Soviet Russia, although actual trade was relatively insignificant. Commercial relations were somewhat more lively with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Pursuant to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, a number of conventions were signed setting forth quotas of goods to be exchanged, as well as foreign exchange ratios between the currency of Ukraine (*karbovanets'*) and those of Germany and Austria. The Russian customs tariff of 1903 remained in effect, as did the Russian-German treaties of commerce and navigation (1894 and 1904) and an analogous treaty with Austria of 1906 (with some amendments). Reality, however, did not justify the expectations placed in these treaties by both parties: Ukraine was not in a position to deliver the 60 million *poods* of agricultural products provided by the convention; the two central powers were able to deliver even less in exchange.

Under the Central Rada, a State Commission for the Exchange of Goods was established to take care of foreign trade. This was changed during the Hetmanate to the Committee of Foreign Trade in the Ministry of Trade and Industry.

*E. Glovinsky*

## THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN THE 1920's

In the USSR, foreign trade was turned into a state monopoly. The Ukrainian SSR had its own People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade as early as 1919, but pursuant to an agreement of December 28, 1920, trade between the Ukrainian SSR and the RSFSR was considered domestic commerce, and trade of the Ukrainian SSR with the rest of the world (excluding the Soviet republics) came under the jurisdiction of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade which was merged with that of the RSFSR. Ukrainian foreign trade was supervised by the Ukrainian External Trade Bureau, an autonomous department of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Trade of the RSFSR, which maintained direct

trade relations with foreign countries and had its own trade delegations separate from those of the RSFSR in nine European countries. With the creation of the USSR in 1923, the apparatus of the Trade Bureau was merged with the Union trade representations, and in the Ukrainian SSR it was placed under the jurisdiction of the Plenipotentiary of the USSR People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade, who was a member of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR and came under dual control of both Moscow and Kharkiv. After 1937, this Plenipotentiary was no longer a member of the government of the Ukrainian SSR. In 1958, the Plenipotentiary of the Union Ministry of Foreign Trade was again made a member of the cabinet of the Ukrainian SSR, although there is no corresponding Ministry of Foreign Trade in the Ukrainian SSR. There is, however, a Department in the State Planning Commission of the Ukrainian SSR which is in charge of foreign trade planning and control.

From 1921 to 1930, the foreign trade of the Ukrainian SSR was conducted by several enterprises: Ukrderzhtorh (Ukrainian State Trade), Vukoopspilka (All-Ukrainian Cooperative Union), Khliboprodukt (Grain Products), Derzhbank (State Bank), and commercial and industrial trusts. There were also two state import houses: Ukrtekhimport (Ukrainian Technical Imports), and Ukrtorhimport (Ukrainian Commercial Imports). The operations of both these houses were supervised by Ukrzovntorh (Ukrainian Foreign Trade) and subsequently by the Plenipotentiary of the USSR People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade. These enterprises, however, enjoyed considerable autonomy in their operations. Since the 1930's, the foreign trade of the Ukrainian SSR has been conducted exclusively through centralized Union export-import enterprises in Moscow. Because of the centralization of finances in the USSR, all foreign exchange earnings and all profits from the foreign trade of the Ukrainian SSR accrue to the state treasury of the USSR.

*V. Holubnychy*

## TRADE BALANCE OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR BEFORE WORLD WAR II

Changes which occurred after World War I affected the volume and balance of trade less than its structure. Earlier, the bulk of export goods went beyond the borders of Ukraine (to Europe); but if the large amounts which went to Poland and the Baltic countries are deducted from "internal" trade, then, except for sugar, Russia proper was not as big a customer of Ukraine as might appear at first glance. Under the Soviet government, particularly as a result of the Five-Year plans, exports were affected more by political than economic considerations and Ukraine's trade with foreign countries declined notably.

The amount of total exports in 1934 (according to V. Kubijovyč) remained the same for the Ukrainian SSR as in 1913, if territorial changes are taken into account (720 million rubles at prewar value). The favorable balance of about 335 million rubles corresponded to that of 1909–11. However, agricultural products dropped to 30 per cent, or a little over one-third of the former figure. Exports of grain alone dropped from 4.5 to 1 million tons; export of animal products ceased entirely, and only sugar maintained its prior position (22 per cent). However, the share of mining products (coal and ore) increased from 1.6 to 21 per cent, and metals and metal products, which once constituted 11.5 per cent of exports, assumed the leading position in the 1930's (50 per cent of the total). These figures, however, did not wholly reflect the general trend of the times. After 1934, grain exports rose again to 4.5 million tons by 1937, indicating that large amounts of grain were

forcibly shipped from Ukrainian to Russian territories. It was clear, however, that Ukraine was no longer an exclusively agricultural exporter, but primarily a shipper of industrial raw materials and products of heavy industry, including machines.

There were no major changes in imports, which continued to come mainly from Russia, although some displacements did occur. First place in imports (though in smaller amounts than before) was still occupied by textiles (47 per cent of all imports). There was a significant increase in imports of oil and oil products by the late 1930's as a result of advances in the use of motor vehicles in the Ukrainian SSR, from 7.2 to 28.6 per cent (in volume from 300,000 to 2,000,000 tons). There was also an increase in imports of lumber for industrial use (18 per cent). Small items of semi-processed goods and foods disappeared entirely from the import list of the Ukrainian SSR.

**Main Export Commodities**

Ukraine has always been a potential, if sometimes ineffective, exporter of grain, eggs, sugar, salt, hard coal, iron and manganese ores, and products of heavy, machine-building, and chemical industry. Oil and lumber were exported by the outlying regions of Ukraine, but imported by its central part. However, part of Ukraine's oil products and potassium salts were designated for export.

Ukraine has always been an exporter of GRAIN. The Dnieper region, together with Kuban, provided a total of 8.6 million tons for export in 1909–13. This figure equalled four-fifths of the grain exports of the Russian empire and one-fifth of world grain exports. Eighty per cent of the grain exports went abroad, 20 per cent to other countries of the Russian empire, mainly Poland, Belorussia, and the Baltic countries. The chief foreign customer was Germany, either directly, or through Holland; the amount of barley fodder alone imported by Germany from Ukraine was 2.7 million tons in 1909–13. Italy imported about one million tons of durum wheat and small amounts of other grains. Great Britain, France, and Greece also imported Ukrainian grain. Foreign trade absorbed about 90 per cent of these exports in the form of grain. Within the Russian empire, the position was reversed: 90 per cent was shipped in the form of flour. Exports of grain dropped after World War I as a result of such internal factors as population increases, collectivization, and the overall economic policy of the USSR. The jump in grain exports from central and eastern Ukraine alone in 1937 to 4.5 million tons was attained by means of outright requisitioning by the Soviet authorities. Although it reflected the harsh policies of Moscow, this fact still attested to the vast potential of Ukraine as a grain producing country.

Exports of LIVESTOCK and MEAT before World War II never reached an adequate level because eastern and central Ukraine were relegated to a rather one-sided grain economy. Livestock and meat were shipped mainly to Poland and, to a lesser extent, to large Russian cities and to Germany; larger amounts were exported from western lands to Vienna and the Bohemian countries. However, in export of EGGS, Ukraine has been one of the world's leaders: 90 to 100 thousand tons or 20 per cent of the world's exports in 1909–13. On the eve of the introduction of the Five-Year plans, the Ukrainian SSR exported 58,000 tons of eggs (12 per cent of the world total).

Production of SUGAR reached 1,200,000 tons in Ukraine, and because of low domestic consumption, 70 per cent was exported to Russia (including Russia's Asian regions) and Iran, while small amounts went to Great Britain. After World War I the export of sugar dropped by about 33 per cent (1934), with the bulk of it going to Russia. Alcoholic spirits were exported mainly from Right-Bank Ukraine (and to the West from

Galicia) by sea to the Near East and Germany (4,000 tons), but large quantities of alcoholic beverages were also imported.

Among industrial raw materials figuring in Ukrainian exports were coal and ores from the eastern and central lands, and oil from Galicia and the Subcaucasus. HARD COAL was exported in small amounts to Turkey, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, and France. In 1931 the total haul from Ukrainian ports was 1,200,000 tons of coal, of which 500,000 tons went to Italy. Forty-five per cent of the coal exported was anthracite. Shipments to Russia were substantially larger: 7 million tons in 1913, 16 million in 1934, counting coke nearly 20 million tons.

IRON ORE was used mostly by the Ukrainian smelting industry. However, in 1909–13, more than 1 million tons were shipped from Kryvyi Rih, 380,000 within the empire (mainly to Poland) and 670,000 tons abroad, mainly to Germany (78–99 per cent), directly and through Holland. In 1934 about 800,000 tons of iron ore were shipped to Russia.

MANGANESE ORE from Nykopil was used mainly for domestic consumption within the empire. But in 1909–13 exports to foreign countries amounted to 70,000 tons, and in 1927–31 the total increased to 215,000 tons, exported principally to Germany and Luxembourg, some to United States and Italy, less to France and Great Britain. By the end of the first Five-Year Plan, the Ukrainian SSR was shipping about 75,000 tons of manganese ore annually to other republics of the Soviet Union.

OIL and oil products were exported from Galicia (nearly 250,000 tons in 1935, not including that from the Jaslo region); 170,000 tons of this total went abroad, mainly to Germany. The production of Kuban (1,300,000 tons) was sufficient to satisfy more than half the petroleum needs (some 2 million tons in 1934) of central and eastern Ukraine.

On the whole, Ukraine's trade balance showed some shortcomings (import of textiles and excessive export of raw products), but it also reflected the vast potential of the Ukrainian national economy.

*R. Dyminsky*

## TRADE WITH RUSSIA AND THE REST OF THE USSR AFTER WORLD WAR II

The interrepublic flow of commodities inside the Soviet Union is regulated by the USSR State Committee on Supplies, the state planning commissions of the USSR and the republics, and by individual economic ministries. This centralized regulation involves direct distribution and allocation of resources (*in natura*) over the whole territory of the USSR by a method of regional balances of production and consumption of individual commodities. Since the Soviet economy is not a market economy, sellers do not seek out buyers by themselves, but are directed (instructed) by the State Committee on Supplies or some other central agency to deliver their products to specified addresses (consumers) by specified dates at fixed prices. Supplying enterprises are attached in this manner to consuming enterprises at least for the duration of the plan period, often longer, and neither side can break this compulsory contract without the permission of the central authorities.

Hence, the word "trade" is not quite accurate when applied to the interrepublic economic relations inside the USSR, even though there is wide exchange of goods among the republics and money is paid for the delivery of such goods across the republics' frontiers. However, no statistics in money terms have ever been published on the interrepublic balances of trade, and no such balance between, say, the Ukrainian SSR and the RSFSR can yet be calculated. Interrepublic deliveries are planned in physical units, separately for each main commodity. The only statistics to emerge

from this kind of planning are scanty transport balances of such commodities in terms of weight.

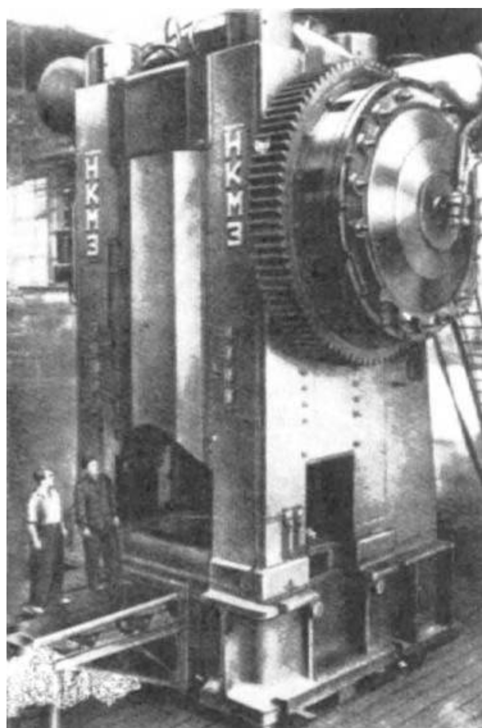

FIGURE 514. PRESS MADE FOR EXPORT BY THE NOVO-KRAMATORSKE MACHINE WORKS

In the determination of interrepublic links between supplying and consuming enterprises and the specialization of the republics in the production and supply of specific individual commodities, the central authorities in Moscow probably take into account comparative and transportation costs, but it is known from numerous Soviet reports that this is not always the case. Ukrainian production costs in such industries as machine-tool making, oil refining, aluminum smelting, and manufacture of clothing are below the all-Union averages, and yet these industries remain underdeveloped in the Ukrainian SSR. Out of 100 most important industrial export commodities in which Ukraine is specialized on the all-Union scale, only 80 (in 1967) had their costs of production below the all-Union averages; 20 others did not enjoy cost advantages but were exported nevertheless. Since per unit prices of most industrial goods are the same throughout the USSR, it follows that in exporting those 20 commodities the Ukrainian SSR sustained comparative losses.

Transportation tariffs in the USSR are such that their rates decline with distance, or, after having attained a minimum, stay constant. Such tariff policies facilitate transportation of goods at very long distances, while putting local intra-republic exchange at a disadvantage. The Ukrainian SSR had special status in this connection. While the average cost of one ton per kilometer of the total freight carried by the railroads of the USSR in 1966 was 0.28 kopek, the same average in the haulage between the Ukrainian SSR and the Ural region was 0.22 kopek (in the past, especially before the war, this difference was even larger). On the other hand, the cost of one ton-kilometer carried by waterways was 0.17 kopek. The latter fact strongly suggests that, assuming all other costs to be equal, it is in Ukraine's interest to trade more with eastern and western Europe than with Russia, for trade with Russia must be almost entirely by railroad, while trade with Europe can be carried much cheaper via the Danube River and the Mediterranean Sea.

**Freight Balance**

From Table II it is clear that the Ukrainian SSR's transportation balance (in weight terms) is continuously positive, although the rate of surplus has declined. This probably implies that the balance of trade is also positive, but the evidence is not conclusive because weight does not always correlate with value. About three-fourths of the tonnage given in Table II represents the haulage within the Ukrainian SSR, some of which was made up of goods in transit. (Thus, for example, most of the USSR foreign trade with various overseas countries is carried through

TABLE II

FREIGHT CARRIED BY ALL TRANSPORTATION MEDIA (in million tons)

| | 1913 | 1940 | 1958 | 1967 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Left departure points in the Ukrainian SSR | 73.0 | 207.3 | 475.0 | 745.7 |
| Arrived at points in the Ukrainian SSR | 61.3 | 179.6 | 439.3 | 716.6 |
| BALANCE | −11.7 | −27.7 | −35.7 | −29.1 |
| EXPORT SURPLUS (in per cent) | 16.0 | 13.4 | 7.5 | 3.9 |

the Black Sea ports and, therefore, across Ukrainian territory.)

From the statistics on freight carried by railroads alone it is known that exports beyond the borders of the Ukrainian SSR made up 27.4 per cent in 1940, 22.7 per cent in 1955, and about 20 per cent in 1965 of the total railroad freight departing from points in the Ukrainian SSR. Since approximately 3 per cent of this freight was comprised of goods going beyond the borders of the USSR and since almost all of the Ukrainian SSR's trade with the rest of the USSR is carried by railroad, it can be concluded that exports to the rest of the USSR now take up as much as 17 per cent of the Ukrainian SSR's total output (by weight).

Table III shows the distribution of Ukrainian freight carried by railroad to and from the rest of the USSR. It is clear that the Ukrainian SSR's exports to Russia (in terms of weight) have declined relatively whereas exports to Belorussia and the Baltic republics have increased considerably. It is probable, however, that some of the exports to the northwest were re-exported via the Baltic Sea. On the import side, Russia's share in Ukrainian imports has remained more or less constant and large. The decline of imports from Moldavia probably reflects the decline of transit imports from Rumania.

It is obvious from Table III that Russia continues to be the largest customer of the Ukrainian SSR inside the USSR, although its importance in Ukraine's exports is definitely declining. It is also important to stress that the Kuban and the North Caucasian regions, which are parts of the RSFSR, usually take up as much as 10 per cent of the Ukrainian SSR's exports and imports. Therefore, Russia proper gets only about 50 per cent of Ukrainian exports and supplies

TABLE III

FREIGHT CARRIED BY RAILROAD BETWEEN THE UKRAINIAN SSR AND THE REST OF THE USSR (in percentage)

| | 1940 | 1950 | 1957 | 1964 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total exports from the Ukrainian SSR | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| To | | | | |
| RSFSR | 85.2 | 83.0 | 70.3 | 61.1 |
| Belorussia | 8.8 | 6.3 | 11.7 | 15.0 |
| Baltic | — | 2.0 | 8.2 | 11.1 |
| Moldavia | — | 3.3 | 3.9 | 5.4 |
| Transcaucasus | 2.0 | 3.8 | 4.5 | 4.7 |
| Central Asia | 4.0 | 1.6 | 1.4 | 2.7 |
| Total imports into the Ukrainian SSR | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| From | | | | |
| RSFSR | 82.8 | 75.4 | 82.0 | 88.6 |
| Belorussia | 6.5 | 7.8 | 2.7 | 2.0 |
| Baltic | — | 4.2 | 1.3 | 2.0 |
| Moldavia | — | 5.1 | 2.9 | 1.2 |
| Transcaucasus | 6.0 | 5.6 | 4.2 | 2.5 |
| Central Asia | 4.7 | 1.9 | 6.9 | 3.7 |

about 75 per cent of the Ukrainian SSR's imports (by weight). Within Russia, approximately one-half of Ukrainian exports arrive in the central region (Moscow), about one-fourth in the northwestern region (Leningrad), with the rest going to Upper Volga, Ural, and Siberia. Ukrainian imports from Russia are distributed similarly.

**Ukrainian SSR's main commodity exports.** More than one-third of all Ukrainian exports (by weight) to the rest of the USSR consist of hard coal (anthracite and coking coal) and of manufactured coke. From the total output of the Donbas coal fields, the following percentages were exported to the rest of the USSR: 1940–30.1, 1950–25.3, 1960–21.0, 1963–14.5. The percentage continued to decline because of the increased output of coal in the RSFSR. The Donbas coal costs are above the USSR average, and it is not very profitable to export it. Still, in 1963, consumers of the Donbas coal were located as far away as Baku, Astrakhan, Yaroslavl, Leningrad, and Tallinn. From the total export of coal and coke, central Russia was taking about one-half, while about one-third was consumed by Belorussia, the Baltic republics, and the Leningrad area (a portion was, however, re-exported to Europe from here). Most of the balance went to North Caucasus and the Transcaucasian republics. Approximately 4 per cent of the total export of coal from the Donbas was consumed in Moldavia. Recently the Lviv-Volhynia Coal Basin has been exporting about one-third of its total output, mainly to Moldavia, Belorussia, and the Baltic states.

The Ukrainian SSR's share of ferrous metallurgy in the USSR is quite large. About 7.5 per cent of the output of the Kryvyi Rih iron ores were exported to other sectors of the USSR in 1961, most of it to Russia, but some also to the North Caucasian region (Tahanrih). As compared with the prewar period, Russian imports of ore have declined considerably because of the development of her own iron ore deposits.

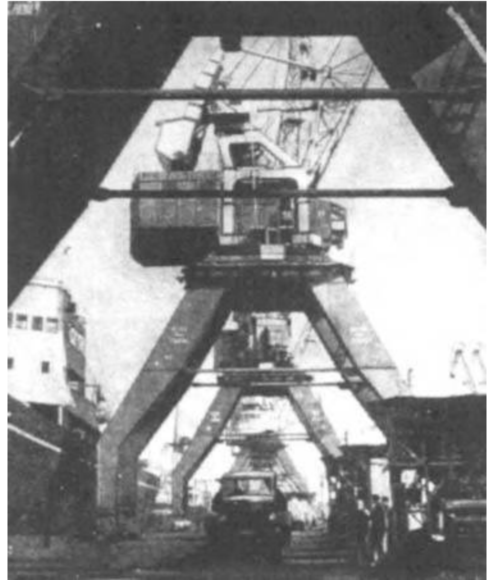

FIGURE 515. LOADING CRANES IN THE NEW PORT OF ILLICHIVSKE

Russia imported 20.4 per cent of the total production of iron and steel products of the Ukrainian SSR in 1961, North Caucasus 7.5 per cent, and the Baltic region 4.5 per cent (partly for re-export to Europe). The Russian imports contained large quantities of pig iron, which is used there to make steel. Ukrainian ferro-manganese is exported as far as the Ural region and even to Siberia. The proportion of Russian imports of Ukrainian pig iron has, however, been decreasing.

In 1940, the Ukrainian SSR exported 65 per cent of its output of rolled and sheet steel, most of it to Russia. In 1959, exports accounted for only 45 per cent of the total output, and Russia's share was only 24.1 per cent (central Russia, 19.5 per cent; Ural, 4.6 per cent). Most of these exports were judged to be uneconomical and illogical because almost as much rolled and sheet steel was imported back from Russia by Ukraine. In 1955, the USSR government passed a de-

cree to stop the traffic in steel between the Ukrainian SSR and the Ural altogether, but apparently the decree could not be implemented because of the extremely narrow specialization of the Ural and Ukrainian rolled steel mills on specific gauges and profiles of steel products. The following figures give a picture of the traffic in steel in 1959 in the Ukrainian SSR (in thousand tons):

| *Type of Steel* | *Export* | *Import* |
|---|---|---|
| Small gauge | 611 | 667 |
| Large gauge | 1,517 | 1,549 |
| Thin sheet | 398 | 442 |
| TOTAL | 2,526 | 2,658 |

Mainly because of the underdevelopment of its own chemical industry, the Ukrainian SSR exports some 40 per cent of its production of natural gas, most of it to RSFSR, the Belorussian SSR, and the Baltic. Four pipe lines are in operation: (1) Dashava–Kiev–Briansk–Moscow; (2) Dashava–Minsk–Vilnius–Riga; (3) Shebelynka–Kursk–Orel–Briansk–Moscow; and (4) Shebelynka–Ostrogozhsk–Kalinin.

The Ukrainian SSR also exports large quantities of construction materials. In 1963, it shipped to the rest of the USSR 14 per cent of its output of cement, 29 per cent of its window glass, 18 per cent of its slate, 44 per cent of its ceramic tiles and tubes. Large quantities of chemical fertilizers are shipped to Central Asia, Belorussia, and the Baltic republics. The Ukrainian SSR also exports salt to almost all republics of the USSR.

Ukraine specializes in machine-building and exports equipment for heavy industries (iron and steel, mining, chemical, oil refining, oil and gas drilling), diesel locomotives, railroad cars, ships, airplanes, tractors and various agricultural machines, road-building machinery, cranes, turbines, power transformers, buses, autocranes, a few special types of lathes, equipment for sugar and other food industries, etc. As in the case of rolled steel, some of this production is too specialized and as a result there is some irrational traffic in machinery to and from the Ukrainian SSR.

Important changes have occurred in the Ukrainian SSR's exports of grain during the 1950's and the 1960's. Because of a decline in wheat production in the Ukrainian SSR (see Agriculture, pp. 866) and the increase of output on virgin lands in the RSFSR and Kazakhstan, net exports of grain from Ukraine by railroad and river declined as follows (in thousand tons):

| | |
|---|---|
| 1940 | 3,345 |
| 1950 | 1,925 |
| 1955 | 769 |
| 1965 | 24 |

Between 1958 and 1962, the Ukrainian SSR was, in fact, importing large quantities of grain from Kuban and the North Caucasus and in 1963–5 from the United States and Canada. Furthermore, as the export data for the year 1953 indicate, more than one-half of the Ukrainian SSR's grain exports were destined for the Belorussian SSR and the Baltic republics, rather than for central Russia as in the past.

On the other hand, meat and meat products, fats, dairy goods, and sugar continued to be exported to Russia in large quantities. In 1958, 50 per cent of the Ukrainian SSR's output of butter and 65 per cent of its vegetable oil and sugar were exported, although the actual surplus could not have been that large. Exports of Ukrainian sugar to Ural, western and eastern Siberia in 1958 were seven times larger (by weight) than in 1940. In 1965, the Ukrainian SSR exported 27 per cent of its output of alcohol. Its exports also include large quantities of vegetables and fruits to central Russian cities. Durable consumer goods, such as TV and radio sets, photographic equipment, tape-recorders, and vacuum cleaners are exported to other republics. Considerable quantities of artificial silk yarn (1,784 tons in 1959 and 9,891 in 1963) are also shipped out.

**Ukrainian SSR's main commodity imports.** The largest share in the Ukrainian

SSR's imports from the USSR is taken up by timber. In 1963, imports of timber totalled 14,900,000 tons, as compared with 2,900,000 tons in 1950. In 1963, 63.0 per cent of the total amount of timber used in the Ukrainian SSR had to be imported (of lumber, 53.1 per cent). Most of it came from Russia, some from the Belorussian SSR. The Ukrainian SSR imported about 25 per cent of Russia's total timber export. Most of the imported timber is used for props in the coal and ore mines.

As mentioned above, the Ukrainian SSR also imports large quantities of Russian metal, most of it rolled and sheet steel. Scrap iron is imported from the Leningrad area in large quantities, and cast iron (with high phosphorus content) is brought from central Russia. From the republic of Georgia, the Ukrainian SSR imports (by sea) manganese ore, part of which is then re-exported to eastern Europe. Until recently, large quantities of pyrites came from the Ural area, but lately western Ukrainian natural sulphur has been used instead. Russian phosphates are imported in quantity from the Cola peninsula to as far as Odessa, although competitive sources of such phosphates are available in North Africa and could come by sea. Bauxites from the Cola peninsula for the Dnieper Aluminum Works have been gradually replaced by the competitive Greek, Hungarian, and Yugoslav bauxites.

The Ukrainian SSR must still rely on heavy imports of refined copper, aluminum, chromium, nickel, and lead from the Ural area and copper from Kazakhstan and Armenia because of the shortages of local raw materials and electric power to process imported ores. Some electric power is imported from Russia—from the Tsimliansk (Don) and Volgograd (Volga) hydroelectric power stations. Because of the shortage of electricity, the Ukrainian SSR must also import synthetic rubber and other chemical fibers (from Russia and the Transcaucasus). Zinc, lead, and tungsten are brought in quantity from the neighboring North Caucasian region. In 1957, the Ukrainian SSR took 30 per cent of this region's zinc output.

At the present time, the Ukrainian SSR meets one-third of its needs in crude oil from its own oil fields; the remaining two-thirds are imported. Most of the crude oil comes from the Upper Volga region, which in 1961 shipped 33.9 per cent of its total output to the Ukrainian SSR. Much of it, however, was for re-export. The North Caucasus region shipped 9.3 per cent of its crude output in that year. The Ukrainian SSR cannot use much crude oil, however, because it has only three medium-size refineries (at Odessa, Kherson, and Berdiansk), and two small primary plants in Western Ukraine. Most of the refined petroleum products consumed in Ukraine are imported from the North Caucasus. One pipeline goes from Baku to Batumi, and from there oil is shipped by sea to the Ukrainian SSR; another pipeline goes from Grozny to Donbas via Kuban. At present, the Ukrainian SSR imports some 50–55 per cent of the total oil production of the North Caucasus (production costs of Russian and Caucasian oils are twice as high as those of Arabian and Iranian oils).

The Ukrainian SSR also imports large quantities of machinery and equipment from Russia—lathes and machine tools, ball bearings, cars, trucks, tractors, and many kinds of motors. Some machinery is also imported from the Belorussian SSR. In 1961, for example, the Ukrainian SSR imported from the USSR 290,000 electric motors, 5,000 generators, 30,000 tractors, 45,000 trucks, and 15,800 tons of metallurgical equipment. However, some of this machinery was destined for re-export to eastern Europe and the Near East.

The Ukrainian SSR continues to depend heavily on imports of Russian textiles. In 1963, 60 per cent of its consumption of cotton fabrics alone had

to be imported from the RSFSR. Lately, however, Ukraine has been importing textiles from the Belorussian SSR, the Baltic republics, and eastern Europe as well. Some raw cotton for its own textile industry is imported from Central Asia, but most of it comes from the Near East. From the RSFSR, the Ukrainian SSR also imports large quantities of synthetic (chemical fibers) yarn.

Large amounts of consumer goods, such as electronic equipment, musical instruments, and clothing are imported from the Baltic republics, the Belorussian SSR, and western Russia. In foodstuffs, the Ukrainian SSR imports fish from Russia, tea and citrus fruits from the Georgian SSR, cheese from the Baltic republics, and wine from Moldavia, Georgia, and Armenia.

*V. Holubnychy*

## UKRAINIAN SSR's PARTICIPATION IN THE USSR's FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The Ukrainian SSR's share in the Soviet Union's foreign trade increased considerably after 1950, mainly because of the industrialization of the neighboring East European socialist countries, Soviet long-term credits to the developing countries of the Middle East, Asia, and Africa, and the slow but steady growth of East-West trade in the Mediterranean Basin and western Europe. For the earlier periods statistics are unavailable, but in 1958 the Ukrainian SSR's share in the total volume of the USSR foreign trade was 20.4 per cent (equivalent to 1,587.6 million rubles in current prices, 1961 denomination at the Soviet frontier). By 1962, this share had increased to 24.9 per cent (3,034.3 million rubles). It then decreased to 23.3 per cent (though volume increased to 3,233.5 million rubles) in 1964, and rose again to 25.0 per cent (3,769 million rubles) in 1966.

In 1966, the Ukrainian SSR exported its goods to 88 countries—25 in Europe, 31 in Asia, 22 in Africa, 8 in America, and 2 in Oceania. Of the total Ukrainian exports, 77 per cent were destined for the socialist countries, 13 per cent for the capitalist countries, and 10 per cent for the developing nations.

Compared with its share in the USSR's economy, the Ukrainian SSR's foreign trade is relatively well developed. However, in terms of its economic capacity, the Ukrainian SSR's foreign trade outside of the USSR is still underdeveloped. During the 1960's, Ukraine was exporting outside the USSR slightly more than one-fourth of its output of iron and manganese ores; some 10–15 per cent of its grain crop; about 10 per cent of its iron and steel products; 6 per cent of the output of coal and chemicals, and approximately 5 per cent of the output of machinery. The nomenclature of exported commodities expanded from about 500 in 1958 to more than 1,000 in 1967. In recent years, the Ukrainian SSR's foreign trade has been notably growing faster than the entire economy; between 1958 and 1965 it increased 2.13 times, while the national income increased only 1.58 times. (The Ukrainian SSR's trade also grew faster than that of the entire USSR whose trade increased only 1.88 times in the same period.)

FIGURE 516. ELEVATED OIL PIPE LINE OVER THE LIATORYTSIA RIVER IN CARPATHO-UKRAINE

The Ukrainian SSR's balance of trade outside the USSR has been positive, as can be seen from Table IV. These data were probably calculated in terms of domestic prices. However, all foreign

TABLE IV

STRUCTURE OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR'S VOLUME OF FOREIGN TRADE
(in percentages)

| | 1958 | 1960 | 1961 | 1962 | 1963 | 1964 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Volume | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Export | 68.1 | 63.3 | 62.1 | 66.6 | 62.7 | 57.1 | 58.5 |
| Import | 31.9 | 36.7 | 37.9 | 33.4 | 37.3 | 42.9 | 41.5 |

currency earnings from these trade surpluses are syphoned off into the Moscow treasury and are not added to the Ukrainian SSR's income and wealth. Thus foreign trade is yet another vehicle of Moscow's exploitation of Ukraine.

The great importance of Ukraine in the total trade of the USSR can also be seen from the following facts: Of the total USSR exports of raw materials and the final products of the iron and steel metallurgy, from 60 to 100 per cent originated in Ukraine; similarly, Ukraine's share in the USSR exports of coal, natural gas, electric power, superphosphate, sulphur, and sugar amounted to some 70 to 95 per cent, and that of machinery and equipment to about 20 per cent. The relative structure of the Ukrainian SSR's exports in 1966, and for comparison, that of the USSR as a whole in 1965, were as follows (in percentages):

| | *Ukraine* | *USSR* |
|---|---|---|
| Minerals and metals | 66.0 | 61.3 |
| Machinery and equipment | 17.2 | 20.0 |
| Foodstuffs | 7.0 | 5.3 |
| Agricultural raw material | 4.9 | 4.8 |
| Chemicals | 4.0 | 2.5 |
| Construction materials | 0.5 | 5.9 |
| Industrial consumer goods | 0.4 | 0.2 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Much less is known about the Ukrainian SSR's imports, except that machinery and equipment predominated. During 1959–64 alone, the Ukrainian SSR imported complete equipment and installations for 300 industrial enterprises, most of it from the socialist countries. Of relative importance also are imports of raw materials (cotton, wool) for Ukrainian light industries, non-ferrous metals, chemicals, fibers, and ready-made consumer goods (clothing, footwear).

**Trade with Eastern Europe**

Some 70 per cent of the volume of the Ukrainian SSR's foreign trade is with the socialist countries of eastern Europe. The industrialization of these countries in the late 1940's and 1950's, accomplished with more than 5 billion rubles of Soviet long-term loans, was specifically designed to achieve economic integration between these countries and the Soviet Union, mainly the Ukrainian SSR. The iron and steel industry of eastern Europe almost completely lacks local ore and hard coal resources; these inputs, as well as scrap metal, must be imported from Ukraine. Competitive sources of iron ore in eastern Europe are found only in hard-currency Sweden or faraway India, while hard coals are not at all available so close. The Ukrainian SSR supplies some 75–85 per cent of all metallurgical inputs consumed in eastern Europe. It also supplies the balance of pig iron and rolled steel consumed by eastern European machine-building industries, as well as electric power and natural gas. The Ukrainian SSR is also the supplier of the balance of eastern Europe's consumption of grain, meat, and fats. It also exports to eastern Europe heavy metallurgical equipment, heavy mining, transport, and construction machinery, civilian and military airplanes, tanks and other weapons. In turn, eastern Europe is the source of some 75 per cent of Ukraine's imports from outside the USSR. One-third of these imports consists of machinery and equipment, and one-third of consumer goods, pharma-

ceuticals, furniture, and the like. The remaining third is comprised of chemicals, non-ferrous metals, and sundry raw materials and producer goods. Of the greatest importance to the Ukrainian SSR at the present time is trade with Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, and Hungary, in that order.

The Ukrainian SSR's balance of trade with the socialist countries is positive, as can be seen from the following data (in percentages):

| | *1958* | *1960* | *1961* | *1962* | *1963* | *1964* | *1965* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Export | 68.2 | 64.3 | 60.9 | 67.3 | 64.0 | 57.9 | 58.3 |
| Import | 31.8 | 35.7 | 39.1 | 32.7 | 36.0 | 42.1 | 41.7 |
| Vol. | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Export surpluses have been financed mainly by Soviet loans to eastern Europe. Since currencies do not cross frontiers in the Soviet-east European trade, there are no foreign currency earnings from export surpluses. Ukrainian exporters are paid in Soviet rubles by the USSR Foreign Trade Ministry, while the east European countries assume the obligation to balance out their deficits by the delivery of more goods in the future.

In 1965, the Ukrainian SSR's share in the Soviet Union's total exports of some commodities to the east European countries was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Electric power | 100.0% |
| Natural gas | 100.0 |
| Hard coal | 100.0 |
| Coke | 100.0 |
| Iron ore | 100.0 |
| Manganese ore | 74.5 |
| Rolled steel | 73.4 |
| Steel pipe | 33.3 |

**Ukrainian-Czechoslovak trade.** Czechoslovakia imports from the Ukrainian SSR most of such basic industrial raw materials as iron ore, manganese ore, hard and coking coal, non-metallic minerals, natural gas, and from among the semi-fabricates pig iron and rolled steel products. Agricultural imports from the Ukrainian SSR consist mainly of wheat, meat, and butter. Not less than one-sixth of all industrial machines and equipment imported by Czechoslovakia from the USSR (in 1962) was manufactured in Ukraine. In recent years, the Ukrainian SSR has participated heavily in the construction of the Eastern Slovak Metallurgical Combine, while Czechoslovakia has extended long-term credits to the USSR to develop Ukrainian iron ore deposits in order to make it possible to increase by several million tons the shipments of iron ore to the Eastern Slovak Combine. By 1963, imports of iron ore from the Ukrainian SSR made up more than 70 per cent of the total imports of ore by Czechoslovakia, and imports of Ukrainian hard coals and pig iron comprised as much again. By 1967, a gas pipeline for exporting Ukrainian natural gas from the Dashava field in Western Ukraine to the cities of Bratislava, Ostrava, Brno, and Prague in Czechoslovakia was almost finished. The annual capacity of this pipeline is said to be four billion cubic meters.

In its turn, Czechoslovakia exported to the Ukrainian SSR metal-working machines, machine tools, pressing dies, electrical equipment, equipment for rolling mills and for the chemical, food-processing, cement, and paper manufacturing industries, railway rolling stock, lift-trucks, buses, cars, trolleys, various weapons, and pipes, cables, nickel, and chemical products. Of the total machinery and equipment that the Ukrainian SSR imported from the socialist countries, one-fourth came from Czechoslovakia (in 1965). Ukraine also imported Czechoslovak shoes, clothing, underwear, furniture, beer, and pharmaceutical products.

**Ukrainian-East German trade.** The main items exported by the Ukrainian SSR to East Germany are pig iron, rolled ferrous metals, steel pipes, ferroalloys, aluminum, graphite, glass, a few categories of machine tools, electrical equipment, some chemical raw materials, grain, hides, pork, hemp, and primarily iron ore from the Kryvyi Rih basin. The Ukrainian iron ore exports satisfy more than one-half of East Germany's annual

consumption of iron ore. Ukrainian hard and coking coals are also important for the East German economy. This dependence on imports of Ukrainian metallurgical inputs increased even more with the completion by East Germany of its new iron and steel combine "Ost." The Ukrainian SSR participated in the construction by its shipments of heavy metallurgical equipment.

In its turn East Germany has been supplying one-third of all Ukrainian imports of machines and equipment. These imports include such items as precision tools and instruments, electric locomotives, mining equipment, equipment used in ore enrichment processes, equipment for meat processing, sugar refining, and dairy industries, several complete chemical plants, diesel motors, trolley cars, mobile electric power stations, cranes, sea-going and river ships, optical instruments, chemicals, bismuth, and clothes, textile fabrics, shoes, furniture, and cosmetics.

**Ukrainian-Polish trade.** The importance of Ukrainian exports in the Polish economy can be seen, for example, from the fact that in the year 1959 alone high grade iron ore from Kryvyi Rih amounted to 70 per cent of the total Polish consumption of this material. Furthermore, Ukrainian manganese ore represented 80 per cent of Poland's consumption in that year. The Ukrainian SSR contributed rolling mills and other heavy equipment, forges and pressing dies to the construction of the Nova Huta Iron and Steel Combine. At the present time, the Ukrainian SSR is participating through its exports in the construction of a new high-quality steel mill in Poland. The Ukrainian SSR has also been exporting to Poland tractors and agricultural machinery, rolled steel, ferroalloys, coal mining equipment, coke, refractory materials, cable, bearings, computers, communications equipment, air pumps and compressors, and wheat. The construction of the Dashava–Silesia gas pipeline was completed recently, and in 1965 Poland imported 800 million cu. m. of Ukrainian gas.

Polish exports to the Ukrainian SSR over the same period consisted of such items as metal-cutting lathes, electrical equipment, cable cars, dump cars, ships, excavators, pumps, pipes, rolled steel, insulators, zinc, caustic and calcinated soda, cement, textiles, clothes, meat products, and furniture. In recent years Poland has exported to the Ukrainian SSR complete sets of equipment for sugar refining, electro-technical, and instrument-making plants.

**Trade with other east European countries.** Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia import from 40 to 70 per cent of their required metallurgical raw materials (ores and coal) as well as iron and steel products from the Ukrainian SSR. They also import large quantities of Ukrainian machinery and equipment, such as complete heavy industrial installations, tractors, and buses, and such consumer durables as TV sets, cameras, and watches. In return Rumania exports to Ukraine oil drilling and oil refining equipment (exports of oil products have declined lately, but were important in the past), electrical transformers, zinc, and various consumer goods. From Hungary, the Ukrainian SSR imports lathes, cranes, laboratory and medical equipment, ball bearings, tires, and textiles. In recent years, the Ukrainian aluminum industry has begun to import increasing quantities of Hungarian bauxites, and to export back to Hungary aluminum ingots. Bulgaria and Yugoslavia export to the Ukrainian SSR considerable quantities of non-ferrous ores and metals (lead, zinc, copper), electrical machinery, and various consumer items (vegetables and wine). Trade with Albania remains undeveloped.

**Ukrainian SSR's economic integration with eastern Europe.** It is evident from the above discussion that since World War II the Ukrainian SSR has achieved a high degree of economic integration

with eastern Europe, especially in the iron and steel industry, coal and natural gas industries, and in the exchange of numerous specialized products of the engineering, chemical, and consumer goods industries. In addition, in 1962–5, an integrated electric power grid was established, linking the Ukrainian SSR, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and East Germany into one unified system. Its distribution center is in Prague, and Ukraine is a net exporter of electricity. Whatever integration there is between eastern Europe and the USSR involves mainly eastern Europe and the Ukrainian SSR.

Many aspects of the Ukrainian SSR's specialization in the economic integration of eastern Europe have been decided upon in the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon). However, the Ukrainian SSR was never allowed to participate in the work of the Comecon as an equal partner (it was not even consulted).

Among other important obstacles to further development of an efficient economic integration of the Ukrainian SSR with eastern Europe were the absence of a freely convertible currency to settle trade imbalances, underdeveloped credit facilities, and the unintegratable railroad systems. Ukrainian railroad tracks are wider than those of eastern Europe, and all freight must therefore be reloaded at the border. One wide-gauge railroad has been built recently from the Ukrainian SSR to Slovakia to carry ore and coal directly to the East Slovak Combine.

**Trade with Western Europe**

Since the late 1950's and during the 1960's some 15 to 17 per cent of all Ukrainian trade outside the USSR was with the countries of western Europe, and that trade has been gradually increasing. West Germany emerged as the largest customer for Ukraine's exports, followed by France and Italy. The Ukrainian SSR exported annually to West Germany about 270,000–500,000 tons of iron ore, 20,000–100,000 tons of manganese ore, 30,000–200,000 tons of pig iron, 180,000–220,000 tons of hard coal, 70,000–100,000 tons of grain, 20,000–60,000 tons of sugar, 20,000–35,000 tons of vegetable oil, and other foods. In return West Germany exported to the Ukrainian SSR various machine tools, steel structures, chemicals, and artificial fibers. In 1958–67 France imported from the Ukrainian SSR 1,300,000–2,000,000 tons of anthracite and coking coal a year, some 100,000 tons of manganese ore, and about 30,000 tons of wheat. In return France shipped machinery and equipment, metal products, chemicals, and cosmetics. Italy was also a large customer of the Ukrainian SSR, importing some 350,000–450,000 tons of anthracite a year, 200,000–250,000 tons of pig iron, 15,000–20,000 tons of manganese, and 50,000–100,000 tons of grain. The Ukrainian SSR imported from Italy various machines, chemicals, and some consumer goods. Belgium imported some 100,000–500,000 tons of anthracite and 20,000–30,000 tons of pig iron a year. The Netherlands took about 10,000 tons of pig iron and 100,000 tons of grain a year. Both countries exported mostly machinery and chemicals to the Ukrainian SSR. Outside the European Common Market, the largest customer was England. During the same period (1958–67), the Ukrainian SSR exported some 50,000–130,000 tons of manganese ore, 20,000–40,000 tons of pig iron, 30,000–60,000 tons of potash, and about 200,000 tons of wheat a year. In return England shipped machinery, chemicals, fibers, and textiles. Austria's imports from the Ukrainian SSR amounted to about 300,000–500,000 tons of iron ore a year, while her return exports were oil and metals. There is also trade with Finland and Sweden.

Despite probable comparative cost advantages (lower labor costs and cheap waterway transportation via the Mediter-

ranean Sea and the Danube), the Ukrainian SSR's trade with western Europe was still largely underdeveloped for political reasons, lack of convertible money, and a shortage of Western long-term credits. Between 1961 and 1965, for example, Ukrainian exports to eastern Europe increased by 8.0 per cent a year, while exports to western Europe went up by only 6.8 per cent a year. The future trends, however, point to the growing demand in western Europe for Ukrainian raw materials because of increasing shortages of high-grade iron ore, manganese, and hard coal throughout the Common Market region and metal semifabricates in England, Germany, Italy, and the Benelux countries. Beginning with 1972, West Germany and Italy will import large quantities of Ukrainian natural gas by pipelines from Austria. With sufficient exports and/or credits, the Ukrainian SSR could in its turn import significant quantities of west European producer and consumer goods.

**Trade with the Near East and Africa**

In order of importance, trade between the Ukrainian SSR and the Arab countries of the Near East and North Africa ranks only after trade with Europe. The reasons for this are the geographical proximity, the waterway transportation, and large special Soviet credits extended to Egypt and Syria. The Ukrainian SSR is exporting to this area industrial equipment, machine tools, trucks, tractors, construction machinery, airplanes, computers, pumps, cranes, and large quantities of steel products, grain, and sugar. In return the Ukrainian SSR receives cotton, wool, hides, and citrus fruits. There is also a lively trade with Greece, from which come considerable quantities of bauxites. Trade with tropical Africa is small but growing.

**Trade with Asia**

Prior to 1960, the Ukrainian SSR's exports to Communist China comprised from 15 to 20 per cent of all exports of the USSR to that country. Ukraine exported casting equipment, forges and presses, various machine tools for such new Chinese enterprises as the Anshan and Wuhan Steel Combines, Loyan Tractor Works, Chanchung Automobile Plant, and many others. In return, China exported to the Ukrainian SSR tin, tungsten, rice, soybeans, tea, tung oil, raw silk, and silk fabrics. After 1960, trade with Red China declined for political reasons. Japan has lately been importing considerable quantities of Ukrainian pig iron, anthracite, and potash in exchange for machinery and equipment, chemicals, and artificial fibers. In 1968 Japan surpassed the West European countries in her imports from the Ukrainian SSR. Japan took more than 2 million tons of Ukrainian coal, about 650,000 tons of pig iron, 275,000 tons of iron ore, and 240,000 tons of potash fertilizer.

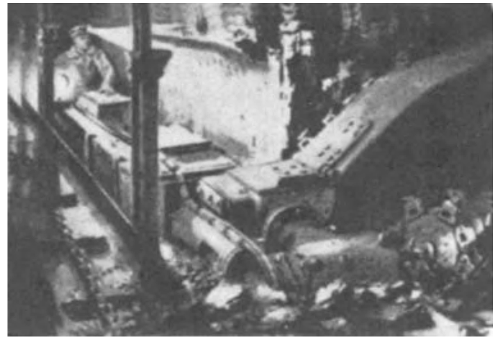

FIGURE 517. THE DONBAS-1 COAL COMBINE EXPORTED TO CHINA (1955)

From India, Pakistan, Indonesia, and Ceylon the Ukrainian SSR imports jute and jute products, tea, coffee, shellac, natural rubber, raw hides, and spices, while exports to these countries consist of ferrous metal products and various types of machinery and equipment (motor vehicles, construction machinery). The Ukrainian SSR participated rather heavily in the construction of the Bilai and Bokaro Steel Plants in India.

There is also a small volume of trade

with North Korea, Mongolia, and North Vietnam from which, in exchange for Ukrainian metal and machinery, come zinc, lead, molybdenum, wool, hides, peanut oil, and other goods.

**Ukrainian SSR's Trade with the Americas**

For a short while during the 1930's, the Ukrainian SSR imported substantial quantities of United States heavy machinery and equipment, including complete metal-working and machine-building plants. Such Ukrainian enterprises as the Azovstal Steel Mill and the Novo-Kramatorske Engineering Works, for example, were built with American equipment and with the aid of U.S. engineers. In return, the Ukrainian SSR exported to the United States significant quantities of manganese ore, of which there is acute shortage in the U.S., as well as some agricultural raw materials. Immediately after World War II, the Ukrainian SSR imported various U.S. goods totaling $192 million in UNRRA aid. Among other things, tractors and trucks were included. Turbines for the reconstructed Dnieper Hydroelectric Power Station were also imported from the U.S. after the war. During 1946–8, the U.S. imported about 250,000 tons of Ukrainian manganese ore each year. Later the U.S. curtailed the trade because of the "cold war," but in the mid-1960's the Ukrainian SSR began exporting to the United States another strategic product—titanium—used exclusively in the construction of spacecraft. Following the drought years in 1963–5, the Ukrainian SSR imported about 1,300,000 tons of American and Canadian wheat each year. In 1966–7 and again in 1970, about 1,000,000 tons of wheat were imported from Canada.

Only Cuba from among the other American countries has dealt with Ukraine, importing metal and machinery in recent years and paying with sugar, nickel concentrate, rum, and tobacco.

**Scientific and Technical Assistance to the Developing Nations**

Scientific and technical cooperation among the socialist countries has been taking the form of mutual exchange of technical information and to some extent of a joint effort directed toward specific projects. In this way, large quantities of new technological processes developed in the Ukrainian SSR have been shared with other socialist countries. Ukrainian enterprises have also trained large numbers of skilled workers from eastern Europe and Communist China in such fields as iron and steel production, mining, and machine-building. Many young engineers and scientists from these countries have attended Ukrainian higher educational establishments.

Technical assistance to the developing countries of Africa and Asia has generally involved direct participation of Ukrainian engineers and technicians in the construction and operation of plants and factories and other projects (such as the Aswan Dam in the United Arab Republic) built with Soviet financial aid. In addition, thousands of students from these countries have been educated in the Ukrainian SSR.

In 1966, the Ukrainian SSR was involved through technical assistance in the construction of some 375 enterprises and projects in 25 countries, with over 800 Ukrainian specialists working in them.

**Ukrainian SSR's Products at International Fairs and Exhibitions**

Approximately 30 per cent of all items sent each year by the Soviet Union to international fairs and exhibitions have been produced in the Ukrainian SSR. In 1961 alone, for example, Ukrainian industrial goods were exhibited at 76 fairs and exhibitions in 38 countries all over the world. However, only a few of these are marked "made in Ukraine," and even fewer are exhibited in separate Ukrainian displays. This discrimination is based on

the Soviet nationality policy which prefers that the world regard everything that comes from the USSR as "Russian."

TABLE V

UKRAINIAN SSR'S SHARE IN THE TOTAL WORLD OUTPUT (average per year in percentage)

| | 1938–40 | 1962–5 |
|---|---|---|
| Manganese ore | 24.9 | 27.2 |
| Iron ore | 12.7 | 14.4 |
| Pig iron | 9.4 | 11.0 |
| Hard coal | 6.3 | 8.9 |
| Steel | 6.3 | 8.2 |
| Sugar | 5.8 | 8.2 |
| Natural gas | — | 5.0 |
| Wheat | 6.5 | 4.0 |
| Hogs | 2.0 | 3.9 |
| Electric power | 2.3 | 2.8 |
| Cement | 1.4 | 2.7 |
| Total output of all industries (approx.) | 2.9 | 3.6 |
| Population | 1.8 | 1.4 |

## Foreign Tourism

Since 1955, foreign tourists have been permitted to enter the USSR on a commercial basis. The number of foreign tourists visiting the Ukrainian SSR has increased from 47,500 in 1959 to about 134,000 in 1966, about 70 per cent of them coming from other socialist countries and only 30 per cent from the West. Ukraine possesses many tourist attractions and fine resort areas in the Crimea and in the Carpathian mountains. Hotel facilities and other tourist services, however, have not been adequately developed. The number of Ukrainian tourists visiting foreign countries was about 10,000 in 1966. More than 80 per cent of them visited socialist countries.

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# 11. FINANCE

## HISTORY UNTIL 1917

Money appeared in Ukraine around the sixth century B.C.; these were coins of the Greek city colonies in the Crimea. Roman and later Byzantine silver coins are found in large treasure hoards. In the Kievan realm the principal currency was the Arabic silver *dirham*, although Volodymyr and several other princes minted small quantities of their own gold and silver coins. At the time of the disintegration of the Kievan realm, heavy silver bars called *hryvni* were in use, as well as skins of martens, weasels, and squirrel, called *kuny*. In the fourteenth century, minting of coins in Ukraine was resumed: in Galicia Polish kings put into circulation silver coins called *moneta Ruscie* and *moneta Lemburgensis*; in Kiev, Lithuanian princes minted their own silver. Later, Polish coins predominated, although various Czech, German, Venetian, Genoese, and Tatar moneys were also in use. Towards the end of the sixteenth and especially during the first half of the seventeenth centuries, serious inflation, brought about by the huge flow of gold and silver from Europe to the Orient (bullion brought by the Spaniards from Central America) hit Poland and Ukraine. The Kozak liberation wars also contributed to the inflation in Ukraine. Prices rose about 700 per cent in this period.

The finances of the Kozak Hetman state have yet to be studied thoroughly. It is known that there was an administra-

FIGURE 518. SILVER COINS OF VOLODYMYR THE GREAT WITH HIS PORTRAIT AND A TRIDENT, THE STATE SYMBOL

tive budget of revenue and expenditure. Peasants were taxed in money and in kind (about 10 per cent of the harvest), and property taxes were assessed on the town residents and merchants. Retailing of liquor was made a monopoly of the Hetman treasury in 1667. No Ukrainian money was minted, however. Polish money continued to be the chief currency in circulation for a very long time, even after Tsar Peter I introduced Russian money. The Ukrainian population refused to accept Russian money for quite some time. The Russian monetary system did not become established in Ukraine until the end of the eighteenth century when debased Russian copper coins drove all other (and more valuable) coins out of circulation. In 1769 Catherine II introduced the first paper money, the assignat. The Napoleonic War was financed by an inflation of assignats, and in 1843 they were withdrawn from circulation. Instead, silver rubles and paper credit notes were made legal tender. During the Crimean War, however, the cycle of inflation was repeated. It was not until the introduction of the gold standard in 1897 that the Russian empire acquired a stable currency.

The early banks were of a very rudimentary nature. First to extend its activities to Ukraine around the 1780's was the Imperial State Loan Bank for the Nobility, established in 1754 in St. Petersburg. It granted long-term credit to the landed aristocracy against their estates and serfs. In 1786 it was closed for mismanagement and replaced by the State Loan Bank. In Ukraine this bank helped the landlords to settle the steppe (Novorosiia). In 1797 a Bill Discount Office was attached to this bank, and the office opened branches in Odessa and Theodosia in 1806. This was the beginning of commercial banking in Ukraine under the auspices of the state. In 1817 the State Commercial Bank was founded, and opened its first branch in Odessa in 1819. Other branches were opened in Kiev (1839), Kharkiv (1843), and Poltava (1852). The first small private banks, connected with the Bank of Poland, began operating in Odessa around 1830. In private and joint-stock banking the Russian empire was lagging far behind western Europe. However, at least three large-scale joint-stock banks developed successfully in Ukraine: the Kiev Private Commercial Bank, the Odessa Merchants Bank, and the Odessa Discount Bank. In the western Ukrainian lands under Austria private Jewish international banking flourished, especially in the town of Brody (after 1779) and later in Lviv and Chernivtsi. The establishment of Rothschild's credit bureau in Vienna in 1855 stimulated private banking not only in Western Ukraine but also in Odessa and Berdychiv. James de Rothschild also visited St. Petersburg in the summer of 1856 and proposed to develop banking in Russia if the tsar eased the lot of the Jews. The tsar refused and the empire's banking remained backward for at least another thirty years.

The abolition of serfdom in 1861 opened the gates for the spread of capitalism. In 1865 the Commodity and Stock Exchange was founded in Kiev. Commodity exchanges in Odessa, Kremenchuk, and Kharkiv also began trading in securities and foreign exchange. In 1867 the first joint-stock banks appeared: the Kharkiv Trade Bank (bankrupt in 1895) and the Kiev Private Commercial Bank, the third and fourth such banks opened in the Russian empire.

In 1868 the Odessa Commercial Bank was established by Efrusi and Company. Even earlier, the Land Bank of Mutual Credit was founded in Kherson in 1864, and the Cooperative Credit Society in Odessa in 1862, the first such institutions in the empire. There were five private land mortgage banks based in Ukraine, and 418 mutual credit societies (1915). Some of the early private commercial banks went bankrupt, but others took their place. The year 1871 alone saw the establishment of the following new banks: Azov-Don Commercial Bank in Tahanrih; the Kiev Industrial Bank; the Yekaterynoslav and the Mykolaïv Commercial Banks; and the Kharkiv Joint-Stock Land Bank. In 1873 three new commercial banks were established in Berdychiv, Kherson, and Kerch-Yenikal. The Azov-Don Bank, with French and German capital participating (29 per cent), became the third largest private bank in the empire. It had 23 branches in Ukraine (out of 73 in the empire) and was closely connected with the iron and steel cartel Prodamet. It also controlled much of the Ukrainian sugar industry and grain exports.

Another big bank that was quite influential in the Ukrainian coal and steel industries, in the Black Sea shipbuilding, and in foreign trade was the Petersburg International Commercial Bank, established in 1869 by the German, French, and English banks (about 50 per cent of capital). Major machine-building industries in Ukraine were controlled first by the Northern Bank (entirely French-owned), and after its merger in 1910 with the Russian Asiatic Bank (French-English-Russian capital), by the latter. Approximately one half of the sugar industry was controlled by the Russian Bank for Foreign Trade, the Russian Bank for Trade and Industry, and the Warsaw Commercial Bank, all controlled by the Deutsche Bank. Under the existing imperial legislation both domestic and foreign banks could own stocks in the industries and could establish their own joint-stock companies. A sample of six iron works in Ukraine in 1910 revealed that from 43 to 82 per cent of their voting stocks were owned by commercial and investment banks. Needless to say, these banks also extended credits to their own industries.

A great deal of direct financing of Ukrainian industry came from foreign banks and investment houses abroad. Most important among them were: Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, Banque Internationale de Paris, Société Générale pour l'Industrie en Russie (Paris), Crédit Lyonnais, Société Générale de Belgique, Crédit Général à Liège, Nagelmäckers et fils (Liège), Banque Liègeoise, Banque Internationale de Bruxelles, Deutsche Bank, Bank für Handel und Industrie, and the Dresdener Bank. Of all direct foreign capital investment in the industries of the Russian empire, that in Ukraine accounted for more than 25 per cent. Of some 450 million gold rubles of the fixed assets of Ukrainian industry which were directly foreign owned in 1917, 50 per cent was French, 33 per cent Belgian, 10 per cent German and Austrian, 6 per cent British, and 1 per cent others. In the iron and steel industry, 90 per cent of the assets were foreign-owned; in coal mining, 63 per cent. The net rate of return on these assets was high, about 13 per cent. Withdrawals of profits were free and in gold.

Although part of the fixed and liquid assets of the Ukrainian industries was owned and controlled by the Russian banks and investment companies based in St. Petersburg and Moscow (for example, the Volga-Kama Bank), the Ukrainian industries were not integrated financially with those of the rest of the empire. The large financial structure of Ukraine's agriculture, however, was somewhat more integrated with Russia, mainly because foreign capital did not participate in it. The state-owned Peasants' Land Bank (established in 1883) and the State Bank of Nobility (established in 1885) serviced nearly 60 per

cent of the loans against approximately 45 per cent of the mortgaged acreage by 1912, the rest being handled by private mortgage banks, most of them local. Ukrainian credit cooperatives also played a significant role locally. By 1913, approximately 50 per cent of all peasant farms in Ukraine belonged to 2,477 credit co-ops. The co-ops succeeded in eradicating usury in the villages.

The State Bank of Russia, established in 1860, was gradually transformed into a central bank after the adoption of the gold standard in 1897. Its branches in Ukraine (within the 1913 boundaries) carried out approximately 13–15 per cent of the total clearing and commercial operations in 1913. It was the only bank of issue in the empire and the exchequer and keeper of the gold reserve. Its rediscount rates were usually higher than the rates of other European central banks: for example, between 1898 and 1913, its rates fluctuated between a minimum and maximum range of 4.5 and 7.3 per cent, whereas the rates of the Austro-Hungarian Bank were 3.5 and 6.0 per cent. Central bank policies were not sophisticated, and free gold movements and convertibility facilitated financial crises. In Ukraine these crises occurred quite often: 1868–9, 1875–6, 1878–9, 1881–2, 1894–5, 1899–1902, 1906–9.

Public finance in the Russian empire was disorganized and inefficient: the ancient poll tax was not abolished until 1885; the revenue-collecting powers of the government were weak; direct taxes yielded little. More than half of the total revenue was derived from the sale of alcohol and from the railways. The government received little from other economic activities of the country. On the other hand, the government budget bore the heavy cost of large military forces, numerous subsidies to industry, and a program of railway construction. The imperial treasury had an almost uninterrupted deficit. National debt increased from 5.8 billion rubles in 1895 to 8.8 billion in 1914; 48 per cent of the latter was held by foreigners (80 per cent of the foreign national debt was held in France, 14 per cent in England). In addition, some 422 million rubles of the municipal bonds were held abroad, a considerable proportion of them issued by the cities in Ukraine.

According to estimates of the Ukrainian Derzhplan, the revenue of the Russian government in Ukraine in 1913 (1925 boundaries) was as follows (in thousand rubles):

| | |
|---|---|
| Land and real estate taxes | 10,959 |
| Industrial tax | 22,619 |
| Interest and dividend tax | 4,904 |
| Excise taxes (sugar, tobacco, etc.) | 65,169 |
| Customs duties | 58,584 |
| Administrative fees | 38,634 |
| Post office, telegraph | 21,792 |
| Alcohol monopoly | 172,317 |
| Railways | 206,397 |
| Other government property | 29,004 |
| Peasants' redemption payments | 495 |
| Income of the Treasury Dept. | 13,402 |
| Miscellaneous revenues | 2,566 |
| Extraordinary resources | 2,195 |
| TOTAL | 649,037 |

The Russian government's expenditures in Ukraine were as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Ministry of the Imperial Court | 3,188 |
| Supreme state institutions | 1,520 |
| The Holy Synod of the Church | 7,854 |
| Ministry of Interior | 27,464 |
| Ministry of Foreign Affairs | 1,829 |
| Ministry of Education | 24,051 |
| Ministry of Justice | 14,415 |
| Ministry of Finance | 84,101 |
| Ministry of Trade and Industries | 7,521 |
| Ministry of Transport | 136,544 |
| Agricultural administration | 17,645 |
| War Ministry | 97,438 |
| Navy Ministry | 37,297 |
| State control | 2,049 |
| State credit system | 73,559 |
| Extraordinary expenses | 49,983 |
| TOTAL | 585,458 |

As was the case in other years, the imperial government short changed Ukraine out of 63,579,000 rubles collected but not returned. Ukraine's contribution to the total imperial budget (within the

1925 boundaries) was 21.3 per cent in 1913; her receipts from the budget amounted to 20.0 per cent.

In the western Ukrainian lands within the Austro-Hungarian empire the system of public finance was somewhat more efficient than in Russia. For a long time the predominant form of taxation was the assessed land tax based on the periodically reviewed average yields differentiated by regions. There was also a differentiated assessed real estate tax in the cities. In 1896, a personal income tax was imposed on businessmen and artisans, with a slightly progressive scale of differentiation. Although the Austrian taxes were quite heavy and particularly burdensome on the poor peasantry, they were more equitable than the taxes in the Russian empire. The state-owned Austro-Hungarian Bank had branches in several Ukrainian cities. Private banking, however, was not well developed in Western Ukraine. The following Ukrainian institutions appeared at the turn of the century: the savings establishment Vira (Faith) in Peremyshl, the Dnister Credit Union in Lviv, the Land Credit Union (renamed Tsentrobank in 1924 with headquarters in Lviv). In 1910, the Land Mortgage Bank, a general credit joint-stock company, was founded in Lviv. In 1935, a cooperative Prombank was formed. Under Poland, the western Ukrainian territories were served by the branches of the Bank of Poland, a state institution. The Banque de l'Union Parisienne and the German banks controlled most of the major industries and the municipal debt directly or through subsidiaries.

Freely convertible foreign exchange rates in 1913 were as follows: 1 ruble equaled 2.5395 Austrian crowns, 2.1601 German marks, 2.6668 French francs, 25.376 British pence, 0.5146 U.S. dollars.

Foreign exchange rates operative in Western Ukraine during the interwar period were as follows (1931, in U.S. dollars): one Polish zloty equaled $0.1122, one Rumanian leu equaled

FIGURE 519. POLISH AND LITHUANIAN COINS CIRCULATING IN UKRAINE DURING THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

$0.00598, one Czechoslovak crown equaled $0.02694. State control over parity was imposed during the depression. At the beginning of 1939, these state-controlled rates were as follows: one zloty equaled $0.1881, one leu equaled $0.007, one Hungarian pengo equaled $0.2912, one German Reichsmark equaled $0.401. One Polish zloty in 1939 was officially equal to 1.003 Soviet rubles.

## THE UKRAINIAN STATE, 1917–20

Following the proclamation of the Ukrainian National Republic, the Central Rada on December 19, 1917 [Vol. I, pp. 737 ff.] promulgated a law on the basis of which the first Ukrainian paper currency, the *karbovanets'*, was printed as a state credit note valued at 0.766656

grams of gold, or 0.991 of the tsarist gold ruble. Only 53 million worth of this currency was printed, and the population received it well. In the wake of the first Russo-Ukrainian war, the Central Rada on March 1, 1918 promulgated another law establishing a new unit, *hryvnia* (equal to 0.50 *karbovanets* and 0.383328 gram of gold). Paper *hryvni* were printed in Berlin on excellent paper; the Soviets could not forge them. The Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty between Ukraine and the Central powers fixed the exchange rates between the Ukrainian gold *karbovanets'* and the German gold mark and the Austrian gold crown at the 1913 foreign exchange level of the tsarist ruble, that is, 2.16 marks and 2.54 crowns for one *karbovanets'*. The Hetman decree of May 9, 1918, pronounced the *karbovanets'* to be the Ukrainian national currency. During the Hetman regime, 205 million worth of that currency was put in circulation. The Directory printed another 670 million of the *karbovantsi*. The Ukrainian state treasury, however, did not have any gold or foreign exchange. The only sources of revenue were the sugar, alcohol, and flour monopolies established in 1917. Whatever the government could collect of these commodities from the warehouses and producers it sold to the populace for the *karbovanets'* currency in order to maintain its value.

Other currency also circulated in Ukraine in this period, including various Russian paper moneys and those of the foreign armies. According to approximate estimates, in the fall of 1918 the volume of notes in circulation in Ukraine was approximately 10 billion rubles, and in the fall of 1919 about 30 billion rubles. Michael Tuhan-Baranovsky, the Ukrainian minister of finance and an eminent economist, urged the Ukrainian government to separate the *karbovanets'* from the Russian ruble and to prohibit the circulation of Russian money in Ukraine. This was done by a Directory decree of January 4, 1919, but it was already too late. However, the fact that the issue of the *karbovanets'* by the Ukrainian government was not recklessly inflationary (less than one billion out of the estimated total of some 30 billion of other currencies), it remained, apart from the tsarist gold coins and foreign moneys, the most acceptable paper currency, especially among the peasants. Its free market exchange rate in 1919 was one *karbovanets'* for four Soviet or other Russian paper rubles. The U.S. dollar sold in the free market in Odessa in 1919 for 45–50 Russian paper rubles.

Towards the end of 1919 inflation of various currencies reached vast proportions. During 1919–20, a number of towns in Volhynia and Galicia printed their own municipal currencies, mainly to make small-denomination exchange possible. Some guerilla groups also issued their own notes or put their stamps and seals on other currency. The first Soviet (Kharkiv) government of Ukraine did not print any money. It requested Lenin's permission to print the Ukrainian *karbovanets'* in Kiev, but the request was denied. The second Soviet government of Ukraine (1919) wanted to put a Soviet Ukrainian currency into circulation (RSFSR rubles in the Ukrainian language), but that, too, was refused by Moscow.

The Ukrainian government took over the Kiev branch of the State Bank of Russia and turned it into the new Ukrainian State Bank. The Ukrainian State Land Bank also was established, but neither had much time to develop its operations. Private banks were placed formally under the Ukrainian government control, but foreign capital investments were left untouched. On the other hand, the activities of the Ukrainian cooperative banking institutions soared to new heights. By September 1, 1919, there were more than 3,300 various credit and mutual saving societies in Ukraine, and as far back as 1915 they had begun to form credit unions at the county and *guberniya* levels, called soiuzbanks. The

largest of these was the Kiev Soiuzbank, whose balance in 1918 amounted to more than 34 million *karbovantsi*. From 1917 these credit unions accepted deposits from the member co-ops as well as from the public. They also began establishing their own industrial and trading enterprises. On October 20, 1917, the cooperative effort was crowned by the establishment of the Ukrainian National Cooperative Bank—Ukraïnbank. It was a joint-stock bank whose stockholders were cooperatives and credit unions only. It regulated the finances of all Ukrainian co-ops, received credits from the Ukrainian State Treasury and distributed them among the co-ops, accepted deposits, made investments, and extended both short- and long-term credits backed by its own bonds. Its balance sheet showed assets and liabilities of 50 million *karbovantsi* in 1917 and 286 million in 1919. The bank was abolished by the decree of the Soviet Ukrainian government on December 9, 1920, only to be reestablished under the same name, Ukraïnbank (because of its great popularity), on October 27, 1922.

## SOVIET FINANCES BEFORE THE 1930 REFORM

All private banking in Ukraine was proclaimed nationalized by the Soviets on January 22, 1919. Nationalization was without compensation. In addition, all tsarist and foreign debts were abrogated without compensation. During the period of war communism (1918–20), Russian Bolsheviks pursued utopian policies aimed at the abolition of money through hyperinflation and the substitution of labor-value certificates (*treds*) for money. As a result of indiscriminate printing of Soviet paper currency, prices in terms of gold in 1921 stood at a level 858 times higher than in 1918. All savings, except gold and silver, were practically wiped out, banks were closed down, and the entire economy plunged into a deep depression. In Ukraine the war communism system was put into operation only on the left bank of the Dnieper, and even there only intermittently. *Treds* were not used in Ukraine at all. During 1920, in Right-Bank Ukraine, Odessa, the Crimea, and Kuban, tsarist gold coins began to dislodge all paper moneys, but the population of these regions refused to accept the Soviet paper currency.

With the introduction of the New Economic Policy on March 16, 1921, the Soviets embarked on a series of monetary reforms. The State Bank of the RSFSR, with several branches in Ukraine, was reestablished on November 16, 1921. Its All-Ukrainian office was opened in Kharkiv. At the same time, free trade in gold, silver, and foreign currencies was legalized. In Ukraine, four private money and stock exchanges operated between 1922 and 1927 (in Kharkiv, Kiev, Odessa, and Berdychiv), and in 1926 an official exchange opened in Kharkiv to compete against them. The U.S. dollar rate at the Kharkiv private exchange was as follows (in rubles): 1922–6.00; 1923–2.08; 1924–1.95; 1925–1.95; 1926–2.00; 1927–2.25. The official rate from 1924 was 1.945 rubles per dollar. Following the legalization of the gold trade, the Soviets issued new paper currency, called *chervonets'*, which they said was 25 per cent backed by the precious metals in the State Bank. All other paper moneys were withdrawn from circulation and prohibited. On March 7, 1924, the *chervonets'* was proclaimed to be equal in value to 7.74 grams of gold and freely exchangeable into foreign currencies at the gold standard. Actually it was not convertible into gold, but because trade in gold was free and the *chervonets'* could be taken in and out of the country without restriction, the free market exchange rates between the *chervonets'* and the gold and foreign currencies gradually came into being. The new currency thus became acceptable and stabilized. Later the Soviet government proceeded to impose ever stricter con-

trols on market relations. On July 9, 1926, export of the *chervonets'* abroad was prohibited. On March 21, 1928, import was prohibited as well. Free trade in foreign currencies and gold was also suppressed and the stock exchanges were closed. The *chervonets'* became strictly a domestic currency. As far back as 1924, the State Treasury was authorized to issue paper money, called rubles, and various coins in small denominations. The *chervonets'* was made equal to 10 rubles and the USSR thus adopted a bi-paper standard.

In addition to the State Bank of the USSR, which was a central bank, there were a number of specialized banks during the NEP period. The all-union industrial and agricultural banks for long-term credit had approximately a dozen branches in Ukraine. Industrial investment credits were available for 8–12 per cent interest a year; peasants could obtain state credit for 15 per cent a year (1924). Credit for housing construction was made available by about a dozen municipal banks in Ukraine. At private stock exchanges, credit for financial operations was available at 5–6 per cent a month in 1926, and 4–4.5 per cent a month in 1927.

The Ukraïnbank was reestablished on October 27, 1922. Seventy-five per cent of its share capital of 120,000 gold rubles was owned by 4,920 cooperatives, the rest by the state. At the end of 1929 its balance amounted to 130 million rubles, of which 61 million were short-term loans. In addition to financing all kinds of consumer, producer, and housing cooperatives, the bank was engaged in financing foreign trade. It accepted deposits and paid from 9 to 15 per cent interest per year (1926), competing fiercely with other saving institutions. There was also competition among the branches of the bank (53 in 1925 and 32 in 1928). In 1930, during the credit reform, the Ukraïnbank was ordered to close down all of its branches and its short-term credit operations were taken over by the State Bank of the USSR. After 1930, the Ukraïnbank continued to grant long-term credits to co-ops, mainly for capital construction. In 1932 it was placed under the control of the Vsekobank in Moscow, and on August 17, 1936, was closed down completely.

A large network of agricultural credit cooperatives also existed in Ukraine under the NEP. At the next higher administrative level, however, these co-ops belonged to the state agricultural banks (sel'bank), of which there were eight in 1927. At the top of the system was the Ukrsil'bank (Ukrainian Peasant Bank established 1923), owned by various state and cooperative institutions. Like other Ukrainian banks, it lost its autonomy after the 1930 credit reform and fell under Moscow's centralized control.

The state finances of the Ukrainian SSR were under the strict control of the RSFSR regime from the very beginning. On January 2, 1919, the RSFSR government assumed the financing of the Soviet government of Ukraine by extending to it a loan in RSFSR currency. In March of the same year, the RSFSR Supreme Council of National Economy took over the financing of Ukrainian state industries, and even before the Soviet Union was officially formed, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee decreed on October 10, 1921, that all budgets of the republics and the budget law were to be placed under its exclusive jurisdiction. The 1924 Constitution of the USSR, and that of the Ukrainian SSR of 1925, instituted complete centralization of the budget law in the hands of the USSR government. During 1924–6, there was a prolonged debate about the concrete meaning of this constitutional prerogative, with the Ukrainian Communists, led by N. Skrypnyk, strongly but vainly defending the financial autonomy of Ukraine. The two legal documents that emerged from this debate (Regulations Concerning the Local Finance, of April 25, 1926, and the Regulations Concerning the Budget Prerogatives of the USSR

and the Union Republics, of May 25, 1927) established that all government budgets in the USSR are parts of the next higher territorial budget: local budgets are included in the budget of the republic and the republic's budget is included in the budget of the USSR as a whole. Furthermore, no lower-echelon government has the right to spend money without permission of the upper-echelon government; nor does it have the right, without permission from above, to establish its own taxes or other sources of revenue, or to borrow money from the banks. (The 1924 Constitution granted the republics the right to borrow at home and even abroad by issuing bonds, but only with the permission of the USSR government. As far as it is known, this right has never been practiced.) As a result of this legislation, each territory's budget is controlled by the central government in Moscow. However, strict centralized control over the republics' budgets was not firmly established until March 1929, when all current accounts of the budget were ordered to be located exclusively in the State Bank of the USSR.

FIGURE 520. DUTCH COINS (*taliary*) WHICH CIRCULATED IN UKRAINE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Taxation under the NEP was not very different in nature from that of the pre-revolution regime. Direct taxes yielded less than 20 per cent of all revenue, although a new graduated personal income tax was introduced. Among the indirect taxes, there were 12 types of excise tax, an industrial turnover tax, three taxes on profits, and a small corporate income tax. Excise taxes yielded most of the revenue. The rural population paid per capita about three times less than the urban population, although on the basis of income per unit this difference would be smaller. But there is no doubt that, under the NEP, agriculture did not finance industry; it probably received more from the state than it gave back to it. On the other hand, the Ukrainian peasantry was taxed more heavily than the peasants elsewhere in the USSR.

## THE PRESENT FINANCIAL SYSTEM

The present system of Soviet finance has emerged from the series of fiscal and credit reforms initiated in 1930–2. The NEP was abandoned in 1929, and a strong shift to the left was felt in the entire economy in 1930–1. The situation stabilized around 1934 and the Stalinist economic system emerged, combining some elements of both the NEP and the war communism. The shift to the left consisted of attempts to abolish credit altogether and to finance enterprises di-

rectly by grants from the state budget. Classical Marxism assumed that money and monetary relations would disappear under socialism because abundant production would do away with scarcities and value. Obviously these were not the conditions prevailing in the USSR during the first Five-Year Plan, and the leftist reforms were as utopian as those of the war communism period. Money had to be retained because (*a*) the remuneration of labor had to be in money to secure the consumers' freedom of choice and the incentives for efficiency improvements; (*b*) the cost of substitutes could not be compared without money; (*c*) prices that had to deviate from direct costs could not be calculated without money; and (*d*) the plans in kind alone could not be balanced. Thus money was incorporated into the Soviet economy, but under the system of centralized planning that emerged it was not the usual monetary mechanism, not even that of the largely decentralized system of the NEP.

The monetary and credit system resulting from the 1930–2 reforms is characterized by the fact that it is not an autonomously functioning mechanism. Most of what appears on the surface to be monetary action is actually an exercise of the administrative functions and policies formulated in the centralized planning structure. Financial planning is a derivative of the basic planning of material balances in kind. All principal adjustments needed to establish and maintain various equilibria in the economy are made by the planning and not the monetary authorities. Ownership of money in the Soviet Union does not indicate an absolute command over the resources. The individual with money can acquire only consumer goods and property for personal use, and that for the most part from the supply structured and quantitatively determined by the state. In the socialized sectors of the economy, money may be used only in accordance with the plan. Credit gives command over the resources only if acquisition of the latter is foreseen in the plan. Moreover, a very important consequence of the 1930–2 reforms is the centralization of all credit in the State Bank of the USSR. The so-called commercial credit was completely abolished. That means that individual enterprises cannot extend credit to each other outside the bank. Also, since the reform, monetary accounts of all enterprises are kept in the State Bank which checks constantly for deviations from the physical and real flows of goods and services as foreseen in the plans. Money thus performs the important signal function of mirroring disequilibria and bottlenecks. Money also helps to distribute the national income, but resource allocation is done through the plans.

Payments flow through the State Bank in both cash and non-cash. Cash (currency) is used for all payments between the government and its enterprises on the one hand and the population on the other. Practically all consumer expenditures are made in cash since personal checks do not exist. Conversely, almost all payments among enterprises, organizations, and government agencies do not involve currency, but are accomplished through transfers on the books within the bank on the basis of invoices and acceptance documents. The few checks that are involved in these non-cash operations amount only to a small fraction of the total volume of non-cash transactions.

In the institutional sense, the present financial system of the Ukrainian SSR consists of (1) money, (2) banks and credit, (3) state budget and its fiscal devices, (4) business finance of the enterprises, and (5) insurance.

### The Soviet Ruble

Under the present system, there are two kinds of paper currency in circulation: notes of the State Bank of the USSR in denominations of 10, 25, 50, and 100 rubles, and state treasury notes

of 1, 3, and 5 rubles. There are also coins for small change. The Ukrainian term *karbovanets'* is imprinted on all Soviet paper currency, as are the terms in the languages of all other Union Republics. The State Bank alone issues currency because there is no state treasury as a separate institution in the USSR (the budget is prepared by the Ministry of Finance). There is a difference, however, between the bank and the treasury notes. The bank notes are backed up to 25 per cent by gold and other precious metals, according to law, whereas the treasury notes are not (since 1938). In practice this means that for the issue of bank notes in large denominations the State Bank must possess the 25 per cent bullion reserve, whereas the small-denomination treasury notes can be printed more liberally. It is known, however, that at least during 1933–5 the bank note issue was covered with bullion reserves of less than 25 per cent. But, since 1937, no statistics have been published on the amount of currency in circulation or the official bullion reserves.

The issuing of currency by the State Bank is undertaken as a result of the monthly directives of the USSR Council of Ministers. Such a directive is drawn up separately for each Union Republic in response to the requests of the republic's Council of Ministers. On the basis of the directive the Board of the State Bank in Moscow issues permits to the Ukrainian SSR's office of the State Bank in Kiev, which transfers currency from the reserve funds into the circulation accounts in amounts more or less equal to those requested two days earlier by the local branches of the Bank located in different cities of the Ukrainian SSR. The USSR emission permit for the Union Republic is valid for only three days; for the branches of the Bank for only two days. All unused surpluses are then withdrawn into the reserves and the cycle of requests and permits begins again. All Soviet currency is printed and minted in Moscow and Leningrad. The issue and/or withdrawal of money makes up the end of the balance of the State Bank's Cash Plan.

The official goals of the monetary policy are twofold: (1) to minimize the hoarding of money in order to reduce unexpected upsurges in demand for goods and black market speculation; (2) to minimize unused balances of enterprises to prevent their non-plan operations. Usually the population keeps up to 20 per cent of the money in circulation outside the banks. But during the 1947 monetary reform, for example, people turned in only 70 per cent of the old money for exchange. The rest was probably hidden to conceal "unearned" sources of income.

Twice, however, between 1929 and 1932 and between 1941 and 1947, the supply of currency in circulation was excessive. In the first Five-Year-Plan period, the money supply grew twice as fast as the national income, according to official statistics. The second instance was the World War II period. Both periods illustrate the official monetary inflation policies. In the case of the first Five-Year-Plan period the monetary inflation was largely deliberate (deficit spending and subsidies). The war inflation was also due in part to deficit spending. It was curbed by the monetary reform of December 14, 1947, in which 10 old rubles were exchanged for one new ruble in the case of small cash holdings of up to 3,000 old rubles. Holdings of private savings accounts and holdings of the institutions were exchanged at much more favorable rates (from 1:1 to 3:1). The reform was obviously designed against the "speculators," that is, mostly the peasantry. The 1950 and the 1961 ruble reforms were prompted mainly by external (foreign) monetary relations.

The ruble is a non-convertible currency intended for internal use only. It does not circulate abroad, and can be

taken neither into nor out of the USSR in any significant amounts. Foreign currencies and gold coins are not allowed to circulate in the USSR. (They are obtainable in the black markets, but such operations are illegal and severely punishable.) All foreign monetary relations are controlled by the State Bank of the USSR and the Foreign Trade Bank. There are also four Soviet-owned banks abroad. Almost all Soviet foreign trade is bilateral, and the policy is to keep it balanced. Trade with eastern Europe and the developing countries is often financed by Soviet long-term credits, in which case the rubles still stay within the USSR. However, Soviet trade with the West often results in deficits (imports exceed exports). Since the USSR does not enjoy any large western credits, it exports gold to pay for surplus imports. All western "hard" currencies are convertible into gold, and the Soviet Union recognizes this principle by computing the exchange rates between the ruble and foreign currencies on the basis of the latter's "gold content" (reciprocal

TABLE I

OFFICIAL GOLD CONTENT OF ONE RUBLE
(Reciprocal of the ruble price of one gram of gold)

| Year | Grams |
|---|---|
| 1697 | 4.27 |
| 1729 | 1.74286 |
| 1764 | 1.1988 |
| 1800 | 1.22 |
| 1850 | 1.22 |
| 1897 | 0.7736256 |
| 1913 | 0.774234 |
| 1924 | 0.774234 |
| 1936 | 0.1765 |
| 1937 | 0.167674 |
| 1950 | 0.222168 |
| 1961 | 0.987412 |
| 1969 | 0.987412 |

of the price of one weight unit of gold). For the purpose of foreign trade economic calculations and other exchanges with the West (tourism, gift parcels, cultural exchanges, etc.), the ruble also has a "gold content" decreed by the Soviet government (see Table I). It is this "gold content" that relates and compares the domestic price of gold and the domestic purchasing power of the rubles with the price of gold in the world and the purchasing power of foreign currencies abroad.

Since the abolition of free exchanges during the NEP period, the Soviet policy has been to keep the "gold content" of the ruble inflated. Domestic gold prices have been below the gold price implicit in the ruble foreign exchange rates. That is, they are below the world price of gold in terms of the Soviet established parity

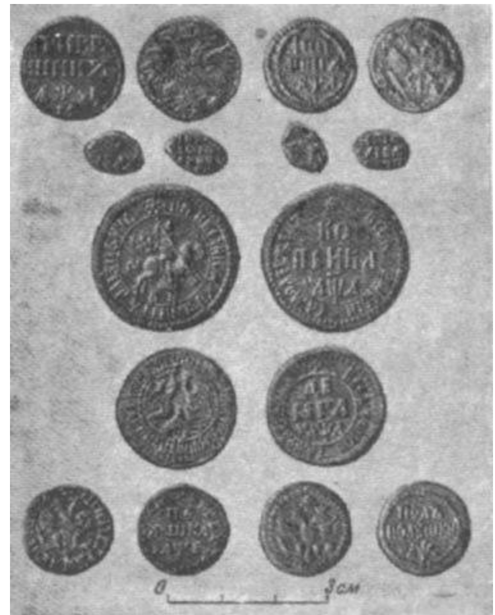

FIGURE 521. COINS CIRCULATING IN UKRAINE DURING THE EIGHTEENTH AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURIES

of the ruble. Accordingly, the official foreign exchange rates of the ruble, fixed by the USSR government (see Table II), have been consistently above the ruble's purchasing power within the USSR. The consequences of this policy are as follows: (1) export of goods from the USSR (and Ukraine) is less advan-

tageous than import; (2) loans to foreign countries are less advantageous than credit from them; (3) foreign economic relations are generally inequitable—foreign partners of the Soviet Union lose, the USSR gains; (4) the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR profit from foreign tourism as well as from gift parcels, money orders, inheritance bequests, etc.; (5) in the USSR, the owners of gold objects, foreign currency, and foreign-made goods prefer to sell them on the black market rather than to the state or at state prices.

TABLE II

OFFICIAL RUBLE–DOLLAR EXCHANGE RATES

| Years | Rubles Per U.S. $1.00 |
|---|---|
| 1897–1914 | 1.94 |
| 1922 | 1.96 |
| 1923 | 2.18 |
| 1924–30 | 1.945 |
| 1931–2 | 1.96 |
| 1933 | 1.255 |
| 1934–5 | 1.15 |
| 1936 | 1.546 |
| 1937–49 | 5.30 |
| 1950–60 | 4.00 |
| 1961– | 0.90 |

The purchasing power of gold abroad and that of the ruble at home change with time. Such changes affect the costs and incentives in the gold industry (especially in prospecting) and upset the balance of foreign trade operations in terms of the ruble balances. Hence, the "gold content" of the ruble, even though decreed by fiat, has not been stable. Economic depressions abroad force it down, inflations push it up, although the Soviet government resists the changes as long as it can by introducing various preferential and/or differential foreign exchange rates.

The great world depression of 1929–33 hit the USSR's foreign trade very hard. To attract foreign currency, tourism was permitted in 1929. For the tourists, as well as for the domestic owners of precious things (gold coins, watches, wedding rings, and even silver spoons), the so-called torgsin and lombard stores were established, where the exchange rates were very favorable for the customers and where anything could be obtained for foreign currency and gold. Today these stores are called Berizka (birch tree). In 1936 and 1937 the official gold content of the ruble was cut down drastically. Still, the ruble continued to be overvalued, and in 1936 tourists and foreign visitors were offered a preferential rate of 5.06 rubles per U.S. $1.00. During 1945–8, this preferential rate was raised to 8.00 rubles per $1.00, and between 1957–60 to 10.00 rubles. The ruble was especially overvalued after the 32 per cent increase of its gold content on March 1, 1950. Its domestic purchasing power was 45 per cent below the prewar level at that time. In the Odessa black market one US dollar sold for 20 rubles in 1955. But the overvaluation was designed to place the USSR in an advantageous position in its trade with the Soviet bloc countries. The severe overvaluation lasted until the bloc countries mounted pressure on the USSR for a more equitable relationship. Then, on November 15, 1960, a new monetary reform was put into effect. Ten old rubles were exchanged for one new ruble. The gold content of the new ruble was revised to 0.987412 gram, but in terms of the old ruble the new ruble was devalued 55.5 per cent. This devaluation balanced out the foreign accounts and an approximate equilibrium was attained between the external purchasing power of gold and the internal purchasing power of the ruble. This did not last long; in April, 1969, domestic prices of gold jewelry were raised 80 per cent and those of silver goods 50 per cent. In 1969, the black market rate of one US dollar was 12 rubles in Vienna and 25 in Lviv. In 1964, the International Bank for Economic Cooperation was established to handle the trade balances of the USSR

and the east European socialist countries. These balances are negotiated in rubles transferable within the Bank. But on the outside the ruble remains untransferable and inconvertible, even within the socialist bloc countries.

**Banking and Credit**

At the present time there are only two banks in the Ukrainian SSR: the State Bank of the USSR (Derzhbank) and the USSR State Bank for Capital Construction (Budbank). These two All-Union banks have their republic and *oblast* offices in the Ukrainian SSR. The USSR Bank for Foreign Trade has no branches in Ukraine, although its foreign operations finance all the foreign trade of the Ukrainian SSR.

The State Bank of the USSR is a monobank. The Ukrainian republic office of this bank has 25 *oblast* and 610 local branches. Its functions are as follows: (1) it issues currency; (2) it is the only source of all short-term and medium-term credit; (3) it is the all-encompassing clearing center; (4) it keeps the republic and local budget accounts and performs fiscal agency functions, including operations with state bonds and lotteries; (5) it keeps accounts of all enterprises and organizations and performs audits ("control by the ruble"); (6) it accepts savings deposits; and (7) it extends consumer and housing credit. The Bank does not publish information on the liabilities of its balance sheet. It is known, however, that its sources of credit funds are the following: (1) free balances of enterprises and organizations; (2) state budget surpluses; (3) funds of the state insurance system; (4) personal savings of individuals; (5) the Bank's own profits; and (6) increases in note circulation.

The Ukrainian SSR's branch of Derzhbank operates under the supervision of both the USSR State Bank's central office in Moscow and the Ukrainian SSR's Council of Ministers. Its main functions are as follows: (1) it supervises the *oblast* and local branches, and issues authorizations for specific actions (currency issue, transfer of unused lending authority, etc.); (2) it integrates loan requests coming from below and transmits them, with the Ukrainian SSR's Council of Ministers recommendations, to the head office in Moscow; (3) it undertakes territorial breakdowns (by *oblast*, *raion*, etc.) of the republic's credit and cash plans; (4) it calculates (by *oblasts*) the expected balances of income and expenditures of the populations; (5) it informs the central office and the republic government of any deviations from the national economic plans or any other discrepancies between the expected and the actual performance of the enterprises and organizations as reflected in their accounts; (6) it makes certain that uniform money and credit policies are followed by all enterprises and organizations. Local branches of the Derzhbank, which are essentially operating offices, consist of three departments: loans, cash, and settlements. They service all industrial and agricultural enterprises located in their areas. The operational rights of the local branches are strictly limited. For example, they have no right to redistribute unused lending funds among enterprises belonging to the different ministries. Any requests for loans exceeding 300,000 rubles, however urgent, must be sent by the *oblast* branches to the republic office for authorization. Permission for loans in excess of 500,000 rubles can be given only by Moscow.

The State Bank of the USSR operates in accordance with two operational documents, the cash plan and the credit plan. It also computes the expected balance of money incomes and expenditures of the population, and these three balance sheets are the main instruments of monetary planning. All three are calculated separately for each Union Republic, the first two for each quarter of

the year. The cash plan takes account of all cash deposits and withdrawals which flow through the Derzhbank. Its fulfillment is checked and corrected every five days. On the deposits side the main portions of the cash plan are: (1) retail sales receipts; (2) receipts from the railroads and other transportation media; (3) taxes; (4) rents and payments for municipal services; (5) receipts for the accounts of collective farms; (6) post office receipts; (7) personal savings deposits (in this order of significance). On the withdrawals side of the cash plan the principal positions are: (1) withdrawals for wages and salaries; (2) payments for agricultural products by the procurement agencies; (3) withdrawals from the accounts of collective farms;

FIGURE 522. TSARIST 500 RUBLES OF 1912

(4) withdrawals by post offices and other agencies (in that order of importance). The issue and the withdrawal of currency by the Derzhbank balances out the cash.

The Derzhbank's credit plan consists of sources and uses of credits. The sources of credit have been mentioned above. The uses, in the order of importance, are: (1) loans against inventories and for seasonal needs (mainly for additional wages); (2) loans for new equipment and methods; (3) loans for production of consumer goods from scrap and leftovers; (4) loans against drafts in the process of collection (risk loans). It is the cash balance that balances out the credit plan, for most loans are in cash rather than checks or drafts.

Soviet credit philosophy is unusually conservative. In accordance with the traditions of Russian socialism, the credit policy is oriented towards the prevention of business fluctuations at all cost. As a rule, the extension of credit is minimized, and the attitude towards the borrower is extremely distrustful. There are five principles on which every loan must be based; it must be (1) planned, that is, foreseen and authorized from above, (2) specific, as far as its uses are concerned, (3) secured, by goods, inventories, or at least the local Party officer's word, (4) repayable (the borrower must be solvent), and (5) with a fixed maturity. These principles are very similar to the credit philosophy of the developing countries that lack experience in banking. In the West these principles were discarded almost one hundred years ago. The Derzhbank's loans to enterprises are extended for the duration of from 20 days to 12 months (capital investment loans to six years). Since most of them are secured by inventories, loans follow closely the changes in the value of inventories: they contract when inventories decrease. Credit is not made easier to help the enterprises in temporary need. Interest has not been used as an important policy instrument since the credit reforms of 1930–2. Annual rates on most short-term loans have gone down from 8 per cent prior to 1931 to 6 per cent between 1931–6, 4 per cent between 1936–55, and 2 per cent since 1955. However, the rates show little differentiation with the purposes and maturity of the loans, and none at all as far as the financial condition of the borrower is concerned (on the contrary, a borrower in trouble is penalized: his rate is raised to 3 per cent). The interest serves mainly the purpose of raising revenue to cover the expenses of the USSR State Bank.

Statistics of the Derzhbank are very

sparse and incomplete not only for the Ukrainian SSR but also for the USSR as a whole. The following data for the Ukrainian SSR are illustrative (in million rubles):

| | *1956* | *1965* |
|---|---|---|
| Total deposits | 3,011.6 | 11,141.9 |
| Short-term credits outstanding | 2,611.3 | 10,104.8 |
| Long-term credits outstanding | ? | 941.9 |
| Volume of clearing | 38,200.0 | 93,400.0 |

The Derzhbank share in the total business turnover of the State Bank of the USSR amounts to only 15 per cent, a comparatively low figure.

The Derzhbank tries to keep track of the money incomes and expenditures of the Ukrainian SSR's population by computing a balance of such incomes and expenditures. The balance is used for analytical purposes in planning the production and distribution of consumer goods and services. Consumer credit extended by the Bank constitutes part of this balance which is under its direct control. To keep in equilibrium the remaining money flows, fiscal means are used and the attractions of savings accounts are advertized. However, interest on savings accounts (3 per cent) is not actively used to attract idle funds. Lotteries operated by the Ukrainian SSR seem to be more flexible as instruments of policy. Their prizes consist of houses, cars, appliances, watches, and the like, representing 50 per cent of the value of tickets sold.

The Soviet consumer credit, introduced at the end of the 1950's is also extremely conservative and 100 per cent guaranteed. Each loan is specific and cannot exceed the amount fixed by the bank. The borrower first applies to his employer who must guarantee the loan. If the loan is granted, the employer deducts instalments from the wages of the borrower and transmits them either to the bank or to the retail store. The volume of consumer credit outstanding is relatively small. The interest of 2 per cent a year is rather low.

Until 1963 the savings banks were separate institutions. Since 1963 they have been included in the system of the USSR State Bank and now operate as its branches. They are characterized by the statistics given below.

The USSR State Bank for Capital Construction (Budbank) has its central office in Kiev for the Ukrainian SSR and some 120 branches in various *oblasts* and cities of Ukraine. Its main functions are: (1) to disburse and transmit investment money from the state budget to construction projects; (2) to extend short-term credits to construction enterprises; (3) to extend long-term credits for communal housing construction and other public works of the municipalities; and (4) to extend long-term credits to cooperatives and individuals for housing construction. (Capital construction of the collective and state farms, investments in new technology, and the development of new products is credited mainly by the State Bank of the USSR.)

Statistics on the Budbank's operations are very sparse. It is known that in 1963 its turnover of funds in the Ukrainian SSR amounted to 3,940 million rubles, which was only 14 per cent of the USSR total. Of these, 2,322.3 million rubles represented the money from the state budget; the rest, 1,617.7 million, constituted investments of the bank's own funds and those of other enterprises. The Budbank's credits for housing coopera-

| | *1940* | *1950* | *1960* | *1968* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of savings banks | 7,242 | 6,744 | 11,540 | 13,440 |
| Number of accounts (in thousands) | 3,255 | 2,723 | 10,218 | 13,589 |
| Total savings (in million rubles) | 96.2 | 273.8 | 1,964.7 | 6,127.0 |
| Ukrainian SSR as percentage of the USSR savings | 13.3 | 14.7 | 18.0 | 18.9 |

tives in the Ukrainian SSR are as follows (in million rubles):

| *Year* | *Credits extended* | *Credits repaid* | *Credits outstanding at year's end* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1962 | 0.7 | – | 0.6 |
| 1964 | 29.5 | 1.5 | 43.7 |
| 1966 | 58.3 | 7.6 | 133.8 |
| 1968 | 61.2 | 15.9 | 225.3 |

The credits extended in the Ukrainian SSR in 1962–8 made up only 15 per cent of the total extended in the USSR as a whole. Outstanding credit of the Ukrainian SSR at the end of 1968 made up only 14.9 per cent of the USSR total. This was much below the share of Ukraine's population in the USSR.

The total banking credit extended to the economy of the Ukrainian SSR, outstanding at the end of the year, was as follows (in million rubles):

| | *1950* | *1960* | *1966* | *1967* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Short-term credits | 2,093.1 | 6,334.8 | 12,339.8 | 14,298.4 |
| Long-term credits | 201.9 | 611.4 | 1,564.8 | 1,968.0 |

These amounts were substantially smaller than the share of the Ukrainian economy in the USSR total would warrant.

**The State Budget of the USSR**

Since 1927 all government budgets in the USSR have been unified and centralized in the union budget of the USSR. The latest legislative act, which continues the principles of unification and centralization and on which the present budgetary system is based, is the USSR law of October 30, 1959, "On the Budgetary Prerogatives of the USSR and the Union Republics." This act is incorporated in the law of the Ukrainian SSR of June 30, 1960, "On the Budgetary Prerogatives of the Ukrainian SSR and of the Local Soviets of Workers' Deputies."

In the Soviet economic system, the Union budget assumes the key role in the distribution of national income. More than 50 per cent of the national income of the USSR (52.2 per cent in 1967) flows through the unified state budget. All major macroeconomic decisions concerning the distribution of the national income (for consumption, investment, defense, etc.) are embodied in the state budget. The unified budget also fulfills an important allocative function with regard to the distribution of investment and other funds among various industries and regions. Since the Union Republics do not have financial resources of their own and are completely dependent on the appropriations from the unified budget of the USSR, the division of the budget money among the republics is obviously one of the most decisive factors influencing their political, economic, social, and cultural development. Budgetary allocations reflect, therefore, Moscow's nationality policy and can be used in practice as a means of preferential treatment and discriminatory policies.

According to the existing laws, the unified state budget of the USSR is divided between the union budget and the republic budgets by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in Moscow at the end of each year. The union budget consists of revenues and expenditures which are under exclusive control of the federal authorities in Moscow. These revenues are collected in the republics. Federal expenditures are also made in the republics, but the republic governments do not exercise any power over the union budget. On the other hand, that portion

FIGURE 523. CREDIT NOTE FOR 1,000 *hryven'* OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE IN 1918

| | *1940* | *1950* | *1955* | *1960* | *1965* | *1966* | *1967* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Republics' budget in the budget of the USSR | 24.2 | 23.2 | 26.1 | 58.8 | 57.5 | 50.9 | 48.5 |

of the unified state budget of the USSR which is allotted to the republic budgets is placed under the control of the republic governments. The share of the expenditures of the combined fifteen republic state budgets in the total expenditures of the unified state budget of the USSR can be viewed as an approximate measure of the degree of the republics' autonomy within the USSR. This share was as shown above (in per cent).

During the period of N. Khrushchev's reforms, which had decentralized the administration of the Soviet economy and increased the rights and prerogatives of the Union Republics, their financial autonomy also increased. During the period of 1958–64, when the reforms were in effect, the average share of the republics' budget in the unified budget of the USSR was 57.4 per cent. With the abolition of decentralization and the restoration of the power of the union ministries in Moscow, that share declined in 1966 and 1967, although compared with the Stalinist period the republics' financial autonomy was still larger.

The following elements of the structure of expenditures from the state budget of each republic are determined by the Moscow authorities: financing of the economy, social and cultural expenditures, state administration expenses, wages and salaries, and subsidies. Details within these subdivisions are filled in by the republic governments themselves, but they cannot change the totals. The government of the Ukrainian SSR has the right to change only the budgets of the republic ministries and of the local governments (*oblast*, city, *raion*, village). All these changes must be within the total of the republic's state budget. It also has the right to redistribute profits and subsidies among collective and state farms, enterprises of local industries and of communal (municipal) economy, theaters, and other paid recreation facilities. All revenues and expenditures of the republic's budget pass through the USSR State Bank which checks them every fortnight for deviations from the plan. Only 25 per cent of the national income created in the Ukrainian SSR in 1966 flowed through the republic's budget. This figure may be taken as an approximate measure of the degree of direct control of the republic's government over its own economy. It can be estimated that an additional 30 per cent of the Ukrainian SSR's national income was redistributed through the union budget in Moscow.

Article 28 of the USSR budget law of October 30, 1959, permits redistribution of fiscal funds from one republic to another through the union budget, thus making it legal for one republic to gain and another to lose. According to estimates by V. K. Kuts, published by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, Ukraine's relations with the union budget in the three indicated years are shown in Table III (in million rubles).

Thus, through the union budget, the Ukrainian SSR was losing 14.2 per cent of its national income over these three years.

TABLE III

| Year | Ukrainian SSR's contribution to the union budget | Ukrainian SSR's receipts from the union budget | Difference (Ukrainian SSR's loss) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1959 | 4,809.1 | 922.4 | 3,886.7 |
| 1960 | 5,288.8 | 1,113.0 | 4,175.8 |
| 1961 | 4,916.8 | 1,252.0 | 3,664.8 |

TABLE IV

| Year | Ukrainian SSR's budget (in million rubles) | Ukrainian SSR's share in the combined budget of 15 republics (per cent) | Share of the Ukrainian SSR budget in the unified budget of the USSR (per cent) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1934 | 224.3 | 18.6 | 4.6 |
| 1940 | 783.1 | 18.5 | 4.5 |
| 1950 | 1,755.1 | 18.3 | 4.2 |
| 1955 | 3,057.2 | 21.6 | 5.6 |
| 1956 | 3,852.7 | 21.9 | 6.8 |
| 1957 | 5,305.2 | 18.5 | 8.7 |
| 1958 | 6,141.3 | 18.0 | 9.5 |
| 1959 | 6,750.7 | 17.4 | 9.5 |
| 1960 | 7,530.5 | 17.5 | 10.3 |
| 1961 | 7,590.7 | 16.6 | 9.9 |
| 1962 | 8,067.2 | 16.8 | 9.8 |
| 1963 | 8,453.8 | 16.5 | 9.7 |
| 1964 | 8,927.6 | 16.7 | 9.7 |
| 1965 | 10,017.4 | 17.1 | 9.8 |
| 1966 | 10,060.9 | 16.6 | 9.4 |

The allocations from the unified state budget of the USSR into the republic state budget of the Ukrainian SSR for expenditures were also rather small as compared to Ukraine's resources, production, and population. This is reflected in the share of the Ukrainian SSR's budget in the total republic budget of the USSR (Table IV).

**State revenue.** The structure of sources of the state revenue collected in the Ukrainian SSR from 1956 to 1962 can be seen from Table V.

Thus 64.9 per cent of the total was collected from the population in the above period. The rest came from state and cooperative enterprises. The average per capita tax burden amounted to one-third of the income (comparatively in the US—less than one-quarter). Approximately 17–20 per cent of the taxes collected from the population came back in the form of free education, medical services, pensions, and other welfare payments. (Not included in the above sources of revenue were net incomes from transport and foreign trade tariffs and duties, for which statistics are not available. All of these revenues go into the union budget.)

Statistics on the sources of state revenue for the later period are incomplete. Generally, however, taxes on the population have declined slightly since 1962, and welfare payments have risen slightly. The share of state and cooperative establishments in the total collection of revenue has increased slightly.

TABLE V

| | Percentage |
|---|---|
| Turnover tax | 47.3 |
| Deductions from profits of state enterprises | 26.8 |
| Personal income tax | 6.5 |
| Social insurance tax | 6.0 |
| Income tax of collective farms | 2.5 |
| Income tax of cooperatives | 2.4 |
| Increment of deposits in saving banks | 1.9 |
| Government fees and duties | 1.5 |
| State loans | 1.4 |
| Miscellaneous non-tax items | 1.2 |
| Tax on peasant households (agricultural tax) | 1.1 |
| Tax on childless citizens | 1.0 |
| Forest tariff | 0.2 |
| Rent income of municipalities | 0.1 |
| Deductions from property insurance premiums | 0.1 |
| TOTAL REVENUE | 100.0 |

The 1930 fiscal reform provided for the unification of some 54 different taxes and duties into a single turnover tax. Since that time the turnover tax has remained the principal source of state revenue. In nature it is similar to the

TABLE VI

| Year | Total turnover tax collected in the Ukrainian SSR | Allotted to the Ukrainian SSR budget | Withdrawn into the union budget |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1950 | 3,407.7 | 558.8 | 2,848.9 |
| 1955 | 3,980.8 | 768.3 | 3,212.5 |
| 1960 | 5,441.7 | 1,509.4 | 3,932.3 |
| 1965 | 6,789.4 | 2,272.8 | 4,516.6 |

excise tax: it is levied on a single product rather than on the volume of output or trade in general; also, it is a single-stage tax. Analytically, this tax is the equivalent of the state monopoly profit, included in the government-fixed price. It is levied mainly on consumer goods. According to the existing laws, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR designates each year a certain percentage of the total collection of this tax in the Ukrainian SSR to be channelled directly into the republic budget. This can be seen from Table VI (in million rubles).

In its turn, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR allots each year various percentages of the turnover tax to the local budgets of *oblasts* and cities.

Deductions from the profits of nationalized enterprises in the Ukrainian SSR transfer into the budget from 73.7 per cent (1964) to 69.7 per cent (1966) of the total profits. Following the post-1966 profit reform, this share is expected to decrease slightly. The income (profit) tax on the industrial cooperatives ranges from 20 to 50 per cent of the profits; that on the consumer co-ops amounts to a flat 25 per cent of the profits. The income tax on collective farms is a flat 12 per cent, if profitability is 15 per cent or more; if the profits are below 15 per cent, the tax is not levied. Taxable income of the collective farms includes not only net profits above 15 per cent but also the wage fund payable to members. The wage fund in excess of a minimum wage is taxed 8 per cent. State farms pay no income taxes. On the other hand, collective and state farms are still paid monopsonistically low prices by the state for their produce. Hence their tax burden is by no means light.

The personal income tax (see p. 994) has been neither heavy nor progressive. Between 1926 and 1943 there was a progressive inheritance tax, but it was abolished in 1943. The social insurance tax is paid in full by the employing enterprises. The tax on childless adults is quite high at 6 per cent of the annual earnings. An agricultural tax is imposed on the peasant household economy, assessed and differentiated according to regions. A minimum income of 60 rubles per month is tax exempt. Also tax exempt are rural teachers, agricultural specialists, and families of the armed forces personnel. The agricultural tax is also used as a punishment: it is raised 50 per cent for families who fail to work out the minimum number of labor days in their collective farms.

The revenue from state loans is derived through the sale of 3 per cent interest-bearing bonds. Until 1957 the purchase of bonds was obligatory, and most of them distributed interest on the lottery basis. The national debt outstanding at the end of 1957 in the Ukrainian

FIGURE 524. NOTE OF CASH FOR 50 *karbovantsi* OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE IN 1918

SSR amounted to approximately 5.2 billion rubles (in post-1961 denomination). Its repayment was postponed by USSR government decree until 1977–82, when in the course of the next twenty years it would be withdrawn by equal amounts.

Among the government fees and duties worth mentioning is the tax for legal expenses of courts. If the law suit involves a claim of 50–500 rubles, the tax is 2 per cent; above 500 rubles, it is 6 per cent. Notary fees are also differentiated.

**State expenditures.** Details about itemized expenditures from the unified state budget of the USSR in the Ukrainian SSR have never been made public. It can only be estimated that they are more or less proportionate to the structure of these expenditures in the USSR as a whole. That structure was as follows:

| | *1940* | *1967* |
|---|---|---|
| Financing of the national economy | 33.5% | 45.8% |
| Social and cultural expenses | 23.5 | 37.8 |
| Defense | 32.6 | 12.6 |
| Government administration | 3.9 | 1.3 |
| National debt | 1.6 | 0.2 |
| Miscellaneous expenses | 4.9 | 2.3 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 |

The financing of the national economy from the unified budget includes: capital investment loans and grants to new enterprises channelled through the Budbank; the working capital, capital repairs, operational expenses (such as the training of workers in factories and scientific research), and direct subsidies to enterprises working at a loss. It is a much larger class of expenditures than that which is usually reported in the statistics as "capital investments." (On the other hand, not all capital investments emanate from the state budget.)

Social and cultural expenses from the unified budget consist of financing education, health services and sports, and social security and welfare. In its turn, education covers a broad set of expenditures. It consists of the financing of schools of all levels; training of specialists; scientific research; libraries and museums; press, publishing, television, radio; and the arts. The construction of rural schools and hospitals, however, is financed or subsidized by the collective farms. Some museums are financed by private donations, but many sports facilities, kindergartens, and internal newsletters are financed by industrial enterprises.

Defense expenditures listed in the USSR budget mark only direct outlays of the Ministry of Defense on: (1) the maintenance and training of the armed forces (weapons, ammunition, and materiel); (2) the cost of room and board, pay, and allowances for military personnel; (3) financing of capital construction and repair of bases and defense facilities; and (4) financing of industrial enterprises (mostly repair shops) managed directly by the Ministry of Defense. Actual defense expenditures may be twice as high as those listed officially in the budget. Many of the actual outlays are included in the "financing of the national economy" category. Defense industries as such (aviation and shipbuilding, rocketry, artillery, and tanks, atomic and radio-electronic industries) are subordinated to ministries other than Defense. To be sure, the Ministry of Defense buys the final products of these industries and pays for them from its budget. However, such additional costs as investments in new plants and equipment, research and development subsidies, and the funding of new products are borne by production ministries rather than by the Ministry of Defense. Also, such outlays as those for civil defense, stockpiling, and foreign military aid are not a part of the Ministry of Defense budget. Likewise, defense-oriented research is probably classified under "science" in the "educational expenditures" category.

Like most other union expenditures in the Ukrainian SSR, the USSR Defense Ministry's expenditures are not reported. However, an approximate calculation

can be made in the following manner. According to the 1959 population census, there were 801,112 members of the armed forces stationed in the Ukrainian SSR; this was 22.1 per cent of the total membership of the USSR armed forces; the Defense Ministry's expenditures in the Ukrainian SSR must have been more or less proportionate to this figure; in 1959, therefore, it must have been approximately 2 billion rubles.

**State Budget of the Ukrainian SSR**

The revenue of the Ukrainian SSR's budget consists of percentage shares in the turnover tax, deductions from profits, and other federal taxes allotted to it every year by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. Some minor taxes are directed 100 per cent into the budget of the Ukrainian SSR by federal legislation. These are part of the deductions from profits of the enterprises under the jurisdiction of the republic ministries and local governments, the income taxes of collective farms and cooperatives, the tax on peasant households, the forest tariff, 50 per cent of the personal income tax, and the tax for the expenses of courts, among others.

The expenditures of the state budget of the Ukrainian SSR finance only those enterprises and organizations which are directly under the jurisdiction of the republic's government. Thus, for example, the general primary and secondary schools are financed by the Ukrainian SSR's budget. Universities are financed by the union budget, however, and so is the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR.

It should be noted that such expense categories as "defense" do not appear at all because it is financed exclusively from the union budget (Table VII).

On the surface the budget of the Ukrainian SSR is balanced at all times (except in 1944 and 1953). However, direct subsidies from the union budget, which have appeared in it as a revenue category since 1950, actually cover the deficits. Also since 1950, the budget has had a small reserve and a revolving cash surplus to carry it through periods of temporary imbalances.

The federal budget law of October 30, 1959 (Art. 39) permits the supreme soviets of the Union Republics to augment the revenues and expenditures of their budgets above those authorized by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, providing that the percentage deductions from the union taxes into the republic budgets remain unchanged (as fixed by Moscow) and that no new taxes are raised. This provision creates incentive

TABLE VII

State Budget of the Ukrainian SSR
(in million rubles)

| | 1958 | 1962 | 1967 |
|---|---|---|---|
| REVENUE TOTAL | 6,154.4 | 8,198.8 | 11,515.9 |
| Turnover tax | 1,996.2 | 1,677.6 | 2,552.1 |
| Deductions from profits | 1,807.1 | 3,634.7 | 5,202.5 |
| Income tax of collective farms and cooperatives | 408.9 | 380.7 | 316.9 |
| State loans | 96.9 | 111.1 | 11.3 |
| Taxes on population | 498.9 | 613.8 | 891.6 |
| Social insurance taxes | 581.8 | 883.7 | 1,299.0 |
| Subsidy from union budget | 30.7 | 327.0 | 287.0 |
| EXPENDITURE TOTAL | 6,141.3 | 8,067.2 | 11,242.3 |
| Financing of the national economy | 3,559.1 | 4,104.3 | 4,814.5 |
| Education | 1,101.9 | 1,705.5 | 2,393.5 |
| Health and sports | 642.9 | 897.1 | 1,289.4 |
| Social security | 636.1 | 983.0 | 1,384.6 |
| Government and courts | 160.4 | 142.2 | 187.1 |

for the republic government to maximize union taxes collected in the republic. The government of the Ukrainian SSR reverts constantly to the use of this provision. The actual fulfillment of the republic's budget often exceeds the plans for revenues and expenditures established a year before. Thus, for example, the planned budget for the year 1965 was: revenues—9,315.7 million rubles, expenditures—9,315.7 million rubles. Actual figures in 1965 were: revenue—10,222.6 million, expenditures—10,194.9 million.

### Local Budgets

The budgets of the local governments are allotted from the state budget of the Ukrainian SSR. Before the war, local budgets made up most of the state budget of the republic (73 per cent in 1940). After the war, their share decreased because the centralized expenditures of the republic government have increased substantially. In 1958, local budgets made up 30 per cent of the republic's budget; in 1965, 37 per cent (Table VIII).

TABLE VIII

LOCAL BUDGETS (EXPENDITURES)
(in million rubles)

| | 1958 | 1962 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Oblasts* | 352.1 | 488.9 | 723.0 |
| Cities | 692.2 | 1,363.0 | 1,566.0 |
| *Raions* | 691.0 | 1,008.3 | 1,172.2 |
| Villages | 170.0 | 208.3 | 298.2 |
| TOTAL | 1,905.3 | 3,068.5 | 3,759.4 |

From 50 to 65 per cent of the local budget revenues stem from the turnover tax deductions and profits allotted in the form of variable percentages by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. A few local taxes are channelled fully into the local budgets by the existing republic legislation. These are: real estate taxes on private houses; recreation taxes (cinema—55 per cent of the ticket price, horse races—40 per cent, soccer—10 per cent); taxes on horse owners (10–25 rubles a year); taxes on owners of automobiles, motorcycles, motor boats (0.50–2.50 rubles a year); fee for a permit to sell in the collective farm market (1–10 rubles a day), tax on dogs, and similar taxes. The rule is that the local governments are permitted to maximize collections from those taxes which have been allotted to them by law, but they can neither raise new taxes nor borrow money. They cannot tax state-owned real estate, buildings, and collective farm land.

More than 70 per cent of the local budgets are spent on schools, hospitals, and public welfare; the rest is spent on the local economy. Local governments are very often short of funds, especially in rural areas. As a result, repair of buildings is neglected, roads are not built, rural schools are poorly equipped and therefore inferior to the urban schools.

### Business Finance

Individual enterprise under the existing Soviet system has very limited latitude in managing its working capital. According to law, accounts of all enterprises are kept with the State Bank. The copies of the operational plans of the enterprises are kept by the bank which thus controls their expenditures and operations. Each ministry also keeps its accounts and plans with the USSR State Bank. The management's ability to use the enterprise's bank balances is strictly limited. Temporarily free working balances of the enterprises on account with the State Bank seldom exceed the expenses of two or three days. In the case of industrial and commercial enterprises, the management has the right, in emergency situations, to spend at its own discretion (apart from the plan) no more than 5 per cent of the enterprise's daily revenue. In the case of collective and state farms, the maximum is 15 per cent of daily revenue. On the following day, however, it must account for such expenses to the bank. This does not impede completely the liquidity position of

the enterprise because small short-term loans are made on bills of lading to cover the standard collection period and to finance seasonal fluctuations and unforeseen outlays due to deliveries ahead or behind schedule. The wage outlays in the enterprise's plan are not strictly obligatory, although they often constitute the largest expense account. The bank readily extends cash credit for wage payments.

Inter-enterprise payments are not made by check or cash but on the basis of drafts and/or invoices documenting the shipment of goods or services rendered. The collection is then made by the State Bank by transferring ruble figures from one account to another. This is called "non-cash settlement." These transactions make up about 40–50 per cent of the State Bank's volume of monetary turnover, and about 90 per cent of the turnover of enterprises. Because inter-enterprise credit is forbidden, the use of checking accounts in business is still poorly developed.

Investments into the fixed capital of enterprises are made largely by the state at the expense of the state budget with the funds channelled through the Budbank. This is true with respect to both the construction of new enterprises and the financing of new equipment and expansion of the existing facilities. Some capital repairs are also financed in this manner. From 1930 until 1966, almost all such capital expenses by the mining and manufacturing industries and the state farms were granted free of charge. Collective farms had to borrow for capital investments from the banks. Before 1930, fixed capital investments were financed by long-term credits, returnable and costing interest. The enterprises were obliged to transfer from their profits a fixed rate of 12.5 per cent into the investment funds deposited in their name with the banks of long-term credit. Since the reform of 1966, there has been a gradual return to a modified form of that practice. At the present time businesses are obliged to deduct from their profits about 6 per cent (rates are slightly differentiated by industries) for the state budget. This is called "payment for the funds," which, therefore, are no longer

FIGURE 525. SOVIET *chervonets* OF 1938

free grants. These funds are then transferred from the state budget to the Budbank to serve as a reserve for the extension of long-term credits. The idea is to gradually transfer most of the capital investments from budget financing to long-term credit financing for the purpose of a more efficient use of the capital.

Profits are planned. The main emphasis in the plan before the 1966 reform was on production and the overfulfillment of plans. The latter was the chief indicator of the success of the enterprise, and as a result symbolic and material bonuses were bestowed on workers and managers (medals, publicity in the press, and money grants). In 1936 the so-called fund of the director of the enterprise was established from the deductions of profits to serve as the source of money bonuses to the individuals who succeeded in overfulfilling production quotas. The rule was that 6 per cent of the planned and 50 per cent of the above-the-plan profits were to be allocated to this fund (but half of the deductions was to be spent on housing construction for the enterprise's personnel). This system resulted in incentives to exceed the output plans at all cost. Quantity of production was maximized while quality deteriorated. In the end, inventories of defective products piled up to unacceptable levels. In 1966 the

maximization-of-output goal was abandoned in order to improve the quality of goods produced. Managers of warehouses, department stores, and industrial consumers of semi-finished products were granted the right to reject the delivered goods if they appeared to be of inferior quality. The producing enterprises were instructed to overfulfill in "sales" rather than in output. Also, deductions from profits into the bonus funds were somewhat augmented and made contingent on the fulfillment of both the sales plan and the profits plan. The effect of the 1966 reform was generally beneficial. Total profits produced in the Ukrainian SSR rose from 6,808 million in 1965 to 10,063 million in 1967. Only coal mining was still unprofitable. The state's share in the profits was 73.3 per cent in 1960 and 71.2 per cent in 1967. The rest remained with the enterprises for reinvestment, repayment of debts, and distribution as bonuses. The incentive funds' share in the total profits increased from 5.9 per cent in 1960 to 9.6 per cent in 1967. The quality of work and output improved.

The actual spending of the incentive and other funds is strictly regulated by law and ministerial instructions. It is not a prerogative of the management.

**Insurance**

Among the many peculiar institutions that make up the financial system of the Ukrainian SSR, that of insurance is perhaps most unusual. There is one single state insurance company, the Derzhstrakh, which is a branch of the similar all-union monopoly. It transacts only collective farm, personal property, and life insurance business. Conspicuously absent are such typical western features as industrial fire and hazard insurance, insurance on machinery and equipment, installations, credit, general liability, burglary and theft, and the like. If a factory burns down in Ukraine or a bank is robbed, the government restores the losses from its budget at the taxpayers' expense.

The most important function of the Derzhstrakh relates to collective farming. Since 1940, all crops, livestock, buildings, and equipment of the collective farms are insured on a compulsory basis. The Derzhstrakh undertakes to restore 40 per cent of the losses (the rest of the value may be insured voluntarily at higher premiums). The insurance value is calculated in state prices for obligatory deliveries, and the yield is assumed to be an average for the last three years. Insurance provides coverage against almost all imaginable hazards, although until 1968 it did not cover the greatest single danger to the crops—drought. The premiums which the collective farms must pay for the compulsory insurance range from 0.3 per cent of value in the case of buildings to 6 per cent in the case of winter crops. The payments to the Derzhstrakh average from 2.5 to 3.5 per cent of the annual gross monetary revenues of the collective farms, thus constituting an additional income tax. The net income of the Derzhstrakh from this operation is on the average 73.5 per cent. (State farms are not insured except by the state budget.)

Compulsory insurance by the Derzhstrakh also extends to the collective farmers and their households. Their protection, however, is less comprehensive than that of the collective farms, while the premiums are higher. This discrimination is explained by the official policy of discouraging the private plot economy.

Private home owners in the urban areas are obliged to insure their houses with the Derzhstrakh. Public housing is not insured.

In addition to compulsory insurance, the Derzhstrakh also transacts voluntary insurance of life and personal property. Personal property insurance covers such hazards as fire, but not theft. Personal automobiles are not insured. These types of insurance are based on principles and

methods common in the West. However, the insured does not share in the profits of the Derzhstrakh, nor does he earn any interest on the policies higher than the standard 3 per cent paid by the State Bank on personal savings accounts. In the 1960's, there were about 2.5 million insured persons in the Ukrainian SSR, the average amount being about twice the average deposit in the savings banks.

Since 1958 the Derzhstrakh has been operated by the government of the Ukrainian SSR. All of its revenues and expenditures are included in the budget of the republic.

*V. Holubnychy*

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# 12. THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

The western European cooperative movement emerged as a result of industrial labor needs. The Ukrainian cooperative movement, however, began in the late 1860's, growing out of the social and economic needs of the peasants, who had recently been liberated from serfdom, and of the small artisans and laborers. Very few people attached so much importance to the cooperative movement as did the Ukrainians. As a means of social and economic self-defense against political domination by alien forces, the cooperative movement became an integral part of the Ukrainian people's national aspirations. It gave rise to numerous self-governing economic organizations, which served as a training ground for hundreds of active leaders who were to play an important part in the period of Ukrainian statehood (1917–20).

Because of different political conditions, there were marked regional variations in the development of the Ukrainian cooperative movement in eastern and central lands, in Western Ukraine, and under the Soviet régime, where cooperatives came under the control of state and party organs, thus losing the characteristics of their counterparts in the free world.

## CENTRAL AND EASTERN LANDS

### Prior to 1917

The first cooperatives in the Ukrainian lands under Russia were organized in the 1860's. (The consumer cooperatives began in Kharkiv in 1866 through the efforts of Nicholas Ballin and Victor Kozlov, and in Kiev in 1868 of Nicholas Ziber.) The first credit cooperative was founded in Hadiach in 1869, the second

FIGURE 526. NICHOLAS BALLIN

in Sokyryntsi near Poltava in 1871, both by Gregory Galagan. Until the 1890's development was very slow. The principal reasons were the lack of popular awareness of the real benefits of cooperatives, the overtly hostile attitude of the administration, particularly towards the establishment of cooperative associations, and lack of legislation. Thus the first cooperatives were weak and short-lived. Their total number barely reached 130 in 1880 and 290 in 1895. Most of them were credit unions (savings and loan associations), with very few consumer cooperatives (only about 50 in 1895). The intelligentsia, organized in semi-secret societies known as the *hromadas* (communities), took the lead in supporting the effort to organize cooperatives. The *zemstvos* [Vol. 1, p. 678], particularly the agronomists and statisticians employed by them who were among the leading propagators of cooperative ideas and ventures, also helped.

Cooperatives developed at a more lively pace in the 1890's owing to a marked upsurge in Ukrainian community life and the enactment of new cooperative legislation. Credit cooperatives were governed by the law of June 1, 1895, which dealt with the organization of small credit unions and was amended by the laws of 1904 and 1910. (The former permitted savings and loan societies to establish associations and introduced a new form of credit institutions—the *zemstvo* small credit unions.) A law regulating consumer cooperatives was issued in 1897, based on principles of independent management, an equal vote for all members at annual meetings, limited interest on deposits, cash sales, and distribution of surpluses among the members. Charters for cooperatives were now approved by local governors instead of by the Ministry. After 1905 cooperatives were given even more freedom to develop. At that time, the Ukrainian *guberniyas* of Poltava, Kiev, and Podilia ranked first in the number of consumer cooperatives in the Russian empire. From that time on, the cooperative movement in Ukraine, which had developed within the system of Russian cooperatives, began to assume distinct Ukrainian features, notably in the demand to set up larger associations.

The first associations appearing in Ukraine were: the Association of Credit Cooperatives in Berdianske (1901) and the Associations of Consumer Cooperatives in Kiev (1908) and Vinnytsia (1910). However, in 1913 the associations of consumer cooperatives were dissolved and Ukrainian cooperatives had to join the Moscow Association of Consumer Societies. Potrebitel'noe Obshchestvo Yuga Rossii (Consumer Association of South Russia) was established to carry out the policies of Moscow and to become a center of consumer cooperatives in Ukraine. The struggle of Ukrainian cooperatives for a national character manifested itself at the All-Russian Cooperative conventions: at the first convention in Moscow in 1898 an understanding was reached on collaboration in organizing cooperatives in Ukraine; the second convention in Kiev in 1913 (with Western Ukrainian leaders also participating) raised the question of the right to organize Ukrainian associations. Kiev was the center for Ukrainian cooperatives in 1913, with the society Nasha Kooperatsiia (Our Cooperatives) serving as the focal point of the movement; most Ukrainian cooperative newspapers were published in Kiev (*Nasha Kooperatsiia*, started in 1913; the bilingual *Komashnia-Muraveinik* [The Ant-Hill], etc.).

The growth of cooperatives is evident from the following figures: in the nine Ukrainian *guberniyas* there were 450 cooperatives of all types in 1900; 820 in

FIGURE 527. CHRISTOPHER BARANOVSKY

FIGURE 528. NICHOLAS LEVYTSKY

1905; 2,100 in 1910; and 6,510 in 1914 (including 3,022 consumer cooperatives out of a total of 10,500 for all of Russia, and 3,092 credit cooperatives out of 14,500 throughout the empire). The most prominent Ukrainian leaders of the cooperative movement prior to 1914 were: Basil Domanytsky, Osyp Yurkevych (a physician), Christopher Baranovsky, Borys Martos, Peter Pozharsky, Theodore Kryzhanivsky, Alexander Nochvyn, and Nicholas Stasiuk.

Farm and manufacturing cooperatives were less significant, and insurance and building cooperatives were even weaker. Farm cooperatives were basically associations made up of those which helped agriculture in general (numbering 898 in 1915) and those (122) which helped to develop certain branches of agriculture. These associations made a substantial contribution to farm education. The law of 1897 permitted a new type of farm cooperative with the right to conduct commercial operations (purchases and sales). Out of a total of 1,022 farm cooperatives in Ukraine, mostly in the Poltava and Chernihiv areas, nearly 150 had appeared in Ukraine before World War I. Farm cooperatives, since they were not able to engage in such wide commercial operations as credit unions with their large supply of cash, had a rather small turnover.

Manufacturing cooperatives had long been known in Ukraine in the form of artels, i.e., economic groups based on voluntary membership. They assumed an organized form in the late nineteenth century on the initiative of Nicholas Levytsky, known as the "father of artels," who gained prominence in the international cooperative movement. He first organized farm cooperatives, later mostly labor cooperatives of artisans and craftsmen.

Although Ukrainian cooperatives were unable to acquire independent status and establish a center of their own, by the time of the revolution they had become an important factor in the economic life of Ukraine. Employees of cooperatives were trained privately by the founders, highly educated people who wrote the first booklets on cooperatives for popular consumption (N. Levytsky, B. Domanytsky, O. Yurkevych, and O. Chernenko). The first training courses for employees were started in 1910 (many by B. Martos).

## 1917–20

During World War I, the Ukrainian cooperatives expanded their activities. The consumer cooperatives were particularly active because of food shortages and the manufacturing cooperatives for military supplies. The Ukrainian cooperatives took advantage of the opportunity offered by the revolution to break away from the Russian centers of control and established their own. This was in line with the desire of the people to regain their statehood. The growth of cooperatives was aided by the Law on Cooperatives issued by the Provisional Government on March 20, 1917 (a struggle for its passage had been going on for ten years). The leaders of the Ukrainian cooperative movement strove for the inclusion of cooperative organizations in the national economy of the emerging state, which had little money capital of its own. A number of Ukrainian statesmen came from the ranks of the cooperative leaders (one-half of the first General Secretariat of the Central

Rada). Three All-Ukrainian cooperative congresses (May and August 1917 and the largest in May of 1918) adopted resolutions on the structural forms of Ukrainian cooperatives. In spite of the war, thousands of cooperatives of all types and sizes appeared between 1917 and 1919: the number had increased from 6,860 in 1915 to 9,200 in 1917. The lower units merged into newly established associations, of which there were 253 by the end of 1918: 120 consumer, 43 credit, 7 farm, 41 mixed, and 42 others. In terms of territorial distribution, the Kharkiv and Podilia regions led the field. The total number of cooperatives of all types exceeded 22,000 in 1920, with six million members and 270 associations; there was hardly a locality without at least one cooperative; nearly 60 per cent of the population participated in consumer cooperatives.

An additional six All-Ukrainian professional cooperative centers were formed. The Dniprosoiuz for consumer coopera-

FIGURE 529. EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE DNIPROSOIUZ IN KIEV

tives was founded in 1917 (chairman of the board, B. Martos; chairman of the executive committee, Dmytro Koliukh). By the end of 1918, Dniprosoiuz united about 8,000 cooperatives and 80 county and district associations; its gross sales for 1918 reached 70 million rubles. It was active in commerce, industry (employing more than 2,000 persons in its enterprises), and education, with publications an important part of this activity. The center for credit cooperatives was Ukraïnbank, founded in 1917 (president T. Kryzhanivsky; chairman of the executive committee, C. Baranovsky); it was also the financial center of all Ukrainian cooperatives. Farm cooperatives were joined in Tsentral (chairman, Constantine Matsiievych; chairman of the executive committee, Volodymyr Koval).

FIGURE 530. VOLODYMYR KOVAL

Of lesser significance were Trudsoiuz for manufacturing cooperatives, Strakhsoiuz (Insurance Association), and Knyhospilka (Book Association) for publishing. Cooperatives for more specialized interests also appeared at this time, e.g., the building cooperative Oselia (Homestead), Ukraïnfil'm in Kiev, which showed a tendency to become national centers in their respective fields. At the top of the cooperative structure was the organizational center Ukraïns'kyi Tsentral'nyi Kooperatyvnyi Komitet (Ukrainian Central Cooperative Committee, abbr. KOOPTSENTR) headed by the well-known economist Michael Tuhan-Baranovsky as chairman and B. Martos as executive director. In 1919, Ukraïnbank, Dniprosoiuz, and Tsentral established the Union of Central Cooperative Associations of Ukraine which was to function as a representative body and to engage in foreign operations.

Ukrainian cooperative literature, press, and training developed at a rapid pace. During the period of Ukrainian statehood, a study was made of all economic resources of the country, with a view to channeling the national economy into cooperatives and establishing relations with the world. This research was concentrated mostly in the Ukrainian Central Cooperative Committee and was conducted by Ukrainian economists, a majority of whom were also organizers of cooperatives (M. Tuhan-Baranovsky,

Serhii Borodaievsky, Constantine Voblyi, Volodymyr Kosynsky, B. Martos, and Valentine Sadovsky).

The prewar cooperative newspaper *Komashnia-Muraveinik* became completely Ukrainianized with the development of the cooperatives, and many new publications appeared: *Kooperatyvna Zoria* (Cooperative Star, 1918–20), the organ of the consumer cooperatives; *Sil's'kyi Hospodar* (Village Farmer, 1918) of the farm cooperatives; and *Hromada* (Community) of the publishing cooperatives. The Ukrainian Central Cooperative Committee published *Ukraïns'ka Kooperatsiia* (Ukrainian Cooperatives, 1918) and *Biuleten'* (Bulletin, 1918). More than twenty cooperative periodicals were published in Ukraine in 1918–20.

Cooperative education developed on a large scale. Training schools were established in Kiev (three-year courses) by the Soiuzbank and one-year schools by Dniprosoiuz in Kiev, Zvenyhorod, and other cities. Provincial and county cooperative associations conducted courses on various topics and of varying duration. Lectures on cooperatives were delivered in the Kiev Commercial and Administrative Institute and at the Ukrainian State University. The Ukrainian Central Cooperative Committee had a separate department of cooperative training and courses. These courses developed in 1919 into the Tuhan-Baranovsky Cooperative Institute, which was reestablished during the NEP period and renamed after V. Chubar.

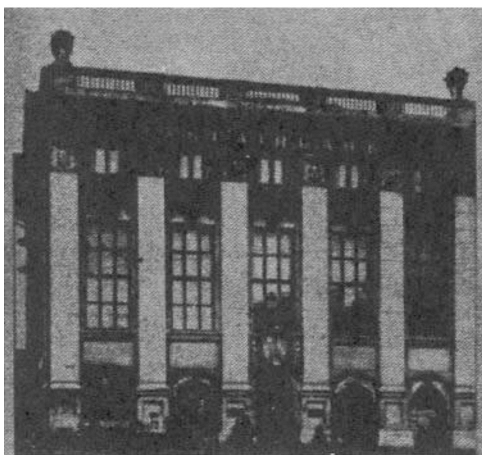

FIGURE 531. ADMINISTRATION BUILDING OF THE UKRAÏNBANK IN KHARKIV

*I. Vytanovych and D. Pisniachevsky*

## IN WESTERN LANDS

### Prior to 1918

The beginnings of the Ukrainian cooperative movement in Galicia are associated with the activities conducted in the 1870's primarily by the clergy in parishes and rural institutions (fraternal loan associations, community warehouses, etc.) for the purpose of improving the economic well-being of the peasants.

The activity of the Prosvita society (founded in 1868, see pp. 335–6) in establishing trading posts connected with their reading rooms (540 in 1912), loan associations (257), warehouses, etc. were much more successful. All these economic organizations, however, founded on the basis of the 1867 law on membership corporations, subsequently broke down.

The really thriving cooperatives were established under the Austrian Law of 1873 (on commercial profit companies). Basil Nahirnyi, a young engineer who had studied in Switzerland, founded the consumer cooperative Narodna Torhivlia (National Trade) in Lviv in 1883, which, following the amendment of its charter in 1907, became the central association of consumer cooperatives of the Rochdale type. Credit cooperatives developed quite well, especially after Theophil Kormosh founded the model cooperative Vira (Faith) in Peremyshl in 1894. A number of cooperatives based on this model were subsequently founded in larger cities (Dnister in Lviv, and others in Stryi, Ternopil, Tysmenytsia, Rohatyn, and Terebovlia). The first association of credit cooperatives came into being in 1898 as the Kraiovyi Soiuz Kredytovyi

(Land Credit Union) under the leadership of Constantine Levytsky and Constantine Pankivsky and developed into the main financial institution and organizational center for all cooperatives. In 1904, after the passage of the 1903 Austrian law on compulsory auditing of cooperative accounts, the auditing center of Ukrainian cooperatives for Galicia was established as Kraiovyi Soiuz Revizyinyi (Land Audit Union) which developed into the leading organizational center of Ukrainian cooperatives (first chairman C. Levytsky). The Land Audit Union published the monthly *Ekonomist* and, after 1909, a popular newspaper *Samopomich* (Self-Reliance) for members. It also assumed the task of educating the masses in cooperative ideas.

Under the leadership of the Land Audit Union the Ukrainian cooperatives in Galicia were properly organized and expanded their activity into various branches of the economy.

Narodna Torhhivlia, on the initiative of Ivan Petrushevych, set up branches in cities and villages; following a reorganization in 1912, it had 18 branch stores of its own and 831 affiliated stores.

Farm cooperatives emerged in 1904 with the organization of the first dairy cooperatives in the region of Stryi by the Rev. Ostap Nyzhankivsky and other interested people. They formed an association of dairy cooperatives in 1907 known as the Kraiovyi Molochars'kyi Soiuz (Land Dairy Association, renamed *Maslosoiuz* in 1924). The Land Union

FIGURE 532. TSENTROSOIUZ BOARD OF DIRECTORS IN LVIV (1934). SEATED, FRONT ROW, LEFT TO RIGHT ARE: F. SVISTEL, D. KORENETS, O. LUTSKY, S. KUZYK, I. KUZIV.

of Commercial Trade Associations was formed in Peremyshl in 1889. It merged in 1911 with the trade syndicate of the Sil's'kyi Hospodar Society under the name Kraiovyi Soiuz Hospodars'ko-Torhovel'nykh Spilok (Land Association of Economic and Trade Societies). In 1924 it was renamed Tsentrosoiuz and by 1914 had some thirty farm and trade associations active in Galicia.

Credit cooperatives were the strongest unit of the Ukrainian cooperative movement in Galicia before World War I. They curtailed usury and helped the rural population to acquire land from the partitioned estates. The Reverend Titus Voinarovsky, founder of the land parcelling enterprise Zemlia [Land] in Lviv was particularly instrumental in this activity. They also financed the emigration from the overpopulated countryside to the United States, Canada, and Brazil, and for seasonal employment to Germany.

The fire insurance association Dnister enjoyed great popularity with the people. Founded in 1897, it grew to a quarter of a million members by 1914. The national homes in the countryside constituted another type of consumer-credit-manufacturing cooperative.

An educational-economic congress held in Lviv in 1909 and organized by the Prosvita society with the participation of delegates of the cooperative movement from all parts of Ukraine (except Transcarpathia), adopted a series of guidelines and organizational principles for cooperative activity. An agricultural exhibition, held in Stryi the same year, stimulated the organization of farm cooperatives in Galicia.

In 1914, a total of 609 cooperatives, of which over 60 per cent were credit unions, were organized in the Land Audit Union. They had a membership of 180,000, with the following financial structure (in Austrian kronen): share capital, 6,300,000; reserve funds, 1,500,000; surplus, 389,000; deposits, 28,400,000; credits, 17,000,000; merchandise credits,

646,000; loans issued, 40,419,000; investments, 4,937,000; real estate property, 6,253,000; merchandise, 1,419,000. The annual gross sales of commercial cooperatives reached 20,157,000 kronen. An additional 106 cooperatives were members of the smaller Ruthenian Audit Union in Lviv, and about 400 small credit unions of the Raiffeisen type joined the so-called Patronage of Farm Associations organized by the executive branch of the Galician Land Diet. In addition, there were two Polish, one Jewish, and one German audit unions active in Galicia.

In Bukovina, the cooperative movement among Ukrainians dates back to the 1890's. It emerged under Galician influences. The pioneers of the movement were Stephen Smal-Stocky and Lev Kohut. As in Galicia, most of the cooperatives were credit unions of the Raiffeisen type. A union called Selians'ka Kasa (Peasant Bank) which served as both an auditing association and a financial-organizational center of Ukrainian cooperatives in Bukovina was established in 1903. The Union published its own *Visnyk* (Herald), which was renamed *Narodne Bahatstvo* (National Wealth) in 1918. It united 174 cooperatives, including 159 savings and loan associations of the Raiffeisen type.

In Transcarpathia cooperatives did not develop so successfully because of the lack of educated people. Credit unions were started by Edward Egan, an economist of Irish descent. These unions were members of two Hungarian cooperative centers.

### 1920–44

Galician cooperatives fared poorly during World War I and staged a comeback only in 1921 after the enactment of the Polish Cooperative Law of 1920. Their activity increased with the establishment of the Land Committee for the Organization of Cooperatives (Kraiovyi Komitet Orhanizatsiï Kooperatyv) in 1922, a civic organization whose sole aim was to work with the cooperatives for the reconstruction of war-ravaged Galicia. It founded committees at the county level which later became county cooperative associations. The Land Audit Union, which was renamed Revizyinyi Soiuz Ukraïns'kykh Kooperatyv (Audit Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives), expanded its activity in 1928 to Volhynia and Polisia. By 1923 it had a membership of 834 local cooperatives and by 1925 the number had risen to 1,029, or nearly double the prewar figure. In 1934 the Union had 3,193 member cooperatives, but that very same year a law enacted by the Polish government provided for administrative control and limited the Union's activity to three Galician provinces (*voievodstvos*), while 430 cooperatives in the northwestern part of Ukraine had to join Polish audit unions. In 1939, the Union numbered

FIGURE 533. JULIAN PAVLYKOVSKY

FIGURE 534. OSTAP LUTSKY

3,455 cooperatives with 643,000 members. It was headed by Julian Pavlykovsky (1888–1949). Pavlykovsky and Ostap Lutsky (1883–1941) were the most prominent leaders of the cooperative movement in western Ukraine.

Postwar Ukrainian cooperatives in Galicia were essentially of the same type as before 1914, except that farm cooperatives replaced credit unions as the predominant type. In 1939, farm cooperatives numbered 2,360 out of a total of 3,455 (69 per cent) with 27 county and district associations. The Tsentro-

soiuz was the professional center (headed for many years by Julian Sheparovych). Maslosoiuz, with 143 regional dairies, was the most active of all Ukrainian cooperatives. It pioneered in the modernization of dairy farming and contributed to the raising of living standards in the countryside. It controlled not only the Ukrainian market but also the Polish as well and exported its products abroad. The leaders of the dairy cooperative movement were Olha Bachynska, Andrew Mudryk, Andrew Palii, and Michael Khronoviat.

FIGURE 535. ANDREW PALII

FIGURE 536. JULIAN SHEPAROVYCH

The financial and organizational center of credit cooperatives was Tsentrobank, with 115 branches in cities and towns and 573 village credit unions of the Raiffeisen and other types. C. Levytsky was its director for many years, succeeded by Stephen Kuzyk in 1936.

Narodna Torhivlia had 18 branches and 27 warehouses, uniting 194 city consumer cooperatives; there were 39 cooperatives of other types (health resort, building, etc.). The cooperatives' own assets were estimated at 22.9 million Polish zloty, gross annual sales were 159 million, and products sold totaled 6.8 million (figures for 1937–8).

Table I shows the financial position of cooperatives organized in the Audit Union.

Some 250 Ukrainian cooperatives in Galicia were members of the Ruthenian Audit Union in Lviv, and about 600 (in northwestern parts of Ukraine and the western Lemkian region) in Polish associations. The two Ukrainian audit unions had 3,516 member-cooperatives in 1937 or 25.4 per cent of all cooperatives in Poland, and 661,000 members, or 22 per cent of the Polish total (the Ukrainian population of the three Galician provinces represented only 11 per cent of the population of Poland) i.e., membership of Ukrainians in cooperative associations was double the Polish average.

Despite severe restrictions imposed by the Polish authorities in the period between the two world wars (including the "pacification" of 1930 [Vol. I, p. 842]), Ukrainian cooperatives made a marked contribution towards alleviating economic conditions in the impoverished and overpopulated Ukrainian countryside.

The rapid development and the high standards of Ukrainian cooperatives in Galicia can be attributed to their idealism. After the defeat in the liberation struggle, the common people saw in the cooperative movement a promising and legitimate road to economic improvement and a means of continuing the struggle for liberation under the adverse conditions of Polish occupation [Vol. I, pp. 848–50]. A majority of cooperative workers were former soldiers of the Ukrainian Galician army, who had studied abroad (mainly in Czechoslovakia) before returning home. The Audit Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives

TABLE I

| | 1921 | 1926 | 1933 | 1938 | 1944 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of cooperatives | 579 | 1,510 | 3,029 | 3,330 | 4,624 |
| Members (in thousands) | 169 | 197 | 448 | 600 | 800 |
| Gross sales (million zloty) | | 48 | 44.5 | 100 | 1,500 |
| Employees (in thousands) | 5.0 | 11.9 | 14.0 | 24.2 | Not available |

in Lviv trained thousands of dedicated employees. Secondary school training was available in the commercial high school of Ridna Shkola (Native School) in Lviv and in the Cooperative School in Yavoriv. Personnel for cooperative institutions of the higher level was given in the three-year Cooperative Lyceum in Lviv, organized by the Audit Union.

Ukrainian cooperatives in Galicia published a number of journals. The organ of the Audit Union was the monthly *Hospodars'ko-Kooperatyvnyi Chasopys* (Economic-Cooperative Newspaper, 1921–44); it also published the monthly *Kooperatyvna Respublika* (Cooperative Republic, 1928–39), edited by Charles Kobersky, and devoted to theoretical problems of cooperatives and general economics, and the popular *Kooperatyvna Rodyna* (Cooperative Family, 1934–9). Maslosoiuz published *Kooperatyvne Molocharstvo* (Cooperative Dairies, 1926–39), and Tsentrobank had *Kredytova Kooperatsiia* (Credit Cooperatives, after 1938). All these publication were devoted to their respective specialized fields.

The entire Ukrainian press helped to popularize the cooperative movement. The same purpose was served by "cooperative festivals" which were held annually on September 30, the holy day of Faith, Hope, and Charity.

During their first occupation of western Ukrainian territories in 1939, the Soviet authorities abolished the Audit Union and all credit and national consumer cooperatives. Rural consumer cooperatives were left intact. To replace the abolished cooperatives they instituted compulsory industrial cooperatives supervised by managers sent from the Soviet Union. The entire organizational network was placed under the All-Union Tsentrosoiuz in Moscow.

In the western regions of Galicia, which became part of the *Generalgouvernement* [Vol. I, pp. 874–6], there were close to 1,000 cooperatives (only 160 before the war) which were mem-

FIGURE 537. ONE OF THE MASLOSOIUZ STORES IN LVIV

bers of ten county and one district association (in Sianik) and had two audit divisions (in Lublin and Cracow). After the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Galicia, the Audit Union renewed its activity all over Galicia, uniting 4,624 cooperatives. However, their activities were restricted by the German authorities, who confiscated many of their industrial plants and placed them under the supervision of German economic bureaus. Cooperatives were charged with compulsory procurement of agricultural products for the government. After the second Soviet occupation of Galicia, conditions became the same as those in central and eastern parts of Ukraine.

Ukrainian cooperatives in Bukovina withered away under the Rumanian occupation. In Transcarpathia, on the other hand, the movement made substantial strides. The Kraiovyi Druzhestvennyi Soiuz (Land Cooperative Association) became the central credit and audit union in 1925. The central institution in commerce was the Torhovel'nyi Soiuz Hospodars'kykh Druzhestv (Commercial Union of Economic Cooperatives). Both institutions had their headquarters in Uzhhorod. In the 1930's, there were 418 cooperatives in the association centers, including 174 credit, 86 consumer, 22 leasing, and 42 others (91 were inactive). The cooperative movement gradually assumed the form and content developed in other parts of Ukraine.

Ukrainian cooperative leaders who found themselves in Germany and Austria at the conclusion of World War II, organized small cooperatives in the displaced persons' camps. In the countries of new Ukrainian settlement, there are today some 100 Ukrainian cooperatives, mostly credit unions in the United States and Canada.

From 1919 until World War II, Ukrainian cooperative organizations were members of the International Cooperative Union. Ukrainian cooperative leaders took an active part in international cooperative congresses; Serhii Borodaievsky and B. Martos were members of the International Institute for Cooperative Studies; the Ukrainian Women's League was a member of the International Cooperative Guild. At present, the centralized cooperatives of the Soviet Union are represented in the International Cooperative Union by the Moscow Tsentrosoiuz.

*I. Vytanovych*

## COOPERATIVES UNDER THE COMMUNIST REGIME

During the period of War Communism, all cooperatives were merged and transformed into the so-called consumer communes under the authority of the People's Commissariat of Food and quartermaster departments of the Red Army. Distribution of food (particularly in the cities) was carried out through the communes, with compulsory membership for all workers and employees until 1924; offices were elective, as in regular cooperatives. In the countryside, however, old forms of Ukrainian cooperatives still prevailed in most localities.

During the NEP period, cooperatives developed very rapidly. In many respects they did not differ from the old cooperatives (voluntary membership, elective offices, competition on the free market, and free enterprise), but at the same time they were a tool of the Communist party and the régime. In the countryside, cooperatives became the principal intermediary organs between the state and the farmers (manufactured goods and credits could only be obtained through them), and in the cities they were privileged competitors of private enterprises. The consumer cooperatives (Vukoopspilka [All-Ukrainian Cooperative Union] as the central organization) were separated from credit cooperatives in 1925 and became the principal—later the only—commercial outlets in the countryside for products manufactured by state-owned enterprises. Credit cooperatives developed well, especially in the countryside (Ukraïnbank was the central organization), giving credit for the purchase of tools, cattle, housing construction, and commercial transactions. Farm cooperatives (Sil's'kyi Hospodar), as well as those specializing in certain kinds of produce (e.g., beets), had their own processing and marketing establishments. Cooperatives of artisans and tradesmen were officially encouraged after 1925. Until that time, craftsmen were not considered "productive labor." Housing construction cooperatives represented a new type; the government turned over to them nationalized buildings in the cities. Insurance cooperatives also developed at this time. By 1928, the number of cooperative units had increased to 41,734 (from 4,725 in 1921), including 9,423 consumer, 4,296 tradesmen-artisan, 24,450 farm, and 2,417 housing construction cooperatives; in addition, 5,800 credit cooperatives were members of Ukraïnbank. The following changes occurred in the structure of retail merchandising in the Ukrainian SSR: 1925–6, private trade—47 per cent, cooperatives—39 per cent, state—14 per cent; 1928–9: private trade—18, cooperatives—74, and state—8 per cent. By 1929, over 60 per cent of the peasants were members of some type of cooperative. During the NEP period, Ukrainian cooperatives published a series of periodicals, disseminated information among the people, and conducted training

courses for personnel. The Chubar Institute of Cooperation functioned in Kiev. A majority of the old Ukrainian cooperative leaders joined the new cooperative movement.

Since the cooperative leadership in the Ukrainian SSR contributed to the strengthening of national consciousness, it was accused of "nationalism" and destroyed during the 1930's. Among the outstanding Ukrainian cooperative leaders of this period were: Dmytro Koliukh, T. Kryzhanivsky, Maxim Botvynovsky, V. Hanchel, Paul Vysochansky, M. Tokarevsky, Auksentii Bolozovych, P. Kudria, and M. Khotovytsky.

Beginning in 1927, the activities of various cooperatives were gradually restricted. They were placed under state control and prohibited from competing with state enterprises. In the countryside, however, they were still tolerated; the peasants were even pressured into joining, because the government used the cooperatives to exact maximum quotas of agricultural produce. The first Five-Year Plan set a number of quotas for the cooperatives. In 1930, the government began to fix prices for goods sold or manufactured by them. Cooperatives could not procure any goods independently because none were available outside of the state plan. All cooperative credits were made part of the state financial plan. Finally, cooperatives were heavily taxed—income tax and gross sales tax, which was much higher than for state enterprises—and after 1936, only 20 per cent of the profits could be distributed among members. With the introduction of collectivization, farm cooperatives became collective farms and machine-tractor stations. Specialized cooperatives began to wane in 1932, and housing cooperatives were abolished in 1937.

The decline of cooperatives is evident from the fact that their share of retail sales dropped from 86 per cent in 1930 to 42 in 1934 and to 29 in 1940, with a simultaneous increase in state sales and

FIGURE 538. DELEGATES TO THE NINTH CONVENTION OF THE UKRAINIAN CONSUMER COOPERATIVES (KIEV, 1962)

a complete collapse of private enterprise. In the countryside, consumer cooperatives became a monopoly of state commerce: the peasants were compelled to purchase manufactured goods in exchange for their produce which was priced extremely low. This system, with minor modifications (peasants may now purchase goods in the cities) is still in operation; there are hardly any state stores in the countryside, only cooperatives.

During the German occupation of 1941–4, the Vukoopspilka was restored. Under the Soviet regime, however, cooperatives completely failed. A government decree of November 9, 1946, designed to stimulate the development of cooperatives, provided for purchases without ration cards, but at the so-called commercial prices. A number of privileges were also granted to cooperatives organized by disabled veterans. But, following the monetary reform of 1947, cooperatives were again subjected to state planning, which caused them to decline in the cities. Manufacturing cooperatives with the exception of those run by disabled veterans and for art (ceramics, wood-carving, etc.) were abolished in 1956. However, the privileges of consumer cooperatives in the countryside were somewhat extended: they were permitted to sell the private production of collective farm members in the cities

and the government helped with transportation and sales.

The present organization of consumer cooperatives in the Ukrainian SSR is as follows: the lowest units are consumer cooperatives in the rural areas, with participation by shares (a minimum share is 50 rubles), organized into *raion* consumer associations. These in turn are organized into *oblast* associations with the Republic Ukoopspilka (Ukrainian Cooperative Union), which is subordinate to the Tsentrosoiuz in Moscow, at the top of the structural hierarchy. All offices in cooperatives are elective, but come under strict party control.

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# 13. PEOPLE'S WELFARE

## LIVING STANDARDS BEFORE WORLD WAR I

When the Communists took power, nearly 80 per cent of Ukraine's population was engaged in agriculture. About two-thirds of these people were self-sufficient small-scale farmers who lived on a subsistence level from harvest to harvest without any accumulation of wealth. Growing overpopulation, bad health, and heavy debts were the usual roads to impoverishment. About 20 per cent of the peasants lived in abject poverty. About 12 per cent could be classified as rich, whose farms were producing for the market and whose economy was relatively commercialized. (A similar situation prevailed in Western Ukraine until World War II, except that the western Ukrainian peasants were even poorer than those in eastern Ukraine.)

Industrial workers and petty officials were not much better off than the majority of the peasants. The daily cost of

FIGURE 539. LIVING QUARTERS OF THE DONBAS MINERS IN THE 1890's

living in Kiev early in 1914 was 1.35 rubles for a family of four, the average worker's monthly wage was only 20–22 rubles. According to the gold standard, this was only 23 per cent of the average American worker's pay at the time. Most workers in Ukraine were uneducated and unorganized. Unions were prohibited and the workers were not permitted to strike. Most of them lived in slums. Social welfare benefits were almost unknown; unemployment kept growing during the periodic depressions.

## MONEY INCOMES IN THE INTERWAR PERIOD

Soviet Ukrainian authorities have published very few statistics on the growth of the average money wages of workers and employees (outside of the collective farm sector). These data are as follows (current rubles per month):

| | |
|---|---|
| 1913 | 18 |
| 1925 | 52 |
| 1929 | 68 |
| 1932 | 115 |
| 1937 | 237 |
| 1940 | 319 |

The minimum income tax exemption was 100 rubles throughout the interwar period (raised to 150 rubles in 1940), and the average tax bite was about 2.0 per cent. Obligatory purchases of government bonds also took a minimum of two-weeks' wages per year, and often as much as a month's wages. This was the practice from the 1930's until 1957.

The only complete and accurate income distribution data for the Ukrainian SSR were published for the year 1928 by the Ukrainian SSR's State Planning Commission. It was based on the income tax receipts of the non-agricultural population. In the category of workers and employees there were 364,062 taxpayers. Their gross monthly income in November 1928 was 44,857,000 rubles, on which they paid 407,753 rubles in taxes. The distribution of the gross income is shown in Table I.

TABLE I

| Income class (wages per month in rubles) | Percent of all taxpayers in the class | Percent of total income received by the class |
|---|---|---|
| Less than 100 | 36.68 | 26.15 |
| 101–200 | 57.45 | 61.29 |
| 201–330 | 5.14 | 10.09 |
| 331–500 | 0.62 | 1.98 |
| Over 500 | 0.11 | 0.51 |

Since the average wage was about 68 rubles in 1928, the income distribution was unequal. In subsequent years this inequality must have been even greater although no complete data have appeared since then.

The 1928 tax returns also gave separate statistics on the taxable income of the non-agricultural private business owners, the so-called NEP-men. There were 35,323 persons in this category. Their total taxable income was 151,936,000 rubles for the 1928–9 business year, on which they paid 29,934,000 rubles in taxes. There were only 15 taxpayers in this category who had a taxable income in excess of 50,000 rubles per year.

Under the New Economic Policy (NEP), most wages were established freely by supply and demand. (There were also 326,000 registered unemployed in the Ukrainian SSR in 1927 and 405,000 in 1928.) Since the introduction of the Five-Year plans, and especially since 1932, all wages and salaries have been regulated and fixed by the state. The central government in Moscow estab-

lishes the total wage fund and wage rates (tariffs) for each republic, ministry, profession, skill, and type of job. Labor unions have only a consultative voice in this procedure. Locally the plant management negotiates with the workers individually the tariff class to which each worker agrees to belong.

FIGURE 540. PARTIAL VIEW OF YUZIVKA (PRESENTLY DONETSKE) AROUND 1900

The workers have no right of strike. In case of labor-management disagreements, arbitration commissions and courts have the final say. By fixing and knowing the total wage fund for each republic, the state regulates the income of workers and employees as well as their share in the national income. By setting consumer goods prices and other cost-of-living items, the state also regulates the real wages and living standards of the population.

Until 1931, the Soviet government practiced income equalization policies: managers were paid almost the same wages as skilled workers, members of the Communist party being obliged as a rule not to take salaries higher than those of average workers. Then it was concluded that this equalitarian policy killed the incentive to improve production and to develop skills and education. Stalin explicitly abolished income equality as a government policy. Workers' wages were put predominantly on a piece-rate basis, salaries of managerial and technical personnel were raised, bonus incentives were introduced, and "socialist competition" to surpass productivity norms was encouraged by means of bonuses and press publicity. In order to be effective, the incentives had to be constantly increased, thus inevitably inflating income inequalities.

As a result, at the end of the interwar period (early in 1941), the average monthly wages in various Ukrainian industries differed widely (Table II).

TABLE II

| Industry | Production workers (rubles) | Engineering and technical personnel (rubles) |
|---|---|---|
| Merchant marine | 483 | 815 |
| Coal mining | 456 | 1,156 |
| Iron and steel | 427 | 1,154 |
| Machine-building | 435 | 721 |
| Chemical | 397 | 717 |
| Electric power | 376 | 796 |
| Construction | 367 | 979 |
| State farms | 233 | 505 |
| Machine-tractor stations | 220 | 435 |

Enterprise managers (directors) were included among the engineering and technical personnel. There were other salaried individuals at a higher level whose incomes are not reflected in Table II. In addition to wage differentiation, a broad system of various covert and overt material privileges sprang up. The privileged groups of party members, government officials, police and armed forces personnel, scientists, and artists enjoyed special "closed shops" in which they bought merchandise free of turnover taxes, that is, at a fraction of the usual price. They also enjoyed exclusive restaurants, clubs, hotels, and resorts, access to which was prohibited for the ordinary citizen by various permits, licenses, and identification cards. These privileges went with the office, however. Inheritance of property was rigorously restricted by a heavily progressive inheritance tax until it was abolished in 1943.

## REAL INCOMES UNDER STALIN

The living standards of workers and employees in the Ukrainian SSR during Stalin's regime can be approximately

indicated by their real wages as shown in Table III. The cost-of-living index was calculated from the budgetary "basket" of 32 consumer goods and services in terms of both government and collective farm market prices, proportionately. Wages and salaries were net after direct taxes, bond purchases, and other deductions. The cost of free medical services was taken into account.

It follows from these calculations that the levels of living of Ukrainian workers and employees improved considerably during the NEP period as compared with the pre-revolutionary period. During the war and revolution (and the 1921 famine) real incomes fell very low; according to the official indexes at the time, in 1922 they were 31 per cent of the 1913 level. By 1925, however, real wages more than doubled officially. On the basis of calculations, by 1929 they had surpassed the 1913 level by 78 per cent.

With the introduction of the Five-Year plans of enforced industrialization and the establishment of the system of total state monopoly, people's consumption and welfare began to be treated by the regime as an economic cost. Resources had to be saved from consumption for the purposes of investment and economic growth. Stalin's government adopted the policy of the "wage illusion"; money wages were increased, but consumer goods prices were pulled even faster. This was an artificial, monopolistic inflation, deliberately practiced to reduce consumption and to form capital at consumers' expense.

As a result of such policies, by 1940 the real wages of workers and employees had declined 14 per cent below the pre-revolutionary level and 52 per cent below the NEP level. Unemployment disappeared during industrialization. Free-of-charge medical service and education contributed to the workers' welfare. However, in order to meet the needs of the family, wives had to go to work en masse, and the old and teenagers had to help in the vegetable gardens or stand in the queues at the stores.

The income structure of an average Ukrainian worker's family in 1939 was as follows: wages of the head of the family, 74.9 per cent; wages of the family members, 12.9 per cent; bonuses, 2.0 per cent; pensions, 1.5 per cent; garden, 3.2 per cent; domestic animals, 5.5 per cent. The expenditure structure in 1939 as compared with 1911 is shown in Table IV.

TABLE III

| Year | Index of average net annual wages of workers and employees | Cost-of-living index | Index of real wages | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1913 | 100 | 100 | 100 | — |
| 1929 | 364 | 204 | 178 | 100 |
| 1932 | 601 | 448 | 134 | 75 |
| 1937 | 1433 | 1558 | 92 | 52 |
| 1940 | 1661 | 1935 | 86 | 48 |
| 1948 | 2965 | 5041 | 59 | 33 |
| 1952 | 3276 | 3101 | 106 | 59 |
| 1956 | 3297 | 2556 | 129 | 72 |

TABLE IV

| | 1911 | 1939 | 1965 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Food and drink | 55.5% | 55.3% | 53.6% |
| Housing, fuel, electricity | 26.2 | 3.3 | 5.6 |
| Clothing, footwear | 11.7 | 14.5 | 20.3 |
| Furniture, housewares | 3.8 | 4.6 | 6.9 |
| Medical and cultural expenses | 2.7 | 2.6 | 5.4 |
| Direct taxes, bonds, dues, etc. | 0.1 | 19.7 | 8.2 |

FIGURE 541. THE VILLAGE MAKARIV YAR (PRESENTLY PARKHOMENKO) AROUND 1903

The lot of the urban worker was much better than that of the collective farmer. In the USSR as a whole, according to estimates by Naum Jasny, rural real incomes stood at 53 per cent of the 1928 level in 1932 and 60 per cent in 1940. But the USSR as a whole (except for Kazakhstan) did not experience the starvation that afflicted Ukraine in 1932–3 [Vol. I, p. 822].

## INCOME POLICIES AFTER WORLD WAR II

A great famine struck Ukraine again in the winter of 1946–7; it was due to a very poor harvest and general devastation wrought by the war. Real wages continued to decline to an unprecedented low level until the monetary reform of December 1947. Rationing was abolished and Stalin's government embarked upon a policy of differential improvement of the living standards of the urban population by means of an annual reduction of state consumer goods prices. Seven such price reductions between 1947 and 1954 increased considerably the real value of the money wages of workers and employees in the cities. On the other hand, peasants did not gain much because their incomes were still mostly in kind rather than in money. Price reductions also favored upper rather than lower income groups; for example, a family with 600 rubles income per month gained 60 rubles when prices were cut 10 per cent while a family with 120 rubles income gained only 12 rubles.

Average monthly wages of workers and employees in the Ukrainian SSR have been steadily rising as follows (in current rubles of the post-1961 denomination; the figures must be multiplied by 10 for comparison with the pre-1940 data):

| | |
|---|---|
| 1940 | 31.9 |
| 1945 | 41.0 |
| 1948 | 56.9 |
| 1953 | 64.3 |
| 1958 | 74.3 |
| 1960 | 78.0 |
| 1964 | 87.0 |
| 1968 | 106.8 |

Average family income was larger by about 60 per cent because an average family in the worker and employee group had 1.6 wage earners (1959).

FIGURE 542. VILLAGE STORE IN SHULHYNTSI, NEAR LUHANSKE

Wage increases in Stalin's times showed marked differences: the wages of workers in the defense industries, coal mining, and metallurgy, as well as the salaries of the top party and government officials, enjoyed the sharpest rise. All kinds of bonuses were employed along with piece rates, so that the basic tariff wage did not amount to more than 40–45 per cent of the total earnings. The system of incentives was chaotic, however, and was geared mainly to the maximization of production rather than to quality and efficiency of work.

The income-tax-exempt minimum

monthly wage was 150 rubles between 1943 and 1950, 260 rubles between 1951 and 1956, and 370 rubles between 1957 and 1960 (in pre-1961 denomination). The income tax had no great degree of differentiation, running between the minimum rate of 5.6 and the maximum of 13.2 per cent. All incomes above 1,000 rubles per month were taxed a flat 13.2 per cent. The income from private practice (physicians, lawyers, artisans, leasing of homes, etc.) was taxed at a triple rate.

Under the leadership of Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Communist party embarked for a while on a radical income reform designed to reduce inequalities and to abolish some of the flagrant upper-class privileges. First of all, the minimum wage was raised from 20–26 to 30–35 rubles a month in January, 1957. Next, a moratoria was imposed on public debt. This measure was a hard blow to the upper income groups which had accumulated considerable bond holdings. The 1957 administrative reform abolished many of the jobs of the upper-echelon bureaucracy on the ministerial level (private villas, summer cottages, and private cars were confiscated). Between 1957 and 1962, an industry-wide wage reform was introduced. The new tariffs were higher and fewer in number. The wages of the lower paid workers were raised faster than those of the rest. However, piece-rate wages still amounted to 60.5 per cent of the total wage fund in 1965.

Income inequalities remained large by local standards even after the reforms, as shown in Table V.

TABLE V

MONTHLY WAGE IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR (1963)

| Category | Rubles |
|---|---|
| State farm worker | 30–35 |
| Unskilled urban worker | 30–55 |
| Rural primary school teacher | 45 |
| Urban primary school teacher | 60 |
| Worker in food industry | 60 |
| Worker in heavy machine-building | 115 |
| Engineer | 115–330 |
| Secretary of the regional party committee | 180 |
| First secretary of the provincial party committee | 340 |
| Assistant professor | 340–550 |
| Plant manager | 340–1,000 |
| Opera star | 500–2,000 |
| Republic government minister | 675–1,250 |
| Scholar (academician) | 800–1,250 |

Subsequent to the main wage reform some additional reforms were introduced sporadically. In 1965, wages of school teachers, hospital personnel, retail salesmen, and other public and communal service employees were raised by 15–26 per cent. These groups were among the lowest paid in the economy at the time. In 1968, the mandatory minimum wage for all urban employees was fixed at 60 rubles a month. This minimum was made income tax exempt, while next in line taxable income was made 25 per cent tax exempt (the flat 13.2 per cent tax rate on 100 rubles and up remained intact).

As a result of the 1966 industrial management reform, bonuses from enterprise profits were doubled to promote quality and efficiency. In a sample of Kiev factories, however, it was revealed that the bonus supplement to the salaries of technical and managerial personnel amounted to 31 per cent a year, while that of the workers amounted to only 13 per cent. Wage reforms in the Khrushchev and post-Khrushchev periods boosted the real income of workers and employees considerably in comparison with those in Stalin's time. According to official statistics, between 1953 and 1966 real wages increased by 55 per cent, and were 2.3 times higher in 1966 than in 1940.

The daily cost of living in Kiev for an average family of four was about 5.60 rubles in 1967. Since the wage of an average worker or employee was still insufficient to support such a family at this average cost, wives had to work to earn the balance. According to the 1959 census, there were 1.6 wage earners per

family in the Ukrainian SSR, while the average family was smaller than that reported in the 1926 census. According to a sample study in the Dnipropetrovske *oblast*, in 1958, among low income families, 55 per cent did not have a second bread-winner, and in the upper income group, 45 per cent. In the middle class, however, only 30 per cent of the families did not have a second provider.

FIGURE 543. A FOODSTORE IN KIEV (1926)

## INCOMES OF THE COLLECTIVE FARMERS

Unreliable official information on incomes in the Ukrainian SSR was especially noticeable in the dearth of statistical data on the remuneration and incomes of the collective farmers until well after the end of Stalin's rule. Some indexes appeared in print during the 1960's, but even they referred only to the post-1953 period, and were frequently stated in equivocal and even misleading terms. For example, earnings per man/day were produced without informing the reader at the same time how many man/days per year the average collective farmer actually worked (only 223 in 1959 as compared with 304 days worked by the workers and employees).

The annual income of an average Ukrainian collective farmer from the collective farm (in money as well as in kind) was as follows (in current rubles of the post-1961 denomination):

| *Year* | *Rubles* |
|---|---|
| 1953 | 170 |
| 1957 | 301 |
| 1960 | 254 |
| 1963 | 389 |
| 1965 | 599 |
| 1967 | 655 |

The average income has more than doubled in the last ten years and more than tripled since Stalin's time. This is mainly due to procurement price increases rather than to improvements in productivity. The growth has been unstable, however, with several periods of decline caused by poor harvests and excessively high state procurement quotas. These fluctuations are especially glaring when one compares remuneration in kind and in money separately (index, 1958 equals 100), as shown in Table VI.

TABLE VI

| Year | Payments in money | Payments in kind (mainly grain) |
|---|---|---|
| 1958 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| 1959 | 86.0 | 83.1 |
| 1960 | 88.6 | 73.0 |
| 1961 | 105.6 | 104.0 |
| 1962 | 178.0 | 82.0 |
| 1963 | 142.2 | 57.1 |
| 1964 | 172.8 | 91.0 |
| 1965 | 185.0 | 110.0 |

An average collective farmer in 1959 received 66 per cent of his total income in money and 34 per cent in kind; in 1963 these percentages were 79 and 21 per cent, respectively. Conversion of the peasant economy into a monetary system in recent years has created inflationary pressures in the village markets. Collective farms sell food (bread, meat, etc.) to their members at state retail prices. There is also a large free intra-village market for livestock, construction materials, and various handicraft products (boots, coats, leather goods, etc.)

The frequency distribution of the Ukrainian collective farms according to

the annual remuneration of labor (both in money and in kind) for 1965 is shown in Table VII.

TABLE VII

| Annual pay class | Percentage of all farms |
|---|---|
| Less than 360 rubles | 15.1 |
| 360–480 rubles | 15.2 |
| 480–720 rubles | 39.9 |
| 720–960 rubles | 20.3 |
| More than 960 rubles | 9.5 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 |

Interregional differences in remuneration of collective farmers were also very large (more than 5:1). The richest farmers are to be found in the Crimea and steppe areas, the poorest in Zhytomyr and Ivano-Frankivske *oblasts.*

Compared with that of an average worker and employee, the income of an average collective farmer from the collective farm was still twice as low in 1967. In 1953, however, it was 4.5 times lower. Per capita retail sales of all goods in state and cooperative stores, which clearly indicate the difference between the ways and levels of living in the cities and in the countryside, have changed as follows (in current rubles, post-1961 denomination):

| *Years* | *Cities* | *Countryside* | *Difference* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1940 | 173 | 31 | 5.6:1 |
| 1966 | 661 | 201 | 3.3:1 |

Despite noticeable improvements in the incomes received by the farmers from the collective farms, these incomes were still insufficient, even in 1967, to provide a decent living. Hence, the farmers needed their private plots of land, gardens, and livestock to supplement their income from the collective farms. A farmer's private household economy augmented its income by as much as 40–45 per cent on the average, more in the years of poor harvests. If income from private plots as well as the income of second bread-winners are taken into account, the difference in income per capita between the families of industrial workers and peasants (according to V. Burlin, a Soviet Ukrainian statistician) has recently changed as follows: from 2.2:1 in 1953 to 1.45:1 in 1966.

FIGURE 544. THE FAIR IN SOROCHYNTSI (1925)

## PRIVATE PLOTS

Private land plots, vegetable and fruit gardens, and privately owned livestock and poultry have provided important income supplements not only for collective farmers, but also for state farmers and workers and employees, especially in small towns. According to Soviet economists V. Anisimov and A. Moskvin, the private subsidiary economy of the population produced as much as one-sixth of the Ukrainian SSR's national income in 1958.

In 1966, 5.8 per cent of all agricultural land in Ukraine (2,487,600 hectares) was in the possession of private individuals, collective and state farmers, workers and employees in small towns and on the outskirts of large cities. The average plot of a collective farmer was 0.36 hectares [1 ha = 2.47 acres], including land under buildings and in the courtyard. Workers' and employees' plots averaged about 0.18 hectares. These plots were highly productive, however. They produced the following percentages of the total output of Ukrainian agriculture:

| | *1940* | *1950* | *1960* | *1965* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| All meat (incl. poultry) | 73.5 | 75.2 | 41.7 | 42.4 |
| Pork | 72.1 | 73.4 | 48.6 | 49.1 |
| Milk and milk products | 81.6 | 80.9 | 41.3 | 37.1 |
| Eggs | 93.1 | 89.4 | 85.2 | 73.9 |

They also accounted for 41.9 per cent of the total output of fruits and berries in 1965, and 53.1 per cent of the output of potatoes and vegetables.

In total sales, supplies from private plots amount to 90–95 per cent of the turnover in large city collective farm markets. Not less than one-quarter and sometimes as much as 40 per cent of food purchases by the urban population come through these markets from private plots.

Private plots and their outlets—free food markets in the cities—have been useful institutional supplements to the system of total state monopoly, providing it with an elastic "safety valve" to absorb surplus urban purchasing power and to supplement scarce food supplies in the state stores. The regime has viewed them as the "remains of capitalism," however, cracking down on them whenever it was politically expedient to play up workers' sentiments against peasant "speculators," imposing price ceilings whenever food became too scarce. The size of the average plot and the number of livestock people were permitted to own (no more than one cow or calf, two pigs or sheep, unlimited number of chicken and rabbits) have always been regulated by decree. The size of the plots was ordered reduced in the fall of 1946, and in addition to the assessed income tax heavy compulsory delivery quotas were imposed on them. By 1950 private plots produced almost 50 per cent of all government procurements of meat and dairy products at low collective farm prices. In 1951–2, pressure was applied on private owners of livestock to sell cows and calves to collective and state farms. Following Stalin's death, this pressure was substantially reduced and compulsory deliveries from private plots were abolished. In 1956, however, private ownership of livestock in large cities was prohibited, and in the winter of 1957–8 farmers were again under pressure to sell their livestock to collective and state farms. In the fall of 1963 the size of plots was once more ordered reduced by 40 per cent on the average. This order was rescinded in March 1965, however, following Khrushchev's fall from power.

## GENERAL LEVELS OF CONSUMPTION

Consumption by the people comprised less than 70 per cent of the 40 billion rubles of the Ukrainian SSR's income in 1966 according to official data. This means that the rate of capital formation and capital export was very high.

The few available official statistics on the per capita consumption of food and apparel in the Ukrainian SSR are shown in Tables VIII and IX. Both tables indicate some improvement in consumption, although the progress is very uneven.

TABLE VIII

Per Capita Consumption of Food Products for the Ukrainian SSR (in kilograms)

| | 1926 (urban areas) | 1955 | 1967 | Required rational norm (according to the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bread and flour products | 212.0 | 184.0 | 153.0 | 120.0 |
| Potatoes | 148.0 | 162.0 | 159.0 | 95.0 |
| Vegetables | 56.8 | 78.0 | 107.0 | 164.0 |
| Meat and meat products | 48.9 | 30.0 | 47.0 | 95.0 |
| Fish and fish products | 9.2 | 7.1 | 14.3 | 16.2 |
| Milk and milk products | 159.9 | 174.0 | 274.0 | 481.0 |
| Eggs (units) | 125.0 | 92.0 | 135.0 | 365.0 |
| Sugar | 9.3 | 15.7 | 39.2 | 42.0 |
| Vegetable oil | 6.0 | 4.5 | 7.9 | 10.0 |

TABLE IX

PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF TEXTILES AND SHOES FOR THE UKRAINIAN SSR

| | 1940 | 1950 | 1960 | 1967 | Required rational norm (according to Scientific Research Institute of the USSR Ministry of Trade) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| All textile fabrics (in sq. meters) | 12.64 | 14.65 | 23.44 | 28.91 | 56.54 |
| Cottons | 11.02 | 12.40 | 17.25 | 20.99 | 36.06 |
| Woolens | 0.65 | 1.20 | 1.93 | 2.71 | 5.13 |
| Silk | 0.23 | 0.43 | 3.01 | 3.44 | 10.46 |
| Linen | 0.74 | 0.65 | 1.25 | 1.77 | 7.83 |
| Shoes (pairs) | 1.00 | 1.03 | 1.69 | 3.46 | 3.40 |

While the typical pattern in a poor man's consumption (emphasis on bread) has declined, consumption of potatoes as a bread substitute is still very high, while consumption of meat is still below the NEP level. There is marked improvement in the consumption of sugar, dairy products, and vegetables. Table VIII on food consumption also contains the officially approved optimal consumption norms that must be achieved before malnutrition is eliminated. The comparison of actual consumption with these norms clearly indicates that malnutrition and even hunger among lower income groups is still a rule rather than an exception.

Per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages (from government distilleries only) in 1940 remained at the 1913 level, but by 1965 it had increased 2.5 times and reached the level of 1.85 gallons. This may be compared with 1.35 gallons consumed in the U.S.A. at the same time.

FIGURE 545. PART OF THE SOROCHYNTSI FAIR (1968)

Table IX on consumption of textile fabrics and shoes also shows a definite pattern of improvement in recent years compared with the prewar period. However, compared with the officially approved model norms of consumption of these products for the Ukrainian SSR, underconsumption is obvious.

Poor quality of the goods also plagues the Ukrainian consumer. In 1966, for example, government inspectors sampled 2,000 manufacturing and trading establishments and they found the following percentages of inventories below standards (shabby, spoiled, or completely defective):

| | *At the manufacturers* | *In the stores* |
|---|---|---|
| Textiles | 24.0 | 19.1 |
| Garments | 14.1 | 25.9 |
| Knitwear | 10.4 | 24.5 |
| Footwear | 9.5 | 37.2 |
| Home appliances | 25.3 | 64.3 |
| Furniture | 20.7 | 46.6 |
| Hardware | 33.2 | 78.0 |

This is the result of insufficient incentives and lack of quality control. Managerial bonuses do not depend on the composition and volume of inventories, and inventories do not bear direct cost (such as a tax) which would reduce the profits.

The comparison of the Ukrainian workers' and employees' buying patterns

with those of the United States (both for 1964) is shown in Table X.

TABLE X

| Expenditure | Ukrainian SSR | USA |
|---|---|---|
| Food and drink | 59.5 | 22.5 |
| Housing | 6.4 | 33.4 |
| Apparel | 24.4 | 10.7 |
| Transportation | 3.0 | 13.9 |
| Health and recreation | 8.7 | 19.5 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*Note:* This comparison is net after direct taxes and levies.

In the Ukrainian worker's budget, essential items such as food and clothing predominate completely. Not much is left for recreation or travel despite very cheap housing and health services. On the other hand, American housing and health services are expensive, but in abundant supply.

Direct comparative calculation of the standard of living of Ukrainian workers can also be made as follows: monthly earnings (net of direct taxes and levies) of an average industrial worker in Kiev in 1967 amounted to 94 rubles. At the official Soviet exchange rate of rubles into dollars this was $104.34. An average industrial worker in New York earned at the same time $453.41 net per month. Thus the Ukrainian worker earned 23.0 per cent of the wage of the American worker—the same proportion as before the revolution. (Comparison of earnings per family would slightly improve the position of the Ukrainian worker because American workers' families do not have as many second bread-winners as those in Ukraine.)

A different, and more accurate, way of comparing real wages is that of comparing actual prices with actual net earnings (per hour). The picture will then be as shown in Table XI.

It should be noted in this connection that Ukrainians residing in the United States, Canada, and other countries have been rendering considerable aid to their relatives in the Ukrainian SSR in the form of gift packages and money remittances. The flow of such aid increased especially during the 1950's. It can be estimated that the emigrants' aid to Ukrainian people averages about $50,000,000 a year, of which the Moscow government appropriates about one-half in import tariff duties.

## HOUSING

The shortage of housing is an acute problem that has plagued the cities of Ukraine for more than fifty years. With

TABLE XI

WORK TIME (IN 1967) REQUIRED TO ALLOW AN AVERAGE WORKER IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR AND THE USA TO PURCHASE CONSUMER GOODS LISTED

| Consumer goods | Kiev | New York |
|---|---|---|
| Cheapest bread, 1 kg | 14 min. | 12 min. |
| Most expensive bread, 1 kg | 29 min. | 13 min. |
| Sugar, 1 kg | 1¾ hrs. | 6 min. |
| Butter, 1 kg | 6 hrs. | 44 min. |
| Eggs, 1 doz. | 2½ hrs. | 12 min. |
| Beef, 1 kg | 3½ hrs. | 45 min. |
| Chicken, 1 kg | 4 hrs. | 21 min. |
| Salt bacon, 1 kg | 4 hrs. | 17 min. |
| Vodka, 1 qt. | 11 hrs. | 2 hrs. |
| Man's suit | 33 days | 5½ days |
| Man's shoes | 22½ hrs. | 5 hrs. |
| Man's watch | 53 hrs. | 10 hrs. |
| TV set | 16 weeks | 1½ weeks |
| Compact car | 25.4 months | 3.7 months |
| Monthly rent, 1 sq. meter | 20 min. | 36 hrs. |

FIGURE 546. MODERN HOUSES OF COLLECTIVE FARMERS IN THE VILLAGE DEMYDOVO, KIEV *oblast*

the establishment of communist power in Ukraine, all private housing in excess of 9.0 square meters per capita was nationalized and some working class families were moved from slums to better apartments. This did not solve the scarcity of housing, however. Cities remained overcrowded, particularly during industrialization. Under the early Five-Year plans, construction of new housing belonged to the category of "unproductive investments" and was given a very low priority. The urban population was increasing almost twice as fast as the supply of housing. Only on the eve of World War II did the supply of housing show an increase, as can be seen from Table XII. These data include estimates for Western Ukraine prior to 1941. Housing stock statistics include, in addition to usual living quarters, the space for kitchens, bathrooms, corridors, basements, etc.

TABLE XII

| | Total urban housing stock (in million square meters) | Housing per capita of urban population (in square meters) |
|---|---|---|
| [1 square meter = 1.196 square yards] | | |
| 1917 | 46.1 | 6.98 |
| 1923 | 41.8 | 5.72 |
| 1927 | 43.8 | 5.47 |
| 1933 | 52.3 | 5.07 |
| 1938 | 62.1 | 4.85 |
| 1941 | 97.0 | 7.13 |
| 1945 | 68.3 | 6.26 |
| 1950 | 101.9 | 7.96 |
| 1956 | 146.4 | 9.15 |
| 1958 | 174.8 | 9.55 |
| 1960 | 203.7 | 10.18 |
| 1964 | 248.1 | 11.02 |
| 1967 | 280.8 | 11.23 |

World War II led to massive destruction of Ukrainian cities, and the supply of available housing declined again. An effort to ease the housing shortage was not undertaken until the late 1950's, and even now it is still acute. The Civil Code of the Ukrainian SSR (Art. 300) establishes a "sanitary residence norm" of 13.65 square meters per capita in nonprivate apartment houses (if free space in an apartment is above this norm, housing authorities have the right to lease the surplus to a new occupant). Even in terms of this norm the present supply of housing per capita is still 18 per cent short. The norm, established in 1928, is obsolete by modern standards. In the United States, for example, the average worker's apartment measures about 28 square meters per capita.

Until 1958, apartment houses constructed in the cities by the state and municipal authorities were, as a rule, of the so-called "communal" type. Their residents were obliged to share common

FIGURE 547. A CLOTHING STORE IN THE VILLAGE ZHOVTNEVE, KIEV *oblast*

kitchens, bathrooms, and other facilities. In the worst years of overcrowding, a family of four lived in one room, and there were three to four families sharing one kitchen and one bathroom. Since 1958, new apartment buildings have been equipped with separate private apartments and facilities per family. However, the average apartment still has only two rooms and a kitchen per family. (Special classes of citizens, such

as scientists, army and police officers, have the privilege of one additional room for the head of the family.)

Of the total housing stock in Ukrainian cities, 44.9 per cent was still privately owned in 1967 (49.6 per cent in 1940). The rest was divided about equally between municipal and departmental (ministries, plants, factories) owners. The percentage of privately owned housing is much higher in small towns than in large cities. However, according to existing legislation, private homes in urban centers cannot be larger than 60 square meters in total space (4 to 5 rooms) and a person can own no more than one house. The owner can lease a room or two to private individuals for rent. The rent is controlled by the municipal authorities and cannot serve as the main source of income for the owner. In the cooperative housing projects, apartments can be subleased for rent as in private houses, but unlike private homes co-op apartments cannot be sold. Construction of new private houses in the cities is seriously hindered by the lack of building materials which are rationed in the state plans. Land for new houses is allotted free of charge, however, because it is nationalized.

Since the revolution the Communists have followed a low-rent policy in municipal and state-owned buildings. The rent is fixed by the government as a proportion of the monthly wage of the inhabitant. On the average it amounts to about 3.5–5.0 per cent of the budget of an average family (1967).

In comparison with the large cities, the villages and small towns in the Ukrainian SSR look very dilapidated. The housing problem in the countryside is as acute as in the cities. In the whole postwar period—till the end of 1958—only 1,612,000 new houses were built in rural areas, thus renewing the existing housing stock by 30 per cent. Residential space per capita reached 7.2 square meters, though this must be compared with only 4.7 square meters in 1924. From 1959 to 1965 an additional 900,000 houses were constructed in the countryside. New peasant homes no longer have straw-thatched roofs, but tiles or slates, and they have three or four rooms instead of one or two, as in the past. But even new houses lack running water and sewerage facilities. Only 74 per cent of all rural homes in 1967 had electricity.

## URBAN COMMUNAL FACILITIES AND SERVICES

Communal facilities and services have also been very inadequate in the Ukrainian SSR. In 1964, there were only 5,990 barber shops (the peasants do each other's hair), 920 public bath houses, 208 public laundries, 10,074 repair shops for clothing and footwear, 25,716 luncheonettes and dining places, and very few chemical cleaning shops.

Of the total housing stock in large cities in 1966, only 40 per cent of apartments had hot running water (16.2 per cent in 1953); 59.2 per cent enjoyed central heating systems, and 54.2 per cent used gas for fuel. In workers' settlements, only 47.3 per cent of all housing had running water in 1966, and only 42.2 per cent had sewerage disposal.

Of the 370 cities, towns, and workers settlements in the Ukrainian SSR that had the official status of urban centers in 1965, only 323 had a public water supply, 210 had sewerage systems, 26 had streetcars, and 20 had trolley buses. A small subway was operational in Kiev, and another was under construction in Kharkiv. Streetcars and trolley buses are extremely overcrowded and travel at very slow speeds (10 to 12 miles per hour). Private automobiles are very scarce. There were no more than 3 cars per 1,000 persons in 1967 (400 in the U.S.A.).

## SOCIAL SECURITY PROGRAMS

Old age, disability, and survivor pensions have been guaranteed since 1922

for all employed persons, students, and servicemen. Collective farmers have been covered since 1965. The cost of all insurance programs is borne half by the government and half by the employee's enterprise; nothing is deducted from wages. Old age, disability, and survivor pensions amount on the average to about 50–55 per cent of the current insured monthly wage. The rates are highly differentiated. Reduced or increased rates are proportionate to years of work in one place. The minimum is, however, 25 per cent of full pension under all circumstances. To receive an old age pension, the insured man must reach 60 years of age (55 for women) and to have worked 25 years (20 for women). If the number of years worked is less the pension is proportionately reduced. The pension age for collective farmers is 65 for men and 60 for women.

The number of old age and similar pension recipients in the Ukrainian SSR was 5,785,000 in 1967, of which 2,516,000 were collective farmers. This compares with but 18,926 pensioners in 1925. (The average life expectancy increased from 47 to 72 years during that time.) The average old age pension of workers and employees was only 23.5 rubles per month in 1965, however; that of collective farmers 10 rubles. On the other hand, there were also 1,087,000 pensioners in the Ukrainian SSR who were veterans or families of veterans. Their pensions were paid from special funds of the Ministry of Defense. The average amount of the pension is not known, but it is probably only slightly higher than that of the workers and employees. So-called "personal" pensioners have pensions that are fixed and paid by the government as a privilege for past meritorious services. Their pensions are much higher than the average.

Work injury, sickness, and maternity benefits are extended to employed persons and students only. Collective farmers remain uncovered by regular insurance, although some collective farms have mutual aid systems. Temporary disability benefits for work injury amount to 100 per cent of earnings payable until recovery. Sickness benefits amount to

FIGURE 548. GAGARIN STREET IN THE MINING TOWN TOREZ, DONBAS

from 50 to 90 per cent of earnings, depending on the number of years worked, payable until recovery. Maternity benefits amount to from 66 to 100 per cent of earnings—the latter after at least three years in one place. Benefits are payable for 112 days—8 weeks before and 8 weeks after hospitalization—during which time the woman stays away from her job. For those who do not belong to trade unions, the above pensions are reduced by one-third.

Medical services are provided directly by the government free of charge. Their cost to the government was 20 rubles per capita in urban areas, and 4 rubles in rural areas in 1960. Patients generally pay only for medication. In 1965 (according to L. Larichev) there was still a very acute shortage of sanatoriums—81 per cent shortage for adults and 50 for children. Rest homes and resorts could service only 800,000 people (1965), having only 30,800 beds. Of these, only 15 per cent were free of charge; for the rest the vacationers had to pay from 30 to 80 per cent of the cost. Rest homes and resorts are under the management of the trade unions.

The government also pays family cash allowances: 4 rubles a month for the fourth child, rising progressively to 15

rubles for the eleventh child. Children between one and five years of age are eligible. Birth grants are paid in a lump sum of 20 rubles on the birth of a third child, rising progressively to 250 rubles for the eleventh and each additional child. There are also family allowances for persons drafted into the armed forces: 15 rubles a month for one child, 22 rubles for two and more, in urban areas (one-half of that amount for rural residents).

## SOME INTER-REPUBLIC COMPARISONS INSIDE THE USSR

The standard of living in Ukraine as compared with that in Russia was higher before the revolution and during the NEP period, but the trend was running against Ukraine. The Soviet government wage policies favored the RSFSR and tried to create incentives there for the migration of labor. Thus the average wage of a worker in Ukraine's iron and steel industry in 1903 was 48 per cent higher than that of the same worker in the Urals; in 1935, the Ukrainian worker still got 6 per cent more on the average than the worker in the Urals. By 1956, however, the Ural worker was already receiving 10 per cent more than the Ukrainian worker, and since then this differential has increased by another 8 per cent.

The average monthly money wage of all workers and employees in 1940 was 31.9 rubles in the Ukrainian SSR and 35.1 rubles in the RSFSR; by 1967, the figures were 99.0 and 106.4 rubles, respectively. The difference in the levels of income and well-being can also be seen from the fact that although the income tax rates were the same in both republics, the actual per capita collection of income taxes in Russia was 22.1 per cent higher than in Ukraine during 1960–5. On the other hand, per capita savings in the banks were higher in the RSFSR than in the Ukrainian SSR by 33.5 per cent in 1958 and 20.1 per cent in 1967.

It is clear from Table XIII (official figures) that the growth of real wages in the Ukrainian SSR was considerably slower than in the RSFSR and the USSR; for later years comparable statistics disappeared.

The Russian peasantry also seems to fare better than the Ukrainian. During the 1930's, Ukrainian peasants' standard of living deteriorated much more and faster than in Russia, mainly because the Russian countryside was not so hard hit by collectivization, especially by the famine, as was agriculture in Ukraine. Furthermore, the post-Stalin procurement price policies discriminated against Ukraine. Although exact data are not available, the trend in collective farm money incomes illustrates the point. If

FIGURE 549. MORNING "RUSH" TO WORK IN THE DONBAS (1966)

TABLE XIII

OFFICIAL INDEXES OF THE GROWTH OF REAL WAGES OF WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES

| Year | Ukrainian SSR | Russian RSFSR | USSR |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1950 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| 1955 | 133 | 141 | 139 |
| 1958 | 150 | 152 | 160 |
| 1964 | 169 | 184 | 183 |

divided per collective farm household, income in the Ukrainian SSR was as follows: 1940–120 rubles; 1952–184; 1958–610; and 1967–1,470. At the same time, in the RSFSR figures for this same group were 92, 153, 684, and 1,860 rubles, respectively. Since most of this income stems from procurement prices, Russian prices must be generally higher.

It can be concluded on the basis of the available data that living conditions in Russia have improved faster than in Ukraine. In view of the fact established in the preceding articles that capital and other resources have been transferred from the Ukrainian SSR to the RSFSR via various channels and policies of the Moscow government, it can be stated that Russia has improved its living standards and welfare at Ukraine's expense, and is therefore exploiting Ukraine for its own benefit.

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# XI. Health and Medical Services and Physical Culture

## 1. HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES

### STATE OF RESEARCH IN THE HISTORY OF HEALTH AND MEDICAL SERVICES IN UKRAINE

The main sources of material on the history of health and medical services in Ukraine are: (*a*) for the ancient period—archaeological finds, references in non-medical literature, and ethnographic material; (*b*) for later periods—material preserved in the archives, reports on the activities of health institutions in the states which at one time or another incorporated parts of Ukraine, and original works produced by Ukrainian medical scholars. A great deal of material can be found in chronicles and in the literary and historical works of both Ukrainian and foreign historians, ethnographers, literary scholars, and particularly Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish historians of medical science.

The first data on the history of medicine in Russia and Ukraine were supplied by two Ukrainian scholars of the second half of the eighteenth century, Nestor Ambodyk-Maksymovych and Daniel Samoilovych. The first studies of the people's way of life as well as of health and sanitary conditions in Ukraine (specifically the Chernihiv area) appeared also in the second half of the eighteenth century. These were the works of Stephen Andriievsky, *Mediko-topograficheskie nabliudeniia v chernigovskoi gubernii* (Medico-Topographical Observations in the Chernihiv *Guberniya*, 1783) and Opanas Shafonsky, *Chernigovskogo namestnichestva topograficheskoe opisanie* (Topographical Description of the Chernihiv Province, 1787). The first historical surveys in Russia were also written by Ukrainians, notably Theodore Politkovsky (1812) and Basil Dzhunkovsky (1811).

FIGURE 550. NESTOR AMBODYK - MAKSYMOVYCH

Major works on the history of medicine in Russia and, consequently, in Ukraine were written by Volodymyr Rikhter (first exhaustive history of medicine in Russia, in three volumes, published in 1814–20), Nicholas Mamonov (four volumes of material on the history of medicine, 1881–5), Leo Zmeev (several monographs, 1890–6), Michael Lakhtin (studies on the history of medicine and surgery, 1901–2), N. Novombergsky (five volumes of material on the history of medicine in Russia, 1905–10), and A. Levytsky (outlines of the history of medicine, 1907–15). A great deal of material on the history of medicine in the Ukrainian lands is contained in the works of the Polish scholar Ludwik Gąsiorowski, particularly his *Zbiór wiadomości do historji sztuki lekarskiej w Polsce* (Collection of Material on the History of Medicine in Poland, 4 vols., Poznań, 1854).

There are a number of valuable monographic studies dealing with individual branches of medicine; for example, the

history of medical institutions and first medical schools in Russia (J. Chistovich), social services (A. Stog), medical police (J. Khanikov), *zemstvo* medicine (I. Molleson, B. Veselovsky), and factory medical services (A. Pogozhev). A whole series of monographs and collected works on the history of medicine which have appeared during the Soviet period also provide some information on the history of medicine in Ukraine; for example, works on the history of medicine by L. Skorokhodov, P. Zabludovsky, F. Borodulin, B. Petrov, and S. Verkhratsky; history of psychiatry by Y. Kannabikh, and T. Yudin; history of pediatrics by E. Konius; history of tuberculosis by R. Kaganovich; and medical education by S. Bagdasarian and B. Palkin.

More thorough studies relating to Ukraine did not appear until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among authors who produced studies on the general history of medicine in Ukraine, the following deserve to be mentioned: Savelii Kovner, Serhii Ihumnov, A. Levytsky, H. Skorychenko-Ambodyk, Ovksentii Korchak-Chepurkivsky, S. Verkhratsky, Rostyslav Kavetsky, Wasyl Pliushch, A. Hrando, and L. Liekarev. The history of medicine in Western Ukraine was treated in the works of A. Podrazhansky, S. Mikulanynets, E. Boiko, O. Riabyshenko, and others. Individual branches of medicine have been treated in numerous studies, articles, and monographs published separately and in newspapers and collected works.

Valuable studies on deaths and births as well as demographic indexes were published by the Demographic Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, written by its director, Michael Ptukha, and by O. Korchak-Chepurkivsky, Solomon Kahan, Serhii Tomylin, V. Yakovenko, and George Korchak-Chepurkivsky.

The study of morbidity and mortality caused by specific diseases during the period of Soviet rule is limited by the fact that all statistical data in this area are considered a state secret, and only data that are not harmful to the regime are published. Engaged in research on the spread of acute infectious diseases were S. Tomylin, L. Ulianov, S. Ekel, Borys Padalka, and others; venereal diseases–S. Tomylin, I. Dzhenhelsky, and others; tuberculosis–N. Morozovsky, L. Ulianov, V. Sukennikov, and W. Pliushch; trachoma–P. Kryvetsky; cancer–Paul Kucherenko, A. Merkov, D. Mats, E. Ryzhina, and others.

After World War II, a number of well-documented studies appeared in collections published by the Ministry of Health of the Ukrainian SSR: *Ocherki istorii meditsinskoi nauki i zdravookhraneniia na Ukraine* (Outlines of History of Medical Science and Health Care in Ukraine, 1954), *Materiialy okhorony zdorov'ia v URSR* (Materials on Health Care in the Ukrainian SSR, 1957, which contains a fairly exhaustive bibliography on the history of health care in the Ukrainian SSR), and others. These are collections of works written from the official and hence uncritical Soviet point of view. A full study on the history of health and medical services in Ukraine has yet to be written.

All medical institutes in the Ukrainian SSR maintain either chairs of the history of medicine or organizations for health care. Scientific research institutes concentrating on medicine maintain "methods departments" which deal with the history of medicine and statistics of morbidity and mortality. The Strazhesko Ukrainian Scientific Research Institute of clinical medicine maintains a special department on the history of medicine.

In the emigration, studies on the history of Ukrainian medicine are conducted by the medical section of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in West Germany and the journal *Likars'kyi Visnyk* (Medical Journal). Some of the men engaged in this field are W. Pliushch, Ivan Rozhin, Roman

Osinchuk, Yaroslav Khmilevsky, and Toma Lapychak.

## HEALTH CARE TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

### Early and Princely periods

It can be stated, on the basis of evidence obtained from archaeological finds, ancient folklore, and comparative ethnography, that in prehistoric times some primitive methods of preventing and curing diseases were known to the population of present-day Ukraine. Various herbs were used in healing. Some methods of surgery were known at that time, as were ways of assisting at childbirth. A kind of primitive psychotherapy was applied in some cases utilizing so-called magic medicine. Considering the times, medicine was considerably well developed in Greek colonies on the northern shores of the Black Sea. Scythian physicians were held in high esteem by the Athenians who considered them to be particularly good prognosticians.

The medicine of the Princely period was greatly influenced by Byzantine (as well as Arab) medicine, which continued the traditions of ancient Greece and Rome and evolved a system of public health services. The first permanent hospitals and medical schools were located in monasteries. In *Rus'*-Ukraine these influences fused with local knowledge and practices of folk medicine developed over a period of centuries, and thus raised the standards of medical science in *Rus'*-Ukraine to a level higher than that attained by Western Europe at that time.

In their precepts, the Kievan princes spoke frequently of the need of care for the ailing and the infirm, and issued a number of legislative decrees which have been preserved in the writings of the time. For example, *Ruskaia Pravda* (The *Rus'* Law) contains provisions regarding social and individual hygiene and physicians' fees; *Tserkovnyi Ustav* (Church Statute) of Volodymyr the Great entrusted the churches with the erection of institutions of charity, such as hospitals and homes for the aged and invalids. Volodymyr the Great also instituted a special levy to finance the care of ailing and disabled persons. Statutes relating to church courts referred to physicians as a distinct group of people. Church leaders and monasteries were mainly responsible for the construction of hospitals and homes for the aged.

In 1070, St. Theodosius, Superior of the Kievan Cave Monastery, built a hospital at the monastery and designated one-tenth of the monastery's income for its maintenance. Metropolitan Yefrem (eleventh century) built a large hospital in Pereiaslav. There were hospitals in Chernihiv, Vyshhorod, and so on.

The art of healing was practiced mostly by sorcerers and sorceresses, fortune-tellers, herb doctors, and midwives. They cured with the help of herbs, although frequently they confined themselves to invocations and incantations. The first learned physicians (*lichets'*, *lichytel'*) were mostly foreigners, notably Greeks, Armenians, and Syrians, who were known as physicians of the princes as early as the eleventh century. Outstanding physicians of the time were the monks St. Antonius, St. Agapius, St. Philip, St. Olympius, and St. Panteleimon, and lay doctors, including women—Ioan Smera, Peter Syriianyn, Maryna, Fevroniia, and others. Among those who practiced medicine and cared for the sick were persons of highest social standing; examples are Princess Olha (tenth century), Princess Yevfrosyniia (1100–73), daughter of the Chernihiv prince, who acquired the knowledge of medicine from her teacher Theodore and who founded and administered a monastery hospital; and Princess Anna Vsevolodivna, who founded the first Ukrainian secular school (eleventh century) in which medicine was one of the subjects of instruction.

A prominent figure in the world of

medicine at the time was the first Ukrainian woman doctor Yevpraksiia Zoia (1108–72), daughter of Prince Mstyslav Volodymyrovych and granddaughter of Prince Volodymyr Monomakh. Following her marriage to the Byzantine prince Ioannes, she wrote a scholarly treatise *Mazi* (Ointments). Written in the Greek language, it was a kind of encyclopaedia of twelfth-century medical knowledge.

A number of diseases were known to the medical science of the Princely period: jaundice, arthritis, pleurisy, asthma, epilepsy, itching illness, tuberculosis, malaria, typhoid, bubonic plague, Siberian plague, and many others. Much attention was paid to the prevention of disease. Herbs, animal products, and drugs of a mineral origin were used in treating diseases. There were also specially prepared medicines: tinctures, powders, ointments, and pain-killing drugs brought from Byzantium. Also applied in treatment were hot baths, compresses, and so on. Surgeons (*rizal'nyky* or *rukodily*) performed even quite complex operations, such as amputations and stomach incisions. Various surgical instruments were used, such as knife, saw, frame, drill, and similar tools. Wounds were stitched together with raw hemp threads or gut strings. Personal and social hygiene were developed. Public baths were available in the cities, streets were paved, and systems of watermains were installed.

Among popular books of the period were the *Physiologos*; *Shestodnev* (Hexameron) by Ioan Bolharsky, describing drugs and poisons; and *Izbornyk Sviatoslava* (Collections of Sviatoslav, compiled in 1073–6) which contained many suggestions and recommendations on the treatment of diseases as well as diagnostic information, including detailed description of the well-known *Facies Hippocratica*. The *Zhytiia* (Lives), *Propovidi* (Sermons), *Slova* (Words), and apocrypha, contained some biological and medical information of general character; for example *Patericon* of the Kievan Cave Monastery; *Tolkovaia Paleia* (Annotated Palea); *Pchely*, *Amartol*, *Marharit* (The Pearl), and later *Halinovo na Ippokrata*, *Al'bertus-Knyha preudivitel'nykh tainstv zhenskikh*, and *Vrata Aristotelevi* (The Gate of Aristotle).

### Health Care in the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries

The disintegration of the Kievan realm in the thirteenth century and of the Galician-Volhynian state in the fourteenth century [Vol. I, History] led to a decline of ancient Ukrainian culture and a subsequent deterioration in the area of medical and health services. Folk medicine and the primitive art of healing assumed even greater importance among the masses. Monasteries continued to be the main centers of medical care and treatment.

FIGURE 551. FRANCISCUS SKORYNA (ENGRAVING FROM 1517), NOTED DOCTOR, PRINTER, AND TRANSLATOR OF THE BIBLE

As a result of the incorporation of Ukrainian lands in the Lithuanian-Ruthenian and the Polish states, the existing ties with Byzantium were almost totally disrupted and gradually displaced by Western influences. A number of Ukrainian physicians, graduates of Polish and Western universities, began to appear in Ukraine as early as the second half of the fifteenth century. In Poland medicine was taught at the University of Cracow (from 1364) and the Zamojski Academy in Zamostia (from 1593), although the level of instruction in the field was not particularly high. A great many Ukrainians studied in Italy. Among the first Ukrainian learned physicians was George Drohobych (1450–94), who studied at the universities of Cracow and Bologna and later taught at these schools. Among his numerous studies, the most important one was *Judicium prognosticon magistri Georgi Drohobicz de Russia.*

In addition to the monasteries, a significant role was played by the Ukrainian Orthodox brotherhoods [Vol. I, p. 629], which founded hospitals, and homes for the aged, the sick, and the infirm. In 1591 the Lviv Brotherhood established a large hospital in Lviv; the Kiev Brotherhood did so in 1629; brotherhood hospitals functioned in Chernihiv, Lutsk, and other cities. Artisan guilds also founded their hospitals; for example, the butchers' guild operated a hospital of its own in Boryspil.

Military medicine attained a high level of development in the period of the Kozak Hetman state. Every regiment of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky's army had a physician, and each *sotnia* (company) had a *tsyrul'nyk* (barber, who was also a medical practitioner of lower grade), and a farrier. The wounded were treated at monastery hospitals; the Mezhyhirsky monastery hospital, for example, cared for the wounded of Hetman Khmelnytsky's army. Caring for the sick and wounded of the Zaporozhian Kozaks were specially assigned medical

FIGURE 552. CENTRAL HOSPITAL OF THE ZAPOROZHIAN SICH IN MEZHYHIRIA NEAR KIEV

men (Sich *tsyrul'nyky*), while more serious cases were treated at the Terekhtemyriv hospital, maintained by the funds of the Zaporozhian Sich treasury.

The services of folk and monastery medical practitioners and trained physicians (a number of whom were foreigners) were limited to the higher strata of society (as house doctors of the hetmans and of Kozak and Polish magnates). There were also *tsyrul'nyky*, who in larger cities even formed their own guilds, as for example in Kiev in the fifteenth century, in Lviv in 1512, and in Kamianets Podilsky. Upon completion of training, they were required to pass examinations in which they had to show proficiency in preparing ointments, plasters, and powders, in the treatment of bleeding, in performing certain kinds of surgery, in the application of dressings to wounds and fractures, and in the removal of teeth. There were some *tsyrul'nyky*, particularly in larger cities, who knew how to remove urinary bladder stones and perform amputations and even hernia operations. In smaller cities there were less educated *tsyrul'nyky*, popularly called *partachi.* Also, from time immemorial, medical treatment in Ukraine was often administered by the so-called *tsysartsi* or *madiary*—itinerant traders from Hungary who sold drugs. Folk medicine men used primitive medical literature—*zeliinyky, travnyky, vertohrady* (herb guides known from earlier times)—which contained information on the folk art of healing. More serious books on medicine were already avail-

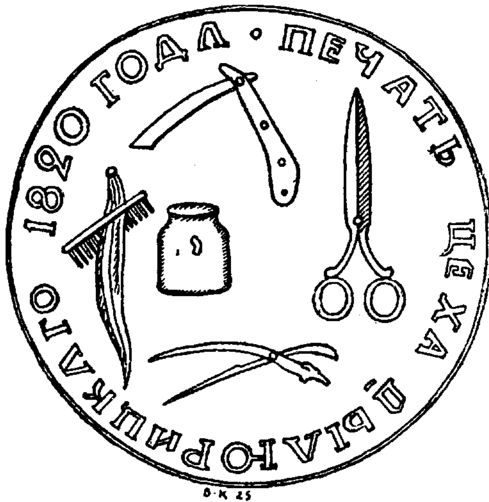


FIGURE 553. SEAL OF THE KIEV GUILD OF *tsyrul'nyky* WITH SOME OF THE INSTRUMENTS USED BY THEM

able at that time; an example is a manual by Andrew Krupynsky for the *tsyrul'nyky*.

Foreigners crossing Ukraine found the standards of medical culture and hygiene in Ukraine to be higher than those of the neighboring countries. Among these travelers were: Paul of Aleppo, a Syrian who crossed Ukraine in 1654 on the way to Moscow; Ulrich Werdum, a German traveler who passed through Ukraine in 1670–2; the noted French engineer and cartographer Beauplan (middle of the seventeenth century); and such eighteenth-century scholar-travelers as Johann Kohl, Samuel Gottlieb Gmelin, and Johann Anton Guldenstedt.

The Kievan Mohyla Academy (see pp. 236 ff.) played an important part in the development of medical culture in the second half of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth centuries. In spite of the fact that the Academy offered no courses in medicine at that time (not until the nineteenth century and only for a short period of time, 1802–19), several of its professors were interested in medicine as a science; Epiphanii Slavynetsky, for example, translated into Slavonic the famous treatise on anatomy by Andreas Vesalius. Even more important was the fact that a number of the Academy's graduates completed medical studies in Western Europe; there is evidence that in the eighteenth century graduates of the Mohyla Academy and three other Ukrainian colleges (in Chernihiv, Kharkiv, and Pereiaslav) defended 62 doctoral dissertations at various universities abroad. In the period 1754–86 alone, close to 300 graduates of the Kievan Academy enrolled at the medical and surgical schools of Ukraine and Russia.

A number of graduates of the Kiev Academy, as well as other Ukrainian colleges, eventually became outstanding professors at higher schools of medicine in Russia; others attained positions of authority in the medical administrative system of the Russian empire. In the absence of a higher school of medicine in Ukraine, and as a result of the decline of Ukrainian statehood, these scholars' only opportunity of professional advancement was in St. Petersburg and Moscow. Among them were such men as Nestor Ambodyk-Maksymovych (1744–1812, one of the founders of obstetrics), Daniel Vellansky (1774–1847, anatomist and physiologist), Peter Zahorsky (1764–1846, anatomist), Nykon Karpynsky (1745–1810, one of the founders of Russian pharmacology), Daniel Samoilovych (1774–1805, epidemologist, renowned authority on plagues), Jacob Sapolovych (1776–1830, surgeon), Martin Terekhovsky (1740–96), and Alexander Shumliansky (1748–95). It would not be an exaggeration to state that Russian medical science was founded by Ukrainians and other foreigners (see also p. 238). Thus, for example, in the eighteenth century, only 16 Russians defended their doctoral dissertations at foreign universities as compared to 62 Ukrainians.

It is known that toward the end of the Hetmanate in Left-Bank Ukraine there was a network of city and county hospitals and physicians, and a small number of pharmacies; the first official public pharmacy was opened in 1715 and the first private pharmacy in 1728, both in

Kiev. In the same period, initial measures were taken to prevent the spread of epidemic diseases. In 1740, a central quarantine station was established in the city of Vasylkiv with eight branches in other cities. In 1732, there were 118 hospitals in the Chernihiv *polk* (regiment, an administrative unit); 107 in the Lubny *polk*; 29 in the Myrhorod; 138 in the Nizhyn; 42 in the Poltava; and 52 in the Pereiaslav.

## HEALTH CARE 1800–1914

**Ukrainian Lands in the Russian Empire**

Administration of health and medical services in the territory of the Russian empire, including Ukraine, was regulated first by the Apothecary Office (*aptekars' kyi prikaz*), later by the Medical Collegium, and from 1803 by the Department of Medicine of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. It was not until 1916 that a separate Ministry of Health was established in the Russian empire. According to the Law of 1775, Offices of Public Care (*Prikazy obshchestvennogo prizreniia*) were established in the *guberniyas* of the Russian empire. Made up of representatives of the administration and various classes of society, these offices were given the assignment of organizing and administering medical and charitable institutions such as hospitals and pharmacies. Their scope of activity was limited, however, by lack of funds, as was that of city and county doctors and the *guberniya* medical institutions. Up to the 1860's health services and medical education in Ukraine, and for that matter in the entire Russian empire, lagged far behind those of other European countries because of shortages in funds and personnel.

It was not until 1787 that the first higher school of medicine was opened in Ukraine, the Yelysavethrad School of Medicine and Surgery, which was in operation only until 1798. For a brief period of time, a course in medicine was offered at the Kievan Mohyla Academy. Medical departments were opened at the universities of Kharkiv in 1805, Kiev in 1841, and Odessa in 1900. Secondary schools of medicine were also scarce; in 1916 there were only 33 small schools. The first medical scientific societies began to appear in the second half of the nineteenth century (see p. 245).

There was an acute shortage of hospitals and physicians. The first military hospital was opened in Kiev in 1775. In 1787, a hospital for infectious diseases was established in Kiev, and in 1789 a psychiatric hospital was opened in the same city. In 1803, a general hospital was established also in Kiev; in addition, in the same city, there were houses for invalids and maternity wards. There were also the so-called economic hospitals which provided medical care for the serfs. The hospitals of the time were more akin to charitable institutions, which were to provide shelter for homeless persons. It was only later that they developed into real centers of medical care and treatment, serving mostly the poorest elements of the urban population. The rest of the urban population availed itself of the services provided by privately practicing physicians, although their number was extremely limited. On the other hand, there was a much greater number of feldshers (medical practitioners of lower grade) whose precursors were the *tsyrul'nyky*. Their education did not extend beyond secondary medical schools, but they played a vital role in providing health services, particularly for the peasant population. As sanitary-epidemiological measures were insufficient, Ukraine, as well as Russia, was plagued by repeated waves of epidemic diseases such as smallpox in 1802, 1807, 1810, and 1826 and cholera in 1830–31, 1847, 1852, 1853, and 1855. Morbidity and mortality rates resulting from infectious diseases, particularly tuberculosis, were extremely high, and the mortality rate among children reached catastrophic proportions.

Health care, especially as regards the

rural population, improved greatly with the introduction of the *zemstvo* medical care. Established in Ukraine in 1864–70 (with the exception of the Kiev area, Volhynia, and Podilia, where they were not instituted until 1911 [Vol. I, pp. 695–6]), the *zemstvo* institutions took over the administration of smaller hospitals and health services in the counties from the Offices of Public Care. Initially, the *zemstvo* institutions retained the existing system of medical services—that is, treatment by the feldshers, who were instructed and supervised by the county physicians—while expanding the network of rural medical districts. But with the gradual introduction of outpatient clinics, the *zemstvo*-operated

FIGURE 554. PROVINCIAL INFIRMARY, FIRST IN UKRAINE, BUILT IN KREMENCHUK IN 1800

medical institutions were able to change from itinerant to stationary care. In 1870, county *zemstvos* in Ukraine spent 300,000 *karbovantsi* (local currency) for public health services, whereas in 1912 the expenditures reached 10 million *karbovantsi.* The *zemstvo* medical institutions were financed by the revenue obtained through general taxation. As a rule, medical care was provided free of charge, with the exception of a few *zemstvos* which did charge a small fee. The expansion of *zemstvo*-operated medical services can be seen from Table I.

TABLE I

MEDICAL SERVICES, 1870–1914*

| Years | 1870 | 1890 | 1912–14 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Medical districts | 107 | 386 | 808 |
| Feldsher stations | 516 | 955 | 854 |
| Hospitals | 73 | 273 | 576 |
| Hospital beds | 1,576 | 3,843 | 9,013 |
| Physicians | 154 | 405 | 947 |
| Feldshers and midwives | 641 | 1,541 | 3,099 |

*Figures are for seven *guberniyas* in eastern and southern Ukraine, and for the *guberniyas* of Bessarabia and Tavria.

In 1912–14, there were 24,000 inhabitants for every medical district (74,000 in 1870); one bed for every 2,100 persons (4,900 in 1870); one physician for every 19,900 persons (52,500 in 1870); one feldsher for every 6,100 persons (11,500 in 1870). In 1870, the number of hospital beds in villages constituted 12.8 per cent of the total; but by the end of the period the number had increased to 68.2 per cent. The number of hospitals with over 50 beds increased considerably, as they gradually acquired all of the modern facilities.

The *zemstvo*-operated system of medical care contributed in large measure to the emergence of organized prophylactic efforts in Ukraine, to greater concern and care for the orphans and the mentally sick, to the dissemination of knowledge on first aid at childbirth, and to the development of medium-level medical education. Toward the end of the *zemstvo* period, 10 per cent of all childbirths occurred in hospitals. A number of orphanages were opened; starting in 1898, nurseries were being established for children (in the Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, and Poltava *guberniyas*, approximately 300 nurseries for 20,000 children; during World War I, close to 500 for 50,000 children). Homes for the mentally ill were available in practically every *zemstvo*. Approximately 20 sanitary and vaccination centers were established by the *zemstvos*, as well as bacteriological and vaccination institutes in Kharkiv, Kiev, Odessa, Kherson, Katerynoslav, and Chernihiv. The *zemstvos* also administered vaccination against smallpox and disseminated basic knowledge on health care. For the purpose of

increasing the number of secondary-level medical personnel, the *zemstvos* opened a number of feldsher and midwife schools, the first such school was founded in Kiev in 1842.

In the three western *guberniyas*, full *zemstvo* medical care was not introduced until 1911 (until 1904, it was under the control of the Office of Public Care, and between 1904 and 1911 it was administered by the *guberniya* and county committees). After 1904 medical districts and centers developed rapidly: medical districts increased from 126 in 1904 to 303 in 1913; village hospitals from 126 to 216 (no change in the number of county hospitals, 33); hospital beds from 2,024 to 3,825; feldsher stations from 168 to 305.

Thus, in the early 1910's, the *zemstvo* medical system in Ukraine was able to provide 825 hospitals with 12,838 beds, 1,111 medical districts, 1,159 feldsher stations, 1,300 physicians, and nearly 4,000 feldshers.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century the level of medical services in the cities of Ukraine improved considerably. Modern clinics and private hospitals were available in larger cities, particularly at university centers such as Kiev, Kharkiv, and Odessa. A great deal of assistance was furnished by charitable institutions, especially the Red Cross and the Anti-Tuberculosis League (14 out-patient clinics and 5 sanatoria). The first Anti-Tuberculosis Society in the Russian empire was founded in Ukraine (Kiev, 1901).

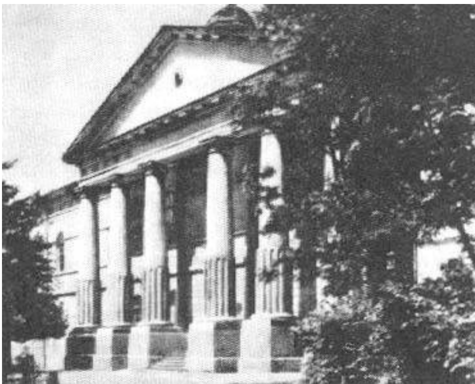

FIGURE 555. INFIRMARY IN ODESSA, EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

In addition to the faculties of medicine which existed at the universities of Kiev, Kharkiv, and Odessa, higher medical courses for women were opened shortly before the outbreak of World War I in Kiev, Kharkiv, and Odessa, and in Katerynoslav in 1916.

Before the outbreak of the revolution in Ukraine, there were close to 6,600 physicians, 12,400 auxiliary medical personnel (nurses, technicians, etc.), and 1,438 hospitals with 47,700 beds. Of the total number of hospitals, 825 were operated by the *zemstvos*, 21 by the cities, 202 by factories, 47 by the Jews, 4 by churches, 26 by charitable institutions, 4 by the Red Cross, 66 privately, 17 by university clinics, 15 by railways, 68 by prisons, 121 by other organizations, and 22 for the mentally ill. There were 1,344 out-patient clinics and polyclinics and 1,067 pharmacies.

These institutions, however, were insufficient to provide adequate medical services for the population. Moreover, the sanitary conditions were extremely poor and the standard of living low, with the result that morbidity and mortality rates were exceedingly high in Ukraine as compared with those of other European countries. Still, the mortality rate in Ukraine has always been lower than that of the European part of Russia, and much lower than that of Russia as a whole, as illustrated in Table II.

TABLE II
ANNUAL MORTALITY RATE, 1881–1913
(per 1,000 persons)

| Years | Ukraine | European part of Russia |
|---|---|---|
| 1881–1890 | 32.1 | 35.5 |
| 1891–1900 | 29.9 | 34.4 |
| 1901–1910 | 26.4 | 30.1 |
| 1911–1913 | 22.9 | 27.1 |

As a result of scientific advancement

in the fields of medical science and hygiene, the mortality rate decreased gradually, particularly from the middle of the 1890's. It was exceptionally high in the years of epidemic outbreaks, for example in 1872 (47.4 in Ukraine), 1882 (38.0), 1892 (34.1), and 1910 (29.1). The mortality rate among infants was extremely high, decreasing much more slowly than did the over-all mortality rate. Thus, for every 100 infants up to one year of age, 20.5 males and 17.3 females died in Ukraine in 1906–10. (The same statistics for the European part of Russia were 26.2 and 23.1.) In

FIGURE 556. D. ZABOLOTNYI (FOURTH FROM THE RIGHT) AND HIS ASSOCIATES IN ODESSA. THE GROUP MADE GREAT STRIDES IN COMBATING THE EPIDEMICS OF PLAGUE AND CHOLERA

Ukraine the mortality rate resulting from epidemic diseases was as follows (per 1,000 persons): 19.1 in 1891–1900; 6.8 in 1901–10; 5.6 in 1911–13. During the pre-World War I period Ukraine was plagued by occasional outbreaks of epidemic diseases such as typhoid, dysentery, scarlet fever, diphtheria, and sometimes cholera (1892, 1907, 1912, etc.). In many cities, because of poor sanitary conditions, typhoid could not be permanently arrested. Venereal diseases were also widespread in the population. The mortality rate from tuberculosis was as high as 30 for 10,000 inhabitants (compared with, for example, 14 in Germany). The morbidity rate for 10,000 inhabitants in the Kharkiv *guberniya* during the period 1900–14 was as follows: spotted fever, 14.4; recurring fever, 5.7; typhoid, 4.4; smallpox, 11.0; diphtheria, 44.6; scarlet fever, 44.5; syphilis, 66.3; malaria, 392.7.

The first medical journal in Ukraine, *Sovremennaia Meditsina* (Contemporary Medicine) began to appear in 1860 in Russian. By the end of the nineteenth century, 25 medical journals were being published in Ukraine, and from 1910 to 1919 their number had increased to 36.

Charitable societies had a considerable effect on the improvement of sanitary conditions. Ukrainian physicians took an active part in the establishment of such societies as the Russkoe Obshchestvo Okhraneniia Narodnogo Zdraviia (Russian Society for the Protection of Public Health) founded in 1887; Soiuz Bor'by s Detskoi Smertnostiu (Association to Combat Child Mortality) founded in 1904; and Liga Bor'by s Tuberkulezom (Anti-Tuberculosis League), founded in 1909. The first anti-tuberculosis societies in the Russian empire, Kapli Moloka (Drops of Milk), came into being in the territory of Ukraine.

The physicians of Ukraine were organized into a number of professional medical societies. The most popular among them was the N. I. Pirogov Society of Russian Physicians which maintained branches in the larger cities of Ukraine. The first student medical society was founded in Kiev in 1881. A professional association of feldshers—the first such society to appear anywhere on the territory of the Russian empire—was organized in 1881 also in Kiev. The first convention of natural scientists and physicians, held in Kiev in 1861, was called together on the initiative of Ukrainian doctors. It was also in Ukraine that the first *guberniya* medical conventions were held periodically starting in 1873.

A number of Ukrainian physicians were instrumental in the establishment of *zemstvo* medicine and took an active part in the organized life of the Ukrainian community. Among them were such men as Nicholas Yellinsky (1796–1849), rector of the University of Kharkiv and

author of the first textbook on desmology; Opanas Maslovsky (1753–1804), lecturer in medicine at the Kiev Academy; Ostap Rudykivsky (1784–1851), who worked at the Kiev military hospital; Andrew Kozachkivsky (1812–89), a close friend and personal doctor of Taras Shevchenko; and Stephen Nis (1829–1901), author of the first popular medical brochure written in the Ukrainian language, *Pro khvoroby i yak ïm zapobihaty* (On Diseases and How to Prevent Them, Kiev, 1874).

**Ukrainian Lands under Austria-Hungary**

In Galicia, annexed to Austria in 1772, as in the rest of Poland, the standards of health care were extremely low; standards were even lower in Bukovina, which was annexed in 1774, but were slightly better in Transcarpathia. At the time of the annexation there were only 14 physicians in all of Galicia, including 7 in Lviv alone, a few *tsyrul'nyky* and "surgeons," 27 pharmacies, and several hospitals which were actually shelters for the homeless. Health care in Austria-Hungary was administered by the Land Sanitary Commission, attached to the office of the governor and subordinated to the government in Vienna. It functioned under the provisions of the relatively modern Austrian Sanitary Statute of 1770. The commission established a system of county and city physicians, effected a series of sanitary epidemiological measures, and took steps to assure the supply of medical personnel. Some of the latter came to Galicia from other parts of Austria-Hungary and some were trained at the Lviv Medical School (1773–84, "surgeons," midwives, and pharmacists only), at the Lviv University's department of medicine (from 1786 to 1805), and, after the department was closed in 1805, at the School of Medicine and Surgery which existed until 1894. By 1850, there were 201 physicians, 84 "surgeons," 12 midwives, and 16 hospitals in Galicia; by 1882, the number of physicians had increased to 813.

The administration of health services was under the joint control of the Department of Health Care attached to the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Vienna and a specially created High Council of Health. In 1917 the Department was changed into the Ministry of Health. Its first minister was Ivan Horbachevsky (1854–1942), a Ukrainian who specialized in medical chemistry and taught at the University of Prague. In Galicia and Bukovina, authority in all matters pertaining to health protection was actually vested in land diets and in the land councils of health created by them. In Transcarpathia, administration of health services was under the jurisdiction of a special department subordinated to the Hungarian Ministry of Internal Affairs. In 1891, the Galician diet passed a law concerning the establishment of rural community health services. Another law, adopted in 1906, provided for the establishment of a network of doctors assigned to rural communities. A compulsory medical insurance plan (Kasa Khvorykh) was provided for that part of the urban population, consisting of laborers and white-collar workers.

FIGURE 557. IVAN HORBACHEVSKY

The ranks of medical personnel increased with the re-establishment of the department of medicine at the University of Lviv in 1894, and standards improved. "Surgeons" and *tsyrul'nyky* were no longer allowed to practice. In 1909 there were 1,389 physicians in Galicia, that is, one doctor for 3,400 persons. Of the total, 258 doctors were government employed and only 49 were assigned to territorial districts within the framework of the government-sponsored plan. There were 2,099 midwives. In 1910 there were 76 hospitals in Galicia (state, county, city, charity, and private), with a total of 4,885 beds, that is, one bed per 1,000

inhabitants approximately. Included in this number, however, were 1,301 beds in Lviv alone and an additional 1,111 beds in the large state psychiatric hospital. As compared to the central and eastern lands of Ukraine, the rural population of Galicia was not so adequately provided with medical care. There was no system of public health care comparable to that provided by the *zemstvos*; medical services were available only in the cities, and they were not free of charge; of the total number of physicians in Galicia, not more than 150 were Ukrainians (one-tenth of the total).

The low standard of living of the rural population, particularly malnutrition and the lack of public health care in the villages, were the main causes of the exceedingly high mortality rate. It was higher than in the central and eastern Ukrainian lands, and was the highest of all the lands under Austria.

In 1891–1900 the annual mortality rate per 1,000 persons was 31.4; in 1901–10, 28.2; in 1911–13, 25.9. The mortality of infants under one year of age was 21 per cent in 1904–9 (in central and eastern lands, 20.5 per cent). The mortality rate caused by tuberculosis was extremely high (in 1901–5, 69.2 per 10,000 persons). Morbidity resulting from syphilis (particularly in the Hutsul region) and infectious abdominal diseases was also high. The last cholera epidemic, which broke out in 1894, resulted in the death of nearly 3,000 persons.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Ukrainians took the initiative in forming a number of institutions designed to improve the sanitary and hygienic conditions throughout the land. Thus in 1903, a group of Ukrainian doctors founded the Narodna Lichnytsia (National Infirmary), an organization which opened an out-patient clinic and built a Ukrainian hospital in 1937. The Ukrainian Anti-Alcoholic and Anti-Smoking Society Vidrodzhennia (Rebirth) was founded in 1909. The Ukrainian Medical Society, numbering 63 physicians at its inception, was founded in 1910. The first medical journal to be

FIGURE 558. BUILDING OF THE NARODNA LICHNYTSIA HOSPITAL IN LVIV, 1937

published in Ukrainian under Austria-Hungary, *Zdorovlia* (Health), began appearing in 1912. Among Ukrainian physicians who gained prominence by virtue of their professional as well as civic activities were Eugene Ozarkevych, Sylvester Drymalyk, Ivan Kurovets, Alexander Kozakevych, and Titus Burachynsky. Ukrainian members of the High Council of Health in Vienna, in addition to Horbachevsky, the minister, were: E. Ozarkevych, Volodymyr Fylypovych, and Felix Shchasnyi Selsky. Yaroslav Okunevsky was the official physician of the Navy, with the rank of admiral.

Conditions were not much different in TRANSCARPATHIA and BUKOVINA except for the fact that there a number of Ukrainian physicians had succeeded in securing positions as county physicians and hospital directors. In 1910, there were 122 physicians in Transcarpathia, 544 midwives, and 40 medical districts. Transcarpathia produced several outstanding medical scientists in the first half of the nineteenth century, Ivan Orlai (1770–1829), for example, who later worked as a physician and educator in Nizhyn and Odessa, and George Venelyn-Hutsa (1802–39), doctor and historian who went to Russia.

## THE PERIOD OF UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD

World War I had a devastating effect on the entire population, causing a sharp rise in morbidity, particularly of infectious diseases, and mortality among both adults and infants. The task of administering medical care and treatment to the wounded was assumed in part by the Red Cross and the *zemstvo* and municipal organizations. Western Ukraine was most adversely affected, since it was the site of continuous military hostilities. The mortality rate among war refugees evacuated to Austria (camps in Gmünd and other cities) and Russia was extremely high.

Shortly after the revolution of 1917, the Supreme Medical and Sanitary Administration was established in Kiev. It was headed by the leading civic figure of the time, Borys Matiushenko. The first convention of the Ukrainian Red Cross assembled in April, 1917, and among those named to its executive committee were Yevmen Lukasevych, president, and Basil Nalyvaiko. Local branches of the Ukrainian Red Cross in provincial and county centers assumed the task of providing care for prisoners of war, wounded soldiers, and children. They opened a number of anti-epidemic hospitals and nutrition centers, and formed disinfection squads to arrest the spread of infectious diseases. Later, the executive committee of the Ukrainian Red Cross sent a special delegation abroad and established relations with the International Red Cross in Geneva. The first convention of Ukrainian physicians, held in Kiev in October, 1917, formed an All-Ukrainian Union of Physicians, which was headed by Y. Lukasevych, B. Matiushenko, B. Nalyvaiko, and others. *Ukraïns'ki Medychni Visti* (Ukrainian Medical News), the first medical journal in central and eastern Ukraine printed in Ukrainian, began appearing at this time.

A Department of Health was established soon after the proclamation of Ukrainian independence. During the period of the Hetman State, it was changed into the Ministry of Public Health, headed by George Liubynsky. Among his successors during the period of the Directory were Dmytro Odryna, Oleksii Bilous, and Stanyslav Stempovsky. The Ministry began publishing its own *Visnyk* (Herald). The main function of the Ministry was to combat epidemic diseases, especially spotted fever.

The same function was performed by the State Secretariat of Health Care of the Western Ukrainian National Republic, headed by I. Kurovets (later, chief of the Department of Sanitation in the State Secretariat of Internal Affairs). Most of the efforts were directed at arresting the widespread epidemic of typhus.

As a result of virtually uninterrupted war hostilities, the task of providing adequate medical facilities for the Ukrainian armies assumed special significance. A medical corps under the leadership of Brigadier General Martyrii Halyn and other Ukrainian physicians was formed within the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic. The Ukrainian Galician Army maintained a medical corps headed by officer-doctors Constantine Taniachkevych, Rostyslav Bilas, and Andrew Burachynsky. Both armies maintained field and station hospitals.

Health care and medical services deteriorated with each succeeding year of the war. In this period of revolution and armed struggle, resulting in virtually total destruction of Ukraine's economy, it was impossible to institute a regular system of public health services. Thus, a number of anticipated measures never went beyond the planning stage. Conditions became extremely harsh toward the end of 1918, when large-scale epidemics (Spanish influenza, spotted fever, recurring fever, dysentery) spread to all areas of Ukraine. Lack of disinfectants,

drugs, and medical personnel made the situation even worse. Thus by the end of 1919, 70 per cent of the soldiers of the Galician Army suffered from typhus, with mortality as high as 30 per cent. It was the typhus epidemic which finally broke the back of the Ukrainian Galician Army (see Vol. I, p. 765). It should be noted that as a result of the blockade imposed on Ukraine by the Allied Powers, no medical supplies could be brought into the country. The Ukrainian population received no help either from the international committee on combating epidemic diseases or from the International Red Cross.

## HEALTH CARE IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR

### The Years 1920–22

During the first years of the Bolshevik occupation of Ukraine, the status of public health care amid conditions of general deterioration was catastrophically low. These years were marked by further disintegration of the network of medical and sanitary facilities and an increase in mortality as a result of war, malnutrition, and the spread of infectious diseases, especially spotted fever, tuberculosis, and venereal diseases. This increase reached its peak in 1920 when the mortality rate was higher than the birth rate [Vol. I, p. 187]. According to statistical data compiled by the Central Statistical Administration of the Ukrainian SSR, the total number of recorded cases of infectious diseases in 1920 was 1,174,000. This number included 630,500 cases of spotted fever, 321,200 cases of recurring fever, 127,000 cases of typhoid, 10,000 cases of cholera, 50,200 cases of dysentery, and 35,200 cases of smallpox. Actually the number of cases was much higher, but not all of them were recorded since only part of the territory of Ukraine was under Soviet occupation. According to statistical data furnished by Serhii Tomylin in his *Materiialy o sotsial'no-gigienicheskom sostoianii Ukrains'koi derevni* (Materials on the Social and Hygienic Conditions of the Ukrainian Village, 1924), 4.3 million persons (17 per cent of the total population) suffered from spotted and recurring fever in Ukraine in 1920. Various types of typhoid fever were responsible for 44 per cent of all deaths. In 1921, the mortality decreased because of a decrease in the number of infectious cases, only to rise again in 1922 as a result of famine, caused by a poor harvest and excessive requisition of crops by the Soviet government, and as a result also of an epidemic of spotted fever and sporadic cases of cholera.

### The Years 1923–30

The status of public health care improved considerably during the period of the New Economic Policy. It was effectuated through (1) state health services, administered by the People's Commissariat of Health Care of the Ukrainian SSR and by the *guberniya* (later *oblast*), county (later *okruha*), and *raion* branches of health care, a system that provided medical care for the rural and part of the urban population, and administered prophylactic, sanitary, and epidemiological measures; (2) workers' medical services, that is, medical establishments provided under the system of social security covering workers and public employees, and available mostly to the urban population; (3) establishments of charitable institutions, such as the Ukrainian Red Cross, the Anti-Tuberculosis League, and other organizations, with the assistance of privately practicing physicians. In addition, there was a variety of medical establishments under the control of party organizations and other people's commissariats.

In this period, the Soviet government directed most of its efforts toward the prevention of disease and developed an exceedingly large network of sanitary and epidemiological installations. The

number of hospital beds in 1928 was lower than before the war (29,000, hardly one bed per 1,000 persons). There was a constant shortage of beds, even for the purpose of isolating infectious diseases. The number of doctors, however, increased as a result of accelerated graduation of both retrained feldshers and newly trained doctors, who had completed studies at medical institutes created from the former medical faculties at the universities and at the newly established universities in Vinnytsia and Stalino. In 1928, there were 10,771 physicians in the Ukrainian SSR, 1,660 dentists, 4,420 pharmacists, 6,840 feldshers, and 2,270 midwives. In 1928, of the total number of physicians only 21.6 per cent were Ukrainians, 18.9 per cent were Russians, and 54 per cent were Jews.

As already stated [Vol. I, p. 188], beginning in 1924, the mortality rate declined in the Ukrainian SSR, in comparison with the prewar years. In 1928, the rate was 17.1 per 1,000 persons. The mortality of infants under one year of age was 14.4 per 100 live births.

The mortality rate among adults as well as children was lower in the Ukrainian SSR than in other Soviet republics, but it was much higher than that of the countries of central and western Europe. As in prewar years, infectious diseases caused 30 per cent of all deaths. As before, the highest mortality resulted from tuberculosis, scarlet fever, typhoid, and measles.

### 1931–4: The Famine

The health condition of the population deteriorated catastrophically at the onset of collectivization and reached its lowest point during the famine of 1932–3, artificially created by the Soviet government which had ordered an all-out requisitioning of foodstuffs from the peasants [Vol. I, pp. 200, 821–2]. Millions of persons died of starvation. By the order of the government, death from starvation was recorded in official documents as resulting from "avitaminosis." The sharp decline in the standard of living caused an outbreak of epidemics such as spotted fever (1930–2), dysentery, and other diseases. The death toll resulting from famine is estimated at over three million persons or 10 per cent of the total population of the Ukrainian SSR. Even in Kiev the recorded mortality rate in 1933 was 85 per 1,000 inhabitants [Vol. I, fig. 124, p. 191]. Mortality of children was particularly high. The famine of 1932–3 had a far-reaching and long-lasting effect on the demography of Ukraine (age and sex distribution, lower birth rate, etc.) and its general health status, as severe malnutrition caused a series of chronic diseases. The rise in mortality from tuberculosis was particularly sharp—36.8 per 10,000 persons, as compared to 20.2 in 1913 and 17 in 1927.

### The Years 1935–40

The shortcomings of the prophylactically oriented system of health care became apparent even before the great famine, toward the end of the 1920's, thus compelling the Soviet government to a thorough revision of the entire system and subsequent development of a network of medical establishments with greater emphasis on the curative as against the preventive aspect of medicine. At the same time, the government instituted rigid, centralized control of all health and medical services. Private and charitable medical institutions were abolished. Private practice was made increasingly difficult through high taxes and a hostile attitude toward privately practicing physicians; the system of workers' medical services was abolished, and experimentation in the field of medical education was discontinued. A permanent system of centralized state control was imposed over the entire field of health services.

A considerable proportion of private practice survived nevertheless. Every physician with a diploma, and especially professors of medicine and other special-

ists, had the right to practice privately on their own time, that is, in addition to their regular duties in the service of the state. Usually they maintained offices at their places of residence and/or visited patients at home. The fee for their services was not regulated directly, and in small towns and villages it was usually in kind, rather than in money. The income from private medical practice was taxed, however, at a rate two to three times higher than the maximum tax rates of the wage earners (e.g., 34.9 per cent of an annual income of 36,000 rubles).

The underlying principles of the system of medical care and services, adopted in this period and retained until the present day throughout the Soviet Union in general and Ukraine in particular, can be summarized as follows: (1) Health services and medical care are almost completely nationalized and rigidly centralized, resulting in bureaucratization in all of its forms and consequences. (2) Essentially, the emphasis is still on prophylactics, but no longer at the expense of the curative aspect of medicine. (3) The maintenance of good health is emphasized so as to obtain the highest possible productive output. (4) The quality of medical services available to various strata of society is differentiated—excellent facilities for the privileged party and government hierarchy, fairly adequate care for industrial workers, and insufficient services for the rural population. (5) Although in theory (and propaganda) all medical services to the population are supposed to be entirely free of charge, in reality, at least in part, they are not. All drugs and medical supplies purchased by the population at the drugstores are paid for as any other commodities; only drugs supplied while in hospital are free. (Drugstore sales per capita of the population of Ukrainian SSR increased from 2 rubles 77 kopeks in 1931 to 10 rubles 65 kopeks in 1939.) The private services of physicians, usually furnished at home, are also paid for. Finally, accommodations in sanatoria, resorts, and rest-homes require payment as a rule, with but a small portion of it paid back to the patient by his trade union. (Total medical costs in an average worker's budget are probably not larger than 1½ per cent.)

Following the famine of 1932–3, the mortality rate in the Ukrainian SSR exceeded the birth rate until 1935. As a result of the new policy in the area of health care, the number of medical establishments and personnel increased considerably, while morbidity and mortality resulting from infectious diseases decreased (see below). Thus, by 1940, the mortality rate was reduced to 14.3 per 1,000 persons (17.1 in 1927–28). This progress, however, was interrupted by the outbreak of World War II.

**The Period of World War II**

The Soviet system of health protection was extended to Western Ukraine following its occupation by the Bolsheviks in 1939–40 (health care in Western Ukraine in the period between the two world wars is discussed below).

The rapid advance of the German armies prevented the Soviets from fully carrying out their plans of either evacuating or destroying all the medical facilities in Ukraine (Stalin's "scorched earth" policy). Upon occupation of Ukrainian territory, the German authorities showed little concern for the population's needs in the area of health care. They were interested only in prophylactic measures as a means of preventing outbreaks of epidemics, and in fulfilling minimal requirements of medical care so as to maintain the working capacity of the Ukrainian labor force [Vol. I, pp. 879 ff].

A number of medical installations were put back into operation in the early months of the war, thanks to the efforts of the Ukrainian citizenry and particularly the Ukrainian physicians. Departments of health were formed by the city

administrations, and the Ukrainian Red Cross renewed its activity in larger cities (Lviv, Kiev, and others). In Kiev, a Ukrainian Medical Chamber came into being; several scientific research institutes, including the Medical Institute, began to function again. The administration of medical establishments remained in Ukrainian hands. Conditions were considerably better in Galicia and the Kholm region, which were included in the *Generalgouvernement*. There, the Ukrainian Central Committee succeeded in developing large-scale relief activity and administered health services to the Ukrainian population [Vol. I, p. 887]. For the first time, Ukrainians were able to secure administrative control of the major part of all existing medical centers, as well as positions of intermediate level in the administrative system (county doctors). A school of higher medical education functioned in Lviv under the name Medical Professional Courses (see p. 390).

The health condition of the population deteriorated during the German occupation, especially in cities which suffered from starvation. Infectious diseases were widespread, particularly typhoid and venereal diseases, as well as other ailments caused by malnutrition and acute food shortages. The mortality rate as a result of tuberculosis increased to 40 per 10,000 persons, as compared to 23.3 in 1940. In the winter of 1941–2, some 100,000 persons died of starvation in the cities of central and eastern Ukraine. Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians died of starvation in the German camps for Soviet prisoners of war and in various concentration camps. Yet, as compared to the period of revolution and World War I, the losses resulting from infectious diseases were smaller.

The retreat of the German armies resulted in the total destruction of all medical facilities. Restored in a relatively short period of time, the network of medical services attained its prewar level by 1946–7, as evidenced by the number of hospital beds available in the Ukrainian SSR: 161,000 in 1940, 144,500 in 1945, 159,300 in 1946, and 167,500 in 1947.

## PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS

### Organization of Health Care

General control over health care is vested in the Ministry of Health of the Ukrainian SSR. As a Union-Republic Ministry, it is under the direct control of the USSR Ministry of Health. Thus, all legislative action and basic policy in this area emanates from Moscow. The Ministry of Health maintains its *oblast* branches as well as city branches in larger urban centers. In *raion* centers, medical services are administered by *raion* hospitals, which, in addition to providing medical care, function as outpatient clinics and sanitary-epidemiological stations. The lowest units in the structural hierarchy are territorial and trade union medical districts. In 1959, there were approximately 5,500 persons in each territorial district in rural areas (average radius of operation—6.9 kilometers), and close to 4,000 persons in the cities. In 1964, there were 4,611 territorial and 565 trade union districts.

In spite of centralization of the administration, a number of health service establishments in the Ukrainian SSR remain under the jurisdiction of other ministries, for example, defense, public security, communication, merchant marine, and so on. There are no private organizations of health care in the Ukrainian SSR; the only organizations which are ostensibly non-governmental in character are the trade unions and the Society of the Red Cross of the Ukrainian SSR, which was founded as the Ukrainian Red Cross Association in the period of the Ukrainian National Republic. Since 1938 the Society has been relegated to the status of a "social organization" (see p. 95) subordinate to the

ministries of health and internal affairs (public security) as well as to the All-Union Red Cross Society; through the latter it belongs to the International Red Cross organizations. Voluntary membership in the Red Cross Society declined after the 1930's and was therefore replaced by group enrollment of employees at their places of work. In 1963, the Society had 14.2 million members in the Ukrainian SSR. Its committees were active in all cities and urban centers and in about 3,000 rural districts. The Red Cross committees furnish first aid, disseminate medical information, and so on.

**Medical Education and Personnel**

Because of the development of institutions of medical education and professional training, there is an increase in the number of trained physicians and intermediate technical personnel. In 1966, there were 16 such medical schools in the Ukrainian SSR, including 12 medical institutes (Vinnytsia, Dnipropetrovske, Donetske, Ivano-Frankivske, Kiev, Luhanske, Lviv, Odessa, Symferopol, Ternopil, Kharkiv, Chernivtsi), a medical department at the University of Uzhhorod, two pharmaceutical institutes (Zaporizhia, Kharkiv), and a somatological institute (Kharkiv). In addition, there are three institutes of specialization (Zaporizhia, Kiev, Kharkiv), as well as two departments of specialization attached to medical institutes. In 1965, 10,157 physicians and pharmacists acquired specialization or further education in their respective fields. There is also a medical institute in Krasnodar (Kuban). The total enrollment in medical schools of the Ukrainian SSR in 1964 was 36,666. In 1965, the total was 38,641. In recent years, almost 6,000 physicians and pharmacists have been graduated annually. The required period of studies in medical institutes is six years; in somatological and pharmaceutical institutes, five years. Thus the number of trained physicians (not including dentists, who numbered 9,300 in 1968 as compared to 1,900 in 1940), and their availability to the population is constantly rising, as indicated in Table III.

Thus, as regards the number of physicians in proportion to the population, Ukraine is among the leading countries in the world today. In spite of this numerical increase, the physicians' availability to the population varies from area to area, being most adequate in the big cities and considerably poorer in the rural areas. For example, in 1955 only 7,400 physicians practiced in the villages. The statistical data for 1964 show the following *oblasts* as most adequately supplied with physicians (per 10,000 persons): Kiev 45.3 (mainly the city of Kiev with its administrative network and scientific research institutes); the Crimea 44.3; Odessa 36.1; and Kharkiv 34.5; the Rivne *oblast* showed the lowest ratio, 14.4. The number of physicians per 10,000 persons in the North Caucasus in 1965 was 23.8. The ratio for the entire USSR was 23.9. The number of dentists in the Ukrainian SSR was as follows (in thousands): 1.9 in 1940, 3.9 in 1955, 6.3 in 1961, and 9.3 in 1968. Of the total number of physicians in the Ukrainian SSR in 1968, 72 per cent were women; of the total medical personnel

TABLE III

TRAINED PHYSICIANS, 1913–1965

| | 1913 | 1932 | 1940 | 1950 | 1955 | 1965 | 1968 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| In thousands | 6.6 | 18.7 | 33.6 | 48.6 | 60.9 | 110.6* | 121.9* |
| Per 10,000 inhabitants | 1.9 | 4.5 | 8.3 | 13.9 | 15.3 | 24.3 | 26.1 |

*Including dentists.

employed, as high as 84 per cent were women. At the present time, the majority of physicians are Ukrainian. All members of the medical profession are organized in MEDSANTRUD (Medical-Sanitary Trade Union). Controlled by the party, this organization is an instrument of the government and not a spokesman for the interests of professional physicians and medical personnel.

The number of intermediate medical personnel (feldshers, midwives, nurses) has also increased substantially over the years, as indicated in Table IV. This increase, however, has its negative aspects as well, since it shows that frequently, especially in rural areas, inadequate services of intermediate level were substituted for first-rate medical care. This is evident from the unusually rapid increase in the number of so-called feldsher-midwife stations. In 1914–15, there were 1,159 such stations in Ukraine. They were almost wholly abolished during the early period of Soviet rule, which conducted a large-scale campaign against "feldsherism" as a vestige of the old tsarist regime. In 1940, the number of feldsher-midwife stations had grown to 8,628, and by 1961 the total had reached 17,653. In 1964, there were 18,310 such stations, in 1966–19,800.

The intermediate medical personnel is trained in 117 medical schools of secondary level (until 1954, so-called medical tekhnikums, later medical schools). In 1964, there were 54,000 students attending these schools, in 1969–75,203.

**Curative-Prophylactic Efforts**

The number of out-patient polyclinic establishments, hospitals, and hospital beds also increased steadily after the war. However, within the last few years the number of hospitals has somewhat decreased. In 1913, there were 1,194 out-patient polyclinic establishments; in 1940, 3,512; in 1950, 5,903; in 1960, 8,157; in 1969, nearly 9,000.

The supply of beds also varies from area to area. Most adequately supplied are the industrial areas: in 1964, in the Donetske *oblast*, the ratio was 110 beds per 10,000 persons (big cities) and the Crimea (health resorts) 97 beds per 10,000 persons. Least adequately supplied are areas of predominantly rural character (Khmelnytske *oblast*–74 beds per 10,000 persons). The figures for the North Caucasus (Krasnodar land) showed a 81.7 ratio in 1965. The figure for the entire USSR was 95.7 in 1965.

The distribution of hospital beds according to specialized medical treatment was as follows (figures for 1964 per 100 beds): 20, therapy; 13.5, surgery; 13.3,

TABLE IV

INTERMEDIATE MEDICAL PERSONNEL

| End of year | 1913 | 1940 | 1950 | 1955 | 1960 | 1965 | 1968 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| In thousands | 12.4 | 102.0 | 136.4 | 183.6 | 275.6 | 331.7 | 376.1 |
| Per 10,000 inhabitants | 3.6 | 23.9 | 36.6 | 46.2 | 63.8 | 72.9 | 80.4 |

TABLE V

CHANGES IN THE NUMBER OF HOSPITALS AND HOSPITAL BEDS

| At end of year | 1913 | 1932 | 1940 | 1950 | 1955 | 1960 | 1968 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hospitals | 1,438 | 1,333 | 2,498 | 3,533 | 4,620 | 5,043 | 4,829 |
| No. of beds (in thousands) | 47.7 | 73.8 | 161.0 | 194.2 | 248.1 | 344.2 | 479.4 |
| No. of beds per 10,000 population | 13.6 | 17.5 | 37.7 | 52.2 | 62.4 | 79.8 | 102.5 |

tuberculosis; 11.0, pediatrics; 10.2, psychiatry; 8.2, obstetrics; 5.8, infectious diseases; 5.7, gynecology; 12.3, others.

The basic type of a curative-prophylactic establishment in the Ukrainian SSR is the hospital, which also includes a polyclinic or an out-patient clinic. Hospitals are divided into general and specialized (tuberculosis, infectious diseases, psycho-neurology, gynecology, pediatrics, etc.). According to the territorial range of activity and subordination to administrative control, hospitals can be divided into republican, *oblast*, city, *raion*, and rural.

Large hospitals, particularly those in university centers, are well equipped and capable of providing excellent, though unequal, medical treatment. Prophylactic-curative treatment is also administered by dispensaries. There were 4,673 such establishments in the Ukrainian SSR in 1960, and 4,714 in 1964; only 574 of these are self-governing institutions, the rest being attached to polyclinics as dispensary divisions. Of the total number of dispensaries and dispensary divisions, 1,301 are specifically anti-tuberculosis establishments; 1,077, anti-venereal; 39, psycho-neurological; 390, oncological (according to statistics for 1964). Services for women and children are provided by consultation centers, of which there were 3,484 in 1960, 4,123 in 1964, 4,157 in 1965, and 4,511 in 1968.

As already stated above, the dispensation of medical services to the populace is effected according to territorial divisions. In 1961, in the Ukrainian SSR, there were 4,611 territorial and 565 trade union districts. There were no major changes in this number in 1968. Medical-sanitary and health stations have been created in larger factories. In 1961 there were 290 medical-sanitary units and 5,138 health stations; in 1964, there were 300 of the former and 5,719 of the latter. Well-equipped medical-sanitary dispensaries exist in large factories, while in smaller factories and in separate divisions of large industrial establishments, health stations are provided; 1,434 of these health stations are staffed by physicians, 3,704 by feldshers. Serving the rural population are district medical centers (2,182) which are required to maintain small hospitals, out-patient clinics, feldsher-midwife points (18,310), collective farm maternity wards (6,257), and nurseries. The *raion* hospitals (591) also primarily serve the needs of the rural population. These hospitals normally maintain sanitary-epidemiological stations. In 1964, in the Ukrainian SSR, there were 26 *oblast*, 591 *raion*, and 2,182 district hospitals. In addition, there were 18,310 feldsher-midwife points. It should be noted that hospitals serving the rural population are inadequately equipped with technical facilities such as X-ray departments and laboratories. Thus in 1956, with over 60,000 physicians, 4,754 hospitals, and close to 5,000 out-patient clinics in the Ukrainian SSR, there were only 2,198 X-ray departments and 3,432 laboratories, found mostly in the cities.

**Maternity and Child Care**

Relatively much attention is being paid in Ukraine to maternity and child care. This, of course, is the result of a greater number of women being drawn into the work force [Vol. I, p. 176] as well as of the official Soviet policy of maximum concentration on child upbringing outside the family. In connection with this, a large network of consulting centers for young mothers and children has been established (see below), as well as maternity wards (in villages, the so-called collective farm maternity wards), nurseries, kindergartens, and infant feeding rooms.

By the end of 1961 there were, in the Ukrainian SSR, 49,820 maternity hospital beds, in 1964, 49,534, in 1968, 45,700, as compared with 35,300 in 1940. In the rural areas in 1961, there were 7,000 collective farm maternity wards; in 1964 the total was 6,257. For the medical treatment of children, there were 55,100

hospital beds in 1968, as compared to only 40,000 in 1961. The capacity of permanent nurseries grew from 161,500 in 1940 to 196,800 in 1961, to 217,100 in 1964, and to 212,800 in 1965. The number of beds in seasonal collective farm nurseries varies from 500,000 to 600,000. In 1965, there were 26,000 beds in children's sanatoria. In addition, by 1964, there existed 2,130 pediatric polyclinics and 1,282 feeding centers.

**Sanatoria and Health Resorts**

Sanatoria and health resorts play an important part in the curative-prophylactic stage of health care. Basically, patients are treated in the sanatoria. There are also rest homes, and tourist camps and resorts for youth. Jurisdiction over sanatoria and health resorts has been vested since 1956 in the Ministry of Health of the USSR, although direct control is concentrated in the Republic Health Ministries. Since 1960, administration of rest homes and sanatoria with the exception of tuberculosis and child sanatoria, has been transferred to trade unions, while the Ministry of Health attends merely to the medical aspect of their operation. The stay at the health resorts is in some cases free (paid from trade union funds or other sources); in others, a 30 per cent rate is charged; and in still others, payment of full rate is required. Fees are differentiated according to quality of accommodation. Demand for accommodation frequently surpasses supply, and as a result beds and rooms in sanatoria and rest homes are distributed by means of passes at the patients' places of work. To get a pass to a rest home is an incentive to workers for higher productivity.

The healing value of certain mineral springs and muds has been known to the local population for some time, although actual development of health resorts did not begin until the early nineteenth century or of climatic health resorts until the end of the nineteenth century. Since that time, the largest concentrations of health resorts have been developed on the southern coast of the Crimea, and on a smaller scale around Odessa, in the Carpathian mountains (mainly in Galicia), and in the vicinity of large cities (mainly Kiev). However, many other areas which are known to have all the necessary prerequisites for health resort development (e.g., Transcarpathia with its numerous mineral springs) have not been fully utilized. Of the nearly 350 potential health resort sites in the Ukrainian SSR, only 130 were in use in 1960.

The largest proportion of sanatoria is set aside for patients suffering from tuberculosis. As compared to 1939, the number of rest homes and sanatoria has decreased, as shown in Table VI. This is explained by the fact that a number of rest homes and sanatoria have been transformed into hospitals.

In 1960, over one million persons (in large measure from beyond the borders of Ukraine) stayed at various Ukrainian health resorts, which employed close to 1,800 physicians, 4,200 intermediate medical personnel, and nearly 20,000 service personnel.

TABLE VI

SANATORIA AND REST HOMES, 1939–66

| Year | Sanatoria | | Rest homes | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Number | Beds (thousands) | Number | Beds (thousands) |
| 1939 | 517 | 71.3 | 237 | 40.1 |
| 1950 | 484 | 62.6 | 128 | 18.6 |
| 1961 | 449 | 82.1 | 164 | 32.0 |
| 1964 | 455 | 95.6 | 126 | 30.6 |
| 1966 | 447 | 100.4 | 136 | 34.2 |

### Sanitary-Epidemiological Services

Sanitary-epidemiological services are being dispensed by sanitary-epidemiological stations (295 stations in the Ukrainian SSR in 1962), sanitary-epidemiological points of the *raion* hospitals (568), large quarantine stations, and establishments of sanitary education (65). As of January 1, 1965, there were 810 sanitary-epidemiological stations in cities and in branches of *raion* hospitals, as well as 805 sanitary-bacteriological laobratories. Statistical data on morbidity and mortality resulting from infectious diseases are not available.

In 1963 there were 3,829 pharmacies, of which 2,019 were in cities and 1,810 in villages, and some 21,000 apothecary kiosks and counters (in 1913 there were 1,067 pharmacies). The number of pharmacists with higher education was 4,428 in 1940, 6,549 in 1959, 8,461 in 1964, and 9,491 in 1965; those with secondary education numbered 4,358 in 1940, 11,684 in 1964, and 12,560 in 1965. In 1965 there were also 25 stations specializing in aviation medical services, which served a total of 198,000 persons. Such factors as general improvement of hygiene, adoption of strict sanitation laws, and research in the chemical and pharmaceutical industry, though far from fully satisfying the needs of the population, have contributed to the improvement of health conditions.

### Mortality

The Ukrainian SSR has the lowest mortality rate of all the countries in the world. The average annual mortality rate per one thousand persons was 8.3 in 1951–5, 7.2 in 1956–60, 7.3 in 1961–5, and 7.6 in 1965. The mortality rate of infants up to one year of age has decreased from 161 per 1,000 newborn children in 1940 to 26 in 1968; it is still slightly higher than that of Western Europe and the United States [Vol. I, pp. 192–3].

## HEALTH AND MEDICINE IN WESTERN UKRAINE (1920–39) AND IN THE EMIGRATION

### Ukrainian Lands under Poland

In Poland, health care was administered by the government (Department of Health, *voievodstvo* departments of health, and county physicians or so-called *fizyky*), by institutions of social security which provided services for workers and private employees, and by means of a network of private medical establishments and privately practicing physicians. A number of medical establishments derived their financial support from charitable societies, particularly religious organizations.

The Polish system of health care was superior to that of Austria-Hungary. It contained such provisions as the protection of the individual's right to work, old age pensions, social security, medical services for school youth, and sanitation laws. Social security agencies maintained a number of well-equipped medical establishments (polyclinics, hospitals, and even sanatoria). However, the government's appropriation of funds for health care was very limited. Health centers were only beginning to emerge; for example, in 1936 there were only 62 such centers in the three *voievodstvos* of eastern Galicia, mostly in county seats. The supply of physicians was low, if slightly better than before World War I. The number of physicians in the Ukrainian lands under Poland in 1938 is given in Table VII.

TABLE VII

PHYSICIANS IN UKRAINIAN LANDS UNDER POLAND, 1938

| | Physicians | Per 10,000 persons |
|---|---|---|
| Lviv | 996 | 29.0 |
| Other cities and towns | 1,444 | 9.7 |
| Villages | 360 | 0.5 |
| TOTAL | 2,800 | 2.9 |

It should be added, for purposes of comparison, that the number of physicians per 10,000 persons in Poland was 3.7, and in the Ukrainian SSR 6.9. Among physicians of Western Ukraine, Ukrainians constituted slightly less than 10 per cent. One of the reasons for such a small proportion of Ukrainian doctors was the fact that admission of Ukrainian students to Polish university medical schools was extremely limited, while accreditation for medical studies acquired abroad (mainly in Czechoslovakia and Austria) was difficult to obtain. To complete their studies the students were compelled to enroll at universities abroad. The Polish government did not accept Ukrainian doctors either for medical administrative posts or for salaried positions in hospitals.

The number of hospitals and hospital beds available to the population was also insufficient. There were barely 100 hospitals with approximately 10,500 beds in the Ukrainian lands under Poland, thus giving a ratio of 10.7 beds per 10,000 persons (in 1938, 21.7 in Poland and 30.0 in the Ukrainian SSR).

The shortcomings of the government-operated system of health care in the Ukrainian lands under Poland were partially ameliorated through the efforts of Ukrainian physicians and the Ukrainian public in general. As early as 1919, a medical section was created within the framework of the Ukrainian Citizens Committee, designed to furnish medical care for the Ukrainian population on the pattern of the Ukrainian Red Cross. The Ukrainian Hygienic Society, founded in Lviv in 1929 and headed by Marian Panchyshyn, was extremely active in the area of health care until the outbreak of World War II. In the latter years of its activity, the Society had 15 branches in Galicia with a total of 2,700 members. Many of these branches maintained consulting centers for mothers and children, anti-tuberculosis consulting centers, outpatient clinics, and vacation camps. The first anti-tuberculosis dispensary was opened in May, 1929, an athletic consulting center in 1931, and a eugenic consulting center in 1937. The Ukrainian Hygienic Society promoted hygiene and medical knowledge by means of popular medical literature, publishing in all 24 pamphlets. In 1937 the society began publishing a popular monthly illustrated magazine, *Narodne Zdorovlia* (Public Health), edited first by Ivan Prokopiv and later by Roman Osinchuk; it sponsored exhibits and lectures and conducted preparatory courses for nurses as well as accelerated courses in hygiene. A total of 33 issues of the magazine appeared.

FIGURE 559. MARIAN PANCHYSHYN

Another organization which was active in the area of health care was the Anti-Alcoholic and Anti-Smoking Society Vidrodzhennia founded in 1909 and particularly active in the 1930's. It had its central offices in Lviv as well as 18 major branches and 122 smaller chapters in various towns and villages of Galicia with a total membership of 6,400 in 1937. It conducted courses, lectures, and anti-alcoholic plebiscites, and published a monthly *Vidrodzhennia* (Rebirth, 1928–39). It was headed first by Ivan Rakovsky and later by Sophia Parfanovych. The Society was barred by Polish authorities from expanding its activity to the northwestern lands.

The Narodna Lichnytsia (National Infirmary) Society of Lviv (see p. 1016) was also active in promoting better health and medical facilities for the Ukrainian population. One of its major achievements was the construction of the Metropolitan Sheptytsky Hospital in 1937. Built with funds donated by the population of Galicia as well as contributions from the Ukrainian settlers in North America and substantial assistance

FIGURE 560. DOCTORS OF THE NARODNA LICHNYTSIA HOSPITAL IN LVIV

from Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, this well-equipped hospital maintained a polyclinic which offered free medical services to tens of thousands of patients and was an excellent training ground for young Ukrainian physicians. Shortly before the war, a cooperative movement *Zdorovlia* (Health) began to spread in the rural areas. Only two cooperatives were established before the outbreak of hostilities.

The Ukrainian Medical Society (see p. 1016) embraced almost all Ukrainian physicians of Western Ukraine. It published a monthly journal, *Likars'kyi Visnyk* (Medical Herald) in cooperation with the Shevchenko Scientific Society. A number of scientific conferences of Ukrainian physicians and natural scientists were held through the joint efforts of the two societies. Ukrainian medical research was conducted primarily by the Medical Commission of the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

There was a limit to what the sustained effort of the Ukrainian community could do in improving the status of the health condition of the Ukrainian population. Negligence on the part of the Polish government, coupled with the steadily deteriorating economic condition of the peasantry [Vol. I, pp. 848–50], was responsible for an exceedingly high mortality rate in overpopulated Galicia. The mortality rate in the Stanyslaviv *voievodstvo*, and particularly the Hutsul region, was the highest in all of Poland. Table VIII shows the mortality rate of the entire population (per 1,000 persons), and infants (per 100 births) in 1936–8 [Vol. I, p. 190].

TABLE VIII

MORTALITY RATES, UKRAINIAN LANDS UNDER POLAND, 1936–8

| | Overall mortality rate | Infant mortality rate |
|---|---|---|
| Galicia | 15.5 | 15.8 |
| Volhynia and Polisia | 13.6 | 14.2 |
| All Ukrainian lands under Poland | 14.8 | 15.2 |
| All of Poland | 14.1 | 13.9 |

It should be noted that the mortality rate among Ukrainians was much higher than that of Poles and Jews, who lived mostly in the cities and enjoyed greater economic prosperity. Thus in 1931–5, the mortality rate among Ukrainians in Galicia was 19.4 per one thousand persons, whereas the figure for the entire population of Galicia was 16.6. In 1936–8, the figures were 17.6 and 15.5, respectively (the infant mortality rate was 18.2 and 15.8 respectively).

Particularly heavy losses resulted from children's infectious diseases and tuberculosis. Spotted fever and venereal diseases were especially widespread in the Hutsul region.

**Transcarpathia**

The Czechoslovak government was more responsive than the Austro-Hungarian to the needs of the population and accomplished a great deal in the area of health care. Consequently, the population's health was better than during the years of the Hungarian occupation. Apart from government agencies, the Czechoslovak Red Cross and the so-called Land Care for Youth worked intensively in developing better health services and medical care for the population. The number of medical districts increased from 46 in 1921 to 70 in 1938. A number

of dispensaries were opened, and the number of hospitals and beds increased; in 1938, there were 1,780 hospital beds in Transcarpathia, or 22 per 10,000 persons, twice as many as in the Ukrainian lands under Poland. Intensive efforts were being exerted to arrest the spread of infectious diseases (especially children's), venereal diseases, trachoma, and typhus. In spite of these efforts, the mortality rate continued to be high (17.5 per 1,000 in 1934–5), mainly as a result of the long years of negligence during Transcarpathia's occupation by the Hungarians and the abject economic status of the Ukrainian population.

In contrast to Poland, in Transcarpathia a number of Ukrainian doctors occupied high administrative posts. This state of affairs improved further in 1938–9, in the period of Carpatho-Ukraine's autonomy and independence, when Nicholas Dolynai was Minister of Public Health. However, the general conditions of health care deteriorated markedly following the renewed occupation of Transcarpathia by the Hungarians.

In BUKOVINA, the status of health and medical services deteriorated under Rumanian occupation in comparison with the period of Austrian occupation.

### Emigration

Among thousands of Ukrainian political refugees who left their native land after the unsuccessful struggle for Ukrainian liberation, there were more than 100 Ukrainian doctors. Most of them settled in Czechoslovakia, a few in Poland, Germany, and other countries of Europe. In Czechoslovakia, a Union of Ukrainian Physicians was formed through the initiative of B. Matiushenko, with headquarters in Prague (33 members in 1922, 119 members in 1939). The Union, which lasted until 1939, published a medical journal in 1923–5, *Ukraïns'kyi Medychnyi Visnyk* (Ukrainian Medical Herald), and financed the publication of the first Latin-Ukrainian medical dictionary, edited by Martyrii Halyn. Individual members of the Union were engaged in various fields of scientific research, and many of them practiced medicine in Transcarpathia.

A substantially greater number of physicians could be found among the Ukrainian political refugees in Germany and Austria at the end of World War II [Vol. I, pp. 911–13]. Local chapters of the Ukrainian Red Cross, which based their activity on the existence of the Ukrainian Red Cross mission in Geneva during the period of the Ukrainian National Republic, began to emerge in various centers of Ukrainian refugee life. Their primary function was to provide material and moral assistance to the Ukrainian refugees. A central bureau of the Ukrainian Red Cross was established in Munich in the middle of 1945, later transformed into the Ukrainian Sanitary-Charitable Service (USKhS), which organized branches and stations (over 200) and furnished medical assistance and charitable care, published popular medical literature, and conducted courses for nurses. The USKhS was first headed by Thomas Vorobets (in the American occupation zone), and by Wasyl Pliushch (in the British occupation zone); Borys Andriievsky was president of the Service's council, and later, for a long period of time, it was headed by Yaroslav Hynylevych. In 1947, the USKhS had 61 local chapters and a total of 14,000 members. Following the exodus of the major portion of Ukrainian refugees from Germany to other countries, the USKhS has continued its activity under the name, Ukrainian Medical-Charitable Service. In 1946, a Society of Ukrainian Physicians and Pharmacists (45 members) was organized in Tyrol and Voralberg, Austria, which continued to function until 1949.

In 1946, the Ukrainian Medical-Sanitation Union was formed in Western Germany, with W. Pliushch as president of the board and Yaroslav Voievidka as

chairman of the executive committee. It embraced close to 500 Ukrainian refugee physicians and 1,200 nurses, pharmacists, medical technicians, and other medical personnel.

Since the resettlement of Ukrainian refugees in the countries of North and South America, most of the Ukrainian physicians (over 1,000 out of approximately 1,300) have resided in the United States and Canada. They are organized in the Ukrainian Medical Association of North America, founded in 1950, and currently numbering 14 branches and 570 members. Since 1954, the Association has been publishing the journal *Likars'kyi Visnyk* (Medical Journal), which has appeared as a quarterly since 1961. The Association holds scientific conferences and serves as a representative body of the Ukrainian physicians in the free world.

There are many prominent scholars and scientists among Ukrainian physicians scattered throughout the free world. They are organized into medical sections of the two leading Ukrainian scientific institutions, the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States, Canada, and West Germany. Many of them are engaged in various capacities at institutions of higher learning and scientific research centers.

*W. Pliushch*

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# 2. PHYSICAL CULTURE

## PRIOR TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Compelled by historical circumstances to wage a continuous struggle for their very existence, as well as for their freedom and independence, the Ukrainians fostered the art of physical culture from time immemorial, stressing the attributes of physical prowess, endurance, and dexterity. The chronicles contain descriptions of hunts (bear-hunting with spears, roping wild horses) and contests of young men in public games (e.g., Prince Mstyslav Volodymyrovych of Tmutorokan with Rededia, the Prince of Kasoh). Public contests were combined with other games (running in circles and in ranks, to the accompaniment of music, holding hands; dancing to music, high and long jumps, wrestling, etc.). Games were also a part of funeral rituals (jousting and fist contests).

Foreign sources, in addition to praising the strength and bravery of Ukrainian men, also state that in archery, swimming, and throwing the spear they "were better than the Romans" (Ibn Dast, tenth century), and that disputes were settled by duels. Chronicles also mention jousting tournaments of knights in Yaroslav and Kiev.

Physical culture of the Kozak period has not been studied adequately. The writings of travelers to Ukraine of that period reveal that the Kozaks "were good in war as foot soldiers and riders . . . they know how to handle themselves at sea . . . they have all kinds of boats and ply the seas" (Gamberini, 1584), while Claudio Rondo (1736) mentions that Kozaks underwent training for seven years. It can be assumed that during this period the Zaporozhian Sich and the Kozak ranks trained in sharpshooting, swordsmanship, fist-fighting, swimming, running, horsemanship, hunting, and so on.

## THE 1860–1917 PERIOD

Influenced by the development of physical culture in the West, modern physical culture began taking root in Ukraine in the second half of the nineteenth century. The principal objective

of this movement was a balanced physical and mental education, geared to the needs of the Ukrainian people as a nation. Its development was much broader in Galicia and Bukovina than in the Ukrainian lands within the Russian empire.

**Western Ukrainian Lands**

Physical culture did not reach an adequate level of development until the twentieth century. It was limited in the nineteenth century to sporadic exercises in hunting, swimming, boating, ice skating, tobogganing, and fencing, practiced mostly by the older generation. In elementary and secondary schools regular physical education was largely in the hands of unskilled instructors. During the years immediately preceding World War I, the Sokil-Bat'ko (Father Falcon) Society and individual enthusiasts (Ivan Bobersky and his followers) gave impetus to the development of physical culture in Western Ukraine. At first, one to two hours of physical education was the total devoted to the subject in schools every week, but subsequently school teams in various sports were organized (tennis, track, skiing, hiking, swimming, tobogganing, ice skating, etc.). Gradually, physical education was extended to girls and women (heretofore completely neglected).

FIGURE 561. IVAN BOBERSKY

In 1887, Volodymyr Lavrivsky drafted the first charter for a Ukrainian Gymnastic Society in Lviv on the Czech pattern. But it was not until 1894 that the authorities granted permission for the establishment of the first Ukrainian gymnastic society, called Sokil, in Lviv (on the initiative of its first president, Basil Nahirnyi). The society extended its activity across the land. On the initiative of Alfred Budzynovsky, it included voluntary fire-fighting (in the countryside) and hiking (in the cities) in addition to gymnastics and competitive sports. In 1889, Omelian Popovych published the first Ukrainian textbook on gymnastics in Chernivtsi. It was followed by a number of books on gymnastics and other sports (I. Bobersky, *Shcheblivka, Kopanyi miach* [Soccer], and others, Taras Franko, *Sytkivka* [Volleyball], Alexander Tysovsky, *Plast* [Scouting]) as well as journals, leaflets, maps, and the like. During the presidency of Bobersky (1908–14), the Lviv Sokil turned into a central organization under the name Sokil-Bat'ko and purchased its own stadium in Lviv. The society trained instructors and teachers of physical education, participated in the Sokol convention in Prague (1912) with a large group of Ukrainian athletes from Galicia, and published *Sokil's'ki Visti* (Sokil News, 1907), *Visti z Zaporozha* (News from Zaporizhia, 1910–14), and sports almanacs. The Sokil sports rallies played an important part in the process of the national awakening of the Ukrainian people (Stryi in 1906, Ternopil in 1910, and the first national rally in Lviv in 1911). As part of Sokil organizations, Semen Goruk established companies of riflemen in Lviv, Drohobych, and other localities in 1912–14.

FIGURE 562. ALEXANDER TYSOVSKY

The athletic and volunteer fire-fighting society Sich was organized by Cyril Tryliovsky in 1900. At first independent, the existing branches merged in 1912 into the Ukrainian Sich Association, which held its rallies in Stanyslaviv (1910), Sniatyn (1912), and Lviv (1914, jointly with Sokil-Bat'ko which had been

organizing its own branches since 1909). By 1914 the Ukrainian Sich Association had 916 branches and Sokil-Bat'ko 305 of its own Sich chapters. Sich societies were organized on the Galician pattern in Bukovina (Sylvester Yarychevsky, 1903) and in Transcarpathia. In 1920, branches of Sich were also founded in the United States and Canada. The society published its organ *Sichovi Visti* (Sich News, 1912–14, 1922–4).

FIGURE 563. ADMINISTRATION OF THE UKRAINIAN SICH RIFLEMEN IN 1914. SEATED, CENTER, IS CYRIL TRYLIOVSKY, PRESIDENT

Sports clubs were first organized by university students, who founded the Ukraïna sports club in Lviv in 1911. This club played soccer matches with Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, and Germans, and had sections of track and field, wrestling, tennis, cycling, and so on. National championships were held in Lviv in 1911 and 1914 under the name Zaporizhs'ki Ihryshcha (Zaporozhian Games). The Ukrainian Plast organization was founded by Alexander Tysovsky in 1911. In 1912, on the initiative of Ivan Chmola, Ukrainian students of Lviv University organized rifle clubs and staged inter-club competitions. A contest was held by the Osnova (Foundation) Society for the design of a Ukrainian rifleman's uniform. Sports clubs also functioned in Peremyshl, Ternopil, and other cities.

The culminating point in the efforts of Ukrainian physical education and sports enthusiasts was the second na-

FIGURE 564. MEMBERS OF THE SOKIL AND SICH SOCIETIES AT THE SHEVCHENKO SPORTS RALLY IN LVIV, JUNE 22, 1914

tional sports rally held in Lviv in 1914 (in honor of the one-hundredth anniversary of Taras Shevchenko's birth). Taking part in this huge rally were members of Sokil-Bat'ko, the Sich organizations, sports clubs, and scouts' and riflemen's groups (the latter founded the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen in 1914, which became the nucleus of the Ukrainian Galician Army). In 1914, Sokil-Bat'ko had a total of 974 branches throughout the land.

**Central and Eastern Lands**

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, interest in sports and physical culture was rather sporadic. Swimming, boating, horseback riding, skiing, tennis, and soccer offered occasional diversion for city youth and the children of the richer peasants. Ice skating and tobogganing enjoyed great popularity in all levels of society.

Yacht and tennis clubs were established in the larger cities (Kiev, 1869; Odessa, 1895). Gymnastics, as well as wrestling and boxing, gained popularity with the founding of the Kiev Athletic Club by Harnych-Harnytsky in the 1880's, and similar clubs were organized in Odessa, Sevastopol, Poltava, and elsewhere. Ice-sailing became popular in the 1890's (in Tahanrih, Rostov, Mykolaïv, Kherson, etc.). The Kiev Society of Horsemanship was founded in 1885 and acquired its own hippodrome.

Interest in physical culture increased in the twentieth century with the introduction of gymnastics in secondary schools and public exhibitions of group exercises. Soccer was beginning to gain popularity in the cities. The popularization of scouting also contributed to the growing interest in physical culture.

However, prior to the revolution of 1917 sports could not acquire an organized Ukrainian character, despite the fact that Bobersky sent S. Shebets from Lviv and gained the cooperation of Nicholas Mikhnovsky in Kharkiv and Ivan Lutsenko in Odessa. The achievements of wrestlers Ivan Piddubnyi, I. Zaikyn, and Alexander Harkavenko were acclaimed throughout Europe, as were the feats of fencing champions Klymiv and Zaharov and horsemen Boboshko and Rodzianko. Several Ukrainians represented Russia in the Olympic Games.

A number of athletic societies existed in eastern and central Ukraine before the revolution of 1917. Sokil was the most popular among them. A. Anokhin of Kiev was one of the leading proponents of gymnastics in that area. The war put an abrupt end to the flourishing development of organized sports in all parts of Ukraine.

### 1917–20

Despite military hostilities, famine, and alien occupation, sporadic sports activity continued in Ukraine during the revolution. A number of sports clubs were established by youth and student groups (Kiev, Chernihiv, and other cities); the first Ukrainian boy scout groups came into being (Kiev, Chernihiv, Bila Tserkva, etc.), and the Free Kozak movement, which fostered physical culture among its members, became very popular. Youth groups of a semi-athletic nature were established all over Ukraine, playing an important role in the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people. Secondary schools continued to foster physical education.

## PHYSICAL CULTURE IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR (1920–40)

In Soviet-occupied Ukraine, physical culture is part of the vast Soviet system, and there is no room for athletic clubs or organizations founded on individual initiative. Individual Ukrainian sports groups which came into being during the 1917–20 period were soon disbanded by the authorities. In the Ukrainian SSR, physical culture is designed to serve the needs of a totalitarian state, and, as such, it is organized and controlled by the government. Its main purpose is to train the masses for "highly productive socialist labor," for war, education in the spirit of communism, and service to the Soviet state.

Athletic organizations and sports clubs are attached to trade unions and are actually part of the governmental apparatus. In 1918 the government of the Russian SFSR issued a decree on general military instruction, which was automatically extended to include the Ukrainian SSR. The first schools of physical culture came into being in 1918–19 and physical culture was introduced as a subject in schools and in military service. The first local councils of physical culture were established in the early 1920's, taking over the supervision of all physical education. The All-Union Council of Physical Culture was established in 1930, and the Ukrainian Council of Physical Culture was subordinated to it. The All-Union Council of Physical Culture was transformed into the All-Union Committee in Matters of Physical Culture and Sports of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR, with supervisory powers over all questions of physical culture and sports in the Ukrainian SSR.

At the base of the Soviet system of physical education is the HPO complex (Hotovyi do Pratsi i Oborony, Ready for Labor and Defense) set up in 1931, and consisting of the following levels: teenagers between 14 and 16; youths

between 16 and 18; and adults. Each stage involves theoretical studies and practical tests. In 1934 tests in HPO norms were given to 1.4 million persons, of whom only 350,000 achieved passing grades.

In 1940, there were 19,206 physical culture groups in Ukraine with a membership of 11.9 million. Among the Ukrainian SSR's masters of sports were world champions in wrestling, Jacob Kutsenko and Gregory Popov, track champion Zoia Synytska, and many others.

## AFTER 1945

After the war, the new tasks for physical culture organizations in the USSR, including the Ukrainian SSR, were set by the Party as follows: "Development of a mass physical culture movement, higher level of athletic achievement, and the attainment of world dominance in the most important sports."

The Association of Athletic Societies and Organizations of the USSR was established by the joint decree of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the USSR of January 9, 1959. Purporting to be a democratic elective organization, it was intended to supervise all athletic activity. Actually, except for the name, nothing changed in the structure of this All-Union organization with its affiliates in the republics, including the Ukrainian SSR. Although sports clubs in Ukraine are called "voluntary," they are actually under the control and supervision of the Communist Party. Prior to 1959 such clubs and societies were part of a number of trade unions under the supervision of the Committee for Physical Culture and Sports of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR. The Committee was abolished in 1959, and the Republic Association assumed full control over all sports activity (the Association's conference meets every four years). The conference elects the council of the Association; in the *oblasts*, cities, and *raions*, local councils are elected and they direct the activities of all sports organizations. In the Ukrainian SSR, there are four All-Union voluntary sports societies: Burevisnyk (Stormy Petrel), with a membership of 185,000 students in Ukraine in 1965; Vodnyk (Water Transport Worker), which is a maritime workers' sports association with a membership of 28,000; Lokomotyv (Locomotive), which has 230,000 members engaged in rail transportation; and Spartak, with about 828,000 members; also two Republic societies, Avanhard (Vanguard) with 1.3 million members engaged in industry, and Kolhospnyk (Collective Farmer) with nearly 2.8 million members; and the professional Dynamo (employees of the security forces) and Trudovi Rezervy (Labor Reserves), comprising students and employees of the Chief Administration of Professional and Technical Training attached to the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR.

Sports activity in aviation, parachuting, and gliding is under the control of the Ukrainian Republic Organization of Voluntary Friends of the Army, Air Force, and Navy, which propagates military technical knowledge and organizes athletic meets. It acts through *oblast*, *raion*, and local committees.

The Ukrainian Society of Hunting and Fishing is in charge of conservation of game, hunting, fishing, delivery of pelts to the state, and so on. Its membership was 413,000 as of January 1, 1965.

As of January 1, 1965, there were approximately 42,000 physical culture groups in the Ukrainian SSR with a membership in excess of 10.5 million (including 3.5 million women, for a total of 23.6 per cent of the total population of the Ukrainian SSR). An abundance of sports facilities contributes to mass participation in physical culture. In Ukraine, in 1965, there were 576 stadiums, 12,747 soccer fields, 86,600 smaller athletic fields, and 4,875 gymnasiums.

A great sports palace has been built in Kiev, and all the large cities have excellent stadiums. In addition, there were 219 cottages for fishermen in Ukraine, 46 tourist bases, and 790 tourist and health resort camps.

FIGURE 565. PALACE OF SPORTS IN KIEV, BUILT IN 1960

Every four years an All-Union Spartakiad is held, with annual competitions held at the Republic, *oblast*, city, and *raion* levels. Tourism is very popular in Ukraine, the Carpathian mountains, the Crimea, and the Dnipro being enjoyed by many visitors.

The hard life of the inhabitants of the Soviet Union, particularly of the urban population in Ukraine, does not offer the masses an opportunity to enjoy the wide network of sports facilities. In the countryside physical culture is still in a primitive stage. Professional athletes enjoy a high standard of living and generous remuneration. Ukrainian athletes are ranked high in the USSR. Professional physical educators and coaches are trained at the Kiev and Lviv Physical Culture Institutes, at the Technical Institutes of Physical Culture at Dnipropetrovske and Ivano-Frankivske, at the Kharkiv Pedagogical Institute of Physical Culture, and elsewhere.

Considerable attention is paid to athletic records. In 1964 the following athletes from Ukraine held USSR records: 1,500 meters, Ihor Belytsky in 3:41.0; 3 km. hurdles, H. Taran in 8.31.2; in the 20 km. walk, Volodymyr Holubnychyi in 1:26:13.2; broad jump, Ihor Ter-Ovanesian, with world record, 8.21 m.; in the high jump, Valerii Brumel, with world record, 2.28 m.; pole-vault, Hennadii Blyznetsov, 4.70 m.; decathlon, George Kutenko, European record, 8,360 points; women's 100 meter dash, Vera Krepkina, 11.3 s.; 800 meters, L. Lysenko-Shevtsova, 2:04.3; women's swimming, 100 and 200 m. breast-stroke, Halyna Prozumenshchikova, 1:14.5 and 2:46.4, respectively, for Olympic records; men's swimming, 100 and 200 m. breast-stroke, H. Prokopenko, 1:07.4 and 2:28.2, respectively.

After World War II, the USSR entered Olympic competition and other international meets. Although a charter member of the United Nations as a separate nation, Ukraine was not allowed to participate independently; the best Ukrainian athletes were included in the team which represented the entire USSR. As members of the USSR Olympic team in Helsinki in 1952, athletes from the Ukrainian SSR won five gold, seven silver, and one bronze medal in individual events. In the Melbourne Olympiad of 1956 the corresponding figures were: six gold, three silver, and three bronze medals; in Rome in 1960, 16 gold, nine silver, and six bronze medals; and in Tokyo in 1964, 12 gold, 11 silver, and 16 bronze medals. Outstanding achievements in these Olympics were gained by such athletes from the Ukrainian SSR as Volodymyr Kuts in the 10,000 meter race, Valerii Brumel in the high jump, L. Lysenko-Shevtsova in the women's 800 meter race, and gymnasts Maria Horokhovska, E. Kalynchuk, Polina Astakhova, Laryssa Latynina, Borys Shakhlin, and others.

FIGURE 566. VOLODYMYR KUTS

In addition to the Olympic Games, in which Ukrainian athletes are compelled

to represent the USSR, athletes from the Ukrainian SSR also take part in European and world championships. In addition to those enumerated above, the following among others distinguished themselves: V. Syniavsky in free-style

FIGURE 567. GYMNAST LARYSSA LATYNINA PERFORMING ON THE BEAM

wrestling, H. Hamarnyk, V. Matseiev, and Ivan Bohdan in Greco-Roman-style wrestling, Victor Chukarin, H. Titov, and H. Rudko in gymnastics, O. Honcharenko in speed ice skating, V. Romanenko in sharpshooting, and Y. Rylsky in fencing. During the 1959–65 period, athletes from Ukraine established 43 world records, 177 USSR records, and 178 Ukrainian records; 49 became European and 45 world champions.

It should be noted that not all athletes from Ukraine are of Ukrainian nationality. Conversely, outstanding Ukrainian athletes can be found in other republics of the USSR, notably the RSFSR. This is the direct result of, first, large-scale resettlement, conducted by the Soviet regime for political reasons, and, second, the policy of concentrating the best talent in the RSFSR, a practice that is tantamount to outright theft. Thus Ukraine and other republics are being deprived of potential champions who

FIGURE 568. HOCKEY GAME IN THE KIEV PALACE OF SPORTS

find their way to Russian teams in Moscow, Leningrad, and other sports centers of the RSFSR.

The following is the organizational scheme of physical culture in the educational system of the Ukrainian SSR: children of pre-school age are instructed in nurseries and kindergartens (games, exercises, hikes, sun- and pool-bathing); children of school age participate in the program of their respective grades as well as after school hours (children are permitted some degree of individual initiative).

The principal forms of physical education in schools are: lessons in physical culture, morning exercises, physical culture breaks during lectures, games during intermissions, and after-school sports activity. In the first and second grades, fundamentals of calisthenics are taught and simple games are played. In the third and fourth grades, instruction becomes more complex, and fundamentals of track and field are introduced, also preparation for skiing, swimming, and team sports. In the fifth and sixth grades, instruction is given in gymnastics, track and field, skiing, swimming, and an optional team sport (basketball, volleyball, or handball). In the higher grades there are gymnastic exercises and team sports which are more complex and demanding.

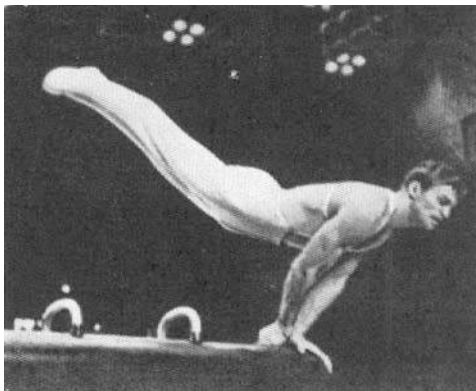

FIGURE 569. GYMNAST BORYS SHAKHLIN

Boys and girls are taught according to separate programs.

In addition, there are children's sports schools which are not part of the regular school system, but remain under the jurisdiction of *raion* or local educational organs, athletic societies, and so on. The purpose of these schools is to aid regular schools in the physical education programs and to train athletes and activists in mass physical culture work in schools and Pioneer organizations. Children's sports schools are either complex (several sports) or specialized. Depending on the age and earlier training, the pupils attend these schools between two and four times a week for two to three hours. In addition to athletic training, the children's sports schools also provide lessons in general subjects. The first schools of this type were established in Ukraine in 1934. In 1965 there were 165 such schools with an enrollment of approximately 58,000 pupils.

## PHYSICAL CULTURE IN WESTERN UKRAINE AND ABROAD

Physical culture in Ukrainian territories occupied by Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania was controlled by the governments, which attempted to maintain the physical education of Ukrainians within the state-controlled athletic societies and sports clubs. Ukrainians stubbornly resisted these efforts, striving for the development of their forms of physical culture.

In Ukrainian lands under Poland, physical education in the school system, in addition to calisthenics (patterned on the Swedish and Danish systems with German modifications), consisted of a number of open-air activities in summer and winter, such as hiking and camping. The standards of physical culture underwent considerable improvement in comparison with prewar Austria. In addition, the leading Ukrainian education organization, Ridna Shkola (Native School) organized annual sports rallies for school children with carefully rehearsed exercises at the Sokil-Bat'ko Field in Lviv and in other cities.

In the 1920's, high school and university students held occasional sports meets and rallies. The Sokil organization renewed its activities (in 1928, under the presidency of Nicholas Zaiachkivsky, it had 586 branches with about 20,000 members; in 1939, under the pressure of the Polish authorities, during the presidency of Michael Khronoviat, the number of branches dropped to 300, but total membership increased to 35,000). Sokil-Bat'ko renewed athletic meets (Zaporozhian Games) in 1923 and held the third national rally in 1934. The Sich societies also renewed activity, but when they were dissolved by the government in 1924, Roman Dashkevych replaced them with the newly founded Luh (Meadow), which in 1925 had a gymnasium and a sports field in Lviv. Under government pressure, the Luh organization, by its charter of 1932, was placed under the control of the State Office of Physical Education and had to disband its voluntary fire-fighting units. In 1939, Luh had 805 branches with approximately 50,000 members, and held a number of regional and national rallies. New sports clubs and new sections in the existing ones came into being: Karpats'kyi Leshchetars'kyi Kliub (Carpathian Ski Club) in Lviv (with 15

branches in 1936); a volleyball club (LKS); the Ukrainian Student Sports Club (USSK); the clubs Plai (Path), Meta (Goal), Strila (Arrow); the hunting club Tur (Bison); in Peremyshl, Sian; in Stanyslaviv, Prolom; in Stryi, Skala (The Rock); in Drohobych, Vatra (The Bonfire); and such youth sports organizations as Orly (Eagles), Kameniari (Stone-cutters), and so on, most of them placing an emphasis on soccer.

This growth demanded an organizational superstructure for planning. The sports section of Sokil-Bat'ko and the leading clubs established the Ukrainian Sports Union (Ukrains'kyi Sportovyi Soiuz) in 1925, headed in turn by Ostap Navrotsky, E. Savchak, Bohdan Hnatevych, Stephen Dmokhovsky, Bohdan Makarushka, Stephen Shukhevych, and Orest Radlovsky. It conducted regional and national championships, special courses, and training camps, and introduced a uniform scoring system and a medal of "Physical Fitness" (1934). It also published rule books and journals, and organized medical supervision of athletic activities. The rather one-sided enthusiasm of young people for soccer caused a crisis in the Association in 1928, when some clubs (Ukraïna, Sian, Prolom, and others) joined the Polish Soccer Association, and subsequently other sports associations. The Association gave priority to mass sports, track and field, swimming, winter sports, boxing, and so on. It met with great success, and was able to set up clubs and sections (mainly in the countryside) and by its sports activity contributed to the awakening of the national consciousness of the masses. The Polish authorities, dismayed by this development, dissolved the Association in 1937 and took over the Sokil-Bat'ko stadium. But this did not curtail the development of Ukrainian sports life. In 1939 there were more than 200 sports clubs and sections with more than 3,000 athletes engaged in various sports. The Zaporozhian Games of 1939 represented the culmination of sports activity based on mass participation and support. As a result of this approach to the propagation of physical culture, the majority of villages in Galicia had their own sports fields.

FIGURE 570. MEMBERS OF THE TRACK AND FIELD TEAM OF THE UKRAINIAN STUDENTS SPORTS CLUB IN LVIV, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF E. ZARSKY (SEVENTH FROM THE LEFT). THIRD FROM THE LEFT IS ROMAN SHUKHEVYCH, WHO LATER BECAME THE SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY

During World War II, on the territories west of the Sian and Buh rivers, physical culture activity was directed by the Ukrainian Central Committee, with a number of new clubs being organized in the Lemkian and Kholm regions. After the Germans occupied Ukraine, only limited activity was permitted within the *Generalgouvernement*, which had 124 sports clubs in 1943 and 177 groups run by the Ukrainian educational societies.

In Transcarpathia, a number of Sich and Plast societies were organized before World War II. The *Rus'* (Uzhhorod) sports club registered a number of successes, particularly in its competition within the Czechoslovak major soccer league.

In Bukovina, the Rumanian authorities dissolved the Sich Association (founded in 1904, it had reached a total of 112 branches). Sports clubs were mostly engaged in soccer, the Dovbush Club of Chernivtsi being by far the most prominent (1920). R. Petrushenko, a member of the Dovbush Club, represented Ru-

mania in skating in the 1936 Winter Olympics.

Ukrainian émigrés in Czechoslovakia organized sports clubs in camps for Ukrainian military internees, and subsequently branches of the Sokil Association and of the Ukrainian Sich Association (1927).

Ukrainian refugees in Germany established the Council of Physical Culture (Rada Fizychnoï Kul'tury) in 1945 (presidents: Volodymyr Blavatsky, Ivan Krasnyk) as the coordinating center of all sports activity. Its greatest success was the participation in the "Displaced Persons Olympics" (Nuremberg, 1948). It organized several Ukrainian championships in a variety of sports. The Council introduced a "Badge of Physical Fitness" program and organized courses for physical educators (Mittenwald, 1947) and matches against other nationalities.

In 1954, Ukrainian sports clubs in the United States and Canada formed the Ukraïns'ka Sportova Tsentralia Ameryky i Kanady (Association of Ukrainian Sport Clubs in North America). (On Ukrainian sports activity abroad, see Ukrainians Abroad.)

*E. Zarsky*

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# XII. The Armed Forces

## 1. HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE OF RESEARCH

### GENERAL WORKS AND RESEARCH

Accounts of the history of Ukrainian armed forces can be found in general works on the history of Ukraine, written by such Ukrainian scholars as Nicholas Markevych, Nicholas Kostomarov, Volodymyr Antonovych, Michael Hrushevsky, Ivan Krypiakevych, and others. Some material is also contained in specialized works of Russian, German, and Polish historians, such as Alexander Viskovatov, M. Bogdanovich, Nicholas Golitzyn, Nicholas Mikhnevich, N. Pavlenko, E. Razin, M. Kukiel, V. Meynert, B. Poten, A. Baiov, and others. A number of studies on the history of Ukrainian armed forces of various periods appear in Russian military periodical publications, collections and encyclopaedias of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly in the publications of the St. Petersburg Imperial Military-Historical Society and its Kiev chapter, which published its own *Vestnik* (Herald) between 1904 and 1914. Working currently on the military historiography of Russia is the Soviet scholar, Liubomyr Beskrovnyi.

The first specialized Ukrainian studies in this area appeared after World War I in Western Ukraine and abroad. In addition to articles in *Ukraïns'ka zahal'na entsyklopediia* (Ukrainian General Encyclopedia) and a popular history of the Ukrainian armed forces of Zenon Stefaniv, another work that was published at that time was *Istoriia ukraïns'koho viis'ka* (History of the Ukrainian Armed Forces) written by I. Krypiakevych, Bohdan Hnatevych, Z. Stefaniv, Osyp Dumin, and Sviatoslav Shramchenko. A great deal of material was published in periodical literature of the 1920's such as the almanacs and chronicles of *Chervona Kalyna*, *Tabor* (Camp), *Za derzhavnist'* (For Statehood). Works on military terminology also began to appear in this period, such as the Russian-Ukrainian military dictionary of S. and O. Yakubsky in Kiev, and the general and aviational German-Ukrainian and Ukrainian-German dictionaries of Ivan Ilnytsky-Zankovych (Berlin).

### THE LITHUANIAN-POLISH PERIOD

The most important source of material for the history of Ukrainian armed forces during the princely and the Lithuanian-Polish periods is found in the literary writings of the period (chronicles, The Tale of Ihor's Armament, and so on), archaeological finds, excavations of defensive installations, and writings of foreign merchants and travelers (Arabs, Armenians, Greeks). Research on the development of armed forces, military art, and armaments during the princely period was conducted by Ukrainian historians I. Krypiakevych, Z. Stefaniv, Basil Dovzhenok, and Russian historians Boris Grekov, Artemii Artsikhovsky, Boris Rybakov, Isaac Budovnits, Anatole Kirpichnikov, Alexander Medvedev. Construction of military and defensive installations was studied by the Russian historians M. Fride, Maria Tikhanova (Pavlenko), S. Likhachev, Nicholas Voronin, Paul Rappoport, and the Ukrai-

nian historian B. Dovzhenok. The history of the armed forces in the Lithuanian-Polish period has been treated in part by Polish historians Tadeusz Korzon, B. Baranowski, W. Bortnowski, W. Lewandowski. Construction of military installations in this period was studied by the Ukrainian historian Yukhym Sitsinsky. Important source material on the history of the armed forces, particularly the construction industry of the period, is found in the illustrations of princely castles, descriptions and memoirs of Polish eyewitnesses, foreign travelers, and the like.

## THE KOZAK PERIOD

Richest in source material in the history of Ukrainian armed forces is the Kozak period. In addition to documents and material preserved in the archives and museums of Ukraine, Poland, Turkey, and other countries, there are Kozak chronicles (those of Samovydets, Hrabianka, Velychko [Vol. I, pp. 560–1]), memoirs, Tatar and Turkish literary writings, Kozak register books, legal state documents, and more. Works of Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan and Pierre Chevalier, published in the seventeenth century, were devoted to the description of Kozak and Tatar armies, their arms, and military strategy. A thorough account of the history of the Kozak army and its military operations was provided by Johann Christian von Engel in his *Geschichte der Ukraine und der Cosaken* [History of Ukraine and the Kozaks] published in Germany in 1796. A great deal of research on this period was done in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The organization of the Kozak army, its arms and strategy, were treated by Ukrainian historians Peter Symonovsky, Dmytro Bantysh-Kamensky, Alexander Lazarevsky, Apollon Skalkovsky, Dmytro Yavornytsky, Alexandra Yefymenko [Vol. I, pp. 559–74], and many others, including some already mentioned, Kostomarov, Antonovych, Hrushevsky, Krypiakevych, and several Russian scholars. After the revolution of 1917, studies on the history of the Kozak army were produced by Michael Slabchenko, Alexander Ohloblyn, Michael Antonovych, Volodymyr Holobutsky, Olena Apanovych, Vadym Diachenko, and in Poland by Zbigniew Wójcik. Accounts of individual battles were published abroad by O. Pereiaslavsky and George Tys-Krokhmaliuk.

## IN THE RUSSIAN AND THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRES

The bulk of source material on the history of armed forces in Ukrainian lands within the Russian and the Austro-Hungarian empires from the 1770's to 1917–18 can be found in studies on the military formations of these states, in which Ukrainians served as soldiers. The information is contained in compilations and documents preserved in the archives of war ministries of present-day Austria and the Soviet Union, as well as corresponding legislative acts, special directions of war ministries and military commands, military statutes, and regulations. Brief articles on the history of Ukrainian regiments in the Russian armies from 1668 to 1917, as well as other military formations composed of Ukrainians in 1812, 1831 and 1855 (the so-called Kievan Kozakdom), were written by Stephen Tomashivsky, Volodymyr Svidzinsky, Serhii Shamrai, Paul Klepatsky, and Nestor Korol. History of the Don and Kuban Kozaks is treated in the works of Alexander Rigelman, Theodore Schcherbyna, and others.

Apart from an attempt to create national guards in 1848 (research on their history was conducted by Ivan Krevetsky), the leading Ukrainian military formation in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was the unit of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (Ukraïns'ki Sichovi Stril'tsi). The history of this formation, which later took an active part in the Ukrainian War of Liberation, is treated extensively

in numerous collections, monographs, and special studies written by Osyp Dumin, Nicefor Hirniak, and Stephen Ripetsky (who compiled the most complete bibliography on the history of the USS). Periodical literature of the Chervona Kalyna publishing house, notably its almanacs, the monthly *Litopys Chervonoï Kalyny* (Chronicle of Chervona Kalyna), and numerous memoirs, were devoted in their entirety to the history of the Sich Riflemen and other Ukrainian formations. Some material on the participation of Ukrainians in the Austrian armed forces is contained in the works of M. Ehul and Lev Shankovsky.

## THE PERIOD OF THE UKRAINIAN WAR OF LIBERATION

A great deal of source material on the history of the Ukrainian War of Liberation (1917–20) is preserved in Soviet archives as well as immigrant museums and archives (for example, Archives of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen in New York). Valuable material on the history of the Ukrainian armed forces and its military operations is contained in memoirs and studies of those who took part in them, notably soldiers and commanding officers of the armies and formations: generals Nicholas Kapustiansky (1921–22), Paul Skoropadsky (1922–5), Vsevolod Petriv (1927–31), Michael Omelianovych-Pavlenko, Sr. (1929, 1929–32), Marko Bezruchko (1932), Anthony Kraus (1937), Victor Zelinsky (1938), George Tiutiunnyk (1923, 1928), Roman Dashkevych (1965); officers Eugene Konovalets (1928), Borys Monkevych (1929), Stephen Shukhevych (1929), Alexander Kuzma (1931), Volodymyr Kedrovsky (1928, 1964), and others. Studies of the resistance movements in Ukraine from 1917 to 1923 were written by P. Arshinov (Makhno movement, 1923), B. Kozelsky (on the "Petliura uprisings," 1927), Michael Sereda (the Otaman movement, 1929–30), S. Shchadenko (Hryhoriïv movement, 1929), Arthur Adams (on the second Soviet campaign), and in the memoirs of Nestor Makhno (1936–7). A great deal of material on the history of Ukrainian armed forces in this period was published in such compilations as Alexander Dotsenko's *Litopys ukraïns'koï revoliutsiï* (Chronicle of the Ukrainian Revolution, 1923–4), the *Chervona Kalyna* (1922–8) and *Dnipro* (1923–39) almanacs, collections *Za derzhavnist'* (For Statehood, 1925–39, 1964–6), *Zoloti vorota* (The Golden Gate, 1937), *Symon Petliura* (1956), and materials on the history of the Ukrainian Galician army published by Dmytro Mykytiuk (1958–66).

Questions relating to the organization of the Ukrainian armed forces, its strategy and tactics are discussed—apart from general works [Vol. I, pp. 793–4]—in the studies of Elias Borshchak, Luke Myshuha, A. Dotsenko, Anthony Krezub, Basil Kuchabsky, Atanas Figol, Z. Stefaniv, Bartholomew Yevtymovych, Peter Zlenko, M. Plechko, L. Shankovsky, and particularly in the concise work of General Alexander Udovychenko, *Ukraïna v borot'bi za derzhavnist'* (Ukraine in the Struggle for Statehood).

Various aspects of the history of Ukrainian armed forces—specific period, operations, and battles—are treated in articles published in military periodical journals: *Tabor* (Camp), the *Litopys Chervonoï Kalyny*, *Ukraïns'kyi Skytalets'* (Ukrainian Refugee, 1920–3), in veterans journals of the last decade, *Visti Bratstva kol. Voiakiv I UD UNA* (News of the Brotherhood of Former Soldiers of the First Ukrainian Division, Ukrainian National Army, Munich), *Holos Kombatanta* (Veterans Voice), and later *Visti Kombatanta* (Veterans News, New York), *Dorohovkaz* (Toronto), *Surmach* (Bugler, London), *Tryzub* (Trident, New York).

History of this period from the Soviet point of view is treated in the works of Michael Tukhachevsky, Volodymyr Antonov-Ovsiienko, N. Kakurin, Elias Dubynsky, H. Shevchuk, H. Zasta-

venko, Nicholas Suprunenko, and others. Military history of the period is also discussed in the works of Polish historians, particularly accounts of the Lviv siege (1918–19) and the war of 1920. Among them are Czesław Mączyński, W. Hupert, J. Sopotnicki, T. Kutrzeba, and others. A great deal of valuable material appeared also in Russian immigrant publications, such as *Voennyi Sbornik* (War Collection) in Belgrade, *Archiv russkoi revoliutsii* (Archive of the Russian Revolution) in Berlin, and *Donskie dela* (The Don Deeds).

## UKRAINIANS IN THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES

Soviet sources provide no information on either the status of Ukrainians in the Soviet armed forces or the rise and relative importance of Ukrainian officers in the military hierarchy and the Ministry of Defense. Questions dealing with the national composition of Soviet armed forces are particularly avoided. There are but few studies on the history of the Bolshevik military detachments (so-called Red units) formed in Ukraine in 1917–23. The only military periodical publication which had been appearing in Ukraine in the Ukrainian language from 1924 (Kharkiv) was discontinued in 1935. The Ukrainian Military Scientific Society, founded by a group of Ukrainian officers of the military staff in the Kharkiv district, was disbanded in 1932.

## THE YEARS 1939–53

The history of Ukrainian military formations created immediately prior to and during World War II is treated in a whole series of works and memoirs. This material relates primarily to the units of the "Carpathian Sich," which were active in Carpathian Ukraine early in 1939. The history of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) is treated in the documentary work of Nicholas Lebed, in the historical survey of Peter Mirchuk, memoirs, and other material published in the journal *Do Zbroï* (To Arms, 1947–55). In Poland, research on the history of UPA is being conducted by Ignacy Blum, Wiesław Szota, and others. A critical appraisal of the UPA, its operations, strategy, and tactics is given in the works of Enrico Martinez Codo, an Argentinian military analyst, John Armstrong, and Yaroslav Bilinsky. There is also ample historical material on the First Ukrainian Division "Halychyna," including the works of General Paul Shandruk, G. Tys-Krokhmaliuk, M. Nebeliuk, and others. Some material can also be found in the *Brody* collection and the journal *Visti Bratstva kol. Voiakiv I UD UNA*, published in Munich since 1950. The studies of the German historians Jurgen Thorwald and Borys Meisner shed some light on the attempts to create a Free Ukrainian army in Germany during World War II.

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# 2. HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION

## UKRAINIAN ARMED FORCES UNTIL 1781

### The Princely Era

The military organization of the Slavs revolved around clans and tribes [Vol. I, pp. 577–81]. In case of war, members of each clan formed a detachment under the leadership of the oldest member or under an elected elder (*voievoda*). In times of danger the population of an area sought refuge in settlements (*horodyshcha*) fortified with walls, moats, and stockades built in places not easily accessible (hill tops or sometimes on piles in a swamp), or on river banks along roads so as to defend trade routes. The plan of a settlement depended on the characteristics of the area. Most often it resembled a circle or an ellipse with an area of approximately four hectares. There were an estimated 1,300 such settlements in central and northern Ukraine during the fifth through the eighth centuries. With primitive siege techniques, the fortified settlements, stocked with water and food, could resist an enemy for a long time. The Slavic army (mainly footsoldiers) was armed with spears (*kopiï, sulytsi, oskepy*), axes, bows, catapults, swords, and knives. Shields were used for body protection in combat. Every warrior carried two or three spears. According to contemporary Greek and Arab writers, Slavic assault tactics were not sufficiently developed.

Under the first princes and until the eleventh century, the best elements of Slavic military forces were the professional Varangian mercenaries, numbering from 400 to 6,000 men. They were organized in groups of 40–60 soldiers (as for manning of boats). The Varangians were a brave but expensive army. They brought into Ukraine the new tactic of fighting in orderly units.

**Fleet.** Sailing was known in the Slavic world from ancient times, but in Ukraine it developed in conjunction with the expeditions against Byzantine strongholds along the Black Sea and against similar Arab possessions on the Caspian shores. A warship (*lod'ia, sud, nasad,* or smaller *pavozok, uchan, struh*) was driven forward by means of oars or sails. Forty people made up an average crew. In campaigns against Byzantium. according to various sources, the fleet

consisted of 200 vessels in the year 907, 500 in 913, and up to 1,000 in 941. In an expedition on the Caspian Sea in 913, 500 ships, manned by 100 men each, are believed to have participated. The fleet of the princes, used mostly as transport for troops, was unsuited for battle with the strong Byzantine navy (equipped with Greek fire, a mixture of tar, sulphur, coal, oil, and saltpeter, which was catapulted from bronze tubes) and therefore stayed in close to the shore. Boats were also used in campaigns along rivers: on the Danube (in 968, under Sviatoslav), against the Volga Bulgars in 985, against the Mazovians in 1041 (along the Prypiat River during the reign of Yaroslav the Wise). Occasionally, boats were used as a river fleet and for defense of crossings on the Dnieper (in 1151) and the Desna (in 1160) rivers. Boats were moved across land from one river to another on round logs.

From the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries, in addition to the Greeks and Varangians, the Turkish tribes from the steppes and the feudal art of warfare from central Europe influenced the military development in Ukraine.

**Military Organization.** The forces consisted of a heavily armed *druzhyna* (detachment), lightly armed popular units, and steppe hordes in the service of the prince. Varangians in the *druzhyna* were eventually replaced by local boyars, who also performed higher governmental administrative functions. In response to a call to arms from the prince, the wealthier boyars came personally and brought their own *druzhynas*.

The *druzhyna* [Vol. I, pp. 612–13] was composed of the senior complement (first, better, larger, great *boyars*), with representatives of the richest families and of the younger element (*otroks*, *hrydi*, *dits'ki*), children of boyars and their sons. The senior *druzhyna* constituted also the prince's retinue and, in battle, the heavy cavalry and infantry. The younger *druzhyna* was used for the prince's errands, and in campaigns conducted reconnaissance and sometimes guarded the horses of the older *druzhyna* during battle. In time the soldiers of the younger *druzhyna* could move up to the

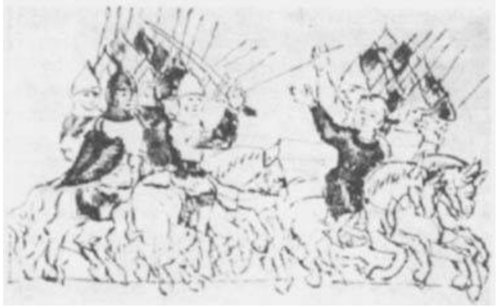

FIGURE 571. VICTORY OF THE KIEVAN *Rus'* TROOPS OVER THE POLOVTSIANS (drawing from the Koenigsberg Chronicle)

senior unit. The number of men in a *druzhyna* varied, but in general it was small, for example, under Prince Sviatopolk Iziaslavych (end of the eleventh century) there were 800 *otroks*.

Taxes and the prince's wealth were the sources of support for the *druzhyna*. A captured enemy city paid tribute for the upkeep of the invading army. Foreign troops brought in as allies were lodged and fed in towns and villages.

In times of danger, regiments of popular forces (*opolchennia*) were called to service (both peasants and townspeople). They were poorly armed, sometimes only with sticks, and were organized on a territorial basis. On the call of the prince, all able-bodied men of a district (for example, *tysiacha* or *polk* since the eleventh century) gathered in their city under a *boyar* (*tysiats'kyi*) accompanied by the military-administrative staff of the city. A smaller unit than the *tysiacha* was the *sotnia* (company, with a *sotnyk* [captain]) or sometimes the village with its chief (*starosta*). The company was subdivided into ten-man squads. The prince was obliged to provide the popular forces with weapons and horses. In battle they were deployed as light infantry.

The Turkic migratory tribes, having settled in the steppe border regions (Podilia, the Ros River, Pereiaslav, and Chernihiv regions) and having acknowledged the rule of the princes of *Rus'*, defended Ukrainian lands from raids by the nomads from the steppes and, when called by the prince, accompanied Ukrainian forces on campaigns. As light cavalry, they were used for reconnaissance, to start battles, and to pursue the defeated enemy. The number of men in such auxiliary Turkic units was anywhere from 1,500 to 30,000.

The strength of the prince's army, including the *druzhynas*, the popular regiments, and the steppe dwellers, at times reached 50,000 men. In battle the army was organized into (100–200 man) regiments and detachments. Each regiment had its colors (a triangular flag with a flock of horses' hair at the tip of the pole), bugles, and drums. The flagbearer guarded the colors and by raising the flag signalled the aligned troops into battle.

The armament of the princely forces consisted of weapons used by the Varangians (body armor, wire mesh vests, chest armor plates, helmet with visor, and a large shield), older Slavic weapons (spears, swords, battle-axes, bows), and those adopted from the steppe dwellers (curved sabres, armor made of steel leaves sewn on a leather shirt).

According to armament, the army was divided into fully armed *oruzhnyky* (or spearmen) and archers, armed in the manner of the steppe dwellers with bows. As late as the tenth century, the prince's army was still on foot. For long campaigns the footsoldiers were transported by boats, carts, or sleds. The employment of heavily armed cavalry was adopted from Byzantium (first attempted during the campaigns of Sviatoslav against Bulgaria) and the use of light cavalry from the steppe tribes. The cavalry was known as *komonnyky, snuznyky* (horse soldiers), and for its needs the prince kept herds of horses.

In long campaigns, supplies, equipment, and provisions were transported by wagons, carts, and sleds. When there was insufficient food, the soldiers would "live off the land." At a selected site, normally near a preplanned place of engagement with the enemy, the troops established a base camp (or trains camp), surrounding it with wagons and raising the tents within the perimeter. During long city sieges, a wooden abode for the prince would be errected. Some princes (as Sviatoslav) campaigned without supply trains. Artisans accompanied the army to help the troops in constructing river crossings, siege machines, and the like.

**Tactics.** In a campaign, an advance guard preceded the regiment, and in unknown areas guides led the troops. The soldiers normally donned their arms and gear upon a prearranged signal with drums or trumpets, and then the prince formed the units into battle lines. Quite often the weaker side made a stand on the opposite bank of a river or fortified itself along the edge of a forest. Normally the army formed in three units with the *druzhyna* in the center or on the flanks.

Battle tactics until the eleventh century meant the approach of helmeted, armor-clad *druzhyna* ranks to the enemy's lines. When during the initial engagement the spears broke, the footsoldiers used swords or hatchets. When forces of several princes were allied, each led his own unit; the popular forces were grouped at the sides of the *druzhyna* or the lightly armed troops (archers) were placed in the first rank and the heavy weapon-bearers in the second rank. In this battle formation, the archers, approaching the opposing regiment would shower it with arrows then step aside leaving the battlefield for the clash of the heavy infantry King Daniel used tactics of closely coordinated actions between the archers and the heavily armed warriors by placing archers in front of and on the flanks of a nucleus of warriors, so that the others were able

to shoot arrows continuously at the opponent.

From the end of the eleventh century, cavalry usually decided the outcome of a battle by penetrating the enemy's ranks in a wedge formation and using lances, which when broken were substituted with swords. Light cavalry, armed with bows, sprayed the enemy with arrows and yielded its position to the attacking heavy infantry. After a victory, light cavalry pursued the enemy. It normally ravaged the enemy's land by pillaging and looting the civil population.

Defenses consisted of wooden fortifications (logs, barriers, stockades) or earthen obstacles (parapets, dikes, ditches, bulwarks, ramparts). Sometimes, having penetrated too deeply into the steppes and having been surrounded by the nomads, a force had to retreat, defending itself from behind the wagons positioned into a perimeter. This tactic was probably adopted from the nomads. A system of walled cities (*horody*) was used as a continuous means of passive defense for a territory, especially along the border regions. In circumference the princely forts ranged from 250 to 3,000 meters. A fortified (walled) city consisted of a better protected inner portion (castle) and the surrounding city. The main defenses against the enemy were ditches and ramparts, (height of the ramparts was 2–25 meters, and were earthen fills between two rows of logs). Along the tops of these parapets, wooden walls were constructed. On the ramparts of the outlying city, stockades were built. The inner wall consisted of a system of wooden towers (blockhouses). A bridge served as the entrance to the outer city (before an enemy's attack the bridge was cut), and to the inner city—the gate. In the Galician-Volhynian principality, towers were placed in the middle of a city and stone watchtowers along the approaches. Cities were taken by assault or as a result of a siege. A city conquered by force was put to the sword: the inhabitants were killed or taken prisoner. Sieges lasted sometimes up to two-and-a-half months. Catapults and battering-rams were used in assaulting fortified cities and settlements. For protection from arrows during an assault, various types of cover were used; the approach to the city was made behind or under moving towers.

On the borders of the steppe, protective ramparts were built along rivers on the Roman-Byzantine pattern. In the Kievan Realm there were three lines of such ramparts: along the Stuhna River (80.7 mi.), constructed by prince Volodymyr the Great, and along the Ros and Trubezh rivers (approximately 12.5 mi.); shorter ramparts along the Zbruch River defended Podilia from nomadic tribes.

The strategy of this era was to seek the resolution of a conflict in open battle, with both sides honoring the rules of the times. Wars with the nomads, however, taught the princes the tactic of sudden raids, ambush techniques, and rapid assaults. These were widely used by Volodymyr Monomakh and King Daniel. The prevailing tactic, however, was to employ a single, all-out assault on the enemy. The chronicles cite only few instances of prolonged maneuvers designed to wear out the enemy.

### The Lithuanian-Polish Period

The Ukrainian lands, after their annexation to Lithuania, Poland, and Hungary, assumed a buffer state function in the military defensive system. The military organization of the princely period remained virtually intact in those territories incorporated in Lithuania (until the Union of Lublin in 1596).

**Lithuanian state.** In the Lithuanian state the armed forces consisted of popular forces and regular boyar troops. The popular forces were called only for local needs and in case of enemy attack. For distant campaigns only the boyar forces were used. Land possessions of the boyars were tied to an obligation for military service. Taxes and duties of peasants to the landowners were often

(gladly) translated into military service. The Statute of 1529 obligated the nobility to produce one mounted soldier for every 1,440 hectares of land. The poorer boyars served themselves. A few small peasant households had to provide one mounted trooper. From the sixteenth century, the Lithuanian military system adopted many elements of the Polish system.

**Ukrainian lands under Poland.** In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, on the Polish dominated Ukrainian lands, boyars, town mayors, and village chiefs (*viit*) were obligated for military service in accordance with the prevailing German law. A landowner reported for a campaign with one to four mounted soldiers, each with a prescribed (light or heavy) armament. According to arms, the soldiers were divided into lancers, long bowmen, and light archers. Unlike the nobility of other Polish lands (privileges of the Koshytsi Charter of 1374), the Galician nobles were required to participate in foreign campaigns without recompense.

Initially, there was only a general mobilization (*pospolyte rushennia*) of nobility and landowners. In case of war, the king hired mercenaries within the state and beyond its boundaries (in Germany, Hungary, and Moldavia). For the defense of southeastern borders from Tatar attacks, during the reign of Sigismund II, a standing "quarter" army was used (one quarter of the kingdom's income was used for its upkeep). Registered kozaks served under similar conditions in the Polish army. The army raised by means of general mobilization was almost completely mounted (with the exception of a small number of peasant foot soldiers), as was also the "quarter" army. In 1656 the mobilized army had approximately 20,000 men. On the eve of the Khmelnytsky uprising the "quarter" army also had close to 20,000 soldiers and about the same number of mercenaries. The forces of the nobles were divided into flag units based on families (magnates and richer nobility) and on land (200–600 men). There was the heavily armored cavalry (the hussars) and the light cavalry (dragoon regiment), also capable of dismounted combat. A number of Ukrainians, who served in the light cavalry, crossed over to Khmelnytsky during the uprising led by the Ukrainian hetman. The heavy infantry (musketeers) and the cavalry were mainly of German origin; they consisted of companies or squads headed by captains. The king was the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. In his name, the crown hetman commanded the royal troops, and the Lithuanian hetman the forces of that country. Their executives were the field crown hetman and the field Lithuanian hetman; both also directed reconnaissance and mercenary elements during campaigns.

Infantry played only a secondary role in this period. In earlier times the infantry as well as heavy cavalry were equipped with armor, swords, shields, and bows. From the fifteenth century muskets and occasionally sabres were coming into wider use. For body armament an armor of small iron rings was used; in the fifteenth century metal plates on the chest and shoulders were worn. The head was still protected by the helmet. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries round or tall rectangular shields of wood covered with hide were common. Lances, spears, pikes, and javelins were also used in battle, as were various types of axes. City and castle guards were armed with halberds. In the sixteenth century the sword was replaced with the sabre. The first cannons were brought to Lviv in 1394, the projectiles initially were of stone, sometimes encased in an iron ring. Beginning with the fifteenth century they were made of iron. At first, the guns constituted only the castle's defensive artillery, but were gradually adopted as field artillery.

Small fire arms appeared later than cannons. The oldest form of a small arm was a bronze or iron tube with a hole

pierced into the powder cavity which was ignited by means of a string wetted with alcohol. From the middle of the sixteenth century, a flint lock developing a spark to ignite the powder became standard.

The first muskets weighing approximately 10 kg., fired from the shoulder, were steadied by a pole and a hook which protected the shoulder from recoil. In the middle of the seventeenth century heavy muskets (20 mm. caliber) appeared in Ukraine which, during firing, had to be supported by a forked stick. In campaigns the nobles brought their own supplies creating huge logistical trains (quite often there was only one combatant for every five persons in the trains). During hurried expeditions the trains followed considerably behind the fast moving troops. Train wagons arranged into a square or a circle and fortified with ramparts were used to defend the camp.

The increasing use of firearms necessitated the construction of better fortifications or castles, which were usually built in inaccessible places. Ground areas varied considerably (for example, the Chornobyl Castle, 140 × 110 feet; Zhytomyr Castle, 400 × 350 feet). The double walls of the castles were covered with clay to prevent fire, and along upper portions were secret passages connected to the main building. In the fourteenth century, stone castles were constructed in Galicia, Podilia, and the Kholm region. The area of a concrete-built castle in the seventeenth century reached up to 50 hectares. Its form depended on the location, but triangular, rectangular, or pentagonal structures were predominant.

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## THE KOZAK-HETMAN PERIOD

**Before the uprising of Khmelnytsky.** The Kozak movement developed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on the steppe borderland (in the provinces of Kiev and Pereiaslav). The origin of the Kozak military organization is associated with Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, who founded the fortified settlement called Sich on the island of Khortytsia in the middle of the sixteenth century. During the second half of this century, the Polish government sought to place the Kozaks under its control, by including them in the defenses of the Polish kingdom's southern boundary and by accepting a part of them into the government's service. In 1578, King Stefan

Batory organized a Kozak unit of 500 men on the pattern of mercenary Hungarian infantry [Vol. I, p. 630]. These Kozaks were given certain freedoms (their own courts, their "hetman" or "elder", exclusion from the authority of local officials, survivor benefits, hospitalization for the wounded, and an arsenal in Terekhtemyriv). This required a register, which marked the beginning of "registered" Kozaks who were paid, uniformed, and armed. However, over 10,000 non-registered Kozaks still lived in the Dnieper lowlands, campaigning against Wallachia and Muscovy, or fighting the Tatars and conducting sea expeditions against the Turks. Peter Konashevych Sahaidachnyi established a solid organization for the registered troops [Vol. I, p. 631], and in his regime (1619) the number of registered Kozaks reached 10,600. For campaigns he recruited from two to four times that number of non-regulars. From 1625 to 1648 the governmental register of Kozaks declined to between 6,000 and 8,000 men. However during the negotiations between Hetman Khmelnytsky and the Polish government the number fluctuated between 20,000 and 40,000 [Vol. I, pp. 632–9].

**Kozaks during the Hetman period.** The establishment of Khmelnytsky's state found the Kozaks carrying the main burden of military service. During this period the Zaporozhian Kozaks (in the lowlands) preserved their separate status and traditional military organization, while the city Kozaks developed their own military system. The latter remained the official army of the Ukrainian state until the end of the Hetman period.

The Kozak army was divided into regiments (*polks*), companies (*sotnias*), and platoons (*kurens*), which were both military and administrative units. The number of regiments varied: from 1620 to 1630 there were between six and eight regiments (Bila Tserkva, Kaniv, Korsun, Pereiaslav, Cherkasy, Chyhyryn and, for a short time, Myrhorod and Lubny),

FIGURE 572. HETMAN B. KHMELNYTSKY STANDING ON THE MAP OF UKRAINE. REGIMENTS OF THE KOZAK ARMY ARE MARKED WITH MACES ON THE MAP (from an old painting)

while under Hetman Khmelnytsky there were seventeen and more. According to the register of 1649, there were regiments in: Bila Tserkva, Bratslav, Kalnyk, Kaniv, Korsun, Kropyvna, Myrhorod, Nizhyn, Pereiaslav, Poltava, Pryluky, Uman, Cherkasy, Chernihiv, and Chyhyryn. In 1651 a regiment was added in Pavoloka, and later the following regiments were set up in the border regions: the Belorussian (in Chausy in 1655), the Turovo-Pinsk regiment (1657), and the Volhynian (in 1657). In addition, during the war temporary regiments were established [Vol. I, p. 642, map]. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were ten regiments in Hetman Ukraine located in Hadiach, Kiev, Lubny, Myrhorod, Nizhyn, Pereiaslav, Poltava, Pryluky, Starodub, and Chernihiv. The size of each regiment grew steadily in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: initially there were approximately 500 Kozaks in a regiment, between 1620 and 1630 up to 1,000 (between 3,000 to 4,000

in the Khotyn Campaign), and in Khmelnytsky's times between 5,000 and 20,000 (the register showed only 2,000 to 3,000 men per regiment after the Peace of Zboriv). In the eighteenth century a regiment's average strength was approximately 5,000 men (the Nizhyn regiment had as many as 10,000 men). The number of companies in a regiment varied. Under Khmelnytsky the size of a company increased to a number between 200 and 300 Kozaks; in the early eighteenth century a company averaged 400 men, and in 1782 there were over 1,000 soldiers per company. Initially, a company was subdivided into ten-men squads and later into platoons (in 1581, a squad of registered Kozaks consisted of a leader [*otaman*] and nine common Kozaks).

The senior authority among the Kozaks was vested in the hetman who was elected by a military council (*rada*). The council dealt with all important organizational and political matters. The general military council, attended by all Kozaks, was called first in special cases, later regularly. In the Sich, in the eighteenth century, the council met three times a year (New Year's, Easter, and the feast of Intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary). The council was called by the hetman, and in the Sich by the camp commander (*koshovyi*) and in his absence by the staff officers. Local matters were resolved at regimental and company councils. From the end of the seventeenth century, a general council was convened only for the most important matters (election of a hetman, ratification of treaties); other administrative and military matters were decided by a council of officers which met semiannually (Christmas and Easter). In the eighteenth century, the council of officers did not meet regularly. The elected hetman, who was the highest military authority, designated an acting hetman from among his general staff officers or colonels.

The functions of the hetman's general staff were carried out by the following officers: quartermaster-general (*oboznyi*), later, treasurer-general (*pidskarbii*), and two adjutants-general (*khorunzhyi* and *bunchuzhnyi*). The general staff was selected by the hetman with the consent of the officer council. In the eighteenth century, the Tsar's government had a decisive voice in the appointment of the general staff. Since the time of Khmelnytsky, when the hetman became head of the Kozak state, the general staff carried out the functions of a council of ministers thus acting as the national government of the Ukrainian Hetman State.

At first the quartermaster-general (*oboznyi*) commanded the defensive camp during campaigns. He also acted as chief of artillery, including regimental and company artillery. His aides were the adjutant-general (*osaul*) and an officer of artillery (*khorunzhyi*). In the middle of the eighteenth century, an artillery department was created under him to supervise the production of cannons, ammunition, powder, saltpeter, the construction of defensive barriers and fortifications, and to oversee a wide variety of artillery logistics. As the senior member of the Ukrainian government, the quartermaster-general was second-in-command to the hetman and, acting as chief of the general staff, participated in diplomatic negotiations, conducted important political investigations, and participated as a member of the general court.

The military judge-general had authority over all judiciary matters of the Kozak forces (later of the Hetman state), headed the General Court Martial, supervized the activities of investigating boards, and carried out special assignments for the hetman (whom he occasionally replaced). The secretary-general initially managed the administrative headquarters and its external affairs (during the period of Khmelnytsky and in the second half of the seventeenth century). The general-treasurer attended

to financial and economic matters. He also acted as the state comptroller.

The strictly military members of the general staff, in addition to the quarter-master-general, were the two adjutants-general, the flag and the standard bearers

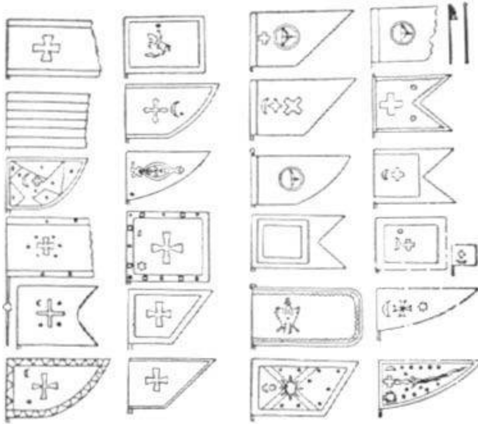

FIGURE 573. BANNERS OF THE KOZAK ARMY UNDER HETMAN B. KHMELNYTSKY

(*heneral'nyi khorunzhyi and heneral'nyi bunchuzhnyi*). The adjutants-general were aides-de-camp of the hetman, inspectors of military matters, and supervized the volunteer regiments. Also, when ordered by the hetman, they carried out various administrative and even judicial assignments and participated in negotiations with foreign emissaries. The general flag bearer safeguarded the military and national colors, commanded the hetman's guard and, when directed, took part in investigations and in judicial affairs. The general standard bearer kept the hetman's standards and, later, he led the standard's guard. He also handled special assignments for the hetman.

Like the general staff, the regimental and company staffs performed both military and administrative functions. The regimental staff included the colonel (*polkovnyk*), a regimental quartermaster, a legal officer, a secretary, two aides-de-camp, and one or two flag bearers. The following regimental artillery officers functioned under the regimental quarter-master: one aide-de-camp, one lieutenant, and several *otamans* (battery commanders). A company staff consisted of a captain and three lieutenants carrying out functions of an aide-de-camp, flag bearer, and secretary. A platoon was led by a platoon leader (*kurinnyi otaman*). If he also had administrative authority within a town, he was called a town *otaman* (sometimes there were even village *otamans*). The regimental and company staffs were elected by councils of these units, and approved by the hetmans. However, hetmans Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Peter Doroshenko, Demian Mnohohrishnyi, Ivan Samoilovych, and Ivan Mazepa appointed the regimental commanders. In the eighteenth century this was done by the tsar's government.

Zaporizhia had a separate military organization in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries [Vol. I, p. 662]. Heading the Zaporozhian forces was a staff elected annually: camp commander (*koshovyi otaman*), military judge, adjutant (*osaul*), and secretary. In the eigh-

FIGURE 574. SEALS OF INDIVIDUAL *palankas* OF THE ZAPOROZHIAN ARMY

teenth century the Zaporozhian Sich was subdivided into 38 *kurens*, each headed by a *kurinnyi otaman*. The "Free Lands of the Zaporozhian Forces" were organized into eight *palankas* (military districts) with the following administration: a colonel, an *osaul*, a scribe, an assistant *osaul*, an assistant scribe, and area *otamans* in the settlements. This staff was designated by the Zaporozhian camp command. In the Zaporozhian Sich, a new kozak, before he acquired full rights, had to serve up to three years as a novice (in the eighteenth century, as a page up to the age of twenty). Normally a ten-man Kozak squad had between 30 and 50 such novices.

Slobids'ka Ukraïna, which was part of Muscovy, also had a separate military-administrative system [Vol. I, pp. 664–5]. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were five Kozak regiments (*polks*) in this region: in Izium, Okhtyrka, Rybne (Ostrohozke), Sumy, and Kharkiv. The internal organization of these regiments was similar to that of the Hetman state regiments.

The number of town Kozaks varied. At the end of the sixteenth century, when the Kozaks became a separate organized force, they numbered between 2,000 and 10,000. In the first half of the seventeenth century there were between 12,000 and 40,000. Hetman Khmelnytsky's army in the battle of Zboriv numbered up to 360,000 men, although the Kozaks constituted only a small part of this force; their register in the middle of the seventeenth century probably did not exceed 60,000 men. During Hetman Mazepa's period, the number of town Kozaks in Left-Bank Ukraine was between 40,000 and 50,000. Historian Dmytro Bantysh-Kamensky gives the figure of registered Kozaks for 1723 as 55,200. In this total are included 16,500 foot soldiers and 38,700 mounted soldiers (10 regiments with 121 companies). The number of soldiers in the Zaporozhian Sich fell to between 10,000 and 15,000.

In the 1730's, the Kozaks of the Hetman state were divided into "selected," those who performed actual military service and were to be ready for campaigns at all times, and auxiliaries, who aided with equipment and food.

In addition to registered Kozaks, the hetmans, in order to increase the military strength and create a permanent and loyal force, hired units of volunteer mercenaries for annual pay. Serving in Khmelnytsky's army were mounted dragoons organized on the German pattern, German infantry, and Wallachian, Serbian, and Tatar cavalry. Hetman Doroshenko kept Turkish, Moldavian, and also Ukrainian mercenaries. To maintain public security Hetman Demian Mnohohrishnyi established in 1668 a common volunteer regiment which was to be the beginning of the standing army organized on the West European pattern. The number of volunteer regiments varied: under Hetman Samoilovych there were seven, under Mazepa initially eight, later ten (five cavalry and five infantry regiments) with 500 to 600 Kozaks in each. The volunteers were under direct command of the hetman. Attached to the hetman was an honor guard company selected from among the hired or volunteer units (eighteenth century). The general staff had a guard platoon under the command of a captain.

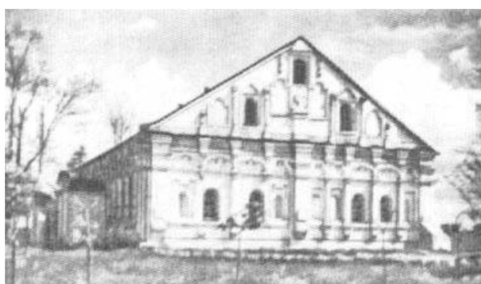

FIGURE 575. OFFICE OF THE CHERNIHIV *polk*, END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Both the registered Kozaks and the mercenaries received pay from the Polish State treasury, and were provided with uniforms. In the Hetman state, the Kozaks served without pay, but were given

property claims (except in long campaigns when the Kozaks would receive some renumeration). Higher officers received rank reimbursements in the form of landholdings.

ARMAMENT, UNIFORMS, DRILL. The Kozak's arms consisted of a musket, a sabre, a spear, a bow, and sometimes a pick. The basic weapon was the musket (thus the description of the Kozaks as "musket soldiers"). Other types of muskets, such

FIGURE 576. THE KOZAKS, A PAINTING BY V. VYSOTSKY

as blunderbusses, were also widely used by the Kozaks. In the eighteenth century they also carried pistols under their belts or in leather holsters. Bullets were kept in the belt or in loading boxes, powder in horns or powder cases. The Zaporozhian Kozaks were known as expert marksmen with musket or bow. The sabre was as common as the musket. Helmets and armor were very seldom used, and then by officers only.

Information about the first artillery pieces in the Kozak army dates back to 1580. The Kozaks captured their guns in raids on Turkish fortresses or from Polish castles. Sometimes they received cannons as gifts for service (for example, from Austria in the 1590's for taking part in a campaign against the Turks). Artillery pieces were pulled by oxen (if very heavy) or by horses. In the Kozak camp near Berestechko in 1648 there were close to 100 guns. There were large numbers also in the regimental castles. For the protection of artillery a force of 200 to 300 Kozaks was maintained. Up to 1648 the main base of Kozak artillery was Zaporizhia. Under Khmelnytsky the general support artillery was kept in Korsun and in Pereiaslav, later transferred deeper into Left-Bank Ukraine (Hadiach, Lokhvytsia, and Romny), and at the end of the seventeenth century was in Korop. Artillery development reached its highest level under Hetman Mazepa [Vol. I, p. 648], who invited foreign experts to teach (including Friedrich von Königsek, a military engineer from Saxony) and encouraged Ukrainian gun craftsmen (especially Joseph and Karpo Balashevych). When the Russians took Baturyn in 1708 they captured all general support artillery and confiscated most of the regimental artillery of which, upon demands from

FIGURE 577. KOZAK CANNONS

Hetman Ivan Skoropadsky, they later returned only eight small calibre pieces. This fact contributed to a marked decline in the use of artillery in the eighteenth century Hetman state.

Direct control over artillery was exercised by the executive general (*oboznyi*) who had a staff of artillery officers and men. The commander of the general support artillery was an *osaul*, while regimental artillery was commanded by a battery commander (*otaman*) who had his artillery lieutenants. Company artillery, which included from one to three guns per company, did not have separate artillery officers.

There were special units of Kozaks who carried out construction tasks (combat engineers) or liaison duties. Construction of river boats reached a particularly high level of development in the latter part of the seventeenth century (in May 1697, 700 vessels and 600 river boats were built in Ukraine). Farm work and local construction was done by all Kozaks, but for the building of bridges the Kozak forces maintained special groups of skilled construction engineers. All regiments maintained military lands, and their members received a comparatively high pay.

Logistics of the Kozak forces presented a rather complex picture, especially the supply of food. City Kozaks had their own property, and thus when reporting for campaigns they brought their own supplies in accordance with the hetman's directives. Supplies for volunteer regiments were kept in fortress storehouses and other supply centers. During campaigns, the troop trains were of relatively large size to provide support for a minimum of three months of operations. They were protected by special units.

Kozak clothing did not vary much from civilian attire until the middle of the seventeenth century. Uniforms were introduced for the registered Kozaks by the government. In the eighteenth century the military uniform of the Kozaks consisted of a shorter undercoat of uni-

FIGURE 578. I. BOHUN, A SCULPTURE BY B. BORODAI

form color for individual line units (red and, later, white for the regular Kozaks, also red for mercenary companies, and yellow for artillery and guard units) and of a longer overcoat. Officers and higher officials wore long coats of different colors covered by a long cape with open sleeves. Specific uniform regulations for the troops in 1763 were issued by Hetman Cyril Rozumovsky. The regular Kozaks began to wear a dark blue coat with a red collar and a belt, over a white shirt and white trousers. On their heads they wore black fur caps with centers in regimental colors. The overcoats were blue, but the boots were of varied colors. Mercenaries wore green overcoats with red collars over red coats, narrow trousers, short boots, and round caps.

Kozak insignia of office forces (later state insignia of the Zaporozhian army) were known as *kleinody*. The *kleinody* of the entire army were the hetman's mace, the staff, the seal, and the flags. Regiments had their colonel maces (*pirnachi*), a flag, and a guidon. Companies had guidons only. Before Khmelnytsky the hetman's insignia of office was a staff finished with silver on both ends. The Zaporozhian Kozak army had its

own seal (a coat of arms with a Kozak armed with sabre and musket, see fig. 5 on plate I in Vol. I, p. 32). Higher military offices, as well as the regiments, companies, and Zaporozhian units, had their own distinctive seals.

Information about systematic drills in the Kozak army dates back to 1619. A "regular alignment" for campaigns (four men to a rank) was adopted in the eighteenth century from the Russian army. In 1758 Colonel Ivan Kuliabka of Lubny compiled a handbook of "teaching the Kozak children to read and write and to conduct combat exercises."

Soldiers were summoned for a campaign by a "universal" (proclamation) from the hetman. Normally, each Kozak was required to report with two good horses, 2–5 lbs. of gun powder, approximately 300 musket balls, and food. Axes, scythes, shovels, and ropes were also brought along. For shorter campaigns only yuccas and saddle bags were taken. Advance and flank guards were used in enemy territory. When stopping for longer periods of time, the soldiers erected camps with tents or barracks. One wagon was usually taken to support ten Kozaks. During campaigns the army had its priests and sometimes even a mobile church (there were military chaplains in the Hetman state in the eighteenth century). The Kozak army also had its doctors and medics. Hospitals for the

FIGURE 579. TEREKHTEMYRIV ON THE DNIEPER RIVER, THE SITE OF THE ZAPOROZHIAN SICH HOSPITAL (ENGRAVING FROM THE BOOK *Cyaneae*, 1686)

wounded and disabled were provided (in the first half of the seventeenth century there was such a hospital in Terekhtemyriv).

TACTICS. A war was usually resolved in a single main battle. The base for troops going into battle was a camp fortified from the front and rear with four or five lines of wagons and artillery pieces [Vol. I, p. 631, Fig. 416]. The Kozaks frequently advanced upon the enemy in such mobile camps (for example, in the Crimean Campaign of 1628, near Berestechko in 1651, near Dryzhypole in 1655). The battle was started by probing patrols of cavalry. When larger forces of the enemy entered the field of battle between the opposing camps, the Kozak cavalry met them in a line formation. In earlier times the cavalrymen, like the Tatars, shot arrows at the enemy; later, they first fired their muskets and pistols, then closed in on the opponent with spears and sabres. Unlike contemporary European armies, the Kozaks relied mainly on the infantry. During the probing attacks of the cavalry, the infantry attempted to leave its base camp unobserved and to approach or break into the enemy's positions. When unable to penetrate the opposing defense, the infantrymen dug in as closely as possible to the enemy and showered him with musket fire. The trenches defended the infantry from enemy cavalry. For digging of such trenches, infantrymen carried shovels and pikes fastened to their belts.

FORTIFICATIONS. A highly developed system of fortifications existed in Ukraine from the princely period. These fortifications were mostly wooden or earthen works, although there were some of stone and other material. Their primary purpose was to defend the population against the Tatars and the Turks from the south and the Muscovites from the east. In Kozak times, these fortresses also served in the defense against the Poles. On the Right and Left-Bank Ukraine there was a series of larger

(Kiev, Kamianets Podilsky, Chyhyryn, Baturyn) and smaller (each regimental headquarters) fortified cities. In the eighteenth century most of these fortresses (with the exception of Kiev and Kamianets) deteriorated. In their place, new fortified lines with small forts were constructed along the southern borders of the Hetman state, although they were under the control of the Russian government and manned mainly by Russian troops. There were also some fortresses and defensive lines in Zaporizhia and in Slobids'ka Ukraïna.

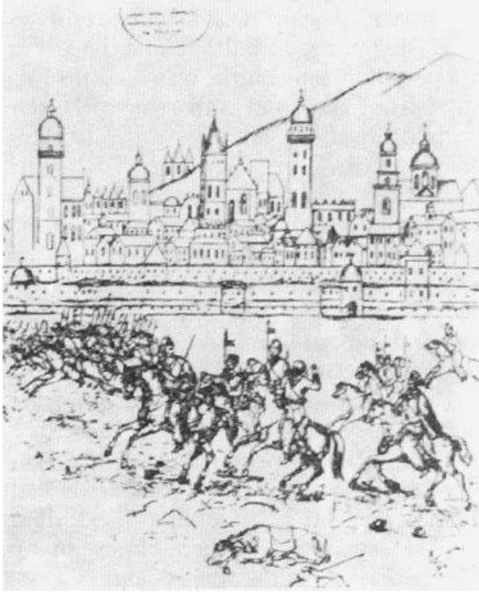

FIGURE 580. KOZAK CAVALRY DURING THE SIEGE OF LVIV, 1648

The Kozak FLEET appeared in the middle of the sixteenth century and reached its highest level of development between 1600 and 1620. The Kozaks made sea expeditions against Tatar towns along the Crimean coast and Turkish cities along the western and southern shores of the Black Sea. These raids were carried out on boat-like vessels [Vol. I, p. 631, fig. 417]. A ship of this type (known as *chaika*) was 20 meters long, three to four meters wide (thus one half the size of most contemporary sea-going vessels). Sails and oars propelled the *chaika* and its speed approached 10 m/hr. Fifty to 70 Kozaks comprised the boat's crew, and each of them was armed with a sabre and two muskets. Also, the vessel was armed with four to six light cannons. Between 200 and 400 ships participated in a sea expedition. Many of these campaigns were conducted jointly with the Don Cossacks. Sea expeditions and the Kozak fleet declined with the onset of wars against Poland and subsequent union between the Kozaks and the Tatars. Hetmans I. Samoilovych and I. Mazepa tried to rebuild the Kozak fleet during the wars of Moscow against the Turks and Tatars.

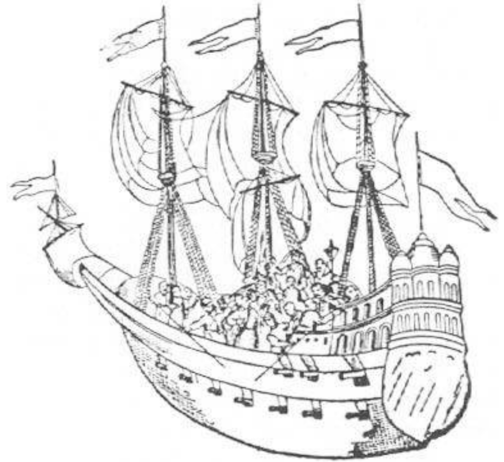

FIGURE 581. KOZAK SHIP

The Kozaks avoided direct confrontation in high seas. They tried to locate individual enemy ships and attacked them at night. In an open battle with a ship, half of the Kozak vessel's crew fired their muskets while the other half loaded. The battle was terminated with an attempt to board the enemy's galley. Captured ships were destroyed. In the eighteenth century the Kozak fleet declined completely, with the exception of another brief period late in the century during the Russo-Turkish war.

*According to I. Krypiakevych*

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## UKRAINIANS IN FOREIGN ARMIES BEFORE 1917

### The Russian Empire

The policy of Russia's imperial government, intent on the liquidation of Ukraine's national military force and its defensive systems, led to the inclusion of the Ukrainian military power in that of the empire. After the abolition of the Hetmanate, a series of steps were taken to implement the imperial government's policy.

The ten territorial regiments (*polks*) of the Hetman state were abolished in 1784. They were replaced with ten carabineer regiments of six squadrons each to be included as a special corps in the Russian regular army under the name of "Little Russian Cavalry." For a time, the Ukrainian carabineer regiments retained the remnants of their territorial organization and their local Ukrainian leadership. However, gradually their ranks were replenished according to the Russian recruitment system and the only reminders of their initial origin were the Ukrainian territorial names and some traditions of long standing.

The five Ukrainian territorial regiments of Slobids'ka Ukraïna (in Sumy, Okhtyrka, Kharkiv, Izium, Ostrohozke) were reorganized in 1765 into regular hussar regiments of the Russian army.

In 1775 the Zaporozhian Sich was destroyed by the Russian government. Pushed out of the Ukrainian "Zaporozhian Free Lands," some of the Kozaks scattered across Ukraine and some (close to 8,000 men) found a haven within the Turkish empire at the mouth of the Danube, where they founded a new autonomous Sich (Zadunais'ka Sich) [Vol. I, p. 664]. In the early stages of the Russo-Turkish war (1787–91), the Russian government formed the "Loyal Zaporozhian Troops" from the Kozaks left in Ukraine, under the leadership of former Kozak officers Sydir Bilyi, Zakhar Chepiha, and Anthony Holowatyi. This force was organized on the former Zaporozhian pattern. Consisting of 3,000 cavalrymen and 10,000 infantrymen, the troops participated in the war against Turkey. They were redesignated the Black Sea Kozak Army and given land grants between the lower Dniester and Boh rivers. After the war, to continue their existence, the officers of the Black Sea Kozak Army demanded and received rights along the Kuban River where the force settled in 1792 [Vol. I, p. 789]. Some Kozaks disillusioned with Russian politics fled to the Danube Sich.

In 1860 a part of the so-called Line Units, in which Don elements were predominant, was attached to the Black Sea Kozak Army, and from then on

the force was known as the "Kuban Kozak Army." In 1865 the Azov Kozak forces were integrated into the Kuban Kozak Army. The Azov Kozak force was formed between Berdiansk and Mariupil in 1828 when, during the Russo-Turkish War, the Kozaks from the Danubian Sich under the leadership of their camp commander, Joseph Hladkyi, joined the Russian army [Vol. I, p. 664]. Ukrainians comprised up to 75 per cent of the Kuban Kozak Army until the Russian Revolution in 1917. Fully manned by Ukrainians were the following Kuban Army regiments: Zaporozhian, Uman, Poltava, Black Sea, Yeisk, Caucasus. There was also a large percentage of Ukrainians in the Terek Kozak Army.

After the abolition of Ukraine's autonomy, the Kozak officers were being gradually transformed under the influence of the Russian leveling policy into Russian nobility. However, they sought to utilize every opportunity for the restoration of Ukrainian armed forces within the wholly integrated system of the Russian army. Russia's war with France in 1812–14 presented such an opportunity. In June of 1812, Tsar Alexander I ordered the formation of 15 Little Russian Mounted-Kozak regiments from the descendants of the Zaporozhian Kozaks [Vol. I, p. 670]. By the end of September, 38 Ukrainian regiments were formed (four mounted Kozak regiments in Right-Bank Ukraine, 15 in Left-Bank Ukraine, eight in the Chernihiv area, seven cavalry and four infantry regiments in the Poltava region). The Black Sea Kozak force, a part of the active Russian army, had already three mounted Kozak regiments. The enlisted men of these units were fully Ukrainian, while the officer and non-commissioned officer ranks were mixed. Ukrainian Kozak cavalry regiments marched through Poland, Germany, and into France where they took part in the advance on Paris and in battles around Lyons (25–26 February 1814). After the war, Right-Bank Ukrainian regiments were transformed into regular regiments of the Russian army, others were disbanded.

In 1831, 1855, and 1863 mounted Kozak regiments were again activated, only to be disbanded by the Russian government as soon as the danger passed.

Recruitment for the Russian army started at age 20, in accordance with the system of 1699. In the early eighteenth century, the service extended for life; in the middle of that century, it was changed to a 25-year term; under Nicholas I the term was shortened to 20 years (used as punishment for political prisoners); in 1862, to 15 years; and from 1874 active service consisted of 5 years, with an additional 10 years in the reserve. The norms of induction varied: in 1784 three recruits were taken into the carabineer regiments for every 500 persons of Kozak background; in 1812 one recruit for every 152 persons (a Ukrainian Kozak counted as two recruits), and in the popular regiments, one soldier for every 15 serfs.

In 1876 a new system of military obligations was instituted, which lasted without major changes until the revolution in 1917. Citizens of the Russian empire were obligated for military service from 21 to 43 years of age; from 21 years —for active duty for a period of five years, in the reserve, after discharge, until 38 years of age, and then until age 43 in the popular forces. This system did not apply to the Kozak forces (including the Kuban Kozaks).

The number of inductees taken into active service through yearly quotas was determined by the General Staff. Those who were called to serve, but were not inducted because of smaller quota requirements, remained in the popular forces until they were 43 years of age, attending periodic training sessions with active units in the nearest towns. Inductees released from active duty for serious reasons were, until 43 years of age, included in a second category of

popular forces. They were required to participate in training and were called to duty only during a general mobilization. Before 1914, the size of the Russian army in peacetime reached 1,300,000 men. During a general mobilization, an additional 3,500,000 reservists under 38 years of age were called to duty. After that, 2,000,000 men of the first category of the popular forces were summoned. A general mobilization placed 6,800,000 men under arms. Ukrainians constituted approximately 25 per cent.

The territory of the Russian empire was divided into 12 military districts (a total of 37 corps). Ukraine formed two military districts, Kiev and Odessa. There were five army corps stationed in the Kiev district (the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and the 21st), and two in the Odessa district (the 7th and the 8th).

There were 17 infantry divisions, two infantry brigades, eight cavalry divisions, and two cavalry reserve regiments stationed on the territory of Ukraine. Ukrainians served in all these units, but they did not constitute a majority in any of them (on the average, the ratio did not exceed 40 per cent). In addition, many Ukrainians served in regiments stationed in other military districts. A substantial number of Ukrainians served in guard regiments, for instance, the Volhynian regiment, formed in 1805, which served as palace guard and was the first army unit to rebel against the tsar in 1917 [Vol. I, p. 727].

There were many officers of Ukrainian origin in the Russian army but, like the enlisted men, they were not in the majority. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, many Ukrainians held high posts in the Russian army and in the military administration, as did Generals Michael Myloradovych, Jacob Kukharenko, Basil Perovsky, Michael Drahomyrov, Nicholas Linevych, Paul Skoropadsky, and Fieldmarshal Ivan Laskevych.

In peace as in war, Ukrainians had relatively free access to officer schools. Entering these schools in peacetime, however, were mostly sons of officers who had the necessary family background and aptitude for the military. During World War I, officers in the Russian army were commissioned in large numbers through an abbreviated program (wartime commissions). Also, based on extensive privileges granted for combat duty, officers with wartime commissions received high promotions up to the battalion level of command. These officers constituted 80 per cent of front-line command. This category included a high percentage of Ukrainians (mobilized teachers, civil servants, students of higher schools). In peacetime, Ukrainians also had free access to high Russian military schools (General Staff Academy, the Higher Military Medical Academy, the Artillery Academy, the Military Engineer Academy, the Military Law Academy). A few Ukrainians distinguished themselves as faculty members of these schools. Higher Russian schools eventually produced a number of able military leaders and commanders for the Ukrainian nation. Some of them were: Gen. Nicholas Yunakiv, professor of the Imperial Academy of the General

FIGURE 582. NICHCLAS YUNAKIV

FIGURE 583. VOLODYMYR SALSKY

Staff and a distinguished military historian who in 1919 headed the staff of the united Ukrainian armies; Gen. Alexis Halkin, former commander of the Fourth Army; Gen. Alexander Rohoza, later

minister of Defense of the Ukrainian state; former corps commanders, Generals Serhii Diadusha and Peter Yaroshevych; Gen. Alexander Osetsky; and a group of young staff generals such as Generals Marko Bezruchko, Nicholas Kapustiansky, Vsevolod Petriv, Vsevolod Zmiienko, Eugene Mieshkovsky, Volodymyr Salsky, Alexander Udovychenko, and many others.

World War I brought together Ukrainian soldiers serving in various units. Many of them fell into German or Austrian captivity. Through the efforts of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, these prisoners were separated from the masses of captured Russian soldiers and were formed into two Ukrainian divisions (the "Blue Coats") and one division of the "Grey Coats" [Vol. I, p. 751].

Many units formed during the war in Ukraine fought on the Russian fronts (particularly the southwestern front) and later constituted the core of the Ukrainian army. Ukrainians represented a majority in the 34th Army Corps which fought on the southwestern front, which enabled Gen. P. Skoropadsky to Ukrainianize and redesignate it as the First Ukrainian Corps in July of 1917 [Vol. I, p. 738]. Similarly, the Sixth Army Corps was transformed into the Second Zaporozhian Sich Corps. The 417th Luhanske Regiment (of the 32nd Corps), with nearly 75 per cent Ukrainians, was reorganized into the Radyvyliv Border Brigade which subsequently formed the nucleus of a separate border corps.

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### The Austro-Hungarian Empire

Until the introduction of universal military conscription in 1868, the existing systems varied in Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia–Ukrainian lands which were incorporated in the Austro-Hungarian empire. In Transcarpathia, the old Hungarian system of class military obligation continued to exist, coupled with the increasingly popular practice of enlisting mercenaries. In Galicia, the system was similar, based essentially on former Polish practices. Regiments of the regular army, stationed in various districts, replenished their ranks in peacetime with local inductees. Serfs and members of the lower nobility were drafted into service for an indefinite period of time (until loss of combat ability); officers were recruited. In Bukovina, previously under the Moldavian-Turkish military system, induction was not introduced until later.

Organization of the first Ukrainian military and paramilitary formations began in Galicia during the revolution of 1848. Shortly after the Austrian emperor Ferdinand I gave permission to organize armed "national guards," the Supreme Ruthenian Council succeeded in forming several units in Stryi, Stanyslaviv, Zhovkva, Berezhany, Ternopil, and Yavoriv. This was accomplished despite strong opposition of the Polish bureaucracy. The Ukrainian guard units wore national colors and participated in regular training. At the end of 1849, the Austrian government organized peasant National Self-Defense units to combat the Hungarian insurgents. The units were formed in the districts of Sianik, Sambir, Stryi, Stanyslaviv, and Kolomyia. All men be-

tween the ages of 20 and 50 belonged to these military formations. Each village had a commandant; overseeing the district was a higher commandant; lower ranking officers were company, platoon, and squad leaders. In addition, on the initiative of the Supreme Ruthenian Council, the Ukrainian Mountain Riflemen (1,410 strong) was formed in 1849 to combat the Hungarian insurgents. They wore uniforms which were a mixture of Ukrainian national dress and the Austrian infantry uniform. This battalion took part in operations in the Priashiv area. All these units were disbanded after the suppression of the 1849 revolution.

Universal military service was established in Austria-Hungary by a law of December 12, 1868 (for men between the ages of 20 and 42). Forty per cent of those eligible served in the regular army or navy, 40 per cent filled the land defense units, and 20 per cent were placed in reserve [Vol. I, pp. 720–1]. In the 1880's, the peacetime strength of the regular army reached 100,000 men; shortly before World War I – up to 300,000; and during the war the army totalled 6,500,000 fighting men (of these, close to 8 per cent were Ukrainians). While the regular army and the navy inducted men from all the lands of the empire, the national guard took only Austrians and Hungarians. The territory of Austria-Hungary was divided into 16 general and military command districts; each was in turn divided into infantry regiment counties which were obligated to provide manpower. Ukrainian lands were included in the military districts of Peremyshl (10th), Lviv (11th), and Koshytsi (12th).

Although there were close to 25,000 Ukrainians in the regular army, there were only a few Ukrainian officers among them. This was largely due to the democratic intelligentsia's aversion to the feudal-aristocratic traditions of the Austrian officer class. Still, the territorial

FIGURE 584. UKRAINIAN SOLDIERS IN THE AUSTRIAN ARMY

system in the Austro-Hungarian army was largely responsible for the Ukrainian composition of many regiments. In such units the great majority of soldiers were Ukrainian and only the professional and some noncommissioned officers were of other nationality. At least three Ukrainian generations served in these units, and, as a result, strong military traditions developed in the areas which supplied manpower for the regiments. They included, in the infantry–9th (Stryi), 10th (Peremyshl), 15th (Ternopil), 24th (Kolomyia), 30th (Lviv), 41st (Chernivtsi), 45th (Sianik), 55th (Berezhany), 58th (Stanyslaviv), 77th (Sambir), 80th (Zolochiv), 89th (Horodok), 90th (Yaroslav), 95th (Chortkiv); in regiments of the national guard riflemen–18th (Peremyshl), 19th (Lviv), 20th (Stanyslaviv), 22nd (Chernivtsi), 33rd (Stryi), 35th (Zolochiv), 36th (Kolomyia); in cavalry–3rd (Horodok), 4th (Lviv), 6th (Stanyslaviv), and 13th (Zolochiv).

Ukrainian units fought on all fronts of the Austro-Hungarian army. Infantry divisions consisting partly of Ukrainians were the 2nd, 4th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 15th, 24th, 27th, 30th, 43rd, 45th, 54th and 59th. The same was true of the 3rd, 4th, 7th, and 9th cavalry divisions. Many Ukrainian soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army were taken prisoner by the Italians after the armistice of November 2, 1918. There were 40,000 of them registered in Italy for return to Ukraine.

*L. Shankovsky*

**Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (USS)**

At the outbreak of World War I, a volunteer legion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (Ukraïns'ki Sichovi Stril'tsi–USS) was formed as part of the Austro-Hungarian army [Vol. I, p. 717]. The nucleus of the USS came from the para-military organization known as the Sichovi Stril'tsi (Sich Riflemen), which was founded in Lviv in March 1913. On the eve of World War I, this unit consisted of 96 stations (*stanytsias*). From among the 10,000 volunteers assembled in Stryi by the Supreme Ukrainian Council, the Austrian authorities (influenced by the Poles) allowed only 2,500 to be officially inducted into the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen. Transferred to Transcarpathia (Strabychiv, Goronda) early in September, 1914, the USS were immediately deployed in combat against the Russians in the Carpathian Mountains. Organized initially into ten companies of four platoons each (of 200 to 250 men), they participated in battles either as elements of other combat formations or as two independent detachments under the tactical direction of the 129th and 130th brigades of the Austrian 25th Corps commanded by Gen. Peter Hoffman. All command authority in the USS was vested by the Supreme Ukrainian Council (August 3, 1914) in the Military Administration, which retained power until the middle of March 1915, when it was relieved of command by the Austrian authorities.

FIGURE 585. MILITARY ADMINISTRATION OF THE UKRAINIAN SICH RIFLEMEN IN VIENNA

In August 1915 both USS battalions were reorganized into the First USS regiment. A battalion consisted of four companies with four platoons in each; the platoon had four squads of 10–15 men each. The USS regiment had over 1,700 men. In December 1915, the field personnel of the regiment included 32 officers and 1,260 soldiers. A combat engineer unit was added to each battalion and developed into a four-platoon technical company in the winter of 1916. A USS cavalry unit existed from October 1914, which subsequently grew to company strength; in December 1915 it had 4 officers and 112 mounted troopers. In May 1917 the company was deactivated.

As a result of combat losses in the battle of Berezhany in September 1916, the USS Legion until November 1918 operated only as a battalion of four rifle companies, one technical company, one construction company, and one machine-gun company. In the battles for Lviv at the end of 1918, the USS units formed Group East which in January 1919, in accordance with the general reorganization plan of the Ukrainian Galician Army (UHA), formed the USS First Brigade (with one three-battalion infantry regiment, one four-battery artillery regiment, and one troop of cavalry).

The men of the USS, who became Russian prisoners of war, formed in November 1917, a Volunteer Battalion of Sich Riflemen, consisting of Ukrainians from Galicia and Bukovina, which eventually became one of the best formations

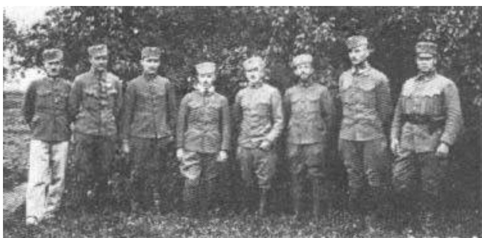

FIGURE 586. OFFICERS OF THE UKRAINIAN SICH *Kish* UNDER THE COMMAND OF *Otaman* N. HIRNIAK (FOURTH FROM THE LEFT)

of the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic (see p. 1069).

RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING. In mid-January 1915, a reserve company of the USS (called the *Kish* USS) was formed, serving as the training cadre and establishing a number of bases. The main function of the *Kish* USS was recruitment of volunteers and military training. The training unit of the *Kish* developed in 1916 into a separate formation called Training (*Vyshkil*) USS. By the summer of 1918, the unit produced 45 companies (*pokhidni sotni*). In mid 1916, supervision of USS Training was taken over by German officers and instructors, and from the spring of 1917 a number of noncommissioned officers of the USS completed the Austrian reserve officer school of the Lviv corps. In addition to the *Kish* USS, recruitment was carried on by stations in Lviv and Stanyslaviv. Three commissariats with similar functions were established in Volhynia; they also conducted cultural-educational work among the local population.

FIGURE 587. UKRAINIAN SICH RIFLEMEN IN THE CASTLE VARPALANKA, TRANSCARPATHIA, MAY 1915

A unique organization within the USS Legion was the Press and Information Office, which served as the political and ideological center for all units.

The governing body of the USS was the Ukrainian Military Administration; until 1917 it was headed by Cyril Tryliovsky and later by Stephen Smal-Stocky. It had control over all matters relating to the USS activity, both military and political. The commanders of the USS Legion were: Theodore Rozhankovsky (1914), Michael Halushchynsky (1914–15), Gregory Kossak (1915–16), Anthony Varyvoda (1916), Franz Kikal (1917), Myron Tarnavsky (1917–18), Osyp Mykytka (1919). The commander of the First USS Brigade in 1918–19 was Osyp Bukshovanyi.

*O. Horbatsch*

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## UKRAINIAN ARMED FORCES DURING THE WAR OF NATIONAL LIBERATION (1917–21)

Vast differences in political and social conditions in the Ukrainian lands under Austria-Hungary, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other, resulted in divergencies which marked as distinct the

organization and development of Ukrainian military forces in the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) and in the Western Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR), later ZOUNR. The various approaches to organizational problems in the army of the UNR throughout the period of the liberation struggle, changes in political leadership and military command, the unique character of the main enemy force (that is, the Russian Bolshevik Army) and its method of operation (for example, the struggle of Ukraine against Russia was labeled by the Bolsheviks as an internal civil war in which Russia "only came to help" the Ukrainian Bolsheviks), all contributed to the UNR Army's organizational difficulties and its essential reliance on volunteers.

Conversely, the Ukrainian Galician Army (UHA) of ZUNR was organized on the basis of compulsory military service applicable to all citizens. Of major significance here was the presence of the well organized, nationally conscious, and battle-hardened formation of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen (USS), which became the nucleus of the UHA.

The decisive factor in the organizational and structural differences of the two Ukrainian armies was the different nature of military operations which confronted each of them. In Galicia, it was mostly a positional warfare with continuous front lines; the Army of UNR, however, had to conduct mobile warfare against somewhat isolated groups of Bolsheviks along railroad lines, and combat operations often turned into guerrilla or counterguerrilla warfare. In their internal structure and service both armies also varied significantly: the Army of UNR followed earlier Russian patterns, while UHA was similar to the Austrian army in military regulations, uniforms, weapons.

There were three distinct periods in the formation of the Ukrainian armed forces in central and eastern lands: the period of the Central Rada, the period of the Hetmanate, and the period of the Directory.

### The Ukrainian Central Rada

**Organization of Ukrainian units.** During the period of Central Rada, military units consisted initially of formations, such as military councils, committees, communities, and clubs, which developed spontaneously on the initiative of individuals or groups along the Russian fronts and in the support areas [Vol. I, pp. 730–1]. Ukrainian elements broke away from the Russian units during March through July 1917, initially without permission of the top Russian military authorities but eventually with their official sanction. After the second All-Ukrainian Military Congress, this massive Ukrainization of Russian formations consisting of Ukrainians was conducted in a more organized manner by the Ukrainian General Military Committee. In addition, volunteer units were organized by the soldiers of the self-demobilized reserve formations of the Russian army and by the Ukrainian prisoners of war who were formerly in the Austrian army. Also forming were the territorial militia of the Free Kozaks and units organized in the camps of Russian army prisoners within Austria-Hungary and Germany.

Up to eight corps (16 divisions, 64 infantry regiments with artillery, a few cavalry regiments, and a number of special units) were involved in the Ukrainization of Russian frontline and rear area units which unilaterally separated themselves from Russian formations. In December, 1917, the Central Rada recalled these Ukrainianized elements to the Ukrainian front (combined southwestern and Rumanian fronts) from the northern Russian front. This attempt, however, was unsuccessful and it became one reason for the Bolshevik ultimatum which subsequently led to the war between Soviet Russia and Ukraine. After the Peace of Brest-Litovsk (February 9, 1918), some of the Ukrainian

formations were disbanded by a general Russian demobilization, some returned to their prewar home stations and joined the already existing Ukrainian units, still others were defeated while attempting organized penetrations into Ukraine through Soviet military concentrations [Vol. I, pp. 740–1], and some voluntarily deactivated.

In the process of Ukrainization, the following units were transformed into separate Ukrainian formations: the First Ukrainian Khmelnytsky Kozak Regiment, organized in Kiev from soldiers of the local garrison (on the initiative of the Polubotok Club on May 5, 1917); three Shevchenko regiments (from garrison units) in Moscow; a Ukrainian regiment in Petrograd (from reserve units of the guard); an infantry regiment named after Polubotok in the village of Hrushky near Kiev (from soldiers of various frontline units); the Doroshenko Regiment in Symferopol (from soldiers of the garrison); the

FIGURE 588. SOLDIERS AND OFFICERS OF THE HETMAN DOROSHENKO REGIMENT WITH OFFICERS OF THE SECOND BRIGADE OF THE ZAPOROZHIAN DIVISION

Doroshenko Regiment in Chernihiv; a mounted regiment in the Hryshyne region; the Nalyvaiko Battalion at the Stovptsi Station (formed on the initiative of the Ukrainian Rada of the western front); the Haidamak garrisons in Odessa and in Katerynoslav; the Hordiienko Haidamak mounted regiment near the town of Myr on the western front; the First Technical-Railroad Regiment in Hrushky near Kiev (in December 1917 on the initiative of railway employee Andrew Makarenko, later a member of the Directory).

Units which were Ukrainianized but not officially redesignated as Ukrainian formations were: a) on the northern front: the 21st Army Corps (the 33rd and 44th Infantry divisions of this corps were stationed in Kiev before the war), the 3rd Infantry of the 17th Army Corps in Moscow and 4th Rifle divisions; b) on the western front: the First Haidamak Battalion from the First Finnish Rifle Regiment of the First Finnish Rifle Brigade, part of the 9th Army Corps (the 5th and 42nd Infantry divisions which were stationed before the war in Zhytomyr and Kiev), and the 27th, the 102nd, and the 136th Infantry divisions; c) on the southwestern front: the 101st and 105th Infantry divisions of the 32nd Army Corps; d) on the Rumanian front: the Tenth and 11th Army Corps (both from the Kiev military district), the First Mounted Division and the Fourth Rifle Brigade (two regiments) which were garrisoned in Odessa before the war.

Units which became Ukrainianized and redesignated, according to the Ukrainian military numbering system, with permission from the Russian military high command, were: two twin division army corps: the 34th (104th and 153rd Infantry divisions) which became the First Ukrainian Corps (commanded by Gen. Paul Skoropadsky) and the Sixth Corps which was named the Second Zaporozhian Sich Corps (commanded by Gen. Mandryka).

Ukrainianized rear area units included separate garrisons, both within Ukraine and outside its borders, military schools, and reserve regiments.

The First Ukrainian Corps played an important role in the defense of Kiev in December 1917 [Vol. I, p. 741]. However, both because of insistence by influential governmental circles that the army be transformed into a militia and the prevailing anarchy in the Russian

army, both units of this corps were scattered and stationed as garrisons in the areas of Kiev and Podilia. During the first weeks of the Russo-Ukrainian war, these units became thoroughly demoralized and disbanded. Generally speaking, with the dissolution of the Russian army towards the end of 1917, the Ukrainian units which came from that army turned out to be ineffective for military operations.

The Free Kozaks, the popular force which symbolized the spirit of the Ukrainian people's national renascence, played an important part in the struggle for statehood [Vol. I, p. 739]. An organizational framework for their development was established by the Kozaks' representatives at a congress in the middle of May in 1917 held at Zvenyhorodka. Rapidly the Free Kozaks movement spread into the neighboring regions of Volhynia, Kherson, Chernihiv, and into Left-Bank Ukraine. The All-Ukrainian Congress of Free Kozaks in Chyhyryn (October 6–20, 1917) represented 60,000 organized Free Kozaks. At this congress a General Council of Free Kozaks was elected and Bila Tserkva was designated as its headquarters. The movement enveloped the labor masses, especially in Kiev, Katerynoslav, and Oleksandrivske, where Free Kozak units were established in the various factories. A resolution of the General Secretariat of the UNR of November 13, 1917 approved the statute of the Free Kozaks, who until January 1918 were subordinated to the Secretariat of the Interior.

Ukrainian volunteers, sixteen years of age and over, who were not hostile to the Ukrainian cause and who had not been sentenced for criminal offenses, were allowed to join the Free Kozaks. Each village formed one company of 35 to 700 Kozaks. The companies of one county were organized into a battalion; the battalions of one district formed a regiment; the regiments within a province constituted a *kish* (brigade size unit). All officers (of the company as well as higher levels, consisting of a commander, a scribe, a treasurer, a color sergeant, and a librarian) were elected. Each company had its own colors, and kept an office and a library. In addition to preserving order, the Free Kozaks maintained fire brigades. Weapons were provided by staffs of battalions and regiments from collected taxes.

At the outset of the Russo-Ukrainian war, the General Secretariat decided to develop the Free Kozaks into a territorial militia. In January 1918 this matter was handed over to the Secretariat of Defense. Instructional cadres supported by the government were formed in various counties. Each unit (known as Registered Free Kozaks) consisted of two companies (infantry and cavalry) which trained the Free Kozak companies of the county. Each village had to fill a designated quota ("register") of armed personnel who were to remain in continuous combat readiness. Their arms and munitions were furnished by the government, but their clothing had to be provided by the village. In matters pertaining to organization and training, the Free Kozaks were subordinated to the Secretariat of Defense; in logistical and administrative matters they were under the local self-governments. The Free Kozaks played a significant part in the struggle against the Bolsheviks, especially in the southern parts of the Kiev region. However, upon demands of the German military high command, the Ukrainian government ordered the Kozaks to demobilize. Later, the Free Kozaks fought as guerrilla units against the Germans and the Hetman, and eventually against the Bolsheviks.

The concept of a Ukrainian army based on the territorial-militia principle prevented the timely formation of Ukrainian regular army units. An attempt to form a regular army force from returning combat units was undertaken in November 1917 in Kiev by Col. Victor Pavlenko, the Ukrainian commander of the Kievan military district, who organized

two *Serdiuk* divisions on the pattern of contemporary guard formations (from the Khmelnytsky, Polubotok, Doroshenko, Bohun, and Nalyvaiko infantry regiments; a Georgian regiment; and a cavalry regiment, as well as their artillery and engineer units). The two divisions, totalling 12,000 men, were commanded by Lt-Col. George Kapkan and Gen. Alexander Hrekov, and they wore uniforms similar to those of the Russian guard but with Ukrainian insignia. The units, however, fell apart in battles with Soviet soldiers in December 1917–January 1918.

The brunt of the initial Bolshevik assault was borne by the volunteer units of the Kiev garrison: a two battalion force organized in January 1918 (approximately 300 men) known as the Haidamats'kyi Kish Slobids'koï Ukraïny commanded by S. Petliura (the battalions consisted of young men from the First Officer Candidate School and officers stationed in Kiev); the Galician Battalion of the Sich Riflemen (approximately 500 soldiers) led by Col. Eugene Konovalets formed from Ukrainians of the Austrian army, who were prisoners of war, and the insufficiently trained Auxiliary Student Battalion (nearly 250 fighters) composed of Ukrainian students from higher and secondary schools in Kiev. The group also included sixteen small Kiev battalions of Free Kozaks (approximately 400 men) led by Michael Kovenko, a Black Sea Battalion (of 150 men), two military schools (one of them the Khmelnytsky Officer Candidate School) together numbering approximately 500 youths, an armored car unit of Col. Distel, and a two-battery artillery group of Col. Alexis Almazov. At the end of January 1918 the Hordiienko Zaporozhian Haidamak mounted regiment commanded by Col. V. Petriv fought its way through from the western front.

FIGURE 589. VSEVOLOD PETRIV

The units were reorganized during February 1918 (after departure from Kiev) in the area of Ihnativka. They were consolidated into the Haidamats'kyi Kish Slobids'koï Ukraïny and into a Zaporozhian group of General Constantine Prysovsky, which was expanded early in March 1918 into a Zaporozhian division commanded by Gen. A. Natiïv and, at the end of March, into a corps. The Galician battalion of the Sich Riflemen left behind to guard the Central Rada increased to regiment strength in March 1918.

During the second phase of the Russo-Ukrainian war (February-March 1918), the First "Blue Coat" Division arrived in Kiev under the command of Gen. Victor Zelinsky. It consisted of Ukrainians from the Russian army who were prisoners of war in German camps. Between February and June 1918, a Kozak Riflemen division "Grey Coats" was formed under the command of Lt-Col. Ivan Perlyk at Volodymyr Volynsky from Ukrainian prisoners of war of the Russian armies held by Austrians.

On January 16, 1918, the Ukrainian Central Rada approved the demobilization and deactivation of the regular army (which at that time consisted mainly of numerous staffs) and replaced it with a popular militia. Recruitment of personnel was begun to train the local units. The training units functioning in the three military districts of Ukraine were consolidated into the Kiev, Kharkiv, and Odessa corps. A temporary uniform was designed for the Ukrainian soldiers (on the Russian pattern). Existing officer ranks were abolished and functional designations were established. Noncommissioned officers: squad leader, platoon leader, first sergeant (*bunchuzhnyi*); insignia—silver chevrons on the right sleeve above the elbow with the angle pointing up. Officers: half centurion, company commander, battalion

commander, regimental commander, and commander (*otaman*) of brigade, division, and corps; insignia—silver chevrons with loops.

The war with the Bolsheviks established the need for a regular army in Ukraine. Therefore, in April 1918, the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff developed a plan to organize a standing army through territorial recruiting. The army was to consist of eight infantry corps (in the provinces of Kiev, Volhynia, Podilia, Odessa, Chernihiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, and Katerynoslav) and four and one-half divisions of cavalry. Enlistment was to take place in the fall of 1918. The plan had to wait for its implementation until after the Hetman coup. In March-April of 1918, the Ukrainian army consisted of approximately 15,000 soldiers (of that number 13,000 were combat troops including 2,000 cavalrymen), 60 cannons, 250 machine guns, and 12 armored cars. Before the hetman's coup, the Germans demobilized the "Blue Coat" Division and disarmed the regiment of the Sich Riflemen.

**Leadership.** From May 1917 the Ukrainian General Military Committee, consisting of 18 members elected at the First Military Congress, assumed leadership over the Ukrainian armed forces. At the Second Military Congress, the committee was increased to 27 members. Its functions were those of a general staff [Vol. I, p. 731]. Heading the committee's five-member presidium was S. Petliura. The Ukrainian General Military Committee had its representation on the supreme command of the Russian armies, at each general staff level, at the Ministry of Defense in St. Petersburg, and with the staff of the Russian southwestern front. The committee supervised the affairs of the Free Kozaks and of the navy, and included subsequently the following departments: mobilization and military communications, inspections, propaganda and information, organization, legal matters, training, and military engineers.

On November 20, 1917, the Ukrainian General Military Committee was redesignated as the General Secretariat of Military Affairs which by the end of November 1917 managed to form a General Staff with departments of organization, communications, artillery, logistics, military schools, general matters, war policy, war commissariat, supply, and artillery inspections. On January 22, 1918, the General Secretariat of Military Affairs was renamed the Ministry of Military Affairs of the UNR. The ministers, in order of succession, were: Nicholas Porsh, Michael Nemolovsky, and Col. Alexander Zhukovsky.

In March 1918, the Chief of the General Staff, Col. Alexander Slyvynsky, reorganized the General Staff into two functional departments: operations (subdivided into sections of operations, intelligence, and foreign liaison) and organization.

**The Navy.** With the outbreak of the revolution in March 1917, the majority of Ukrainian sailors (who made up three-quarters of the Black Sea Fleet) were enveloped in the Ukrainian independence movement. The Ukrainian Naval Council was established in Kiev as a representative body of Ukrainian seamen serving in the Russian navy. The council of the Black Sea Community and the Ukrainian Naval Revolutionary Staff of the Baltic Fleet became the local representative elements. Similar Ukrainian councils were established in the Caspian, Siberian, Amur, and North Oceanic flotillas. In the Baltic Fleet the cruiser *Svetlana* was Ukrainianized upon demands by Ukrainians. Encouraged by the Ukrainian Black Sea Council, a large number of ships hoisted the Ukrainian national colors in July 1917.

On December 22, 1917, the Ukrainian General Secretariat of Naval Affairs (renamed subsequently the Ukrainian Naval Ministry) was established with Dmytro Antonovych as secretary. On January 18, 1918, Ukrainian naval colors were approved. The Ukrainian National

Republic assumed control over all former Russian naval and commercial ships in the Black Sea and in the Sea of Azov. In line with the overall organization of the armed forces, mandatory sea duty in the fleet was replaced with volunteer conscription based on the same principles as the national militia. In the middle of March 1918, the Naval Ministry was eliminated and authority was vested in the Naval Administration of the Ministry of Military Affairs, headed by Gen. Volodymyr Savchenko-Bilsky. The following officer ranks were adopted in the navy: junior officers—the ship *gardemaryn*, *michman* lieutenant; staff officers—senior lieutenant, captain 2nd class, captain 1st class; admirals—rear admiral, vice-admiral, admiral.

With the approach of Col. Peter Bolbochan's group and German units to Sevastopol (the base for the Black Sea Fleet), all ships raised Ukrainian flags on April 29, 1918, thus acknowledging the authority of Ukrainian Central Rada. At that time the fleet consisted of 2 dreadnoughts (each registered at 23,000 metric tons of gross weight), 6 line ships, 4 cruisers, 6 hydro-cruisers, 27 mine carriers of various types, 22 submarines, 5 gunships, 6 minesweepers, several groups of patrol boats, trawlers, and a flotilla of transport ships.

Marine units (crews of coastal fortifications and amphibious assault elements) were a formation of the naval forces. The following marine units were stationed in Ukraine (1917): a four-regiment assault division in Sevastopol, a Baltic Sea Division in the delta of the Danube and the garrisons of Sevastopol, Ochakiv, and others. In addition, naval aviation (20 hydroplanes) were included in the marine force.

## The Period of the Hetmanate

**Army organization.** Efforts to organize a regular army by the Central Rada were continued by the Hetman's government. Because of German opposition, however, coupled with indifference and, in some cases outright hostility on the part of the Russian officers commissioned by the Hetman, the government succeeded in organizing only eight regular army corps and four and one-half cavalry divisions.

Alexander Rohoza was appointed minister of Military Affairs, Alexander Lignau and M. Maksymov, deputy ministers. Col. Alexander Slyvynsky remained chief of the General Staff, which was expanded in June 1918. Its military training department published a number of military statutes and manuals in translated or revised forms. On July 24, 1918, the Council of Ministers ratified a law on universal military service and approved an organizational plan for the army. Also, laws regulating the military judicial organization were passed. Terms of active duty were set as follows: infantry, two years; cavalry and artillery, three years; navy, four years. Service in the reserves was made mandatory up to age 38, and militia duty between ages 39 and 45. The strength of the peacetime army was designated at 310,000 men. Plans were made to open a three-course military academy, four cadet schools, and five officer training schools by service branches in the autumn of 1918. In the fall of 1918 officer and noncommissioned officer units were formed for the eight corps and four cavalry divisions. New military insignia on the German pattern (silver stripes on shoulderboards) were adopted. Also, rank designations were established: noncommissioned officers were the squad leader, sergeant (*roiovyi*), platoon-sergeant (*chotovyi*), and sergeant-major (*bunchuzhnyi*); company grade officers were: second lieutenant (*khorunzhyi*), first lieutenant (*znachkovyi*), and captain (*sotnyk*). The two ranks of staff officers were the military elder and the colonel. The general officer ranks included a lieutenant-general, a major-general, and general.

**Military units** [Vol. I, pp. 751–2]. The following units from the period of the

Central Rada remained intact: the Zaporozhian Corps, redesignated as the Zaporozhian Division (consisting of three Zaporozhian and one Haidamak regiments, one artillery regiment, one engineer regiment, one horsedrawn artillery battery, one armored car battalion, and one air squadron); the Zaporozhian garrison in Mohyliv, and the Black Sea garrison in Berdychiv (400 men in each). In July 1918, a Serdiuk guard division (5,000 men) was formed under the command of Col. Klymenko. In Volhynia, the First Kozak Rifle Division ("Grey Coats") completed its organization in June 1918 under the command of Col. I. Perlyk and, later, under Gen. Sokyra-Yakhontov. This division was transferred into the Chernihiv and Starodub districts, and in October 1918 it was demobilized with only small units remaining (30 to 40 officers and 100 men per regiment). In August a separate detachment of the Sich Riflemen (850 men) was organized at Bila Tserkva. The total strength of the Ukrainian army in November 1918 reached approximately 60,000 men.

A universal order issued by the Hetman on October 16, 1918, called for the reestablishment of the old Kozak organization from the propertied peasantry on the pattern of the Don and Kuban Kozaks. The plan was never put into effect because of the anti-Hetman uprising.

In addition to the above mentioned formations, the organization of a special corps was begun in October 1918 consisting of former Russian officers and cadets who were born in Ukraine. In the larger cities volunteer officer groups were formed at the beginning of November and placed under the command of the Russian General Kirpichov. Guard companies (each consisting of 139 infantry and 86 cavalry) were stationed in counties. All these units were manned either fully or in large majority by Russians who fled to Ukraine from the Bolshevik terror but were not necessarily friendly to the idea of Ukrainian independence.

The commander-in-chief of the Hetman forces in the struggle against insurgents was Gen. Theodore Keller, a Russian who, upon his appointment to this post on November 11, 1918, rescinded all organizational statutes of the Ukrainian army and reinstated the old Russian provisions.

Because of the internment of the Black Sea Fleet by the Germans [Vol. I, p. 751], the Ministry of the Navy was virtually deprived of its functions. It retained full authority over a three-regiment coastal defense of Ukrainian marine corps. The first call for volunteers was made after the Germans returned the Black Sea Fleet to the Ukrainian state on November 12, 1918. Admiral George Pokrovsky was appointed minister of the Navy, while Rear Admiral Viacheslav Kliuchkovsky became the commander of the Black Sea Fleet.

**Directory**

At the beginning of the insurgency against the Hetman [Vol. I., pp. 753–4], the forces of the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic consisted mainly

FIGURE 590. S. PETLIURA, CHIEF "OTAMAN" OF THE UNR ARMY (first from the right), WITH HIS STAFF IN KIEV, 1920

of politically unreliable guerrilla units, except for the Corps of the Sich Riflemen (approximately 20,000 men), Zaporozhian Corps from Left-Bank Ukraine, and the "Grey Coat" Division, which was joined by elements of the Serdiuk Division and by formations of the Hetman's

units. The Directory's main forces, other than those already mentioned, were: the Dnieper Division of insurgents from the areas around Ovruch and Trypilia, which dissolved itself at the end of 1918, providing guerrillas for *Otaman* Zelenyi in the province of Trypilia and for *Otaman* Sokolovsky in the area of Radomyshl; the Black Sea Division, later reorganized into the Eight Black Sea Regiment of the Third Iron Rifle Division; the Peasant (Kievan) Division of *Otaman* Hryhoriïv on the lower Dnieper, which in January 1918 turned against the Directory and in May 1919 (under George Tiutiunnyk's command) broke through into Podilia to join the Army of Ukrainian National Republic; the "Zaporozhian Sich" of Yukhym Bozhko with a few garrisons along the River Boh; the Volhynian Division (consisting of a regiment named after Severyn Nalyvaiko formed from elements of the Hetman's troops, the First Galician Regiment of former prisoners of war, a Czech-Ukrainian regiment, and other units).

Many units, generally undisciplined insurgent ones, took part in the uprising against the hetmanate. They were composed of peasants and led by politically unskilled and not always loyal *otamans*. In the struggle of the Directory against the Bolsheviks, they were easily swayed by the latter's propaganda, at best remaining neutral, sometimes even changing sides. It was only after the Ukrainian peasants experienced the Communist reality that the insurgents began to cooperate with the forces of the Directory [Vol. I, pp. 756–7].

The total number of men in the Directory units during the anti-Hetman uprising reached 40,000 regulars and a guerrilla force estimated at over 100,000. After reorganization, the army consisted of 12 divisions. Following five months of combat with the Bolsheviks, however, the army was down to approximately 30,000 with only 15,000 combat soldiers.

Owing to military hostilities, the General Staff plan (December 1918) calling for six infantry brigades, three cavalry and one artillery regiments, as well as four officer candidate schools and one military polytechnic, could not be realized. Only one cavalry brigade and one cavalry regiment could be fielded; an officer candidate school was opened in Zhytomyr, and a military polytechnic was organized in Kamianets Podilsky.

In December 1918 the General Staff created four army groups from the military units of the UNR Army: the Left-Bank group under Col. P. Bolbochan, fighting against the Bolsheviks and the Russian voluntary units; the Northern (Right-Bank) group, under *Otaman* Volodymyr Oskilko, fighting against the Bolsheviks and the Poles; the Southern group, under Gen. A. Hrekov, against the Entente landing forces; and the Dniester group, against the Rumanians [Vol. I, p. 757, map]. Early in February 1918, the latter two groups were redeployed at the Bolshevik front. The Army of the UNR was reorganized after parts of Right-Bank Ukraine were lost in April-May 1919. Small units were combined into 12 divisions (each consisting of three infantry regiments, one artillery regiment, and one cavalry troop), which

FIGURE 591. MILITARY COUNCIL AND COMMAND OF THE CORPS OF THE SICH RIFLEMEN (Seated from the left: Gen. M. Bezruchko, Col. E. Konovalets, Col. A. Melnyk and Capt. B. Kuchabsky)

formed five independent groups each supplemented with one cavalry brigade and one heavy artillery battery. The five groups were as follows: 1) the Sich Riflemen (three, then two divisions)

under the command of Col. E. Konovalets, consisting of both Ukrainians from the eastern regions as well as Galicians, the best armed of the five groups (approximately 4,500 bayonets and 200 sabres); 2) the Zaporozhian group of three divisions, under the command of Col. Volodymyr Salsky, approximately 3,000 bayonets and sabres; while crossing the Rumanian territory, this group lost all of its military equipment; 3) the Volhynian group under the command of Gen. V. Petriv, consisting of some units of *Otaman* Oskilko's Northern group, the Kholm division, and other units (numbering approximately 4,000 men); 4) the Riflemen's division under Col. Alexander Udovychenko (approximately 1,200 men); 5) the group of *Otaman* G. Tiutiunnyk, consisting of the Peasant (Kiev) division (approximately 3,500 men), the Zaporozhian Sich units under *Otaman* Y. Bozhko (some 1,000 men) and other guerrilla detachments. A plan to add a cavalry brigade to each of the groups could not be realized owing to lack of equipment and matériel. On the eve of the Kiev-Odessa campaign in July-August 1919, the UNR Army numbered approximately 35,000 men, 180 guns, 530 machine guns, 9 armored trains, 6 armored cars, 26 planes, and 4 radio stations. Altogether, the UNR and the UHA armies numbered 85,000 men; supporting the armies were approximately 15,000 guerrillas.

In the winter campaign [Vol. I, p. 765], the Army of the UNR consisted of the Zaporozhian, Volhynian, and the Kievan divisions, comprising various units (including the Zhytomyr-Kamianets officer candidate school and railroad workers). The Sich Riflemen were disbanded before the campaign on the orders of their command. According to various sources (and at various times of the campaign), between 3,000 and 6,000 men took part in the campaign.

In the spring of 1920, the 6th Division was formed from prisoners of war and internees in Berestia under Poland, and placed under the command of Col. M. Bezruchko. During the military operations it remained a unit of the Third Polish Army. On the Podilian front, Col. A. Udovychenko commanded units formed in part at Mohyliv Podilsky.

FIGURE 592. MARKO BEZRUCHKO

FIGURE 593. EUGENE MIESHKOVSKY

At the outset of the Ukrainian-Polish campaign against the Bolsheviks in May of 1920, the Ukrainian army consisted of the following divisions: the First Zaporozhian, the Second Volhynian, the Third Iron, the Fourth Kievan, the Fifth Kherson (formed of various units), the Sixth Sich Division named in memory of the disbanded Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, and a separate cavalry division. Every unit consisted of three infantry brigades with artillery, one cavalry regiment, and one technical regiment. The cavalry division consisted of four regiments and a horse-drawn battery. During this campaign, the Ukrainian government attempted to provide regular supply for these divisions. Steps were taken to form six reserve brigades, each with two cavalry companies and a reserve battery, and an engineers' reserve corps with armored companies. But with the dearth of supplies from Poland, only some regular units were formed, the strongest being the Sixth Reserve Brigade.

As of November 10, 1920, the Army of the UNR had at its disposal 3,888 officers, 35,259 enlisted men, 7,966 horses, 1,346 wagons, 675 machine guns, 74 cannons, 2 armored trains, and 3 aircraft.

**Command.** At the time of preparations for the anti-Hetman coup, the Ukrainian

FIGURE 594.
ALEXANDER OSETSKY

FIGURE 595.
NICHOLAS KAPUSTIANSKY

National Alliance formed an Operations Staff on October 30, 1918, under the command of Gen. A. Osetsky (with operations and administrative departments). On the eve of the uprising (November 13, 1918), with the establishment of the UNR Directory, Simon Petliura was named chief *otaman* of all republic forces. The Ministry of Defense, created at that time under the leadership of Gen. A. Hrekov, was subordinated to Petliura. Placed in charge of army operations as acting *otaman* was Gen. A. Osetsky.

After taking Kiev (December 14, 1918), Gen. Osetsky reorganized the General Staff on the former pattern with two general-quartermasters, operations (Gen. Drozdovsky) and organizations (Gen. Kakurin). The General Staff was subordinated to the Ministry of Defense. The principal subdivisions of the General Staff were: operations (Col. E. Mieshkovsky, intelligence (Lt-Col. Volodymyr Kolosovsky), and foreign relations (Gen. Berezovsky).

While in Kiev, the General Staff published several scholarly works and all major military textbooks. After the withdrawal from Kiev, all operations were handled by the staff of the Acting Army and staffs of individual military units. The staff of the Acting Army acted independently. Chief *Otaman* Petliura made decisions only in major operations. Heading the staff, after the organization of the UNR Army in April 1919, was Col. Andrew Melnyk, with *Otaman* Basil Tiutiunnyk as his deputy, Gen. Volodymyr Sinkler as general-quartermaster, Col. N. Kapustiansky as chief of operations, and Col. Borys Sulkivsky as intelligence chief. There was a definite shortage of officers, and noncommissioned

FIGURE 596.
ANDREW MELNYK

FIGURE 597.
BASIL TIUTIUNNYK

officers were frequently appointed to posts otherwise reserved for officers. The army's supply lines were poorly organized because of frequently changing battle lines and adverse political conditions. There was no permanent supply of human and material resources. The Directory, which was responsible for supply, was unable to provide it with any degree of success. To maintain loyalty in the UNR Army, inspectors were appointed to various units and given the task of political indoctrination. However, being political appointees of the governing parties, the inspectors injected politics into the army, which eventually led to the abolition of that office.

FIGURE 598.
VOLODYMYR SINKLER

FIGURE 599.
ALEXANDER HREKOV

After the crossing of Zbruch by the Ukrainian Galician Army, a staff of the Chief *Otaman* was placed in command of the united armies, (August 11, 1919), headed by Gen. N. Yunakiv, with Gen. Victor Kurmanovych acting as general-quartermaster, Lt-Col. Karl Dolezal as chief of operations, and Lt-Col. Hrytsiv as intelligence chief. Acting as minister of Defense in the UNR government was first Gen. V. Petriv, then Gen. V. Salsky.

*According to V. Petriv*

**The Ukrainian Galician Army (UHA)**

The nucleus of the Ukrainian Galician Army at its inception was the Legion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen and some Ukrainian units of the Austro-Hungarian army, which placed themselves at the disposal of the Ukrainian National Rada (Council) on November 1, 1918 in Lviv and in the countryside [Vol. I, p. 771]. Formed in early November of 1918, the Galician Army was renamed Ukrainian Galician Army in 1919 (during alliance with Gen. Anthony Denikin's army) and again, Red Ukrainian Galician Army in the spring of 1920 after joining the Bolshevik forces.

FIGURE 600. DMYTRO VITOVSKY

FIGURE 601. VICTOR KURMANOVYCH

The State Secretariat of Defense, established on November 9, 1919, was in charge of all military affairs of the Western Ukrainian National Republic [Vol. I, p. 778]. It also controlled all supplies for the army. Secretaries of Defense were: Col. Dmytro Vitovsky (from November 9, 1918) and Gen. Victor Kurmanovych (from February 12, 1919). During the period of E. Petrushevych's dictatorship from June 9, 1919 [Vol. I, p. 775], its functions were shared by the Galician Army's High Command and the newly established Military Office of the dictator.

The principle of universal conscription was adopted by a law of the Ukrainian National Rada on November 13, 1918. The State Secretariat of Defense, by an order of November 15, 1918, established the territorial organization of the Ukrainian Galician Army. Eastern Galicia and the Ukrainian part of Bukovina were divided into three military regions (Lviv, Ternopil, Stanyslaviv); the regions were subdivided into three to eight districts each, headed by district commanders who were responsible for conscription and supply of trained manpower [Vol. I, p. 778].

The first field formations of the UHA were not created according to a preconceived plan. In addition to regular units, a number of guerrilla detachments, composed of peasants, were formed in areas near the front line. Up to the end of 1918, the group constituted the highest combat unit, consisting of three to five infantry (*kurens*) detachments (groups "Skhid," "Stare Selo," "Pivnich," "Pivden'") [Vol. I, pp. 783–4]. Each group was subdivided into loosely coordinated combat units. The organization and composition of groups varied. The Lviv groups were among the strongest and most adequately equipped with artillery. The groups' manpower increased constantly, and by December 1918 they were placed under joint command.

In January-February 1919, the UHA was reorganized according to Col. E. Mieshkovsky's plan: combat groups were combined into three corps of four brigades each; each brigade consisted of three to five infantry detachments, one artillery regiment of three to five batteries each, a cavalry detachment, an engineer company with auxiliary units.

The smallest infantry detachment (*kurin'*) consisted of three light companies (three infantry squads and one squad of light machine guns), one company of heavy machine guns, a telephone unit, logistics trains, and a medical unit. The reorganized army had 45 infantry *kurens*, 40 batteries, and several cavalry detachments, approximately 25,000 bayonets, 600 sabres, and 150 cannons. Auxiliary units almost doubled the total. In the reforms introduced in April–May 1919, a brigade was to consist of two infantry regiments, each of three *kurens*.

In addition to a number, each brigade carried the name of the locality where it came into being. The First Corps consisted of the Fifth Sokal Brigade, the Sixth Rava Ruska, the Ninth Belz or Uhniv, the Tenth Yaniv or Yavoriv; the Second Corps, of the First Brigade of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, the Second Kolomyia Brigade, the Third Berezhany, the Fourth Zolochiv; the Third Corps, of the Seventh Lviv Brigade, the Eighth Sambir, the Eleventh Stryi, the Twelfth Mountain. In June 1919, a Fourth and a Fifth Corps were organized, but were disbanded after the crossing of Zbruch because of the dearth of manpower.

In March 1920, after unification with the Bolshevik forces, the corps were reorganized into three brigades, each consisting of three infantry regiments (of three *kurens* each), one artillery regiment, one heavy artillery battery, and one cavalry regiment. The Second Corps was renamed the First Brigade of Red Ukrainian Sich Riflemen, the First Corps became the Second Brigade, and the Third Corps, the Third Brigade. They were assigned to the Twelfth and Fourteenth Bolshevik armies (44th, 45th, and 48th divisions). Thus, the Ukrainian Galician Army ceased to exist as an independent military force.

The commander-in-chief was the highest ranking officer in the UHA. He was appointed by the president of the Ukrainian National Rada (later the dictator of the ZOUNR). The High Command was in charge of field army operations. The commanders-in-chief of the UHA were: Col. D. Vitovsky (from November 1, 1918), Col. Gregory Kossak (from November 5), Col. Hnat Stefaniv (from November 9), Gen. Michael Omelianovych-Pavlenko (from December 15), Gen. A. Hrekov (from June 9, 1919), Gen. Myron Tarnavsky (from July 5), Gen. Osyp Mykytka (from November 7), and Col. Alfred Schamaneck was acting commander from February 6, 1920. In March 1920, the chief commander was Basil Poraiko, a Communist appointed by the Bolsheviks, who held the post until the Red UHA's liquidation. In March 1920 the High Command was renamed the Red UHA Field Staff, which was subsequently relieved of command and sent to Kiev.

In the UHA High Command, the chief of staff (who was deputy commander-in-chief, on the Austrian pattern) commanded the operations and organization departments. The command of field operations was made up of the commanding head and officers in charge of communications, intelligence, artillery, munitions, air force, and railroads. The second department supervised auxiliary activity, personnel, and training. The corps and brigade staffs were organized on a similar pattern (with the exception of air force and railroads). The brigade was the lowest independent unit of organization and operations.

The training of the UHA was conducted according to the Austrian military manual. Military districts had their own training units, as did some brigades. In June 1919 all training units were joined into a single army training department. There were officer training schools for graduates of secondary schools.

The infantry of the UHA was known for its great endurance power. Because of prolonged positional battles at the Austrian fronts, the infantry showed little assault capability. The training of soldiers and officers was not adequately

organized. The infantry was armed with the Manlicher (Austrian) type of rifle. From May 1919 some units were given Russian rifles.

UHA's artillery, by far its strongest formation, was of decisive importance in winning many battles. The army had more than an adequate supply of guns; consequently, even brigades possessed unusually strong firing power. In January–February 1919, individual batteries and artillery units (two to three guns each) were combined into 12 regiments, one for each infantry brigade (consisting of four to five batteries) of four to six guns each (two guns in heavy artillery batteries). In addition to 7.5 cm. and 7.8 cm. guns (light battery), every regiment had a heavy battery of 15.5 cm. guns, long-range cannons (10.5 cm.), and howitzers (10 or 12.2 cm.). Artillery officers were trained at the batteries. Austrian and, later, Russian ammunition was used.

Despite ideal conditions for its application, not a single brigade succeeded in organizing adequate cavalry units. The operating companies of two to three detachments each, with 40 to 50 sabres, did not play a major role in the war.

Only after the crossing of Zbruch were the mounted units of the First Corps organized into an incomplete regiment, and those of the Third Corps into a brigade. The cavalry soldiers were armed with sabres and short guns. Every company had a light machine gun unit.

An air force squadron, consisting of planes left behind by the Austrians and the Russians, was formed in December 1918. Based in Krasne (near Lviv), it consisted of three fighting squadrons (a total of 40 planes) and a hangar. Serving in the Galician air force were officers of the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic, including colonel-instructor Borys Huber and Col. Dzham-Bulat Kanukov, an outstanding flier. In the battles for Lviv the Galician air force had an edge over the Polish force.

The organization of armored trains and vehicles was neglected by the UHA. During the Polish war, only two trains operated on the sectors of the Second and Third Corps, as well as a unit of eight armored cars in the Third and later the First Corps.

Internal order and security in the army were maintained by units of field gendarmerie (in brigades—squads of 30 to 50 soldiers, in corps—companies of 100 to 110 soldiers). Stations were attached to military command posts (brigades and corps).

Medical units in the UHA were organized on the Austrian pattern. Prior to the crossing of Zbruch, they operated with adequate efficiency. Working with every corps were one or two field hospitals and medical trains. After the crossing of Zbruch, the functioning of medical units deteriorated because of lack of medical supplies and clothing. As a result, more than 10,000 soldiers of the UHA died in the "rectangle of death" (Vinnytsia-Braïliv-Zhmerynka-Nemyriv) during the fall and winter of 1919–20 [Vol. I, p. 763].

Small engineer units of two to three squads each functioned within the brigades. Technical companies were maintained by the corps and by the UHA High Command, consisting of construction, engineer, and railway units as well as repair shops and ammunition dumps. The corps and the High Command each had 100 automobiles at their disposal.

The shortage of staff and higher officers in the UHA was partially offset by the recruitment of non-Ukrainian officers from the former Austro-Hungarian army and the assignment upon request of officers from the Ukrainian National Republic Army. Designation and promotion of officers was the sole prerogative of the State Secretariat of Defense and, later, of the dictator.

The UHA recognized the following ranks: enlisted men—private (*strilets'*), private first class (*starshyi strilets'*); non-

commissioned officers—corporal (*vistun*), sergeant (*desiatnyk*), sergeant first class (*starshyi desiatnyk*), staff sergeant (*bulavnyi starshyi desiatnyk*), cadet (*pidkhorunzhyi*), sergeant major (*bunchuzhnyi*); company officers—ensign (*khorunzhyi*), second lieutenant (*chotar*), first lieutenant (*poruchnyk*), captain (*sotnyk*); field officers—major (*otaman*), lieutenant-colonel (*pidpolkovnyk*), colonel (*polkovnyk*); general officers—major-general (*heneral-chotar*), lieutenant-general (*heneral-poruchnyk*), general (*heneral-sotnyk*). Colors of the units were as follows: blue for the infantry, red—artillery, yellow—cavalry, white—air force, grey—technical corps, crimson—field gendarmerie, black—medical corps, green—communications.

The uniform and ranks were established by an order of the State Secretariat of April 30, 1919. A round cap was adopted, with a band of the respective military branch color and a braid over the visor (green for noncommissioned officers, gold for commissioned officers). The jacket was cut on the Austrian model, with a jagged line design on the collar (in the color of the respective branch), trimmed in gold for company officers, on a gold background for field officers, and a silver jagged line on a gold background for generals. Rank designations were placed on jacket sleeves: silver stripes for noncommissioned officers, gold braid for officers on the color background of the respective branch. Noncommissioned officers wore a yellow band on the bayonet belt buckle, and officers, a similar gold band. In the Red UHA, all officer insignia, as well as Ukrainian national insignia, the colors, and the anthem were abolished. Political commissars and revolutionary tribunals were instituted by the Bolshevik authorities.

The manpower of the UHA during the Chortkiv offensive was approximately 75,000 men. Some 65,000 men crossed the Zbruch River. The combat strength at the outset of the Kiev offensive was 49,795 men, 158 cannons, and 546 machine guns. The total strength of the three brigades on March 15, 1920 was approximately 18,000 men.

*According to O. Dumin*

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## UKRAINIANS IN FOREIGN ARMIES FROM 1918

### Ukrainians in the Soviet Army

**1917–20.** The first Ukrainians to serve in the Soviet army were members of units organized by the Bolsheviks in Left-Bank Ukraine during December 1917 and April 1918 [Vol. I, pp. 740–2].

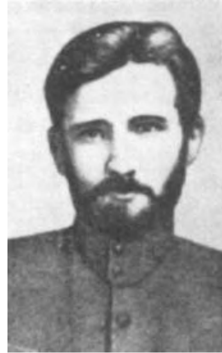

FIGURE 602. GEORGE KOTSIUBYNSKY

Attached to the People's Secretariat, the first Bolshevik government of the Ukrainian SSR established in Kharkiv in December 1917, in opposition to the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian National Republic [Vol. I, pp. 796–7], was a department of military affairs, headed first by Basil Shakhrai, later by Eugene Neronovych with George Kotsiubynsky as his deputy. The military units, however, were not subordinated to this department. The Red Army, which fought in Ukraine under the command of Volodymyr Antonov-Ovsiienko, consisted of Soviet Russian military units. The only unit of the Red Army which was partially Ukrainian in composition was the so-called Red Kozaks of Ukraine (first a regiment, then a brigade from August 1919, and after the war a division and a corps), organized in the Kharkiv region by Vitalii Prymakov following the decree of the People's Secretariat of January 20, 1918 on the "Organization of the People's Revolutionary Socialist Army in Ukraine." The five so-called Ukrainian armies, quite weak and poorly organized (early 1918), were not Ukrainian in composition. They were reorganized near Tsarytsyn into the Ninth and Tenth Armies of the RSFSR.

Preparations for a new invasion of Ukraine were made before the outbreak of the Ukrainian-Russian war [Vol. I, p. 756] by the All-Ukrainian Military-Revolutionary Committee headed by V. Antonov-Ovsiienko. As early as September 1918, Antonov-Ovsiienko began to organize the First Ukrainian Insurgent Division, renamed in December the First Ukrainian Soviet Division. Forming its nucleus were the Tarashcha and Bohun regiments, reorganized in May

of 1918 into two brigades. The Tarashcha regiment, commanded by Basil Bozhenko, was 26 per cent Ukrainian partisans who fought against Germans near Tarashcha, south of Kiev, from September through November 1918, retreating ultimately to the Russian territory. The Bohun regiment was organized by Nicholas Shchors of Ukrainian pro-Soviet volunteers. Commanding the division were: Nicholas Kropyviansky, Ivan Lokotosh, N. Shchors, and after his death in a battle against the UNR Army, Ivan Dubovyi. Commanding the Second Ukrainian Soviet Division was Volodymyr Aussem, and after its reorganization into the Kharkiv Group, Anatole Okachko. A Ukrainian Front was created on January 3, 1919, under the command of Antonov-Ovsiienko, which was divided into three "Ukrainian armies" on April 1, 1919. In June of the same year, these armies were reorganized into the Twelfth and Fourteenth Armies of the RSFSR. In April 1919 the Ukrainian Front numbered approximately 70,000 soldiers, including 50,000 regular troops and the rest in guerrilla units.

Included for a short time in the Red Army were detachments of *Otaman* Zelenyi (Daniel Terpylo), numbering 2,500 men, of *Otaman* Khymenko (4,000 men), and *Otaman* Mathew Hryhoriïv (15,000 men), which had left the UNR Army in January-February 1919 [Vol. I, p. 757] and joined the forces of Antonov-Ovsiienko. Fighting on the Bolshevik side, Hryhoriïv routed the Entente landing forces in southern Ukraine and took the cities of Kherson, Mykolaïv, and Odessa in March-April 1919. In May of the same year, Hryhoriïv broke with the Bolsheviks; part of his force was destroyed, while another detachment under the command of George Tiutiunnyk joined the UNR forces in July [Vol. I, p. 761]. After the defeat of the Ukrainian armies in December 1919 [Vol. I, p. 764], detachments commanded by *Otaman* Omelian Volokh and Alexander Danchenko joined the Ukrainian Red Army. Since the Soviet command refused to recognize them as separate formations, some units joined the Red Army, while others simply disbanded.

Three corps of the Ukrainian Galician Army, which had joined the Red Army in January 1920, were reorganized into three brigades of what became known as the Red Ukrainian Galician Army and dispersed among the units of the Twelfth and Fourteenth Red armies. Deployed at the Polish front, the Second and Third Brigades joined the UNR Army in April 1920 [Vol. I, pp. 765–6]. The remnants of the Red Galician Army were organized into a regiment of the Red Army which took part in the battle near Hrubeshiv against the Polish forces in August 1920.

In addition to these formations, many more Ukrainians served in the Red Army, their total number exceeding the forces of the "workers' element" forcibly mobilized by the Bolsheviks. There were also some volunteers (Gen. Semeon Budenny's army) who fought against Gen. Denikin's army and the Polish forces in 1919–20.

Despite the Ukrainian SSR's alleged independence during the Ukrainian-Russian war, an independent Red Ukrainian army never came into existence. Likewise, the People's Commissariat for Military Affairs of the newly established Ukrainian SSR (headed up to August 1918 by Nicholas Podvoisky) had no practical significance.

**1921–41.** From the end of 1919, the government of the Ukrainian SSR had no separate department for military affairs. The "commander of military forces of Ukraine and Crimea" (after December 1920, chief commander of the Ukrainian Military District) was a member of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR as a plenipotentiary of the RSFSR's People's Commissar for Military-Naval Affairs. In the USSR, between 1922 and 1930, all men of eligible age served either in the regular army or in territorial units and workers' bat-

talions. Those assigned to territorial units served in the *oblasts* of their domicile (three to six months of training during the first year, one to two months of exercises and maneuvers during the next three to four years). After termination of duty they were assigned to the reserve of the first or second category. Both officers and noncommissioned officers of the reserve were trained in regimental schools (six to nine months). The composition of the territorial units after 1924 (introduction of the policy of Ukrainization) was along nationality lines. There were four Ukrainian infantry divisions as early as the fall of 1924; by 1928 the number had increased to 10 (there were 17 nationality divisions in the USSR), with four Ukrainianized cavalry divisions. Infantry divisions were stationed in the following cities: Chernihiv (Seventh Division of Sharpshooters), Kharkiv (23rd Division), Dnipropetrovske (30th), Kiev (46th), Lubny (7th A), Artemivske (80th A), Pervomaiske (95th A), Vinnytsia (96th A), Cherkasy (99th A), Bila Tserkva (100th A). The infantry divisions were part of the regular army. They traced their origin to the Red Kozaks and their official language was Ukrainian.

As a rule, Ukrainians serving in the regular army were assigned to areas outside Ukraine. Unlike the territorial units, where Ukrainian was allowed as the official language along with Russian, the regular army's language was Russian, with the exception of the Red Kozak divisions stationed in Proskuriv, Starokonstiantyniv, and Berdychiv (Ukrainian language used until 1937). Term of service in the regular army was two years. Noncommissioned officers were trained in regimental schools. Lower ranking officers were trained in normal officer schools (*uchylyshcha*). In Ukraine such schools were located in Kiev, Bila Tserkva, Poltava, Odessa, Kharkiv, Mykolaïv, Chuhuïv, and other cities. Three of them were Ukrainianized. Higher ranking officers received their training at military academies, including the Academy of the General Staff. Reserve officers were also trained in officer candidate schools. "Politically unreliable" persons of service age were assigned to workers' battalions, where conditions were similar to those prevailing in concentration camps (strict discipline, weapons worn by officers only). These units were abolished in 1932.

A special feature of the Soviet military organization was the appointment of political commissars (*politruks*) to all levels of command as political advisors. The practice of appointing political commissars, who were trusted confidants of the party, goes back to the organization of the Red Army. Their primary task was to maintain control over "military specialists," that is, mostly former tsarist officers. They countersigned all military orders, watched for subversive activity in the army, and were responsible for supplies. In 1942, the political commissars were replaced by deputy commanders in charge of political affairs. The change was merely one of nomenclature.

The trend toward rigid centralization in the USSR from 1934 also affected the Red Army. Many traditionalist forms of the old Russian army were restored: old officer ranks were reinstituted in 1936, traditional salutes in 1940, officer uniforms, insignia, and decorations in honor of the old Russian heroes in 1942–3. With the abolition of the territorial system in 1934, Ukrainian as well as all other nationality units were disbanded. Ukrainian officer schools were also abolished. The Ukrainian Military District was divided in 1935 into three (Kiev, Kharkiv, Odessa), thus integrating the territory of the Ukrainian SSR into the All-Union military organization. The policy of Russification was implemented in the training of soldiers and officers. The nationality policy of the central regime is best reflected in the percentage of Ukrainians in command posts. In 1929, the percentage of Ukrai-

nians in high command posts was 5.56 (77.15 Russians), senior command posts, 6.34 per cent (77.53 Russians), intermediate, 11.60 per cent (69.75 Russians). Population ratio at the time was 20 per cent Ukrainian and 55 per cent Russian.

**1941–5.** The number of Ukrainians serving in the Soviet Army during World War II is estimated at approximately 5 million. Lack of desire on the part of Ukrainians and other non-Russian peoples to defend the Soviet colonial regime was responsible for the early successes of the German forces on the southeastern front (Southern Group of the Soviet Army commanded by Marshal S. Budenny), where non-Russians constituted a majority in the army. It is estimated that of the total 3.6 million prisoners of war taken by the Germans by March 3, 1943, nearly 2 million were non-Russians, mostly Ukrainians. However, because of their harsh treatment of the population and the POWs, the Germans themselves contributed to the strengthening of the Soviet Army's morale. Many of the old tsarist forms were restored in the Soviet Army. Among various decorations, the medal of Bohdan Khmelnytsky was instituted by an order of October 10, 1943 (in three categories). Of the total 9 million soldiers decorated for bravery in war, 1.7 million were Ukrainians; the distinction of "hero of the USSR" was conferred upon 11,000 soldiers, including more than 2,000 Ukrainians.

There was no separate Ukrainian unit in the Soviet Army during the war, with the exception of the First Ukrainian Guerrilla Division, under the command of Col. Peter Vershyhora, organized in the fall of 1943 from units of Gen. Sydir Kovpak's guerrilla brigade. The principal task of this unit was to fight against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. In 1944 a People's Commissariat of Defense (later Ministry) was established for the Ukrainian SSR (Gen. S. Kovpak was the first commissar), which, however, had no practical significance. Since 1946 the Ukrainian SSR has had no Ministry of Defense. A number of Ukrainian officers of the Soviet Army gained distinction in the war: Ivan Cherniakhovsky (Belorussian front), F. Kostenko (southwestern front), Rodion Malynovsky (Third Ukrainian front), Semen Tymoshenko (western front), I. Fediunynsky (Second Assault Army), Andrew Hrechko (First Guard Army), Dmytro Leliushchenko (Fourth Armored Army), Cyril Moskalenko (38th Army), P. Naumenko (15th Airborne), S. Rybalchenko (13th Airborne), Paul Rybalko (Third Armored), Serhii Trofymenko (27th Army), Admiral Arsentii Holovko. Maj.-Gen. Ivan Kozhedub, an ace pilot of the Soviet Air Force (62 kills) and the only three-time hero of the USSR, was also a Ukrainian. Attaining great popularity and distinction during the first months of the war was Gen. Michael Kyrponos, commander of the Kiev Military District, who perished along with all other officers of his staff in September 1941 (presumably liquidated by Stalin).

**After 1945.** The armed forces of the USSR are divided into the Soviet Army (until September 1946 known as the Workers-Peasants Red Army) and the Soviet Military-Naval Fleet (formerly the Workers-Peasants Red Fleet). Both are directly subordinated to the USSR's Ministry of Defense. There are also border patrol units and internal forces (MVD), subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior (until 1946 known variously as NKVD, and since 1957 as KGB); the function of the former is the defense of the USSR's frontiers in peacetime, of the latter—internal security and suppression of resistance movements within the USSR. There are auxiliary units (MVO), transport guards, militia, peace-keeping guards, armed party members, *Komsomol* youths, and the like. According to estimates for the year 1966, the strength of the Soviet Army in peacetime is 2.5 million men; other armed forces—2.8 million. It is estimated that there are 150 divisions in peacetime

and 450 divisions in time of war. Internal units (1966) are estimated at 375,000 men, airborne units—105,000 (seven divisions), rocket units—200,000.

USSR's navy consists of individual fleets, river flotillas, and naval air support. Located in Ukraine are the Black Sea Fleet and the Dnieper-Danube river flotilla. A substantial percentage of inductees are Ukrainians. In addition, Ukrainians serve in the Baltic, the White Sea, and the Pacific fleets. Principal ports of the Black Sea Fleet are Mykolaïv, Sevastopol, Novorossiisk, and Batum. As of January 1, 1963, the Black Sea Fleet consisted of 460 ships, including 8 cruisers, 41 destroyers, and 72 submarines. A unique feature of the Soviet military system is the subordination of the air force to land and naval forces.

Ukraine is an important strategic area within the Soviet military complex, because of its vital geographic position (it borders with the European satellite countries and the Black Sea) and its vast natural resources. This explains the presence of large Soviet forces in Ukraine, as well as numerous rocket bases (particularly in the Carpathians), huge air fields (Zhytomyr area), and radar installations. Because of strong anti-Soviet attitudes in Ukraine and the regime's Russification policy, Ukrainians serving in the armed forces are usually assigned to distant areas. Soviet units stationed in Ukraine are overwhelmingly non-Ukrainian in composition. Three of the 15 military districts of the USSR are located on Ukrainian territory—Kiev, the Subcarpathian region (with headquarters in Horodok near Lviv), and Odessa. The Ukrainian *oblasts* of Donetske and Luhanske form a part of the Northern Caucasus military district with headquarters in Rostov on the Don. The northern shores of the Black and the Azov seas are a part of the Black Sea Fleet district with headquarters in Sevastopol. At the present time, there are some 40 divisions stationed in the Ukrainian SSR, in addition to 7 divisions of the KGB.

Ukrainians constitute approximately 18 per cent of the Soviet Army's soldiers, 16 per cent of the higher and lower officers, and but 10 per cent of the generals and marshals. Marshal R. Malynovsky was for a long time USSR's Minister of Defense; Marshal A. Hrechko, formerly commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact, is the current Minister of Defense; Marshal Serhii Rudenko is deputy commander-in-chief of the Soviet Air Force.

*V. Kozak and L. Shankovsky*

**Ukrainians in the Polish, Rumanian, and Czechoslovak armies (1919–39)**

In the interwar period, Ukrainians in Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia were subject to universal military conscription. The term of active duty lasted from 1½ to 4 years depending on the branch of the armed forces. Ukrainians serving in the armies were usually assigned to areas outside of Ukrainian territory. They served in mixed units (with respect to nationality), and were subjected, except in Czechoslovakia, to various discriminatory practices.

The Polish government began drafting soldiers from Ukrainian lands in December 1922 (Polish nationals living in the Ukrainian lands had volunteered for the Polish army as early as 1918). During the first phase of induction in eastern Galicia, Ukrainians refused to serve in the Polish army because this region's political status had not yet been clarified (until the decision of the Council of Ambassadors) [Vol. I, p. 780]. After 1923, Ukrainians, as a rule, were not admitted to specialized branches of the Polish army (air force, tank units, technical service, frontier guards, even artillery and machine gun units). Only rarely were Ukrainians admitted to officer or staff schools. As a rule, Ukrainian graduates of the reserve officer schools were denied commissions. On the average, a

total of 60,000 Ukrainians were drafted annually by the Polish army (approximately one-eighth of the total strength). Ukrainian lands were included in the Lublin, Lviv, and Peremyshl military districts. Ukrainians serving in the Polish army were usually assigned to territories outside their own lands (mostly in Poznań and Toruń). They did not constitute a majority in any of the units. Ukrainians were assigned in large numbers to special labor corps instituted in 1938 for the "politically unreliable elements." They were also barred from paramilitary organizations.

In the Polish-German war, close to 120,000 Ukrainians serving in the Polish army were taken prisoners by the Germans.

It should be noted that close to 4,000 former officers of the Ukrainian National Republic's Army (allied with the Poles in the war against the Bolsheviks) resided on Polish territory in 1920–39. The Ministry of Defense of the UNR government-in-exile, headed by Gen. V. Salsky, conducted special courses to maintain combat readiness. After 1928, a number of Ukrainian officers were trained in Polish (as well as French) schools. Many high ranking officers served as contract officers in the Polish army (57 in 1937).

After the occupation of Bessarabia (in March 1918) and Bukovina (in November 1918), the Rumanian government instituted its own system of recruitment, based on territorial division, which coincided with the administrative division into counties. As in Poland, Ukrainians were not admitted to specialized branches of the army. They were usually assigned to territories which had belonged to Rumania in 1914. Military service aided in the implementation of the Rumanian government's denationalization policy.

As stated above, Ukrainians serving in the Czechoslovak army were not subjected to discriminatory policies, although they were scattered in various units. However, the 12th Division, stationed in Transcarpathia, contained a rather large number of Ukrainians.

*A. Ch*

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## UKRAINIAN MILITARY FORMATIONS IN 1938–43

The Carpathian Sich (Karpats'ka Sich), a paramilitary organization of popular defense in Transcarpathia (1938–9) was organized in November 1938 from units of the Ukrainian National Defense (headed by Stephen Rosokha). The Carpathian Sich was to serve as Carpatho-Ukraine's principal defense force against the Poles and Hungarians [Vol. I, p. 854]. A voluntary organization headed by a Supreme Command (Dmytro Klympush, commander, Ivan Roman, deputy commander) and a staff with headquarters in Khust, it had lower command posts in various localities which conducted military and political training (15,000 men). Five permanent garrisons of the Carpathian Sich conducted regular training. A number of Sich soldiers served in the local police and in the border guards. The Sich also conducted cultural and educational work among the local population. In February

1939, the unit adopted a modified uniform of the former Sich Riflemen; ranks and insignia were also standardized. A number of Ukrainians from Galicia served as officers in the permanent garrisons.

After Carpatho-Ukraine's proclamation of independence, the Carpathian Sich became the state's national army (Col. Serhii Yefremov, commander, Col. Michael Kolodzinsky, chief of staff). It fought against the Hungarians in March 1939. At that time, the strength of the Sich was approximately 2,000 men. It lost several companies in the battles against the Czechs and the Hungarians (including Col. M. Kolodzinsky). The victory of the Hungarians was due primarily to their overwhelming numerical strength and the Sich's inadequate supply of arms (weapons mainly captured from the Czech military and police units). The Sich units retreated to Rumania and Slovakia. Many soldiers were extradited by the Rumanians to the Hungarians, who, in turn, gave up many Galicians to the Poles. The struggle of the Carpathian Sich against the Hungarians was the first armed conflict preceding World War II.

*V. Markus*

## UKRAINIANS IN FOREIGN ARMIES DURING WORLD WAR II

By force of circumstances Ukrainians were compelled to serve in various alien armies which occupied the Ukrainian lands during World War II (the Soviet, Polish, Rumanian, Hungarian, later German armies). Some Ukrainians also served in the American and the Canadian armies on the Allied side.

The largest number of Ukrainians served in the Soviet Army (see p. 1083), being assigned usually to the most threatened areas (in the Russo-Finnish war, the units which suffered greatest losses were composed mainly of Ukrainians, that is, the 7th, 44th, 52nd, 60th, 62nd, 72nd, 92nd, and the 100th sharpshooters divisions).

There were Ukrainians in the Czechoslovak and the Polish units organized in the USSR. Of the total 15,000 soldiers serving in the First Independent Czechoslovak Brigade (later Corps), formed in the spring-summer of 1943 in Novokhopersk, there were 11,000 Transcarpathian Ukrainians, who had volunteered for service to escape starvation in the Soviet concentration camps [Vol. I, p. 892]. The brigade fought in Ukraine (in the battles for Kiev and Kharkiv). After the war, Ukrainians serving in the corps were repatriated to the Ukrainian SSR.

For similar reasons, many Ukrainians (former Polish citizens) enlisted in the Polish army organized in the USSR (treaty of July-August 1940). Units of that army (2nd Corps), under the command of Gen. Władysław Anders, were deployed in the Near East where they fought on the British side in Egypt, Libya, and Italy. Transferred to England after the war, the Ukrainian soldiers were demobilized in 1947.

Separate Ukrainian units were formed by the Germans and, to some degree, by the Western Allies.

### Ukrainian Units in the German Army

The first Ukrainian unit was formed by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists on the eve of the Polish-German war. Approximately 600 men strong, it consisted of former soldiers of the Carpathian Sich. Commanded by Col. Roman Sushko, it marched into Galicia with the German army in September 1939 [Vol. I, pp. 871–2]. The legion was disbanded after the occupation of western Ukraine by the Bolsheviks, and many of its soldiers joined the paramilitary organizations in the *Generalgouvernement*, the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, the special guards of industrial and communication centers (*Werkschutz*), and the like.

The hopes of Ukrainians that they would be allowed to form their indepen-

dent units following the outbreak of the Russo-German war were crushed by German refusals. Only the Ukrainian Legion organized by the OUN of S. Bandera survived for a short period of time.

The attempts of the German *Wehrmacht* to organize separate units from the Ukrainian prisoners of war met with Hitler's opposition. Only after German setbacks in the winter of 1941–2 and the widespread Red guerrilla attacks in the rear of the German armies, did some German commanders form Ukrainian units on their own initiative. The first Ukrainian unit thus organized was the Sumy Division (some 10,000 men). Formed in Sumy in the rear of the German Sixth Army, it took part in the battles of Kharkiv and Stalingrad, where it was almost annihilated (600 soldiers escaped alive). In the winter of 1941–2, the German Sixth Army's command organized 16 Ukrainian mobile units to fight against the Soviet guerrillas (the largest unit, consisting of 240 men, operated in Haivoron). Despite successful battles against the Bolsheviks, the German SS *Einsatzkommando* demobilized the Ukrainian units and sent the men to prisoner of war camps. Other Ukrainian units organized by the Sixth Army fought against the Red Army in the Crimea. Their formation was strictly prohibited by Hitler, with the exception of small units which fought against the Russian guerrillas or performed auxiliary functions.

Late in 1942, the Germans began to organize Russian units of the Red Army's POWs, called the Russian Liberation Army. These were separate detachments assigned to various German units. Many Ukrainians joined the army to escape starvation in the POW camps. During the German retreat from Ukraine in the summer of 1943, the auxiliary and police units were included as separate detachments mostly in the Russian Liberation Army (see below). A total of 800,000 men served in various eastern formations (including auxiliary units) on the German side. Ukrainians constituted nearly 200,000. The Germans organized these units (including the Russian Liberation Army) without any preconceived political plan. These were small detachments, assigned to various German units in the front line and in the rear. They were often used as labor.

The first regular Ukrainian unit allowed by the Germans was the Division *Halychyna* (Galicia) formed in April 1943 in the *Generalgouvernement.* The various Ukrainian units in the German army were being designated by the Germans as the Ukrainian Liberation Army. Initially, the total numbered nearly 75,000 men. Later, the Ukrainian units in the Russian Liberation Army joined the Ukrainian force. The Ukrainian formations actually constituted garrison units in training. The combat battalions which were formed from these garrisons were assigned to German units and placed under German command.

After the establishment of the Ukrainian National Committee in Germany in March 1945, all Ukrainian military formations were to be included in the Ukrainian National Army (see below).

**The Ukrainian Legion**

On the eve of World War II, as a result of an agreement between some German authorities and the Bandera OUN faction, two Ukrainian volunteer detachments (*Nachtigall* and *Roland*) were formed on German territory. Consisting of four companies each (120–160 men in each company), they were known among Ukrainians as the Druzhyny Ukraïns'kykh Natsionalistiv (Units of Ukrainian Nationalists). They took part in the military operations of the German army. The *Nachtigall* detachment, commanded by Roman Shukhevych, marched through Lviv [Vol. I, p. 886] into the Vinnytsia region, while the *Roland* passed through Jassy-Kyshyniv into the Tyraspil area. Because of their opposition to German policies in Ukraine,

the detachments were recalled from the front and interned. Late in 1941, they were reorganized in Frankfurt on the Oder into the Police Battalion 201 and deployed in Belorussia in the defense of communication lines. Toward the end of 1942, the battalion was disbanded because of the soldiers' refusal to take an oath of loyalty to Hitler. The majority of the soldiers eventually found their way to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

The *Nachtigall* detachment had German uniforms with Ukrainian insignia; the *Roland* unit had its own uniforms patterned on the former UHA model.

FIGURE 603. CAVALRY OF THE DIVISION *Halychyna* DEPARTING FOR THE BATTLEFRONT

## Division Halychyna and the Ukrainian National Army

Like other German volunteer units, the Division *Halychyna* was included in the 14th Grenadier Division of the SS-*Waffen.* It retained its national composition (training conducted in the Ukrainian national spirit, Ukrainian military chaplains) as well as the Ukrainian insignia.

The division was organized on the pattern of German infantry. It consisted of three infantry and one artillery regiments, and the following battalions: fusiliers, communications, engineers, anti-tank and anti-aircraft artillery, supply, reserve, special units, and a reserve training regiment. The division's strength before deployment on the eastern front was nearly 16,000 men. Officers were both German and Ukrainian (in part, former officers of the UHA and UNR Army). Gen. Freitag was the division's commander. The unit was defeated in the battle of Brody (July 7–22, 1944).

A new division was formed from this unit and newly inducted Ukrainians. It differed from the first division in internal organization and combat equipment: mechanical power was almost wholly replaced by horse-drawn power. Also, more German officers and noncommissioned officers were included in the staff and individual unit commands. The new division was trained in Neuhammer (Silesia), in Slovakia (September-December 1944), and in Slovenia (January-March 1945). It was deployed on the front near Graz (Feldbach—Bad Glachenberg), where it engaged in defensive operations until Germany's capitulation (May 8, 1945). Its maximum strength reached 18,000 men.

All Ukrainian military formations organized by the Germans were subordinated to the Ukrainian National Committee, constituting the Ukrainian National Army under the command of Gen. Paul Shandruk. The Division *Halychyna* was integrated into the formation on March 14, 1945 as the First Ukrainian Division, swearing allegiance to the Ukrainian people. The planned integration of the Ukrainian Liberation Army units into the National Army was disrupted by the German retreat and the fall of the Third Reich. If the plan had materialized, the Ukrainian National Army's strength would have reached 250,000 men.

FIGURE 604. PAUL SHANDRUK

## Defense Guard and Police Units

At the outbreak of the Russo-German war, a number of guerrilla detachments appeared in western Ukrainian lands,

which defended the local population from the ravaging NKVD and administrative units. Following the German takeover, these detachments were disbanded. Some of the men joined the Ukrainian auxiliary police and defensive guard battalions in Volhynia. Inducted by the German authorities from among the Red Army's POWs and the local male population (on the basis of contractual labor), they were used as an auxiliary service force, particularly in supply, and were subordinated to the local German military command. Late in 1942, some of the men were armed and included in the German army units.

Ukrainian defensive guard units and auxiliary police were organized in the German army's rear areas (used in antiguerrilla operations, as guards of supply installations, and the like). They were subordinated to the German police and administrative authorities. In case of prolonged operations, they were under the command of the German units.

Late in 1943, the Ukrainian auxiliary police units of Lutsk, Kremianets, and Volodymyr formed the Ukrainian Legion of Self-Defense, a guerrilla unit which defended the population of the Volhynia and Kholm regions from Polish and Communist guerrillas. In the summer of 1944, the legion joined the police guards as the 31st *Schützmannschaft* Battalion. Like other units of this formation, it had both German and Ukrainian command. In March 1945, numbering over 600 men, it joined the First Ukrainian Division.

There were units of Ukrainian auxiliary police on the Ukrainian territory of the *Generalgouvernement*, which functioned under the command of the German administrative and police authorities. Special guards (*Werkschutz*) were established for the defense of major industrial plants.

From 1943, many young Ukrainians were inducted into the German *Wehrmacht* and SS–*Waffen*. They were assigned to German divisions either individually or in small units (squads, platoons, companies) under the German command.

*O. Horbatsch*

## THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY

The first Ukrainian nationalist guerrilla unit during World War II was organized in the area of Olevske by Taras Bulba (Borovets) in the summer of 1941. The unit bore the name Polis'ka Sich–Ukraïns'ka Povstans'ka Armiia (UPA), Polisian Sich–Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Later, it was also known as the Ukrainian National Revolutionary Army (UNRA). Bulba's unit consisted of several hundred guerrillas who fought against the Bolshevik partisans [Vol. I, p. 884]. Toward the end of 1941, Bulba was forced to disband the Sich under pressure from Germans. He went into hiding with a group of approximately 100 men and formed another unit under the same name, which fought against both the Germans and the Bolsheviks. The detachment operated until the summer of 1943 when some of its units joined the Ukrainian Insurgent Army formed by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) under the leadership of Stephen Bandera.

By the end of 1942, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, organized by the OUN, established itself as the leading nationalist resistance force in Ukraine (in the absence of Bandera, who was a prisoner in a German concentration camp, Nicholas Lebed was acting as OUN leader in 1941–3; as of the summer of 1943, Roman Shukhevych assumed the leadership of OUN). As a guerrilla force, and, later, as an underground formation, the UPA continued operating until the early 1950s, fighting against the Germans, then against the Bolsheviks and the Polish Communist regime in the Kholm, Peremyshl, and Lemkian regions of Ukraine. During the most intensive fighting against the Germans in the fall of

1943 and the spring of 1944, the UPA numbered close to 40,000 men, including the underground cadres of the OUN. By the end of 1944, during the most intensive operations against the Bolsheviks, the force of the UPA was between 20,000 and 30,000 men.

The political program of the UPA, as formulated in 1943, stated that it was fighting for an independent Ukrainian state, as well as the national independence of other captive peoples. The program also enumerated the freedoms of speech, press, assembly, religion, and equal rights for all national minorities.

Late in 1942, the main detachments of UPA operated in Polisia and Volhynia, and as of the autumn 1943, in Galicia, particularly in the Carpathian Mountains. Also active in Galicia in the

FIGURE 605. A GROUP OF UPA GUERRILLAS TAKING A REST DURING A SCOUTING MISSION

summer and early autumn of 1943 was the Ukrainian National Self-Defense (Ukraïns'ka Narodna Samooborona) which was actually an integral part of the UPA. The operations of UPA extended also to the southern and central *oblasts* of Ukraine. Territorially, the UPA was divided into three main groups: UPA-North (the Volhynia, Rivne, parts of Zhytomyr and Kiev *oblasts*); UPA-West (Lviv, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivske, and part of the Chernivtsi *oblast*, with Peremyshl, Kholm, and the Lemkian regions forming a separate military district "Sian"); UPA-South (parts of the Vinnytsia and Khmelnytsky *oblasts*). Plans for an UPA-East group never materialized. Individual units were being dispatched in separate raids to the central and parts of the eastern *oblasts*. Soviet sources confirm that Ukrainian nationalist guerrilla units operated in the Chernihiv and Kinovohrad *oblasts* as well. Raiding units were also dispatched to Czechoslovakia (1944–5), parts of Rumania (1944–5), and eastern Prussia (1947–8). Each of the three UPA groups was divided into military districts (a total of 12) and these, in turn, into tactical sections. The basic unit of the UPA was the company (*sotnia*) of approximately 160–200 men. For the purposes of major operations, 3–4 companies would join to form a battalion. The companies were divided into platoons (*choty*) and these into squads (*roï*).

At the helm of the UPA was the commander-in-chief with his General Staff which consisted of the following sections: operations, intelligence, training, personnel, political indoctrination, and supply (arms and ammunition, medical service). The commander-in-chief of the UPA during its operations in Volhynia until the summer of 1943 was Dmytro Kliachkivsky (Maj. Klym Savur). He was succeeded by Roman Shukhevych (Gen. Taras Chuprynka) who held the post until his death on March 5, 1950. Following his death, the command was taken over by Vasyl Kuk (Col. Vasyl Koval). Heading the General Staff were Dmytro Hrytsai (Gen. Perebyinis) and Col. Oleksa Hasyn.

Initially, the UPA recognized only functional ranks: battalion commander (*kurinnyi*), company commander (*sotennyi*), platoon leader (*chotovyi*), squad leader (*roiovyi*). Following the establishment of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council [Vol. I, p. 890a], the following rank designations were adopted: noncommissioned officers—lance corporal (*starshyi strilets'*), corporal (*vistun*), sergeant (*bulavnyi*), sergeant major (*starshyi bulavnyi*); commissioned officers—second lieutenant (*khorunzhyi*),

first lieutenant (*poruchnyk*), captain (*sotnyk*), major (*maior*), colonel (*polkovnyk*), general (*heneral*). Military awards for bravery in battle were as follows: bronze cross, silver cross first and second class, gold cross first and second class, and gold medal for bravery under particularly trying conditions.

There are two distinct periods in the operation and tactics of the UPA. Until late 1945, the basic operational unit of the UPA was the company. In major battles, however, several battalions were thrown into action. The UPA's command sought to maintain constant contact with the enemy and to secure control over larger forest areas as well as villages, particularly in the Carpathian Mountains. In its effort to destroy the UPA, the enemy resorted to massive assaults (Germans late in 1943 and the Bolsheviks in 1944–5). Beginning late in 1945, the platoon and the squad became the basic operational units of the UPA. Their objective was to defend the population from the enemy, to stage retaliatory raids, to prevent the enemy from securing control of the areas, to prevent collectivization, forced resettlement, food requisitioning, fraudulent elections to Soviet administrative organs, and to disseminate anti-Bolshevik propaganda. In this, the second period of UPA activity, the enemy used such tactics as the blockade of forest regions, where the Ukrainian guerrillas maintained their bunkers and thus cut off the underground forces from the population, terroristic acts perpetrated on the population, burning of forests, dissemination of contaminated drugs and medications, contamination of water-wells, organization of special police detachments which masqueraded as UPA units, and public appeals to the UPA men signed either by the government of the Ukrainian SSR or its ministers of the interior. It is known that there were seven such appeals, the last one dated December 30, 1949. Even after Gen. Chuprynka's death in 1950, the UPA and OUN activity continued in Galicia and Volhynia, according to Soviet sources, until 1956. Among major losses inflicted upon the enemy by the UPA, the following should be mentioned: Victor Lutze, chief of the SS-*Sicherungsabteilung*, who was killed in battle in May, 1943; Gen. Nicholas Vatutin, was fatally wounded on February 29, 1944; Gen. Karol Świerczewski, Poland's deputy minister of defense, was killed in March 1947, in a battle near Balyhorod (Lemkian region). The survival of the UPA for a relatively long period of time can be attributed to the dedication of its guerrilla fighters, successful strategy, vast experience in guerrilla warfare, favorable terrain, and support of the population.

In the first period of its operation, the UPA deployed cavalry, in addition to infantry units, as well as artillery and mobile units of supply. On the average, a company had two heavy machine guns, eight to ten automatic rifles, several automatic pistols, and several dozen rifles. Some companies also had anti-tank weapons. Arms and munitions were of different makes—Soviet, German, Polish, Czech—either captured in battle or left behind by the enemy. The uniforms were also those of the enemy soldiers, with UPA insignia on them. A separate supply service and the Ukrainian Red Cross also functioned at the time. During the German occupation of Ukraine, the UPA employed a number of Jewish physicians in its medical corps. It maintained separate nationality units (for example, the Uzbek detachment) composed of war prisoners captured by the Germans or soldiers of the Red Army. The General Staff kept a communications center with its own radio. In addition, communication was maintained by means of couriers, separate lines in the underground, secret hide-outs, special raiding units. The ranks of both commissioned and noncommissioned officers were being supplemented by Ukrainian soldiers serving in the German, Polish, Soviet, and Czech armies. There were two offi-

cer training schools and special training courses for commissioned and noncommissioned officers.

FIGURE 606. UNDERGROUND PUBLICATIONS OF THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY

The detachments which operated in the Kholm, Peremyshl, and Lemkian regions under Polish occupation constituted a separate military district of the UPA-West group. The commanding officer of this district was Myroslav Onyshkevych (Col. Orest). The district consisted of 17 companies (over 2,000 men). The OUN was also active in the area as were other insurgent formations (self-defense units) numbering approximately 4,000 men. Here the UPA cooperated with Polish and Slovak nationalist guerrillas. The efforts of the Polish Communist regime to destroy the UPA by deploying the regular army, special forces, and local militia in 1945–6 were unsuccessful. In 1947, following the assassination of Gen. Świerczewski, the government launched the operation "Visła" deploying 3 brigades, 16 battalions, and 700 soldiers of the local militia supported by a squadron of planes. In two months of fighting the Polish forces inflicted heavy losses on the UPA. Still, some units were known to be operating in the area in 1948. Others managed to return to Ukraine, while some units crossed over into Czechoslovakia. Of the latter group, nearly 400 men subsequently crossed over into the western zone of Germany and were granted asylum. In the aftermath of the "Visła" operation, the population of the entire area, notably from the Lemkian and other regions, was forcibly resettled to the eastern part of Germany currently occupied by Poland, mainly into the Olshtyn and Stettin regions.

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# XIII. Ukrainians Abroad

## 1. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Ukrainians are a sedentary and ethnocentric people. Until the nineteenth century they lived on a compact territory, migrating in relatively large numbers to neighboring lands only and thus expanding the Ukrainian ethnic territory. The establishment of enclaves in ethnically alien environments, as in the case of Jews, Armenians, or Germans, was almost unknown for Ukrainians until the second half of the nineteenth century.

Only dynamic social and economic processes, such as the abolition of serfdom, urbanization, agrarian overpopulation, and the development of transportation, displaced the conservative peasant population in the middle of the last century from its traditional settlements, compelling them to seek a better life in foreign lands. Thus the origin of what may be called the Ukrainian diaspora, which now embraces four continents of the world and has been in existence for almost a century.

### HISTORY, DISTRIBUTION, NUMBER

The number of Ukrainians and persons of Ukrainian descent in the 1960's living outside the Ukrainian ethnic lands is estimated at 11–12 million, or 23 per cent of all Ukrainians in the world 49–51 million; ([Vol. I, p. 244 and Table XIII, p. 249]). The majority of them are to be found in the USSR, especially its Asiatic parts. The number of Ukrainians outside the USSR is estimated at 2,700,000–3,100,000.

This chapter deals only with the settlements of Ukrainians outside the USSR, either in the countries of their old settlement along the Ukrainian periphery or in the new countries to which they have emigrated—the United States, Canada, the countries of South America, western Europe, central-eastern Europe (Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia), Australia, and China.

Until the 1870's (i.e., the beginning of Ukrainian emigration to the United States) the number of Ukrainians living west of the Ukrainian ethnic territory and in mixed belts (e.g., northeastern Hungary), was barely 50,000 persons. These were Ukrainian colonies, established in 1740 and later in the southeastern part of what was then Hungary, in Bačka and Banat [Vol. I, p. 244], and in 1770 in northern Dobrudja, the delta of the Danube on the territory of Turkey. Small Ukrainian enclaves were established also in the capitals of countries which contained Ukrainian lands—Warsaw, Vienna, and Budapest, as well as Cracow and Rome (Ukrainian Catholic priests, students, workers).

But the most intensive period of Ukrainian settlement in the western countries occurred from the late 1870's to the outbreak of World War I (1914), when some 600,000 Ukrainians settled in North and South America, hailing almost exclusively from the western part of Ukraine. In this period about 450,000 settled in the United States, over 100,000 in Canada, and over 50,000 in Brazil and Argentina [Vol. I, p. 197]. Also at the time, several thousand Ukrainians settled in Bosnia, Srem, and Bačka (present Yugoslavia) and in Germany.

A direct result of World War I and the defeat of the Ukrainian liberation struggle was the great wave of Ukrainian political emigration, embracing both

military and non-military personnel. In 1919–21 it poured first into Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Germany; later, into France, Belgium, and across the ocean. Almost half of these emigrants, that is, about 40,000 persons, returned after 1923 to their native lands (mainly to Galicia), while over 35,000 remained, principally in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and France, with smaller settlements in Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Belgium, and China [Vol. I, pp. 859–70].

Emigration due to economic circumstances rose in the period between the two world wars, embracing exclusively immigrants from the western Ukrainian lands, which belonged to Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia. Constituting about 180,000 persons, it was much less intensive than the emigration prior to World War I. The destination changed as well: as far as the United States was concerned, it was insignificant because of the restrictive legislation imposed by the U.S. government (only 12,000 Ukrainians being admitted). The greatest number—68,800 went to Canada, with 44,000 going to Argentina, 36,000 to France, and 8,000 to Belgium. Also in this period, the first Ukrainian immigrants settled in Paraguay and Uruguay. As was the case before 1914, a number of Ukrainians emigrated from Canada to the United States because of greater earning opportunities. In contrast with the period prior to 1914, the Ukrainian immigrants, especially those settling in North America, showed a high degree of national consciousness, e.g., former officers and soldiers of the Ukrainian armies and the intelligentsia [Vol. I, p. 197].

World War II and its aftermath brought changes in the number and pattern of distribution. Over 200,000 Ukrainians remained in West Germany and western Austria; 12,000 soldiers of the First Ukrainian Division were kept in Italy. These refugees included Ukrainians from all lands and comprised a majority of the Ukrainians who emigrated for political reasons and who at that time lived in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Germany [Vol. I, pp. 911–15]. Beginning in 1947, they emigrated at first to the countries of western Europe, and, later on, to the United States, Canada, and Australia. Thus in the years 1947–55, some 80,000 Ukrainians came to the United States, 30,000 to Canada, 20,000 to Great Britain, 20,000 to Australia and New Zealand, 10,000 to Belgium, 10,000 to France, 7,000 to Brazil, 6,000 to Argentina, 2,000 to Venezuela, and 2,000 to other countries of South America [Vol. I, pp. 915–16]. Smaller shifts in the distribution occurred after the major wave of immigration. Some Ukrainians arrived in the United States and a lesser number in Canada, mainly from the countries of western Europe (particularly, Great Britain and Belgium), Venezuela, and Argentina, with a trickle from other countries of South America and from Australia. Consequently, the number of Ukrainians in Belgium decreased from 10,000 to 3,000, in Venezuela from 2,000 to 1,000, with similar decreases in other countries. Also in the 1950's, some 6,000 Ukrainians returned to Soviet Ukraine from Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay. As a result of the events in China in the late 1940's, the Ukrainian colony there ceased to exist (see Ukrainians in China). Since the late 1950's, migratory shifts among Ukrainians abroad have been negligible. The emigration of Ukrainians from their native country is now non-existent because of the prevailing political conditions.

The character of Ukrainian settlement in central and eastern Europe, i.e., in the countries of "the people's democracies"—Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia—where the Ukrainians have the status of an ethnic minority, is quite different. A large Ukrainian ethnic minority (250,000–300,000) lives in Poland. It comprises, first of all, Ukrainians who lived on those Ukrainian lands which, on the basis of the Polish-Soviet treaty of August 16, 1946, were assigned to Poland, and who were not repatriated

to Soviet Ukraine [Vol. I, pp. 19 and 896]. Almost all of them were resettled by the Polish government in 1947 in the western and northern provinces which

FIGURE 607. REFUGEES RECEIVING FOOD AND CLOTHING FROM THE UNITED UKRAINIAN AMERICAN RELIEF COMMITTEE AT ONE OF ITS MANY STATIONS IN WEST GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

formerly belonged to Germany (see Ukrainians in Poland). Rumania and Czechoslovakia contain some segments of Ukrainian ethnic territory, a series of Ukrainian enclaves, and small colonies in urban centers (see Ukrainians in Rumania and Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia). In Yugoslavia, Ukrainians live in Bačka, Srem, and Bosnia, but, as a result of the war, some shifts among the Ukrainian population occurred, with a small number emigrating to the West (see Ukrainians in Yugoslavia). At the present time, approximately 600,000 Ukrainians live in these four countries of "the people's democracies." They have almost no ties with Ukrainians in the western world, and their relations (especially of Ukrainians in Rumania) with Soviet Ukraine are minimal. In contrast with the Ukrainians in the free world, their lot is extremely difficult, inasmuch as they live under strict state and party control, and their national life is limited to the cultural and educational sphere. Especially difficult is the life of the Ukrainian minorities in Rumania and Poland.

The distribution and number of Ukrainians abroad is approximately as follows (in thousands, estimate for 1968):

| | |
|---|---|
| *Western World* | |
| United States | 1250–1500 |
| Canada | 550– 600 |
| Brazil | 120 |
| Argentina | 100– 120 |
| Australia | 30– 38 |
| France | 30– 35 |
| Great Britain | 30 |
| Germany | 20 |
| Paraguay | 10 |
| Uruguay | 8 |
| Austria | 4– 5 |
| Belgium | 3 |
| Venezuela | 2 |
| Others | 1 |
| *Central and Eastern Europe* | |
| Poland | 200– 300 |
| Rumania | 120 |
| Czechoslovakia | 150 |
| Yugoslavia | 45 |
| Hungary | 3 |

## DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Exact information on the number and demographic characteristics of the Ukrainian population abroad is not available, with the exception of Canada, whose population censuses report in full on the Ukrainian ethnic group. Consequently, only some of the most significant observable traits are discussed here, confined of necessity to the transoceanic and western European segments of Ukrainian population.

Some 90 per cent of Ukrainians abroad are from western Ukrainian lands, i.e., Transcarpathia (which, together with the Lemkian region, provided the largest number), Galicia, and Bukovina, with the remainder coming from the Kholm region, Podlachia, and western Volhynia. The proportion of those born in Ukraine represents at the present time a mere 20 per cent (in Canada, according to the population census of 1961, those born in Ukraine numbered 110,000.

An underlying feature of various waves of Ukrainian immigration was the predominance of males, a fact which had

an adverse effect on the natural population increase (a number of men remained single because of the lack of Ukrainian women; on the other hand, in the families of the first immigrants the number of offspring was quite high). Second-generation families had a more stabilized structure, as can be observed from the example of Canada (see Table IV, p. 1156). Today, the latest wave of Ukrainian immigrants, especially those settling in Great Britain and Belgium (see, pp. 1227, 1231), presents the greatest anomaly in regard to age and social structure. At the same time, the Ukrainian minorities in Poland and Yugoslavia show a great predominance of women (a similar female-male ratio exists in the Ukrainian SSR [Vol. I, p. 172]). The demographic structure of Ukrainians in Germany and Austria is found to be different in another way—the aged predominate.

In terms of religious affiliation, 90 per cent, or even more, of Ukrainians abroad belonged originally to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. In time the percentage of Orthodox Ukrainians increased, principally because a number of Greek Catholic parishes joined the Ukrainian Orthodox churches. The number of Ukrainians who belong to the Evangelical and Roman Catholic churches is steadily increasing as a result of mixed marriages and environmental conditions (see the example of Canada, p. 1164). It is estimated that over 60 per cent of Ukrainians in the western world belong to the Catholic Church, about 30 per cent to the Orthodox Church, and 10–15 per cent to other churches.

Since their influx into the United States, Ukrainians have settled in industrial areas, while immigrants in such less developed countries as Canada, Brazil, and Argentina settled in villages and farms. With time there has been a progressive migration to the cities in all countries of Ukrainian settlement, coupled with gradual dispersion throughout the land. However, large Ukrainian farm enclaves can still be found in Brazil, Bačka (Yugoslavia), Canada and, to some extent, Argentina.

## SOCIAL PROBLEMS

The differentiation of Ukrainian settlements into socio-economic and political emigrations is still a fact of life today, although these differences are being gradually erased, especially in the transatlantic countries. Political émigrés are being integrated into the new societies, particularly as a result of naturalization, and are being reoriented toward permanent settlement in the new countries. Therefore, the problems of these relative newcomers differ little from those which confronted the first immigrants and, to a limited degree, their descendants. Only a part of the immigrants in western Europe and the politically oriented elements of the postwar wave in the transatlantic countries preserve the characteristics of a political emigration.

Another difference lies in the fact that some Ukrainian communities exist on territories adjacent to the Ukrainian mainland (Czechoslovakia, Rumania), or in countries where they enjoy the status of national minorities despite alien ethnic environment (in east European countries). Even in these countries, especially in Poland, the character of the Ukrainian settlement—dispersed throughout the whole country—is comparable to that in overseas countries. The territorial origin of Ukrainian immigrants is also a factor of significance. For instance, in the United States immigrants from Transcarpathia and the Lemkian region have established their own communities, based on regional affinities or on certain particular political conceptions. In Bačka, a distinct Ukrainian cultural-linguistic community was established on a regional and dialect basis by settlers from the Slovak-Hungarian-Ukrainian border areas (Bachvantsi).

A series of other factors contribute to the diversity of organized forms and

social nature of the Ukrainian communities abroad: the onset of immigration, the official policy of the given countries with respect to groups of various ethnic

FIGURE 608. ONE OF HUNDREDS OF FAMILIES BROUGHT TO THE UNITED STATES BY THE UNITED UKRAINIAN AMERICAN RELIEF COMMITTEE, DISEMBARKING IN NEW YORK (1949)

origins, the attitude of the local population toward the Ukrainian minority, and the like. But there are certain common characteristics and social patterns in the life of Ukrainians abroad which appear in varying degrees in the countries of their settlement.

The social forms of organization evolved by Ukrainians abroad were usually patterned on those that they had known in their native land. In the process of adopting new forms in their new countries they still retained many of the older Ukrainian features.

CHURCH ORGANIZATION was from the very beginning a key factor in the organization of the Ukrainian community abroad. Unlike other immigrant groups, the Ukrainians were not integrated into local church organizations; instead, they established their own national churches. This was both their strength and their weakness. The weakness lay in the fact that they could not avail themselves of the existing institutional forms and thus wasted energy and resources in establishing their own frequently weak and primitive forms. The strength manifested itself in the fact that the autonomous framework guaranteed preservation of their distinctive values and longer survival as a group.

The Ukrainians, however, could not maintain the monolithic religious character which they possessed at the outset of emigration. In almost all transatlantic communities the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, which was compelled to struggle against the encroachment on its autonomy by the local Roman Catholic hierarchy and the Vatican, suffered a few waves of secessions of the faithful. A series of Orthodox church groups (both Ukrainian and pro-Russian in orientation), as well as some Protestant churches, were established at its expense. Considered by some to have weakened the unity and numerical strength of the Ukrainian community abroad, this differentiation can be said to have furnished additional dynamism and internal immunity to alien influences. The establishment of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church especially underscored the all-national character of the Ukrainian community abroad.

The churches were the dominating forces in molding Ukrainian community life abroad, and even later, with the appearance of secular organizations, they continued to exert great influence on the social, cultural, and charitable activity. At the present time, the parishes still form the nucleus of Ukrainian cultural and social life (America and Australia), especially among the lower strata. It is true, however, that of late the churches have relinquished a measure of social activity to the lay sector.

Both the Ukrainian Orthodox and the Ukrainian Catholic Churches abroad are striving to retain their hierarchical and structural integrity and their adherence to the tradition of the Ukrainian churches in the past. They are only partially successful in this effort: the Ukrainian

Orthodox churches abroad (three principal jurisdictions), while maintaining a degree of cooperation, do not constitute an effective whole. The situation in the Ukrainian Catholic Church is no better; efforts in the 1960's for the establishment of a sole hierarchical leadership of the church in the form of a synod of bishops, headed by the Archbishop-Major, encountered serious obstacles. At the same time, in some countries, particularly in the United States, the national character of these churches is seriously threatened (through attempts to draw them under the general Orthodox shield, or under the shield of the Byzantine-Eastern rites on a local linguistic basis). In Rumania, and to some extent in Poland, the Orthodox Church is being used as an instrument of denationalization of the Ukrainians.

The SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONAL makeup has retained many typical old country forms (cultural-educational institutions, youth associations, political organizations), while adopting some new forms from the local societies (fraternal benefit associations, professional societies, social clubs, and the like).

A characteristic feature of the structure is the existence of a united central institution which is the controlling body of Ukrainian organized life in a given country. In some countries these central bodies are all-embracing and quite active (e.g., Australia, Germany); in others they are less effective (Brazil, France). In countries with a strong Ukrainian population and a complex organizational network, these central institutions, while limiting their activity to coordinating functions, exert a great deal of influence on Ukrainian community life. The organizational networks in the western countries operate on a voluntary basis, i.e., they do not belong to any system of institutions sponsored by the government.

A different situation exists in the countries of "the people's democracies," where Ukrainian life is rigidly regulated by government. In Poland and Czechoslovakia, there are government-controlled social-cultural organizations which, in the system of "popular fronts," are typical "transmission belts." Only local cultural-educational societies without any central leadership are active in Yugoslavia, and in Rumania there is no organized form of Ukrainian cultural and social life at all. In the countries of "the people's democracies" both freedom of association and free choice of the organizational forms of life are nonexistent.

Some sectors of Ukrainian organized life abroad are coordinated by intercountry centers. The existence of political and social centers in the various countries of Ukrainian settlement (the Ukrainian National Rada, centers of the political parties, the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference, the Coordinating Center of Ukrainian Central Organizations in Europe), the activities of functional intercountry associations (scholarly, women's, youth, professional organizations, etc.), and the Ukrainian press play a major role in the development of a unified community of Ukrainians abroad. The Secretariat of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (created in 1967) seeks to establish a common basis for Ukrainian organized life abroad. For obvious political reasons, Ukrainians living in the countries of "the people's democracies" are excluded from this consolidating process.

The attitude of Ukrainians in the western world toward present-day Ukraine constitutes yet another aspect of the development of the Ukrainian community abroad. Strong ties were maintained up to World War II, when the regime ruling over the western Ukrainian lands tolerated such relations and Ukrainian life was relatively free of government control. There were no such relations with the Ukrainian SSR, and since 1939 they ceased to exist with all Ukrainian lands. The anti-Communist character of the Ukrainian community

in the western world, while a major factor, is not the only cause, for even the small pro-Soviet groups in the United States and Canada have only minimal relations with the home country. The political organs and social institutions of the Ukrainian SSR are themselves severely limited by the central authorities in cultivating such relations. The situation in the countries of "the people's democracies" is no better. Some initiative in this respect was shown in recent years by the Ukrainian Society of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries in Kiev, and also by the institutions taking part in cultural exchange programs (visits of dance and choral ensembles, sending of books abroad, etc.).

Ukrainians have yet to develop a clearly defined conceptual framework of values and guidelines for their continued development as a distinct community beyond the borders of Ukraine. Until recently, the leaders and the active elements (primarily the political émigrés) have been almost wholly preoccupied with the political needs of the Ukrainian people in the homeland and their liberation from foreign domination, but the development of a positive concept regarding the Ukrainian community's further growth and direction has now begun to take shape. Consciously or instinctively, the dominant attitude is one of preserving the distinctive features of the Ukrainian community with its vast cultural heritage within the framework of the existing societies.

Along these lines, the predominant view favors integration but opposes assimilation. The integration of Ukrainian settlers in recent years has been proceeding quite smoothly. At the same time, the socio-psychological and even linguistic assimilation has also progressed. This is particularly true of Ukrainians living on the North American continent, especially urban dwellers and members of the third and fourth generations.

FIGURE 609. TITLE PAGE OF *Ukraïntsi u vil'nomu sviti* (UKRAINIANS IN THE FREE WORLD), A JUBILEE BOOK PUBLISHED ON THE OCCASION OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION'S SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY IN THE UNITED STATES (1954, design by M. Butovych)

Despite unquestioned loyalty to the newly adopted homelands, the mainstream of Ukrainian life abroad tends to reject outright assimilation. There are many Ukrainians abroad who adhere to the idea of close spiritual and cultural affinity with Ukraine, its historical heritage, values, and traditions.

Although the process of assimilation threatens the Ukrainians scattered in the countries of "the people's democracies," where it is reinforced by the generally imposed principle of "socialist internationalism," a strong reaction against assimilative tendencies is evident everywhere. In eastern Slovakia and Poland, Ukrainians are exposed to the chauvinistic attitude of the local majority. In Rumania, in the 1960's, the party and the government pursued a course aimed at the denationalization of minorities. In

general, Ukrainians in the countries of "the people's democracies" take advantage of the existing organizational forms and educational opportunities to preserve their ethnic identity. In none of these countries can one speak of a Ukrainian *irridenta.* On the contrary, professing full loyalty to the existing political and social order, Ukrainians endeavor to defend and cultivate their ethnic heritage in spiritual and cultural unity with Ukrainian traditions and contemporary processes. Moreover, the Ukrainian cultural elite abroad, both in the western countries and in the countries of "the people's democracies," is determined to contribute its share to the overall process of Ukrainian cultural development.

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# 2. IN THE UNITED STATES

## UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR SETTLEMENTS

The United States of America is the product of European colonization and migrations that started in the sixteenth century. Demographically and racially, the United States, along with Canada, has become more closely related with Europe than any other nation in the New World. Today over 80 per cent of the U.S. population traces its origin to the European continent. The most numerous among the white population are Anglo-Saxons, Germans, French, and Italians. Of the rest, the people of Slavic descent comprise about 12–15 million, i.e., 6–7 per cent of the entire population. Among them the Ukrainians constitute about 1,500,000 (0.7–0.8 per cent).

### History of Ukrainian Immigration

Large-scale migration of Slavic peoples to the American continent started much later than that of western Europeans. Among the first Slavs migrating as groups to the United States were Czechs and Poles who came during the first half of the nineteenth century. In the years following the American Civil War, the southern and eastern Slavs started the exodus to the United States, and among them, in the last quarter of the century, the Ukrainians were quite numerous.

Individual Ukrainians came to the American shores long before the mass migration started. A few Ukrainian names appear in America as early as the seventeenth century. Captain John Smith, who fled from a Turkish prison by way of Ukraine and came to Jamestown, Virginia, mentions in his memoirs a physician, Lavrentey Bohoon (Bohun) who accompanied him. In 1662, the name Zaborovsky appeared in New York. The records from the United States war of independence list such Ukrainian names as Yakiv Nemyrych, James Sadovsky, Samiilo Grabovsky, among others. Also, the first United States census (1790) and the Civil War records contain some Ukrainian names (e.g., Vihovsky, Zarevych).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Russia established a colony with a fortress near San Francisco (Port Russ, 1809). Subsequently, some Russian settlers moved there from Alaska. Among these military and civilian settlers were Ukrainian Kozaks, who had been deported to Siberia. An Orthodox priest and political refugee from Ukraine, Agapius Honcharenko (1832-1916), who later became a noted public figure in California, often mentioned these Kozaks in his newspaper the *Alaska Herald*. This publication (1867–72), printed in English and Russian, contained some news from Ukraine, facts of Ukrainian Kozak history, and articles on the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko whom Honcharenko knew personally. Also, among the remnants of the so-called "Russians" in Alaska were a number of Ukrainians.

FIGURE 610. AGAPIUS HONCHARENKO

Another colorful figure among the immigrants in America was Nicholas Sudzilovsky-Russel (1850–1930), a doctor and revolutionary leader from Kiev who came to California in the 1880's and later moved to Hawaii. There he entered politics and was elected president of the first Hawaiian senate. Through his efforts virgin forest lands were allotted to the settlers, among them immigrants from Galicia. There were some forty Ukrainian families working initially as plantation laborers. Later, most of them perished from malaria.

Shortly after the Civil War a few Ukrainian immigrants appeared in America, among them Ivan Makohon (McOhon), a restaurant owner in Colorado, and George Kashnitsky, both from Galicia, and Ivan Kozub from Carpatho-Ukraine.

Mass migration to America started in the late 1870's, mostly from Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine, then under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Some of them settled on farms in New England, others went to Pennsylvania and found employment in the coal mines or in heavy industry. By 1890, there was already a constant flow of men and a few women not only from Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine but also from Bukovina.

The emigration from the Ukrainian lands under Russia was not significant in the case of ethnic Ukrainians. One larger group of persecuted Protestants in the region of Kiev, the sect of the so-called Shtundists, left their native land in the mid-1890's and, after trying to settle in Virginia, moved on to North Dakota and settled there under the Homestead Act of 1862. It was easier for Ukrainians to emigrate from the northwestern regions (Kholm, Podlachia, Volhynia), the area from which many Polish immigrants also came to the United States. By 1910 not more than 3–5 per cent of all Ukrainians in America originated from the Russian-occupied part of Ukraine.

However, the exodus of the Jewish population from the Ukrainian lands under Russia was rather conspicuous, especially in the two decades preceding World War I. Between 1897 and 1926, close to one million Jews left Ukraine for the United States and, since they came with Russian passports, U.S. immigration records listed them as "Russians." During that period the Jewish percentage of the total population of Ukraine declined from 8.3 to 5.5 per cent.

Among the principal causes of emigration from Ukraine were overpopulation, unemployment, impoverishment of the peasants, and lack of opportunities for them in urban centers. Moreover, opportunities for better earnings in the United States, actual or deliberately exaggerated in letters from emigrants or through rumors, supplied additional incentives. Large American industrial plants, particularly those in Pennsyl-

vania, on the lookout for cheap labor, were sending propaganda pamphlets to the rural areas. Various steamship agents were busy recruiting people even in the smallest villages of Western Ukraine.

At first, only the poorer peasants migrated to America. Later on, when the movement became more widespread and American dollars appeared in Ukrainian villages, the sons of more prosperous farmers and even the heads of families went overseas to seek additional income. They planned to earn several hundred dollars and then return home to enlarge their land holdings. Some made two or three crossings before the final decision to stay in America or return to Europe. Then there were some who emigrated because of religious or political persecution, particularly in tsarist Russia, while others did so to escape extended military service in the Austrian army.

Emigration from the western areas of Ukraine continued until their seizure by the USSR in 1939. In this process of Ukrainian immigration to the United States there were intermittent phases of intensive influx and virtual standstill, which mirrored both the economic conditions and socio-political causes in specific areas of Ukraine, on the one hand, and American immigration policy, on the other.

Ukrainian immigration to the United States can be divided into four phases: 1877–99, 1900–14, 1920–39, and 1947–55. During the first period, between 200,000 and 250,000 arrived. The second phase brought in some 260,000, primarily from the Ukrainian lands under Austria-Hungary, but was interrupted by World War I. As a result of immigration restrictions (the so-called national quotas), only about 15,000–20,000 Ukrainians immigrated to the United States. But after 1947, close to 85,000 Ukrainian displaced persons arrived from western Europe. These were political refugees who, along with hundreds of thousands of other east Europeans, refused to return to their homeland under Communist rule. Since 1955, over 5,000 persons have come from western Europe, South America, Poland, and Yugoslavia.

**Demographic Structure and Statistics**

It is difficult to determine the number of early Ukrainian immigrants in America. From 1877 to 1899, Ukrainians were included among emigrants from the Austro-Hungarian empire. It was only in 1899 that the U.S. Bureau of Immigration began recording people by nationality as well as by the country shown on their passports. However, because Ukrainians were often listed as Poles, Slovaks, or Hungarians by the immigration officials, the records are not reliable as regards the exact number of Ukrainians. The U.S. census also is of little help. For example, the census of 1930 listed 68,500 Ukrainians; the 1950 census shows 79,800, half of them born in Ukraine, the other half having one or both parents born there. The 1960 census records 107,000 foreign-born persons who listed Ukrainian as their mother tongue. A great majority of Ukrainian immigrants gave their place of birth as Austria, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, or Russia rather than Ukraine. This is also true of statistics regarding mother tongue ("Russian," meaning Ruthenian-Ukrainian). By contrast, the Ukrainian organization and church records for the same period show a membership of over one million.

To determine the number of Ukrainians born abroad and in the United States, it is necessary to consult other sources. The first attempts to determine the number of Ukrainians in the United States were made by the Ukrainian priests Constantine Andrukhovych and Anthony Bonchevsky, and were published in the newspaper *Svoboda* (No. 7, 1899). Bonchevsky's estimate of 200,000 in 1898 was probably too high. a more accurate estimate was made by Julian Bachynsky, who stated that before 1898 some 108,000 Ukrainians came to the United States, and during the decade

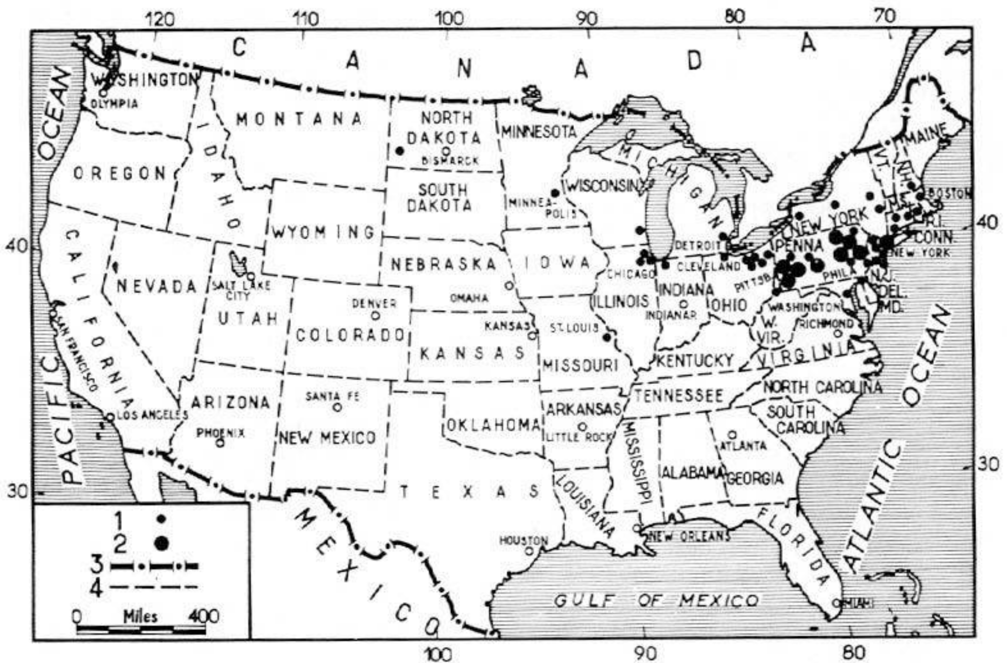



FIGURE 611. UKRAINIANS IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1914 (V. KUBIJOVYČ)
(1) One or two Ukrainian parishes; (2) ten Ukrainian parishes; (3) borders of the countries; (4) borders of states.
*Abbreviations*: Conn., Connecticut; Del., Delaware; MD., Maryland; MS., Massachusetts; N.H., New Hampshire; N.J., New Jersey; Penna.(P), Pennsylvania; Phila. (Ph.), Philadelphia; Pittsb. (Pitt.), Pittsburgh; R.I., Rhode Island; Vt., Vermont; W.Virg., West Virginia.

1899–1909 over 280,000 (a number of these made two crossings during the above period). Taking into account the natural increase of the Ukrainian population, Bachynsky estimated that in 1909 there were about 470,000 Ukrainians in the United States, not counting Ukrainian Jews. Church records of 1914 reveal the number of Ukrainian Catholics alone to be about 500,000.

Among more recent statistics are those of Yaroslav Chyzh, who in 1935 estimated that there were 656,000 Ukrainians in 796 communities, and 50,000–100,000 scattered outside the surveyed areas. In 1936, Wasyl Halich recorded 901,000 Ukrainians or their descendants in the United States. Volodymyr Kubijovych's estimate for the same period shows 700,000–800,000. In the light of these estimates plus the natural increase and the latest wave of immigration, the present number of Ukrainians in the United States, both foreign and American born, can be placed between 1,250,000 and 1,500,000. Church records (1965) help to establish a similar estimate (Table I).

It should be noted that some of the ethnic church communities have a tendency to overestimate the number of their faithful (see Table I (*b*)). On the other hand, it is almost impossible to give even approximate estimates of those who belong to various Protestant denominations or attend Catholic churches of the Latin rite. There is also a small percentage of Ukrainians who do not have any church affiliation. As the church statistics show, of the total number of Ukrainians in the United States approximately 50 per cent are Catholics, 45 per cent Orthodox, and the rest Protestants.

In terms of regional analysis, only

TABLE I

| | |
|---|---|
| Ukrainian Catholic dioceses (3) | 280,000 |
| Catholic dioceses of Byzantine rite (3) (descendants from Carpatho-Ukraine) | 300,000[a] |
| Ukrainian Orthodox Church affiliations (3) | 135,000 |
| Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Church | 102,000 |
| Ukrainians in Russian Orthodox Churches (3) | 400,000[b] |
| Ukrainian Protestants | 50,000 (?) |
| Ukrainians in the Catholic Church of the Latin rite | 50,000 (?) |
| TOTAL | 1,317,000 |

[a]From the total number of 316,000, several thousands should be deducted for the faithful of Slovak, Hungarian, and Croatian ethnic origin.

[b]This is a questionable number, not only in regard to Ukrainians in the Russian Orthodox groups but also to the general number of faithful in those churches as shown in their publications.

about 15 per cent came from the Ukrainian lands under the former Russian empire; the greatest number came from Galicia, Bukovina, and Carpatho-Ukraine, formerly under Austro-Hungarian rule. In all, close to 50 per cent of Ukrainian Americans trace their origin to Galicia, over 30 per cent to Carpatho-Ukraine, and the rest to Bukovina, Volhynia, and eastern Ukrainian lands.

The data on demographic features of the Ukrainian immigrant population in the United States are not easily available. With regard to age structure, 94 out of 100 persons were in the 14 to 44 age bracket in 1904. Each wave of new immigrants consisted mainly of young and middle-aged males. The ratio of men and women until 1914 was three to

FIGURE 612. UKRAINIANS IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1958
(V. KUBIJOVYČ, T. OLESIUK)
(1) One of two Ukrainian parishes; (2) ten Ukrainian parishes; (3) borders of the countries; (4) borders of states.
*Abbreviations*: Conn., Connecticut; Del., Delaware; MD., Maryland; MS., Massachusetts; N.H., New Hampshire; N.J. New Jersey; Penna. (P), Pennsylvania; Phila. (Ph.), Philadelphia; Pittsb. (Pitt.), Pittsburgh; R.I., Rhode Island; Vt., Vermont; W.Virg., West Virginia. (See also references on the map "Ukrainians in northeastern United States.")

one. This abnormal structure had two results: (1) a number of men failed to establish families because of the absence of women of their own nationality, thus affecting adversely the natural growth of Ukrainians; and (2) a certain number married women of non-Ukrainian background. This again created difficult problems of adjustment. The fact that the young generation was reared in comparatively large Ukrainian families, coupled with restrictions on immigration since World War I, led to gradual normalization of the Ukrainian demographic structure. In the latest phase of immigration (after 1947), there were also more men than women, but there was a slightly higher number of people of advanced age.

Presently, the majority of Ukrainian Americans are American-born, with a ratio to foreign-born of about four to one. Since there are many American-born persons of ethnically mixed parentage (particularly in recent decades), the number of "pure" Ukrainians in America reaches 80 to 85 per cent of the total number of Americans of Ukrainian background. Recent research in nineteen Ukrainian parishes in New York and Pennsylvania revealed that 32 per cent of the parishioners in 1960 were born outside of the United States. More than half of all Ukrainians are still first or second generation, although the ethnic community already contains a strong segment from the third and even fourth generation. This phenomenon has many psychological, social, and cultural implications for the entire group.

**Geographical Distribution**

Since their first arrival in the United States the Ukrainians have been settling in the northeastern part of the United States, i.e., in the industrial regions. Immigration records for the years 1899–1930 indicate that for every 100 Ukrainians, 43 listed Pennsylvania as their destination, 23 New York, 11 New Jersey, 4 Ohio, 4 Illinois, 3 Connecticut, 3 Massachusetts, 2 Michigan, and 7 other states. It appears that 77 per cent of the immigrants settled in the first three mentioned states. They were attracted to such distant urban centers as Chicago, Minneapolis, and Detroit, and to the farm areas of North Dakota. Despite considerable interstate movement of population, a great majority of Ukrainians still reside in Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey. In 1914, these three states had 76 per cent of the Ukrainian Catholic parishes. The bulk (58 per cent) of all Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox parishes in the United States was still located in the same states fifty years later (1965).

In more recent years new Ukrainian communities developed in the south (Miami, Houston), in the west (Denver, Omaha, Phoenix), and on the west coast (Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Seattle). Small enclaves of Ukrainians can be found in other cities throughout the country. The process of dispersion to many parts of America parallels the process of their concentration in large metropolitan areas. This can be illustrated by the fact that in 1950–60 half of the new Ukrainian parishes (20 Catholic and 16 Orthodox) were established outside of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, the traditional states of Ukrainian settlement.

The two population movements mentioned above can be explained by the tendency of second and third generation Ukrainians to leave for economic and social reasons the places of traditional settlement. Recent newcomers manifest greater mobility and easier adjustment to big city economy and urban living. Among all Ukrainian immigrants the Carpatho-Ukrainian group proved to be the least mobile. Half of this group continues to live in Pennsylvania, while one-fourth lives in New York and New Jersey.

The main Ukrainian concentrations in-

clude: (1) the largest and the oldest—eastern Pennsylvania cities and towns (Shamokin, Scranton, Hazleton, Minersville, and others); (2) western Pennsylvania and Pittsburgh (over 15,000 Ukrainians) and vicinity; in both centers the Carpatho-Ukrainians prevail; (3) Philadelphia (40,000) with neighboring towns; (4) New York (60,000), presently the largest concentration, and a group of industrial cities in northern New Jersey (Newark, Jersey City, Elizabeth, Trenton, and others); (5) northeastern part of Ohio with Cleveland (30,000), Lorain, and Youngstown; (6) metropolitan area of Detroit (35,000); (7) the largest westernmost concentration of Ukrainians—Chicago and suburbs (45,000).

Less numerous but still important Ukrainian communities can be found in Connecticut (Hartford, New Haven); upper New York (Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, and Utica); Massachusetts (Boston); Minnesota (the twin cities Minneapolis-St. Paul); Colorado (Denver); California (Los Angeles); Washington, D.C.; and agricultural towns in North Dakota (some of them with Ukrainian names, e.g., Kiev, Ukraine).

In the last two decades, it has been the trend among Ukrainian Americans to settle in large industrial centers of the east and midwest. Consequently, small Ukrainian communities are decreasing in size and even disappearing. There is not only a numerical increase in large city communities, but the dynamics of their internal life is becoming more intensive than in small towns.

It can be stated that over 90 per cent of Ukrainians in the United States settled in urban centers (with over 25,000 inhabitants), while the majority of those who immigrated to Canada or to South

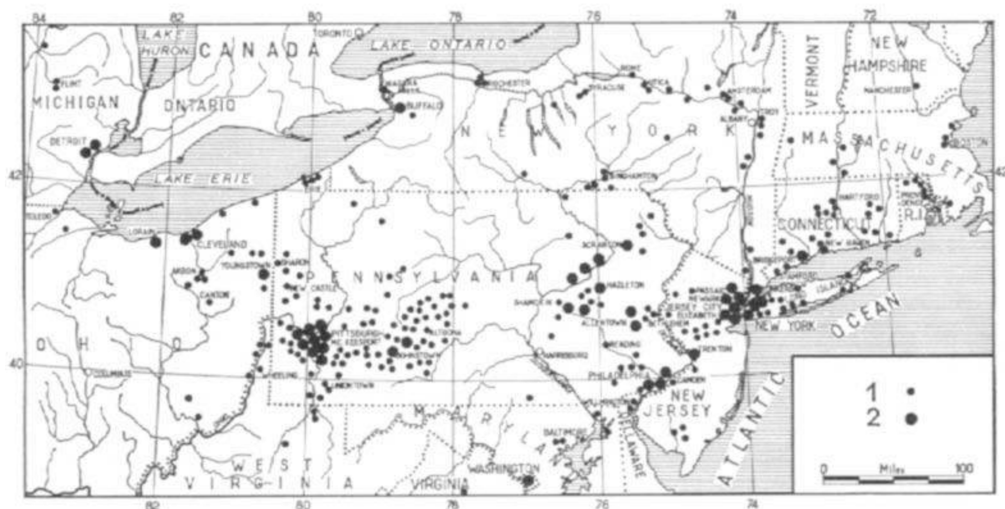



FIGURE 613. UKRAINIANS IN NORTHEASTERN UNITED STATES IN 1958
(V. KUBIJOVYČ, T. OLESIUK)

(1) One Ukrainian parish; (2) two to five Ukrainian parishes. The distribution of Ukrainians in the United States is given according to the distribution of their churches (parishes). On the map for 1914, all Greek Catholic parishes are identified as Ukrainian. On the 1958 map, the Ukrainian parishes are differentiated as follows: (*a*) Catholic, of the Philadelphia and Munhall Metropolitan sees; (*b*) Orthodox, including the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of U.S.A., the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in America, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in exile, the *Soborno-Pravna* Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church, the Carpatho-Ruthenian Orthodox Church in America; (*c*) Ukrainian Protestants. (Although the number of Ukrainian parishes has increased since 1958, there has been no marked change in their distribution)

America settled in grain-producing areas. Even now these countries show a large segment of Ukrainian farmers.

With the exception of a few villages in North Dakota, Ukrainian Americans do not constitute a compact population or majority in a given locality. Even in Pennsylvania, where their number is relatively high, they constitute only 3–4 per cent of the entire population of the state. Among the Slavic immigrants they are the second largest group (after the Poles who number approximately five to six million).

In urban centers Ukrainians live in low and middle class neighborhoods. They are generally mixed with other ethnic groups. In some sections they even constitute a majority; usually, there are at least a few "Ukrainian" blocks close to their churches. As a rule, other east or south European groups reside in the same neighborhoods: Poles, Slovaks, Hungarians, Italians, and Jews. Recently, the Negroes and the Spanish-speaking minorities have moved into these sections. As the economic and social status of Ukrainians improves, they move to better middle class neighborhoods, thus gradually emptying their ethnic "ghettos." This tendency weakens the cohesiveness of the Ukrainian ethnic group whose internal dynamics depends largely on the existence of the ethnic "ghetto."

**Occupations and Professions**

Because they lacked skills and knowledge of the English language, the early Ukrainian immigrants performed the most difficult and relatively low-paying jobs. They worked in mines, factories, and on the farms. Farming would have been the most suitable occupation since 97 per cent of them had been employed in agriculture in their native land. They lacked the funds to invest in farming in order to compete with the already prosperous American farmers, and the wages of agricultural laborers were low. Consequently, in contrast to their fellow immigrants in western Canada, only some of these essentially rural people remained in agriculture. Still, there are scattered Ukrainian farms in New England, New York, New Jersey, Michigan, Wisconsin, and North Dakota. Among the farmers of Virginia and the Dakotas many trace their origins to the Kiev region whose population was strongly attached to the land.

Until World War I the bulk of Ukrainian immigrants worked in the coal mines of eastern Pennsylvania (Shenandoah, Shamokin, Mount Carmel, Olyphant, Scranton, and other smaller towns). Others worked on the railroads, in oil refineries, construction, textiles (women), and the food industry.

In larger cities many men worked as aides to skilled workers and thus mastered a trade. Young men and women often found employment in restaurants, hotels, grocery stores, and butcher shops. Some learned window cleaning, and before long it became a popular and prosperous occupation among Ukrainians. According to the U.S. immigration records, in the decade 1900–10 Ukrainian immigrants were occupied as follows: 32.3 per cent in farming (as farmers or farm laborers), 37.4 per cent in industry (unskilled workers), and only 1.4 per cent in skilled jobs or individual businesses.

After the immigrants became better adjusted, a portion of them went into business. Tavern-keeping became popular, with grocery stores and meat mar-

FIGURE 614. UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENT IN BELFIELD, NORTH DAKOTA (1966). THE CHURCH CAN BE SEEN IN THE FOREGROUND; FARMLAND SURROUNDS THE SETTLEMENT

kets, small clothing, and small neighborhood stores following in that order. Some immigrants started specialized farming (poultry and dairy farms or gardening). Others became home builders, tailors, shoe repairmen, or tried to produce the typical handicrafts of their homeland (furriery, cooperage, carpentry). Not all of the crafts were profitable because industrial competition was keen. The second generation proved to be fairly successful in small individual enterprises and in mastering new skills. Like other Slavs, Ukrainians worked hard, displayed endurance, ingenuity, and enterprising qualities. They led a frugal life, bought houses, improved their economic status, provided education to their children, and helped their relatives in Ukraine.

There were very few professional men and women among the early Ukrainian immigrants. Among those who came in 1899–1910, only 104 persons had higher or secondary education (clergymen, teachers, journalists, and physicians). More educated persons began to arrive after 1920. Along with the group of educated American-born Ukrainians, they became the leaders of the Ukrainian community in America. But the proportion of professionals was still very low; in the 1930's there were in the Ukrainian community (excluding the Carpatho-Ukrainian and pro-Russian groups) 25 physicians, 12 dentists, 40 lawyers, 20 engineers, several university professors, and some 200 public school teachers.

The situation improved considerably after 1939. The second and third generations produced more professional men and women. In addition, among the political émigrés who came to the United States after World War II were a considerable number of intelligentsia, professional people, and scholars. By 1965, there were some 1,200 Ukrainian physicians in the United States, 700 engineers, close to 150 lawyers, almost 2,000 school teachers, 250 college and university professors, nearly 200 librarians, and over 100 veterinarians. In addition, a large number worked in business and financial institutions and some were employed as civil servants. Although the professional structure of the Ukrainian community has attained an adequate level, in some respects Ukrainians are still behind such groups as the Jews, the Germans, the Greeks, and the Armenians.

## RELIGION AND CHURCHES

The church was the main factor in the life of the Ukrainian immigrants in America. The churches and the parish organizations were the first to determine their group identity. The Ukrainian case differs from that of other groups in that the Ukrainian immigrants did not find in America a church organization of their own to provide them with protection and spiritual assistance. They had to organize their church life from the very foundation. First and foremost the Ukrainian immigrant devoted himself and his material resources to this end.

According to the immigration records for 1880–90, the bulk of the Ukrainian immigrants listed their religion as Greek Catholic, the dominant religion in Western Ukraine. Before they organized their own churches in America, they attended Polish or Slovak Roman Catholic churches already in existence in many immigrant centers. Because they understood the language of their Slavic kin, many Ukrainians remained in the respective ethnic groups. Later, however, Ukrainians began to organize their own churches and brought over priests from Galicia or Carpatho-Ukraine.

In 1884, the Metropolitan of Lviv, Sylvester Cardinal Sembratovych, appointed the first priest, Ivan Voliansky (1857–1926), for the Ukrainians in the United States. He established the first Ukrainian parish in America—St. Michael's Church in Shenandoah, Pa. Next followed the establishment of parishes in Hazleton, Olyphant, Kingston, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., Jersey City, N.J., and Minneapolis, Minn. The first priest from

FIGURE 615. ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN JOHNSTOWN, PA.

Carpatho-Ukraine was Alexander Dziubai.

By 1890, Ukrainian immigrants had ten priests. New parishes were organized, new churches and chapels were built, often with one priest in charge of several of them. In the same year, these clergymen held their first council. The most urgent problem was their dependence upon Latin rite bishops. The American bishops had no understanding of Ukrainian problems and were often misinformed by Polish clergymen. They tried to prevent Ukrainian priests from performing their religious duties because the latter were married. In 1890, the Roman Curia approved such prohibition contrary to the original Union agreements of 1596 between the Ukrainian bishops and the Holy See.

This act of the Roman Curia caused much dissatisfaction among the clergy and the faithful. The immediate result was that some married priests returned to their homeland, but a few priests and their parishioners joined the Russian Orthodox Church. The first one to take such a step in 1891 was Alexander Toth, a native of the Priashiv diocese and an influential priest in Minneapolis. His example was immediately followed by 13 Ukrainian Catholic parishes with over 7,000 members. Prior to and during World War I the proselytizing by the Russian Orthodox Church assumed greater proportions. In 1917, the Russian Orthodox Church in the United States already had 169 churches, attended mostly by Ukrainian faithful. In all, within a quarter of a century (1891–1917), 163 Catholic parishes and over 200,000 Ukrainians joined the Russian Orthodox Church.

This movement was financed by the Tsarist government and the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg. The objectives were political as well as proselytizing; to Russify the immigrants from the Austrian part of Ukraine and thus neutralize the increasingly anti-Russian attitudes in the homeland and of the immigrants. Most active in this movement were both Russophile priests from the Russian-occupied Ukraine and some individuals from Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine; even a few Ukrainian nationalist-minded priests were involved.

The Ukrainian clergy which remained loyal to the Catholic Church were torn by internal strife. The priests from Carpatho-Ukraine, who soon outnumbered those from Galicia, opposed the ideas of national consciousness disseminated by the Galician clergy among the Ukrainian immigrants. Politically and culturally, the priests from Carpatho-Ukraine identified themselves as Magyarophiles, and spoke and preached in Hungarian or Slovak. Their attitudes towards the immigrants reflected the feudal-paternalistic mentality and manners of Hungarian society. The majority of the Galician clergy, on the other hand, shared democratic and populist views. They sought to instill Ukrainian national consciousness in the immigrant masses through the promotion of cultural and social activities. Thus the Galician priests had to struggle against both the Galician brand of Russophilism and the Magyarophilism of the Carpatho-Ukrainian clergy.

The radicalism of the nationally conscious elements in the Ukrainian community among the clergy and the secular intelligentsia, directed against their heterodox countrymen, especially the conservative part of the clergy, contributed to the development of a dynamic

Ukrainian ethnic group in the United States. On the other hand, it also led to alienation, if not outright opposition, of a considerable segment of immigrants to the Ukrainian national movement. Some even became leaders of many anti-Ukrainian activities. This initial fact in the life of the Ukrainian immigrants had far-reaching implications for the entire ethnic community in the United States. In effect, it resulted in the formation of two, or even three (taking into account the Russian-Orthodox group), communities within the same ethnic mass of Ukrainian people.

Thus ended the brief period of unity in the Ukrainian religious community in the United States (the 1890's). The Russian Orthodox Church gained most as a result of internal strife. But after 1919, several Ukrainian Orthodox church organizations came into existence in America. For various reasons many Ukrainians joined the Protestant denominations.

### The Ukrainian Catholic Church

Beginning in 1890 the number of Ukrainian clergy gradually increased. There were 80,000 registered Ukrainian Catholic parishioners at that time. In 1894, there were already 30 priests in the United States (26 from Carpatho-Ukraine and 4 from Galicia).

Sharp conflicts among the clergy and the faithful generated by territorial, political, or purely personal issues accompanied the development of this church. However, the struggle for autonomy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in America consumed most of their energy, for the Ukrainians resented the interference of the Latin rite bishops in their church affairs. The American Catholic hierarchy, mostly of Irish and German descent, favored complete ritual and linguistic uniformity among Catholic immigrants. It did not tolerate the ethnic pluralism which was particularly cherished and defended by Slavic communities. (This trend was identified with the "Americanism" within the Catholic Church in the United States, with Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul as one of its leading advocates.)

FIGURE 616. UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL OF IMMACULATE CONCEPTION IN PHILADELPHIA (architect J. K. Jastremsky)

The Ukrainian church communities of Byzantine rite strongly opposed all attempts to curtail their traditional autonomy and to interfere with their ritual practices. They asked for the appointment of their own bishop, insisted on retaining the married clergy, and strongly protested the administrative interference of Latin bishops in the affairs of the Ukrainian parishes. When the Holy See noticed that many Ukrainians joined the Orthodox Church, it decided to make concessions.

At the proposal of Archbishop Sebastiano Martinelli, Apostolic Delegate in the United States, a synod of Ukrainian priests met in 1898 and elected Rev. Nicefor Khanat as vicar and delegate to all Latin rite bishops. He did not hold this office long because of a disagreement among the Carpatho-Ukrainian clergy over the diocese from which the representative of the clergy should be elected (Mukachiv or Priashiv). A number of separate synods took place, various associations of priests were formed, such as the Brotherhood of Greek Catholic Priests in America (mostly priests from the Mukachiv diocese) and the SS. Cyril and Methodius Clergy Association (from other dioceses). The most influential or-

ganization was the Association of Ruthenian Church Communities in the United States and Canada which had both clergy and lay membership. The longest in existence (1901–7), it was active until the arrival of the first Ukrainian bishop in the United States. The head of this group was the Rev. Ivan Konstankevych (1859–1918) who presided over the so-called Sacerdotal Council (Dukhovna Rada).

Along with the efforts to establish the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States, serious work was undertaken by the same clergy to raise the level of national consciousness among Ukrainian immigrants. A group of young priests played a remarkable role. They had prepared themselves for this activity as seminarians in Lviv where they had founded the American Circle. Its members were Nestor Dmytriv, Ivan Konstankevych, Anthony Bonchevsky, and Ivan Ardan, all young idealists who were determined to help the Ukrainian immigrants in their newly adopted homeland. They organized new parishes and fraternal societies, published books and newspapers, and led the movement for ecclesiastic autonomy.

An important landmark in this movement was the church convention in Harrisburg (1902) which demanded unequivocally the creation of a separate Ukrainian Catholic diocese in America. In the same year the Holy See appointed an Apostolic visitator, the Rev. Andrew Hodobai, a canon from the Priashiv diocese, for all Byzantine rite parishes in the United States. He was a favorite of the Hungarian government and himself a Magyarophile. This appointment generated as little enthusiasm among the immigrants from Galicia as it did among those from the Mukachiv diocese in Carpatho-Ukraine. Ultimately (in 1905) he had to leave his office.

At last, in 1907, the Ukrainians got their own bishop in the United States, primarily through the efforts of Archbishop Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky of Lviv. He persuaded the Vatican to take this step against the pressure of the American bishops. Stephen Soter Ortynsky (1866–1916) thus became the first Ukrainian Catholic bishop in America. A Basilian monk from Galicia, he was an energetic church leader dedicated to his flock. He did not, however, enjoy full diocesan jurisdiction in the United States. His status was that of vicar general of each Latin rite bishop in whose territory Ukrainian Catholics happened to live. This was wholly unsatisfactory to the Ukrainians who demanded the creation of an independent eparchy. They also urged revocation of the papal decrees on the celibacy of the Ukrainian clergy and of the prohibition of infant confirmation. Finally, in 1913, the Vatican freed the Ukrainian bishop from all dependency on the local hierarchy. Other restrictions were also removed *via facti* in order to mollify the restless Ukrainian immigrants.

Bishop Ortynsky, in an effort to reconcile all internal factions, succeeded in establishing better relations with the secular leadership, particularly with the

FIGURE 617.
BISHOP SOTER STEPHEN ORTYNSKY

FIGURE 618.
METROPOLITAN CONSTANTINE BOHACHEVSKY

Carpatho-Ukrainian immigrants who had been somewhat reserved towards him at the beginning. However, because of his tendency to extend church influence over cultural and social affairs, he antagonized some leaders and the radical intelligentsia. Still, in a short period, he

managed to restore administrative order in many parishes, organized a number of institutions in his see in Philadelphia, and raised considerably the prestige of his church. Bishop Ortynsky's untimely death in 1916 interrupted a new phase of consolidated activity of all Ukrainian Catholics under unified spiritual leadership.

After his death the Holy See appointed two Apostolic administrators: the Rev. Peter Poniatyshyn (1877–1960) for parishes with predominantly Galician immigrants, and the Rev. Gabriel Martiak for those who came from Carpatho-Ukraine. This ecclesiastic division of the Ukrainian community on a regional basis was made permanent in 1924 when the Holy See nominated two separate bishops for these groups: Constantine Bohachevsky (1884–1961) for the Galician Ukrainians (with the exarchal see in Philadelphia) and Basil Takach (1879–1948) for the Carpatho-Ukrainians, including a few Hungarian and Croatian parishes of Byzantine rite (exarchate of Pittsburgh).

Both exarchates lived through difficult periods. A pro-Orthodox movement was revived among both groups—the Galician Ukrainians and those from Carpatho-Ukraine (who preferred to be called Carpatho-Ruthenians). For the most part, the causes which precipitated the prewar exodus also compelled many to leave the Catholic Church: the introduction of compulsory celibacy, disputes over church property (e.g., whether it should be deeded to the bishop or to the church committee), efforts to reduce the lay authority in the parish, etc. Moreover, both bishops had serious conflicts with the secular organizations of their exarchates. Only in the late 1930's did the conflicts subside and the religious life of the Ukrainian Americans become relatively normal. The number of faithful in both exarchates, despite many defections, still exceeded half a million (553,000). Both bishops devoted their efforts to the organization of parishes, to the strengthening of discipline, and to the development of schools, a religious press, and charities. They were aided in this work by several monastic orders.

In 1942, Ambrose Senyshyn, OSBM (*b.* 1903), who made his residence in Stamford, Conn., the site of several church institutions, was appointed auxiliary to Bishop Bohachevsky. In 1946, the Rev. Daniel Ivancho was consecrated as auxiliary to Bishop Takach whom he succeeded in 1948. Relieved of his duties in 1955, he was, in turn, succeeded by Bishop Nicholas Elko (*b.* 1909). The Rev. Stephen Kocisko (*b.* 1915) was appointed auxiliary to Bishop Elko in 1956. The Philadelphia exarchate was divided in 1956, thus creating another see in Stamford, Conn., headed by Bishop Senyshyn. In the same year, the Rev. Joseph Schmondiuk (*b.* 1912) was appointed auxiliary bishop to the exarch of Philadelphia. On July 10, 1958, the Holy See created a new Ukrainian Catholic ecclesiastic province from the Philadelphia and Stamford exarchates, elevating them to the status of eparchies (full-fledged dioceses). Thus, Archbishop Bohachevsky became the first Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan in the United States. After Archbishop Bohachevsky's death in 1961, Bishop Senyshyn succeeded him as Archbishop and Metropolitan, and Bishop Schmondiuk was made ordinary of the Stamford diocese. At the same time, a new diocese was created for the midwest and western states with the see in Chicago, headed by Bishop Jaroslav Gabro (*b.* 1919). In 1963 the Pittsburgh exarchate was divided into two eparchies, one with the diocesan see in Pittsburgh, and the other in Passaic, N.J. (headed by Bishop Kocisko). Bishop Elko served as the eparch of Pittsburgh until 1967, when

FIGURE 619. METROPOLITAN AMBROSE SENYSHYN

he resigned and was relieved of his duties. Rome then appointed the Rev. Edward Rosack as administrator. A year later, Bishop Kocisko became the eparch of Pittsburgh. In 1969, the Pittsburgh eparchy was divided into two separate eparchies: the Archdiocese of Munhall, Pa., under Archbishop Stephen J. Kocisko as Metropolitan, and the Eparchy of Parma, Ohio, under the newly named Bishop Emil J. Mihalik. The third eparchy, that of Passaic, N.J., is presently headed by Bishop Michael J. Dudick.

The Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy of Philadelphia extends east from the western boundaries of Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi, excluding New York state and the New England states which constitute the Stamford eparchy. To the west of this line extends the jurisdiction of the St. Nicholas eparchy in Chicago. The three Ukrainian dioceses embrace the immigrant Catholic faithful of the Byzantine rite and their descendants from Galicia and Bukovina. On the other hand, the Archdiocese of Munhall, and the eparchies of Passaic and Parma, Byzantine rite, serve the immigrants and their descendants from Carpatho-Ukraine.

In matters of rite and worship, all Ukrainian Byzantine-rite Catholic dioceses maintain, in principle, the heritage of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Ukraine. However, in the last few decades some peculiarities have developed similar to Latin rite practices. For one, celibacy of the priests has been introduced as a rule and the only married priests are those ordained outside the United States. The liturgical language was until recently exclusively Old Church Slavonic. The Ukrainian vernacular has been used in catechism and sermons from the very beginning. For the same purpose English was introduced in some parishes, depending on the number of American-born members. On the whole, in the three Ukrainian eparchies, Old Church Slavonic prevails as the liturgical language. In the three Carpatho-Ukranian eparchies English prevails. In the latter (since the mid-1950's) English was introduced into the liturgy without the express permission of Rome (legalized by Rome in 1965), and used along with Old Church Slavonic. At the same time the liturgy was abridged. A partial use of the Ukrainian vernacular was introduced in the three Ukrainian Catholic eparchies in 1965 as a result of a decision of the Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops meeting in Rome.

There is no evidence that the number of Ukrainian Catholics in the United States has grown in recent decades. In 1947, their number was given as 593,000; in 1964, it was almost the same, although the arrival of 55,000 new immigrants of the same faith should have indicated an increase. Intermarriage with other religious and/or ethnic groups (the percentage of intermarriages is now 35–40 per cent) may be considered as one of the chief leakages whereby Latin rite Catholics and Protestants are the gainers. Only occasionally will intermarriage bring the couple to the Ukrainian parish. Likewise, moving from the traditional places of Ukrainian settlement (particularly from Pennsylvania) to locations which do not have a Ukrainian church is an important factor. There are also many Ukrainian Catholics who attend church but are not registered members.

On the whole, however, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States prospers and is presently well organized. Table II illustrates its standing in 1966.

There are various religious congregations and communities. The Basilian Fathers (OSBM), a purely oriental congregation, are among the most numerous. Also active are oriental branches of the Redemptorists (CSSR), Benedictines (OSB), Franciscan Fathers (OFM), and the Franciscan Fathers of the Atonement (SA). The Servants of Mary Immaculate and the Sisters of the Order of St. Basil the Great are the most influential orders of nuns among the Ukrainian Catholics. There are also small groups of other

TABLE II

STATISTICAL DATA ON THE BYZANTINE RITE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES FOR 1966[a]

| Diocese | Parishes | Missions, stations, chapels | Priests (rel. pr.) | Sisters | Seminaries, scholasticates (students) | Schools and students: Colleges (students) | Schools and students: High schools | Schools and students: Elementary | Faithful |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ukr. Cath. Archeparchy of Philadelphia | 99 | 34 | 143 (10) | 219 | 1 ( 34) | 1 (232) | 1 ( 285) | 19 ( 4,119) | 164,033 |
| Ukr. Cath. diocese of Stamford | 57 | 19 | 103 (25) | 76 | 3 ( 40) | 1 ( 32) | 3 ( 232) | 10 ( 2,406) | 87,620 |
| Diocese of St. Nicholas in Chicago for Ukrainians | 26 | 9 | 44 (10) | 22 | 0 ( 17)[b] | — | 1 ( 207) | 4 ( 1,702) | 29,600 |
| Byzantine rite diocese of Pittsburgh | 121 | 43 | 147 (16) | 150 | 1 ( 54) | — | 3 ( 795) | 20 ( 3,789) | 223,923 |
| Byzantine rite eparchy of Passaic | 75 | 16 | 102 (14) | 54 | 0 ( 43)[b] | — | — | 13 ( 2,827) | 96,273 |
| TOTAL | 376 | 121 | 539 (75) | 521 | 5 (188) | 2 (264) | 8 (1519) | 66 (14,843) | 601,449 |

[a]Data from the *Official Catholic Directory*, Washington, 1967.
[b]In other diocesan seminaries.

sister communities: Benedictine Sisters, Daughters of Divine Charity, Sisters of Christ the Teacher, Sisters of the Mother of God, and Sisters of the Sacred Heart.

Candidates for priesthood are trained in two diocesan seminaries, St. Josaphat's Seminary in Washington, D.C., and the Byzantine Catholic Seminary of SS. Cyril and Methodius in Munhall, Pa.; there is also one small seminary and two scholasticates. Some candidates for priesthood receive their education in Latin rite seminaries. Two Ukrainian dioceses operate two junior colleges: Manor Junior College for women in Jenkintown, Pa. (affiliated with the Catholic University of America), and St. Basil's College for boys in Stamford.

FIGURE 620. CHANCERY OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC DIOCESE IN STAMFORD, CONN. (In the foreground, buildings of the seminary; in the background, the bishop's residence which also houses the Ukrainian Museum and Library)

Various organizations for men and women, as well as societies separately organized for youth and children, exist on the parish level. Some of them have established their diocesan unions. Catholic newspapers and journals, both in Ukrainian and English, are published in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh (see Book Publishing and the Press). Ukrainian Catholics also have a number of schools on the secondary and elementary level (see Table II, and the subsection on Education).

## Orthodox Church and the Ukrainians

The number of Orthodox faithful among the early immigrants was insignificant. They came from Bukovina (then under Austria) and from the Ukrainian territories under Russia. As a rule they joined the already existing Russian Orthodox Church of America. In time, the Ukrainians made up the bulk of this religious body in the United States. The three main phases in the adoption of Orthodoxy by the Ukrainian Catholics were as follows: (*a*) in the course of the struggle against Latin bishops (1891–1905); (*b*) during the years of friction between the laiety and their bishop (1910–13); and (*c*) when many parishes left the Ukrainian Catholic Church and joined the Russian Church or founded their own independent churches (1923–9).

There was another conversion movement among Carpatho-Ukrainians in 1929–35 motivated more or less by the same reasons. In addition to religious-ritual, disciplinary, and church-organizational disputes, as well as personal cleavages, there were strong political undercurrents (Russophilism).

The Russian Orthodox Church in America had more Ukrainian members than Russian, although most of the bishops were either Russians or Ukrainians who considered themselves Russian. Moreover, the majority of the priests came from Russia. Since the Russian cultural climate did not satisfy many Ukrainians, some of them returned to the Catholic fold. To counteract this trend the Russian hierarchy consecrated a former Catholic priest, Alexander Dziubai, as bishop (1916). He soon left the Orthodox Church, however, and thus ended the era of concessions to the Ukrainians. Still, the name of this Orthodox body in the United States reveals the background of the major part of its believers (the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America).

In the 1900's, the head of the Sacerdotal Council of the Ukrainian Catholics in the United States contacted the Holy Synod in Russia regarding the transfer of Ukrainian Catholic churches under

FIGURE 621. ST. ANDREW'S CHURCH-MONUMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH OF U.S.A. AT SOUTH BOUND BROOK, N.J. (ARCHITECT G. KODAK)

Orthodox jurisdiction. The Council asked that the Synod grant autonomy to the Ukrainian Church, including the use of the name Ukrainian Orthodox Church in America. The Council also requested a Ukrainian hierarchy. This request was turned down by the Synod, and thus the whole plan failed to materialize. In 1915, a group of dissatisfied Ukrainians in Chicago who sought independence from both Rome and St. Petersburg organized their own Independent People's Church, headed by a Catholic priest, the Rev. Gregory Khomytsky.

Under the influence of the movement for church autocephaly in Ukraine (independent since 1918, see p. 168), a number of Ukrainian Orthodox parishes were organized in the United States. In 1920 a Ukrainian national religious convention which founded an independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the United States, was held in New York. It elected as administrator the highly educated Orthodox priest from Bukovina, the Rev. Nicholas Kopachuk. Soon this church organization proclaimed its unity with the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAPTs) in Ukraine. In 1924, the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Rada in Kiev appointed Archbishop John Theodorovich (*b.* 1887) as administrator of the new religious body in the United States. The arrival of the Orthodox bishop in America had a significant effect on Ukrainians. The number of new parishes grew rapidly. At the beginning, Archbishop Theodorovich administered only 11 churches, but by 1932 there were 32 of them with 25 priests.

Almost simultaneously another movement towards Orthodoxy started among Ukrainian Catholics. Its initiators, however, did not join the already existing Ukrainian Orthodox Church, now called the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, because of the canonical disagreement concerning the validity of Archbishop Theodorovich's episcopal consecration (see p. 204). In 1926 this new group called a convention in Allentown, Pa., where the American Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was established, with the Rev. Joseph Pelekhovych as administrator. Subsequently, at a synod in New York in 1931, this group selected as its bishop a Catholic priest from Galicia, the Rev. Joseph Zhuk (1872–1934), former rector of the theological seminary in Lviv. He had been duly consecrated by the patriarch of Constantinople in 1932. It was also at this time that the name of the church was changed to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in America (Ukraïns'ka Pravoslavna Tserkva v Amerytsi). Bishop Zhuk was succeeded by Bishop Bohdan Shpylka (1892–1965), consecrated in 1937 and later elevated to titular Metropolitan.

FIGURE 622. METROPOLITAN BOHDAN SHPYLKA

The two Ukrainian Orthodox church

groups attempted to unite in 1948 at a conference in Allentown which also considered Archbishop Mstyslaw Skrypnyk, newly arrived from Europe, as prospective head of the united church. This, however, did not result in a lasting union because Bishop Shpylka and some of his parishes refused to join with the other group. Nevertheless, this move greatly strengthened the church headed by Archbishop Theodorovich, who in the meantime had received canonical confirmation of his consecration from the exarch of the Syrian Church. A church synod in New York in 1950 constituted the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of USA (Ukraïns'ka Pravoslavna Tserkva v Spoluchenykh Shtatakh Ameryky) as follows: Metropolitan Theodorovich became its head, Archbishop Skrypnyk (*b.* 1898), head of the Consistory and next in charge, Archbishop

FIGURE 623. METROPOLITAN JOHN THEODOROVICH

FIGURE 624. ARCHBISHOP MSTYSLAW SKRYPNYK

Volodymyr Malets (1890–1967), Archbishop Hennadii Shyprykevych (*b.* 1892).

In the late 1940's only some of Archbishop Shpylka's parishes joined the church headed by Archbishop Theodorovich. Archbishop Shpylka continued to head a separate church organization with several parishes in the United States and Canada. Archbishop Shyprykevych joined this church temporarily in 1964. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church in America is administered as a part of the Greek Orthodox exarchate in the Americas and is subordinated to the patriarch of Constantinople. Since 1967 this Church has been headed by Bishop Andrew Kushchak (*b.* 1902).

As the new immigrants arrived after World War II, some of them created other Orthodox church organizations. Established in 1951 was the Holy Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in exile (Ukraïns'ka Avtokefal'na Pravoslavna Tserkva v ekzyli). It assumed definitive canonical organization in 1954 and accepted the jurisdiction of the Constantinople patriarchate. The head of the Church is Archbishop Palladii Vydybida-Rudenko (*b.* 1891). Archbishop Ihor Huba (1885–1966) also belonged to this church organization.

Still another Orthodox group is the so-called Council-ruled Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church (Soborno-Pravna Ukraïns'ka Pravoslavna Avtokefal'na Tserkva) created by the exiles in West Germany in 1947. It differs from other groups on some minor theological interpretations and administrative principles in that it enhances the role of the laity. This church claims to be the direct heir to Ukrainian autocephaly of the 1920's in Kiev. Archbishop Gregory Ohiichuk (*b.* 1898) is the head of this organization with the chancery in Chicago.

Of all the Ukrainian Orthodox church organizations in the United States, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of USA has the largest number of faithful. It was not split into dioceses until recently and is administered centrally. Metropolitan Theodorovich, who resides in Philadelphia, is the head of the synod of bishops. The administrative consistory is headed by Archbishop Skrypnyk. Archbishop Malets resided in Detroit. In 1965, a new bishop, Alexander Novitsky (1905–70), from Chicago was consecrated. Bishop Job Skakalsky was consecrated in 1968 and assigned to South America. Initial steps were taken in 1967 to set up three eparchies (New York, Detroit, and Chicago). The administrative offices with a museum, publishing house, mem-

orial church, and central cemetery, where many noted Ukrainians are buried, are located in South Bound Brook, N.J.

The four above-mentioned Orthodox church organizations are Ukrainian in terms of ethnic-national loyalties. The language of the liturgy, with the exception of the late Archbishop Shpylka's group which keeps the Old Church Slavonic, is Ukrainian vernacular. Some of the sermons are given in English in order to accommodate the young people. Partial use of English was allowed in recent years in the church headed by Metropolitan Theodorovich. All of these churches still adhere to the Julian calendar.

Outside the Ukrainian Orthodox church organizations, many Ukrainians belong to other Orthodox groups, mainly Russian. They are as follows.

**The Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America.** This is the oldest Orthodox body on the American continent. It traces its origin to the first Russian Orthodox mission founded in 1792 in Alaska. At first, under the jurisdiction of the Holy Synod and generously supported by the tsarist government, this church became self-governing and self-supporting after the revolution of 1917. It claims a total membership of approximately 600,000 in the United States and Canada. Out of this number it is estimated that close to 70 per cent are Ukrainians or their descendants, mostly from Galicia, Bukovina, and Carpatho-Ukraine. The head of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church for a long time was Metropolitan Leontii Turkevych (*d.* 1965), originally from Volhynia. His successor is Metropolitan Irineos Bekesh.

**The Russian Orthodox Church outside of Russia.** This organization was established in Europe after World War I by the White Russian émigrés. The church has approximately 55,000 members in the United States; the percentage of Ukrainians among them is insignificant (not more than 10 per cent). Archbishop Vitalii Maksymenko, a Ukrainian by origin, was its head until Metropolitan Anastazii Gribanovsky came from Europe in 1950. He was succeeded in 1965 by Archbishop Filaret Voznesensky.

**The Russian Orthodox Catholic Church in America.** After the restoration of the Moscow patriarchate in 1943, this church was organized as a branch of the Russian Orthodox Patriarchal Church. Its total membership is given as 150,000 in North America (overestimated). Again, the majority of the group are ethnic Ukrainians. For a time, Bishop Adam Filipovsky, a Ukrainian from Galicia, was its head. Two of his appointed successors were not admitted to the United States for political reasons. This church was headed in the early 1960's by Metropolitan Ivan Wendland; since 1967 its head has been Archbishop Ionaphan Kopolovych, a Carpatho-Ukrainian. In 1970, the Moscow Patriarchate agreed to merge this church with the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America into one autocephalous Orthodox Church in America.

FIGURE 625. HOLY TRINITY UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN IRVINGTON, N.J.

**The American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church.** As a result of their conversion to the Orthodox faith, a group of Carpatho-Ukrainians formed their own church in the 1930's. It was organized by the unfrocked priests of the Pittsburgh exarchate. They submitted to the jurisdiction of the Greek Orthodox

archbishop in New York. In 1938 they received their own bishop, Orestes Chernock, a former Catholic priest who was named titular metropolitan in 1965. Bishop Ivan Martin, also a convert from the Pittsburgh diocese, was recently consecrated as his auxiliary. In 1940, a small group of priests from Metropolitan Chernock's church split and proclaimed the formation of the Carpatho-Russian People's Church. The faithful, comprising several thousand, are mostly converts, former Catholics from the diocese of Priashiv. This group was administered by the Rev. A. Slepecky. Presently, it is under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Greek-Catholic Church of America. It publishes the periodical *Vistnyk* (Herald).

In all these Orthodox church organizations the liturgical language is Old Church Slavonic. The Russian clergy uses its Russianized version, while the ethnic Ukrainians from Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine cultivate the Ukrainian version of Old Church Slavonic. In the sermons and in Sunday schools English is gaining ground. The church publications appear in Russian or in a strongly Russianized Ukrainian dialect, as well as in English. The Julian calendar prevails. (Table III illustrates the present state of the Orthodox churches in the United States.)

**Ukrainian Protestants**

Protestantism among Ukrainians in the United States is more common than it was in Ukraine. The only group which came as Protestants from their native land were Ukrainian farmers who settled in North Dakota in 1899. They came as religious refugees from the villages of the Kiev region (Siankiv, Kruty, Horby, Kamianyi Brid, and Shchehendrivka). In Ukraine, they were popularly called Shtundists, and they belonged to the Baptist denomination. They were converted from Orthodoxy by German colonists in Ukraine.

Among Ukrainians in urban centers Protestantism spread gradually and as a result of individual missionary activity. For a long time, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States was not in a position to offer assistance and adequate spiritual care to all immigrants. In their longing for spiritual life they were easily attracted by various Protestant groups. Furthermore, the religious unrest among the immigrants, as manifested in the struggle against American Latin rite bishops, aided the formation of the first Ukrainian Protestant communities. Moreover, the zeal and devotion of the first Ukrainian Protestant missionaries who worked to win new converts contributed to this success. Among these outstanding missionaries were the brothers Theodore and Dmytro Halenda and Zygmunt Bychinsky in the Pittsburgh area, and Ivan Bodrug, Basil Kuziv, Luke Standret, and Volodymyr Kupchynsky in Newark, N.J., and the New York area.

The first Ukrainian Baptist groups were organized in Pennsylvania where pastor Kolesnikov preached in the vicinity of Scranton. Presbyterian communities were established in 1903 in Newark, Pittsburgh, and McKees Rocks, Pa. Individual Ukrainians, however, belonged to the Czech or American Protestant churches much earlier. The initial attempt to consolidate various Ukrainian Protestant parishes was the formation of the Union of Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Churches in 1922. In the same year, a separate group of the Presbyterian parishes was formed under the name Ukrainian Evangelical Reformed Church. This group sent missionaries to Western Ukraine and developed a lively organizational life during 1920–39. The Rev. B. Kuziv (1887–1958), pastor in Newark, was the head of this church in Western Ukraine (see Fig. 69, p. 212).

There are also a few Ukrainian Seventh-Day Adventist, Pentecostal, and Methodist churches. In recent years, missionaries of Jehovah's Witnesses have converted a few individuals in small towns and rural areas.

It is difficult to estimate the number of Ukrainian Protestants in the United

TABLE III

SURVEY OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCHES IN THE UNITED STATES WITH UKRAINIAN MEMBERSHIP IN THE 1960'S[a]

| Church organization (year of founding) | Number: Churches | Clergy | Faithful[b] | Official publication | Hierarchy[d] (Administrative seat) | Relationship to other Orthodox bodies | Ratio of Ukrainians and their background |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ukrainian Orthodox Church of USA (1919) | 104 | 127 | 87,200 (1964) | *Ukraïns'ke Pravoslavne Slovo* (Ukrainian Orthodox Word, monthly) | Metropolitan John Theodorovich, 1 Archbishop, 2 Bishops (South Bound Brook, N.J.) | In communion with the Ukr. Greek Orth. Church in Canada and the Ukr. Autoceph. Orth. Church in western Europe | 50% of Ukrainian Catholics from Galicia, 50% new immigrants from Volhynia Bukovina, and eastern lands |
| Ukrainian Orthodox Church in America (1928) | 37 | 52 | 40,250[c] (1959) | *Ukraïns'kyi Visnyk* (Ukrainian Herald) (quarterly) | Bishop Andrew Kushchak (New York, N.Y.) | Under jurisdiction of Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople | Ukrainians from Galicia and Bukovina; 80% former Catholics |
| Holy Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in exile (1954) | 16 | 25 | 5,000 (1962) | *Zhyttia i Tserkva* (Life and Church, bimonthly) | Archbishop Palladii Vydybida-Rudenko (New York, N.Y.) | In communion with Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople | Post-World War II Ukr. immigrants from Volhynia and eastern Ukraine |
| Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (Soborno-Pravna) (1947) | 4 | 10 | 2,000 (1957) | *Pravoslavnyi Ukraïnets'* (Orthodox Ukrainian, quarterly) | Archbishop Gregory Ohiichuk (Chicago, Ill.) | Independent; continuation of Kiev autocephaly of 1920 | Ukrainians from eastern lands, post-World War II immigrants |
| The American Carpatho-Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church (1938) | 69 | 58 | 102,000[c] (1962) | *Tserkovnyi Vistnyk* (Church Herald, semi-monthly) | Metropolitan Orestes Chernock, 1 Bishop (Johnstown, Pa.) | Self-governing diocese under jurisdiction of Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople | Old immigrants from Carpatho-Ukraine and their descendants (former Catholics) |
| The Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of America (1792) | 350 | 364 | 600,000[c] (1964) | *Russko-Amerikanskii Pravoslavnyi Vestnik* (Russian Orthodox Journal monthly) | Metropolitan Irineos Bekish, 3 Archbishops, 3 Bishops (New York, N.Y.) | Autonomous; continuation of pre-revolutionary synodal tradition; in communion with other Orthodox churches | 65% of Ukrainians, descendants of immigrants from Galicia, Bukovina, and Carpatho-Ukraine (former Catholics) |
| The Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (1920, since 1950 Synod in the USA) | 81 | 168 | 55,000 (1955) | *Tserkovnaia Zhizn'* (Church Life, monthly) *Orthodox Life* (bimonthly) *Pravoslavnaia Rus'* (Orthodox *Rus'*, semimonthly) | Metropolitan Filaret Voznesensky, 4 Archbishops, 2 Bishops (New York, N.Y.) | Independent; in communion with other Orthodox canonical churches; in opposition to Moscow Patriarchate | Russian émigré Church; only 10% Ukrainian, mostly from eastern lands |
| Russian Orthodox Catholic Church in America—Patriarchal Exarchate | 67 | 96 | 151,900 | *Yedinaia Tser'kov'* (One Church, bimonthly) | Archibishop Ioanaphan Kopolovych (Exarch, (New York, N.Y.) | Under jurisdiction of Moscow Patriarchate | 60% Ukrainians from Galicia, Bukovina, and Carpatho-Ukraine (former Catholics) |
| TOTAL | 728 | 900 | 1,043,350 | 2 semimonthlies<br>4 monthlies<br>3 bimonthlies<br>2 quarterlies | 4 metropolitans<br>11 archbishops<br>9 bishops | 4 independent churches, 3 under the jurisdiction of Constantinople, 1 under Moscow patriarch | Between 600,000 and 650,000, ethnic Ukrainians in the United States belong to Orthodox Churches |

[a]Data from *Yearbooks of American Churches, Handbooks of Denominations in the U.S.*, and others.
[b]Year of figures given in parentheses.
[c]The figure represents the number of churches, clergy, and faithful in the United States and Canada; numerical strength of these churches in Canada is negligible (10–15 per cent).
[d]Status of hierarchy is updated to 1967.

States because only a part of them belong to Ukrainian ethnic parishes. A figure of 50,000 would probably constitute a fair estimate. Rather small in proportion to other groups, they have produced a strong leadership and a large number of intellectuals, especially in the Pittsburgh, Newark, and North Dakota groups. Several of their parishes maintain Sunday schools of religion and Ukrainian language, have fine mixed choirs, and publish magazines and pamphlets. Ukrainian is the language of worship only among older people. The younger people have adopted English.

The Ukrainian character is preserved by a dozen Presbyterian parishes (Reformed confession). They organized the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance of North America (Ukraïns'ke Yevanhel's'ke Obiednannia v Pivnichnii Amerytsi) under the guidance of B. Kuziv. Heading the Alliance is the Rev. John Jacenty from Windsor, Ont. Its executive director and editor of the monthly *Yevanhel's'kyi Ranok* (The Evangelist Dawn) is pastor Volodymyr Borovsky from Detroit.

The second largest Ukrainian Protestant group in America is the Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Convention (Obiednannia Ukraïns'kykh Yevanhel's'ko-Baptysts'kykh Tserkov), headed by pastor Oleksa Harbuziuk. This group has 22 congregations in the United States and some 45 others in Canada, Latin America, and Australia.

## ORGANIZATIONS

In the early years of immigrant life, the churches served as social and cultural centers, and the clergymen as leaders. However, the church alone could not satisfy all the complex needs of community life and, therefore, other organizations developed. Among the first were fraternal benefit societies.

### Fraternal Associations

Other immigrant groups in the U.S.A. such as Poles, Slovaks, Czechs, Germans, and Hungarians had their own fraternal orders long before the Ukrainians. In fact, some Ukrainians were members of these societies before they formed their own. The need to insure oneself and to protect one's family was an urgent one for an immigrant without property or savings.

The first Ukrainian organization, called St. Nicholas Brotherhood, was started by the Rev. Ivan Voliansky in Shenandoah, Pa., in 1885. Within two years there were seven brotherhoods which later merged into the Union (*Spoluchennia*) of Ruthenian Fraternal Organizations. After the Rev. Voliansky returned to Ukraine, however, the Union dissolved and many of its members, mainly from Carpatho-Ukraine, joined Slovak societies.

A new fraternal organization called Union of Greek Catholic Brotherhoods in North America (popular abbreviation *Soiedyneniie* [Union]), was formed by Ukrainian priests in 1892. Immigrants from both Carpatho-Ukraine and Galicia belonged to this union. Soon a new ferment arose within the union over the localism of its leadership (mostly immigrants from the Mukachiv region) and the mishandling of funds. In 1894, the members from Galicia and a large segment of those from the Priashiv region left the union and formed the Ruthenian National Association (Rus'kyi Narodnyi Soiuz), a fact which clearly manifested Ukrainian national tendencies.

In 1900, a third group, the Society of Russian Brotherhoods, was organized with a pro-Russian orientation. A lively rivalry and even antagonisms developed between these three groups on religious, political-national, and personal grounds. In 1903, for example, a large group left *Soiedyneniie* forming a separate organization, called Assembly of Greek Catholic Religious Brotherhoods (*Sobraniie*). They later gave their support to Bishop Ortynsky.

**The Ukrainian National Association.** Chronologically, the first fraternal organization of immigrants from Ukraine in

the New World was *Soiedinenie*, known as the Greek Catholic Union of the U.S.A., which continues to play a substantial role among segments of immigrants from Carpatho-Ukraine and their descendants. However, the first organization of a decidedly Ukrainian character was the Ukrainian National Association.

The largest and most influential Ukrainian organization on the North American continent since its founding, the UNA has its home office in Jersey City, N.J. Its Canadian office is located in Toronto, Ont. As of the end of 1969, the UNA had a total of 89,107 members, insured for a total of $96,333,883 and organized in 460 branches in 30 states of the U.S. and 7 provinces of Canada. The organization's assets at the time amounted to $35,477,888.15.

FIGURE 626. REV. GREGORY HRUSHKA

FIGURE 627. LUKE MYSHUHA

The UNA, was founded in Shamokin, Pa., on February 22, 1894. Its founders were four Greek Catholic priests from Galicia: Rev. Gregory Hrushka, founder and first editor of *Svoboda*, Rev. Ivan Konstankevych, Rev. Theodore Obushkevych, and Rev. Ambrose Poliansky. The first convention of the UNA was held in Shamokin on May 30, 1894, at which the first executive board was elected as follows: Theodosius Talpash, president, Michael Yevchak, vice-president, Rev. I. Konstankevych, secretary, and Ivan Glova, treasurer. The UNA conventions are held every four years. The last convention, UNA's twenty-seventh, was held in 1970 in Cleveland.

The principal business of the UNA (called the Ruthenian National Association until 1914) is life insurance. The sphere of its activity, however, extends to almost every phase of Ukrainian community life in the U.S. and Canada, including organization and integration of the Ukrainian immigrants into the life of their adopted homelands, their education, and cultural development.

During the early stages of its development the UNA was torn by internal cleavages. Assuming the posture of a distinctly Ukrainian organization, it had to overcome strong Magyarophile and Russophile influences rampant among the early settlers. The major instrument in the campaign against these elements was the newspaper *Svoboda*, the UNA's official organ.

The contemporary image of the UNA as a modern fraternal benefit society wholly dedicated to the interests of the Ukrainian people at large became crystallized in the wake of two major crises in the first decades of this century. The first took place at the eleventh convention in 1910, when clerical elements tried to take over the control of the organization, even to changing its name to the "Greek Catholic Association." The change, however, was not effected and the UNA retained both its original name and posture. The internal strife resulted in the appearance of two other fraternal organizations, the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association and the Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics.

The second crisis arose at the thirteenth convention in 1914 which adopted the modern system of dues assessment based on the National Fraternal Congress Table of Mortality. Following this reform and as a result of the ensuing rivalries, the UNA lost more than half of its 25,000 members. In the long run, however, the reform proved beneficial to the organization.

As in the past, the UNA plays a dominant role in the life of the Ukrainian communities in the United States and Canada. It contributed substantially to the success of such major projects as the erection of the Taras Shevchenko monument in Washington, D.C., in 1964, the convocation of the first World Congress of Free Ukrainians in New York in 1967, and the establishment of the Ukrainian Studies Chair at Harvard University in 1968.

The publishing activity of the UNA is of special significance. In addition to the Ukrainian language daily *Svoboda*, it publishes the English language *Ukrainian Weekly* and the children's illustrated monthly *Veselka* (Rainbow) as well as books on Ukraine in both English and Ukrainian. It makes a very significant contribution to the enrichment of the Ukrainian cultural heritage by sponsoring such events as the staging of operas, e.g., *The Witch* by P. Pecheniha-Ouglitzky in 1964 and *Anna Yaroslavna* by A. Rudnytsky in 1969.

The UNA places special emphasis on the activities of Ukrainian American youth, both within its own ranks and organized independently in more than a dozen groups. They enjoy UNA's support and financial assistance in the pursuit of their diverse interests.

In addition to its founder and first *Svoboda*

FIGURE 628. SUPREME ASSEMBLY OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION (1966–70)

editor, Rev. G. Hrushka, the outstanding leaders of the UNA included: Constantine Kyrchiv (1891–1937), Dmytro Kapitula (1873–1953), Semen Yadlovsky (1897–1929), Nicholas Murashko (1891–1949), and Dmytro Halychyn (1895–1961). In 1961, the leadership of the association passed into the hands of an American born executive, Joseph Lesawyer (*b.* 1911), who heads the organization at the present time.

A man who ranks high on the list of those who contributed greatly to the development of the UNA and of the Ukrainian American community is Luke Myshuha (1887–1955). He came to the United States in 1921 as the diplomatic emissary of the exiled Vienna-based government of the Western Ukrainian National Republic. In 1933 Myshuha became editor-in-chief of the daily *Svoboda.* His major contribution lies in his searching efforts to find a synthesis of Ukrainian, American, and Canadian values to suit the newly born generations of Ukrainians in the United States and Canada. His conceptual scheme went a long way towards resolving the dichotomy of the "two motherlands," i.e., loyalty to the newly adopted homeland and preservation of the Ukrainian language, culture, and traditions in the new milieu coupled with the self-assumed mission of helping the cause of Ukrainian liberation. Myshuha was largely instrumental in promoting the publication of English language books about Ukraine, including this encyclopaedia brought out by the University of Toronto Press.

Next in order is the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association, (Ukraïns'kyi Robitnychyi Soiuz) located in Scranton, Pa., with Anthony Batiuk as its current president. Then follow two groups, the Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics in America ("Provydinnia" Soiuz Ukraïntsiv Katolykiv v Amerytsi) with headquarters in Philadelphia (Rev. Myroslaw Charyna, president), and the Ukrainian National Aid (Ukraïns'ka Narodna Pomich), founded in Pittsburgh in 1914 (Volodymyr Mazur, president). Originally under Orthodox sponsorship, the latter is now non-denominational. For some time (1914–38) the Covenant of Brotherhoods (*Zhoda*) was active in Olyphant, Pa.; later it joined the Ukrainian National Association. Other fraternal groups with Ukrainian membership are of lesser importance (see Table IV).

All fraternal organizations have been growing at a fairly steady rate. From 1912 to 1967 the combined membership of the four Ukrainian fraternal societies grew from 27,000 to 136,000 and their assets increased proportionately. Thanks to the influx of new immigrants, those with Ukrainian national orientation have shown the greatest gains in membership. Branches in large cities show a membership increase, while those in small towns have declined. In the 1960's, growth has been slower as members of the third and fourth generation lose interest in the organizations of their fathers and are attracted more by American professional insurance companies. To meet competition, some of the fraternal organizations have attempted to modernize their financial policy while continuing social and cultural activities.

TABLE IV

SURVEY OF FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS WITH UKRAINIAN MEMBERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES[a]

| Name | Date of founding | Headquarters | Membership | Assets ($) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ukrainian National Association (formerly Ruthenian National Association) | 1894 | Jersey City | 85,324 | 33,338,952 |
| Greek Catholic Union of the U.S.A. (formerly Greek Catholic Union of Russian Brotherhoods) | 1892 | Pittsburgh | 49,173 | 23,648,176 |
| Ukrainian Workingmen's Association | 1911 | Scranton | 24,140 | 8,909,916 |
| Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics | 1912 | Philadelphia | 17,643 | 6,118,608 |
| Russian Brotherhood Organization of the U.S.A. | 1900 | Philadelphia | 12,920 | 5,046,963 |
| Ukrainian National Aid | 1914 | Pittsburgh | 7,977 | 2,173,440 |
| Russian Orthodox Catholic Aid Association of U.S.A. | 1895 | Wilkes-Barre | 2,455 | 1,577,946 |
| Russian Independent Mutual Aid Association | 1931 | Chicago | 1,376 | 647,520 |
| Russian Orthodox Catholic Women's Mutual Aid Society | 1907 | Pittsburgh | 2,340 | 1,198,091 |

[a]Data from *Statistics of Fraternal Benefit Societies*, published by *The Fraternal Monitor*, 1968 edition, Indianapolis, Ind.; data as of Dec. 31, 1967.

FIGURE 629. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FOUR UKRAINIAN FRATERNAL BENEFIT SOCIETIES IN THE U.S.A. AT THE SECOND JOINT CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK (1969)

Ukrainian fraternal organizations play a key role in the cultural and civic life of Ukrainian Americans. Next to the churches, they are the most influential forces in Ukrainian American community life. All publish newspapers, some publish almanacs, maintain bookstores and clubs, help finance the building of cultural centers, operate summer resorts, organize Ukrainian cultural courses, and offer scholarships to young members. Two large estates, Soyuzivka of the Ukrainian National Association near Kerkhonson, N.Y., and Verkhovyna of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association in Glen Spey, N.Y., are also major cultural and social centers, the former operating on an all-year-round basis, the latter during the summer only.

Ukrainian community leadership has

come almost exclusively from the ranks of these organizations. In 1940, four Ukrainian organizations spearheaded the movement to form the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America as a coordinating center for all Ukrainian activity in the United States. Since 1945, the Ukrainian National Association has published over twenty works on Ukraine in English, among which the most outstanding is the two-volume *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*. During the interwar period, fraternal associations gave financial assistance to many cultural, educational, and charitable institutions in Western Ukraine.

**Political and Civic Organizations**

The Ukrainian fraternal societies remained for many years the organized core of Ukrainian community life. They were also instruments of the immigrants' political expression. Thus political motives and objectives frequently led to the formation of a new organization or to a split within the existing one. Politically, the immigrants were mostly concerned with Ukrainian problems. Their organizational structure still reflects the political differentiation of the Ukrainian refugees in Europe and of the pre-World War II Western Ukraine.

Inevitably, a number of political organizations came into being in the United States. In the 1900's attempts were made by the socialist-oriented immigrants to found their own organization. In 1907, the Ukrainian Progressive Workers Organization *Haidamaky* was organized; it published a weekly paper by the same name in Trenton, N.J. An even more radical group was formed in 1909; called the Ukrainian Workers Party (Ukraïns'ka Robitnycha Partiia); it soon dissolved. Other left-wing groupings emerged, all of them patterned after European social-democratic parties or the western Ukrainian peasant radical movement. They were also partially influenced by the American socialist and populist movements, some of which cooperated organizationally. Two left-wing groups—the socialist Defense of Ukraine (Oborona Ukraïny) and the radical League for the Liberation of Ukraine (Liga Vyzvolennia Ukraïny) appeared after 1920.

Between the two wars, two right-wing organizations were also active: the Union of Hetman's Followers (presently the Ukrainian Hetmanite Organization [Ukraïns'ka Het'mans'ka Orhanizatsiia]) with its athletic Sich organizations; its headquarters was Chicago, where a newspaper called *Sich* was published; the other, founded in 1931, was the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine (Orhanizatsiia Derzhavnoho Vidrodzhennia Ukraïny), influenced by the newly emerged Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Europe (under the leadership of Eugene Konovalets and, later, Andrew Melnyk). Both groups are still active.

The immigrants who came after World War II established their own political organizations, patterned mostly after the Ukrainian political parties in Europe. The strongest and the most active among them is the Organization of the Defense of Four Freedoms of Ukraine (Orhanizatsiia Oborony Chotyriokh Svobid Ukraïny), founded in 1947 under the influence of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and its leader Stephen Bandera. Together with youth, veterans, and women's organizations, it constitutes the so-called Ukrainian Liberation Front.

Refugees from eastern Ukraine are organized mainly in the Association of Ukrainians of Revolutionary-Democratic Convictions (followers of the late Ivan Bahrianyi). The following have only small membership: Union of Ukrainian Socialists, Union of Ukrainian National Democrats (conceived as a moderate-centrist group, recently dissolved), and another socialist grouping—the Ukrainian Free Community in America. Also active in the United States are branches of such Ukrainian émigré parties as the Ukrainian National State League

FIGURE 630.
DMYTRO HALYCHYN

FIGURE 630A.
STEPHEN SHUMEYKO

(UNDS), Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO), Union of All Ukrainian Lands, and two factions of the Ukrainian Peasant Party. Two organizations, the Association of Friends of the Ukrainian Liberation and the Adherents of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Abroad (a liberal-progressive splinter group from the Bandera organization), support the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR). The Association of Assistance to the Ukrainian National Rada and the Association of Friends of the Ukrainian National Republic actively support the Ukrainian government in exile as non-party organizations. There is also one extreme right-wing group known as the Association for the Liberation of Ukraine (more on these organizations in Vol. I, pp. 914–15).

Some organizations pursue political programs focused on special interests of the native region of their membership: the Organization of the Defense of the Lemkian Region; the Bukovina Association; and the Carpathian Alliance. The latter is the organization of new immigrants from Carpatho-Ukraine who support the cause of a united and independent Ukraine.

Only one pro-Soviet Ukrainian organization is still active, the League of American Ukrainians with a considerably reduced membership. This group, which was quite strong in the immediate post-World War II years, has now almost vanished.

The principal aim of Ukrainian political organizations in America has been to promote the cause of Ukraine's liberation and the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state. More specifically, they reacted to the events and developments in Ukraine, and even attempted to influence them favorably. The Ukrainian American organizations established larger and more representative national bodies in order to better promote their cause, to coordinate activity, and to have a single spokesman for the entire community vis-à-vis American institutions.

The Ruthenian National Council initiated by Bishop Ortynsky was founded in 1914. It spoke for the majority of Galician and Carpatho-Ukrainian groups. In opposition to it, the First Ukrainian Assembly (*Soim*) was convened mainly by anti-clerical elements in October 1915 in New York. This Assembly formed the Ukrainian General Committee, later called the Ukrainian Federation in the United States (1915–18). Another representative body, the Ukrainian National Committee (formerly the Ruthenian National Committee) was active under the chairmanship of the Rev. P. Poniatyshyn. Both groups competed for the right to represent the entire community and much energy was lost in the futile polemics. The Carpatho-Ukrainians founded the American Ruthenian National Council in 1918 for the purpose of promoting special political interests of their native region.

In the period 1922–39, the United Ukrainian Organizations became the principal representative body of Ukrainian Americans. However, in the 1930's several Catholic groups had organized their own Ukrainian-American Committee for the Freedom of Ukraine.

Complete unity of Ukrainian Americans was attained in 1940. They held a national convention in Washington, D.C., with 805 delegates in attendance, representing more than 2,000 local organizations, and on May 24, 1940, established the Ukrainian Congress Commit-

FIGURE 631. PLENARY SESSION OF THE WORLD CONGRESS OF FREE UKRAINIANS IN NEW YORK (1967)

tee of America (UCCA—Ukraïns'kyi Kongresovyi Komitet Ameryky). Its first president was Nicholas Murashko, succeeded by Stephen Shumeyko (1908–62), who was in turn succeeded in 1949 by Lev E. Dobriansky (*b*. 1918) as president, and from 1955 as chairman, and in 1955–61 by Dmytro Halychyn as president. The main support of the UCCA came from the four fraternal organizations; other associations and groups—political, cultural, religious, and professional—rallied around them.

Continuing along the road of unity and organizational consolidation, the Ukrainians of Canada and the United States, with the participation of those from South America, formed in 1947 the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference. In the 1960's the conference initiated steps to convene the first World Congress of Free Ukrainians which took place in New York City, November 12–19, 1967, on the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian statehood. A permanent secretariat of the World Congress was formed with its first seat in Winnipeg, Canada, transferred to New York City in 1970.

At the end of World War II and immediately after, the Carpatho-Ukrainians of Ruthenian orientation had their own Carpatho-Russian Congress Committee temporarily. Eventually, however, it became inactive.

**Other Organizations**

Another Ukrainian central organization founded in 1944 by various groups is the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (Zluchenyi Ukraïns'kyi Amerykans'kyi Dopomohovyi Komitet, UUARC). Its aim was to help Ukrainian prisoners of war, political refugees, and other victims of war. The headquarters of the UUARC is in Philadelphia. In the 1940's and 1950's the UUARC maintained branch offices in Munich, Salzburg, Birkenfeld, Frankfurt, and Stuttgart. This body carried on extensive relief activity among Ukrainian displaced persons, particularly in Germany and Austria. Over 50,000 persons were aided in settling in the United States in the years 1947–57. In the 1960's the activity of the UUARC declined, but even today it continues to bring relief to Ukrainian refugees in western Europe. Walter Gallan (*b*. 1893) is the organization's

FIGURE 632.
WALTER GALLAN

long-time president. Its successful operations were the result of generous financial support by the entire Ukrainian community in the United States.

Educational activity among the broad masses in Ukraine was promoted by the Prosvita (Enlightenment) Society since the second half of the nineteenth century. The society was also established in the United States among the immigrants, although its methods were not as successful in the new socio-economic environment. After World War II, literary arts clubs came into existence to sponsor cultural functions for a more selective audience, mostly intelligentsia. Such clubs are active in New York, Philadelphia, and Detroit.

The first Ukrainian women's organization in America was the Sisterhood of St. Olha, founded in Jersey City in 1897. The women's movement among the immigrants, however, was much less active than in Ukraine. It was not until 1925 that a modern women's organization, the Ukrainian National Women's League of America (UNWLA, Soiuz Ukraïnok Am-

FIGURE 632A. HELEN LOTOTSKY, PRESIDENT OF UNWLA, 1943–50

FIGURE 632B. OLENA ZALIZNIAK, PRESIDENT OF WFUWO

eryky) was formed. At the present time, it is the largest Ukrainian women's organization (over 3,000 members). It conducts educational (sponsorship of kindergartens), social, and charitable activities, popularizing Ukrainian folklore and culture (embroideries, ceramics, cuisine, etc.). Helen Lotocky was president of the League for many years (1943–66). Now it is headed by Stephania Pushkar. Its main office is located in Philadelphia. In the 1930's, another women's organization, the Ukrainian Gold Cross was founded, mostly for philanthropic purposes. In 1948, the UNWLA sponsored a world congress of Ukrainian women, which founded the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations, WFUWO (Svitova Federatsiia Ukraïns'kykh Zhinochykh Orhanizatsii), headed by Olena Zalizniak.

Ukrainian veterans formed their own organizations, depending on the armies in which they served. Veterans of the Ukrainian national armies of 1917–21 formed in 1925 an organization called Strilets'ka Hromada (the Riflemen's Community). The organization of veterans of the American Armed Forces is called the Ukrainian American Veterans. There are also several posts of the Ukrainian American Catholic Veterans. In addition, the following Ukrainian veteran groups are active: United Ukrainian War Veterans in America (Obiednannia buvshykh Voiakiv Ukraïntsiv v Amerytsi), Brotherhood of Former Soldiers of the First Ukrainian Division UNA, Brotherhood of the Ukrainian Sichovi Stril'tsi, the Free Kozaks, and two associations of the former members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). All these are for the most part organizations of the new immigrants.

There are many Ukrainian youth organizations in the United States. In 1933, the young people of the second generation formed the non-denominational Ukrainian Youth League of North America, with accent on cultural education and sports activity. Similar groups were founded along religious lines: the Ukrainian Catholic Youth League (founded in 1933), and the Organization of the Ukrainian Orthodox Youth (1941). Subsequently, they changed their names to the League of Ukrainian Catholics (1962) and the Ukrainian Orthodox League (1947), respectively. Both organizations maintain junior chapters. The young people influenced by Ukrai-

nian nationalism in the 1930's formed a group known as the Young Ukrainian Nationalists, now called Youth of Ukrainian Nationality.

Since 1948, the youth of recent immigrants started new organizations. The Ukrainian Youth Organization *Plast* (a scout-type organization) for both boys and girls has more than 30 local chapters and 4,000 members. A similar organization, the Ukrainian Youth Association of America (SUMA Spilka Ukraïns'koi Molodi Ameryky), numbers close to 5,000 members of both sexes. The latter organization is under the political influence of the Ukrainian Liberation Front. Also politically oriented is the Association of American Youth of Ukrainian Descent (Orhanizatsiia Demokratychnoi Ukraïns'koï Molodi), consisting mostly of young people whose parents came from eastern Ukraine (influenced by the I. Bahrianyi group). All three conduct lively educational activity, organize summer camps, artistic programs, and sports rallies.

FIGURE 633. PARTICIPANTS OF THE FIRST CONGRESS OF UKRAINIAN STUDENTS IN AMERICA, HELD AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK, APRIL 12–13, 1953

Several Ukrainian student clubs existed before 1939, but it was only after 1950 that an intensive organizational activity developed among Ukrainian students on many American campuses. At the present time, there are over 30 local Ukrainian student groups (*hromady*) or university clubs. A coordinating body, the Federation of Ukrainian Students Organizations of America (Soiuz Ukraïns'kykh Students'kykh Tovarystv Ameryky) was founded in 1953. In 1967, the headquarters of the worldwide Central Union of Ukrainian Students (Tsentral'nyi Soiuz Ukraïns'koho Studentstva) was transferred to the United States. There are also political and denominational student groups: M. Mikhnovsky Student Association (followers of Bandera's OUN), the *Zarevo* Association of Ukrainian Academic Societies (sympathizers of Melnyk's OUN), and the *Obnova* Society of Ukrainian Catholic Students.

In the 1930's, Ukrainian professionals started to organize in the United States. The first Ukrainian Professional Association was founded in 1933. After World War II, division into specialized groups started. The Ukrainian Medical Association of North America was founded in 1950; presently it has over 600 members and 10 branches in the United States. Other professional groups are: the Ukrainian Engineers' Society (founded 1948), the Association of Ukrainian Veterinarians (1948), Ukrainian Lawyers' Association in USA (1949), the Ukrainian American Association of University Professors (1961), Association of Ukrainian Librarians in the USA (1961), the Ukrainian Journalists' Association of America (1952), the Association of the Ukrainian Catholic Press (1952), Ukrainian Teachers' Association of USA (1966), and others. In larger urban centers, businessmen formed their own associations and clubs (New York, Newark, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit). One of the most important centers of Ukrainian cultural life in New York is the Ukrainian Institute of America, founded in 1952 by William Dzus.

FIGURE 634. WILLIAM DZUS

There was a widespread tendency among the early settlers to form regional societies (*zemliatstvo*) which embraced

people coming from the same town, district, or Ukrainian province. This tradition has been retained. In addition to the Lemkian organization, Carpatho-Ukrainian, Bukovinian, and other groups, there are also the Yaroslav Society, societies of the Hutsul Land and Podilia, clubs of former residents of Lviv, Zhydachiv, Chortkiv, Berezhany, Drohobych, etc. At the present time, more than a dozen various regional groups and committees exist in America. They hold annual meetings, publish symposiums of local history, etc.

Generally speaking, the number of organizations of the Ukrainian immigrant community in America is excessively large. This is due primarily to the freedom of association, legally guaranteed in the United States, as well as to the Ukrainian inherent tendency to form small groups (group individualism). As a result, the immigrants organized various associations, clubs, *ad hoc* committees, some of them being splinters of the existing organizations. Most are numerically small, and often their emergence was not justified in terms of real needs. Consequently, not all survived. With the exception of the fraternal societies and a few religious and civic groups, most of them date their origin to the post-World War II years. After early organizations dissolved, the vacuum was filled by new ones, different in composition and in the type of activity pursued.

## POLITICS: PROGRAMS AND ACTION

The nineteenth-century immigrants showed little political motivation. They belonged to the less educated group of the Ukrainian society at home, indifferent to the nascent political consciousness among the elite. Their nationality awareness was limited to ethnic-religious identity and not oriented towards political aspirations. Upon their arrival in the United States, however, they saw the need for self-organization and public activity, in the course of which their national consciousness crystallized. In this process of community building, Ukrainian immigrants attempted to articulate political programs concerned with both the situation in the "old country" and their own position as a distinct ethnic group in America.

The bulk of Ukrainian immigrants came here as an amorphous mass of "Ruthenians," sometimes identifying themselves just as "Greek Catholics." Gradually they embraced the ideology of the modern Ukrainian national movement and showed a desire to play a vital role in it. Naturally, all this was shaped under the influence of developments in Ukraine itself.

Three major objectives consumed most of Ukrainian civic attention and energy: (1) aspirations toward ethnic and religious self-preservation as a separate group; (2) efforts to identify themselves with the contemporary Ukrainian movements, including the acceptance of the modern names (Ukraine, Ukrainians) and the use of literary Ukrainian language and orthography; and (3) assistance to the Ukrainian people in their struggle for national self-determination.

In all these pursuits Ukrainians had to defend themselves against other ethnic groups in America, that is, against the dominating nationalities of the provinces from which the immigrants originated—Russians, Poles, Hungarians, and even Slovaks, all trying to extend their influence over the Ukrainian immigrant masses. The neighboring and the more influential nationality groups refused to recognize the status of Ukrainians as a distinct national entity. Obscurantism, conservative mentality, and even venality within their own ranks, against which the modern Ukrainian movement had to fight, adversely affected Ukrainian developments. Moreover, Ukrainians encountered indifference and even strong reservations against them from American official quarters and society.

The churches, fraternal organizations, cultural activities, Sunday schools, reading rooms, clubs, and particularly the ethnic press, promoted the political-national consciousness of the immigrants. The leading factor in this process, however, was the continuous contact which they have maintained with the problems and issues in their homeland since World War I.

**National-Political Differentiation**

Ukrainian Americans can be divided into three camps with regard to their political ideology or national-political identity:

(*a*) The national camp distinctly crystallized in the 1890's under the auspices of the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) National Association and newspaper *Svoboda* in its confrontation with the Russophile and pro-Hungarian tendencies of certain segments of the Carpatho-Ukrainian and Galician immigrants. Supported also by the Ukrainian Catholic Church, this ideology and movement asserted themselves as politically the most representative of Ukrainians in America. The principal points of its program were: complete distinctness of Ukrainians as a nationality vis-à-vis the Russians and other neighboring nations, political independence of Ukraine, unification (*sobornist'*) of all Ukrainian lands.

(*b*) The pro-Russian group sharing a program that was partially brought here by the Russophile elements from western Ukrainian territories and definitely strengthened by the Russian-sponsored Orthodox Church and political organizations. Initially the spokesmen of this tendency acted within the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) community as one of its factions, but later were engulfed in the Russian immigrant community. The Ukrainians, although the strongest segment in the Russian community (the others being Russians and Belorussians) did not achieve any importance in its organized life. They had to follow the leadership of the Russian spiritual and secular elite. This group of Ukrainian immigrants, having lost the spiritual ties with their national heritage (although they continued to use Ukrainian dialects as their conversational language) became subject to de-ethnization faster than any other group. Russian language and culture were alien to them, and this is why their descendants assimilated easily.

Politically, this group opposed the right of Ukrainians to their cultural and national independence. It further advocated unity of all eastern Slavs, regarding Ukraine as only a branch of one and indivisible Russia to be known as "Little Russia." Members of this group were also called "Carpatho-Russians" or "Galician Russians." Partisans of this movement saw the solution of the "Ukrainian problem" in the annexation of all Ukrainian lands by any type of Russia—tsarist, democratic, or for some, even Soviet.

(*c*) The Ruthenian or Carpatho-Ruthenian group asserted itself as a separate national-political camp, though often with pro-Russian, pro-Czech, or pro-Hungarian leanings. It embraced the bulk of immigrants from Carpatho-Ukraine and some from the Lemkian region. The group and its ideology were the product of national-cultural and political conditions prevailing in Carpatho-Ukraine in the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Magyarophile clergy and secular leaders of Carpatho-Ukrainian immigrants opposed the political program of Galician Ukrainians and the dominating role of Galician elements in the church and fraternal organizations. They advanced a concept of ethnic-linguistic individuality of Carpatho-Ukrainians, distinct from the rest of Ukrainians. Politically, they endorsed the pro-Hungarian line before 1918, and, later, favored the incorporation of Carpatho-Ukraine in Czechoslovakia, which was to grant an autonomous status to this region.

The masses of this group lacked acute

political-national consciousness. Yet specific issues of regional character and religious-ritual stimuli in both Catholic and Orthodox churches helped form a separate Carpatho-Ruthenian ethnic community in America. This group, artificially cut off from their kin and from the developments in Carpatho-Ukraine, particularly since 1939, lives by itself in isolation. Their native region, Carpatho-Ukraine, as well as the Ukrainian minorities in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, invoking their common origin, consider themselves to be part of the Ukrainian nation, as do the most recent immigrants from the same region.

**Promoting the Cause of Ukrainian Independence**

The events in Ukraine under alien domination, particularly the discrimination and oppression of Ukrainians by the ruling regimes, often mobilized immigrants to action. Thus, the so-called Badeni elections in Galicia [Vol. I, p. 705], the assassination of vicegerent Potocki of Galicia by a Ukrainian student, Myroslav Sichynsky, and the events of the Russian revolution in 1905, had strong repercussions among Ukrainians in America. World War I aroused Ukrainians to a more determined effort. The First Ukrainian Assembly (*Soim*) in America and the political representative bodies—the anti-Austrian Federation of Ukrainians, as well as the Austrophile Ukrainian National Committee—launched a series of actions in behalf of Ukrainians in their native land. In its memorandum of October 30, 1915, the *Soim* stated: "The ultimate goal of the Ukrainian movement is the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state which should embrace all territories populated by the Ukrainian people."

Finally, the proclamation of a Ukrainian state in eastern Ukraine in 1917, and, a year later, in western Ukraine, injected new spirit into the Ukrainian community in America. Political meetings were held, resolutions of solidarity with their countrymen in Ukraine were adopted, and funds were raised for Ukrainian activities overseas.

The U.S. government granted permission to organize a Ruthenian (Ukrainian) tag day on April 21, 1917. In 1919, a delegation was sent to Paris to assist delegates of Ukraine at the Peace Conference.

The Ukrainian National Committee, in cooperation with Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians, formed the League of Four Nations for the purpose of defending jointly the national interests of their respective countries. In 1918 the Ukrainian Information Bureau was opened in New York. The Friends of Ukraine publishers issued a series of pamphlets on Ukrainian problems. The Federation of Ukrainians joined the Central European Democratic Union, led by Thomas Masaryk. (Carpatho-Ukrainians held a separate membership in the same union.)

The Polish occupation of Western Ukraine provoked a wave of protests among Ukrainian Americans. Several fund-raising campaigns were organized to help the Ukrainians in the occupied territory and to aid financially the activity of the western Ukrainian government in exile. A campaign was conducted for a national emergency fund which brought in $140,000. The Ukrainian American leaders cooperated closely with the unofficial Ukrainian diplomatic mission in Washington, D.C., in 1919–21.

The Carpatho-Ukrainian immigrants played a decisive role in 1918–19 in solving the political fate of their native province. On October 26, 1918, the American Carpatho-Ukrainian representatives negotiated with T. Masaryk in Pittsburgh and signed an agreement which would include their province within the future Czechoslovak Republic; the Czechs were to grant Carpatho-Ukraine extensive territorial autonomy.

Following this agreement, the American Ruthenian Council met in Scranton, Pa., on November 19, 1918, and reported

the results of a plebiscite held within Carpatho-Ukrainian communities, parishes, and organizations in the United States. The plebiscite approved the Pittsburgh agreement. Its signatory on behalf of Carpatho-Ukrainians, Gregory Zhatkovych (1886–1966), became the first governor of the autonomous province, Pidkarpatska *Rus'* (Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia), although he retained his American citizenship [Vol. I, pp. 788–9].

The failure of the Ukrainian independence struggle in 1917–21 did not weaken the political action of Ukrainians in the United States. They continued to exert much effort in defending the rights of their people in Europe, now under four alien regimes. Thus, the Polish action known as "pacification" of East Galicia in 1930 aroused much protest among immigrants. Funds were raised to help charitable, educational, and po-

FIGURE 635. UKRAINIAN PAVILION AT THE 1933 WORLD'S FAIR, "A CENTURY OF PROGRESS," IN CHICAGO

litical institutions in Ukraine. The United Ukrainian Organizations alone sent over $365,000. It also developed an intensive propaganda activity. Other organizations were active along the same lines. In 1938–9, when Carpatho-Ukraine became an autonomous state, the Ukrainian Americans provided assistance with generous contributions of money, food, and clothing.

After 1940, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) assumed national representation and became the spokesman for the Ukrainian organized community in the United States. In that year it sent a memorandum to the government of the United States about the situation in Ukraine. In the World War II conflict between the major antagonists, Ukrainians opposed both German Nazism and Russian Communism. This attitude did not coincide with the official policy of the United States government of aiding the USSR against Germany. Under such circumstances, the Ukrainian independence movement was not popular in official American quarters. Public opinion was also cool towards it. There were some hostile insinuations against the Ukrainian American leaders and institutions, accusing them of pro-Nazi sympathies. This gave an opportunity to American pro-Soviet groups to exploit the United States alliance with the Soviets against Ukrainian nationalist leaders.

In May 1945, the UCCA sent a delegation of observers to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco where they submitted a memorandum concerning the status and aspirations of Ukraine. A similar delegation went to the Paris Peace Conference in 1946 to inform delegates there about the real situation in Ukraine and the plight of its people, and to challenge the presence of the Ukrainian Soviet delegation. During the years 1947–8, the UCCA took steps to gain asylum for the fighters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army who crossed the boundary to the U.S. zone of West Germany.

In regard to the American policy of coexistence, initiated in the late 1950's and continued until the present time, and in the matter of officially sponsored cultural exchanges with the USSR, the Ukrainian organizations, mainly the UCCA, have voiced their strong opposition. The UCCA leaders have constantly urged a stronger anti-Russian course and demand U.S. recognition of Ukraine's right to national independence. Many

U.S. senators and congressmen have publicly voiced their support of this policy. The annual observance in the U.S. Congress which marks the anniversary of Ukrainian independence (January 22, 1918) has some publicity value. Likewise, the annual July observances of the Captive Nations Week (in accordance with the U.S. Public Law 86-90 adopted in 1959) have some propaganda significance. The Ukrainian group is very active in these demonstrations, in fact, it is their main organizer, frequently enlisting support of other east European groups. The president of the UCCA, L. Dobriansky, is chairman of the National Captive Nations Week Committee.

The Conference of Americans of Central and East European Descent (CACEED) was organized in 1955 to coordinate some activities with other east European representative bodies. The UCCA is a member of the conference. Another active group is the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), sponsored on the Ukrainian side by the Ukrainian Liberation Front organizations; other east European émigrés cooperate with it.

Frequently, Ukrainian political leaders from Europe tour the Ukrainian communities in the United States in order to keep alive interest in Ukrainian affairs and to win support for their programs.

**Ukrainians in American Politics**

It is only during the last decades that some interest has been shown by Ukrainians in American politics. Their participation and activity in American political affairs is minimal, or, at any rate, disproportionate to their number. Other stronger ethnic communities (Jews, Italians, Greeks, Poles, and even some smaller Slavic groups) have fared much better in this regard. There are several reasons for this: territorial and organizational fragmentation, complete lack of previous experience in American public life, and almost exclusive preoccupation with issues concerning captive Ukraine.

In the early years, the immigrants were slow in acquiring American citizenship, and when they did become citizens (immediately before World War I the process of naturalization had become more common), their participation in American politics was still negligible. Occasionally, some of them might have been involved in local party politics. It was mainly the American-born generation of Ukrainians which began to organize their own political clubs and to affiliate them with major parties. As a result of their relative passivity, no Ukrainian Americans have been elected to the U.S. Congress, although some of them ran for this office. They fared better on the local and state level, several having served as mayors of their communities, as councilmen, members of school boards, and even in the state legislatures of New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Indiana, and North Dakota.

Lately, a trend toward a more active participation in American politics can be discerned, also among the recently naturalized post-World War II immigrants. The bulk of the second and third generation of Ukrainian Americans tend to vote for the Democratic party (as is the case with other ethnic groups). The new immigrants, however, lean toward the Republicans. There are several local and state Ukrainian clubs attached to both parties, but these are active only during election campaigns.

Ukrainians, with few exceptions, do not hold high governmental appointive posts. The exceptions are Joseph Charyk (*b.* 1920), president of the Communications Satellite Corporation, who was Air Force Under Secretary in 1960–63, and George Kistiakovsky (*b.* 1900) who served as special adviser to President Eisenhower in the field of science and technology; later he became chairman of the advisory committee in the same field.

Michael Yarymovych was appointed deputy assistant secretary for research and development in 1968. There are no Ukrainians in any important diplomatic posts. On the other hand, a few West Point and Annapolis graduates of Ukrainian background hold high ranks in the armed forces.

## EDUCATION

Along with the organization of religious life and the establishment of fraternal societies, the early immigrants turned their attention to cultural problems, especially that of education. As the majority of them sprang from the disadvantaged classes of society in their homeland, they possessed, perhaps, an inadequate appreciation of the value of education. The percentage of illiteracy was rather high among them (before 1914 it amounted to 55 per cent). In America they were able to organize their own cultural life thanks to the activity of a small but articulate and idealistic group of intelligentsia and because of the impact of the cultural renaissance in their homeland. Moreover, the influence of the American environment, wherein education was highly valued, also played an important part.

When the first Ukrainian immigrants set foot on American soil education was compulsory in almost all the States of the Union, with all children enrolled in public grade schools. Ukrainian parents felt, however, that their children should be taught the Ukrainian language as well, and to receive religious instruction in their native rites. Thus a need arose for supplementary Ukrainian-language schools, and it was the local parish church that met this need. The first such parish school was established in Shamokin, Pa., in 1893; the following year there were schools in six other towns in Pennsylvania.

Children attended these schools after their regular school hours, in the evening or on Saturdays. The level of education in the Ukrainian schools was rather low. Qualified teachers were scarce; textbooks

FIGURE 636. UKRAINIAN SATURDAY SCHOOL IN MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

and educational facilities were inadequate. Classes were usually held in church basements or in civic clubs. Most of the teachers lacked professional training, being mostly sexton-teachers (*diakovchyteli*) who had been well known in the old country and who for some time became pillars of Ukrainian community life in America. They were joined in cultural activities by choir directors, organizers of amateur drama groups, and performing artists. Some of the schools taught in the Ukrainian literary language, others in local dialects, still others in a Ukrainian-Russian mixture, depending on the teacher's political views and affiliation. All sorts of textbooks were used, including those published in Ukrainian in Galicia and texts from Carpatho-Ukraine issued by the Hungarian government, which employed a Ukrainian dialect mixed with church Slavonic.

The development of Ukrainian community life in the United States along with the simultaneous linguistic assimilation of children at the beginning of the twentieth century made the problem of Ukrainian-language education a critical one. To meet the problem, an educational fund, an educational committee,

and a Ukrainian boarding school (including a dormitory) were established in Philadelphia. The Rev. Paul Tymkevych was the prime mover of this project, with Bishop Soter Ortynsky lending his active support. Subsequently, a cultural congress, held in Philadelphia in 1909, adopted a series of resolutions dealing with the Ukrainian-language schools. For the first time, for example, Ukrainian textbooks and children's books were published in the United States. Ukrainian fraternal organizations, such as the Ukrainian National Association, steadily promoted education, mainly through contributions to the educational fund and to publishing endeavors.

Efforts to coordinate all of the educational activities were undertaken after World War I by the United Ukrainian Organizations (Obiednannia Ukraïns'kykh Organizatsii), which set up an educational department and published a number of textbooks. It fell short, however, in its efforts to implement a thorough reorganization of Ukrainian schools. In 1927, a board of Ridna Shkola (Native School) was established, but its work, though valuable, was short-lived and confined to such matters as standardization of textbooks and curricula.

The first Ukrainian Catholic all-day schools appeared in the 1920's, and they were soon accepted as part of the American educational system. Classes were taught in English, but time was set aside for both the Ukrainian language and religious instruction in the Ukrainian rite. The first such institution was St. Basil's School in Philadelphia, founded in 1925. By 1940 there were 12 elementary schools in the Philadelphia exarchate.

With the arrival of a new wave of Ukrainian immigrants in the immediate post-World War II period, many qualified teachers became available and the educational system was greatly enhanced. New Ukrainian-language weekend schools were established on the primary and secondary levels. In 1953, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) set up the Educational Council (Shkil'na Rada) to organize and coordinate educational work (accreditation of schools, recommendation of texts and standardization of programs) in all Ukrainian non-parochial primary and secondary weekend schools. Since 1960 the council has been headed by Edward Zarsky. In addition, the Educational Council provides courses at the college level in New York, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Chicago. A similar educational council directs Ukrainian-language schools sponsored by the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of U.S.A.

At present the Ukrainian school system in the U.S. consists of two types of institution. One is the all-day school, established and run by the Catholic Church (see Table II); it numbers 66 elementary schools with 16,000 pupils, 8 high schools with 1,500 students, and two college-level institutions: Manor Junior College for girls in Jenkintown, Pa., conducted by the Sisters of St. Basil the Great, and the interdiocesan St. Basil's College Seminary in Stamford, Conn. In the schools of the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan See of Philadelphia the Ukrainian language is taught as a subject, and in many schools religious instruction is also given, at least partially, in Ukrainian. Only in a few of the schools run by the three Byzantine rite dioceses for the Carpatho-Ukrainians is the "Ruthenian" language taught, with the result that the ethnic character of these schools is rapidly disappearing.

The second type is the weekend school, which holds classes mostly on Saturdays (sometimes on Sundays). Instruction is given in the Ukrainian language, literature, history, geography, culture, and religion. These schools are operated by Catholic parishes (over 50), Orthodox churches (55 Sunday schools for religious instruction and 57 Ukrainian-language schools), and the Ukrainian Protestant communities. The bulk of the Ukrainian-language schools under the

supervision of the UCCA Educational Council (over 50) are non-denominational. Some of these schools enjoy the local sponsorship of the Ridna Shkola associations, U.C.C.A. branches, teachers' and youth organizations.

The problem of preschool education has yet to be adequately solved. There are 10 nurseries and 17 kindergartens,

FIGURE 637. BOYS' CAMP AT THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION RESORT "SOYUZIVKA" IN THE SUMMER OF 1969

with a total of 682 pupils (1967), which are maintained by the all-day Ukrainian Catholic schools. Some women's organizations, notably the Ukrainian National Women's League of America, sponsor both nurseries and kindergartens. In 1967 there were 18 of them, with 300 pupils. The latter meet only a few times a week. The language of instruction is Ukrainian.

In all, some 16,000 to 18,000 children are embraced by the Ukrainian-language school system. (The non-denominational schools have an enrollment of 8,000, the Ukrainian Orthodox close to 3,000, the Ukrainian Catholic 2,000.) A significant number of students of the Ukrainian Catholic all-day schools also attend the Ukrainian language weekend schools. Approximately 30,000 to 35,000 students are enrolled in schools organized and maintained by the Ukrainian American community. This number, however, represents only 25 per cent of all school-age children of Ukrainian parentage. Children of the new immigrants constitute a high percentage of this enrollment. Instruction in Ukrainian depends largely on the attitude of the parents and on the initiative of secular organizations. Churches insist on it to a lesser degree, being interested primarily in religious instruction.

Americans of Ukrainian descent have been unsuccessful, however, in developing a well-organized educational system and in matching the level of educational systems of some other ethnic groups in the U.S. Nonetheless, 75 per cent of the schools operated by Ukrainian churches and by organizations (excluding the Carpatho-Ruthenian ones) still retain the Ukrainian language; no other nationality can match this percentage.

**Adult Education**

During the first decades of Ukrainian immigrant life the entire cultural and educational activity was centered around the reading rooms (*chytal'ni*) patterned after the Prosvita clubs in Ukraine. The first such reading rooms were established in Shenandoah (1887), New York (1908), and Philadelphia (1914). It soon became apparent that these reading rooms could not satisfy the needs of immigrants who, under the influence of the American environment, inevitably converted them into typical American social clubs. Consequently they lost their purely educational character. A substantial contribution to the development of educational and cultural activity was made by the Ruthenian (later Ukrainian) National Association which began publishing popular books in 1896 and founded the A. Bonchevsky Publishing House in 1904 (in operation until 1907). The association's educational committee, founded in 1912, organized schools and adult education courses. It published a whole series of books (under the name Prosvita Society in America) and established libraries in various centers of Ukrainian immigrant life in America. In 1914–17, the committee distributed a total of 131,000 books.

Gradually the parishes, the churches, and the fraternal associations entered the social and cultural life of the Ukrainians in America. It was not unusual for

a church chorus to cultivate the art of secular singing or for a parish to sponsor an amateur drama circle. It was not until after World War I, however, that some of these cultural activities developed extensively enough to assume more of a secular character. The arrival of new immigrants after World War II greatly enhanced the cultural life of the Ukrainians in the United States. Various civic and cultural organizations continue to take an active part in this cultural development of Ukrainian settlers in America (see Organizations).

## ECONOMIC LIFE AND ORGANIZATION

Ukrainian immigrants in the United States are predominantly workers in industry, trade, transport, and various services. Only some 5–8 per cent live in the agricultural areas, and a still smaller percentage work on farms.

The field in which Ukrainians excel is the small retail trade. The Ukrainian immigrants built up their establishments individually and on their own initiative. In 1936 there was a total of 2,723 Ukrainian independent enterprises of various types, including 847 grocery stores, 487 restaurants, 307 hotels, 46 window-cleaning establishments, 11 financial institutions, and similar establishments. Ukrainians also owned 14 factories (see also Occupations and Professions).

The cooperative movement, which had found such a fertile soil in Ukraine, made little headway in the U.S. In 1887, the Cooperative General Store and, later, the Shenandoah Russian Store Company were founded in Pennsylvania, plus a number of grocery stores which had branches in smaller towns, but these existed only a short while. Also founded on a cooperative basis were the Ruthenian National Union in Yonkers, N.Y. (1901) and the Ruthenian National Home in Olyphant, Pa. (1904).

After World War II, several Ukrainian consumer cooperative stores were established, among which the most prosperous is the "Self-Help" cooperative in Chicago. Also in existence is the Publishing Cooperative, Chervona Kalyna (The Guelder-Rose), and the Bazaar cooperative of Ukrainian folk art in Philadelphia.

There are no banks in the United States in which Ukrainian depositors are in a majority. But there are well-organized Ukrainian savings and loan associations, many of which survived the major depression. Among them are: Parma Savings and Loan Association in Cleveland (founded in 1915); the Ukrainian Savings and Loan Association in Philadelphia (founded in 1918); the Trident Savings and Loan Association in Newark, New Jersey (founded in 1924). In 1935 the Trident Savings and Loan Association was founded in Chicago, but in 1966 it merged with the Chicago Savings and Loan Association. In 1964, the Security Savings and Loan Association was established in Chicago. The capital of each of these associations is in excess of 2 million dollars, while that of the Parma Savings and Loan Association is approaching the sum of 100 million dollars.

In addition, in the early 1950's, a number of Ukrainian credit unions were established by the Self-Reliance organization, which was founded by recent immigrants. At present Self-Reliance has 16 credit unions throughout the country, with over 20 million dollars in assets (both shares and savings) and 22,000 members. The credit unions advance loans for homes, small enterprises, professional offices, and the like; loans are also made available for students. In 1957, the Association of Ukrainian Cooperatives was established as a central body of all types of Ukrainian cooperatives in the U.S.

As far back as 1890, Ukrainian businessmen had succeeded in establishing a Ukrainian organization in New York. Subsequently it was transformed into the Association of Ukrainian Businessmen (over 100 members in 1942). Through the efforts of the new immigrants (after

1947) an Association of Ukrainian Businessmen and Professionalists was established, which now numbers over 200 members.

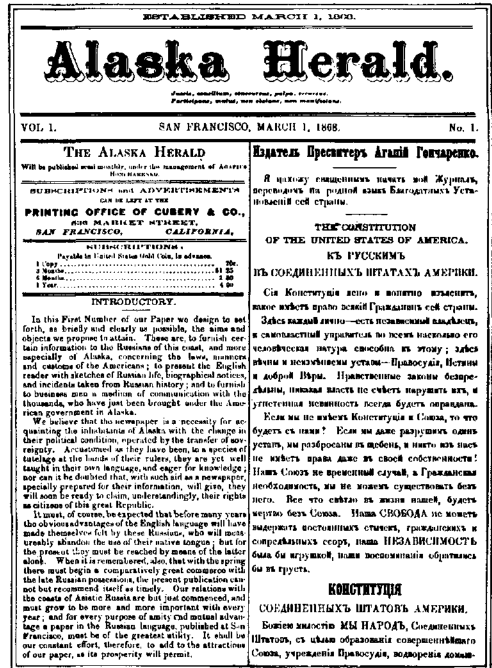
The economic position of Ukrainians in the United States is weak in relation to their total number. They do not have strong economic organizations, their participation in industry and commerce is limited, and not many of them are stockholders. Only as individuals have they shown interest in stock operations. As a rule, they do not buy on credit, and prefer to save their money rather than invest in financial enterprises. Few take economic risks of any sort. The majority of them own their own homes.

## CULTURAL AND COMMUNITY LIFE

### Press and Publishing

From its very inception the Ukrainian press in America pursued two basic objectives: (1) to inform the Ukrainian-speaking reader about problems and events in the U.S. and in the world at large; (2) to preserve the Ukrainian identity within the new society and culture. The press also served as a link between Ukrainian immigrants in America and their native land, especially as regards problems they had left behind. Hardly any other ethnic press in the U.S. has been so intensely oriented towards its homeland as the Ukrainian.

The birth of the Ukrainian ethnic press in America dates back to March 1868 when the Rev. Agapius Honcharenko began the publication of the *Alaska Herald*. A supplement, titled *Svoboda* and printed in Russian and Ukrainian, was added to the newspaper in August 1868. The supplement continued to appear through 1872. From September 1872 through June 1873 it appeared as a separate newspaper (five issues). In 1886, the Rev. Ivan Voliansky launched the biweekly *America* (later a weekly) which lasted only four years. Two other periodicals, *Rus'ke Slovo* (The Ruthen-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**Alaska Herald.**

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INTRODUCTORY.

In this First Number of our Paper we design to set forth, as briefly and clearly as possible, the aims and objects we propose to attain. These are, to furnish certain information to the Russians of this coast, and more especially of Alaska, concerning the laws, manners and customs of the Americans; to present the English reader with sketches of Russian life, biographical notices, and incidents taken from Russian history; and to furnish to business men a medium of communication with the thousands, who have just been brought under the American government in Alaska.

We believe that the newspaper is a necessity for acquainting the inhabitants of Alaska with the change in their political condition, operated by the transfer of sovereignty. Accustomed as they have been, to a species of tutelage at the hands of their rulers, they are yet well taught in their own language, and eager for knowledge; nor can it be doubted that, with such aid as a newspaper, specially prepared for their information, will give, they will soon be ready to claim, understandingly, their rights as citizens of this great Republic.

It must, of course, be expected that before many years the obvious advantages of the English language will have made themselves felt by these Russians, who will measureably abandon the use of their native tongue; but for the present they must be reached by means of the latter alone. When it is remembered, also, that with the spring there must begin a comparatively great commerce with the late Russian possessions, the present publication cannot but recommend itself as timely. Our relations with the coasts of Asiatic Russia are but just commenced, and must grow to be more and more important with every year; and for every purpose of amity and mutual advantage a paper in the Russian language, published at San Francisco, must be of the greatest utility. It shall be our constant effort, therefore, to add to the attractions of our paper, as its prosperity will permit.

Издатель Пресвитеръ Агапiй Гончаренко.

Я прохожу священнымъ начать мой Журналъ, переводомъ на родной языкъ Благодатныхъ Установленiй сей страны.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

КЪ РУССКИМЪ ВЪ СОЕДИНЕННЫХЪ ШТАТАХЪ АМЕРИКИ.

Сiя Конституцiя ясно и понятно изъяснитъ, какое имѣетъ право всякiй Гражданинъ сей страны.

Здѣсь каждый лично—есть независимый владѣлецъ, и самовластный управитель во всемъ насколько его человѣческая натура способна къ этому; здѣсь вѣчны и неизмѣнемы уставы—Правосудiя, Истины и доброй Вѣры. Нравственные законы безпредѣльны, никакая власть не смѣетъ нарушить ихъ, и угнетенная невинность всегда будетъ оправдана.

Если мы не имѣемъ Конституцiя и Союза, то что будетъ съ нами? Если мы даже разрушимъ одинъ уставъ, мы разбросаны въ щебень, и никто изъ насъ не имѣетъ права даже въ своей собственности! Нашъ Союзъ не временный случай, а Гражданская необходимость, мы не можемъ существовать безъ него. Все что свѣтло въ жизни нашей, будетъ мертво безъ Союза. Наша СВОБОДА не можетъ выдержать постоянныхъ стычекъ, гражданскихъ и соперѣльныхъ ссоръ, наша НЕЗАВИСИМОСТЬ была бы игрушкой, наши воспоминанiя обратились бы въ грусть.

КОНСТИТУЦIЯ СОЕДИНЕННЫХЪ ШТАТОВЪ АМЕРИКИ.

Божiею милостiю МЫ НАРОДЪ, Соединенныхъ Штатовъ, съ цѣлью образованiя совершеннѣйшаго Союза, учрежденiя Правосудiя, водворенiя домаш-

FIGURE 638. TITLE PAGE OF THE *Alaska Herald* (SAN FRANCISCO, 1868)

ian Word) and *Novyi Svit* (The New World), were also shortlived. Since then, over 200 different Ukrainian-language periodicals have appeared in the United States, not including organizational and parochial bulletins. Understandably, the professional standards of the first newspapers were not very high since they were edited by non-professional journalists. Moreover, they were intended for a reading public that had little education. The subsequent fragmentation of publishing capabilities has prevented Ukrainian newspapers from becoming self-sustaining; with few exceptions, they are subsidized by individual organizations.

In 1946 there were 29 Ukrainian newspapers and magazines in America; by 1951 the number had increased to 72, and by 1958 to 79 (most of them bulletins and newsletters). Volodymyr Doroshenko, the late Ukrainian bibliographer, put the number of all Ukrainian periodicals in Ukrainian, or published by the Ukrainians in the United States in 1963,

including parochial bulletins and school papers, at 287.

The majority of the Ukrainian newspapers employ literary Ukrainian language. Russian is used by the press of the pro-Russian camp. The publications of the Carpatho-Ukrainian and Lemkian groups employ an artificial jargon (*yazychiie*), a mixture of the Ukrainian literary with dialecticisms and Russian, Church Slavonic and Slovak borrowings, printed in Cyrillic or Latin characters. Moreover, the Carpatho-Ukrainian press makes increasing use of the English language. The oldest newspaper in this group is the *Greek Catholic Union Messenger*, a weekly founded in 1892 in Homestead, Pa., as the *Amerikanskyi Ruskyi Viestnik* (The American Ruthenian Herald).

The oldest, largest, and most influential newspaper is the daily *Svoboda*, official organ of the Ukrainian National Association, founded in 1893. Its first editor was the Rev. Gregory Hrushka; one of its outstanding editors was Luke

СВОБОДА

Шевченко

ЧАСОПИСЬ ДЛЯ РУСКОГО НАРОДА ВЪ АМЕРИЦѢ

Число 1. ДЖЕРСИ СИТИ Н. Д. 15. Вересня 1893. ГОДЪ I

БРАТЯ РУСИНИ!

Русини!

FIGURE 639. TITLE PAGE OF *Svoboda*, JERSEY CITY, N.J. (1893)

Myshuha (1933–55). The paper is published in Jersey City, N.J.; it appears five times a week and has a circulation of 20,000. Since 1933 an English-language weekly supplement, *The Ukrainian Weekly*, has been published by the Ukrainian National Association. The Providence Association of Ukrainian Catholics publishes the daily *America* in Philadelphia (circulation 5,000); it was established in 1912. Since 1910 the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association has published the weekly *Narodna Volya* (The People's Will) in Scranton, Pa. The weekly *Ukraïns'ke Narodne Slovo* (Ukrainian National Word), official organ of the Ukrainian National Aid Association, is published in Pittsburgh (formerly it was an Orthodox newspaper). The Philadelphia Ukrainian Catholic Archeparchy publishes the weekly *Shliakh* (The Way) in both Ukrainian and English, and the St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic diocese of Chicago began publishing the weekly *Nova Zoria* (The New Star) in 1965. The weekly *Ukraïns'ke Zhyttia* (Ukrainian Life) also appears in Chicago.

In McKeesport, Pa., the *Sobraniie*, a Carpatho-Ukrainian fraternal association publishes the monthly (formerly a weekly) *Prosvita*. The staunchly pro-Russian weekly *Pravda* (Truth) is published in Philadelphia, Pa., by the Russian Brotherhood Organization; similarly oriented is the biweekly *Svit* (The Light) published in Wilkes-Barre, Pa. since 1897, by the Russian Orthodox Catholic Mutual Aid Society. The weekly *Karpatskaia Rus'* (Carpathian Ruthenia), published in Yonkers, N.Y. since 1927, is the official organ of the Lemko-Soiuz, a Carpatho-Ukrainian fraternal organization. The only pro-Soviet Ukrainian newspaper is the weekly (formerly a daily) *Ukraïns'ki Visti* (Ukrainian News), published in New York since 1920. The two Carpatho-Ukrainian Catholic dioceses publish the following English-language newspapers: *The Eastern Rite Herald*, official organ of the Passaic di-

ocese, and *The Byzantine Catholic World*, put out by the Munhall Archdiocese (with a Ruthenian supplement). *Ukraïns'ke Pravoslavne Slovo* (Ukrainian Orthodox World), a monthly appearing in South Bound Brook, N.J., since 1940, is the official organ of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S.

There are many Ukrainian magazines published in the U.S. Some of the popular titles in the political field are: *Visnyk* (Herald) of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms of Ukraine; *Samostiina Ukraïna* (Independent Ukraine), *Lysty do Pryiateliv* (Letters to Friends, discontinued in 1968), and *Vil'na Ukraïna* (Free Ukraine). Others include the women's monthly, *Nashe Zhyttia* (Our Life), which also carries articles in English; *Lys Mykyta* (The Fox), a satirical monthly; youth periodicals *Hotuis'* (Be Ready), *Krylati* (The Winged Ones), *Veselka* (The Rainbow), and *Smoloskyp* (The Torch, discontinued in 1968); professional—*Likars'kyi Visnyk* (The Medical Herald), *Visti Ukraïns'kykh Inzheneriv* (Ukrainian Engineers News), and *Zhyttia i Shkola* (Life and School). The literary quarterly *Kyïv*, founded in 1950 in Philadelphia, Pa., was discontinued in 1965, as was the pro-Soviet literary magazine *Za Synim Okeanom* (Across the Blue Ocean, closed in 1963). The quarterly *Ovyd* (Horizon), published in Chicago, is devoted to cultural problems, while the bimonthly *Visti* (News) appearing in St. Paul, Minn., since 1962, specializes in the arts and music.

Among the English-language periodicals, in addition to the English supplements of the Ukrainian newspapers and magazines, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America publishes *The Ukrainian Quarterly* (founded in 1944) and the monthly *The Ukrainian Bulletin* (1948–70), both edited by N. Chubaty, and now by W. Dushnyck. The younger generation of Ukrainian Americans started a number of English-language publications: *The Ukrainian Trend, Horizons, Trendette, Forum, The Ukrainian American* (pro-Soviet), and others.

The total circulation of newspapers published in Ukrainian in the United States reaches about 50,000 copies and that of magazines 60,000 to 65,000 copies. At the same time, Ukrainian newspapers from Canada and western Europe are widely circulated in the United States; a small number of Ukrainians in the United States subscribe to Soviet Ukrainian newspapers and magazines.

In addition to newspapers, there are publishing houses and cultural and scholarly institutions which bring out books, pamphlets, and other non-periodical literature. Included in this category are: Knyhospilka (1952–68), the Prolog Research and Publishing Association (1953), Bulava (1950), Chervona Kalyna (1951), the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., Arka (1950), Howerla (1950), all in New York; The Independent Ukraine, the Ukrainian Information and Research Institute, the M. Denysiuk Publishing Co., all in Chicago. Between 1950 and 1960 the bulk of the Ukrainian publications outside of Ukraine was produced in the United States (45–50 per cent).

**Literature.** The beginnings of Ukrainian immigrant literature, dating back to the 1890's, are connected with the development of the Ukrainian press. Editors and collaborators of newspapers, especially of *Svoboda*, wrote not only journalistic articles and reports, but also poetry, short stories, essays, and dramas. Known for their literary contributions were the Rev. Gregory Hrushka, Nestor Dmytriv, Stephen Makar, and Sava Charnetsky.

In contrast to the Ukrainian immigrant literature in Canada, the mode of life of the immigrants was inadequately depicted by Ukrainian American writers. The first poetry, which in form resembled the rather simple folk creations, was impregnated with sadness, longing for the native land, and lamentations over

the hardships of immigrant life. During World War I the poetry of the Ukrainian

FIGURE 640. EXHIBIT OF BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION AND THE *Svoboda* PRESS

American writers fell under the influence of the Ukrainian struggle for independence. It had a strong patriotic flavor, notable in the works of such poets as Dmytro Zakharchuk, Stephen Musiichuk, and Matthew Kostyshyn. Immigrant motifs also appear in the work of later poets, such as Nicholas Horishnyi and Ivan Tsybulsky. Poet and scientist Alexander Neprytsky-Granovsky (*b.* 1887), who came to America in 1913 and who has published several collections, occupies an intermediate position between the immigrant writers and the literary political exiles.

Prose also failed to develop to any marked degree, although a series of short stories and novels did portray the life of the immigrant, the new conditions of life, the struggle against social and economic hardships and the human conflict as well. In addition to the writers mentioned above, those engaged in prose writing were Michael Biela, Sigismond Bachynsky, Nicholas Strutynsky, Julian Chupka, and Stephen Kostiv. But the novel did not progress much beyond a few weak attempts (for example, *Pry bytii dorozi* [At the Beaten Path] by N. Strutynsky). Playwriting was represented by a few comedies and dramas, commissioned by local theatrical groups. Their authors—S. Makar, N. Strutynsky, S. Musiichuk and Hieronim Lutsky—were all priests.

Almost devoid of any immigrant character is the work of a large group of Ukrainian writers (over 150) who settled in the United States after World War II. Psychologically, ideologically, and topically they are in the mainstream of the Ukrainian literary process [Vol. I, Literature, pp. 1079–86]. They are organized, along with Ukrainian immigrant writers in other countries, in the *Slovo* (Word) Association of Ukrainian Writers (headed by Gregory Kostiuk) which publishes non-periodical collections of the same name and the works of various writers. Several Ukrainian writers belong to the International PEN Club.

Typical immigrant subject matter can be found only in several novels and short stories (Dokia Humenna, Ivan Kernytsky, Sophia Parfanovych, Mykola Ponedilok, Ostap Tarnavsky, Daria Yaroslavska).

In the late 1950's, a group of young poets and writers emerged who introduced modernist trends into the Ukrainian literary process. They make up the so-called New York Group [Vol. I, p. 1084], which has issued 10 collections of *Novi poezii* (New Poems) and several books. Most of its members began their literary activity in the United States (Bohdan Boychuk, Zhenia Vasylkivska, Bohdan Rubchak, Yurii Tarnavsky). Some of them have also been writing in English. Another leading member of the group is Patricia Kylyna, an American poetess who writes also in Ukrainian. Marie Halun-Bloch and Yaroslava Surmach-Mills are known in American literature for their original and translated works in the realm of children's literature.

## Fine Arts, Architecture, and Folk Art

The first Ukrainian artists in the United States were church painters (E. Vasylenko, and the Rev. Hlib Verkhovsky who painted the sanctuary of St. Nicholas Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral in Chicago). Later on a number of painters emerged, some born and educated in America, who at first de-

voted themselves exclusively to painting (Michael Myrosh, George Poluha, Ivan Kuchmak) and subsequently changed to such branches of commercial art as films (Ambrose Palyvoda), graphic arts (Nicholas Berwinchak), illustrating (John Rosolovich), or dress design. Among the leading Ukrainian artists in the United States was the world-famed sculptor Alexander Archipenko (1887–1964). He contributed a number of sculptures to the Ukrainian community, notably figures of Grand Prince Volodymyr the Great, Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko (Ukrainian Cultural Garden in Cleveland), and Taras Shevchenko (Soyuzivka resort in Kerhonkson, N.Y.).

FIGURE 641. STATUE OF VOLODYMYR THE GREAT (FASHIONED BY A. ARCHIPENKO), ONE OF FIVE ERECTED IN THE UKRAINIAN CULTURAL GARDEN IN CLEVELAND

After World War II, close to 100 Ukrainian painters and sculptors came to the United States from western Europe. In 1952 they founded the Association of Ukrainian Artists in America, whose president for many years was sculptor Serhii Lytvynenko (1899–1964). Heading the group at the present time is M. Chereshniovsky. The Association stages art exhibits, and its members hold frequent individual showings. A group of young artists trained in American schools comprises a section of the Association. In addition to New York, which has been the center of Ukrainian art life since the early 1950's, local art groups exist in Philadelphia (an Art Studio, headed by Peter Mehyk and Peter Andrusiw with their own magazine *Notatky z mystetstva* [Art Notes]) Chicago ("Monolith" group of young artists), Minneapolis, Detroit, and other cities. Ukrainian painters in the United States continue to be extensively engaged in church art, representing a neo-Byzantine school (Sviatoslav Hordynsky, Michael Dmytrenko, Peter Kholodny). Others are pursuing successful careers in American institutions as magazine illustrators (Yaroslava Surmach-Mills), cinematographers (William Tytla), art instructors (Nicholas Brytsky, James Gaboda, Arkadia Olenska-Petryshyn).

Among the most popular Ukrainian artists in America are: Michael Moroz, Edward Kozak, Nicholas Butovych (1895–1963); Jacques Hnizdovsky, Liu-

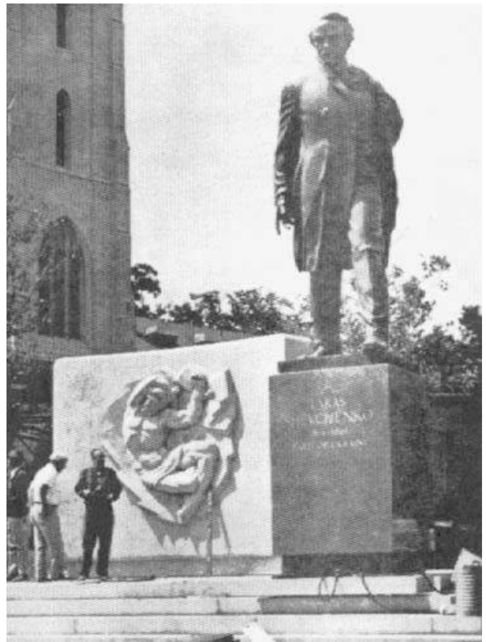

FIGURE 642. MONUMENT OF TARAS SHEVCHENKO IN WASHINGTON, D.C. (SCULPTOR LEO MOL)

boslav Hutsaliuk, Jurij Solovij; sculptors Michael Chereshniovsky, Nicholas Mukhyn (1910–62); Constantine Milonadis; Andreas Darahan, creator of the Taras Shevchenko monument in Winnipeg, Man., in 1961, and Leo Mol-Molodozhanyn, Ukrainian Canadian sculptor who created the statue of Taras Shevchenko in Washington in 1964 (for more on contemporary Ukrainian artists in the U.S., see pp. 568–9). In addition to individual shows in various galleries, there were many group exhibits staged by Ukrainian artists in the United States. Among the most outstanding exhibits was the 1960 display at Wayne State University in Detroit, which showed the works of 78 Ukrainian artists.

Noteworthy examples of Ukrainian church architecture in America are: the church-monument in the so-called Kozak-baroque style in South Bound Brook,

FIGURE 643. ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN HUNTER, N.Y. (ARCHITECT I. ZHUKOVSKY)

N.J., by George Kodak (1964) and a series of neo-Byzantine churches by Julian K. Jastremsky, including Immaculate Conception Cathedral in Philadelphia and St. John the Baptist Church in Newark, N.J. More or less modern forms are applied by Apollinare Osadca and Miroslav Nimciv. Also worthy of note are the wooden churches in Hunter, N.Y., and in Glen Spey, N.Y., built in the traditional style by Ivan Zukovsky and A. Osadca. However, many Ukrainian churches in America are designed by non-Ukrainian architects often only vaguely acquainted with the traditions and requirements of the Eastern rite.

Various articles of Ukrainian folk art and handicraft (embroidery, rugs, Easter eggs, wood carvings, ceramics, etc.) are in popular demand on the American market. They are produced in the U.S.A. or Canada and sold in Ukrainian stores which can be found in every major center of Ukrainian settlement. The creative achievements of Ukrainian culture were exhibited to the American public in a Ukrainian pavilion prepared by Americans of Ukrainian descent at the 1933 World's Fair in Chicago, Ill. (see Fig. 635), and at the International Women's Exposition in New York City for many years.

### Music

One of the most popular arts brought from the old world and cultivated in America by the Ukrainian immigrants was that of choral music. As a rule, the first choirs were organized by churches and reading clubs. As early as the 1890's, a series of concerts was staged by Ukrainian choirs, soloists, and orchestras. In 1913 an association of sexton-teachers was founded for the purpose of cultivating Ukrainian choral music. The quality and technique of choral art was greatly enhanced by the activities of the Ukrainian National Choir under the direction of Alexander Koshyts (1875–1944), who, living in the United States and Canada, virtually single-handedly created an entire school of choral directors. Arriving in the United States after World War I were such Ukrainian composers as Michael Haivoronsky (1892–1949), Roman Prydatkevych, and Paul Pecheniha-Ouglitzky (1892–1948), and a number of singers who raised the level of vocal art. Among the best known choruses in the 1920's and 1930's were the Ukrainian Besida Choir, the Ukrainian Youth Cho-

rus of New York and New Jersey, the United Chorus, consisting of seven choirs of the New York metropolitan area, and the chorus led by Theodore Kaskiv in Newark, N.J. Some of the most successful concerts were those given in honor of M. Haivoronsky in 1933–4, the concert of Ukrainian church music at Carnegie Hall under the direction of A. Koshyts in 1936, and the concert at the New York World's Fair in 1939, also under Koshyts. Outstanding Ukrainian choruses existed also in Scranton, Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland.

After World War II, rich musical activity was developed by the T. Shevchenko Bandura Ensemble under the direction of Gregory Kytastyi, Volodymyr Bozhyk, and Ivan Zadorozny. The ensemble made several tours of the United States, Canada, and western Europe.

FIGURE 644. THE TARAS SHEVCHENKO UKRAINIAN BANDURYST CAPELLA

Among the most popular Ukrainian choruses in America at the present time are: the Dumka Chorus of New York (directors Leontii Krushelnytsky, I. Zadorozny, and Alexander Bernyk); the Kobzar Chorus (Antin Rudnytsky) and the Prometheus Chorus (Michael Dliaboha) in Philadelphia; the Trembita Chorus in Detroit (Cyril Cependa, Bohdan Kushnir), the Dnipro Chorus in Cleveland (Eugene O. Sadowsky), and the Surma Chorus in Chicago (Ivan Truchlyi).

Among the best known singers are: mezzo-soprano Charlotta Ordassy-Baransky, performing with the New York Metropolitan Opera, Martha Kokolska (soprano), Alicia Mynaïw-Andreadis (soprano), and Andrij Dobriansky (bass), who are also engaged by American opera companies.

Other female singers who have appeared on the American and Ukrainian concert stage are: Maria Sokil-Rudnytsky, Olga Lepkova-Jastremsky, Hanna Sherey, Mary Lesawyer, Iia Maciuk, Stephania Turash, Isabelle Fomenko, Olga Pavlova, and Mary Bodnar. Some of them have also made records.

The best known male singers on the Ukrainian stage are: Michael Holynsky (prior to World War II), Theodore Teren-Yuzkiv, Lev Reinarovych, Ivan Hosch, George Bohachevsky, and Joseph Stecura.

In 1934 in New York the Association of Friends of Ukrainian Music was established. It has contributed substantially to the popularization of Ukrainian instrumental music in America. A string orchestra was organized in New York by M. Haivoronsky; and in the 1950's a Ukrainian chamber music ensemble made its appearance there. There are Ukrainian brass and mandolin orchestras and *bandura* ensembles in many centers of Ukrainian life in America. The *bandura* particularly is becoming increasingly popular among Ukrainian American youth.

Among the leading Ukrainian concert performers are: violinists R. Prydatkevych, who has given numerous concerts, Taras Hubitsky, Volodymyr Cisyk, and Yaroslav Mygasiuk; pianists Borys Maksymovych, Roman Savytsky (1907–60), Vadym Kipa (1912–68), Daria Karanovych-Hordynska, Roman Rudnytsky, and Christine Petrowsky; cellists Zoya Polewska and Dorian Rudnytsky. Among the composers and musicologists in the United States are: Zinovij Lysko (1895–1969), Volodymyr Hrudyn, Nicholas Fomenko (1894–1961), Antin Rudnytsky, Wasyl Wytwytsky, Ihor Sonevytsky. Nicholas Malko (1883–1961) was director of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra

in 1945–57, while the Detroit Symphony Orchestra was led by Bohdan Piurko (*d.* 1953) and later by T. Hubitsky (*b.* 1908).

A Ukrainian conservatory of music functioned in New York in the 1920's. The Ukrainian Music Institute was established in 1950 with 16 branches (in 1966) in New York and several major cities of the United States. Its founder and first director was R. Savytsky. Not many Ukrainians have found permanent careers in American musical establishments; likewise, Ukrainian music has failed to gain an entry into American radio and television. There are many Ukrainian records produced in Soviet Ukraine and abroad, popular in the U.S.A. Among the first publishers of Ukrainian musical literature in America were a Ukrainian Jew, H. Smoliansky, and the Ukrainian Musical Publishing House in New York. Witmark and Sons in New York published 42 songs of A. Koshyts with Ukrainian and English texts.

**Theater, Film, and Dance**

The Ukrainian theater in the United States dates back to the amateur circles of the 1890's. The repertory consisted of plays dealing with the Ukrainian mode of life or of stage plays by local authors on current themes (*Amerykans'kyi shliakhtych* [The American Nobleman], *Skupar* [The Miser], by S. Makar). In 1907–10 the Zaporozhs'ka Sich Society of New York, headed by Anthony Tsurkovsky, established a Ukrainian theater which survived for a short time only. Semen Komyshevatsky founded a permanent theatrical group in 1917 which staged plays in the Ukrainian National Home in New York. Another theatrical group under the direction of David Medovyi, consisting in great part of Ukrainian Jews, staged Ukrainian plays in New York and other American cities. In 1922 another drama group was founded by Volodymyr Ivanytsky. In 1923–8, there was a permanent professional Ukrainian theater in New York under the direction of Isaac Baziak (later Volodymyr Kedrovsky and Nicholas Karlash). In the 1930's, Dmytro Chutro formed an opera group under the auspices of the New York Besida and staged several operas (Tchaikovsky's *Mazepa* and Lysenko's *Taras Bul'ba*). Efforts towards the establishment of permanent Ukrainian theaters in Chicago and Detroit were unsuccessful because of insufficient funds.

In 1949 the Ukrainian theater in America was enriched by the arrival of the theatrical troupe of Volodymyr Blavatsky (1900–53) in Philadelphia and the Theatrical Studio of Joseph Hirniak and Olympia Dobrovolska in New York. The former, which operated until the death of its director, staged a series of highly professional performances. At present, its members stage occasional productions under the direction of Bohdan Pazdrii and Volodymyr Shasharovsky. The Theatrical Studio of J. Hirniak (subsequently the Ukrainian Theater of America) also appears with occasional productions. In 1965 a younger group of actors in New York founded the New Theater (director Volodymyr Lysniak). In 1963, former actors of the Lviv and Kiev theaters organized drama groups in Philadelphia which perform from time to time (The Theater on Friday and *Veselyi L'viv* [Gay Lviv-Theater]). Ac-

FIGURE 645. A SCENE FROM THE OPERA *Anna Yaroslavna* BY A. RUDNYTSKY, LIBRETTO BY L. POLTAVA (Premiere staged in New York in 1969).

tive in New York is an opera ensemble which stages operettas from the Ukrainian classical repertory (director Bohdan Piurko, succeeded by Lev Reinarovych); from time to time it also stages children's plays. In Cleveland, several operettas were presented under the direction of Yaroslav Barnych (1896–1966).

Only a few Ukrainians have succeeded in the American film industry as actors or directors. Among those who did are: director Edward Dmytryk, actors John Hodiak (*d.* 1955), Nick Adams (Adamchuk [*d.* 1968]), Jack Palance (Palahniuk), Mike Mazurki (Mazurkevych), Sandra Dee, Nina Koshyts, Anna Sten, and Liza Scott. William Shust is pursuing a successful career as a stage and television actor.

In the 1930's Ukrainian amateur studios produced a few Ukrainian films (*Natalka Poltavka, Marusia, Zaporozhets' za Dunaiem*) of mediocre quality. In recent years a few documentary films have been made in the United States (e.g., unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko monument in Washington and the World Congress of Free Ukrainians in 1967 in New York City by Yaroslav Kulynych and Bohdan Soluk).

Much has been done for the popularization of the Ukrainian dance by Basil Avramenko, noted Ukrainian folk dancer. Also active in the field of Ukrainian folk dancing were Dmytro Kist and M. Lavryk. On a more professional level are the ballet schools of Roma Pryma-Bohachevsky, herself a former ballerina of the Lviv Opera Theater, Valentina Pereiaslavets, former ballerina of the Kiev Theater of Opera and Ballet, and Vadym and Nina Sulyma.

## Scholarship

It was not until after World War I that Ukrainian scholars and scientists began arriving in the United States. Most of them found employment in research institutes and universities, for example, George Kistiakovsky, outstanding chemist and researcher in atomic energy at Harvard University; historian George Vernadsky (Yale University); scientist Stephen Tymoshenko and economist Volodymyr Tymoshenko (*d.* 1965) at Stanford University; entomologist Alexander

FIGURE 646. STEPHEN TYMOSHENKO

FIGURE 647. JOSEPH V. CHARYK

Granovsky and biologist Nicholas Haydak (University of Minnesota); historian Basil Halych (Wisconsin State University). Since World War II several scholars of Ukrainian descent have attained prominent positions in American institutions of higher learning and research establishments, for example Joseph Charyk, president of the Communications Satellite Corporation; Michael Kasha, leading quantum chemist who teaches at Florida State University; Joseph Stett (Stetkevych), a chemist who heads the Department of Metallurgy at Rutgers State University, and others.

Eventually the majority of Ukrainian émigré scholars settled in the United States. They are grouped in the Shevchenko Scientific Society (its first president was Nicholas D. Chubaty; succeeded by Roman Smal-Stocki [*d.* 1969], and Matthew Stachiw) and in the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. (headed by Michael Vetukhiv [*d.* 1960], succeeded by Alexander Archimovich and now by Alexander Ohloblyn). The Shevchenko Scientific Society publishes non-periodical *Zapysky* (Memoirs) and *Proceedings*, and the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences

in the U.S., *The Annals*. In 1963, the V. Lypynsky East European Institute was founded in Philadelphia; it collects and publishes materials on the recent history of Ukraine (director Eugene Zyblikevych). In 1964, the Ukrainian Historical Society (president Alexander Ohloblyn) was established; it publishes *Ukraïns'kyi Istoryk* (The Ukrainian Historian) in Ukrainian edited by Lubomyr Wynar.

Since the arrival of the Ukrainian immigrants in the United States after World War II, the number of Ukrainian professors and instructors at American universities and colleges has increased considerably. Among the leading figures are: geneticist Theodosius Dobzhansky, Slavicist George Shevelov, Byzantologist Ihor Shevchenko (all at Columbia University); classical linguist Basil V. Steciuk (Seton Hall University); physicists Alexander Smakula (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), and Olexa Bilaniuk (Swarthmore College); Turkologist Omeljan Pritsak (Harvard); political scientist John S. Reshetar (University of Washington); microbiologist Leonid Dmochowsky (Baylor University, Houston, Texas); mathematicians Joseph Andrushkiw (Seton Hall University), Volodymyr Petryshyn (Rutgers University); and economist Lev E. Dobriansky (Georgetown University). Some 250–300 Ukrainians, most of them graduates of American universities, are now teaching at American institutions of higher learning. Many of them are engaged in Soviet and east European area research. Ukrainian area studies, however, are not adequately represented in the university curricula. A few American universities offer courses in Ukrainian subjects within the framework of Slavic studies (Columbia University, University of Pennsylvania, Akron University, University of Syracuse, Catholic University of America, University of Illinois). In 1968, Harvard University opened a Chair of Ukrainian Studies, subsidized by Ukrainians, under the direction of an academic council headed by O. Pritsak.

FIGURE 648. PROF. O. PRITSAK INTRODUCES PROF. A. OHLOBLYN AT THE INAUGURAL LECTURE OF UKRAINIAN HISTORY AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY (1968)

**Museums, Archives, Libraries**

Among the largest depositories of Ukrainian books and archive material are: the Archive-Museum of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. (founded in Augsburg, Germany, in 1945, and subsequently transferred to New York); the Archive-Museum in Cleveland (transferred from Heidenau, Germany) which has maintained a *Plast* section since 1952 (director Leonid Bachynsky); the Archive-Museum at the Orthodox religious center in South Bound Brook, N.J., founded in 1950; the Ukrainian National Museum in Chicago which came into being in 1958 as a result of a merger of the Ukrainian National Museum and Library in Ontario, Calif. (founded in 1954 by Gregory Lysiuk-Kalenyk) and the Ukrainian Archive-Museum of Chicago, founded by Myroslav Simenovych-Siemens (*d.* 1967); the Ukrainian Archive-Museum in Detroit, founded in 1957; the Museum of the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese in Stamford, founded in 1964, and several others. Many Ukrainian women's groups have collections of Ukrainian folk art which are exhibited on various occasions. The United Ukrainian War Veterans in America maintain their own archive-museum in Philadelphia. The Brotherhood of the Ukrainian

FIGURE 649. MUSEUM OF UKRAINIAN FOLK ART AT THE UKRAINIAN INSTITUTE OF AMERICA IN NEW YORK

Sich Riflemen has a similar archives in New York. William Dzus has had in the Ukrainian Institute of America in New York a gallery of paintings and now houses the Ukrainian Folk Art Museum, organized by the Ukrainian National Women's League of America.

Ukrainian book collections are well represented in the Library of Congress of the United States in Washington, D.C., the New York Public Library, the Columbia University Library, and in the libraries of Harvard University and the Hoover Institution in Stanford, Calif. A rich documentation on Ukrainian history is to be found in the Immigrant Archives at the University of Minnesota.

FIGURE 650. OPENING OF THE UKRAINIAN SECTION OF THE IMMIGRANT ARCHIVES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA (Second from left, Prof. A. Granovsky, one of the original founders of the section)

**Radio, Television**

Ukrainian-language radio programs in the United States, as a private undertaking, date back to the 1930's. In centers of large Ukrainian settlement, Ukrainian organizations and private individuals maintain radio programs, featuring Ukrainian music, news, and carrying regular advertising for financial sustenance. There are at least 30 Ukrainian radio programs in the United States, scheduled generally on weekends so as to reach the largest audience possible. Some of these programs are sponsored by Ukrainian churches. There are also occasional Ukrainian TV programs sponsored by private individuals or organizations.

Since the early 1950's, the United States Information Agency has maintained within the framework of the "Voice of America" (VOA) a daily Ukrainian-language broadcast directed to Ukraine. Past directors of the Ukrainian desk at the VOA were Nicefor Hryhoriïv (1950–5) and Volodymyr Kedrovsky (1955–63); Michael Terpak took over in 1963 and is still serving.

Radio Liberty Committee, a private American institution, also has been broadcasting Ukrainian-language programs to Ukraine since 1953 from its stations in the United States, Germany, and the Far East.

**Sports**

Prior to World War I sports among Ukrainian immigrants in the United States were cultivated by the Haidamaks organization and a number of others, such as the Sich, the Zaporozhian Sich and the Podolian Sich, all of whom had a marked fraternal character. In 1915 a sports and paramilitary organization, known as the First Detachment of the Ukrainian Sichovi Stril'tsi, was established in New York under the leadership of Peter Zadoretzky which

was patterned after the same organization in Ukraine. Established at a congress held in 1916 was a central body known as the Sich Organization of Ukrainians in the United States of America (in 1920 it had about 60 branches and a total of 3,000 members). It sponsored mass rallies, or Sich Festivals (1917, 1918, 1923), published its own organ, *Sichovi Visti* (The Sich News, 1916–1925), and textbooks on physical education. In 1925 the organization changed its name to the Hetman Sich and transferred its headquarters to Chicago, where it existed until 1940. The youth of immigrants from Carpatho-Ukraine created *Sokol* branches under the sponsorship of the *Soiedinenie* and *Sobranie* fraternal benefit associations. Extensive sports activity was developed by the Ukrainian Youth League of North America (UYL-NA), which in 1935 and 1936 staged the Ukrainian Olympic Games in Philadelphia.

Beginning in 1936 the Ukrainian National Association stimulated sports activities in its branches by founding leagues and staging tournaments in baseball, basketball, and bowling. In 1940, the UNA sponsored 28 baseball clubs, 21 basketball teams, and 33 bowling teams, totaling over 1,000 members. World War II, claiming the overwhelming majority of the male members for service in the U.S. armed forces, interrupted the activities for the war's duration.

With the arrival of the post-World War II immigration there emerged a whole series of sport clubs; these united in 1956 into the Union of Ukrainian American Sport Clubs, which at the same time is a member of the Association of Ukrainian Sport Clubs in North America. The Union numbers 42 clubs (1968), which pursue such sports as soccer, tennis, basketball, volleyball, skiing, track and field, swimming, and chess. Every year national tournaments are held in skiing, tennis, and swimming at Soyuzivka, the UNA Estate in Kerhonkson, N.Y. In addition, Ukrainian soccer teams compete regularly in American leagues. Athletic activity is cultivated also by youth organizations, notably the Ukrainian Youth Association of America (SUMA) and the *Plast* organization. In 1959, during the observance of the Ivan Mazepa anniversary in New York, a youth festival was held in which some 1,250 young boys and girls took part.

Among the leading Ukrainian sports clubs in the United States are the Ukrainian Nationals (Tryzub [Trident]) in Philadelphia which has won the U.S. soccer championship four times (1960, 1961, 1963 and 1966), the Ukrainian Sports Club of New York (soccer championship in 1965), the Chornomorska Sitch in Newark, N.J., the Lions in Chicago, the Sports Club Lviv in Cleveland, the Chernyk in Detroit, the Ukrainian American Sports Club of Rochester, the Carpathian Ski Club, and several others.

FIGURE 651. THE PHILADELPHIA UKRAINIAN NATIONALS SOCCER TEAM IN 1958

Many Ukrainians have won distinction and recognition in American sports life, especially in soccer, vying in international competition as members of the U.S. national teams: Zenon Snylyk (record three-time member and captain of U.S. Olympic Team), Myron Krasij, George Kulishenko, Walter Chyzowych, Walter Shmotolocha, Nick Krat, Orest Banach, and Myron Worobec. P. Fike and G. Kartek were members of the U.S. Olympic swimming team; O. Halaiko took part in Olympic boxing. Stephen Lysak won an Olympic canoeing title. Many Ukrainians have distin-

guished themselves in professional hockey, e.g., Terry Sawchuk (*d.* 1970), Bill Mosienko, Metro Prystai, John Bucyk, Vic Stasiuk, Eric Nesterenko, all Canadian-born Ukrainians playing in the United States and in Canada. Other Ukrainians who excelled in American sports are M. Nazaruk in auto racing; S. Homa, Mike Souchak, and Steve Melnyk in golf; K. Kiyak in ice-skating; and Stephen Popel and Orest Popovych in chess. Mike Tresh and his son, Tom, made their mark in major league baseball; Mike Ditka is an outstanding professional football player. Bohdan Neswiacheny won recognition in college football as captain of the Army (USMA) team. Nestor Chylak is one of the leading professional baseball umpires in America.

*V. Markus*

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# 3. IN CANADA

## HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENT

Ukrainian emigration to Canada commenced some twenty years later than Ukrainian emigration to the United States. There is evidence that as early as 1874–5 some Ukrainian immigrants settled in the province of Manitoba (some 4,800 Mennonites from Ukraine).

Among the first known Ukrainian immigrants to Canada were Basil Eleniak and Ivan Pylypiv, farmers from the village of Nebyliv, of Kalush county in Galicia, who came to Canada in 1891 and settled in the present province of Alberta (then known as the Northwest Territories).

Large-scale immigration, however, did not begin until after 1895. The Prosvita (Enlightenment) Society of Lviv sent to Canada its representative, Osyp Oleskiv (1860–1903), known as Joseph Oleskow, who, with the approval of the Canadian government, visited a number of settlements inhabited by Ukrainians and Germans. He gathered vital information on conditions of farming in Canada and spotchecked the lands which he considered appropriate for settlement by Ukrainians; he also took the necessary steps to assure adequate government protection for future immigrants. His impressions and practical advice were published in a booklet, *O emigratsiï* (About Emigration), which appeared in December 1895, in Lviv. In this pamphlet (and also in a brochure, *Pro vil'ni zemli* [About Free Lands], published prior to his visit to Canada), Oleskiv warned Ukrainian immigrants about the "Brazilian fever" (see p. 1194). Through his efforts, the Immigration Office in Winnipeg hired a Ukrainian, Cyril Genik (Kyrylo Genyk-Berezovsky), as an immigration officer. Another Ukrainian (temporary) immigration official appointed by the Canadian government was the Rev. Nestor Dmytriv, who came from the United States and helped Ukrainian immigrants in their first difficult period of integration and adjustment.

Other factors contributing to the increase of Ukrainian immigration were the endeavors of the Canadian government, especially of the Minister of Internal Affairs Clifford Sifton who, in search of farmers to populate the virgin lands of western Canada, looked with favor upon the agrarian population of Galicia. In 1899 Sifton signed a contract with steamship companies in Hamburg whose agents, for a fee, recruited immigrants willing to settle in Canada. Thus the number of Ukrainian immigrants grew from year to year. By 1914 over 180,000 Ukrainian immigrants had emigrated to Canada, almost exclusively from Galicia and Bukovina, with a small percentage from Transcarpathia, from where immigrants formed the bulk of the Ukrainian immigration to the United States (see p. 1104).

Ukrainian settlers in western Canada, for a nominal price of $10, acquired a homestead of 160 acres of virgin land, which they pledged to cultivate. Living conditions were extremely harsh. The land could be made arable only through hard pioneering work, clearing forests, draining marshes, removing stones, and plowing the virgin prairies. The lack of necessary capital for the purchase of agricultural equipment, furniture, and even foodstuffs, coupled with the lack of knowledge of English and a high percentage of illiteracy among immigrants, made life even more difficult. Due only to their perseverance and endurance the Ukrainian immigrants gradually succeeded in overcoming difficulties and in achieving a more civilized level of living.

From the very beginning Ukrainian immigrants settled in compact groups, very often from the same counties and villages in the "old country." The areas settled by Ukrainians extended tens and hundreds of square miles. The largest Ukrainian settlements, such as those in Stuartburn, Dauphin, and Selkirk in Manitoba, in Yorkton, Rosthern, Prince Albert, and Saskatoon in Saskatchewan, and Vegreville and Edmonton in Alberta, are located in the parklands of Canada, which run almost continuously from the southeast of Manitoba to the northwest of Alberta. The Ukrainian character of these settlements was recognizable by white-washed houses with flowerbeds and gardens, distinctive struc-

tures of farm buildings, and stylized churches. The Ukrainian language, songs, and customs are preserved in considerable degree in the settlements. Such place names in Canada as Borshchiv,

FIGURE 652. ARRIVAL OF UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA

Brody, Buchach, Halych, Horlytsi, Zbarazh, Zolochiv, Kolomyia, Komarno, Sniatyn, Sokal, Stryi, Ternopil, Yaroslav are taken from Galicia, and names such as Mazepa, Petliura, New Kiev, Sich, Ukraïna, and Shevchenko (now Vita) are transplanted to the Canadian soil from Ukraine, or are historical names. Social, educational, and community life was centered around the church, frequently erected at crossroads.

Immigration to Canada, interrupted by World War I, resumed in the early 1920's. This time it embraced also Ukrainian immigrants from the Polish annexed Volhynia, the Kholm region, and Polisia, and from Transcarpathia. The Canadian government limited the number of immigrants; usually the first preference was given to the closest members of a family already living in Canada, and secondly, to farmers and general agricultural workers. The economic crisis in 1929 and the following decade curtailed Ukrainian immigration.

In the period between the two world wars, approximately 70,000 Ukrainians settled permanently in Canada. The newcomers were characterized by highly developed national consciousness. Among them were many former soldiers and officers of the Ukrainian armies which had fought for Ukraine's freedom, a significant number of intelligentsia, qualified workers, tradesmen, and others of some financial means which enabled them to acquire better lands or establish their own enterprises. An increasing number of Ukrainians from the prairie provinces settled in Ontario and in the larger cities of Quebec and British Columbia. This period was marked by a steady progress among the pioneer settlers who began expanding their holdings by purchasing land from their farmer-neighbors of other nationalities. Yet, the depression which began in 1929, the lack of markets for agricultural products, and falling prices were deeply felt by farmers, especially those who were unable to pay off their farms.

The third period (1945–54) brought some 35,000 Ukrainian political refugees and displaced persons to Canada. Most of them settled in the larger industrial cities, primarily in Ontario. The activities of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) and of such parliamentarians of Ukrainian descent as the late Anthony Hlynka and Frederick S. Zaplitny contributed much to the favorable immigration policy of the Canadian government. Ukrainian immigrants coming to Canada were assisted by such charitable organizations as the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund, which maintained offices in Europe, and the Ukrainian Central Relief Bureau in London, organized and maintained by Ukrainian Canadians. The latest Ukrainian immigrants brought much in terms of cultural, academic, and technical talents and other useful professions, thus reinforcing the social, political, and cultural level of Ukrainians in Canada.

The recent influx of Ukrainians to Canada, from 1956 to 1965, is rather insignificant, since only some 7,000 Ukrainians came for permanent settlement. These were primarily immigrants from Great Britain, Australia, and the United States.

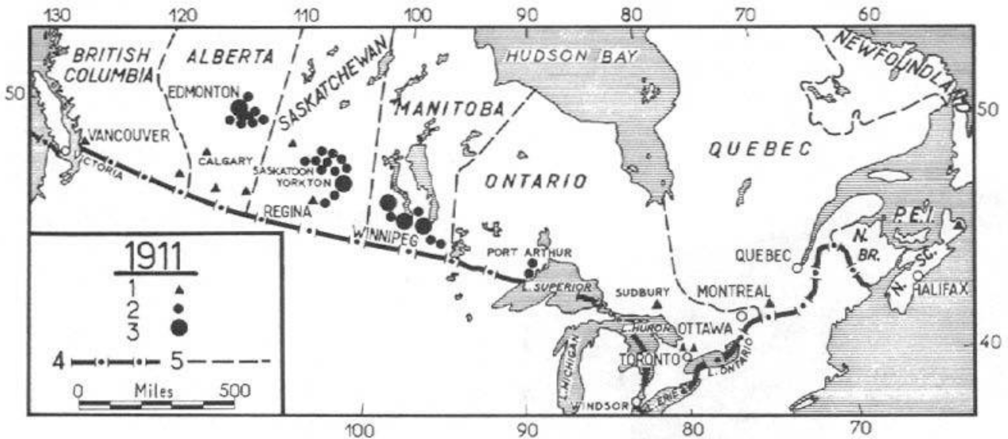


FIGURE 653. UKRAINIANS IN CANADA IN 1911
1–500; 2–1,000; 3–10,000; 4—borders of Canada; 5—provincial borders

**Number and Distribution**

The number of Ukrainians who came to Canada before 1914 cannot be given in exact figures. Most were registered according to their country of origin rather than their ethnic and national backgrounds. Consequently, in the population censuses of 1901 and 1911 Ukrainians were entered in several columns: not only as "Ruthenians," "Galicians," and "Bukovinians," but also as "Austrians," "Russians," and sometimes as "Poles" and "Rumanians." The population census of 1921 was the first to introduce the term "Ukrainian." But even then there remained at least 100,000 Ukrainians who were listed as members of other ethnic groups.

Even in the 1961 census many elderly Ukrainians were still listed as "Austrians," "Russians," "Rumanians," evidenced by the fact that 13,000 persons above fifty years of age gave their mother tongue as Ukrainian but failed to mark their Ukrainian ethnic origin. The distribution of Ukrainians in the whole of Canada in the light of the censuses can be seen from Table I. In actual fact, the number of Ukrainians was somewhat higher. On the basis of the figures of the Department of Immigration as well as religious and language statistics, the number of Ukrainians was estimated as follows: 1901–27,000; 1911–148,000; 1921–204,000; 1931–286,000; and 1941–322,000.

The 1961 Canadian census listed 473,337 persons of Ukrainian origin, but it is a fair assumption that there are over 500,000 persons of Ukrainian ethnic origin (outside of the Ukrainian ethnic group, there are 56,744 persons who gave

TABLE I
UKRAINIANS IN CANADA, 1911–61

| | Urban | | Rural | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year | Thousands | % | Thousands | % | Thousands | % |
| 1911 | 11,1 | 14.8 | 64,3 | 85.2 | 75,4 | 100.00 |
| 1921 | 21,1 | 19.8 | 85,6 | 80.2 | 106,7 | 100.00 |
| 1931 | 66,3 | 29.5 | 158,8 | 70.5 | 225,1 | 100.00 |
| 1941 | 103,5 | 33.9 | 202,4 | 66.1 | 305,9 | 100.00 |
| 1951 | 198,6 | 50.3 | 196,4 | 49.7 | 395,0 | 100.00 |
| 1961 | 308,5 | 65.2 | 164,8 | 34.8 | 473,3 | 100.00 |

Ukrainian language as their mother tongue). According to the latest population census, the Ukrainians constituted the largest Slavic group in Canada and 2.6 per cent of the total population. They ranked fourth as a distinct ethnic group, and second and third in the three prairie provinces, as indicated in Tables II and III.

According to the 1961 population census, 363,200 (76.7 per cent) Ukrainians were born in Canada (69.5 per cent in 1951) and 110,000 (23.3 per cent) were immigrants (30.5 per cent in 1951). Of the 23.3 per cent, a total of 7.4 per cent came to Canada before 1921, 7.8 per cent in the period between World War I and World War II, and 8.1 per cent after World War II. Among the immigrants, men always outnumbered women, and the sex ratio was 74 women for 100 men among immigrants, whereas that for the total Ukrainian population was 92 (in 1951 the same ratio was 89). The numerical superiority of men is especially prevalent in the 35 plus age group among the prewar and the latest postwar immigration. Thus, for instance, for each 100 men between the ages of 35 and 59, there were 90 women; at ages over 60, only 66; on the other hand, at the ages up to 35 years—100.2 (see diagram).

As a result of changes in political conditions in Ukraine after World War II, and with a substantial number of Ukrainian political refugees in Western Europe having already emigrated to Canada, the influx of Ukrainian immigrants to Canada and other overseas countries came almost to a complete halt. The further increase of Ukrainians in Canada is al-

TABLE II

ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THE CANADIAN POPULATION, 1961

| Ethnic origin | All Canada | | Three Prairie Provinces | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Thousands | % | Thousands | % |
| British | 7,996,7 | 43.8 | 1,371,7 | 43.1 |
| French | 5,540,3 | 30.4 | 227,0 | 7.2 |
| German | 1,049,6 | 5.8 | 433,3 | 13.5 |
| Ukrainian | 473,3 | 2.6 | 290,2 | 9.1 |
| Italian | 450,4 | 2.5 | 23,9 | 0.8 |
| Dutch | 429,7 | 2.4 | 132,6 | 4.2 |
| Scandinavian | 386,5 | 2.1 | 201,2 | 6.3 |
| Polish | 323,5 | 1.8 | 113,9 | 3.6 |
| Jewish | 173,3 | 0.9 | 25,6 | 0.8 |
| Others | 1,414,9 | 7.7 | 359,4 | 11.4 |
| TOTAL | 18,238,2 | 100.0 | 3,178,8 | 100.0 |

TABLE III

| | Manitoba | | Saskatchewan | | Alberta | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Thousands | % | Thousands | % | Thousands | % |
| British | 396,4 | 43.0 | 373,6 | 40.4 | 601,8 | 45.2 |
| French | 83,9 | 9.1 | 59,8 | 6.5 | 83,3 | 6.3 |
| German | 91,8 | 10.0 | 158,2 | 17.1 | 183,3 | 13.8 |
| Ukrainian | 105,4 | 11.4 | 78,9 | 8.5 | 105,9 | 8.0 |
| Italian | 6,5 | 0.7 | 2,4 | 0.3 | 15,0 | 1.1 |
| Dutch | 47,8 | 5.2 | 29,3 | 3.2 | 55,0 | 4.2 |
| Scandinavian | 37,7 | 4.1 | 67,6 | 7.3 | 95,9 | 7.2 |
| Polish | 44,4 | 4.8 | 29,0 | 3.1 | 40,5 | 3.0 |
| Jewish | 18,9 | 2.1 | 2,3 | 0.2 | 4,4 | 0.3 |
| Others | 88,8 | 9.6 | 124,3 | 13.4 | 146,3 | 10.9 |
| TOTAL | 921,6 | 100.0 | 925,2 | 100.0 | 1,331,9 | 100.0 |

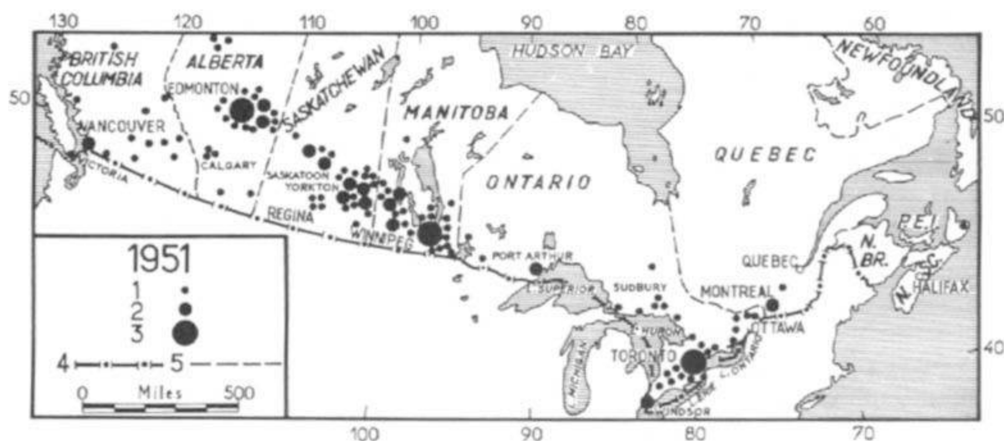


FIGURE 654. UKRAINIANS IN CANADA IN 1951
1–1,000; 2–10,000; 3–50,000; 4–borders of Canada; 5–provincial borders.

most totally dependent on the natural increase of the population. Lack of communication with the homeland and cessation of the new Ukrainian emigration produces an unfavorable result, the alienation of the younger generation and absorption of young Ukrainians into the linguistic and cultural climate of their environment.

In 1941 as many as 94.9 per cent of persons of Ukrainian origin reported the Ukrainian language as their mother tongue; in 1951 this number fell to 81.3 per cent and in 1961 to a bare 64.4 per cent. The progress of full assimilation among the young generation can be seen in Table IV, which represents the number of persons of Ukrainian descent and of those who reported the Ukrainian language as their mother tongue, according to their age groups.

The early Ukrainian immigrants lived primarily in the prairie provinces (1911–94.1 per cent) and on farms. Only after World War I, and especially after World War II, did the number of Ukrainians in the eastern industrial centers of Ontario and Quebec and in British Columbia increase considerably. At the same time the number of Ukrainians in urban centers also increased, owing to the influx of the younger generation reared in Canada and the newcomers. In the last few years there has been a shift of the Ukrainian population in the prairie provinces: a decrease in Saskatchewan (79,800 in 1941 to 78,800 in 1961), and an increase in Alberta (71,900–105,900) and in Manitoba (89,800–105,400). Details are shown in Table V.

In 1961, some 290,000 or 61 per cent of Ukrainians lived in the prairie prov-

TABLE IV

| Age | Ukrainians (a) By origin (thousands) | Ukrainians (b) By language (thousands) | Ratio a:b |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0–14 | 150,0 | 57,7 | 100:261 |
| 15–29 | 95,2 | 69,8 | 100:136 |
| 30–49 | 140,0 | 132,9 | 100:105 |
| 50 and over | 88,1 | 101,1 | 100: 87 |
| TOTAL | 473,3 | 361,5 | 100:131 |

inces, of which 139,000 or 48 per cent lived in rural communities and were engaged in agriculture, whereas 151,000 or 52 per cent lived in urban centers. Their geographic distribution is shown on Figs. 655 and 656.

The region settled by Ukrainians is a belt 1,800 km long and 200–300 km wide and extends from the northeastern corner of Manitoba to the Peace River in the northwest of Alberta; the whole belt embraces over 300,000 sq km. This estimate is based on a Ukrainian population of 10 per cent and over. The Ukrainian settlements in this area with over 50 per cent of Ukrainian population comprise over 21,000 sq km. (Table VI). Geographically, the belt inhabited by Ukrainian settlers is a plain which rises from about 150 m in the area of the Manitoba lakes (Lakes Winnipeg, Manitoba, Winnipegosis, and Dauphin) in the east to 1,000 m at the foothills of the Rocky Mountains in the west. It is composed of horizontal limestone and sandstone of the Cretaceous period, covered with heavy layers of glacial deposits, which form a rich and fertile black soil and a lighter greyish-black soil. The climate of the area is severely continental; the average temperature in January is −12° to −20° C, in July from 16° to 19° C, with great daily and seasonal variations, with late spring and early fall frosts; there are from 120 to 140 frost-free days; atmospheric precipi-

TABLE V

| Provinces | 1921 Thousands | 1921 % | 1931 Thousands | 1931 % | 1941 Thousands | 1941 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prairie | 96,0 | 90.1 | 192,8 | 85.7 | 241,4 | 79.0 |
| Alberta | 23,8 | 22.3 | 55,8 | 24.8 | 71,8 | 23.5 |
| Manitoba | 44,1 | 41.4 | 73,6 | 32.7 | 89,8 | 29.4 |
| Saskatchewan | 28,1 | 26.4 | 63,4 | 28.2 | 79,8 | 26.1 |
| Ontario | 8,3 | 7.8 | 24,4 | 10.9 | 48,2 | 15.7 |
| British Columbia | 0,8 | 0.7 | 2,6 | 1.1 | 7,6 | 2.5 |
| Quebec | 1,2 | 1.1 | 4,3 | 1.9 | 8,0 | 2.6 |
| Others | 0,4 | 0.3 | 1,0 | 0.4 | 0,7 | 0.2 |
| Canada | 106,7 | 100.0 | 225,1 | 100.0 | 305,9 | 100.0 |
| Percentage of all population of Canada | | 1.2 | | 2.2 | | 2.7 |
| For each 1,000 Ukrainians, in urban centers | | 198 | | 251 | | 339 |

| Provinces | 1951 Thousands | 1951 % | 1961 Thousands | 1961 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Prairie | 264,1 | 66.9 | 290,2 | 61.4 |
| Alberta | 87,0 | 22.1 | 105,9 | 22.4 |
| Manitoba | 98,7 | 25.0 | 105,4 | 22.3 |
| Saskatchewan | 78,4 | 19.6 | 78,9 | 16.7 |
| Ontario | 93,6 | 23.6 | 127,9 | 27.0 |
| British Columbia | 22,6 | 5.7 | 35,6 | 7.5 |
| Quebec | 12,9 | 3.3 | 16,6 | 3.5 |
| Others | 1,5 | 0.5 | 3,0 | 0.6 |
| Canada | 395,1 | 100.0 | 473,3 | 100.0 |
| Percentage of all population of Canada | | 2.8 | | 2.6 |
| For each 1,000 Ukrainians, in urban centers | | 503 | | 651 |

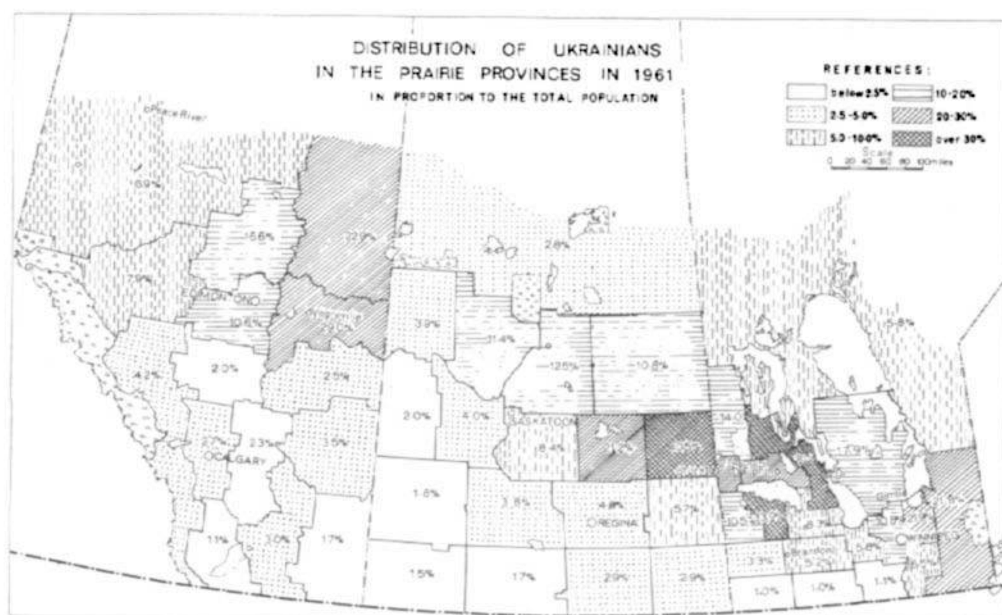


FIGURE 655.
(I. Tesla)

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF UKRAINIANS BY PROVINCES ACCORDING TO CANADIAN POPULATION CENSUS OF 1961

| Provinces | Total population (thousands) | Ukrainians | | Ukrainians in % to population of province | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | In cities | Of all Ukrainians | Total | Urban | Rural |
| Ontario | 6,236 | 127,9 | 112,8 | 27.0 | 2.1 | 2.3 | 1.1 |
| Alberta | 1,332 | 105,9 | 56,9 | 22.4 | 8.0 | 6.8 | 10.1 |
| Manitoba | 922 | 105,4 | 64,2 | 22.3 | 11.4 | 10.9 | 12.4 |
| Saskatchewan | 925 | 78,8 | 30,1 | 16.7 | 8.5 | 7.3 | 9.2 |
| British Columbia | 1,629 | 35,6 | 26,5 | 7.5 | 2.2 | 2.2 | 2.0 |
| Quebec | 5,259 | 16,6 | 15,8 | 3.5 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.1 |
| Nova Scotia | 737 | 1,8 | 1,4 | 0.3 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.1 |
| Others | 1,198 | 1,3 | 0,9 | 0.3 | 0.1 | 0.1 | 0.1 |
| Canada | 18,238 | 473,3 | 308,5 | 100.0 | 2.6 | 2.4 | 3.0 |

tation is from 350 to 500 mm. The basic plant formations of the area are forest, steppe, and mixed forest. Generally, the geographic configuration of the areas settled by Ukrainians in Canada is very similar to the lands on which Ukrainians are settled in Central Asia (northern Kazakhstan and southwestern Siberia, see Vol. I pp. 246–8).

This region contains over 80 per cent of all Ukrainians who inhabit the prairie provinces of Canada; they constitute approximately one-fourth of the total population, in some areas they even form a majority. The great Ukrainian urban centers which are likewise the centers of Ukrainian life in Western Canada are also situated there, Winnipeg (36,000 Ukrainians, or 13.6 per cent of the total city population, and the metropolitan area has 53,900 or 11.3 per cent); Edmonton (32,500–11.6 per cent and met-

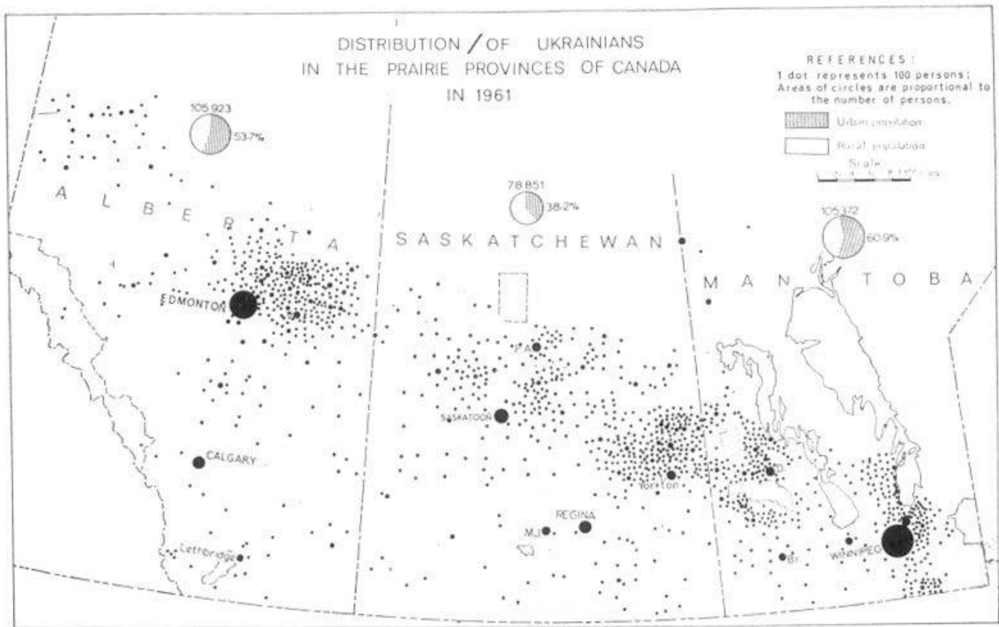


FIGURE 656.
(I. Tesla)

ropolitan area 38,200 or 11.3 per cent); Saskatoon (9,100 or 9.5 per cent). In the peripheral areas there are smaller Ukrainian centers: Calgary (8,000 or 2.9 per cent) and Regina (5,700 or 5.1 per cent).

Like the Ukrainians in the neighboring United States, those in eastern Canada are concentrated in large cities (in Ontario 89 per cent, in Quebec 95 per cent). The largest center of Ukrainian concentration is Toronto (26,100 Ukrainians or 3.9 per cent of the total city population; metropolitan area—38,200 or 2.6 per cent), which is the second largest Ukrainian center in Canada, after Winnipeg. Smaller centers include Montreal (9,200 or 0.8 per cent, metropolitan area 14,500 or 0.7 per cent), Hamilton (8,600 or 3.1 per cent, with metropolitan area 10,900 or 2.8 per cent), Windsor (3,400 or 3.0 per cent, with metropolitan area 5,500 or 2.8 per cent), St. Catharines (3,800 or 4.5 per cent), Oshawa (3,600 or 5.8 per cent), and Ottawa (2,400 or 9 per cent). All these cities are located in the most densely populated parts of Canada. Peripherally situated is Sudbury (3,900 Ukrainians or 4.8 per cent, and metropolitan area 4,900 or 4.5 per cent), an important mining center, and two cities on Lake Superior: Fort William (5,900 or 13.1 per cent) and Port Arthur (3,400 or 7.5 per cent). This area now forms one city called Thunder Bay.

The newest Ukrainian centers are those developed in British Columbia, where three-fourths of Ukrainians live in the cities, primarily in Vancouver (9,400 or 2.4 per cent and metropolitan area, 18,700 or 2.3 per cent).

*I. Tesla*

## CHURCH LIFE

### General Characteristics

The church played an important part in the life of Ukrainian settlers in Canada and in the preservation of their language, culture, and national identity. It constituted a natural center from which the majority of their social and cultural institutions developed. Today, a substantial part of lay organizations are built on the membership of either the Catholic

or the Orthodox religion. Outside of this church sphere there is only an isolated Ukrainian pro-Soviet group.

Among the first Ukrainian settlers in Canada over 80 per cent were Greek Catholic Ukrainians from Galicia, while the remainder were Greek Orthodox Ukrainians from Bukovina. The faithful of both churches settled by groups in close proximity and helped each other in the difficult tasks of pioneering. But throughout the early decades neither the Catholic nor the Orthodox faithful had any spiritual care from Ukrainian priests, since there were none. This condition created a fertile ground for various non-Ukrainian religions and sects. Particularly strong efforts were made by the Russian Orthodox Mission and the Presbyterians. On the other hand, Roman Catholic priests tried to induce Ukrainians to change to their rite. The arrival of visiting and, later, permanent Ukrainian Catholic priests (1902) and even the appointment of a Ukrainian bishop (1912) could not completely reverse this trend.

FIGURE 657. IMMIGRANT'S HOUSE IN DAUPHIN, MAN., WHERE THE REV. NESTOR DMYTRIV CELEBRATED THE FIRST UKRAINIAN LITURGY IN CANADA, APRIL 12, 1897

The most important changes occurred in 1918, when a group of Ukrainians left the Ukrainian Catholic Church and founded the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. That event precipitated prolonged internal religious strife and a division of the Ukrainian community into two camps. On the other hand, the number of Ukrainians who left their two traditional churches and joined the Protestants and Roman Catholics had also increased substantially. This process has intensified in the last two decades and is greatly facilitated by the migration of the Ukrainian conservative farm population to urban centers, where a non-Ukrainian environment in schools and social factors such as intermarriage between persons of different religious denominations results in religious defections. At present, relations between various Ukrainian religious groups have improved considerably.

The distribution of Ukrainians by religious denominations in 1951 and 1961 is presented in Table VII.

TABLE VII

| | 1951 | | 1961 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Thousands | % | Thousands | % |
| Catholics | 221,4 | 56.0 | 237,2 | 50.1 |
| Ukrainian Catholics | 164,8 | 41.7 | 157,6 | 33.3 |
| Roman Catholics | 56,6 | 14.3 | 79,6 | 16.8 |
| Greek Orthodox | 111,0 | 28.1 | 119,2 | 25.2 |
| Evangelical churches | 50,4 | 12.7 | 101,2 | 24.4 |
| United Church of Canada | 28,2 | 7.1 | 59,8 | 12.6 |
| Anglicans | 10,1 | 2.6 | 19,1 | 4.0 |
| Lutherans | 3,4 | 0.9 | 6,6 | 1.4 |
| Baptists | 3,7 | 0.9 | 6,1 | 1.3 |
| Presbyterians | 4,5 | 1.1 | 5,5 | 1.2 |
| Seventh Day Adventists | | | 3,4 | 0.7 |
| Mennonites | 0,5 | 0.1 | 0,7 | 0.2 |
| Others | 12,2 | 3.2 | 15,7 | 3.3 |
| TOTAL | 395,0 | 100.0 | 473,3 | 100.0 |

According to available data, the percentage of Ukrainians belonging to the two traditional Ukrainian religions fell from 69.8 per cent in 1951 to 58.5 per cent in 1961. It appears that because of confusion in distinguishing between Roman Catholics and Ukrainian Catholics, many thousands of Ukrainian Catholics were listed as Roman Catholics. There is evidence of a steady flow of Catholics of the Ukrainian rite to the Roman Catholic Church and of both, Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox, to Evangelical denominations.

*I. Tesla*

**The Ukrainian Catholic Church**

In the early period of immigration, Ukrainian settlers in Canada had no priests of Ukrainian origin. Also, the legal ecclesiastical aspect of the spiritual care over them (as in the United States) was not clearly established. On the basis of the decisions of April 12, 1894 and May 1, 1897, issued by the Holy Congregation of the Faith, it was resolved that Ukrainian Catholics should have their own priests. At the request of the Roman Catholic hierarchy of Canada, however, Ukrainian Catholic priests were to be unmarried. At that time there were very few celibate Ukrainian Catholic priests in Galicia. The Basilian Order, which provided the spiritual care for Ukrainian immigrants in Brazil (see p. 1197), could not send its missionaries to Canada. Therefore, Ukrainian settlers, having no priests, held services in groups either in private homes or built chapels or small churches (the first one was erected in 1898 in Edna-Star, Alberta). The Roman Catholic bishops of western Canada, exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Ukrainian Catholics, tried to help them as best they could. The Oblate Fathers were given the task of tending spiritually over newly-arrived Ukrainian immigrants, but lack of knowledge of the Ukrainian language and the rite impeded their effectiveness.

Between 1897 and 1902 there were five priests of the Ukrainian rite among Ukrainian immigrants in Canada (the first was the Rev. Nestor Dmytriv, who came to Canada from the United States and organized a parish in Edna-Star; others were the Revs. Paul Tymkevych, Damascenus Polyvka, Ivan Zaklynsky, and Basil Zholdak). Systematic spiritual care and organization of church life did not begin until 1902 with the arrival of three Basilian missionaries headed by the Rev. Platonid Filias and four nuns, an arrangement made through the efforts of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky of Lviv with the Roman Catholic

FIGURE 658. UKRAINIAN CHURCH IN SIRKO, MAN.

hierarchy of western Canada. They settled in Beaverlake (now Mundare) in Alberta, Rosthern in Saskatchewan, and Winnipeg in Manitoba. These first Ukrainian Catholic priests were helped by a few Latin-rite priests, such as the Revs. Joseph Adonias Sabourin, Josaphat Jean, and Philip Ruh, who learned the Ukrainian language and accepted the Ukrainian rite. Among them was Redemptorist, the Rev. A. Delaere, a Belgian by nationality, who founded the Ukrainian branch of the Redemptorist Order in Yorkton, Saskatchewan. In 1902 the Rev. B. Zholdak, sent from Galicia by Metropolitan Sheptytsky, became a Visitator (with the prerogatives of a Vicar General), for Ukrainian Catholics from Galicia. He acted as an intermediary between the clergy and settlers on the one hand, and the Ukrainian immigrants and the Roman Catholic hierarchy, on the other. These tasks were carried on in

1905 by the Rev. Sozont Dydyk, OSBM. In 1910, Metropolitan Sheptytsky made his first trip to Canada and visited the principal centers of Ukrainian settlement. Upon his return to Lviv in 1911, he wrote a memorandum to the Latin-rite bishops in Canada in the matter of spiritual care of Ukrainian Catholics in Canada. This resulted in the appointment of the first bishop for them, Nicetas Budka, who made his residence in Winnipeg. The consent for Bishop Budka's appointment was given by Archbishop Langevin of St. Boniface who, among other things, founded a Catholic weekly in 1911 for Ukrainians, *Kanadiis'kyi Rusyn* (The Canadian Ruthenian), which was renamed in 1919 *Kanadiis'kyi Ukraïnets'* (The Canadian Ukrainian).

With the arrival of Bishop Budka in 1912, the spiritual state of Ukrainian Catholics improved considerably. Unlike Bishop Soter Ortynsky, the first bishop for Ukrainian Catholics in the United States (see p. 1111), Bishop Budka had full jurisdiction over the Greek Catholics in Canada and was directly responsible to the Holy See in Rome. Upon his arrival in Canada he found 20 Ukrainian Catholic priests, about 80 churches and chapels, 3 Ukrainian Catholic schools, a Minor Ecclesiastical Seminary in Sifton, Manitoba, the weekly *Kanadiis'kyi Rusyn*, and insurance association, the Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas in Winnipeg (founded in 1905), various church and lay organizations, and about 80,000 faithful.

One of the first steps that Bishop Budka took was the legalization of the church in Canada (as the "Ruthenian Greek-Catholic Church in Canada"). The episcopal incorporation was approved in 1913 by the federal parliament and all church buildings and church lands were willed to the corporation of the bishop. In 1914, in Yorkton, the first congress (sobor) of the Ukrainian Catholic priests was held, at which special "Rules of the Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church in Canada" were adopted, regulating missionary work among Ukrainian Catholics.

During the tenure of Bishop Budka, a conflict erupted between him and a part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the matter of the administration of church properties and also on the role of the laymen in the direction of church affairs. Some lay leaders accused the Ukrainian Catholic Church of being under foreign influence. As a result, a number of Ukrainian Catholics left the Ukrainian Catholic Church and established the "Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada" in 1918 (see p. 1165). In 1927 Bishop Budka returned to Rome, and later to Lviv, where he served as Vicar General to Metropolitan Sheptytsky (he died in a Soviet prison in 1949, where he was sent with other Ukrainian Catholic bishops from western Ukraine).

FIGURE 659. UKRAINIAN CEMETERY WITH TRADITIONAL CROSSES IN SIRKO, MAN.

With the departure of Bishop Budka the first phase of the organization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada ended. At the time there were 47 priests, 299 parishes and mission stations, novitiates of the Basilian Order and the Redemptorist Fathers, various religious and national institutions, and over 100,000 faithful.

The successor to Bishop Budka was Bishop Basil Ladyka, who was installed in 1929. During his tenure there was a marked increase in missionary activity as well as an increase in the number of parishes and priests. A new impetus for the Ukrainian Catholic Church was pro-

vided by the organization of Catholic laymen (Catholic Action); also Ukrainian Catholic publication activities expanded considerably.

In 1947 Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, secretary of the Congregation for Eastern Churches, visited major Ukrainian centers in Canada. As a result of his visit the Apostolic See divided the Ukrainian Catholic bishopric into three apostolic exarchates: Eastern in Toronto (Bishop Isidore Borecky), Western in Edmonton (Bishop Neil Savaryn, who had been an auxiliary in Winnipeg since 1943), and Central in Winnipeg, from which in 1951 a new exarchate was carved out in Saskatchewan (Bishop Andrew Roborecky). Bishop Ladyka was elevated to the rank of archbishop. After Archbishop Ladyka's death in 1956, Pope Piux XII established the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan See with the center in Winnipeg, and the existing exarchates were raised to the status of eparchies. Bishop Maxime Hermaniuk, who had been an auxiliary of the Central exarchate since 1951, became the first metropolitan. In 1962 the first Provincial Synod of the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan See of Canada took place in Winnipeg.

FIGURE 660. METROPOLITAN MAXIM HERMANIUK

The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada now forms a separate ecclesiastical province of four eparchies; it has one metropolitan and three bishops. In 1964, there was a total of 265 priests, including 86 hieromonachs, who served 596 parishes and mission stations. The number of faithful was over 200,000 with 517 churches. Outstanding work is being done in the religious, educational, and cultural fields by the monastic orders. The Basilian Fathers, who since 1948 constitute a separate province, have been most prominent in this respect. In 1964, they had 9 monasteries and monastic houses with 109 monks (including 51 priests). The principal centers of the Basilian Order are Mundare (a novitiate, a museum, and a library), Winnipeg (seat of the Provincial), Toronto (publication of the monthly *Svitlo* [The Light], St. Basil's College), Ottawa, and Edmonton. Since 1961 the Redemptorist Congregation also has its separate province. It has 7 monastic houses and 56 members (including 29 priests); their principal centers are: Yorkton (publication of the monthly *Holos Spasytelia* [The Redeemer's Voice], and the theological quarterly *Lohos* [Logos]), Winnipeg (center of the Provincial), Roblin (St. Volodymyr's College), Meadowvale (novitiate). There also are the Studite Monks (established in 1951) with 14 members and a monastery in Woodstock, Ontario, and the brothers of Christian Schools who maintain St. Joseph's College in Yorkton (Saskatchewan). The sisters of various communities and orders are in charge of the kindergartens, schools, orphanages, hospitals, homes for the aged, stores for liturgical vestments, and the like. The oldest religious order for women (since 1902) is that of the Sister Servants of Mary Immaculate who have 22 monastic houses and 256 members. The principal centers are: Yorkton (Sacred Heart Academy), Winnipeg (Immaculate Heart Academy), Toronto (provincial administration), Ancaster, Ontario (Mount Mary Immaculate Academy). In the Saskatoon eparchy there are Sisters of St. Joseph (one house and five sisters), in the Toronto eparchy, Missionaries of Christian Charity (two houses and 13 sisters); and in the Winnipeg archdiocese are the Oblate Missionaries (one house and three sisters). Altogether in Canada there are 17 monasteries and monastic houses for men with 186 members (86 priests, 37 brothers, 49 students, and 19 novices),

and 26 monastic houses for women with 281 members (232 sisters and 49 novices).

Social and religious organizations of the Ukrainian Catholics are based on the principles of Catholic Action and embrace both adults and the youth. In 1964, they numbered 438 organizational units with a total of 27,476 members. Among them the most noted are: the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood, a religious-national organization, established in 1932 (at the beginning it also had women's and youth sections); the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League (independent since 1943–4); the Ukrainian Catholic Youth (1945), and the organization of the Ukrainian Catholic University Students Association, *Obnova*. All have branches throughout Canada. Moreover, in all eparchies there are religious associations such as the Children of Mary, the Altar Societies, and various brotherhoods and sisterhoods; there also are Ukrainian Catholic relief institutions (the Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas), parish credit unions, and the like), the Society of Ukrainian Catholic Teachers, and others. In each eparchy there is the Eparchal (Diocesan) Ukrainian Catholic Council, which constitutes a superstructure for these organizations and represents the Canadian Ukrainian Catholics. Diocesan organizations and their councils are integrated in the All-Canadian Ukrainian Catholic Council, which held its ninth congress in Winnipeg in 1964.

Equally well developed is the diocesan and monastic press and publications (seven publishing houses, five printing establishments, six monthlies, three weeklies, one quarterly, see sub-section on "Press"). In most of the parishes there are supplementary schools in which, in addition to religion and catechism, the Ukrainian language, history, and geography are taught. In 1964 there were 345 such schools, with a total number of 12,460 boys and girls between the ages of 7 and 16, and 10 educational and rest camps which have over 2,000 youths.

FIGURE 661. SS. VOLODYMYR AND OLHA UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL IN WINNIPEG, MAN.

Moreover, there are 3 primary schools, 3 academies, and 3 colleges in which over 1,500 youths take instruction (see section on Education).

Not all Ukrainian Catholics belong to the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In the last few decades there has appeared a group of Ukrainian Roman Catholics, which did not exist at the beginning of Ukrainian settlement in Canada. They numbered, according to the population census: 1941–48,000, in 1956–56,000, and in 1961–79,800. Although in actual fact the number of Ukrainian Roman Catholics is considerably lower than listed in the census (census takers very frequently registered as "Roman Catholics many persons who reported their religion as "Ukrainian Catholic"), nevertheless the group has a sizable number. The principal reasons for this religious assimilation are: mixed marriages; influence of Roman Catholic schools on Ukrainian youth; in some places the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy; insufficient number of Ukrainian Catholic priests, especially in areas where Ukrainians are scattered; and also the

fact that the Ukrainian Catholic Church itself in the past endeavored to liken itself to the Roman Catholic Church (such as the change of the calendar, Latinization of some rites, introduction of the English language).

It must be added that in the liturgy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Church Slavonic language is used; in some parts of the liturgy ("Creed," and "Our Father," for example), the Ukrainian language is now being introduced. Sermons are generally delivered in Ukrainian, but at least at one of the masses on Sundays and holy days of obligation sermons are given in English for those who do not understand the Ukrainian language.

*B. Kazymyra*

**The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church**

The situation of the Orthodox Ukrainians (mainly Bukovinians) in the early years of their settlement in Canada was worse than that of the Catholics, since they had no priests of their own at all. Therefore, various foreign groups tried to sway them under their influence. Especially active was the pro-Russian propaganda spread by the Russian Orthodox Mission in the United States which, however, lost its influence after the fall of tsardom (1917). A degree of chaos was created for a few years by the Russian Bishop Serafim, who came to Canada in 1903 and began organizing the Orthodox Church; at first he subordinated it to the Patriarch of Antioch, but in 1905 he declared his church to be independent. He remained in Canada until 1908 and succeeded in ordaining a number of priests, most of whom were unprepared for their priestly duties. He also organized a few thousand faithful, who only later learned about the true nature of the church and left it. A number of priests ordained by Bishop Serafim (headed by the Rev. Ivan Bodrug) left him in 1904 and formed a consistory of the so-called Independent Greek Church, which repudiated the Eastern rite. Eventually, in 1913, at a sobor in Toronto, it was integrated with the Presbyterian Church. Most of the faithful left the Independent Greek Church and it has now only a small number of supporters.

The movement for the establishment of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church (Ukraïns'ka Hreko-Pravoslavna Tserkva [UHPTs]) in Canada began a few years before it was actually organized. The decision to organize the church was reached at a convention in Saskatoon,

FIGURE 662. UKRAINIAN GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH IN GARDENTON, MAN. (1897), NOW A HISTORICAL MONUMENT

called by the national committee in July, 1918. With some 200 delegates taking part in the convention, it was decided to establish an independent Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada. The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Brotherhood, organized at the convention, was empowered to implement this decision.

It must be stressed also that the movement for a Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada was strongly influenced by the events which occurred in Ukraine in 1917–20, especially the struggle for the Ukrainian character of the Orthodox church in Ukraine (see pp. 168–9). After unsuccessful attempts of the Brotherhood to place the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada under the temporary jurisdiction of Bishop Alexander Nemolovsky of the Russian Orthodox Mission, until there was a Ukrainian

Orthodox bishop, Metropolitan Germanos Shegedi of the Syrian Greek Orthodox Church consented to head the UHPTs as acting bishop until 1924.

The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church was joined by the majority of Ukrainian parishes which heretofore had been serviced by Russian Orthodox priests, and also by a number of Ukrainian Catholic communities as well as many from the Independent Greek Church. The leading role in the organization of the UHPTS was played by such men as Basil Kudryk, Semen Savchuk, Basil Svystun, Myroslav Stechyshyn, Julian Stechyshyn, Dmytro Stratiichuk, Peter Samets, and Yaroslav Arsenych.

Initially it was planned that the UHPTs in Canada should maintain close spiritual union with the Orthodox church in Ukraine, especially if the latter gained its autocephaly (church sobors in 1918, 1919 and 1920). But the events that took place in Ukraine impeded the realization of these plans. On the basis of decisions adopted at the fourth sobor of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Yorkton (1924), John Theodorovich, bishop of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (from the hierarchy of Metropolitan Basil Lypkivsky in Kiev) who had come to the United States, became the acting bishop of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada. He headed the UHPTs in Canada until 1947 when his place was taken by Archbishop Mstyslaw Skrypnyk of the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Europe. Archbishop Mstyslaw headed the UHPTs in Canada until 1950, that is, until the ninth sobor held in Saskatoon, at which he relinquished his duties; he was succeeded by Metropolitan Hilarion, former archbishop of Kholm and Podlachia (see Fig. 51, p. 181), who had come to Canada in 1947. Hilarion was elected metropolitan of Winnipeg and of all Canada at an extraordinary sobor in September, 1951 (in 1963 he was given the honorary title of "His Beatitude"). This sobor decided that the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada was to be a metropolitan see, underscoring once again its autocephaly and its conciliar structure. Also, at the same sobor, three eparchies were established: the Eastern in Toronto, under

FIGURE 663. FACULTY AND STUDENTS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF THEOLOGY AT ST. ANDREW'S COLLEGE IN WINNIPEG (seated, fourth from the left is Metropolitan Hilarion Ohiienko)

the jurisdiction of Archbishop Michael Khoroshyi; the eparchy for Manitoba and Saskatchewan with the see and the cathedral of Metropolitan Ilarion in Winnipeg; and the Western for Alberta and British Columbia, which since 1959 has been under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Andrew Metiuk. In 1963, a fourth eparchy was established in Saskatoon under the jurisdiction of Bishop Borys Yakovkevych.

In 1965 the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada had about 300 parishes, missions, and mission stations and 91 priests (in 1953 they numbered 74), a number of deacons, and about 120,000 faithful. The church is administered by a Presidium of the Consistory. The Consistory is composed of the bishops, nine ecclesiastic, and nine lay members, who are elected for six-year terms.

In addition to its pastoral duties, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church conducts extensive cultural and educational activities, supports educational and scholarly institutions, the most outstanding among them being St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg (*f.* 1946), with a De-

partment of Theology at the University of Manitoba. It is the only Ukrainian Orthodox higher theological school with a four-year course of study; instruction is given in the Ukrainian language. Rector of the college is the Rev. Semen Savchuk.

The Petro Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon was founded in 1917; it sponsors Ukrainian language and studies courses and provides dormitory facilities for

FIGURE 664. UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA IN MONTREAL (ARCHITECT V. SICHYNSKY)

students. Similar institutes exist in Edmonton—St. John's Institute (formerly the M. Hrushevsky Institute) and in Toronto—St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Institute.

Ukrainian Orthodox parishes maintain Ukrainian-language schools (primarily Sunday schools), which are under the auspices of the Council of the Ukrainian School of the Consistory. The official press organ of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church is *Visnyk* (The Herald), which appears in Ukrainian every two weeks. The UHPTs also has two publishing houses, the Publishing Company of the UHPTs and Ecclesia, which has published a number of liturgical books, school textbooks, and the annual almanac *Ridna Nyva* (Native Soil). Extensive publication activities are also carried on by the Scientific Ecclesiastical Society in Winnipeg, which publishes a monthly, *Vira i Kul'tura* (Faith and Culture), under the editorship of Metropolitan Hilarion. Among non-religious publishing organizations which are close to the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church is the Trident Publishing House and the weekly *Ukraïns'kyi Holos* (The Ukrainian Voice).

A small number of Orthodox Ukrainians also belong to other Orthodox churches which have their seat in the United States, such as the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in America, now under Bishop Andrew Kushchak and formerly under the jurisdiction of Metropolitan Bohdan Shpylka; and the Russian Orthodox Church under the jurisdiction of Metropolitan Leontii Turkevych.

*V. Kysilevsky*

**Ukrainian Evangelical (Protestant) Church Communities**

The Ukrainian Evangelical church communities in Canada were developments of both the Ukrainian Evangelical Christian Baptists (the Shtundists), who were persecuted by the Russian tsarist government in Ukraine and immigrated to Canada, and the faithful of the Independent Greek Church, who dogmatically leaned towards Protestantism and later definitely accepted Evangelical doctrines. In 1913, a total of 21 priests of this church along with its communities entered the Presbyterian Church of Canada. Subsequently, when a part of the Presbyterian Church was integrated with other evangelical churches into one United Church of Canada, the majority of Ukrainian pastors and their communities joined the same church. A small segment of Ukrainians, living among Protestants of other denominations, fell under their influence and were converted to their faith.

According to the 1961 Canadian census there were over 100,000 Ukrainian Protestants, including 60,000 in the

United Church of Canada, 19,000 in the Anglican Church, 6,100 Baptists, 5,500 Presbyterians, 6,000 Lutherans; a number of Ukrainians belong to the Seventh-Day Adventists, Mennonites, Jehovah's Witnesses, and the like.

The Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance in North America, established in 1922 (VEA, see, p. 1121) embraces the Ukrainian Protestants, members of the Presbyterian and United churches, and an independent Ukrainian Evangelical Reformed Church. The Ukrainian Baptists in Canada are now organized into the Ukrainian Evangelical-Baptist Union of Canada; in Toronto they maintain a publishing house, Doroha Pravdy (The Road of Truth). The overwhelming majority of Ukrainian Evangelical church communities operate within the framework of the Protestant churches in Canada.

The Ukrainian Evangelists of Canada publish a number of periodicals: a review, *Yevanhel's'kyi Ranok* (The Evangelist Morning) (Toronto-Detroit), which is the organ of the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance; a monthly review, *Yevanhel's'ka Pravda* (The Evangelist Truth) in Toronto, the Presbyterian journal; *Khrystyians'kyi Visnyk* (The Christian Herald), organ of the Baptists in Winnipeg, and *Yevanhelyst* (The Evangelist), a magazine published by the Seventh-Day Adventists in Toronto.

*V. Borovsky*

## SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

The first Ukrainian settlers in Canada attempted to revive those forms of social life with which they were familiar in their country of origin, adapting them to their new environment.

The first organizations were religious communities, followed by reading halls, national homes (250 by 1925), theatrical groups, and the like. Apart from these national organizations, there was also a small group of radicals with their "workers' homes"; the extreme left of this group became a Communist organization after the revolution of 1917–18.

The main burden of community work at this time fell on Ukrainian teachers in public schools in the three prairie provinces. In contrast to the United States, fraternal insurance and benefit associations did not play a significant role in the organization of Ukrainian social and political life in Canada. In this respect, the churches exerted the dominant influence.

### Social and Political Organizations

Religious division determined the nature and activities of Ukrainian organizations which emerged in the 1920's and afterwards.

Among the first organizations was the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada (Soiuz Ukraïntsiv Samostiinykiv), founded in 1927 by the Orthodox Ukrainians. Its component organizations were: Ukrainian Self-Reliance Association, Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada, Association of Ukrainian Youth of Canada, Association of Ukrainian National Homes of Canada, and three institutes: Petro Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon, St. John's Institute in Edmonton, and St. Vladimir's Ukrainian Institute in Toronto. The official organ of the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League is *Ukaïns'kyi Holos* (The Ukrainian Voice). In 1932 the Ukrainian Catholics organized the Ukrainian Catholic Brotherhood (Bratstvo Ukraïntsiv Katolykiv), which conducts its activities on the ideological basis of the Catholic Action. In 1939 the Ukrainian Catholic Youth of Canada was organized and in 1943, the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League of Canada. All Ukrainian Catholic organizations are closely affiliated with the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy in Canada.

In the category of non-religious affiliated groupings were such political and social organizations which derived their ideological character from political movements prevailing in western Ukraine in the 1920's and among political refugees in Europe. Thus, former officers and

soldiers of the Ukrainian armies organized the Ukrainian War Veterans' Association (Ukraïns'ka Strilets'ka Hromada) in 1928, and in 1932 established the Ukrainian National Federation (Ukraïns'ke Natsional'ne Obiednannia) with Ukrainian nationalist ideology. The Ukrainian National Federation is composed of the following affiliated organizations: Ukrainian War Veterans' Association, Ukrainian Women's Organization of Olha Basarab, and the Ukrainian National Youth Federation (UNYF). Its press organ is the weekly *Novyi Shliakh* (New Pathway).

The followers of the Hetman movement founded in 1924 a paramilitary and sports organization, the Hetman *Sich*, which subsequently was transformed into the United Hetman Organization (Soiuz Het'mantsiv Derzhavnykiv). The semi-monthly *Bat'kivshchyna* (Fatherland) is their official press organ.

Ukrainians following the Communist ideology were organized in the Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association, which in 1942 was transformed into the Association of United Ukrainian-Canadians (Tovarystvo Obiednanykh Ukraïns'kykh Kanadtsiv). In 1935–6 some members rejected the pro-communist orientation of the association and under the leadership of Daniel Lobay founded the Union of Ukrainian Organizations, subsequently renamed the Ukrainian Workers League (Ukraïns'kyi Robitnychyi Soiuz). The Communist group has its own Workers' Benevolent Association of Canada, a weekly *Zhyttia i Slovo* (Life and Word), published in Ukrainian, and also an English-language publication, *The Ukrainian Canadian.*

After World War II, the new immigration fostered a series of new political and social organizations. The political organizations were mainly replicas of the various political groupings of the Ukrainian émigrés in Europe. The strongest among them is the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation (Liga Vyzvolennia Ukraïny), founded in 1949; it publishes a weekly, *Homin Ukraïny* (Echo of Ukraine). The league is associated ideologically with the Foreign Branch of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

Other organizations are: Ukrainian Association of Victims of Russian Communist Occupation and the Ukrainian National Democratic League, which was established in 1952. Both groups are composed primarily of Ukrainians from eastern Ukraine. There is also the society of Canadian Friends for Liberation of Ukraine (1953), which adheres to the ideological views of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council; the society for support of the Ukrainian National Council (Rada), and others.

**Cultural-Educational, Women's, Youth, Veterans, and Professional Organizations**

In Canada, as in the United States, Ukrainians have not been successful in establishing a broad educational organization such as the Prosvita Society in western Ukraine. All cultural and educational work has been carried on by social, religious, and youth organizations. A significant part in this work was played by the "National Homes." In Winnipeg there are the M. Shashkevych Society of Ridna Shkola, Ukrainian Reading Association Prosvita, the Ukrainian Canadian Institute Prosvita, Ukrainian National Home Association, and organizations similar to those in other cities.

The first local WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS had been established prior to World War I, but the modern Ukrainian women's movement developed much later. In 1926, the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada (Soiuz Ukraïnok Kanady) was organized with headquarters in Saskatoon (by Savella Stechishin), comprised mostly of Ukrainian Orthodox women.

The Ukrainian Catholic women founded their own branches within the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Catholics, from which in 1943–4 they organized a new group, Ukrainian Catholic Women's

League (Liga Ukraïnskykh Katolyts'kykh Zhinok); its first president was Maria Dyma.

In 1930, the women of the post-war emigration established the Ukrainian Women's Organization (Orhanizatsiia Ukraïnok Kanady of Olha Basarab), which was part of the Ukrainian National Federation. Finally, in 1944 all women's organizations of Canada joined in a loosely organized federation called the Ukrainian Canadian Women's Committee.

In addition to VETERANS' ORGANIZATIONS, established in the period between the First and Second World Wars, namely the Ukrainian War Veterans'

FIGURE 665. *Plast* YOUTH TAKING PART IN A SPECIAL PROGRAM IN WINNIPEG DURING THE UNVEILING OF THE TARAS SHEVCHENKO MONUMENT

Association and the Ukrainian War Veterans' League, after World War II a series of new Ukrainian veterans' organizations emerged: the Ukrainian Canadian Veterans' Association comprised of Ukrainian Canadians who served in the Canadian armed forces; its members also form the Ukrainian branches of the Canadian Legion. Also formed were new associations according to units in which the veterans had served: the Brotherhood of the Ukrainian *Sich* Riflemen (Ukraïns'ki Sichovi Stril'tsi), Carpatho-Ukrainian War Veterans' League (Bratstvo Karpats'kykh Sichovykiv), the Brotherhood of the Former Soldiers of the First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army, Association of Former Soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and the Union of Ukrainian Insurgent Army Soldiers Posts.

Along with the formerly existing YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS (Canadian Ukrainian Youth Association, Ukrainian Catholic Youth League of Canada, Ukrainian National Youth Federation of Canada), a series of new ones emerged after World War II: Ukrainian Youth Association *Plast*, Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada (SUM) which is ideologically allied with the League for Ukraine's Liberation, and the Ukrainian Democratic Youth Association (ODUM).

Organizations of UNIVERSITY YOUTH date back to the late 1910's. These organizations were made up of various student groups (one, known as the *Kameniari*, was founded in 1917 under the auspices of the Petro Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon), which were united in 1927 into a central body with headquarters in Saskatoon. In 1929–30 it was affiliated with the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (see p. 386). The groups included also students of teachers' colleges and high schools. The first organization exclusively for university students was the "Alpha-Omega," founded in Saskatoon in 1930. After World War II, new student organizations emerged in Canada: the Association of Ukrainian Catholic Students *Obnova*; Society of Orthodox Students *Ilarion*; the Ukrainian Academic Society *Zarevo*, and the Michnovsky Ukrainian Student Association, all of which have branches throughout Canada. There also are Ukrainian student clubs at various Canadian universities. All Ukrainian student organizations are members of the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union (Soiuz Ukraïns'kykh Studentiv Kanady) established in 1953. In 1965, it had a total of 800 student members (all Ukrainian university students in Canada number over 4,000).

As in the United States, there are many

Ukrainian PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS in Canada. Teachers, professors, and educators are organized in the Ukrainian Teachers' Association of Canada and in two denominational professional organizations: the Society of Ukrainian Catholic Teachers (western Canada) and the Ukrainian sections of the Canadian teachers' associations (comprised of Orthodox teachers).

Ukrainian physicians in Canada and the United States are organized in the Ukrainian Medical Society of North America and the Association of Ukrainian Veterinary Doctors.

Ukrainian scholars are organized in two institutions: the Shevchenko Scientific Society, with headquarters in Toronto, and the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Winnipeg.

Ukrainian professors at universities and other institutions of higher learning have their own organizations, as do the Ukrainian librarians.

In all the major Ukrainian population centers there are organizations of Ukrainian merchants, businessmen, and industrialists.

Among Ukrainian insurance associations there are two with centers in Canada: the Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas and the Ukrainian Fraternal Society of Canada, and two with headquarters in the United States: the Ukrainian National Association and the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association.

**Ukrainian Canadian Committee**

In 1940, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (Komitet Ukraïntsiv Kanady) was founded in Winnipeg as a central body for purposes of coordination and representation. Founding members of the UCC were all national and social organizations that were active in 1940; subsequently, the UCC accepted membership of all organizations that emerged after World War II (in 1965 the Ukrainian Canadian Committee was based on 29 national organizations).

The establishment of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee as a central coordinating body contributed in large measure to the elimination of internal misunderstandings among Ukrainian Canadians and created a spirit of religious tolerance and cooperation by various groups in social and political matters.

At the present time, the UCC has over 200 branches in all Ukrainian settlements in Canada; its supreme body is the Ukrainian Canadian Congress which meets every three years. Among noteworthy achievements of the UCC is the inclusion of the Ukrainian language in the curricula of high schools and universities, and participation in Canadian political life, resulting in the appointment of a minister and the election of a number of Ukrainian members to the parliament (both in the House of Commons and the Senate); the erection of a monument in honor of Taras Shevchenko in front of the Manitoba Legislative Building in Winnipeg (the unveiling took place July 9, 1961, on the 100th anniversary of Shevchenko's death); the establishment of the Taras Shevchenko Foundation of Ukrainians in Canada; and the like. The Rev. Dr. Basil Kushnir has been president of the UCC (except for a three-year interval) since its establishment; its executive director for many years was Volodymyr Kochan (*d.* 1966), and its present executive director is Jaroslav S. Kalba. Pro-Communist organizations are excluded from membership in the UCC. They have their own organizations, home, schools, cultural and educational institutions, choral and dance ensembles, museums, cooperatives and the like.

FIGURE 666. MSGR. BASIL KUSHNIR

As in the United States, the number of

Ukrainian institutions and organizations in Canada is extremely large in relation to the number and needs of Ukrainians; their status fluctuates constantly. The number of members in all these organizations is small; however, the number of their sympathizers is usually much greater. The cause for this can be found both in religious and political divisions as well as in the territorial dispersion of Ukrainian settlements. The principal centers of Ukrainian life are: Winnipeg, Toronto, Edmonton, Saskatoon, Montreal, and Vancouver. The first four cities are the sees of Ukrainian bishops, and almost all are the headquarters of numerous Ukrainian organizations, institutions, and press organs. All Ukrainian organizations are confronted with the necessity of introducing some reforms which would make them more attractive to the young generation.

**Political Life and Ties with the Native Land**

Admittedly, the first Ukrainian immigrants in Canada were not politically or nationally conscious. Therefore, during the first two decades of Ukrainian emigration, the organized Ukrainian community in Canada devoted much attention to awakening the national consciousness, especially the use of the Ukrainian national name and the Ukrainian language, which also served the purpose of resisting denationalizing influences. In 1910, Ukrainians made initial efforts to elect their own representatives to provincial legislatures.

World War I created a very difficult situation for Canadian Ukrainians. Many of them, stemming from Galicia and Bukovina, favored Austria against Russia. Bishop Budka even issued a special pastoral letter, in which he called on Ukrainians, who were Austrian citizens, to return home and enlist for military service. This contributed to some repressive measures on the part of the Canadian government which was an ally of Russia. Several thousand Ukrainians were put in concentration camps for a period of two years, whereafter they were conscripted to work in military industries. In the second half of World War I, some 10,000 Ukrainians entered the Canadian army and took part in battles on the French-German front.

The establishment of a free and independent Ukrainian state spurred the Ukrainian immigrants to provide political and financial assistance to the newly formed state. In 1918, the Ukrainian Canadian Citizens' Committee was organized in Winnipeg for the purpose of assisting the Ukrainian people in their struggle for independence. The committee dispatched a delegation to the Peace Conference in Paris (Joseph Megas and Ivan Petrushevych). The Ukrainian Red Cross, organized in 1919, collected $44,500 for assistance to Ukraine. In 1922, on the initiative of Joseph Nazaruk, a representative of the Western Ukrainian National Republic in Canada, the Loan for National Defense was established, which brought in $34,000 in 1922–3 for the needs of Ukrainians in their native land. At the same time extensive efforts were made in the field of Ukrainian culture in order to arouse patriotism and interest in political affairs. This effort was carried on by the Ukrainian National Rada, organized by Bishop Budka.

In the period between the two world wars, Ukrainian social and political life reached unprecedented heights of development as a result of the influx of the second wave of Ukrainian immigration. Ukrainian Canadians not only helped the homeland materially, but also made frequent requests to the Canadian government urging, for instance, that it protest against persecution of Ukrainians by the Polish government (especially during the "pacification" of 1930; see, Vol. 1, p. 842) and the destruction of Ukrainian churches in the Kholm region (see p. 179).

Meanwhile Ukrainians were elected to provincial legislatures and the federal

parliament in ever-increasing numbers. The activities organized in reaction to the events taking place in Ukraine also attracted the attention of both the government and other ethnic groups of Canada. Ukrainian choral and dance ensembles, as well as other public manifestations, helped other Canadians to become acquainted with Ukrainian culture. The Ukrainian Communists remained outside the Ukrainian national

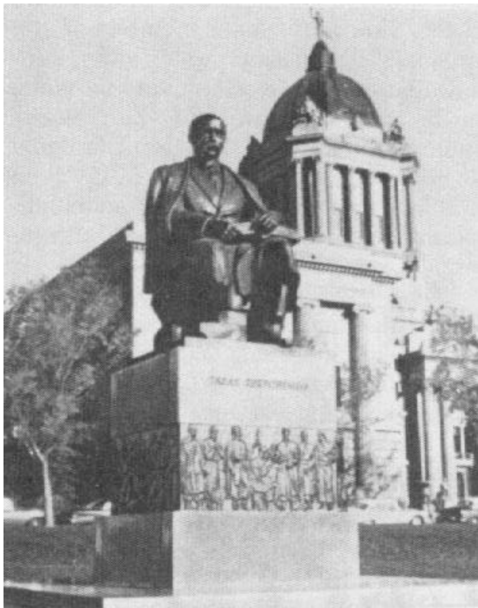

FIGURE 667. TARAS SHEVCHENKO MONUMENT BY A. DARAHAN ON MANITOBA LEGISLATIVE GROUNDS IN WINNIPEG (unveiled July 9, 1961)

camp. During the period of unemployment, especially in the 1930's, they expanded their activities. Their efforts, however, under the influence of Moscow, were always contrary to the aims of the overwhelming majority of Ukrainian Canadians.

During World War II, some 40,000 young Ukrainians served in the Canadian armed forces (including 500 officers). Other Ukrainians contributed to the development of the war industry, supported the Red Cross, purchased war bonds, and the like. All activity assisting the native land, during and especially after World War II, was channeled through the Ukrainian Canadian Committee. Through its numerous interventions with the Canadian and other governments, the UCC contributed substantially to the amelioration of the legal status of Ukrainian refugees in Western Europe and prevented them from being forcibly repatriated to the Soviet Union. Over 35,000 of them came to Canada. Relief and resettlement efforts were carried out by the UCC under the auspices of the Ukrainian Relief Fund of Canada, established in 1945 (now Ukrainian Social Services). The fund cooperated with the Canadian and International Red Cross. Between 1945 and 1958, this fund alone collected $500,000 for the relief of Ukrainians in Europe.

The arrival of new immigrants during the years 1947–51 invigorated the life of the Ukrainian community in Canada and led to the establishment of new political organizations, ideologically oriented toward émigré political groupings in Europe (see Vol. I, pp. 914–15). These new political organizations more than offset the activity of Communists, which had reached its apogee in 1945 when Canada was an ally of the USSR and when there were many tours of Soviet Ukrainian dance ensembles and visits by officials of the Ukrainian SSR. Today the Communists are in retreat, despite the support they receive from the Soviet Union, a development due largely to visits by many Ukrainian Communists to Soviet Ukraine where they see life in its true light and not through the lens of Communist propaganda.

In the 1950's, the activity of Ukrainian groups was largely limited to intensive cultural and educational efforts. Political activity of Ukrainians was conducted within the framework of the Canadian political parties, in which Ukrainians have their permanent representation. The Ukrainians sought the help of Canadian political parties, statesmen, and the government in defense of political and cultural rights of the Ukrainian people

in the USSR. Toward that end they published books and reviews in the English language, organized art exhibits, and staged anti-Bolshevik rallies. In this respect the Ukrainians cooperated closely with representatives of other captive nations as well as those of the "people's democracies."

**Participation of Ukrainians in Social and Political Life of Canada**

Ukrainian immigrants integrated themselves relatively early into the sociopolitical life of Canada, taking an active part in local self-government. They served on municipal councils and school boards, as mayors of cities and villages, secretaries of municipalities, judges, members of parliament, senators, ministers in provincial and federal governments.

In 1915 Ukrainians succeeded in electing Taras Ferley to the Manitoba provincial legislature (he served until 1920). Nicholas Hryhorczuk and Dmytro Yakimischak were elected to the Manitoba legislature in 1920. They were joined in the election of 1922 by Michael Rojecki and Nicholas Bachinsky (who served consecutively until 1955). Altogether, 26 Ukrainians were elected to the Manitoba legislature in 1915–65. Michael Hryhorczuk served as minister of justice, and Stephen Juba (1953–9) has been consecutively reelected as mayor of Winnipeg since 1959. N. Bachinsky served as presiding officer of the Manitoba legislature from 1950 through 1955. Andrew Shandro was the first Ukrainian elected to the Alberta legislative assembly (1915). A total of 20 Ukrainian representatives were elected to the Alberta legislature in the period 1915–65; in 1965 there were 6 Ukrainians out of a total of 63 members. In 1962 Ambrose Holowach was named to the provincial cabinet. The first Ukrainian elected to the Saskatchewan legislative assembly was George Dragan (1934). From 1934 through 1965, a total of 12 Ukrainians were elected to the Saskatchewan legislature. Alexander Kuziak served as minister of natural resources. In 1965 there were 3 Ukrainian members out of a total of 59. The first female member of the provincial legislature was Mary Fodchuk-Batten, who was appointed a judge in Saskatchewan in 1964. In Ontario, John Yaremko was the first Ukrainian elected to the legislature (1951); in 1958 he was named minister of communications, and in 1960, minister of citizenship.

FIGURE 668. SENATOR WILLIAM WALL

There have been Ukrainians in the federal parliament in Ottawa since 1926. Up to 1965 there had been a total of 13 Ukrainian members: Michael Luchkovich (1926–35); Anthony Hlynka (1940–9); Frederick S. Zaplitny (1945–9 and 1953–7); John Decore (1949–57); Michael Starr (Starchevsky), who was elected in 1952 and in 1957–62 was minister of labour; Nicholas Mandziuk (since 1957); Ambrose Holowach (1953–7); Peter Stefura (1957–8); John Kucherepa (1957–62); William Skoreyko (since 1959); Stanley J. Korchinski (1957); Val Yacula

FIGURE 669. MICHAEL STARR, FORMER MINISTER OF LABOR (1957–63)

FIGURE 670. SENATOR PAUL YUZYK

(1958); Joseph Slogan (since 1959). Members of the Canadian Senate were: William Wall (Wolochatiuk; 1955–died in 1962); John Hnatyshyn (1959–died in 1967) and Paul Yuzyk (since 1963). There were four judges of Ukrainian descent: J. W. Arsenych, John Solomon, Michael Stechishin, and John Didur.

*V. Kysilevsky*

## CULTURAL LIFE

### Schools and Education

**Early schools in the Ukrainian settlements.** The early Ukrainian immigrant settlers, faced with a hard struggle for existence, were unable to give much attention to the formal education of their children. They became, however, painfully aware of the need for education within a few years after their arrival, when they saw their children growing up illiterate.

The government, primarily concerned with the settling of uninhabited areas, did little in organizing schools apart from defining school districts and helping in their initial organization. After that it was left to the elected school trustees, under guidance of some educated person such as an immigrant teacher or clergyman, to build schools and to find and engage teachers.

A small group of educated Ukrainians, among them Ivan Bodrug, T. D. Ferley, Paul Gigeichuk, Basil Chumer, Ivan Negrych, Theodore Stefanik, and Peter Svarich, pioneered in the organization of public schools among Ukrainians.

As early as 1898 a public school was opened in the Stuartburn area in Manitoba. Others followed in succeeding years. In 1904 there were at least 40 schools in Ukrainian settlements, 22 of them in Manitoba itself.

During the years of early Ukrainian immigration, the province of Manitoba had a bilingual school system based on the "Laurier-Greenway Agreement" of 1897, known as Section 258 of the Public School Act, which read: "Where ten of the pupils speak the French language, or any other language other than English, as their native language, the teaching for such pupils shall be conducted in French, or such other language, and English, based upon the bilingual system."

The bilingual school system of Manitoba found a broad application too in the southern part of the Northwest Territories, which in 1905 were organized as the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta.

FIGURE 671. A PIONEER UKRAINIAN-ENGLISH TEACHER AND PUPILS IN RURAL MANITOBA (*ca.* 1910)

The curriculum and textbooks of the English public school system were used in the bilingual schools. In Ukrainian classes, textbooks published in Galicia were in common use. After 1911 in Alberta and Saskatchewan, and 1913 in Manitoba, Ukrainian-English readers published by the provincial governments were in use at the elementary level.

The greatest problem facing the schools in Ukrainian colonies was an acute shortage of teachers. It was estimated that in 1904 the school organization was covering hardly one-tenth of the area, and nearly 4,000 Ukrainian children remained without schooling. Thus the need arose for training schools of Ukrainian teachers.

To alleviate this situation the provincial government of Manitoba, at the request of Ukrainians, organized in 1905 the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) Training

School in Winnipeg in order to train teachers from the Ukrainian youth who had obtained some high school education before their immigration to Canada. The first 28 teachers graduated from this school in 1907. In that same year Ukrainian teachers held their first convention in Winnipeg. At that conference they founded their professional organization, the Ukrainian Teachers' Association of Canada (which convened annually).

In 1908 the Ruthenian Training School was transferred to Brandon, Manitoba. Its full course extended over three years. After successful completion of studies, candidates were issued certificates which permitted them to teach in Manitoba schools. In the period 1905–16, over 120 teachers graduated from the Ruthenian Training School. Many graduates continued their studies in Canadian universities and emerged as professionals in various fields. They formed the first group of trained Ukrainian intellectuals in Canada who became leaders in Ukrainian communities throughout western Canada. Following the example of Manitoba, training schools for teachers, called English Schools for Foreigners, were established by the Saskatchewan government in 1909 in Regina, and by the government of Alberta in 1913 in Vegreville. Because of their strong desire to retain and develop national traditions and the Ukrainian mother tongue, Ukrainian teachers were blamed by some English nationalists for their slow cultural assimilation into the Canadian stream. The latter succeeded in closing the bilingual schools in Alberta in 1913 and in 1916 they induced the provincial legislature of Manitoba to cancel the bilingual school system. Liberal governments of all the three prairie provinces removed Ukrainian from public schools not only as one of two languages of instruction but also as a teaching subject. The training schools at Brandon, Regina, and Vegreville were closed. Over 250 bilingual public schools were converted to unilingual English, and a number of Ukrainian teachers dismissed.

**Private schools after 1920.** The closing of bilingual schools left the Ukrainian immigrants no other alternative but to establish private schools where their children were taught the Ukrainian language and related subjects.

The private Ukrainian educational establishments, developed in the following decades, may be divided into several groups: supplementary schools and courses of elementary level, Ukrainian studies at secondary level, separate schools, student residences providing courses of Ukrainian studies, special pedagogical institutions and courses. These schools are maintained by Ukrainian churches (Catholic and Greek Orthodox), and by such organizations as the Ukrainian National Federation, the Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada (SUM), the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League, the Ukrainian Youth Association *Plast*, the Association of Ukrainian National Home, the Prosvita Institute, and the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians (pro-Communists).

The most common schools in the Ukrainian settlements are the primary supplementary schools, known as Ridna Shkola (Native School) and Ukraïnska Shkola (Ukrainian School). They are for children 6 to 12 years of age. Classes are held two to six hours a week. The school terms range from four to six years. Instruction is given by priests, nuns, lay teachers, and other professional people who may or may not have pedagogical qualifications.

According to an incomplete survey made in 1966–7, there are in Canada at least 210 permanent Ukrainian supplementary schools where instruction is given during the entire year, and about 320 summer or vacation schools. They have about 25,000 pupils and over 400 teachers. They include 110 Ridna Shkola schools and 215 summer schools maintained by the parishes of the Ukrainian

Catholic Church, and 80 Ukraïns'ka Shkola schools and 96 sunday schools maintained by the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church. A number of Ukrainian supplementary schools have their own buildings and a relatively large number of pupils; for example, the Ridna Shkola school of St. Nicholas parish in Toronto has more than 450 children and 12 teachers, the school of the Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada in Toronto over 300 children and 11 teachers.

In a number of urban centers, Ukrainians organized supplementary schools for advanced instruction in Ukrainian subjects, such as language, literature, history, geography, arts and crafts. This type of school is maintained primarily by lay organizations. The Ukrainian National Federation sponsors six schools with about 200 students, the Ukrainian Youth Association of Canada 13 schools with over 800 students; some schools are maintained by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and private persons. The total comprises about 1,200 students and 60 teachers.

The average school term is five years. After a successful completion of studies and a final examination, graduates are issued certificates permitting them to continue studies in Slavic departments of Canadian universities.

The Ukrainian separate schools are organized and maintained by the Ukrainian churches. They follow the same curriculum as the public schools. The teaching language is English or French. In addition to religious instruction (not always in Ukrainian), the Ukrainian language (optional for the occasional non-Ukrainian students) is also taught.

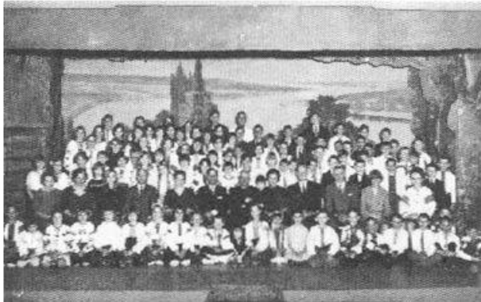

FIGURE 672. STUDENTS AND TEACHERS OF THE RIDNA SHKOLA OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL FEDERATION BRANCH IN WINNIPEG

The Ukrainian Catholic Church maintains six separate schools. The oldest of them is the St. Nicholas School in Winnipeg (recently renamed the School of the Immaculate Heart of Mary), established in 1905 and maintained by the Sisters Servants. It is a fully organized 12-grade school (elementary and secondary). In 1967–8, it had over 200 students and 12 teachers. The Sisters Servants maintain three other schools: St. Josaphat (elementary) School in Toronto, organized in 1961 (in 1967–8 it had 280 pupils and 8 teachers), the Sacred Heart Academy (high school) for girls in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, established in 1932 and reorganized in 1945, with an average enrollment of 200 students, and the Mount Mary Immaculate Academy in Ancaster, Ontario, founded in 1953 (in 1967–8, enrollment of 190 student girls and 12 teachers).

The oldest Ukrainian separate school for boys is St. Joseph's College in Yorkton, Saskatchewan, which was established by the Ukrainian Brothers of the Christian Schools in 1920. Annual enrollment averages 200 students. The Basilian Fathers founded in 1962 the St. Basil the Great College in Toronto. In 1967–8 it had about 200 students in grades 9 to 13. The Redemptorist Fathers maintain St. Vladimir's in Roblin, Manitoba.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church maintains St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg, which is affiliated with the University of Manitoba. It includes a high school and the theological department (see pp. 1166–7), which has the right to grant bachelor degrees in Arts.

The main function of student residences, called institutes or dormitories (*bursy*), is to help the out-of-town youth

studying at high schools and universities by providing room and board at moderate prices. They placed a particularly important role in the years when high schools were scarce and during the period of the great depression. The supervisory staff, usually teachers, provides the resident students with instruction in Ukrainian studies.

The Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church maintains three institutes; the Petro Mohyla Institute which was established in 1916 at Saskatoon, the St. John Institute in Edmonton (earlier, Michael Hrushevsky Institute) organized in 1918, and St. Vladimir the Great Institute in Toronto, in 1962.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church also maintains three student residences: St. Basil the Great Institute for boys in Edmonton, established in 1945, St. Josaphat Institute for girls in Edmonton, in 1948, and the Metropolitan Sheptytsky Institute in Saskatoon, in 1951. Apart from these institutes, each separate school has its own student residence.

As a result of the efforts of the Ukrainian community, spearheaded by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, the ministries of education in Saskatchewan (1952), Manitoba, and Alberta (1966–7) recognized the Ukrainian language as an elective subject in all state and private high schools of the provinces. Thus, Ukrainian youth of high school age in all three prairie provinces has the opportunity of receiving instruction in the Ukrainian language, depending on the number of registered students and the availability of qualified teachers. At present, some 2,500 students are taking instruction in the Ukrainian language.

**Adult education.** Adult education was important from the very beginning of Ukrainian settlement in Canada. Its principal objective was to erase illiteracy among immigrants (almost half of them initially were illiterate), by providing courses in basic English, by installing a feeling of national consciousness, and by acquainting them with new methods of

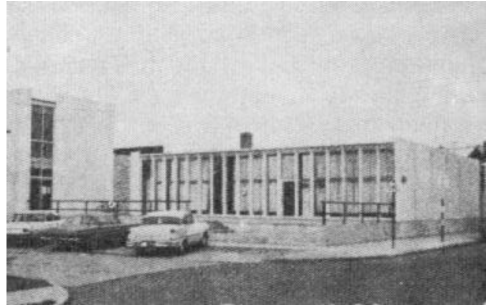

FIGURE 673. UKRAINIAN INSTITUTE PROSVITA IN WINNIPEG (1967)

agriculture as well as the fundamental principles of Canadian citizenship. This task was primarily carried out by cultural and educational organizations (Prosvita reading rooms, national homes, theatrical groups), as well as by church groups. Most successful in this respect today are: the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center in Winnipeg (in the 1930's and 1940's it organized summer educational courses during 15 seasons), the Prosvita Institute, the Association of Ukrainian National Homes, and various youth organizations.

*I. Tesla*

**Press and Publications**

The early Ukrainian settlers in Canada had no Ukrainian-language press. The first Ukrainian newspapers available to them were *Svoboda* (Liberty), published by the Ukrainian National Association in the United States, and *Misionar* (The Missionary), published by the Basilian Order in Zhovkva, Western Ukraine. The first Ukrainian newspaper printed in Canada was *Kanadiis'kyi Farmer* (The Canadian Farmer), founded in 1903 in Winnipeg.

Ukrainian newspapers published in Canada can be divided into three principal categories: general information, religious, and professional. A total of 200 Ukrainian-language periodic publications of various types have appeared in Canada in 1903–67. Most were dependent either on religious groups or political

organizations. There are few independent newspapers that sustain themselves on income from subscribers and advertising. The Ukrainian Canadian press, like the Ukrainian American press, served as a link between the immigrants and the homeland and frequently neglected the local problems faced by immigrants.

At present, however, the problems of Canadian life are given considerable space in the Ukrainian Canadian press. After World War II the new Ukrainian immigrants raised substantially the level of the Ukrainian press, in terms of both the Ukrainian literary language and the coverage of local and national Canadian problems. A series of new publications was also begun.

The principal centers of Ukrainian publishing activity are Winnipeg and Toronto, followed by Edmonton and Yorkton. It appears that there is an excessive number of Ukrainian publications in relation to the size of the Ukrainian population.

The Ukrainian-language press, however, struggles constantly both with financial problems and the attendant problem of continued existence, inasmuch as the younger generation neither reads nor subscribes to the Ukrainian press in substantial numbers. The question whether Ukrainian newspapers should be published in English or at least contain English-language supplements is a subject of frequent discussion on all levels of community life.

In 1966 there were 42 Ukrainian Canadian periodical publications, including nine weeklies, three bimonthlies, with the rest being monthlies and quarterlies. Several of these have English supplements, and a few are published in English only.

The Ukrainian weeklies in Toronto are: *Vil'ne Slovo* (The Free World), an independent newspaper founded in 1957 in place of *Ukraïns'kyi Robitnyk* (The Ukrainian Worker) which was published between 1934 and 1957; *Homin Ukraïny* (Echo of Ukraine), organ of the Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation (founded in 1948); *Nasha Meta* (Our Aim), newspaper of the Ukrainian Catholic Diocese of Toronto (founded in 1948); *Zhyttia i Slovo* (Life and Word), published by the pro-Soviet oriented Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, which began appearing in 1965 in place of the weeklies *Ukraïns'ke Zhyttia* (Ukrainian Life) in Toronto (founded in 1941) and *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* (Ukrainian Word) in Winnipeg (founded in 1943).

Winnipeg has the following weekly publications: *Kanadiis'kyi Farmer* (The Canadian Farmer); *Ukraïns'kyi Holos* (The Ukrainian Voice), the Ukrainian Self-Reliance League newspaper, founded in 1910; *Novyi Shliakh* (The New Pathway), organ of the Ukrainian National Federation, founded in 1932; *Postup* (Progress), official publication of the Ukrainian Catholic Archdiocese of Winnipeg (founded in 1959), which carries an English supplement.

Edmonton has *Ukraïns'ki Visti* (Ukrainian News) founded in 1929, organ of the Catholic eparchy, the continuation of the *The Canadian Ukrainian* (*Canadian Ruthenian* in 1911–18), newspaper of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada which had appeared in Winnipeg in 1911–31.

The Ukrainian-language bimonthlies are: *Kanadiis'kyi Ranok* (Canadian Dawn), organ of the United Church of Canada, founded in 1905 (since 1920 in Winnipeg, and for some time previously in Toronto); *Visnyk* (The Herald), organ of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church (since 1924 in Winnipeg); *Bat'kivshchyna* (Our Country), organ of the United Hetman Organization (founded in 1955 in Toronto).

Other publications are: religious—*Svitlo* (The Light), *Holos Spasytelia* (The Saviour's Voice); women's publications: *Zhinochyi Svit* (Woman's World), *Promin'* (The Ray); general—*My i Svit* (We and the World); literary, art, social,

and scientific—*Novi Dni* (New Days), *Vira i Kul'tura* (Faith and Culture), *Novyi Litopys* (The New Chronicle); children's and youth—*Mii Pryiatel'* (My Friend) and *Soniashnyk* (The Sunflower, discontinued publication); appearing at present are: *Yunak* (Youth), the *Ukrainian Canadian* (published by the Ukrainian Communits); and the scholarly journal *Lohos* (Logos).

Book publishing, limited in volume, increased both qualitatively and quantitatively with the arrival of many writers and journalists after world World War II. The most important Ukrainian publishing houses are as follows: in Toronto: Homin Ukraïny, Dobra Knyzhka (Good Book), Yevshan-Zilla, Novi Dni (New Days), and the Basilian Order Publishing House; in Winnipeg: the Trident Publishing Company, the Progress Publishing Company, Novyi Shliakh (New Pathway), "Club of Friends of the Ukrainian Book" (formerly well-known publisher in Galicia, Ivan Tyktor), the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, the Dmytro Mykytiuk Publishing House; in Yorkton: the Redemptorist Fathers Publishing House; in Edmonton: Ukraïns'ki Visti (Ukrainian News).

All these publishing companies, in addition to newspapers and reviews, publish books, novels, memoirs, poetry, scholarly treatises, and calendars.

*B. Kazymyra*

**Ukrainian Literature in Canada**

Although sporadic literary activity of Ukrainian Canadians has existed since the very beginning of their immigration at the turn of the century (both prose and poetry were published desultorily in Ukrainian newspapers, particularly the *Kanadiis'kyi Farmer* and *Ukraïns'kyi Holos* both in Winnipeg), generally speaking the literary movement as such began in the 1920's. It comprised mostly items of folklore art and was written in the ballad or lively *kolomyika* meter. These lyrics are noted chiefly for their emotional content in which the first settlers expressed nostalgia and sorrow for their native regions in Europe, and the painful difficulties they encountered in the harsh, undeveloped surroundings of their newly-adopted land. One of the first poets of this type was Theodore Fedyk (1873–1947). A brief collection of his verse, *Pisni pro Kanadu i Avstriiu* (Songs of Canada and Austria, 1908, republished in 1911 under the title *Pisni imigrantiv pro staryi i novyi krai* [Songs of Immigrants About the Old Country and the New]), was so popular among his compatriots that by 1927 some 50,000 copies of it had been sold.

Similar in content and in mood were the verses of Dmytro Raragovsky (1878–1957), author of a collection *Robitnychi pisni* (Working Songs, 1908), republished in 1945 under the title *Ukraïns'ki robitnychi pisni* (Ukrainian Working Songs), and those of Sava Chernetsky-Daleshivsky (1874–1934), a Ukrainian American writer who lived in Canada at the beginning of this century.

The pioneer in the field of drama was Semen Kovbel (1877–1965), who is also noted for his fine poetic endeavors in which he sought to rise above the artlessness of a host of his contemporary fellow-poets and, while still cultivating the rustic Muse, produced items of genuine lyrical beauty. Dmytro Hunkevych (1893–1950) found expression (in the 1930's and the 1940's) solely in drama, which he wrote both in serious and comical veins. Other poets of note were: Paul Crath (1882–1952), whose poetry is of both topical and lyrical variety, Basil Kudryk (1880–1963), Peter V. Chaikivsky, Maria Adamovska, Anna Pruska, Joseph Yasinchuk, Tatiana Kroitor, Ivan Novosad, Panteleimon Bozhyk (1879–1944), Semen V. Sawchuk, Katherine Novosad, and others whose literary output serves as a mirror of the spiritual and material conditions which they and their fellow-immigrants experienced keenly, often tragically, in the new land. There were, however, a few who, like

Michael Kumka and Stephen M. Doroshchuk, occasionally turned to humorous writing with much success. Most of the above-mentioned poets belong to the older generation and their most important work, relatively speaking, appeared before and immediately after World War I.

Later there appeared poets and novelists of real creative quality with a wide scope of ideas and high artistic mastery. Ivan Danylchuk (1901–1941) is considered to be one of the major lyricists of the 1930's. He is followed by Honore Ewach (1900–64) who, besides being a noteworthy poetic craftsman endowed with a sensitive nature, has also distinguished himself as a journalist and effective publicist. Mykyta I. Mandryka (*b.* 1886) began his poetic career in Europe, where he wrote on amatory and exotic themes. His talent developed more fully after his arrival in Canada in 1928, where he published several excellent collections of lyrical and historical (narrative) verse. Stephen Semchuk (*b.* 1899) likewise emerged as a poet in Europe when he was in his early twenties, and intensified his work in Canada. He writes impressionistically on topics dealing with the life of Ukrainian Canadian workers and farmers of Ukrainian origin, and devotes much thought to the second and third generations of Ukrainian Canadians. Deeply inspired also was T. K. Pavlychenko (1892–1958), whose main subject relates to the heroic periods of Ukrainian historical past (distant and recent) and which he idealized in his lyrical flights. To this group also belong Basil Toolevitrov, Taras Volohatuke, and Gregory Mazuryk.

Also dealing with Canadian themes are some of the recent immigrant writers and poets, notably Ulas Samchuk, Yar Slavutych, Borys Oleksandriv. In addition, the following writers who live in Canada have made significant contributions to Ukrainian literature in Canada: Alexander Hai-Holovko, Anatole Kurdydyk, as well as literary critics Dmytro Dontsov, George Luckyj, Alexander Mokh, Basil Sofroniv-Levytsky [Vol. I, pp. 1079–87].

While he lived in Canada, Ivan Kmeta-Ichniansky (*b.* 1901) published his lyrical products in the collection entitled *Lira emigranta* (The Lyre of An Emmigrant), which reveals him as an impressionist with expressionistic tendencies, both these trends infused with religious concepts.

From among the younger generation of poets, valuable collections were produced by Bohdan Mazepa, Theodore Matviienko, Dan Mur, Alexandra Chernenko.

In prose, the first to gain general recognition were: Apolinary Novak (1855–1955), a journalist and short-story writer; Jacob N. Krett (*b.* 1885), a publicist, lexicographer, and novelist (*Taiemnyi Zlochyn* [The Mysterious Crime]); Dmytro Kolisnyk (*Moie Selo* [My Village]); Michael Petrivsky (*b.* 1897, *Mahichne misto* [The Magic City]); Julian V. Kysilevsky (V. J. Kay, *b.* 1896, *Opovidannia i narysy* [Short-Stories and Sketches]); Dmytro Solianych (1876–1941, *Khto vynuvatyi* [Who is Guilty]); Basil Chumer (*Spomyny* [Memoirs]); Alexander Luhovyi (1904–1961, *V kihtiakh dvoholovoho orla* [In the Claws of the Two-Headed Eagle]); Jacob Maidanyk and Stephen Fodchuk, both humorists.

A prominent novelist was Ilia Kiriak (1893–1958), whose three-volume novel, *Syny zemli* (The Sons of Soil), deals epically and in great detail with the life of early Ukrainian settlers in western Canada. The condensed version of this novel was translated into English by Michael Luchkowich and published in Toronto.

From among those who wrote or continue to write in English, the following deserve mention: Vera Lesyk (*Men in Sheepskin Coats*), Myra Lazechko-Hass (*b.* 1920), a modernist poet; William Paluk, an essayist (*Ukrainian Cossacks*). Writing both in English and Ukrainian are Gus Romaniuk (*Taking

*Root in Canada*), Tetiana Shevchuk (*A Record of Spirit*), and others. Of great significance are the journalistic writings of M. Luchkowich whose articles on political, social, and literary subjects are recognized generally for their intrinsic worth.

In the realm of translation of Ukrainian literary works into English, valuable contributions have been made by Watson Kirkconnell and Constantine H. Andrusyshen (anthologies, *The Ukrainian Poets*, 1963, *The Poetical Works of Taras Shevchenko*, 1964.)

*C. H. Andrusyshen*

**Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture**

There are numerous Ukrainian artists in Canada, among both the newly arrived immigrants and the Canadian-born generation. Many of them are working professionally in various fields of art and have gained national recognition in Canada. The most renowned are Leonid Molodozhanyn (Leo Mol) and Peter Dobush, both awarded medals in 1960 by the Royal Institute of Architecture for their projects. Leo Mol has distinguished himself in sculpture; among his works is the Taras Shevchenko monument, erected in 1964 in Washington, D.C. For this, as well as other sculptures and paintings, he was elected an associate member of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts (1966). Peter Dobush, born in Canada, became known as a creator of modern architectural structures. He designed buildings for the Atomic Energy Commission of Canada, Expo 67, and many cultural, educational, and industrial institutions. An outstanding art collector, he donated part of his collection of Canadian art to the Winnipeg Art Gallery. Among the younger architects of the new immigration is Radoslav Zuk, professor of architecture at the University of Manitoba and at McGill in Montreal, and creator of a series of modern church projects (Toronto, Winnipeg, Tyndall) and the City Hall at Ottawa. In the last three decades, at least 30 Ukrainian architects graduated from various Canadian universities, many of them from the University of Manitoba. Among the more prominent are John Cooper, Anthony Lasko, Alex Nitchuk, Donald R. Wall (son of the late first Ukrainian senator in Canada, William Wall), Victor Deneka, and Julian K. Jastremsky, who before coming to the United States, worked on the new building of the University of Manitoba.

FIGURE 674. UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THOROLD, ONT. (ARCHITECT R. ZUK)

The majority of Ukrainian painters, graphic artists, and decorators work in Ukrainian centers, particularly in the larger cities. Among them are: Julian Butsmaniuk portraitist and church painter (*d.* 1967); Leonid Perfetsky; Bohdan Stebelsky—landscape, book graphics, and literary criticism; George Kraikivsky—historic and popular themes; Myron Levytsky—modern painting and graphics; Ivan Keywan—graphics and art criticism; Peter Kuch—illustrations and caricature; Vadym Dobrolidge—decoration; Stephania Baziuk—landscapes; Roman Koval—portraits and landscapes. William Kurelek, represented in the National Gallery in Ottawa and in the Museum of Modern Art in New York, is generally recognized for his themes on the mode of life in Canadian arts, as is Taras Kord of Winnipeg, an artist and decorator. Among younger artists the most prominent are Steven Repa, Nicholas Bidniak, Irene Nosyk, Halyna Novakivska, Lidia Palii, Omelian Telizhyn, and Daria Zelska-Darevych. Ukrainian paint-

ers and artists are united in the Ukrainian Association of Creative Artists (Ukrains'ka Spilka Obrazotvorchykh Mysttsiv), which was founded in 1956 and which promotes

FIGURE 675. *Manitoba Party*, A PAINTING BY W. KURELEK

art exhibits throughout Canada. The "We and the World" Art Gallery of Nicholas Koliankivsky in Toronto exhibits the works of Ukrainian painters not only from Canada, but also those from the United States and Europe.

Some of the best works of these artists are in many areas of church art. Ukrainian architects have succeeded in attaining a sort of Ukrainian-Canadian synthesis by combining purely Ukrainian motifs with local motifs in their churches. The best known examples are the Holy Virgin Mary Church in Yorkton, the Church of St. Volodymyr and Olha in Winnipeg, the St. Josaphat Church in Toronto, and especially, churches built according to the architectural design of the Rev. Philip Ruh in Portage la Prairie, Dauphin, Saskatoon, Edmonton, and Cooks Creek. Ukrainian architects, including some from the United States (Alexander Povstenko, Serhii Tymoshenko, and Volodymyr Sichynsky) designed and built a number of churches and national homes in several Canadian cities. Outstanding projects in this field were provided by George Kodak, E. Gren, M. Fliak, Victor Deneka, and others. In church painting, in addition to such artists as S. Meush, Ivan Kubarsky, J. Butsmaniuk, and L. Perfetsky from Canada, Ukrainian painters from the United States also distinguished themselves, among them: Michael Dmytrenko, Sviatoslav Hordynsky, and Michael Osinchuk. Noteworthy among works of applied church art, especially carving, is the Ukrainian Baroque iconostasis in the Church of St. Volodymyr in Toronto, fashioned by Volodymyr Balas and I. Kubarsky; also, the iconostases in the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of St. Volodymyr and Olha, and in the Orthodox Cathedral of the Holy Intercession in Winnipeg, both designed by S. Hordynsky.

*I. Keywan*

## Music

Choral art was one of the first branches of the Ukrainian national culture to be developed in Canada by the Ukrainian immigrants. Choral singing was used extensively in theatrical plays staged by Ukrainian immigrants, especially in folk operettas.

The musical life of Ukrainians made substantial strides after World War I. A factor in this development was the Canadian tour of the Ukrainian National Choir, directed by Alexander Koshyts, in 1922. It was this tour through the large cities of the United States and Canada that greatly enhanced the art of choral singing. Ukrainian chorus ensembles mushroomed in Canada, usually organized and supported by parishes and other Ukrainian organizations. Among the leading Ukrainian choirs in Canada were the *Boian* Chorus of the Ukrainian National Home, the *Banduryst* Chorus of the Church of St. Olha, the Institute of Prosvita Choir, and that of the Church of the Holy Intercession, all in Winnipeg; the Ukrainian National Home Chorus in Toronto; the Ukrainian National Federation Chorus and the St. Sophia Chorus in Montreal. Choral art continued to develop successfully under A. Koshyts' successors and members of

his choir—Lev Sorochynsky, George Hasan, and others; special choral courses were initiated in the early 1930's by the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center in Winnipeg, founded and directed by Koshyts himself. Both the theory and history of music as well as the art of choral directing were taught in these courses.

Consequently, Ukrainian musical life reached new heights of development in the 1930's. A number of highly-trained professionals appeared on the scene, almost all of them born in Canada: violinist and choral director Taras Hubicki, pianist and composer Ivan Melnyk, violinists Donna Grescoe and Sonia Lazarovych, violinist and pianist Ivan Kuchmii, and cellist Luba Novak. Olga Pavlova, Canadian-born soprano, is now a recording star in the United States, where she has appeared in concerts for many years. The influx of highly qualified musicians, choral directors, and composers greatly enhanced the state of Ukrainian classical music. Among them were: Paul Matsenko, musicologist and choral director; Jacob Kozaruk, cellist and choral director; Bohdan Kovalsky, violinist and choir director; Lubka Kolessa, pianist; and Michael Holynsky, opera singer.

After World War II, a number of Ukrainian professional musicologists and choral directors came to Canada and gave great impetus to Ukrainian musical life. Among them were: Nestor Horodovenko, former choral conductor of the *Dumka* Chorus in Kiev (*Ukraïna* Chorus in Montreal), Lev Turkevych (Prometheus Chorus in Toronto), George Holovko (St. Volodymyr's Choir in Toronto), Ivan Kovaliv (St. Nicholas Church Choir in Toronto), and Serhii Yaremenko (Edmonton).

Paralleling choral music, instrumental, solo, and chamber music as well as orchestral music progressed significantly. Ukrainian symphonic concerts performed by orchestras in Toronto, first under the direction of conductor Walter Susskind, enjoyed great success.

A number of Ukrainian instrumentalists work professionally in Canada: violinist Christine Kolessa; pianist and composer George Fiala; violinist and composer S. Yaremenko, and violinist Halia Biloshytska. Pianist Luba Zuk and others perform as soloists, while the majority of pianists work as concert masters and accompanists. Former singers at European opera houses—Michael Holynsky, Gregory Yaroshevych, and Basil Tysiak are engaged in pedagogical work in Canada. Among the younger generation of artists are: Luba Zubrak, Joseph Hoshulak, Gregory Shvedchenko, Peter Cherniak, Eva Stolarchuk-Beems, P. R. Labinsky, and Dometius Berezenets. Some of them, in addition to their

FIGURE 676. MEMBERS OF ODUM, SUMK, AND THE "VESNIVKA" CHORUS OF TORONTO DURING A PROGRAM MARKING THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE

professional careers, teach music in various Ukrainian schools and institutions.

Among outstanding Ukrainian musical schools are the Lysenko Institute of Music in Toronto (directed by Ivan Kovaliv), the musical schools in Winnipeg (directors Ivan Melnyk and Kysilevska) and in Edmonton (directors Valentina Dobrolidge and S. Yaremenko.

*W. Wytwycky*

**Theater, Dance, Cinema**

Theatrical activity among Ukrainian immigrants in Canada dates back to 1904. By 1911–12, three theatrical companies had been organized in Winnipeg: the Zankovetska group, the *Boian* group, and the Kotliarevsky group. The repertoire of these companies was drawn mostly from Ukrainian ethnological drama. In 1922 these companies were integrated into one group, sponsored by the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg (director of the dramatic and musical section was Basil Kazanivsky). This troup staged a series of fine productions. Between 1928 and 1934 in Winnipeg there were semi-professional theatrical groups, such as the Prosvita Rusalka Theater and the Traveling Stock Theater, sponsored by the local branch of the Ukrainian National Federation. The latter company toured a number of farm settlements, presenting popular Ukrainian repertory. Director of both theaters was Philip Ostapchuk.

An outstanding role in Ukrainian theatrical life was played by school drama circles, especially those organized by the Catholic Student dormitories, the Ukrainian National Homes in Toronto and Edmonton, the Prosvita societies in Vegreville, Fort William, Oakburn, Merville, and others. Ukrainian Communist organizations were also active in this field. In addition to B. Kazanivsky, other non-professional Ukrainian playrights on the Canadian scene were Semen Kovbel, Basil Toolevitrov, Dmytro Hunkevych, Alexander Luhovyi, Myroslav Irchan, Onuphrey Ewach, and Michael Krypiakevych.

After World War II, Toronto became the center of Ukrainian theatrical life, with such stage actors as Michael and Hanna Tahaïv, Gregory Yaroshevych-Manko, Lavrentii Kempe, Ivan Hirniak, Ivan Kurochka-Armashevsky, Maria Slusarivna, George Pochyniuk, and Vasylyna Kozachenko. The *Zahrava* ensemble staffed by younger actors is under the direction of Stanislav Telizhyn.

The Ukrainian folk dance in Canada is closely associated with the arrival of Basil Avramenko in 1926. In the wake of his tour there emerged a great number of Ukrainian folk dance ensembles. After World War II several Ukrainian professional dancers came to Canada and began to teach choreographic art among the Ukrainians. In Toronto the Apollon School of Choreography for children is conducted by Hanna Zavarykhina. Olena Gerdan-Zaklynska created a new stylized school of Ukrainian dance. Among the better known dancers are Daria Nizankovska, Peter Marunchak, and Betty Pope. Maria Pasternak is a theoretician and historian of Ukrainian choreography.

The Ukrainian film industry is still in the amateur stage, and a few Ukrainian-language films, such as *Hutsulka Ksenia*, *Sharika*, and *Rozheva Karuzelia* (The Pink Carousel) are strictly amateurish. In 1939–40 the Avramenko Film Studio produced and showed several popular Ukrainian films: *Natalka Poltavka*, *Marusia* (with the choral part directed by Alexander Koshyts) and *Zaporozhets' za Dunaiem* (with opera singer Maria Sokil) which are still being shown in Canada. The production company Soluk-Film also produced films in the 1950's.

*V. Revutsky*

**Scholarship**

Between the world wars a number of Ukrainians in Canada rose to prominence in the world of scholarship. Among scholars and researchers emigrating from Europe in the 1930's was the prominent

ecologist Thomas Pavlychenko (*d.* 1958). Men and women of the younger generation, educated at Canadian and American universities, have been increasingly active in the academic world. Humanities, especially Ukrainian studies, received great impetus with the arrival of Ukrainian scholars after World War II. Among them were: historian Dmytro Doroshenko, theologians Maxim Hermaniuk (now Ukrainian Catholic Archbishop and Metropolitan) and the Rev. Vasyl Laba; Ukrainian philologists Ivan Ohiienko (now Ukrainian Orthodox Metropolitan of Winnipeg), Leonid Biletsky, and Jaroslaw B. Rudnyc'kyj; archaeologist Yaroslav Pasternak.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society, with headquarters in Toronto (president, Eugene Wertyporoch), and the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences with headquarters in Winnipeg (president, J. B. Rudnyc'kyj) were established in 1948–9. To these two institutions belong almost all Ukrainian Canadian scholars. Especialy active is the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, which issues a series of publications: *Slavistica*, *Onomastica*, *Ukrainica Occidentalia*, Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language, and the like. Theological studies are carried on by the Ukrainian Orthodox Theological Society; the Catholic review *Logos* deals with Catholic theology and the Ukrainian Catholic church. The Research Institute of Wolyn in Winnipeg (president, Michael Borovsky) conducts extensive research on Volhynia. Since 1959 all Ukrainian scholarly institutions are united in the Ukrainian Scientific Council whose task is to represent and coordinate Ukrainian scholarly activity in Canada.

At a number of Canadian universities Ukrainian language and literature are being taught within the framework of Slavic studies. As far back as 1943, through the efforts of George W. Simpson, T. K. Pavlychenko, and C. H. Andrusyshen, the teaching of Ukrainian language was introduced at the University of Saskatchewan in Saskatoon. At present, the Ukrainian language is being taught at the universities in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Waterloo, Edmonton (which has a special chair of Ukrainian language and literature), Ottawa, Saskatoon, and Toronto. There are now over 500 students taking instruction in the Ukrainian language at Canadian universities.

A great number of Ukrainians work in Canadian universities and scholarly research institutions. In the last few years the number of Ukrainians or Canadians of Ukrainian descent in the field of science and technology has increased considerably. Of particular significance are the Slavic departments at various Canadian universities offering courses in Ukrainian studies. In 1951 the University of Manitoba began publishing a series on Slavic folklore, including Ukrainian folklore, and in 1959 a series of booklets was published on Ukrainian and Slavic literatures, under the editorship of J. B. Rudnyc'kyj. In 1957, the University of Saskatchewan published *The Ukrainian-English Dictionary* by Jacob N. Krett and C. H. Andrusyshen.

Ukrainians also take an active part in the Canadian Association of Slavists (established 1957). Among Slavists and specialists in Ukrainian studies are: C. H. Andrusyshen (University of Saskatoon), Constantine Bida (University of Ottawa), Watson Kirkconnell (former president of Acadia University in Wolfville, Nova Scotia), George N. Luckyj (University of Toronto), Oleh Pidhainy (University of Fredericton), Valerian Revutsky (University of British Columbia), J. B. Rudnyc'kyj (University of Manitoba), George W. Simpson (University of Saskatoon), Yar Slavutych and Orest Starchuk (University of Alberta); archaeologist Yaroslav Pasternak; political scientist Bohdan Bociurkiw (University of Alberta); historians: V. J. Kaye, Paul Yuzyk, Michael Marunchak, Bohdan Kazymyra, Olga Woycenko, and others; in the field of natural science: Nestor Bohonos (biochemistry), Roma

Hovirko and Eugene Roslytsky (microbiology), I. Kuspira (genetics), Basil Cherevyk (agronomy); in technology: Morrell P. Bachynsky (electronics), Stephen Ilnytsky (petrochemistry), Volodymyr Mackiw (metallurgical chemistry), and Joseph Charyk (presently head of Communications Satellite Corporation in the United States).

Among the university professors some have attained high positions, for example, Dr. John Ruptash, dean of engineering at Carleton University in Ottawa, and Dr. Peter Smylski, dean of dentistry, University of Toronto.

**Libraries, Archives and Museums**

The first Ukrainian libraries in Canada were organized in Ukrainian monasteries, and later by Ukrainian lay organizations and cultural and educational institutions, as well as by individual persons. In the last few years Ukrainian sections have been established in many Canadian university and public libraries. Ukrainian libraries and museums, however, are small, without adequate space, and also without professional librarians. In Canada, as in the United States, there is no central Ukrainian library, museum, or archive which could serve as a research center for Canadian Slavists, especially those studying Ukrainian history and literature. There is no central library catalog or directory.

The most valuable and oldest library and museum (about 20,000 volumes and 10,000 articles) is that of the Basilian Fathers in Mundare, which dates back to 1902–5. It was organized by the Rev. Josaphat Jean and contains some rare manuscripts and old Ukrainian prints and books, as for instance, the Bible of Ostrih of 1581 and documents relating to the Ukrainian Catholic Church and Ukrainian settlements in Canada. Perhaps the best organized and arranged is the library and museum in the Ukrainian Cultural and Educational Center in Winnipeg, established in 1944, which contains about 10,000 volumes, including the archives of Ivan Bobersky (materials relating to the first Ukrainian immigrants in Canada), Eugene Konovalets, and Alexander Koshyts, and many old books and manuscripts.

Among other libraries and archives are: the Redemptorist Fathers library in Yorkton (founded in 1913; it has 7,000 volumes, primarily of religious and ecclesiastic character), the Ukrainian National Home in Winnipeg (since 1910, over 5,000 volumes), the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Winnipeg (5,000 volumes), St. Andrew's College in Winnipeg (5,000 volumes), the Ukrainian National Home Association in Toronto (since 1917, 5,000 volumes), the Ivan Franko Museum in Winnipeg, and the Taras Shevchenko Library in Palermo, Ontario (the latter two are maintained by Ukrainian Communists).

Ukrainian collections also exist in a number of university and public libraries in Canada, especially at the universities of Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Toronto. Many Ukrainian professional librarians are employed there.

In addition to the museums mentioned above, of importance also is the Ukrainian Military History Institute in Toronto (under the directorship of Gen. Michael Sadovsky, *d.* 1967), which was transferred to Winnipeg in 1969 and is housed at the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, and the museum collections of the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada in Saskatoon (founded in 1936) and the Ukrainian Catholic Women's League in Edmonton, Saskatoon, Toronto.

**Radio Broadcasting and Television**

Private Ukrainian-language radio broadcasting was started in the early 1930's by Ukrainian national homes which prepared these broadcasts through the efforts of their own members, especially local choirs. Later, the programs featured recorded Ukrainian music. With the arrival of new immigrants, the Ukrainian-language radio broadcasts were

improved and expanded. They are run by Ukrainian religious and secular organizations as well as by private individuals, and are financed by Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian commercial firms. In those cities with a large Ukrainian population, there are Ukrainian-language radio programs, in Winnipeg (on four stations), for example, and in Toronto (on some 20 stations). They feature Ukrainian cultural programs (especially vocal and musical), news, and advertising, as well as Ukrainian religious broadcasts. Some of these are broadcast daily, but the majority are weekly programs. In addition, there are special radio programs on religious holidays and various Ukrainian national celebrations.

Since 1952 there has been a Ukrainian section of the "Voice of Canada" (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation), instituted by the Canadian government, which broadcasts a daily program featuring Ukrainian music and news to the Ukrainian people behind the Iron Curtain.

Lately there have also been TV programs featuring Ukrainian choral and dance ensembles (for example, the "Canadian All" program).

**Sports**

First efforts to initiate Ukrainian sports activity in Canada date back to 1900, when K. Zalitach of Lviv began large-scale sports programs among school youth. His work was continued by M. Kumka in the Prosvita associations. In the 1920's, particularly in 1922, young groups in Winnipeg organized the sports and gymnastic society *Sich*, which in time spread to other Canadian cities. There also emerged a paramilitary organization, the Ukrainian Strilets'ka Hromada (Riflemen's Community), which staged a series of small-caliber shooting competitions and published a review, *Osnovy Strilets'koho Sportu* (Fundamentals of Riflery), in 1939. An aviation school was founded in Oshawa in 1924. In Winnipeg there is (since 1926) the Canadian-Ukrainian Athletic Club and the Ukrainian Soccer Club of the Prosvita Institute (since 1929).

After World War II, Toronto became the center of Ukrainian sports activity. It is the site of the national offices of the Federation of Ukrainian Sports Clubs of the United States and Canada and of such clubs as the Tryzub Sports Association, the Ukraïna Sports Association, and the Carpathian Ski Club. The soccer team of the Ukraïna Sports Association of Montreal won the championship of Canada in 1957. These Ukrainian clubs play an important part in Canadian sports life. Frequently, they become champions of their respective cities or districts. The clubs produce outstanding athletes who gain national recognition. Ukrainian sports activity is progressing successfully in every Ukrainian settlement of Canada, particularly in the Ukrainian youth organizations. Many Ukrainians have gained prominence in professional hockey, weightlifting (George Kusiv, a former champion of Ukraine, also became a champion of Canada), volleyball, track and field, and other sports. Among the all-time Ukrainian professional hockey greats are: John Bower, John Bucyk, Bill Mosienko, Eric Nesterenko, Metro Prystai, Terry Sawchuk (*d.* 1970), and Vic Stasiuk.

*E. Zarsky*

## ECONOMIC LIFE

**General Characteristics**

Ukrainian settlement in Canada brought predominantly peasant stock who grasped immediately at the plentiful opportunity to become land-owning farmers. For those who did not take advantage of the land boom, there was a choice of working on farms, on the railroad, in lumber camps, or in the mines. As time went on a considerable number of settlers made a great success of farming while others moved gradually from labor into industry and other more gainful occupations. By the inter-war

FIGURE 677. FARM OF EARLY UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANTS FROM GALICIA, WHO SETTLED IN WESTERN CANADA

period the number of Ukrainian white-collar workers and professionals had begun to grow and was further augmented by new waves of immigration which brought many skilled and professional people. Canadian education for many of the early settlers and their children, as well as the later influx of immigrants, combined to produce rather dramatic results. While in 1941, 49.7 per cent of Ukrainians were still employed in agriculture, in 1951 this number had fallen to 30.2 per cent, and by 1961 diminished by more than half to 20.9 per cent.

**Industrial Occupations**

The 1961 population census shows that out of a total of 323,260 Ukrainians (age 15 and over), 191,680, or 59.3 per cent, were gainfully employed (compared with 53.7 per cent of the total population of Canada).

Table VIII shows the employment of Ukrainians in various industries, as compared with the entire Canadian labor force, taken on the basis of population censuses in 1951 and 1961. As is evident from the table below, the largest proportion of Ukrainians is still employed in agriculture. Compared to the figure of 9.9 per cent for Canada as a whole, twice that proportion (20.9 per cent) of Ukrainians are engaged in agriculture even though in real terms there has been a very substantial drop from 49,700 in 1951 to 40,000 in 1961.

The average Ukrainian farm in Canada is about 300 acres, although 500–600 acre farms are not uncommon. The trend since World War II has generally brought a decrease in the number of farms and a corresponding increase in their average size. Wheat and feed grains have always been the most popular commodities of Ukrainian farms in the prairies, but now there are in addition many combination grain and livestock farms. At present, farm work is totally mechanized. Ukrainians have made lasting contributions to the Canadian West by bringing under cultivation millions of acres of virgin land and by introducing civilization and prosperity in the vast, hitherto unsettled and uninhabitable areas. For this Ukrainians are considered examplary pioneer-farmers and are highly ranked in Canada and

TABLE VIII*

| Labor force by industry division | Ukrainians 1951 (%) | Ukrainians 1961 (%) | Canada 1951 (%) | Canada 1961 (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| All industries | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing | 30.2 | 20.9 | 15.6 | 9.9 |
| Mines, Oil Wells | 3.8 | 2.9 | 5.5 | 4.2 |
| Manufacturing | 23.4 | 19.2 | 25.7 | 21.7 |
| Construction | 5.7 | 5.7 | 6.6 | 6.7 |
| Transportation, Communication | 9.3 | 10.1 | 8.8 | 9.3 |
| Trade | 10.0 | 13.7 | 13.4 | 15.3 |
| Finance, Insurance | 1.2 | 2.5 | 2.7 | 3.5 |
| Services (community, business, personal) | 12.9 | 17.9 | 14.6 | 19.5 |
| Public Administration and Defense | 2.6 | 5.1 | 5.8 | 7.5 |
| Unspecified | 0.9 | 2.0 | 1.3 | 2.4 |

*Source: D.B.S. cat. no. 94-527.

FIGURE 678. HARVEST TIME AT A UKRAINIAN FARM IN WESTERN CANADA

elsewhere. Noted for their development of high-grade wheats and other grains, many of them are top medal winners in international and domestic agricultural competitions.

In addition to agriculture, a substantial number of Ukrainians are employed in the manufacturing, service, and recreation industries and in trade, particularly at the retail level. In general, the proportion of Ukrainians employed in agriculture, forestry, mines, and manufacturing is declining, while those employed in trade, transportation, communication, finance, insurance, services, and public administration is increasing.

There is a substantial disparity between the occupations of Ukrainians in the western agricultural and the central industrial provinces of Canada (Table IX).

TABLE IX*

EMPLOYMENT OF UKRAINIANS IN THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES AND IN ONTARIO, 1961

| Ukrainian labor by industry | Prairie provinces (%) | Ontario (%) |
|---|---|---|
| All industries | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Agriculture | 32.3 | 3.4 |
| Forestry, Fishing, Mines | 1.8 | 4.2 |
| Manufacturing | 10.7 | 34.2 |
| Construction | 5.7 | 5.6 |
| Transportation, Communication | 10.4 | 9.0 |
| Trade | 13.6 | 13.8 |
| Finance, Insurance, Real Estate | 2.2 | 3.0 |
| Services (community, business, personal) | 16.6 | 19.9 |
| Public Administration and Defense | 5.0 | 4.6 |
| Unspecified | 1.7 | 2.3 |

*Source: D.B.S. cat. no. 94-527.

It is clear that the basic occupation of Ukrainians in western Canada continues to be agriculture, although the number of Ukrainian farms has dropped from 34,000 in 1951 to 25,000 in 1961. In the central province of Saskatchewan in 1961, for example, the Ukrainians employed in agriculture alone still represented 45.7 per cent of the total Ukrainian labor force.

FIGURE 679. FARM OWNED BY G. ZENEVYCH NEAR WINNIPEG

In Ontario at the same time more than one-third of all Ukrainians were employed in various manufacturing industries and only 3.4 per cent in agriculture. A similar employment pattern can be seen among Ukrainians in Quebec and British Columbia. Generally speaking, Ukrainians living in the prairie provinces are to a considerable degree still a rural people, and those living in other provinces are almost exclusively urbanized.

In the 1961 census, Ukrainians were listed in all occupations and professions mentioned (Table X). However, their proportion in some occupations and particularly in managerial, professional, technical, clerical, and sales categories, was noticeably lower than the average for Canada. This disparity is gradually disappearing as more Ukrainians complete high school and university education and enter higher professional or managerial jobs. Compared with the 1951 census, the number of Ukrainians in 1961 in some occupations increased considerably more than the correspond-

TABLE X*

OCCUPATIONS OF UKRAINIANS

| Occupation | Numbers (in thousands) in 1961 | Per cent of labor force | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Ukrainians | Total population |
| Managerial | 11.2 | 5.8 | 8.3 |
| Professional and technical | 12.6 | 6.6 | 9.7 |
| Clerical | 21.2 | 11.1 | 12.9 |
| Sales | 8.9 | 4.7 | 6.3 |
| Service and Recreation | 24.2 | 12.6 | 12.3 |
| Transportation, Communication | 9.6 | 5.0 | 6.1 |
| Farmers, Farm workers | 40.4 | 21.1 | 10.0 |
| Loggers, Fishermen, Miners | 3.4 | 1.8 | 2.8 |
| Craftsmen | 46.1 | 24.0 | 24.1 |
| Laborers | 10.2 | 5.3 | 4.9 |
| Unspecified | 3.9 | 2.0 | 2.6 |
| ALL OCCUPATIONS | 191.7 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*Source: D.B.S. cat. no. 94-515.

ing Canadian average, although the growth of the Ukrainian labor force in the same period was slower than the average for Canada as a whole. In this period the increase of Ukrainians in managerial occupations was 53 per cent (Canada 32 per cent), in professional and technical occupations 126 per cent (Canada 66 per cent), and clerical occupations 89 per cent (Canada 47 per cent).

In 1961, the number of Ukrainians listed as owners or managers of various industries was as follows: retail trade–3,990; community, business, and personal services–2,485; construction–876; manufacturing industries–823; wholesale trade–798; transportation and communication–423; finance, insurance, and real estate–333; federal administration–175; provincial administration–59; municipal administration–110; forestry–47; mines –40.

In the same year, Ukrainian professionals in selected fields numbered: school teachers–4,025; engineers–870; clergymen and priests–363; physicians –349; physical scientists–265; pharmacists–252; lawyers–196; musicians and music teachers–182; writers and journalists–165; dentists–147; artists–137; university professors and high school principals–82; agricultural scientists–72; architects–52; economists–30; biologists–29; veterinarians–21; judges and magistrates–12.

**Business and Enterprise**

Ukrainian enterprises in Canada consist primarily of retail stores and individual shops, although the number of larger commercial firms, factory-type enterprises, and financial institutions is increasing steadily. In the retail trade, Ukrainians are well established and their stores number in the hundreds in cities like Toronto, Winnipeg, Montreal, and Edmonton. Ukrainian retail enterprises include: food stores, variety stores, gasoline service stations and motor vehicle repair shops, men's and women's clothing stores, shoe stores, drug stores, fuel dealers, household and furniture appliance stores. However, in wholesale trade Ukrainians are not represented in all major commodity groups. They are engaged mostly as wholesalers of lumber and building materials, food, furniture, farm machinery, confectionery, and few other commodities.

Service industries including hotels, restaurants, motels, barber shops, laundries, funeral homes, and photostudios are owned and managed by Ukrainians

in many cities of Canada. Ukrainians are also engaged in various manufacturing industries and they own many medium-size establishments, such as meat packing plants, bakeries, tanneries, printing and publishing establishments, furniture and office equipment factories, non-alcoholic beverages, and others.

Over 2,000 Ukrainians are employed as independent artisans and over 30,000 work in various construction and transport companies, some of which are owned by Ukrainians. There are also mining companies producing gold, nickel, titanium, and natural gas which are Ukrainian-owned; their assets are in the millions of dollars. Ukrainian Canadians are entering every branch of economic and industrial activity including those undertakings which require large investments and technological knowledge.

The Ukrainian cooperative movement in Canada is rather weak. There are over 20 Ukrainian cooperatives mostly in the cities which are confined to small retail and grocery stores. Ukrainian credit unions, on the other hand, are well developed. In 1966, there were 60 credit unions with about 35,000 members and close to 50 million dollars in assets. In Toronto alone there are 10 credit unions, with 16,000 members and close to 20 million dollars in assets. Winnipeg, with its 10 credit unions, has the second largest concentration with 6,000 members and about 7 million dollars in assets. Ukrainian credit unions, however, are not organized in a separate central union, as most of them are members of provincial credit union leagues.

Fraternal benefit societies played a smaller role in the life of Ukrainians in Canada than they did in the United States. The Ukrainian Mutual Benefit Association of St. Nicholas (founded in 1905) has close to 5,000 members and about 1.2 million dollars in assets and the Ukrainian Fraternal Society of Canada (founded in 1921) has 5,000 members and 3.5 million dollars in assets. Both have their headquarters in Winnipeg and are the only larger insurance associations of Ukrainian Canadians. Together they have 10,000 members organized in some 100 branches throughout Canada. In addition, two Ukrainian fraternal benefit societies (with headquarters in the United States) have branches in Canada: the Ukrainian National Association which has over 9,000 members in Canada and the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association (2,000 members) with combined assets of about 5 million dollars. Recently, a third, the Ukrainian National Aid Association of America, opened its first branches in Canada.

**Professional Organizations**

After World War II, Ukrainian professional men and businessmen began organizing their own professional clubs and a number were established in Toronto, Winnipeg (both of which had such clubs before the war), Montreal, Ottawa, Sudbury, Oshawa, Windsor, Edmonton, Saskatoon, and elsewhere. Other Ukrainian organizations include the Ukrainian Technical Society with branches in major Canadian cities, which unites Ukrainian professional engineers, the Tuhan Association of Ukrainian Businessmen in Winnipeg, the Association of Ukrainian Librarians of Canada, the Ukrainian Medical Society of North America with branches in Canada and the United States, and the Association of Ukrainian Journalists of Canada. However, there is no Ukrainian professional labor organization, inasmuch as Ukrainian workers are members of Canadian and international trade unions.

*Z. Yankowsky*

## ASSIMILATION OF UKRAINIANS

Every ethnic group in Canada, including Ukrainians, is exposed to the process of political and linguistic assimilation. Ukrainians have shown strong determination both to preserve their na-

tional and cultural heritage and to become integrated in the political life of Canada.

One of the most pronounced symptoms of assimilation is the gradual disappearance of language. In 1941, 5.1 per cent of persons of Ukrainian origin reported English as their mother tongue. Ten years later, in 1951, this percentage rose to 10.6 per cent, despite the arrival of a great number of postwar Ukrainian immigrants. In 1961 this total more than doubled, rising to 23.6 per cent. Ukrainians in 1951 constituted, after the Anglo-Saxons and French, the third ethnic group in Canada, with the highest percentage of persons who reported their mother tongue according to their ethnic origin. In 1961 Ukrainians dropped to fourth place (behind the Germans). Compared with other ethnic groups, the process of assimilation of Ukrainians is considerably slower, because Ukrainians, more than any other group, settled in compact colonies in the three prairie provinces of western Canada, where they succeeded in preserving not only Ukrainian culture and traditions but also the Ukrainian language, which is being used by the third and even fourth generation. In eastern Canada, where Ukrainians live in large industrial centers, the replacement of the Ukrainian language by English is more rapid, especially in the second generation.

*V. Kysilevsky*

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# 4. IN BRAZIL

## HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENT

The onset of Ukrainian emigration to Brazil coincided approximately with that to Canada, that is, at the end of the nineteenth century. Until that time only a few Ukrainians had gone to Brazil (no statistical data available).

Among the first known Ukrainians in Brazil was the family of Nicholas Morozovych, who came in 1872 from the district of Zolochiv in Galicia.

In 1876 a small group of Ukrainian immigrants hailing from Bukovina settled in the southern areas of the state of Parana, and in 1891 ten Ukrainian families arrived in Brazil from eastern Galicia and settled in the colony of Santa Barbara, near the town of Palmyra. In succeeding years a few more Ukrainian immigrant families came to the country.

But the year 1895 ushered in a mass Ukrainian immigration to Brazil. It was the time of the so-called Brazilian fever, generated in Galicia by agents of the Italian steamship lines, who recruited the poorest elements, especially the seasonal workers on great landlords' estates in Galicia, with promises of cheap land in Brazil. In this period some 15,000 Ukrainians came to Brazil, among them a number of *Latynnyky*, that is, Roman Catholics who spoke Ukrainian.

The immigration policies of Brazil at the time were implemented by state governments, being taken over by the federal government only after 1907. Each immigrant was promised a *fasaga*, or a land allotment of 25–30 ha. in deforested areas. In actual fact most of the Ukrainian immigrants were sent into the jungles of southern Parana where they were left on their own. These Ukrainians perforce became pioneers, clearing forests to obtain arable land. Hard climatic conditions, hostile attitude of the primitive local population, and above all, lack of medical facilities and sanitary services combined to cause a high mortality rate among them. A number of immigrants returned to Galicia.

FIGURE 680. UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN MARCONDES NEAR PRUDENTOPOLIS

This first and strongest wave of Ukrainian immigration lasted from 1895 to 1897. In 1896 a center of Ukrainian immigrants was established in Prudentopolis. At that time over 20,000 Ukrainians had settled almost exclusively in Parana. They either founded new colonies or settled in old ones: Antonio Olinto, Santa Andrada, Rio Claro, Dorizon, Marachal Malet, Prudentopolis, Irasema, and the city of Curitiba.

In the ensuing years the flood of Ukrainian immigration subsided to an annual trickle of some 700–1,000 newcomers.

The second phase of Ukrainian immigration took place in 1907–14 when over 15,000 Ukrainians arrived (other estimates put the total at 25,000). This group came partly in response to an intensified campaign on the part of the Brazilian government to attract European immigrants to help construct the railroad between São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul, which crossed Parana. New colonies sprang up: Ivahy, Iraty, Itapary, Vera Guarani, Cruz Machada, Nova Galicia, and others. Almost all the

Ukrainian immigrants, some 40,000 to 45,000 in all (including children born in Brazil), came from Galicia.

The third wave brought no more than 9,000 Ukrainians to Brazil in the period between the two world wars. Included among them were Ukrainians from Volhynia and Polisia.

In the postwar period of 1947–51, some 7,000 Ukrainians from displaced persons camps in Germany and Austria found their haven in Brazil. A significant percentage of this group belonged to the intelligentsia and almost all of them settled in the cities.

## NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF UKRAINIANS

The exact number of Ukrainians in Brazil cannot be ascertained with any precision. Ukrainian immigrants may be recognized by their given and family names. Up to 1914 Brazilian immigration officials would register Ukrainians from Galicia as *Austriaco* (Austrian) or *immigrante de Galicia* (immigrant from Galicia); those who came with Polish passports were simply put down as *Polaco* (Pole). Only after World War II were they identified as Ukrainians. Children of Ukrainian immigrants born in Brazil are registered as Brazilians. Ukrainian parishes and social organizations do not keep any special registry listing Brazilians of Ukrainian descent. Thus the exact number of Ukrainians and their descendants in Brazil cannot be established. Some statistical data on the number and distribution of Ukrainians in Brazil was compiled at the beginning of the 1920's by the Polish consul in Curitiba, Kazimierz Głuchowski.

The present number of persons belonging to the Ukrainian ethnic group in Brazil is conservatively put at 120,000; barely 10 per cent of these were born in Ukraine, the rest are Brazilian-born descendants of immigrants. Of the total, over 100,000, or about 85 per cent, live in the state of Parana, nine per cent in São Paulo, three per cent in Santa Catarina, two per cent in Rio Grande do Sul, and one per cent in other states.

The majority of Ukrainian colonies and settlements are still concentrated in southeastern Parana. A substantial number of Ukrainians—some 20,000—live in the county (*municipio*) of Prudentopolis, where they constitute three-quarters of the entire population. In addition to their numbers in the city of Prudentopolis, which is the principal center of Ukrainian life (especially its religious aspect), Ukrainians living in 24 settlements of the county constitute over a half of the population.

The second important center of Ukrainian settlement is Curitiba (nearly 5,000 Ukrainians, 2.5 per cent of the total population; one of the suburbs bears the name Nova Galicia). Other municipalities of Parana with substantial numbers of Ukrainians (usually in cities bearing the same names) are Antonio Olinto, Araucaria and Dorizon, Marechal Malet, Ipiranga (the principal Ukrainian center is Ivahy), Irati (Ukrainian center in Itapary), Lapa, Pitinga, Ponta Grossa, Rio Azul, São Jose dos Pinnais, União da Vitoria (main Ukrainian center, Cruz Machado), and Vera Guarani.

In the state of Santa Catarina, Ukrainians live in the county of Irasema, which lies on the border of Parana and which belonged for a long time to that state (see Fig. 681). Between 70 and 80 per cent of Ukrainians live on a plateau (in the southerly part of the Brazilian plateau, situated between 24–27° south latitude). It is a wavy plain, about 500–900 meters above sea level and traversed by river valleys and gullies. The climate is sub-tropical-mountainous and continental; the average temperature during the three summer months in the Prudentopolis area is 26° C. There are sharp variations in day and night temperatures, especially in winter. Precipitation is highly irregular. Sand, clay, and black soil of mediocre fertility predominate. Flora consists mostly of araucarian

and mixed forests (mostly cleared now), underbrush (Paraguayan tea), and, in places, *campo* (vicinity of Ponta Grossa, northeast of Curitiba).

The territory populated by Ukrainians ("Brazilian Ukraine") is about 50,000 sq. km. in area. Along with Ukrainians there are also Poles, Italians, and Germans, in addition to the Brazilian population.

The Ukrainian settlements have the form of grouped villages, separate farms or chains of them, and urban-type settlements. There are three-domed Ukrainian churches; homes are painted white and girded by well-cultivated orchards and backyards, usually enclosed by wooden fences. The interior of the houses is decorated in the traditional Ukrainian style: icons and portraits of Ukrainian religious and national leaders, frequently framed in Ukrainian embroidery.

Ukrainian settlements grew apace with the new colonization of hitherto virgin forests. Thus, in the west and north of Parana, where inaccessible jungles had loomed, Ukrainian settlers made their domicile in the 1930's. They either established new colonies or settled in urban centers: Cascavel, Foz do Iguaçu, west from Apucarana, Campo Mourão, Londrina, and Maringá, in the north of Parana, in the belt of coffee plantations. Nova Ukraina, a colony numbering over 100 Ukrainian families, was founded near Apucarana.

In the State of São Paulo most of the Ukrainians (some 5,000) are to be found in its capital of the same name. São Paulo has the third largest Ukrainian settlement in Brazil.

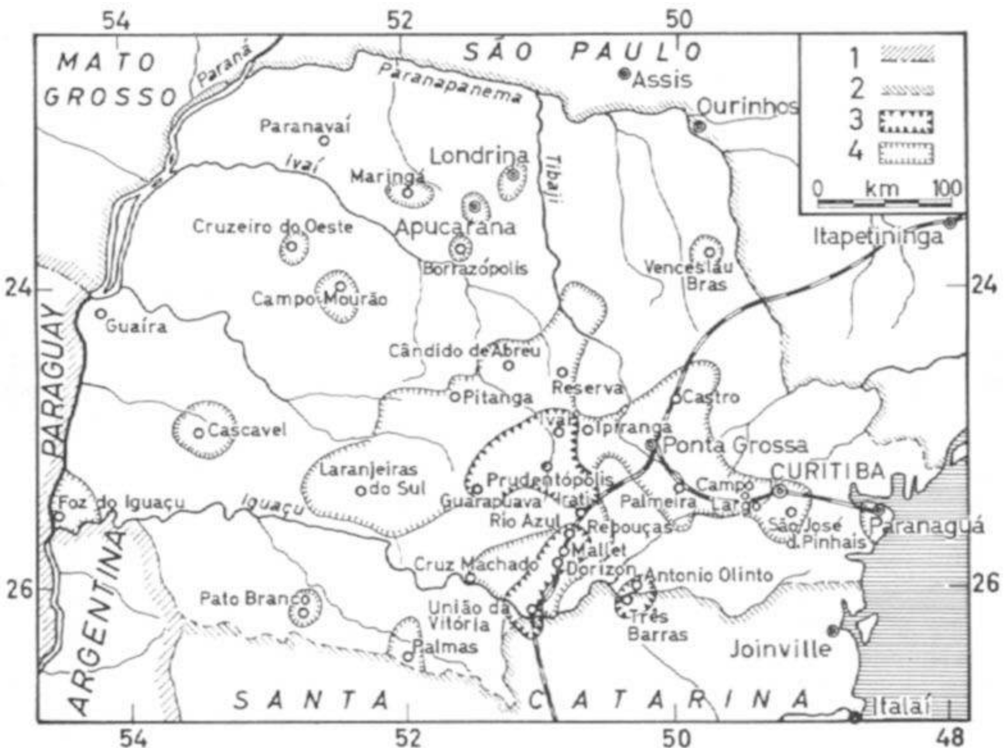


FIGURE 681. UKRAINIANS IN BRAZIL

1. Borders of the country; 2. borders of the State of Parana; 3. areas of Ukrainian settlement where they constitute a majority of the population; 4. areas where Ukrainians are in a minority.

## RELIGIOUS LIFE

The spiritual and cultural life of Ukrainians in Brazil has always been closely connected with the church. Almost 85 per cent of Ukrainian settlers in Brazil are of the Roman Catholic faith.

As was true in general of all Ukrainian settlements overseas, the first Ukrainian immigrants in Brazil did not have adequate spiritual protection and guidance. The first Ukrainian Catholic chapel was erected in 1895 in Silva, near Irasema in Santa Catarina; among the first Ukrainian Catholic priests in Brazil were the Rev. Mykhalevych and the Rev. Nikon Rozdolsky, who remained in Parana until his death in 1906. Rev. Ivan Voliansky, the first Ukrainian Catholic church pioneer in the United States, spent some time also among Ukrainian immigrants in Brazil (1896).

More systematic missionary work was begun in 1897 with the arrival of the first Ukrainian Basilian Fathers: the Revs. Sylvester Kizyma, Martyniuk (1901), and Markiian Shkirpan (1902). They succeeded in lifting the morale of the Ukrainian immigrants, who had become depressed by the harsh conditions of life. The first convention of morale of the Ukrainian immigrants, who had become depressed by the harsh conditions of life. The first convention of Ukrainian Catholics was held in Curitiba, Parana, in 1910 at which a demand for a Ukrainian Catholic bishop was voiced. In 1911, a group of Sisters Servants arrived in Brazil to conduct missionary and educational work.

The Greek Catholic priests were subordinated to the Roman Catholic bishops; as married Ukrainian priests were not tolerated in Brazil, most of the Ukrainian pastors there were priests of the Basilian Order.

An important event in the life of the Ukrainian community in Brazil was the visit of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, archbishop of Lviv, in 1922. His efforts, however, to establish a separate Ukrainian Catholic bishopric did not materialize at that time.

In 1951 the Apostolic See excluded Ukrainian Catholics and all other Catholic groups of the Eastern rite from the jurisdiction of the Brazilian Roman Catholic hierarchy, naming Jaime Cardinal de Barros Camara, archbishop of Rio de Janeiro, as the new Ordinary for Eastern rite Catholics in Brazil. The Rev. Clement Pryima became his vicar general. In 1958 the Holy See appointed the first Ukrainian Catholic bishop for Brazil, the Rev. Joseph Martynets, who became auxiliary to Cardinal Camara. Finally, in 1962, a separate Ukrainian Catholic exarchate was established, headed by Bishop Martynets, with residence in Curitiba.

The exarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Brazil embraces 12 parishes served by 32 priests (25 of whom are Basilian Fathers), and has some 90 churches and chapels (most impressive churches are St. Josephat's in Prudentopolis [constructed of stone and in the original Byzantine style] and the Nativity of B.V.M. Church in Curitiba). The majority of the priests were born in Brazil and have completed their theological studies at the Gregorianum University in Rome.

The dispersal of Ukrainian immigrants throughout the extensive areas, coupled with the shortage of priests, has meant that the far-flung Ukrainian settlements see a priest only a few times a

FIGURE 682. School children play near the chapel in Campo Mourão.

year. Divine liturgies are often celebrated in private homes because of the lack of churches. As a result, many Ukrainian Catholics in Brazil are deprived of continuous religious care.

The Basilian Fathers have always played an important role in Ukrainian religious life. They have a separate Basilian province with its seat in Prudentopolis, their own novitiate, and a four-year high school, also in Prudentopolis; they publish a monthly, *Ukraïnsk'yi Misionar* (Ukrainian Missionary), a weekly, *Pratsia* (Labor), and books of a religious, educational, and cultural value (see p. 1201). Religious and educational activities are also conducted by the Sisters Servants (who number now over 200). They, too, have a separate province with its seat in Prudentopolis; they maintain 28 grade schools and two high schools, two hospitals, and two orphanages. Their work is supplemented by the Sodality of Ukrainian Catechists of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, founded in 1920 (Associacão Educativa "Santa Olga") in Prudentopolis.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church has about 10,000 faithful. The number of Orthodox Ukrainians increased at the end of the 1920's and the beginning of the 1930's when a number of Ukrainian Catholics went over to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

The first Ukrainian Orthodox parish was established in 1926. Subsequently, all Ukrainian Orthodox parishes went under the jurisdiction of Archbishop John Theodorovich in the United States (see p. 1117). The activities of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church expanded greatly with the appointment by Archbishop Theodorovich of the Rev. Dmytro Sidletsky as head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Mission in Brazil in 1930.

Since 1951, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church has had a separate administration (still under the jurisdiction of Metropolitan Theodorovich). In 1951–66 Protopresbyter Filimon Kulchytsky served as administrator and head of the General Board of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. The church has 12 parishes and 6 priests. A small number of Orthodox Ukrainians belong to other Ukrainian and Russian Orthodox churches.

There is no separate Ukrainian Evangelical church, although a number of Ukrainians belong to Brazilian Evangelical churches.

The religious life of Ukrainian immigrants in Brazil owes its vitality to the various church organizations existing in every Ukrainian parish. Most prominent in the Ukrainian Catholic Church are the Apostolate of Prayer, the Marian Sodality, the Marian Youth Sodalities, and the Eucharistic Youth Knights. Among Ukrainian Orthodox parishes most active is the Sisterhood of St. Magdalena and well-organized societies, especially in Curitiba and São Paulo.

## SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

Ukrainian community life in Brazil took root in the church organizations of the parishes. The earliest lay organizations set up for cultural and educational purposes appeared after 1900. The first of these was the Prosvita Society, founded in Curitiba in 1902 with the assistance of Stephen Petrytsky, a delegate of Prosvita from Lviv. Subsequently, other cultural and educational associations bearing the name Prosvita or that of Taras Shevchenko were set up; on the eve of World War I there were some 32 Ukrainian organizations in Brazil. Attempts to establish a central representative body in Curitiba were unsuccessful at that time because of a sharp division in the Ukrainian community: a small group of liberal and radical leaders revolving around the Prosvita Society in Curitiba, on the one side, and the conservative mass of people, led by the Basilian Fathers in Prudentopolis, on the other. Each group published its own newspaper.

The Ukrainian National Council, formed at the first general congress of Ukrainians in Brazil held in 1910 in Prudentopolis, did not last, nor did the Ukrainian National Council created at the congress in Dorizon in 1919. Likewise, the Ukrainian Union, founded at the congress of Ukrainians of Brazil in Dorizon in 1922, never reached the stature of a representative body. Moreover, the Union was split as a result of misunderstandings between Peter Karmansky, organizer of the Ukrainian Union, and the Basilian Fathers. The result was the withdrawal of over half the organization's membership which, supported by the Basilian Fathers, functioned independently. One unit, which was formed in Prudentopolis, was called Ukraïna; strongest of all, it functioned for some time as a central body.

The Ukrainian Union which published its own organ, *Ukraïns'kyi Khliborob* (Ukrainian Farmer), initially had its headquarters in Pôrto União; in 1934 it moved to Curitiba. With the advent of dictatorship in Brazil in 1938, the Union

FIGURE 683. STUDENTS AND TEACHERS OF THE INSTITUTE OPERATED BY THE SISTERS OF THE SACRED HEART IN PRUDENTOPOLIS

changed its name to the Agricultural and Educational Union (União Agricola Instrutiva), and strove to become the cultural and educational center of Ukrainian life in Brazil. But in 1940 it was compelled to suspend all its activities, along with all other Ukrainian organizations, after the issuance by the Brazilian government of a decree on the so-called "nationalization of culture." The most prominent leaders of the Union included P. Karmansky and Valentine Kuts. Among outstanding church leaders of that period were the Rev. Constantine Bzhukhovsky, a Basilian Father, and the Rev. M. Shkirpa.

With the cessation of World War II and the liquidation of the dictatorial régime, social and cultural life was again revived among Ukrainians. In 1947, the Agricultural and Educational Union renewed its former programs and activities. The Union had been ideologically and politically very close to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in Europe since 1930; after World War II it sided with the OUN under the leadership of Col. Andrew Melnyk. Among prominent leaders of the Union in the last few decades were Stephen Kobyliansky and Elias Harachuk.

Under the auspices of the Basilian Fathers, a new organization was established in 1947 in Curtiba. Called the Society of Friends of Ukrainian Culture (Sociedade dos Amigos de Cultura Ucrania), it is made up for the most part of sympathizers and supporters of the Ukrainian Hetmanite movement and the Foreign Branch of the OUN. Among its leaders are Nicholas Hets and Dr. Joseph Dilai.

Both organizations have a few branches in the state of Parana, and both are active in publishing (especially the Union); they also maintain radio programs, initially conducted in the Ukrainian language, now in both Ukrainian and Portuguese.

The third Ukrainian organization, founded in 1949, is the *Sobornist'* (Unification) Society (Sociedade Ucraniana Unificação), which considers itself to be the successor of the Ukrainian National Union founded in 1929 by a group of Ukrainian war veterans. It is under the political and ideological influence of the Foreign Branch of the OUN. The activities of the *Sobornist'* Society, headed

by Miguel Dziura and Paul Yevtushenko, are confined to the state of Parana.

In 1953 another attempt was made to establish a central representative body of all Ukrainian organizations in Brazil. After three years this new representative organ ceased to exist.

The Basilian Fathers play a leading role not only among Ukrainian Catholics but in the general Ukrainian life in Brazil.

Among other social organizations are women's groups and societies. One of the oldest women's groups is the Women's Auxiliary, an autonomous section of the Union since 1924. It is a member of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations (WFUWO), and its branches are to be found in the same localities as the branches of the Union. A women's auxiliary is also attached to the *Sobornist'* Society. Both Ukrainian church parishes sponsor several women's organizations. In June 1967, on the initiative of the WFUWO, the first conference of Ukrainian women from Latin America was held in Curitiba.

Among youth organizations was the society of "Young Kozaks" organized in 1931 by the Orthodox priest, the Rev. Dmytro Sidletsky, in Iraty, which subsequently embraced a number of other localities (in 1935 it had 17 branches and 345 members). At present, youth organizations are to be found in the parishes; a literary and sports club exists within the Union; a SUM branch is active under the auspices of the *Sobornist'* Society in São Paulo, and a *Plast* unit is headquartered in Curitiba.

## POLITICAL LIFE AND TIES WITH THE HOMELAND

The social and political life of the Ukrainian organized community in Brazil has always been affected by events taking place in Ukraine. For the past fifty years it has developed directly under the influence of one or another political trend in Ukraine or the Ukrainian emigration in Europe.

The liberation struggle and the establishment of a free state of Ukraine in the years 1917–20 greatly stimulated the life of Ukrainians in Brazil. In 1920–2, a delegate from the Western Ukrainian National Republic, Peter Karmansky, came to Brazil to solicit material support for the struggle in the homeland, selling Ukrainian defense bonds.

FIGURE 684. CONSTRUCTION OF A UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN SÃO CAETANO DO SUL (1955)

In subsequent years, the Ukrainians in Brazil continued to respond generously to appeals from the homeland, oversubscribing fund drives for such causes as: Fund for the Liberation of Ukraine (1928–36), the Museum of the Liberation Struggle in Prague, Ridna Shkola in Western Ukraine, Ukrainian participation in the World's Fair in 1933 in Chicago, and the Liberation Fund of the Provid Ukrains'kykh Natsionalistiv (Leadership of the Ukrainian Nationalists).

The social activities of the great majority of Ukrainians, especially the conservative farm element, are in general limited to participation in the religious life and the various programs sponsored by churches and parishes. The existing associations in Brazil are predominantly influenced by the émigré nationalist organizations, with some influence being exerted by the Hetmanites. Least felt are

the small partisan groups of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic party (URDP) and the Free Kozak Movement. Those Ukrainians who are members of the Union and URDP support, morally and financially, the Ukrainian National Council and its executive organ (the Ukrainian government-in-exile).

Political activity of Ukrainian immigrants in Brazil is conducted mainly on the external sector: memoranda dealing with Ukrainian matters are sent to the Brazilian and other governments of the world, and a systematic flow of information about Ukraine through press and radio goes to the Brazilian public. For the past fifteen years, Stephen Kobyliansky, a Ukrainian pioneer in Brazil, has been one of the most active leaders in this field. Another civic leader who for decades propagated Ukrainian culture and won friends for the Ukrainian cause among the Brazilian people is Andrew Mazai of Rio de Janeiro.

Ukrainian immigrants and their descendants also play an active role in the political life of Brazil. In 1946 and in subsequent years, two Brazilians of Ukrainian ancestry were elected to the state legislature of Parana. In 1950, Dr. Pedro Firman, who held the post of state secretary of agriculture in Parana, was elected to the federal parliament in Rio de Janeiro, being the first Brazilian of Ukrainian descent to serve in the federal legislative body of Brazil. In 1960, there were three state assemblymen in Parana and two members of the federal parliament who were of Ukrainian descent.

In the state of Parana, where the concentration of Ukrainians is heaviest, their participation in Brazilian public life is quite significant. Many Ukrainians hold responsible posts in the state and federal administration, and still more of them are employed in local and municipal self-government. A number of them serve in the Brazilian armed forces, in the school system, and in various economic and financial institutions.

## SCHOOLS

Initial steps in the establishment of Ukrainian schools were made as early as 1897–8. At that time, a number of Ukrainian private schools were set up by priests, usually in private homes, in which the most literate of immigrants served as teachers. These schools improved in organization and facilities and increased in number during the second mass wave of Ukrainian immigration to Brazil (1907). On the initiative of the Basilian Fathers, a school association was established in 1913 as another step towards the improvement and more effective coordination of the Ukrainian school network. In that year there was a total of 35 Ukrainian schools, including 22 with 630 students in the municipality of Prudentopolis; in 1920, their number rose to 41 (some sources report 60 schools), a number which held until 1938. In that year, the assimilation policies of Getulio Vargas brought an end to Ukrainian educational life: all their schools, press, and organizations were suspended. Even Ukrainian sermons in Ukrainian churches were outlawed.

A leading part in the development of Ukrainian schools in Brazil was played by the Sisters Servants, who in 1938 alone had 18 schools, many with dormitories for students; for the most part, they were the only fully qualified teachers.

Attempts to establish a Ukrainian gymnasium proved fruitless, except for a lower Ukrainian gymnasium in Pôrto União which existed only in 1926–7. However, the Basilian Fathers succeeded in establishing their novitiate in 1932 in Prudentopolis and, in 1935, the four-year high school, St. Joseph's Minor Seminary, with Ukrainian and Portuguese as the languages of instruction. At present, it is the only high school in Brazil (attended by 110 students) where the youth can learn the Ukrainian language, literature, and history.

At the present time, there are no Ukrainian schools in Brazil. Only in schools maintained by the Sisters Servants (supervised and financed by the Brazilian government) is the Ukrainian language offered as a supplementary subject. On the other hand, almost all Ukrainian churches and social institutions conduct systematic courses (yearly or at vacation time) in Ukrainian studies (language, history, and literature). Instruction is also given in private homes. Important educational tasks are performed by the Sodality of Catechists (see p. 1198), who give instruction to children not embraced by any Ukrainian organizations; in addition to instruction in catechism, they teach Ukrainian language and history, and the songs and dances of Ukraine.

## PRESS AND PUBLICATIONS

During the first years of Ukrainian settlement in Brazil there was no Ukrainian press. From time to time the immigrants received Ukrainian newspapers from Ukraine (mainly *Misionar*) and from the United States (*Svoboda*).

Among the first Ukrainian newspapers to appear in Brazil were the semimonthlies *Zoria* (The Star) in Curitiba (1907–09), with a radical orientation under the editorship of Stephen Petrytsky, and *Prapor* (The Banner) with a Catholic orientation (published initially in Curitiba, later, 1910–11, in Prudentopolis). They were subsequently supplanted by the monthly *Misionar* (The Missionary) in 1911 and semimonthly *Pratsia* (Labor) in 1912, published by the Basilian Fathers in Prudentopolis. Both newspapers, with the exception of some intervals (especially in 1940–6), have appeared continuously to this day: the first under the new name *Ukraïns'kyi Misionar* (The Ukrainian Missionary), with 2,500 copies, and the second one, still under the same name, as a religious Catholic weekly.

FIGURE 685. UKRAINIAN FOLK DANCING ENSEMBLE IN BRASILIA (1963)

The third Ukrainian newspaper appearing today is the weekly *Khliborob* (The Farmer), founded in 1924 by Peter Karmansky, under the name of *Ukraïns'kyi Khliborob* (Ukrainian Farmer); it was published initially in Pôrto União, and then in Curitiba, from 1934. The newspaper is the organ of the Agricultural and Educational Union (once the Ukrainian Union); its political orientation is nationalist (the group of Col. A. Melnyk), and it has a circulation of 3,000. In June, 1966, a new Ukrainian newspaper, *Sobornist'* (Unification), was founded in São Paulo; it is published by the society of the same name.

Other periodicals worthy of mention are the semimonthly, *Ukraïna* (1919), published in Curitiba, a monthly, *Samoosvitnyk* (Self-Enlightener), put out in 1935–40 in Prudentopolis, *Nash Napriam* (Our Thought), which appeared in São Paulo in 1948.

The Basilian Publishing Company (active since 1912) by 1966 had published 70 books of both religious and lay character.

## LITERATURE, SCHOLARSHIP, ARTS

Outstanding among writers of the earliest Ukrainian immigration was Peter Karmansky, who was the first to introduce Brazilian elements into the Ukrainian literature. Others were Sylvester Kalynets, Valentine Kuts, and Osyp Shpytko. Among writers of the younger generation are Olena Kolodii (who translated Shevchenko's works into Portuguese and who introduced Ukrainian

elements into the Brazilian literature); Vira Vovk (poetry in Ukrainian, *Antolohiia Ukraïns'koi Literatury* (Anthology of Ukrainian Literature), and an anthology of Ukrainian poetry, *Sunflower*, in Portuguese); Olha Mak (novels on the life of the Indians), and Alexander Zaporizky.

Ukrainian scholars employed at various Brazilian universities are: Fedir Velykokhatko (ichthyology), Alexander Zabolotnyi (agronomy), Volodymyr Kavaliar (pedology), and Nicholas Makushenko (geology); among the younger generation: Daria Rybka (microbiology), Ihor Khmyz (archaeology), and Oksana Boruszenko (history). Employed at Brazilian universities are eight Brazilians of Ukrainian descent (four with the rank of professor and four associate professors).

Michael Bakun (landscapist) and Dmytro Izmailovych (portraitist) have attained considerable success in the world of art.

The husband-and-wife team of vocalists, Iia and Liubomyr Matsiuk, and pianist Oleh Muzychenko contributed a great deal to the popularization of Ukrainian music before their departure to the United States. Larissa Boruszenko-Moro is a prominent young pianist of Ukrainian descent.

Ukrainian folk art and culture are preserved through the art cultivation of Ukrainian dance, song, embroidery, Easter egg-painting, and the like. Ukrainian groups participate regularly in Brazilian folklore festivals, winning praise and recognition. Largest among them (120 persons) is the group of the Agricultural and Educational Union. Also, Ukrainian exhibits of embroidery, Easter eggs, ceramics, and fashions by various Ukrainian women's groups are invaluable in the preservation of Ukrainian culture in Brazil.

## ECONOMIC LIFE

Ukrainian immigrants, with their traditional love of agriculture have always looked upon land as the very basis of their lives. Land in Brazil had to be conquered at the cost of hard labor, in a constant fight against the jungle and tropical diseases. Initially, Ukrainian settlers, like the indigenous population, had to level the forest, burn the wood, and then plant corn and the black bean (*feijão*). Only gradually did the primitive means give way to more advanced methods of cultivation (the plow, tractor). At the same time the Ukrainians began cultivating new grain cultures hitherto unknown in Brazil, such as wheat, rye, and buckwheat. They also planted European potatoes and maintained apiaries. As a result of these new plantations, the number of farms belonging to Ukrainian immigrants thereby was augmented considerably.

Today nearly 80 percent of Ukrainian settlers in Brazil are employed in agriculture. They plant and cultivate both "old world" and local cultures—wheat, rye, potatoes, corn, black beans, manioc, rice, flax, coffee, mint, fruit, and *herba mate*. They also raise livestock, especially pigs, maintain poultry farms and apiaries.

FIGURE 686. HOME OF A UKRAINIAN IMMIGRANT IN PRUDENTOPOLIS

In recent years, Ukrainian settlers have begun expanding the cultivation of coffee and mint; there are now over 500 Ukrainian families in north Parana engaged on coffee plantations and in mint cultivation, which has considerable application in the pharmaceutical industry.

Despite a 50 per cent increase in arable area and income (compared with the first decade of the twentieth century), Ukrainian farmers in Brazil, from an economic viewpoint, are not affluent.

Over 20 per cent of Ukrainians are employed in industry and trade, some are independent artisans and merchants, others serve as technicians in various branches of industry, or are owners of diverse industrial enterprises, such as sawmills, furniture factories, and the like. The professional strata of the Ukrainian immigration include physicians (30), dentists (50), pharmacists (10), and engineers (40). Many of them are federal, state, and municipal employees (judges, teachers in high schools (100), and the like. The Brazilian-born intelligentsia, strengthened by the influx of young Ukrainians from Europe, is being slowly integrated into the economic life of the country. Nonetheless, the economic structure of the Ukrainian population is still one-sided: 80 per cent are employed in agriculture, whereas only 58 per cent of the total population of Brazil are similarly engaged.

The Ukrainian immigration in Brazil, in its majority an agricultural immigration, constitutes a fairly compact ethnic group, both territorially and linguistically. Living outside great cities, in colonies, Ukrainian farmers are extremely conservative in their outlook, traditions, and language, and are resistant to assimilation. Those living in great industrial centers and the coffee plantations (for instance, in Rio Grande do Sul), quickly integrate and accept Brazilian culture and, in part, the Portuguese language. Ukrainian youth in the cities speak Portuguese fluently. Some of them have gained recognition in Brazilian literature (Olena Kolodii and others).

*O. Boruszenko*

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# 5. IN ARGENTINA

## HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENT

Origins of Ukrainian immigration to Argentina can be traced to 1897. In that year, six Ukrainian families, coming from Galicia via Brazil, arrived in the province of Misiones to the place now known as the town of the Apostoles. The province of Misiones constituted a sort of extension of the territory which was colonized by Ukrainian settlers in the state of Parana in Brazil (see p. 1194), and this first wave of Ukrainians in Argentina was closely connected with the so-called Brazilian immigration fever in Galicia.

The entire Ukrainian immigration movement to Argentina lasted some fifty years. This period comprised three distinct phases: (1) 1897–1914 (with the most intensive influx in 1901–3); (2) 1922–39 (peaking in 1925–30); (3) 1946–50 (peaking in 1948–9).

The Ukrainian immigrants of the first period were almost exclusively farmers from Galicia. There were very few single men or women among them; they came in family units, very often bringing their farm and household equipment. The natural tendency to form clusters once they had disembarked was weakened by offers of cheap land and material assistance if they settled in the interior of the country. Such families received 50 hectares of land and credits in food and cattle, but were then left to fend for themselves. Almost 10,000 Ukrainians settled in Argentina before World War I, favoring the most northeasterly areas, especially the province of Misiones. A smaller number chose Buenos Aires and Berisso, 60 kilometers from the Argentine capital.

Between World War I and World War II, especially in the years between 1925 and 1930, over 40,000 more Ukrainians came to Argentina, this time not only from Galicia, but from Volhynia and Polisia, as well as Transcarpathia and Bukovina. Among them were many Ukrainians who had originally gone to Paraguay. Unbearable climatic conditions, however, and also the hostile Indian tribes forced them to move to Argentina, to the province of Chaco and, in smaller numbers, to the Misiones and Mendoza provinces.

FIGURE 687. ST. OLHA UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN VILLA ADELINA, PROVINCE OF BUENOS AIRES

This group, also almost exclusively farmers, craved for land. They were easy prey for various immigration agencies, which herded them to semi-savage and virgin areas of the country. This second wave of Ukrainian immigration to Argentina contained a small number of Ukrainian intelligentsia and former participants in the struggle for the independence of Ukraine. Most of these settled in Buenos Aires and its suburbs.

The third wave of Ukrainians came after World War II (1947–9), 6,000 arriving directly from the displaced persons camps in Germany and Austria. A substantial percentage of these were men and women with higher education and professional qualifications; all settled in the larger cities. Because of the economic situation and the difficulty in finding suitable employment (European studies and diplomas are not recognized in Argentina), a good many of these, in the latter half of the 1950's, emigrated to the United States and Canada, an exodus which though weaker continues to this day. However, several thousand of the older immigrants, subjected to unrelenting Soviet propaganda, returned to Soviet Ukraine, lured by promises of "land" and "better conditions of life." Disillusionment came only too quickly. Many of those fortunate enough to possess Argentina citizenship succeeded in returning to Argentina with the help of the Argentine authorities.

## NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF UKRAINIANS; ECONOMIC STATUS

Precise statistics on the number of Ukrainians in Argentina are not available. Various estimates fluctuate be-

tween 80,000 and 180,000 Ukrainians. A conservative evaluation places the number between 100,000 and 120,000.

The largest concentrations of Ukrainians are to be found in the provinces of Misiones (over 20,000) and Buenos Aires (over 30,000). Smaller groups reside in the provinces of Chaco, Mendoza, and others.

Ukrainians found the province of Misiones to be a region of wild, subtropical forests and savannas. It took them a long time to adapt themselves to these conditions and to make the virgin land arable and inhabitable. The largest Ukrainian concentrations are: Apostoles and its vicinity—over 600 families, Obera and vicinity—400 families, Las Tunas—over 300 families, San Jose and vicinity—over 220 families, Posadas—about 400 families, Tres Capones—200 families, Picada Galiciana—180 families, and Campinas—170 families.

The principal occupation of Ukrainian immigrants continues to be agriculture.

FIGURE 688. DISTRIBUTION OF UKRAINIANS IN THE PROVINCE OF MISIONES. 1—State borders; 2—provincial borders; 3—highway; 4—railway; 5—altitude in meters. Lines under the names of cities indicate the number of Ukrainian families: 6—over 200; 7—between 100 and 200; 8—less than 100.

The majority live on their own homesteads, or *chacras.*

As a rule, a *chacra* consists of 25 to 50 hectares of land, in some places even 100 ha or more, and is surrounded by woods which provide protection against wind and preserve humidity. Small towns along with these farms constitute a unit. Its inhabitants take an active interest in the social and political life of the community.

Ukrainian settlers engage in a "monoculture" and in a "semi-monoculture" type of agriculture with a view to marketing their produce. They cultivate many tropical plants, among them *herba maté,* from which Paraguayan tea is made, *tuni* nuts, which are used in the manufacture of oils for paint, and such crops as tobacco, rice, sugar cane, oranges, and lemons, all of which are sold. For their own use they grow corn, *mandioca* (tapioca), and various garden vegetables. In addition, there are large tea plantations owned by Ukrainians, many started in Misiones and other parts of Argentina by Volodymyr Hnatiuk. Ukrainians are also engaged in the lumber industry. Their living standards come up to that of all farmers and are adequate. Thus, Ukrainians *colonos* have no desire to switch to intensified agriculture or to seek more lucrative employment. Only a small percentage of Ukrainian settlers are to be found in industrial enterprises, artisan shops, or commerce.

The second largest Ukrainian agricultural colony in Argentina developed between World Wars I and II in the province of Chaco, situated in the northwestern part of Argentina. It consists for the most part of immigrants hailing from Volhynia and Polisia (initially they had come to Paraguay). They number about 15,000. Climate and geographic conditions being similar to those of the province of Misiones, the type of agriculture is the same, except that in Chaco Ukrainian settlers also cultivate wool. The centers of Ukrainian settlement are the towns of San Bernardo and Las Brenas.

The third largest colony is in the prov-

ince of Mendoza, with the town of Boven as its center. Here, Ukrainians cultivate grapes, fruit and olive orchards, vegetables, and corn.

The largest number of Ukrainians live in the province of Buenos Aires. Only a small number of them live in the colonies of Veronica and Jáuregui (which were established after World War I), where they grow vegetables and raise cattle. In recent years these colonies have been in a state of decline, because the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires is drawing many young people from the country.

Because of geographic proximity, Ukrainian immigrants in Buenos Aires and its vicinity, La Plata and Berisso, constitute a single Ukrainian colony. The first Ukrainians in Buenos Aires and Berisso came before World War I, with large groups settling in Berisso and Dock Sud, near Buenos Aires. Later, with the arrival of the second and third waves of Ukrainian immigrants, new settlements sprang up in Avellaneda, Lanus, Valentin Alcina, San Martin, and other localities, which constitute the industrial suburbs of Buenos Aires and the port area. Buenos Aires itself contains a relatively small number of Ukrainians, employed mostly in industry. There is a steadily growing number of skilled workers, technicians, and engineers, especially from among the young generation raised in Argentina. Many Ukrainians today own their own industrial and commercial enterprises.

A number of Ukrainians are scattered throughout other provinces of Argentina. There is a colony of Ukrainians in the city of Cordoba, where most of them are employed in the transport industry. In the provinces of Entre Rios and Santa Fé, Ukrainian immigrants grow wheat; in the province of Rio Negro—fruit orchards. A number of Ukrainians are also employed in the oil fields of the province of Comodoro Rivadavia.

Generally speaking, the economic status of Ukrainians in Argentina is improving steadily, especially in the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires, with more and more Ukrainians attaining prestigeous professional positions.

FIGURE 689. CHOIR OF THE UKRAINIAN CENTRAL REPRESENTATION IN BUENOS AIRES (A. KOPYTOVYCH CONDUCTOR) (during a program staged in honor of Taras Shevchenko, 1961)

An important contribution to the development of the Ukrainian community's economic life is being made by three Ukrainian Credit Unions. The Vidrodzhennia (Rebirth) Credit Union (with 3,000 members), the Fortuna Credit Union (associated with the Prosvita (Enlightenment) organization), and the Tryzub (Trident) Credit Union, linked with the Brotherhood of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. All have branches in the provinces.

Ukrainians have contributed substantially to the growth and development of the economy of Argentina. This is especially true of the pioneers of the first and second waves of Ukrainian immigration, who transformed the virgin lands of Misiones and Chaco into arable and fertile soil.

## RELIGIOUS LIFE

About two-thirds of Ukrainian immigrants in Argentina are Catholic, about one-third Orthodox; some 5,000 are Evangelics and members of other sects.

As in all other overseas countries, the first Ukrainians here had neither churches nor priests of their own. The first Ukrainian Catholic church-chapel was erected in 1901 in Las Tunas (Misiones). The first Ukrainian Catholic priests came here for a short time only (around 1908). A much longer time was spent in Argentina

by the Rev. Ivan Senyshyn (1916–26), followed by the Rev. Stephen Vaprovych (until 1935), who was also responsible for bringing the Basilian Fathers to Argentina.

Missionary work among Ukrainian Catholics in Argentina developed especially after World War II with the arrival of many Basilian Fathers and diocesan priests. The Ukrainian Catholic priests are to this day under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, although in 1961 the Holy See appointed Bishop Andrew Sapelak, a Salesian Father, to be the Apostolic Visitator for

FIGURE 690. UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC BISHOP ANDREW SAPELAK OF ARGENTINA (SEATED, FIRST FROM THE RIGHT), HOSTS BISHOP ALEXANDER NOVICKY, OF THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH OF U.S.A. (SEATED, SECOND FROM THE LEFT), AS WELL AS THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN ARGENTINA, AND EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS OF THE UKRAINIAN CENTRAL REPRESENTATION AT BUENOS AIRES (1966)

Ukrainian Catholics in Argentina. In 1968, he was named exarch of the Ukrainian Catholics in Argentina. Bishop Sapelak, who resides in Buenos Aires, also supervises Ukrainian Catholics in Paraguay and Uruguay, a total of 12 parishes with 80,000 faithful and 21 priests, including 14 Basilian Fathers. There are 34 Ukrainian Catholic churches and chapels.

The Basilian Fathers, who have had their own ecclesiastical subprovince since 1948, play an important part in the religious and cultural life of Ukrainians in Argentina. They have a Minor Seminary and publish a monthly magazine, *Zhyttia* (Life). They conduct and maintain a number of schools and are very active in the field of religious and Ukrainian national education, especially in Misiones, Buenos Aires, and Berisso. In addition to the Basilian Fathers, there are 60 Basilian Sisters (since 1934), seven Sister Servants (since 1965), and seven Sisters of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (since 1950).

The first Orthodox priest in Argentina to serve the Orthodox families in Misiones and Chaco was the Rev. Tykhon Hnatiuk from Volhynia, whose residence was in Tres Capones and who conducted his missionary work from 1908 until his death in 1943. With his demise the Orthodox Ukrainians lacked spiritual protection until 1947, when the Rev. I. Yaroslavsky came to Buenos Aires (he died in 1957) and established the Brotherhood of Mary Protectress (*Pokrova*) of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Initially, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was under the jurisdiction of Metropolitan Polykarp Sikorsky in Europe; later, it passed under the jurisdiction of Metropolitan John Theodorovich in the United States. The church has about 600 members, organized in the aforementioned Brotherhood of the Protectress. The present administrator of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Argentina is the Rev. Presbyter Borys Ariichuk.

A great shortcoming of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is the shortage of priests: there are over 30,000 faithful, yet only three priests, two under the jurisdiction of Metropolitan Theodorovich and one under that of Archbishop Gregory (the *Soborna* Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church). There are two Ukrainian Orthodox parishes in Buenos Aires, one in Berisso and a few in the province of Chaco (but with no permanent priests). Because of the death of priests, the majority of Orthodox Ukrainians have become members of the Russian Orthodox churches.

The Ukrainian Evangelics were first

organized in the so-called Evangelical Slavic Church, which was under Russian influence, although the majority of its members were Ukrainians. In the 1950's the Ukrainian Union of Evangelical Christians and Baptists was established. The Union has 11 houses of prayer. The principal centers of Ukrainian Evangelics are Buenos Aires and Obera in Misiones, where there is a Ukrainian Biblical Institute.

FIGURE 691. PRESIDIUM OF THE SEVENTH CONGRESS OF UKRAINIANS IN ARGENTINA AND EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS OF THE UKRAINIAN CENTRAL REPRESENTATION (1965)

## SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE

In its early stages, Ukrainian community life in Argentina was spearheaded by Ukrainian priests. Subsequently (in the period between World Wars I and II), a number of secular organizations appeared on the scene. As a rule, they were of an ephemeral character, either disappearing after a few years or being transformed into other organizations. Among them were such organizations as Moloda Hromada (The Young Community) in Berisso, which in 1924 became Prosvita (Enlightment), and Strilets'ka Hromada (The Riflemen's Community), established in 1923 and patterned after the Ukrainian organization of the same name in Canada (see p. 1169). It adopted the ideological platform of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and merged with the sports organization Sokil to form the Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine (ODVU). In 1939, under pressure from the Argentine government, ODVU was disbanded as a political organization; it was transformed into a cultural and educational society called Vidrodzhennia (Rebirth).

During and immediately after World War II, Communist influence among Ukrainians in Argentina greatly increased. The Communists set up various front organizations, often bearing the names of such outstanding Ukrainians as Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko, and published a number of newspapers, most influential of which was *Svitlo* (Light). Disillusionment of Ukrainian returnees after their brief stay in the Ukrainian SSR in addition to the anti-Communist policy of the Argentine government, resulted in a steady decline in the influence of Ukrainian Communists; today they have neither organization nor press.

With the arrival of new immigrants in 1947–9, especially in Buenos Aires, a new series of organizations and societies appeared. The internal strife among Ukrainian nationalists in Europe had a great impact on the social and political life of Ukrainians in Argentina. The two principal organizations around which Ukrainian social, political, and cultural life in Argentina has revolved for a few decades are: the Prosvita Society (Asociacion Ucrania de Cultura "Prosvita") which has 19 branches outside of Buenos Aires and adheres to the political views of the Foreign Branch of OUN, and Vidrodzhennia (Asociacion Ucrania "Renacimiento"), which has eight branches and adheres to the ideological position of the OUN (Melnykites).

Minor roles are played by other Ukrainian organizations: the Democratic Union, which groups most of those who do not belong to either of the two major organizations; Society of Friends of the Ukrainian National Rada; and DOBRUS (Democratic Association of Ukrainians Formerly Oppressed in the USSR).

Among other new organizations are: the aforementioned Mary Protectress Brotherhood of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Ukrainian Catholic Union (UKO), Ukrainian Relief Committee (Comite Ucranio de Ayuda a las Victimas de la guerra), founded in 1947, the Association of Ukrainian Women (Asociacion de Mujeres Ucranias), Association of Ukrainian Scientists, Writers, and Artists (Asociacion Ucrania de Scientificos, Literarios y Artistas), Association of Ukrainian Businessmen and Professionals, which subsidizes a number of Ukrainian cultural activities.

There are three Ukrainian veterans organizations: Brotherhood of Former Soldiers of the First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army, the Simon Petliura Legion, and the Union of Ukrainian Veterans (Union de ex-Combatientes Ucranios).

Ukrainian youth have their sections within the Prosvita and Vidrodzhennia organizations. There are also Plast and SUM organizations and the Argentine-Ukrainian Student Association. Each Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox parish maintains youth clubs and societies. All these organizations are concentrated in the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires. Ukrainian community life in the provinces, especially in the province of Misiones, is centered in the church parishes.

During the first congress of Ukrainians in Argentina, held in 1947, a Ukrainian Central Representation (Representacion Central de la Colectividad Ucrania en la Republica Argentina), was established for the purpose of coordinating and representing all Ukrainian political and social forces in the country. This body is recognized by the Argentine government as the legal representation of the Ukrainian community. Its executive committee is the Supreme Council, composed of representatives of all Ukrainian organizations in Argentina. Basilio Ivanytzky has been its president for several years.

The departure in the early 1950's of a part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia to the United States and Canada has had its effect on Ukrainian community life.

Ukrainian settlers in Argentina, like those in other overseas countries, maintained a close spiritual contact with the homeland. In the period between the two world wars, Argentine Ukrainians supported financially a number of Ukrainian organizations in Western Ukraine, and the Ukrainian press in Argentina covered developments in Ukraine very closely. Frequently organized were mass protest rallies denouncing the persecution of Ukrainian people by their oppressors, thus informing the Argentine people about the struggle of the Ukrainian people for freedom and independence.

FIGURE 692. UKRAINIAN MASS RALLY AT THE MONUMENT OF GEN. SAN MARTIN IN BUENOS AIRES, DEMANDING FREEDOM FOR UKRAINE (1966)

## SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION

Schools of Ukrainian studies are not adequately developed in Argentina. There are 17 Ukrainian schools (Ridna Shkola), which are supported and maintained by the various branches of the Prosvita and Vidrodzhennia organizations, with an enrollment of over 400 children. These schools are supervised and directed by a Pedagogical Council, composed of teachers of the Ridna Shkola school network. Almost all of them are in the metropolitan area of Buenos Aires. In addition, a number of Ukrainian schools are maintained by the Uk-

rainian Catholic parishes (where the teachers are Ukrainian Catholic sisters). The Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Buenos Aires also operates a school of Ukrainian studies. The Evangelics also have Ukrainian-language supplementary schools. The various youth organizations engage in educational pursuits, and the Prosvita and Vidrodzhennia organizations conduct educational courses for adults.

## PRESS, PUBLICATIONS, RADIO PROGRAMS

Of the nearly 20 Ukrainian newspapers which have been published by various Ukrainian organizations in Argentina from 1927, only a few survive: the weekly *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* (Ukrainian Word), which has been appearing since 1927 as an organ of Prosvita; the weekly *Nash Klych* (Our Call), appearing since 1934 as an organ of Vidrodzhennia; the monthly, *Zhyttia* (Life), published by the Basilian Fathers since 1948 in Misiones; *Dzvin* (The Bell), published by the Mary Protectress Brotherhood; a quarterly *Yevanhel's'ka Zirka* (The Evangelical Star) and a youth review, *Yevanhels'ke Prominnia* (The Evangelical Ray), both published by the Ukrainian Evangelical Union, and a satirical monthly, *Mitla* (The Broom), which has appeared since 1949. Nicholas Denysiuk, editor of the monthly *Ovyd* (Horizon) and Anatol Kalynovsky of *Porohy* (Cataracts), emigrated to the United States. Finally, there is the review in Spanish, *Ucrania Libre*, which is published irregularly by the Ukrainian Information and Publishing Institute. The institute has published several books and brochures in Spanish, containing general information as well as historical and economic data on Ukraine and the Ukrainian people.

Among several publishing companies was that of N. Denysiuk (from 1949–60), the Peremoha (Victory) Publishing Company (S. Kravets), the Poltava Publishing Company (Savchuk), and the Julian Serediak Publishing Company which, in addition to publishing the almanacs of *Mitla* (16), issued 23 books in 1949–56, primarily belles-lettres. Both Prosvita and Vidrodzhennia also publish calendar-almanacs.

Through the efforts of the Central Ukrainian Representation and the Association of Ukrainian Businessmen and Professionals, several radio programs in Ukrainian and Spanish have been established in the last decade. Most important is the Ukrainian program of the National Radio (state agency) in Buenos Aires; it is directed by Lidia Makarukha-Ivanytzky (first broadcast by radio "Colonia" and now over radio station "Antartida"). Ukrainian-language radio programs were once broadcast in La Plata. There are also programs in Cordoba and Obera (maintained by the Ukrainian Evangelical Union).

## ART AND LITERARY LIFE

The first period of Ukrainian emigration in Argentina did not produce any major works or activities in the literary field. The second period produced but few literary figures of note: poet Stephen Haril (Serhii Symoniv), who published two collections of poetry, and Hrytsko Romantychnyi (Andrew Velychkovsky), known for his collection of short stories.

But a prolific art and literary life developed in the third period with the arrival of several dozen established Ukrainian writers, journalists, and artists. After a few years in Argentina, the majority of them emigrated to the United States and Canada. In the 1950's they had established the Association of Ukrainian Scholars, Writers, and Artists, but at the beginning of 1967 only four of the group remained in Argentina: Michael Havryliuk, Gregory Holiian, Ihor Kachurovsky, and Eugene Onatsky. Kachurovsky works also as a translator of Argentine literature into Ukrainian and of Ukrainian literary works into Spanish.

Among Ukrainian artists who have gained recognition in Argentina was Victor Tsymbal, outstanding graphic painter and caricaturist, who belongs to the first period of the Ukrainian emigration. Many artists joined the writers in emigrating to North America. Two prominent artists, sculptor Constantine Buldyn and painter Borys Kriukiv, died in Argentina. Those still active include Olha Gurska and Nicholas Holodyk.

Most Ukrainian composers, opera singers, choir directors, and stage actors emigrated in the 1950's to North America.

Among active architects are Victor Hrynenko, who designed the Baroque-style Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral in Buenos Aires, and George Shulmynsky, who teaches architecture at the university in San Juan.

## SCHOLARSHIP

Several Ukrainian scholars from the third wave of emigration have remained in Argentina. Among them is George Poliansky, professor of geology at the State University in Buenos Aires and explorer of the Andes Mountains (recipient of the Argentine "May 25th" Revolution award); Ivan Bandura, a pedologist; Bohdan Halaychuk, professor of international law at the Pontifical Argentine Catholic University in Buenos Aires; Eugene Onatsky, literary critic and folklorist, editor of *Ukraïns'ka mala entsyklopediia* (Ukrainian Small Encyclopedia), which was published in Buenos Aires; and agronomist Roman Shekhai. Ukrainian agronomist Ivan Hrynenko, who was on the staff of the International Institute of Agriculture in Rome, died in Argentina in 1952.

*E. Onatsky*

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# 6. IN OTHER COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA

## IN PARAGUAY

### History and Territory of Settlement

Without taking into consideration the few Ukrainians who settled in Paraguay in the 1920's, Ukrainians began arriving in Paraguay in sizeable groups only in 1930–2, at which time a number of them came from neighboring Argentina, then plagued by an economic crisis. It was a few years later (1935–9) that Ukrainians began coming to Paraguay directly from Europe: Polisia, Volhynia, Galicia, and Transcarpathia. A few hundred came in 1946–7 from displaced persons camps in Europe and from the Philippines (refugees from China and Manchuria).

The second half of the 1940's saw about 10,000 Ukrainians in Paraguay. Departures to Argentina and re-emigration to the Ukrainian SSR left some 8,000 in the country.

The Ukrainians live in a more or less compact group in or around the city of Encarnacion in the department of Itapuya, located in the southeastern part of Paraguay, which borders on the Argentine province of Misiones and which enjoys its climate and economic conditions (see p. 1206). There are several Ukrainian colonies around this city, some of which even bear Ukrainian names: Nova Volyn, Nova Ukraïna, Bohdanivka, Tarasivka, Perevertivka, Morozenka, Santa Domingo, Alborada, Santa Maria.

Around the town of Carmen del Parana, also in this department, Ukrainians live in a number of colonies bearing the name Fram, which are distinguished from one another by Arabic numerals (Fram 2, Fram 4, Fram 5, Fram 7, Fram 9, Fram 12). A number of Ukrainian clusters are to be found around the station of Coronel Bogado (Zelenyi Klyn, Sybir, Kavkaz, Domingo Bado); finally, Ukrainians also have settled in Asuncion,

**Economic Life**

The bulk of Ukrainian immigrants, originally peasants and artisans, have gained a livelihood on farms which they created by clearing virgin forests, as was the case in Misiones and in adjoining Brazilian provinces. They cultivate cotton, rice, corn, *herba maté*, wheat for export, and garden vegetables for their own use. Some are also cattle growers and apiarists. A number of the Ukrainians are employed in cities as artisans and workers, mostly in the lumber industry. Some with higher education are employed in commerce, government offices, sometimes in higher positions, and in the professions.

**Religious Life**

The majority of Ukrainians in Paraguay belong to the Orthodox churches, especially to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church; about 30 per cent are Catholiçs, while the remainder are Baptists, Shtundists, and Mennonites. Orthodox priests who served in Paraguay were the Revs. Tykhon Hnatiuk, Eustakhii Havryliuk, and others. The Brotherhood of St. George the Victorious of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Paraguay became the center of Orthodox life. It was organized in 1953 and legalized in 1955. Ukrainian Catholics were served by the Basilians from Misiones and later by their own pastor, the Rev. Ivan Bugera, the Ukrainian Catholic priest who served as pastor in the colonies of Fram Calle 2 and Fram Calle 4 (*d.* 1967). The Apostolic Visitator for Ukrainian Catholics in Paraguay is Bishop Andrew Sapelak of Argentina (see p. 1208).

**Community Life**

The most important center of Ukrainian community life in Paraguay is the Prosvita Society, which was organized in Encarnacion in 1937 by Ivan Paliatynsky, Ivan Martyniuk, and Omelian Elias Paduchak, on the pattern of the Prosvita Society in Ukraine. The Prosvita Society has 10 branches, all founded in 1937–45. Under the auspices of Prosvita, a youth association was formed in 1948; it had seven local branches. Later it was transformed into the Association of Ukrainian Youth (SUM), which ceased to exist by 1955. Some of the Prosvita branches have their own national homes, which maintain reading rooms and libraries and conduct classes.

In 1945, upon the initiative of A. Bilopolsky, a Ukrainian engineer, and under the leadership of O. E. Paduchak, the Ukrainian Relief Committee was organized as an auxiliary of the Paraguayan Red Cross. The committee played an important role in helping Ukrainian refugees from Europe to settle in Paraguay.

Leaders of both the Ukrainian Relief Committee and Prosvita helped organize the Ukrainian Center in Paraguay (Centro Ucranio en la Republica del Paraguay) in February, 1949. The center was approved by the government as a representation of Ukrainians in Paraguay (its president until 1961 was the late O. E. Paduchak).

Ukrainian schools in Paraguay are at a rudimentary level. Courses in the Ukrainian language are given from time to time in Prosvita reading rooms and church centers.

Of late, the community and cultural life of Ukrainians in Paraguay has suffered a decline, mainly because of the departure of intellectuals and youth to the United States, Canada, Argentina, and other countries.

## IN URUGUAY

The first Ukrainian immigrants began arriving in Uruguay in 1924. Almost all were peasants from western Ukraine – Volhynia, Polisia, Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia. A smaller number came from Brazil and Argentina. After World War II, some 50 Ukrainians came to Uruguay from the displaced persons camps in Germany and Austria. In the middle 1950's a number of Ukrainians, under the influence of Soviet agitation, returned to the USSR.

At present there are about 8,000 to 10,000 Ukrainians in all, including a small number of intelligentsia. About half live in the capital city of Montevideo, where they are employed in industry. The rest are scattered throughout the country, especially in such cities as Salto, Florida, Paysandu, and San Jose. A number of them are employed in agriculture. There is a Ukrainian farm colony near Salto, embracing forty families from Volhynia. The rest of the Ukrainian farmer-settlers are scattered; unable to acquire their own farms, they lease land from the great landowners.

Wide dispersion and the small number of the intelligentsia explain why Ukrainian religious, cultural, educational, and social-political life in Uruguay has remained undeveloped. The sole Ukrainian Catholic parish was established only in 1952 in Montevideo (hitherto the Basilian Fathers from Argentina would visit a few centers from time to time). A Ukrainian Orthodox parish was organized even later. Because of the lack of their own priests, the Ukrainian settlers were served by priests of other faiths (Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox). A small number of Ukrainians belong to the Baptist churches, the Seventh-Day Adventists, and other denominations.

The first and, for a long time, the only Ukrainian institution in Uruguay was the cultural-educational society Prosvita, founded in 1934 (it acquired its own facilities in 1946). As a result of internal misunderstandings, a number of the members of Prosvita resigned at the beginning of the 1950's to found the Vidrodzhennia (Rebirth) Society. Both these societies are ideologically close to the organizations of the same names in Argentina (see p. 1209). Among other Ukrainian organizations active in Uruguay mention should be made of the Committee to Assist the Ukrainian National Rada and the Committee for the Struggle against Communism.

## IN VENEZUELA

The Ukrainian emigration to Venezuela began in 1947 and lasted until 1950. In this period some 1,500 Ukrainians came to Venezuela (some estimates place the number at 2,000), who eventually settled mostly in Caracas. Smaller numbers went to the other cities, such as Barquisimeto, Maracay, Maracaibo, and Valencia. Unaccustomed to agriculture in tropical conditions, Ukrainian peasants soon left the land received from the state and migrated to the cities, mainly Caracas. Subsequently, a considerable percentage of the Ukrainians emigrated to the United States and Canada, so that the present number of Ukrainians (including children born in Venezuela) is estimated at 1,000 to 1,500, who live mostly in Caracas and Valencia.

Economic conditions of the Ukrainians in Caracas are fairly good. The majority of them are employed in industry and own their own homes. Many have succeeded in establishing their own businesses.

About half of the Ukrainians belong to the Ukrainian Catholic Church, over one-third to the Orthodox churches, and about one-tenth to the Evangelical and other churches. In Caracas there exist two Ukrainian parishes: a Catholic parish (the Rev. Paul Khrushch has been its pastor since its inception) and the

Orthodox (Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church), with the Rev. P. Kovalchuk as the original pastor and, after his death in 1954, the Rev. V. Hryhoriïv and the church brotherhoods.

Organized Ukrainian life began in 1948, when the government recognized the Ukrainian Hromada as the central organization of Ukrainians (Asociacion de Ucranianos en Venezuela). Its headquarters are in Caracas, and it has branches in Valencia and Barquisimeto (its first president was Lev Stakhovsky; its current president is Roman Kosharych). The Asociacion is comprised of a number of autonomous organizations, such as the Women's Association and others.

Caracas has had and still has a number of Ukrainian artists and professionals: painters Basil Krychevsky (died in 1952), Halyna Mazepa, K. Bielsky, sculptor Fedir Yemets, architects Roman Kosharych, Borys Vasiuk, ballet master P. Horsky, and others. A number of them, such as M. Chyhryntsiv, V. Koval, and L. Stakhovsky, are employed at universities and in scholarly institutions.

## IN CHILE

In 1948–9 some 300 Ukrainians came to Chile from displaced persons camps in Germany. Almost all of them settled in Santiago, where they found employment as skilled workers. In 1953, a Ukrainian national organization (*hromada*) was founded. For some time there also existed a Ukrainian Catholic parish. At the beginning of the 1960's a majority of Ukrainians emigrated to the United States, Canada, and Argentina; at present, only some 40 persons are left.

*W. Dushnyck*

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# 7. IN WESTERN EUROPE

## IN GERMANY

### Prior to 1945

With the exception of a few isolated cases, Ukrainian immigrants began arriving in Germany only at the end of the nineteenth century. Most of them were seasonal agricultural workers from Galicia who usually returned home to their families for the winter. The number of those who worked as unskilled laborers in industry and mining was small. There were small Ukrainian centers in Delmenhorst near Hamburg, Hemelingen near Bremen, in Leipzig, and other places.

During World War I, many Ukrainian war prisoners from the Russian armies were in part segregated in special camps (Wetzlar, Salzwedel, Rastatt). Among these the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine conducted cultural and educational activities; a small number of them remained in Germany after the war.

Ukrainian political émigrés began arriving in Germany in 1918. Berlin was the largest center; smaller groups were in Königsberg, Hamburg, Leipzig, and Munich. The total number of Ukrainians residing in Germany before World War II was estimated at 10,000 [Vol. I, p. 867].

The number increased considerably in 1939 after the occupation of Carpatho-Ukraine by Hungary, and especially after the fall of Poland, when thousands of

Ukrainians fled before Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine, or came to Germany with German repatriates. These were followed by a mass of some 800,000 from all Ukrainian lands brought to Germany as slave labor. Additional hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians were among the prisoners of war from the Soviet armies. In 1944–5, the number of Ukrainians was increased by some 300,000 refugees from the whole of Ukraine who escaped the reoccupation of Ukraine by the Soviet troops. Thus, by the end of World War II there were about 2 million Ukrainians in Germany [Vol. I, p. 892].

### After 1945

After the repatriation of the majority of them in the second half of 1945 and early 1946, there remained in West Germany (occupied by the Western Allies) about 200,000 Ukrainians who lived mostly in displaced persons camps [Vol. I, pp. 911–16]. After mass resettlement,

FIGURE 693. UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS PAY TRIBUTE TO THEIR COMRADES WHO DIED IN THE GERMAN CONCENTRATION CAMP AT DACHAU (1946)

first to Great Britain, Belgium, France, and South America in 1947, and then to the United States, Canada, and Australia, the number of Ukrainians in West Germany decreased to 100,000 in 1948, and to 25,000 by the end of 1950. At present, the number of Ukrainians in the Federal Republic of Germany is over 20,000 persons.

The residual Ukrainian element in Germany contains a considerable number of invalid, sick, and elderly people who could not qualify for emigration to overseas countries. Only a small part of them could be integrated into the German economic life. Others lived in houses for the aged or in displaced persons camps.

In addition, many Ukrainian intellectuals remained in West Germany, and for the most part they are employed in Ukrainian cultural, social, and political institutions. West Germany remains an important center of Ukrainian political life, with a number of institutions serving Ukrainians in the free world established here.

Ukrainians in Germany are dispersed more than their kin in other countries of Europe. The only large center of Ukrainian life is Munich and its environs where nearly 2,000 Ukrainians continue to make their home (in 1946–9 nearly 20,000). Small enclaves of Ukrainians are to be found in Ulm, Hannover, Hamburg, Regensburg, Nürnberg, Ingolstadt, Essen, Düsseldorf, Bielefeld, Frankfurt am Main.

For the most part Ukrainians in Germany belong either to the Ukrainian Catholic Church or to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1947–59 constituted the General Vicariate of the Apostolic Visitator for Ukrainians in western Europe, Archbishop Ivan Buchko; vicar generals were the Rev. Nicholas Voiakovsky and Peter Holynsky. Since 1959, the Ukrainian Catholics have had a separate Apostolic Exarchate, headed by Bishop Platon Kornylak, with residence in Munich; the Exarchate embraces 19 parishes and has 30 priests. It has its own weekly, *Khrystyians'kyi Holos* (The Christian Voice), and its own publishing house and printing shop, *Logos*.

FIGURE 694. METROPOLITAN NIKANOR ABRAMOVYCH

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was headed by Metropolitan Nikanor Abramovych (1883–1969), who resided in Karlsruhe, which is also the seat of the Higher Church Administration and the Theological-Scientific Institute of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church is now headed by Archbishop Mstyslav Skrypnyk.

The central institution of Ukrainian organized life in Germany is the Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration (Tsentral'ne Predstavnytstvo Ukraïns'koï Emihratsiï), which unites a series of cultural and community institutions with headquarters in Munich and with 91 branches throughout Germany. Its past presidents were: Wasyl Mudryi, Ivan Vovchuk, George Studynsky, Basil Plushch, Nicholas Dorozhynsky, and Yaroslav Bentsal. Serving in this post since 1964 is Anthony Melnyk. Among other central organizations (with headquarters in Munich) are: the Ukrainian Charitable and Health Service (headed by Yaroslav Hynylevych); the European Representation of the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (UUARC); Association of Ukrainian Women; Association of Ukrainian War Invalids; Union of Ukrainian Students in Germany; Ukrainian Youth Organization *Plast*; the Association of Ukrainian Youth (SUM); and the National Association of the Ukrainian Christian Movement. There is also the German-Ukrainian Society which promotes German-Ukrainian relations.

Munich is also the seat of Ukrainian political organizations which serve Ukrainians throughout the free world: the State Center of the Ukrainian National Republic in exile (the Ukrainian National Rada and its executive organ), the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHVR), Foreign Branch of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and central executive bodies of a series of Ukrainian political parties. Here, too, is the seat of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and of the Ukrainian Association for the European Movement.

Germany, especially Munich, is also an important center of Ukrainian scholarship (see also Scholarship, pp. 196–7). It is the seat of the Ukrainian Free University, the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute, a branch of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, all of which have been located since 1962 in the Home of Ukrainian Learning (see p. 197), and the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences. A number of Ukrainians work in the American-sponsored Institute for the Study of the USSR and in the American broadcasting station Radio Liberty.

West Germany is also an important center of Ukrainian publishing activity. Appearing here are the following weeklies: *Khrystyians'kyi Holos*, organ of the Ukrainian Catholic church; *Ukraïns'ki Visti* (Ukrainian News), organ of the Ukrainian Revolutionary-Democratic party (URDP); and *Shliakh Peremohy* (Pathway to Victory), organ of the Foreign Branch of the OUN; monthlies: *Suchasnist'* (Contemporary Times), published by the UHVR, and *Ukraïns'kyi Samostiinyk* (Ukrainian Independent), organ of the OUN Abroad; the bimonthly *ABN–Correspondence*; quarterlies: *Ukraine in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Ukraine in Past and Present), organ of the German-Ukrainian Society, and *Ridna Tserkva* (Native Church), organ of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Appearing also are non-periodical publications: *Ukraïns'ki Khrystyians'ki Visti* (Ukrainian Christian News), journal of the Ukrainian

Christian party; *Meta* (Aim), organ of the Ukrainian National Rada, UNR; *Svitlo zi Skhodu* (Light from the East), organ of the Ukrainian Evangelical Church; the *Biuleten'* of the Ukrainian Christian Youth Association of Germany, the *Bulletin* of the Ukrainian Information Bureau, and others. Ukrainian journalists are organized in the Association of Ukrainian Journalists. Germany, apart from the United States and Canada, is the largest Ukrainian publishing center, with such publishing houses as *Dniprova Khvylia* (The Dnieper Wave), *Molode Zhyttia* (Young Life), *Suchasnist'*, *Ukraïns'ke Vydavnytstvo* (Ukrainian Publishing House), *Ukraïns'ke Katolyts'ke Vydavnytstvo* (Ukrainian Catholic Publishing House), the *Verlag Ukraine*, and others. Contributing significantly to the development of Ukrainian printing are such firms as: Logos Cicero, Ukraïns'ki Visti, Peter Beley Printing firm, and Biblos.

Less developed is supplementary teaching of the Ukrainian language, history, religion, and related subjects. There are 4 kindergartens and 36 Saturday schools, but because of the rather extensive dispersement of Ukrainians in Germany they serve only a limited number of children. The schools are under the administration of the Central Representation of Ukrainian Emigration. In 1967 a Ridna Shkola boarding school for Ukrainian children was established in Munich.

FIGURE 695. BUILDING HOUSING THE UKRAINIAN FREE UNIVERSITY IN MUNICH PRIOR TO 1954

Ukrainian art is neglected. Most Ukrainian painters have left Germany. Among those staging occasional exhibits are Gregory Kruk and Liubomyr Mossora. Creative efforts of the older painters, such as Evzebii Lipetsky, Basil Petruk, and Serhii Zhuk, are very limited.

Church choirs and dance ensembles have been organized in larger Ukrainian centers. In Munich, there is a youth *Bandura* ensemble, directed by Myroslav Diakovsky, and the *Dibrova* choir under the direction of Nicholas Fil.

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## IN AUSTRIA

### Before 1914

With few exceptions, Ukrainians began arriving in Austria proper only after the incorporation of Galicia and Bukovina into the Austrian empire (1772). They included Ukrainians who served in the Austrian army, theology students at the Barbareum in Vienna (beginning in 1774), and, later on, students of other higher educational establishments (in 1868 the student society Sich was organized in Vienna), members of parliament, political leaders, civil service personnel, and Ukrainian workers and domestics. Before World War I, in addition to the military, about 3,000 Ukrainians lived in Austria, most of them in Vienna. There is a Ukrainian Greek Catholic parish in Vienna with its St. Barbara Church (since 1784).

### 1914–18

The number of Ukrainians in Austria increased considerably with the influx of refugees from Galicia and Bukovina during World War I: in 1914–15 in Vienna alone there were about 15,000 Ukrainians, and many more thousands were interned in the camp in Talerhof, near Graz; still others were in refugee camps in Gmünd, Wolfsberg, and Grödig; in Freistadt (Upper Austria) there was a camp for Ukrainian POWs from the

FIGURE 696. "REFUGEES"—A MEMORIAL AT THE UKRAINIAN CEMETERY IN GMÜND (sculpture in granite by Gregory Kruk)

Russian army. Because of lack of medical care, about 40,000 Ukrainian POWs died in the camps (14,000 in the camp of Gmünd alone) between 1914 and 1917, mostly from typhus. Both in Vienna and in the camps, there were Ukrainian schools and wide cultural and charitable activities. In 1914–15 Vienna became a center of Ukrainian political activity.

After the retreat of the Russian armies in 1915, the overwhelming majority of the Ukrainian emigration returned home. During the breakup of the Austrian empire (1918), the Ukrainian colony further decreased. The year of 1919, however, saw an increase with the arrival in Vienna of the exile government of the Western Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR), headed by President Eugene Petrushevych. In 1920–3, Vienna, along with Prague, was the principal center of the Ukrainian political emigration [Vol. I, pp. 778b and 867b]. After the incorporation of Galicia into Poland, the Ukrainian emigration for the most part returned to the native land. Vienna and Austria lost their political significance for the Ukrainians, of whom only some 3,000 remained (primarily former army personnel, pensioners, workers, and a small group of students residing mostly in Vienna).

**1938–50**

After the annexation of Austria by Germany (1938), the National-Socialists suspended all Ukrainian organizations. As in Germany, only branches of those organizations approved by the authorities were permitted: the Ukrainian National Union (UNO), the Ukrainian Hromadas, and branches of the Ukrainian Trust Authority [Vol. I, p. 867]. In 1939–40, many Ukrainian refugees from the territories overrun by the Bolsheviks came to Vienna, including a number of students (Vienna, Graz, Innsbruck). Later on, thousands of Ukrainians were brought forcibly to Austria as laborers by the Germans. With the defeat of the German armies on the Eastern front in 1944, Austria was deluged by a new wave of some 100,000 Ukrainian refugees, with 10,000 in Vienna alone. Upon their occupation of Vienna and a part of Austria, the Bolsheviks deported a great number of Ukrainians. The Ukrainian colony in Vienna ceased to be an active entity. Some Ukrainians living on Austrian territory occupied by the Western Allies also were repatriated. By 1946 some 30,000 Ukrainians were left in the western zones of Austria.

The new Ukrainian emigration was now concentrated mainly in the displaced persons camps. The principal center of Ukrainian life was Salzburg, where the Ukrainian Central Relief Association and the National Center of Ukrainian Health-Welfare Service had their headquarters. Innsbruck developed into another center of Ukrainian life. In the displaced persons camps, Ukrainian cultural and organizational life thrived, especially Ukrainian schools, publications (*Ostanni Novyny* [Latest News] and *Promin'* [The Ray]), reviews (*Litavry*[Drums] and *Zveno* [The Cell]), and the theater. Over 500 Ukrainian students attended higher educational institutions in Austria, particularly the universities of Innsbruck and Graz [Vol. I, pp. 912–15].

**After 1950**

The resettlement to overseas countries left only the aged, the ailing, and the unemployable, who lived under the hard conditions of the camps.

With the withdrawal of the occupying forces, especially the Bolshevik troops (1955), Vienna again became the center of Ukrainian life. The Austrian government, with the assistance of the International Refugee Organization (IRO), abolished the refugee camps and placed the survivors in private homes and institutions for the aged. A number of Ukrainian social and cultural organizations appeared in Vienna, including: the St. Barbara Brotherhood and the church choir under the direction of Andrew Hnatyshyn, the Ukrainian Women's Association, the Ukrainian Cultural Society *Bukovyna* with a male chorus under the direction of P. Babych, and the Union of Ukrainians of Austria as a central representative organization, headed by Volodymyr Zalozetsky, a Ukrainian statesman and art specialist from Bukovina (d. 1965). The Ukrainian Central Relief Association transferred its headquarters from Salzburg to Vienna. In 1967, all Ukrainian organizations were joined within the Co-ordinating Council of Ukrainian Organizations of Austria. The University of Vienna offers a course in Ukrainian language.

FIGURE 697. MIXED CHOIR OF ST. BARBARA PARISH IN VIENNA (Front row, extreme left, is A. Hnatyshyn, conductor)

At present, there are about 5,000 Ukrainians dispersed throughout Austria. Vienna accounts for some 1,000, including 300 professional men and women. Smaller concentrations are in Salzburg, Kufstein, Innsbruck, Graz, Klagenfurt, and Villach. Apart from some Ukrainians in the professions and the civil service, most are employed in industry and agriculture.

The Ukrainian Catholic parish of St. Barbara in Vienna (pastor, the Rev. Benedict Siutyk, OSBM) is under the jurisdiction of Cardinal König, archbishop of Vienna. Other Ukrainian Catholic parishes (Salzburg and Innsbruck) are under Roman Catholic bishops. The Orthodox Ukrainians have neither a church nor a pastor; their spiritual mentor is Protoierei Palladii Dubytsky of Munich, who as administrator of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church for Austria visits the Orthodox communities from time to time.

Nearly 90 per cent of Ukrainians in the country are Austrian citizens and have become integrated into the economic life of Austria. Most of them continue to take part in Ukrainian cultural life. In Vienna especially, Ukrainian cultural activities, observances of national holidays, concerts, and the like, take place regularly.

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## IN FRANCE

**History of Settlement**

The beginnings of Ukrainian immigration to France date back to the times of Hetman Ivan Mazepa of Ukraine; some of his closest friends and advisors sought political refuge in France. Among them was Gregory Orlyk (1702–59), son of Hetman Philip Orlyk [Vol. 1, p. 652b]. As a general in the French army he brought to France several dozen Zaporozhian Kozaks, who formed a special company in the French army. With the passage of time these Ukrainian émigrés dispersed and were assimilated into the French population.

The second wave of immigration was made up of Ukrainian political émigrés from Russia after the revolution of 1905

and, in smaller part, of Ukrainians from Galicia. These immigrants established the first Ukrainian organization, Le Cercle des Oukraniens à Paris (1908–14), which in 1910 numbered 120 members (90 per cent hailing from eastern Ukraine, 10 per cent from Galicia). It formed its own choir and conducted courses in the Ukrainian language. Among its leaders were Yaroslav Fedorchuk (1878–1916), Theodore Onypko, Michael Parashchuk, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Semen Mazurenko, and Eugene Bachynsky. The organization brought out a series of publications in French on the Ukrainian problem and conducted informative-educational work in various press organs.

The third wave of Ukrainian immigration came after World War I. It consisted of Ukrainians who, as soldiers in the Russian expeditionary corps, had been sent to the French front and who remained in France after the revolution of 1917; members and employees of former Ukrainian diplomatic and economic missions of the Ukrainian National Republic and Western Ukrainian National Republic; former members of the Ukrainian National Capella of Alexander Koshyts; Ukrainian leaders and statesmen of the UNR such as Simon Petliura, Viacheslav Prokopovych, Alexander Shulhyn, and others; former soldiers and officers of the Army of the UNR, who came after 1924 from camps for internees in Poland and Rumania and settled in eastern France, later in Vesines-Chalette, Le Creusot, and other localities (among them Generals Nicholas Udovychenko, Alexander Udovychenko, and Nicholas Shapoval).

But the largest group was composed of workers from the Western Ukrainian lands, principally Galicia, who began emigrating to France after 1923. In 1930, by which time the influx had slackened, this group numbered about 35,000 persons (all other émigrés numbered only 5,000). The economic crisis in 1929 caused many Ukrainian immigrants to return to Ukraine. Those remaining in

FIGURE 698. MEMORIAL SERVICES ON THE GRAVESITE OF OTAMAN S. PETLIURA IN PARIS, 1952 (BUST OF PETLIURA WAS FASHIONED BY SCULPTOR C. KRUK)

France settled in northern France, where they found employment in mines and in the textile industry, in eastern France (mines, metallurgical factories, and the like), or as agricultural workers throughout the country.

During World War II, thousands of Ukrainians were brought to France from Germany for forced labor; there were also Ukrainian POWs from the Soviet armies and military units composed of Ukrainians in Germany. In 1944 the latter went over to the French resistance, forming the following Ukrainian combat formations: the I. Bohun Ukrainian Battalion (820 men), the Taras Shevchenko Battalion (546 men), and the Ukrainian Partisan Detachment of O. Krukovsky. All three fought against the Germans, but on demand of the Soviet embassy the French ordered their demobilization; most of these Ukrainian soldiers enlisted in the French Foreign Legion.

The last wave of immigration came after World War II, when some 3,000 to 5,000 Ukrainians emigrated from the displaced persons camps in Germany and Austria. In the 1950's many of these refugees, joined by earlier settlers, emigrated across the ocean, settling mostly in the United States and Canada.

**Number and Distribution of Ukrainians**

Exact statistical data on Ukrainians in France are not available. In 1930 there were approximately 40,000 Ukrainians

in France; in 1946–55 (counting the natural increase) they numbered over 40,000. Today they number 30,000 to 35,000 (although the majority of those born in France have been partially assimilated.) Official French statistics report the number of Ukrainians registered in the French Office for the Protection of Refugees and Stateless Persons to be 4,800. (There are two reasons for this low number: it does not include Ukrainians who became French naturalized citizens and many Ukrainians are still listed as Polish, Russian, or Soviet nationals.)

Up to World War II the majority of Ukrainians were employed as unskilled laborers; after 1945, with the influx of various skilled workers, Ukrainians found employment in industry, trade, crafts (mainly in Lyon), and various professions. Their standard of living improved considerably. Today, about 25 per cent of Ukrainians in France are employed in industry and mines, 15 per cent in agriculture, 10 per cent as craftsmen and technicians, 10 per cent in the professions, 15 per cent are students in various schools, and 25 per cent (principally women) are employed in their own households.

The major concentrations of Ukrainians are as follows: (1) Paris and surrounding areas (Paris and its suburbs Melun); (2) eastern France: Metz, Thionville, Algrange, Nancy, Strasbourg, Villerupt, Mulhouse, Sochaux; (3) northern France: Lille, Roubaix, Lens, Arras, Le Cateau; (4) southeastern France: Lyon, Grenoble, Le Creusot, St. Etienne, Clermont-Ferrand; (5) central France: Montargis, Vesines-Chalette, Orleans; (6) southern France: Toulouse, Carmaux; (7) northwestern France (Department Calvados): Caen, Mondeville. Few Ukrainian families are to be found in western (Brittany) and southwestern France.

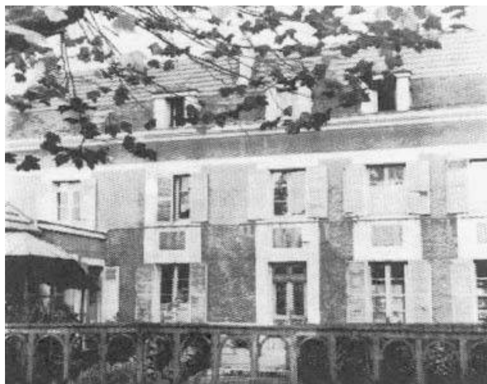

FIGURE 699. BUILDING IN SARCELLES HOUSING THE EUROPEAN BRANCH OF THE SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY AND THE EDITORIAL OFFICES OF THE UKRAINIAN ENCYCLOPEDIA

**Religious Life**

About two-thirds of Ukrainians in France belong to the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Most of the remaining third belong to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, with a small number adhering to other Christian denominations. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church was first to establish its own organization.

**Ukrainian Orthodox Church.** Before 1925 there was no Ukrainian Orthodox Church organization in France; Orthodox Ukrainians attended Russian or French churches. In 1925 in Knutange, the first convention of Orthodox Ukrainians was held; a second met in Paris. Among the first Ukrainian Orthodox priests were Paul Hrechyshkyn (1924–32), Ilarion Bryndzan (1933–46), later Archbishop Mstyslav (1947), Volodymyr Vyshnevsky (1948–61). Orthodox Ukrainians belong to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Europe. In France there is a General Church Administration with Ivan Bachynsky residing in Bruxelles as head and E. Omelchenko as deputy. Today it has six priests. In 1951–3 Metropolitan Polykarp Sikorsky, head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (see p. 207), resided in France, until his death; he is buried in Paris.

**Ukrainian Catholic Church.** Up to 1937 there were no Ukrainian Catholic priests in France; the majority of Ukrainian Catholics attended either French

or Polish Catholic churches. The first Catholic priest serving Ukrainian Catholics in France was the Rev. Jacques Perridon (1938). In 1943 St. Volodymyr's Ukrainian Catholic Church was blessed as the first church for Ukrainian Catholics in Paris. After the last war the number of Ukrainian Catholic priests increased considerably. All Ukrainian Catholic priests were under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic bishops until 1946, at which time it was transferred to Archbishop Ivan Buchko, who was appointed Apostolic Visitator for Ukrainian Catholics in western Europe. Again, from 1955 to 1961, Ukrainian Catholics were subordinated to Maurice Cardinal Feltin, archbishop of Paris, as the Ordinary of all Catholics of the Eastern Rite. In 1961, however, the Holy See established a separate exarchate for Ukrainian Catholics in France. Bishop Volodymyr Malanchuk became its first exarch. Today, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in France has 16 parishes and 16 priests; the Rev. Michael Vasylyk is vicar general and the Rev. Michael Levenets is chancellor. The Catholic faithful number over 20,000.

### Social and Political Life

As far back as the middle 1920's there were a number of Ukrainian organizations, each serving a certain group of Ukrainian immigrants. First among them was the Ukrainian Association (Hromada) in France (1924–40), an all-embracing national organization. It had a number of branches throughout France. Among its leaders were General Nicholas Kapustiansky, Ivan Stasiv, Michael Antonenko, and Peter Vasyliv.

Beginning in 1920, France and particularly Paris were among the most important centers of Ukrainian political refugee life [Vol. I, p. 868]. There were two distinct groups here: the political émigrés mainly from eastern Ukraine and the labor-immigrants from western Ukraine, each maintaining its own organization. Thanks to the efforts of the Ukrainian nationalists in France, a higher degree of national consciousness was attained among the labor-immigrants, which, in turn, led to the establishment of closer rapport with the political refugees from eastern Ukraine.

FIGURE 700. DELEGATES TO THE THIRD CONGRESS OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL UNITY (held in Paris in 1952)

On the initiative of former soldiers of the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic, the first congress of Ukrainian émigrés was held in 1925, at which a general council of the Association of Ukrainian Émigré Organizations in France was established. It embraced for the most part Ukrainian immigrants from eastern Ukraine. The council was in opposition to the Hromada, and later to the Ukrainian National Union (see below). Its leaders included Nicholas Shumytsky, Ilarion Kosenko, and Nicholas Kovalsky. In 1927, some members of the above group established the Association of Former Soldiers of the Army of the UNR in France, with branches in all centers of Ukrainian immigrants hailing from eastern Ukraine. Its more prominent leaders were General Alexander Udovychenko, N. Kovalsky, and P. Vasyliv. This group recognized the government of the Ukrainian National Republic (in exile); its organ, *Tryzub* (Trident), published from 1925–40, became a semiofficial organ of the government of the UNR. The group also published a series of books in French, as well as periodicals including *Prométhée* (1926–38) and *La Revue de Prométhée* (1938–40),

under the editorship of Alexander Shulhyn, and the bulletin *Ofinor.* The same organization also established the Simon Petliura Library (1929), which in 1940 had a total of 20,000 volumes. It still exists today.

In 1932 the Ukrainian National Union (UNS) (Union Nationale Ukrainienne en France) was established in Paris. It embraced mostly Ukrainian worker-immigrants and those Ukrainian army veterans who had abandoned the UNR group. The Union had 13 branches in 1932, 50 in 1936, and 78 in 1939. Past leaders include: General N. Kapustiansky, Nicholas Stsiborsky, Volodymyr Martynets, Alexander Boikiv, I. Stasiv, Lev Kyselytsia, Myroslav Nebeliuk, Theodore Tsvikula, and Liubomyr Husar, principally active members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. Since 1933 it has been publishing the weekly, *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* (*La Parole Ukrainienne* – The Ukrainian Word). Former editors were A. Boikiv and V. Martynets; editor since 1948 is Oleh Zhdanovych-Shtul. In 1938 the first Ukrainian printing company was established in Paris, which has published a great number of books and brochures.

In 1927 yet another group, headed by General Nicholas Shapoval, seceded from the Hromada and established a new Ukrainian organization, also known as the Hromada (with branches in the provinces), which espoused socialist ideas. In 1927–37 the group published *Visnyk Ukraïns'koï Hromady u Frantsiï* (Herald of the Ukrainian *Hromada* in France), and 1939–40 *Ukraïns'ka Volia* (Ukrainian Freedom). After World War II this group was considerably weakened by a lack of active members.

Apart from these four organizations which espoused the ideals of Ukrainian independence, there was also the pro-Soviet Union of Ukrainian Citizens in France (SUHUF; Union des Citoyens Ukrainiennes en France), established in 1925. In 1926–9 the group published *Ukraïns'ki Visti* (Ukrainian News); it had 16 branches and some 800 members. Among the leading members of the SUHUF were: Elias Borhchak, Alexander Sevriuk, and Artem Halip. This group, however, gradually dispersed as a result of the Bolshevik terror in the Ukrainian SSR and the growing influence of the Ukrainian nationalists in France.

During World War II the only Ukrainian organization allowed by the German occupation was the Ukrainian Trust Authority (Ukraïns'ka Ustanova Doviria, 1942–4) which coordinated social relief and cultural affairs of both immigrants and refugees; it was headed by I. Stasiv.

The postwar years saw the appearance of new Ukrainian organizations in France. Established in 1946 was the Union of Ukrainian Workers in France (OURF; Union des Travailleurs Ukrainiens en France), a social-syndicalist organization which published the weekly

FIGURE 701. RECTORY OF THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN PARIS

*Ukraïnets' u Frantsiï* (The Ukrainian in France) in 1945–60, and which eventually came under the sway of the Foreign Branch of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. Among its leaders were: Ivan Popovych, Nicholas Fryz, and Osyp Melnykovych. The Union of Ukrainians in France (OUF; Union des

Ukrainiens en France), formed in 1949, was closely connected with the OURF until a break in 1965. The OUF has 15 branches, 300 members, and over 250 sympathizers; its leaders are Volodymyr Nesterchuk, O. Melnykovych, and Volodymyr Kosyk. Since 1962 the group has published the monthly review *L'Est Européen* (The European East).

In 1949, some former members of the UNS established the Ukrainian National Unity (Ukraïns'ka Natsional'na Yednist', Aliance Nationale Ukrainienne en France), which coordinates the activities of its 16 branches, embracing 300 members and 450 sympathizers. Among its leaders are Yaroslav Musiianovych, Volodymyr Lazovinsky, O. Zhdanovych-Shtul, Basil Mulyk, and George Kovalenko. The group puts out *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* and a series of publications in conjunction with the Nationalist Publishing Company.

After World War II, the Ukrainian Social Service (Entr'aide Ukrainienne en France) organization was established, which cooperates with the Association of Former Soldiers of the Army of the UNR, and has 12 branches. Its head is Simon Sozontiv. In the late 1940's, the Service was active in publishing both *Hromada* (Community, 1948) in Ukrainian and *L'Ukraine Libre* (Free Ukraine, 1953–4). The principal organization of Ukrainians from eastern Ukraine is the reactivated Association of Former Soldiers of the Army of the UNR, with such leaders as General Udovychenko, N. Kovalsky, Paul Verzhbytsky, and P. Vasyliv.

The Ukrainian Christian Movement, founded in 1956, has ten branches (leaders: Volodymyr Yaniv and O. Melnykovych). Ukrainian intellectual life in Paris is concentrated in the Ukrainian Academic Society, founded in 1946, which was headed for many years by Alexander Shulhyn (currently Aristide Wyrsta is president, and Arkady Zhukovsky, secretary).

Ukrainians are active in the International Free Academy (Académie Internationale Libre des Sciences et des Lettres), founded in 1951 on the initiative of A. Shulhyn, and in the Ukrainian Association for a European Federation (Union Ukrainienne pour la Fédération Européenne), led by Y. Musiianovych.

The Ukrainian Central Social Committee was established in 1948 for the purpose of coordinating all social organizations. It is headed by S. Sozontiv. The group's activities are limited to the organizing of national observances and representation before the French public.

### Educational and Cultural Life

Ukrainian schools in France are not organized on a solid and durable basis. Periodic instruction is given on Thursdays (French public schools are not open on Thursdays). Youth activities are coordinated by the Organization of Ukrainian Youth in France (OUMUF) and the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), both under the influence of the two Ukrainian nationalist organizations. OUMUF and SUM conduct courses in Ukrainian studies; similar courses are given also by some Ukrainian Catholic parishes (the Revs. Zenon Narozhniak and Paul Kohut).

In 1924 the Ukrainian Student Association was established in Paris; numerically small, it has shown sporadic activity. Help for needy students is provided by the Commission of Assistance to Ukrainian Students (KODUS), with headquarters in Sarcelles (president, Alexander Kulchytsky; secretary, Theodore Voloshyn).

**Press and Publications.** In the 1920's and 1930's a total of eight Ukrainian periodicals were published in Paris, of which *Tryzub* (Trident) and *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* survived longest, and three periodicals in French. Since 1945, ten periodicals have been published in the Ukrainian language. Today the only Ukrainian-language newspaper is the weekly *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* (in 1951–60

there was another Ukrainian-language weekly, *Ukraïnets'-Chas* [The Ukrainian-Time]).

French-language reviews published by Ukrainians are: *Bulletin Franco-Ukrainien* (French-Ukrainian Bulletin), *L'Est Européen*, and *Echos d'Ukraine* (Echoes of Ukraine). Mention also should be made of the publications of the Nationalist Publishing Company, the Shevchenko Scientific Society, and in the 1940's those of S. Sozontiv and E. Borshchak.

**Scholarship.** The most noted scholars prior to World War II were Alexander Shulhyn and Elias Borshchak. Ukrainian scholarly activity in France was considerably enhanced with the transfer of the Shevchenko Scientific Society from Germany to Sarcelles in 1951. The latter constitutes the main center of Ukrainian scholarship in western Europe. In Sarcelles (located near Paris) the Historico-Philosophical Section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, which also conducts lively publishing activity. The Library of NTSh contains 13,000 volumes; it is the richest library in the free world as far as Ukrainian studies are concerned. Under the sponsorship and guidance of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, a multi-volume Ukrainian Encyclopedia is being published, edited by Professor Volodymyr Kubijovyč.

Another center of Ukrainian scholarship is the chair of Ukrainian language at the State School of Living Oriental Languages in Paris, headed since 1966 by Marie Scherrer (teaching of the Ukrainian language was started in 1939). There were two reviews dealing with Ukrainian history, ethnography, and economy, *Soborna Ukraïna* (United Ukraine, 1946–7) and *Ukraïna* (1949–53), both edited by the late Elias Borshchak.

### Arts and Folklore

In Paris and in other major centers of Ukrainian settlement there are ensembles of Ukrainian dance and song and a folklore theater. A great number of Ukrainian painters and sculptors studied in Paris: Maria Bashkirtseva, Michael Parashchuk, Michael Boichuk, Alexander Archipenko, Sonia Levytska, Alexander Hryshchenko, Nicholas Hlushchenko, Peter Omelchenko, Michael Nechytailo-Andriienko, Nicholas Krychevsky, Basil Khmeliuk, Sviatoslav Hordynsky, Ivanna Vynnykiv, Zoia Zarytska, Liuboslav Hutsaliuk, George Kulchytsky, Andrew Solohub, Themistocles Vyrsta, and others.

Among Ukrainian composers who lived in Paris were Ivan Vovk, Volodymyr Hrudyn, George Ponomarenko, and Theodore Yakymenko; instrumentalists: Aristide Vyrsta, and opera singers, Eugenia Zarytska and Myroslav Skala-Starytsky.

*A. Zhukovsky*

## IN GREAT BRITAIN

### History of Resettlement

Only a handful of Ukrainians were to be found in Great Britain prior to 1945. These included members of former diplomatic legations and missions from the time of Ukrainian independence, a small group of political émigrés, and a group of Ukrainian-Canadian students in London. Stranded in Manchester in 1911 was a group of Ukrainian immigrant workers from Galicia (approximately 500) who could not raise the fare for passage to America. By 1914 after most of them had left, the 150 still remaining organized their own Ukrainian Club.

Very active in the 1930's was the Ukrainian Information Bureau, founded by the late Capt. Jacob Makohin, an American of Ukrainian descent, and directed by Volodymyr Kysilevsky. Ukrainian political refugees belonging to the group of former Hetman Paul Skoropadsky published *The Investigator*, an English-language information bulletin under the editorship of Volodymyr Korostovets.

After the fall of France in 1940, a group of Ukrainian soldiers who had

served with Polish units in France arrived in England. Active during World War II was the representation of the Ukrainian National Republic under the chairmanship of Volodymyr Solovii, and there also existed the Association of Ukrainian Canadian Soldiers.

Arriving from Italy in 1946–7 were Ukrainian soldiers from the Second Polish Army Corps under the command of Gen. W. Anders (about 6,000 men) as well as Ukrainian POWs from the *Halychyna* Division (about 8,500), brought in from Italy by the British government. In 1947–8 over 20,000 Ukrainian displaced persons came from the British zones of Germany and Austria, recruited for work by special commissions; they maintained their DP status. The former soldiers from the Polish army were given the same rights, socially and economically, as those possessed by British citizens. Soldiers of the *Halychyna* Division were detained in special camps until the end of 1948 and were employed in agriculture. After fulfilling a three-year work term assigned by the government, the displaced persons and POWs became free and equal residents with respect to civil rights, salaries, and social security. They also became eligible for British citizenship; however, only a small number availed themselves of this right.

**Number, Demographic Characteristics, and Distribution of Ukrainians**

In the early 1950's, there was a total of 35,000 Ukrainians in Great Britain, most of whom lived in the so-called workers' hostels. Because of the preponderance of males—former soldiers and workers recruited in Germany—they constituted a powerful labor force. (Ukrainian women made up a mere 10 per cent of the entire Ukrainian population.) The percentage of single men was highly disproportionate, and the number of children extremely low. The scarcity of marriageable Ukrainian women in Great Britain contributed a great deal to the Ukrainian emigration to the United States and Canada. Those remaining in Great Britain married women of other nationalities: German, Italian, Irish, Welsh, and Baltic. Marriages with Englishwomen were infrequent, owing to the differences in personality, way of life, and cultural background.

The exodus to North America depleted the number of Ukrainians in Great Britain (25,000 in 1955). As of 1967, there were approximately 30,000 Ukrainians in Great Britain, an increase that was the result of normal birthrate in spite of limited immigration.

Today, adult men still outnumber women, and at least 40 per cent of the men are unmarried. Over two-thirds of the Ukrainians hail from Galicia. Three-quarters belong to the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and the other quarter to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Among adults, some 5 per cent have a high school education, 1 per cent higher education.

With regard to geographic distribution, 99 per cent of Ukrainians live in England, the remainder in Scotland (principally Edinburgh), and in Wales. Over three-fourths are to be found in the large industrial centers of central England. The largest concentration, however, is in Lancashire, with large Ukrainian communities in Manchester, Rochdale, Oldham, Bolton, Bury, and Ashton. The second largest concentration is in the industrial area of Yorkshire, with communities in Bradford, Halifax, Huddersfield, and Leeds. Central England's Ukrainian centers are Nottingham, Leicester, Coventry, Mansfield, Wolverhampton, Derby, and others. Over 2,000 Ukrainians live in southern England (London and vicinity). London houses all Ukrainian organizations and institutions in Great Britain.

**Religious Life**

The great majority belong to the Ukrainian Catholic Church (18,500 registered faithful). The flock of the Ukrai-

nian Autocephalous Orthodox Church numbers some 6,500. As of 1950, the Ukrainian Catholic Church constituted a General Vicariate, which was headed by the Rev. Alexander Malynovsky. In 1957 the Ukrainian Catholics received a separate exarchate, whose first Exarch was William Cardinal Godfrey, archbishop of Westminster. Since December 1962, the exarchate has been headed by Bishop Augustine E. Hornyak, with residence in London. In 1967 the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Great Britain comprised 14 parishes, 11 churches, and 16 priests.

FIGURE 702. FAITHFUL OF THE UKRAINIAN AUTOCEPHALOUS ORTHODOX CHURCH GREET METROPOLITAN POLYCARP IN BRADFORD (1950)

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Great Britain is under a special general administration, headed by the Rev. Presbyter Serhii Molchanivsky, also with residence in London; it has 12 priests and 2 deacons. There also exists an independent Ukrainian Orthodox parish.

**Community Life**

Ukrainian community life in Great Britain developed at a rapid pace thanks to the high national consciousness of the Ukrainian immigrants. Their first institution was the Ukrainian Central Relief Bureau of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee which was active in 1944–7 (its first head was Capt. Bohdan Panchuk, succeeded by A. Yaremovych). In 1945–6, the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Soiuz Ukraïntsiv u Britanii [SUB]) was established. For a few years it was the only Ukrainian central organization in Great Britain. But in 1949 internal divisiveness crept in when SUB fell under the influence of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, led by Stephen Bandera, and the Hetmanite group, headed by Daniel Skoropadsky (d. 1957), son of former Hetman Paul Skoropadsky. The partisans of the Ukrainian National Republic, which has its representation in London, established a second organization, the Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain (Obiednannia Ukraïntsiv u Velykobrytanii) in 1949. The ensuing political strife had an adverse effect on the social fabric of the Ukrainian community, alienating many members from the organizational life and breeding apathy and indifference. The limited number of intelligentsia also hampers Ukrainian community life. Still, Ukrainian life in Great Britain is generally better organized than in other countries of Ukrainian settlement. Great Britain (followed by Australia) has the highest percentage of membership in Ukrainian organizations and the greatest number of children attending Ukrainian schools. Almost every Ukrainian community in Great Britain has an organization, a national home, and a church.

SUB remains the strongest organization, headed by Robert Lisovsky; in 1949 it had about 20,000 members, in 1955 about 15,000, and in 1969 17,761 active members organized in 70 branches and 7 centers. SUB conducts extensive social and charitable work (a nursing home for invalids in Chiddingfold, Surrey) and pursues educational and cultural activities. It has 2 buildings of its own in London and 47 throughout the country, and publishes a weekly, *Ukraïns'ka Dumka* (Ukrainian Thought).

The Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain is much weaker than SUB. Its 2,000-strong membership in 1949 fell in 1967 to 600 active members, organized in 13 branches. It is headed by Viacheslav Kochanivsky. A compact group is the

Association of former Ukrainian Soldiers in Great Britain; it has 55 branches and 1,760 members. There are also smaller veterans organizations.

Among other Ukrainian organizations, mention should be made of DOBRUS, Ukrainian Women's Association (a section of SUB which has a countrywide network of 31 branches), and the Association of Ukrainian Teachers-Educators, also a section of SUB. The largest youth organizations are the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) which has 48 branches and 2,360 members, and *Plast* (Clubs of Educational Camps for Youth –KVOM), which has 246 members. Both these organizations maintain summer camps for youth. Other youth organizations are: Union of Democratic Youth, the Ukrainian Students Association, and the *Obnova* Ukrainian Catholic Students Association.

FIGURE 703. UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL IN LONDON

Ukrainians in Great Britain support and maintain representations of the various Ukrainian political parties functioning abroad which have a marked influence on the existing social institutions.

**Educational and Cultural Life**

From their arrival in Great Britain, Ukrainians sought to provide supplementary education for their children. There are no daily Ukrainian schools in Great Britain. There are, however, supplementary schools and kindergartens, which children attend once or twice a week (usually on Saturday or Sunday) and where they are taught religion and the Ukrainian language, history, geography, as well as songs and dances. There are some 50 schools of this type, with 43 maintained by SUB. At the end of 1966, the enrollment in SUB schools was 2,329. Including kindergartens, the enrollment was 2,473 (with 189 teachers). While the course of study in these schools ranges up to 10 years, there is no current prospect of organizing a higher institution of learning. Supervising the education in these schools is the Association of Ukrainian Teachers-Educators. There are also Ukrainian schools in Ukrainian Orthodox parishes and others maintained and directed by the Federation of Ukrainians in Great Britain. By and large, children of mixed marriages do not attend Ukrainian schools. There are over 3,000 children enrolled in Ukrainian schools in Great Britain.

Also important in the education of youth are the summer courses and camps conducted by the KVOM and SUM organizations. Over 600 boys and girls attend English secondary schools and over 20 are enrolled in various English universities. All children, of course, attend English grammar schools.

Adult education and extensive cultural activity is conducted by various social organizations.

Among choral societies most outstanding is the *Homin* (Echo) group (formerly *Burlaka*), under the direction of Y. Babuniak. This choir and the dancing ensemble *Orlyk* (P. Dnistrovyk, director) received first prizes on several occasions in Wales, Scotland, France, and Italy at international folklore festivals. Choirs, orchestras, drama groups, dance en-

sembles, and athletic teams are to be found in almost every Ukrainian community. The representative Ukrainian dance ensemble in Great Britain is the SUM ensemble *Krylati* (The Winged Ones).

The press and other Ukrainian publications in Great Britain are not as well developed as in France and Germany; therefore, the Ukrainian press from the continent is widely read by Ukrainians in

FIGURE 704. AMATEUR DRAMA GROUP ORGANIZED BY THE BARRY CHAPTER OF THE ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIANS IN GREAT BRITAIN (shown here after staging I. Tobilevych's *Serbyn*)

Great Britain. The only Ukrainian-language weekly is *Ukraïns'ka Dumka* (Ukrainian Thought), an organ of SUB which has appeared since 1947 (in 1945–7 it was named *Nash Klych* (Our Call). There are also monthly reviews *Vyzvol'nyi Shliakh* (The Pathway of Liberation), which is the organ of the OUN (since 1948), *Yuni Druzi* (Young Friends), published for children by SUB since 1945, the English-language *The Ukrainian Review*, also published by SUB (since 1954), the veterans' *Surmach* (The Bugler), *Nasha Tserkva* (Our Church), organ of Ukrainian Catholics, and *Vidomosti Tsentral'noho Upravlinnia UAPTs* (News of the Central Administration of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church). All these publications appear in London. Some ten other Ukrainian magazines are now defunct. Of the publishing houses, most important is the Ukrainian Publishing Company (Ukraïns'ka Vydavnycha Spilka).

**Economic Life**

In the early period of their settlement, a sizable number of Ukrainians worked in agriculture; today only a small number either work on farms or own farms themselves. Primarily because they lack adequate professional training, only a small number of Ukrainians have succeeded in securing high salaried employment. Nearly 80 per cent of Ukrainians are employed as manual and unskilled workers in almost every branch of the national economy. The rest are white-collar employees in various commercial and industrial enterprises, with a small percentage owning their own shops and businesses.

Owing to their industriousness, the general living standard of Ukrainians is equal to or higher than that of the average English worker. The majority own their own homes, some with large real estate holdings. In their communities Ukrainians enjoy a good reputation: they are noted for being conscientious, hardworking, and frugal, and are lauded for their patriotism and love of freedom. Today more Ukrainians are acquiring professional training and qualifications (engineers, technicians, architects, planners) and are contributing more to the general development of the country.

*M. Dobrianskyj*

## IN BELGIUM

Prior to World War I, a small number of Ukrainians resided in Belgium (workers and students) and organized the Ruthenian Non-Partisan Circle (Circle Neutre Ruthene, Ukraïns'ka Bezstoronnia Hromada) in Liège. In 1919–23, first in The Hague and subsequently in Brussels, the Diplomatic Mission of the Ukrainian National Republic functioned, headed by Andrew Yakovliv.

In the period between the two world wars, over 300 Ukrainians lived in Belgium—political émigrés, workers, and students (Louvain, Liège, Brussels, and

Ghent); especially strong and active in the 1930's was the Ukrainian student group organized at the Catholic University of Louvain. The most active organization was the Association of Ukrainian Veterans, 1934–40, reactivated in 1948. Through the activities of the Ukrainian political émigrés, notably of Dmytro Andriievsky, and the students, the Belgian people learned a good deal about Ukraine and her national and religious aspirations.

During World War II the majority of Ukrainians left Belgium. A new influx of Ukrainians into Belgium began in 1945, when some 2,000 Ukrainian women entered the country from Germany where they had been brought from Ukraine for forced labor. Many of them married Belgians. Several hundred Ukrainians, fleeing advancing Soviet troops in Germany, also sought refuge in Belgium. Because of the permanent threat of forcible repatriation to the Soviet Union, and also for the purpose of legal protection and relief, the Ukrainian Relief Committee (UDK) was established in 1945, functioning in Brussels under the chairmanship of Nicholas Hrab. In 1947 the number of Ukrainians in Belgium increased to 10,000 as a result of the influx of Ukrainians from displaced persons camps in Germany on two-year work contracts. After expiration of their contracts in 1949, some returned to Germany, others emigrated to the United States and Canada, leaving some 5,000 Ukrainians in 1955, including nearly 1,500 Ukrainian women married to Belgian men.

Distribution of Ukrainians in Belgium according to age shows that 71 per cent were in the 19 to 60 age bracket (one per cent were over 60, and 28 per cent under 19). Shortage of women had an adverse effect on the development of Ukrainian community life in Belgium: for every 100 men between 19 and 60 years of age, there were merely 39 Ukrainian women; for every 100 single Ukrainian men, only two single women. Continuing emigration of Ukrainians has reduced the number remaining at the present time to 3,000. The majority are employed in mines, where the work is extremely hard but well-paid. In 1948–9 in Belgium the Ukrainian intelligentsia comprised some 200 persons of whom 50 had university degrees (at present there are 40 with university and 30 with high school education).

Most Ukrainians are concentrated in central Belgium (provinces of Hainaut, Limburg, and Liège, and in the cities of Brussels and Louvain).

Action by the Ukrainian settlers in Belgium was at a peak in the 1947–9 period, when the Ukrainian Relief Committee had 26 branches and 3 field posts, and when prewar organizations such as the Association of Ukrainian Veterans and the National Union of Ukrainian Students (NASUS) had renewed their activity in Liège and Louvain, respectively. With the help of the Apostolic See and Archbishop Ivan Buchko, a Ukrainian student house was established in Louvain. A number of organizations appeared on the scene: the Ukrainian Scientific-Educational Society (UNOT); Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), which had 21 branches; Union of Ukrainians of Belgium (SUB), which had a few branches, headquartered first (1949) in Brussels, later in Liège; Union of Ukrainian Workers of Beligum (SURB); a branch of the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee; the

FIGURE 705. "FRANKOPOLE," A RESORT AND CAMP SITE ACQUIRED BY UKRAINIANS IN BELGIUM IN 1966

Central Economic Union of Ukrainian Emigrants in Belgium; the Dnipro Cooperative, and others. Active today are the Union of Ukrainian Women and since 1955 the National Association of the Ukrainian Christian Movement. In 1948 the first congress of Ukrainians was held, at which a general council of Ukrainian social organizations in Belgium was established; this council still functions as the coordinating and representative body of Ukrainians in Belgium.

Since 1949 Ukrainian community life in Belgium has been gradually declining, because of the resettlement of Ukrainians in overseas countries. At present, the nucleus of Ukrainian life is the Ukrainian Relief Committee (15 branches) headed by Volodymyr Popovych.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Belgium since 1947 has been administered by a general vicariate for the Benelux countries; it is under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Ivan Buchko, apostolic visitator for Ukrainian Catholics in western Europe. Past vicars general of the Ukrainian Catholic Church were the Rev. Mauricius Van de Malle and Msgr Jacques Perridon; present vicar general is the Rev. Gregory Fukanchyk.

Religious care for Ukrainian Catholics is provided by three priests and five Redemptorists of the Eastern rite.

The spiritual needs of the Ukrainian Orthodox in Belgium are ministered to by the administration of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, headed in 1948–50 by Archbishop Michael Khoroshyi, and since then by the Rev. Ivan Bachynsky.

Ukrainian children attend the so-called Thursday supplementary schools where Ukrainian language, history, and literature are taught; these schools are supervised by the Ukrainian Scientific-Educational Society. Extensive cultural and educational activities are conducted by various branches of Ukrainian organizations.

Appearing in Brussels since 1945 is the Ukrainian-language monthly review *Visti* (News), published by the Ukrainian Relief Committee; there is also a Ukrainian Catholic religious review *Holos Khrysta Cholovikoliubtsia* (The Voice of Jesus, Lover of Mankind), published in Louvain. The Ukrainian Youth Association began printing its monthly magazine *Krylati* (The Winged Ones) in Brussels, in 1965.

*S. Bozhyk*

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# 8. IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

## IN POLAND

There were essential differences in the life of Ukrainians in Poland prior to 1914, in the interwar period, and in the years following World War II.

Up to 1945, nearly 80,000 Ukrainians lived in the Ukrainian-Polish frontier zone beyond the Sian River and in the Kholm and Podlachia regions—areas in which Ukrainians once constituted a majority [Vol. I, pp. 19, 244]. There were between 15,000 and 20,000 Ukrainians in Poland proper. For the most part they resided in larger cities, and were seasonal workers, domestics, civil service employees, military personnel, and students.

### Before 1914

In that part of Polish territory which belonged to Austria-Hungary, Cracow contained the largest Ukrainian concentration. There was a Ukrainian Catholic parish dating back to the end of the eighteenth century, and in 1808 the Ukrainians acquired their own church, that of St. Norbert. More Ukrainians settled in Cracow in the second half of the nineteenth century; in the 1910's they numbered about 1,500 in all.

In the part of Poland which belonged to the Russian empire, Warsaw was the principal center of Ukrainian settlement. As the former capital of the Polish republic, Warsaw attracted the Ukrainian nobility, Kozaks, and merchants. A Ukrainian monastery of the Basilian Order was founded in the city in 1721. At the beginning of the twentieth century there were between 5,000 and 10,000 Ukrainians in Warsaw, most of whom were either Russian officials of Ukrainian descent or students at the University of Warsaw, and other institutions of higher learning. Small groups of Ukrainians were to be found in other cities, mostly provincial centers, including Lublin and Siedlce, cities which served as administrative centers for the regions of Kholm and Podlachia (over 50,000 Ukrainians lived in the ten Polish *guberniyas*, excluding the Kholm *guberniya*, until 1915).

### 1920–40

The number of Ukrainians within the boundaries of the new Polish state increased considerably after 1920, attaining a peak at the beginning of the 1920's. In the wake of the defeat of the armies of the Ukrainian National Republic, some 30,000 Ukrainian refugees, mostly military personnel, found themselves in Poland. They lived until 1923 in camps for internees in such places as Wadowice, Tuchola, Piotrków, Aleksander Kujawski, Szczepiórno, Kalisz, Łańcut, and Strzałkowo. Subsequently, a majority of them emigrated to Czechoslovakia and France, the remainder dispersing throughout the whole of Poland. Until 1939 Poland was one of the principal centers of the Ukrainian political emigration and Warsaw an important Ukrainian cultural center. Their principal organization was the Ukrainian Central Committee [Vol. I, p. 866.]

In addition to political émigrés from the central and eastern Ukrainian lands, several thousand Ukrainians from western Ukrainian territories (then part of Poland) had come to the major cities of Poland proper in search of employment in industry, domestic work, and the like. They included many of the intelligentsia, especially civil service employees and teachers, whom the Polish government had transferred to positions in Poland proper, thereby weakening the Ukrainian potential on the Ukrainian ethnic territory. Finally, in the major cities of Poland from 1,000 to 2,000 students were enrolled in various universities.

At the end of the 1930's there were 20,000 Ukrainians in Poland proper. Warsaw and Cracow remained the largest centers (about 3,000 and 2,000 respectively), followed by smaller colonies in Poznań, Łódź, Katowice, Lublin, Kalisz, Kielce, Radom, and Rzeszów.

**During World War II**

Especially in 1940–1, the number of Ukrainians was augmented considerably in the German occupied part of Poland (*General Gouvernement*) by an influx of Ukrainians from western Ukraine, occupied by the Bolsheviks. Cracow, which became a hub of Ukrainian life [Vol. I, p. 875a], alone had over 2,000 Ukrainians. There were about 5,000 in Warsaw and 1,000 in Lublin. After the occupation of Western Ukraine by the Germans, Ukrainians returned to their native land.

**After 1944**

The majority of Ukrainians residing in Poland proper managed to emigrate to western Europe before Soviet troops occupied the country in 1944–5. Considerable changes took place as a result of the Polish-Soviet border treaty (the treaty of August 16, 1945) [Vol. I, p. 896a] and the treaty between Poland and the Ukrainian SSR of September 9, 1944 on the exchange of population. According to the latter, nearly 500,000 Ukrainians from the Ukrainian ethnic territory now ceded to the Polish People's Republic were uprooted and resettled in Ukraine. Yet, a number of them remained on Ukrainian territory within the Polish borders in northwestern Galicia, the western areas of the Sian River, the Kholm and Podlachia regions, and the largest portion in the Lemkian region, dominated by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army which concentrated its activity in these areas [Vol. I, p. 901]. In April and May, 1947, however, the government of Poland, with the approval of Moscow, forcibly transferred the Ukrainians from their ethnographic territory to areas of eastern Germany now under Polish rule, the western *województwos* (provinces) of Poland and former east Prussia (the so-called Recovered Territories, see below). As a result, very few Ukrainians remained on their native land, and of these most were in Podlachia.

FIGURE 706. THE HOUSE OF A UKRAINIAN FARMER IN THE POLISH VILLAGE STANY, NOWA SÓL COUNTY, WHERE HE HAD BEEN RESETTLED AFTER WORLD WAR II

For some time, life was extremely harsh for these uprooted Ukrainians. They were dispersed in small groups among the Polish population, almost exclusively in the villages. They were not given any of the formerly German owned farms which were supposed to have compensated them for the loss of their own homesteads confiscated by the Polish state. Most of them lived in communal hostels, since the farms and buildings not destroyed by the war had been taken over by the Poles. Some of them eked out an existence on state-owned farms.

The dispersion of the Ukrainian settlers, the often hostile attitude exhibited not only by the Polish Communist government but by the great majority of the Polish people as well, and the refusal to even recognize the existence of the Ukrainian national minority in Poland—all combined to prevent the Ukrainians from establishing an efficacious organization which could present their de-

mands to the Polish government. Only with the advent of liberalization did the Ukrainians receive some rights, including permission in 1956 to establish their own organization—the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society in Poland. Also, a number of Ukrainians finally were given former German homesteads (although much worse than those allotted to Poles). At present, a considerable number of Ukrainians do not as yet possess their own homesteads and are employed on state-owned farms.

FIGURE 707. WEDDING OF UKRAINIAN FARMERS FROM THE LEMKIAN REGION, RESETTLED IN THE POLISH VILLAGE PIOTROWICE, SZPROTAWA COUNTY

The efforts of Ukrainians to secure the Polish government's permission to return to their native land were unsuccessful. In 1957–8 some 2,000 to 3,000 Ukrainians, wholly on their own initiative and at a great risk, succeeded in returning to their Lemkian land. This prohibition is strictly enforced by the Polish authorities despite the fact that great stretches of the Lemkian land remain unpopulated (for example, in the county of Lisko there are only 27 inhabitants per one sq. km., as against 70 in 1939; in the county of Ustryky Dolishni, only 14 persons). In later years only a few individuals succeeded in returning home.

## Number and Distribution of Ukrainians in Poland

Statistical data are not available because the Polish population censuses do not take into consideration nationality and language. The number of Ukrainians has been estimated at 200,000–300,000 (a more reasonable figure, however, appears to be 215,000). As mentioned above, Ukrainians live on the territory which belonged to Germany and in the two eastern *województwos* (provinces) of Lublin and Rzeszów, which include areas settled by Ukrainians up to 1946–7. Despite their dispersion, in some villages Ukrainians constitute a majority.

The greatest number, some 50,000 to 60,000 persons (6 per cent of the total population), live in former east Prussia, now the province of Olsztyn, mainly in the northern counties of Bartoszyce, Braniewo, Kętrzyn, Morąg, Pąslęk, and Węgorzewo. Others live in the former east Prussian county of Gołdąp, which belongs to the province of Białystok, and in the counties of Elbąg, Sztum, and Nowy Dwór, which belong to the province of Gdańsk. A substantial number of Ukrainians live in northwestern Poland in the province of Koszalin, in the counties of Człuchów, Bytów, Wałcz, Sławno, and Białogard, and some 15,000 are to be found in the province of Szczecin, mainly in the counties of Gryfino, Łobez, Stargard, Nowogard, Goleniów, Choszczno, Pyrzyce, Myśliborz, and in the city of Szczecin itself. In western Poland, some 20,000 Ukrainians live for the most part in the province of Wrocław (in the county of Legnica, and further in Wołów, Lubin, and others), in smaller numbers in Zielona Góra and fewest in the Opole province.

The Lemkian land, the areas beyond the Sian River, and northwestern Galicia are now part of the province of Rzeszów. In the Lemkian region there still live some 10,000 Ukrainians, in some villages constituting a majority, as in Bortne in the county of Gorlice, Komancza in the county of Sianik (Sanok), and the villages of Mokre and Morochiw in the county of Lisko (Lesko). Beyond the Sian River many Ukrainians are to be found in the county of Peremyshl (Przemyśl), in the city itself, as well as in a

cluster of villages (Pozdych), in the village of Kalnykiv (county of Radymno), and Yaroslav (Jarosław), where Ukrainians are the sole inhabitants.

In the province of Lublin most of the Ukrainians are to be found in Podlachia (unlike those in the Kholm area, they were not resettled), mainly in the counties of Biała Podlaska and Włodawa, where they constitute a majority in several villages. A considerable number of Ukrainians remained in the northern part of Podlachia, notably in the counties of Siemiatycze, Bielsk Podlaski, and Hajnówka (the northeastern part of the Białystok province). In central Poland, there are few Ukrainians; they live exclusively in the cities.

Over 90 per cent of Ukrainians live in villages, the remainder in the cities. The largest urban concentrations are in Peremyshl, Szczecin, Warsaw, Wrocław, Cracow, Legnica, and Lublin.

FIGURE 708. SCHOOL OF RESETTLED UKRAINIANS IN BIAŁY BOR, MIASTKO COUNTY (1958)

As noted above, the Ukrainian national minority was not recognized officially until 1955. Some improvements were made as a result of liberalization. In 1956, Ukrainians were allowed to establish the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society (Ukraïns'ke Suspil'no-Kul'turne Tovarystvo, USKT), which received the right to conduct cultural and educational work among Ukrainians, to represent them, and, in accordance with its bylaws, to help the authorities solve problems pertaining to the Ukrainian minority in Poland. The USKT has its headquarters in Warsaw. In 1958 it had under its control 8 provincial and 74 county administrations, which directed 270 branches organized in the cities and villages; its membership was 7,000. Eight years later (1966) the society had only 5 provincial and 19 county administrations, and 22 branches, while membership declined to 4,600. A semi-official institution, the society is directly subordinated to the Polish Communist party (the United Polish Workers' party) and the government. There have been three presidents of the USKT from its inception: Stephen Makukh, Gregory Boiarsky, and Constantine Lashchuk; among the more prominent members of its executive board are Olha Vasylkiv (general secretary), Adrian Hoshovsky, Ivan Lypka, and Nicholas Syvitsky. A list of the more prominent leaders who became known for their work in the field includes Olena Valkovska, S. Zabrovarnyi, Stephen Kontrolevych, Michael Kovalsky, M. Kozak, A. Nimyi, Yaroslav Stekh, Volodymyr Paitash, I. Tychyna, and M. Trukhan.

Conditions of Ukrainian community life, especially on their native land in the eastern provinces, are extremely difficult. Even today the Ukrainian minority is a target of discrimination. Most of the difficulties stem from local government and party officials and the inimical attitude of the chauvinistic Polish populace. Anti-Ukrainian sentiments are heightened by propaganda in all mass media. Ukrainians in the cities live under especially intense Polish pressure; very often they have to conceal their

FIGURE 709. STUDENTS ATTENDING A COURSE AT THE PEOPLE'S UNIVERSITY IN RADAWNICA

nationality from government and party officials at the places of their employment. Discrimination against Ukrainians is rampant in all sectors of life: church, school, publishing. Moreover, the lack of their own territorial base and their dispersion throughout the country has had a detrimental effect on the organizational effort of the Ukrainians and their resistance to denationalization.

**Church Life**

Ukrainians in Poland are about equally divided between the Orthodox and Catholic faiths. The church continues to play an important role in the preservation of their national consciousness, although the religious needs of Ukrainians, especially the Ukrainian Catholics, are not adequately satisfied.

In the first years of resettlement, Ukrainians of both faiths had neither churches nor priests of their own, inasmuch as many of the latter had been either arrested or separated from their flocks. In those years peasants would gather voluntarily for common prayers. Later on Ukrainian priests began offering services in secret. It should be noted that frequently the only Ukrainian books among the resettled Ukrainians were missals and prayer books, which not only sustained religious values but were the only source of Ukrainian language.

It was only in 1956 that permission was given to the resettled Ukrainians to organize the first Orthodox parishes (those who were not resettled, particularly in Podlachia, did have religious services). Ukrainian Catholic priests were not allowed to establish parishes, since after the official liquidation of the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine, it was not recognized in Poland. Polish Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński gave permission to Greek Catholic priests to celebrate only liturgies in Latin rite churches, if the local pastors agreed. Hence Ukrainian Catholic priests are not independent pastors, but they serve as assistant pastors in the Latin rite churches. Liturgies in the Greek Catholic rite are now celebrated in many cities with Ukrainian populations, in some cases even in Ukrainian churches (in Warsaw, for example, at the Basilian Monastery, and in a few other Ukrainian centers in Galicia). Because the Ukrainian Catholic Church is denied a legal status, the faithful in some places in the native land have switched to Orthodoxy, preferring their churches to go under Orthodox jurisdiction rather than become the property of the Latin rite church. In places depopulated of Ukrainians (as in the Kholm and Podlachia regions) former Greek Catholic churches have been either transformed into Latin rite churches or destroyed (some are being preserved as monuments). Some church objects (icons) have been carted away to museums, others simply destroyed. The centuries-old Ukrainian icons, especially those from the Lemkian region, are exhibited by the Poles as "Polish icons."

The Orthodox Church in present-day Poland (see p. 205) is autocephalous. It has a considerable number of parishes and priests, but is permeated with Russian and Polish influence. In many parishes, however, where the faithful are predominantly Ukrainians, sermons are given in pure Ukrainian, with the pronunciation of the Old Slavonic language also Ukrainian. In 1970, the Sobor of the Orthodox Church in Poland elected Bishop Basil Doroshkevych as its Metropolitan.

**Cultural Life**

It was only with the establishment of the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society that instruction of the Ukrainian language was introduced in Polish elementary schools. The basis for the organization of Ukrainian schools was provided by a decree of the Ministry of Education of September 4, 1956. Despite the efforts of Ukrainians, however, the status of the Ukrainian schools is wholly unsatisfactory. In all Poland in 1958–9, there were only seven Ukrainian elementary schools

and 152 centers for instruction of the Ukrainian language. In 1969 there were only three Ukrainian elementary schools with 221 pupils and 97 centers for instruction of the Ukrainian language, with a total of 1,900 pupils, or 4 per cent of all Ukrainian children. The centers are established in Polish schools if parents register at least seven children to

FIGURE 710. STUDENTS AND TEACHERS OF THE UKRAINIAN LYCEUM IN PEREMYSHL (1958)

study the Ukrainian language. But local Polish authorities create all kinds of difficulties to prevent the establishment of Ukrainian elementary schools, so that the number of centers is actually decreasing (in the province of Zielona Góra, of 13 original centers none are active today).

In addition to elementary schools, there are two Ukrainian lyceums: a pedagogical lyceum in Bartoszyce and a general one in Legnica, with a total enrollment of 301 students. Also, there are departments of Ukrainian philology at the teachers' college in Olsztyn (a department of Ukrainian philology at the teachers' college in Szczecin and Ukrainian parellel classes in the Polish lyceum of Peremyshl have been closed). All told barely 5 per cent of Ukrainian children are taught Ukrainian. Even though the pedagogic lyceum in Bartoszyce graduated over 200 teachers, they do not teach in Ukrainian schools, for such schools are scarce and the authorities as a rule do not assign them to schools (centers) where children may take Ukrainian as an elective subject. Ironically, school boards justify their negative attitude toward the centers by alleging a lack of teachers who command the Ukrainian language.

A number of Ukrainian students attend Polish institutions of higher learning, with the majority pursuing studies in applied sciences in Wrocław, Gdańsk, Warsaw, Cracow, Szczecin, and Lublin. In 1953 the University of Warsaw established a chair of Ukrainian philology (headed by P. Zwoliński), which has issued over 30 publications. The chair has also published a *Polish-Ukrainian dictionary* (80,000 words) and the *Ukraïns'ka Literatura: Khrestomatiia* (Ukrainian Literature: A Reader).

Adult education is poorly developed. Clubs of the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society exist almost exclusively in the larger cities (about 30 in all). The larger clubs possess libraries and reading rooms. The most active club was that in Szczecin, which up to 1967 had organized 500 lectures, including some given by writers and scholars from Soviet Ukraine. Along with the clubs and circles of the USKT there exist about 60 artistic groups (choral and dance ensembles, drama groups, and the like). In Peremyshl there is a theater for amateur performances. In 1959 the USKT established a section for the study of Ukrainian culture in the Lemkian land.

**Press and Publications**

The only newspaper in the Ukrainian language is the weekly *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word), which began appearing in 1956 and is published by the executive board of the USKT. It also puts out supplements: a biweekly, *Svitanok* (Dawn), which in 1956–8 appeared under the name of *Dytiache Slovo* (Children's Word); *Lemkivs'ka Storinka* (The Lemkian Page), known up to 1963 as *Lemkivs'ke Slovo* (The Lemkian Word) which contained folklore material written in the Lemkian vernacular; and a literary, art, and popular science monthly,

*Nasha Kul'tura* (Our Culture), which began appearing in 1958, carrying general informative articles on Ukrainian cultural life in Soviet Ukraine, Poland and, at times, on that of Ukrainians abroad. Since 1961 the USKT has published annual calendar-almanacs.

In the cities of Olsztyn, Koszalin, Lublin, and Rzeszów local radio stations broadcast weekly Ukrainian-language programs (15–20 minutes duration).

Book production, with the exceptions of the above-mentioned calendar-almanacs and Ukrainian primers for the elementary schools, is almost non-existent. The situation is remedied in part by books supplied from Soviet Ukraine.

**Literature, Arts, Scholarship**

Among the poets are: Ostap Lapsky, Irene Reit, Eugene Samokhvalenko, Jacob Hudemchuk, and Jacob Dudra (who writes in the Lemkian dialect); prose writers include Anthony Verba, Ivan Sheliuk, Daniel Halytsky, and Gregory Boichuk. The USKT published an anthology of these and other writers' works in 1964, entitled *Homin* (Echo).

FIGURE 711. "AUTUMN," A WOOD-CARVING BY GREGORY PECUCH (ZAKOPANE, 1966)

There are several Ukrainian painters in Poland. Prominent are George Nowosielski (who is of Ukrainian descent), Z. Podushko, painter and graphic artist, Lev Gets, professor at the Academy of Arts in Cracow, sculptor and engraver Viacheslav Vaskivsky, sculptor Gregory Pecuch. The famed folk artist Nykyfor Dvorniak from Krynytsia (N. Mateiko) died in 1968. Among younger artists are: Andrew Mentukh, Omelian Mazuryk, Tyrs Venhrovych, Myroslav Smerek, and others. Mention also should be made of the brothers Michael and Nicholas Mazuryk, Lemkian folk artists, who have continued their work after resettlement. Among art critics are Yaroslav Konstantynovych and Volodymyr Hodys.

Among composers and choral directors are O. Kurochko, Yaroslav Poliansky, L. Hladylovych, and Y. Popovska.

Centers of Ukrainian studies include those of Ukrainian language and literature at the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, the above-mentioned chair of Ukrainian philology at the University of Cracow and chairs of Slavic studies at other universities. Among Polish researchers on the Ukrainian language are P. Zwolinski, Zygmunt Sztiber (researcher of the Lemkian dialect), Władyslaw Kuraszkiewicz, and Stefan Hrabiec; among literary critics is Marian Jakubiec. The above-mentioned scholarly institutions have developed a number of Ukrainian Slavists, such as Ostap Lapsky, Michael Balii, Tetiana Holynska-Baran, K. Oleshchuk, M. Lesiv, and others.

*V. Kubijovyč*

## IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

**History of Ukrainian Settlement**

There were few Ukrainians living in Czech and Slovak ethnic territories prior to 1918. They came mostly as students (Prague, Bratislava), as employees

in the Austrian and Hungarian administration, or as seasonal workers. Some of them settled permanently in Czechoslovakia and were assimilated.

After the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1919 and subsequent incorporation of Carpatho-Ukraine in the new state, many Ukrainian émigrés found political refuge here from the Soviet and Polish occupied territories of Ukraine. Over 15,000 Ukrainians lived in Czechoslovakia, enjoying relative freedom and showing marked activity in the political, cultural, and professional spheres, notably in Prague, Poděbrady, Liberec, Brno, Bratislava [Vol. I, pp. 865–6]. The émigrés exerted considerable influence on the life of the Ukrainian ethnic minority in the eastern corner of Czechoslovakia. This minority numbered more than 600,000 persons in 1930 (for political, economic, and cultural development of this group, see Vol. I, pp. 850–6).

After the disintegration of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1939, Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia fell into one of three categories under three different regimes: (*a*) the old émigrés in the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia, and Carpatho-Ukrainian refugees from Hungarian occupied Carpatho-Ukraine; (*b*) the Ukrainian minority under Hungary [Vol. I, p. 891]; (*c*) the Ukrainian ethnic minority of the Priashiv area in the Slovak state. The last group, approximately 150,000 persons, continued to be under strong pressure from the Slovak nationalistic policies which tolerated only a limited cultural life (one secondary school, 136 elementary schools, a few church related institutions, a few periodicals).

After 1945 the importance of Ukrainians in the restored Czechoslovak State greatly diminished. The major portion of the ethnically Ukrainian territory (Carpatho-Ukraine–12,800 sq. km. with a population of 850,000), was ceded to the USSR by the Soviet-Czechoslovak agreement of June 29, 1945.

**Statistics and Distribution**

At the present time, the Ukrainian minority in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic consists of the following groups:

(*a*) The remnants of political émigrés (the bulk of them left Czech and Slovak territories before the arrival of the Soviet armies in 1945) numbering more than 5,000; they became naturalized citizens of Czechoslovakia and reside primarily in large urban centers.

FIGURE 712. VILLAGE OF HORODYSKO IN THE PRIASHIV AREA

(*b*) The Carpatho-Ukrainians serving in the Czech armed forces who refused repatriation to the USSR in 1945–6 and settled primarily in the areas from which Sudeten-Germans were expelled; this category includes no more than 10,000 persons.

(*c*) Ukrainian settlers from eastern Slovakia to the Sudeten-Land and other urban centers in Czechoslovakia in the late 1940's and 1950's, numbering between 10,000 and 15,000. According to the 1961 census, there are 22,000 Ukrainians (in all three categories) dispersed throughout Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia. The actual number should be somewhat higher. Since there is no organized community life, many Ukrainians report their nationality as Czech or Slovak. The major centers are Prague (4,000–5,000), Karlové Vary, Plzeň, Litoměřice, Ustí nad Labem, České Budějovice, Brno, Moravská Ostrava, Bratislava, Košice.

(*d*) The bulk of the Ukrainian min-

ority in Czechoslovakia living on their ethnic territory in eastern Slovakia, known as the Priashivshchyna (Prešov-Priashiv area), numbers between 100,000 and 120,000 persons.

Thus the entire Ukrainian minority in Czechoslovakia can be estimated at between 120,000 and 150,000, not counting the Slovakianized Ukrainians (prior to World War II), the so-called *sotaky* in the districts of Michajlovce (Mykhailivtsi) and Trebišov. In the late 1940's, several thousand Czechoslovak Ukrainians went to Soviet Ukraine and took over the settlements of the repatriated Czechs in Volhynia (voluntary population exchange).

However, the official census does not reflect the real number of Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia. The excessively low figures (118,000 in 1930, 68,000 in 1950, 76,500 in 1959, and 55,000 in 1961) can be explained by intensive Slovakianization by attachment of the local people to the old ethnic designation (*Rusyn* or "Ruthenian"), and the rejection of the forcibly imposed Orthodox Church on many Ukrainians of Greek-Catholic faith. Consequently, many Ukrainians in Slovakia were induced (for opportunistic reasons) to identify themselves as Slovaks or even Hungarians.

According to a survey conducted in 1967 by the Slovak National Council in 206 of the 250 villages inhabited by Ukrainians, it was found that there are approximately 98,000 Ukrainians; thus the total in all of eastern Slovakia can be estimated at close to 123,000. Together with the Ukrainians living in other Czechoslovak areas, their number can be put at approximately 150,000, i.e., one per cent of the total population of Czechoslovakia.

Ukrainians in eastern Slovakia live almost exclusively in rural communities. The few who reside in urban centers (some intelligentsia, students, and industrial workers) tend to assimilate rather quickly in the absence of a stable Ukrainian population base.

**Political, Cultural, and Economic Development**

After World War II, the Ukrainian People's Council (Rada) of the Priashiv area (established in March 1945, with Basil Karaman as first president) sought the inclusion of the region in the Ukrainian SSR as was the case with Carpatho-Ukraine. The Soviet authorities, however, rejected the idea. The Council assumed the role of spokesman for the Ukrainian minority in Czechoslovakia and as such delegated five representatives each to the Provisional National Assembly in Prague and to the autonomous Slovak National Council in Bratislava. Until 1948, the Council and the parliamentary representations consisted of both Communist and non-Communist members (leading figures were Peter Zhydovsky, Ivan Rohal-Ilkiv, Peter Babei, and Basil Kapishovsky). The Ukrainian leaders failed to secure constitutionally guaranteed cultural rights and an autonomous status for their minority. The only significant achievement was the establishment of the Ukrainian Board of Education within the autonomous Slovak government. The Council was dissolved in 1951 after it had been purged of the "bourgeois" elements. The Prague regime created a Ukrainian cultural organization as part of the National Front (similar organizations were created for other national minorities, i.e., Hungarians, Poles, and Germans). Thus the Cultural Association of Ukrainian Workingmen (KSUT),

FIGURE 713. HOME OF THE REV. A. DUKHNOVYCH IN PRIASHIV

with individual membership organized in local and district branches, came into being. In 1967, KSUT had 7,500 members in 268 primary organizations. It is the only state-recognized and supported Ukrainian association which coordinates the cultural life of Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia (serving as presidents of the KSUT Central Committee were Ivan Humennyk, Victor Kopchak, Michael Rychalka, B. Kapishovsky and Michael Myndosh). KSUT, however, was not allowed to organize any branches outside eastern Slovakia. Only in 1969 did the Czech provincial government grant such a permission to the Ukrainians in Bohemia and Moravia. There is a student club in Bratislava (over 100 members), and cultural-artistic groups in Prague and Karlové Vary.

Ukrainians are also active in such Slovak or Czechoslovak organizations as the Communist party, the trade unions, youth organizations, etc. Up to 1949, they had their own youth association (Soiuz Molodi Karpat [Association of the Youth of Carpathians]), and a student club in Prague. In 1969 The Council of Ukrainian Youth, Ukrainian Teachers Club and the Ukrainian Women's Council in Czechoslovakia were formed.

An attempt in 1968 to revive the Ukrainian National Council as the political representation of the Ukrainian minority was defeated by the ruling party.

Ukrainian candidates are elected to national and Slovak autonomous legislatures, as well as local government councils from the National Front slate. Prior to 1948, some Ukrainians were also active in the non-Communist Czechoslovak and Slovak parties. In the 1960 election, three Ukrainians were elected to the Prague assembly and two to the Slovak Council. Basil Biliak, a high-ranking member of the Czechoslovak CP (member of the Presidium) was elected first secretary of the Communist party of Slovakia in 1968. In 1969, two Ukrainians are deputies to the federal Chamber of People, three to the Chamber of Nations, and six to the Slovak National Council. A planning and advisory body to the Slovak government, the Council of Nationalities has five Ukrainian members.

Administratively, the Ukrainian ethnic territory belonged to the Priashiv region (*krai*) until 1960, and afterwards to the eastern Slovak region with the administrative seat in Košice. The following are now the administrative districts (*okruhas*) with Ukrainian population: Humenne, Svydnyk, Bardějov (Bardiïv), Stara Liubovnia. Scattered Ukrainian villages or mixed communities can also be found in the Michajlovce, Vranov, Priashiv, and Poprad districts. Ukrainian is allowed as the second administrative language in the Ukrainian-populated communities. Official publications appear in Slovak and Ukrainian, and in some places public signs can be found in two languages.

The Ukrainian-populated districts in Slovakia constitute an economically underdeveloped area of the Republic. Moreover, Ukrainian villages suffered great damage during the hostilities in 1944–5. Agriculture, despite poor land and little mechanization, is the principal occupation; 90 per cent of rural households were collectivized in 1959–61. The area has not been industrialized, there are only a few enterprises engaged in light industry, the lumber industry, machine repair shops, and construction materials production (Snina, Svydnyk, Barděiov, Bystre). The area lacks natural resources, except for lignite and some coal. Many unemployed find work in Slovak cities. The per capita income of the Ukrainian population is much lower than the Czechoslovak average.

The population of the Priashiv area is the last segment to adopt modern Ukrainian national consciousness. Because of strong pro-Russian cultural orientation and the conservative mentality of the local intelligentsia, the Russian culture and language prevailed here until the 1950's in the press, education, and literature. In 1951, the Communist party

FIGURE 714. MUSEUM OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE IN SVYDNYK

of Czechoslovakia and its territorial organization in Slovakia decreed the Ukrainization of schools, press, and the cultural-artistic life of the Ukrainian minority. During the last fifteen years, the younger generation of intelligentsia have embraced the new trend, familiarizing themselves with the Ukrainian literary language and cultural heritage.

**Religious Life**

Until recently, Ukrainians of eastern Slovakia were Byzantine-rite Catholics. They had one bishopric in Priashiv (since 1818) which, after World War II, numbered 240 parishes, 340 priests, and between 250,000 and 300,000 faithful, both Ukrainians and Slovaks (Slovakianized Ukrainians). In 1945–50 the jurisdiction of the Priashiv diocese extended over the entire territory of Czechoslovakia. After 1926 the diocese was headed by Bishop Paul Goidych (1888–1960); an auxiliary bishop, Basil Hopko (*b.* 1906) was assigned to him in 1946. Functioning under the auspices of the Church until 1950 were a theological seminary and several educational and charitable societies, as well as the diocesan press.

The Orthodox Church made some inroads in the period between the two world wars. In 1946, there were 8,000–10,000 Orthodox faithful in 18 parishes, with their religious center in the monastery of Ladimirova. About the same number of Orthodox faithful lived in Czechoslovak lands (mostly Czechs, but also some Russian and Ukrainian émigrés). In 1946, the Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia became an exarchate of the Moscow Patriarchate, with Archbishop Yelevferii (Veniamin Vorontsov) sent from Russia to Prague to administer it. Two more dioceses, one in Moravia (Olomouc-Brno), the other in Priashiv were created in 1949. Alexis Diekhtiarev, a white Russian émigré, was consecrated to the see of Priashiv.

On April 28, 1950, a congress was called in Priashiv under the guise of a "peace assembly." Attended by a score of terrorized Greek Catholic priests and a large number of laymen, the congress, which called itself a "Church Synod" nullified the 1646 act of Union with Rome. This decision was subsequently approved by the Czechoslovak government and Moscow's patriarch. Shortly afterwards, many parishes and churches were forcibly converted to Orthodoxy. Some of the priests were arrested, as were two bishops who refused to cooperate. In January 1951, Bishop Goidych was tried for "anti-state activity" and sentenced to life imprisonment; he died in the Leopoldov prison. Bishop Hopko also spent many years in prison without any public trial; he is now free and resides in Rome.

The former Greek Catholic diocese was subdivided into two Orthodox eparchies, i.e., Priashiv (mostly Ukrainian faithful) and Michajlovce (Slovaks). Alexander Mykhalych, a former Greek Catholic priest, was consecrated as bishop of the latter diocese. At the same time, autocephaly was granted by Moscow to the Czechoslovak Orthodox Church, consisting now of four dioceses and headed by a Metropolitan. A theological college was established in Priashiv to train Orthodox clergy, and an Orthodox press began to appear in Czech, Slovak, and Russian/Ukrainian (*Svet Pravoslaviia*, later called *Holos Pravoslaviia* [Voice of Orthodoxy]). Since 1958, the Ukrainian-language monthly *Zapovit Sv. Kyryla i Mefodiia* (Testament of SS. Cyril and Methodius) has

been published, along with a Slovak-language counterpart. The Orthodox Church also publishes a yearly almanac, *Tserkovnyi Kalendar* (Church Almanac). Old Slavonic is the liturgical language in Ukrainian and Slovak parishes (the Czechoslovak language is used in Czech parishes). The Orthodox hierarchy has introduced the Gregorian calendar over the objections of the conservative faithful.

In 1956, Dorofei, a native of Carpatho-Ukraine, became bishop of Priashiv, succeeded in 1965 by Bishop Nicholas Kotsvar, a native of the Priashiv area. The Michajlovce diocese was taken over in 1956 by a former Catholic priest, Bishop Methodius (Michael Mylyi), who was succeeded by another Carpatho-Ukrainian, Bishop Cyril (Muzychka).

The Metropolitan see was occupied by Yelevferii until 1951, when another Russian, Metropolitan Ioan, was elected to head the Czechoslovak autocephalous Church. He resigned in 1964 and retired to the USSR. Archbishop Dorofei of Priashiv (*b*. 1913) was installed as Metropolitan of Prague and the head of the Church.

Many of the Greek Catholic priests and faithful, who were strongly opposed to Orthodoxy, chose to join Roman Catholicism, especially in denominationally mixed communities. In doing so, however, they became alienated from their nationality.

In the process of liberalization in Czechoslovakia in 1968 the Catholic Church of Eastern Rite was also rehabilitated. The released Bishop Hopko returned to Priashiv, but the administration of the diocese was entrusted to a Slovak priest, Rev. Jan Hirka. Two-thirds of Orthodox parishes and priests returned to the Catholic Church of Eastern rite. Restoration of the Greek Catholic Church has been connected with conflicts and religious clashes over the church property in many parishes. There is strong Slovak pressure on the former distinctly Ukrainian (Ruthenian) church designed to deprive it of Ukrainian national character.

**Education and Schools**

In the realm of education Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia attained substantial success. The Ukrainian Board of Education was organized in 1945, initially in Košice, then in Bratislava, headed by Ivan Pieshchak. In 1945–6, Ukrainians had 277 elementary schools, 14 junior high schools, 3 full high-schools (gymnasiums), 1 teacher's college, and 1 commercial college, with a total enrollment of over 30,000 pupils. In 1959, the Ukrainian minority had 189 incomplete primary schools, 42 eight-grade schools, 5 eleven-grade schools (high-schools), and 4 secondary professional schools. In the 1940's, the language of instruction was Russian and/or Ukrainian. Textbooks were published locally or imported from the USSR.

The Ukrainization of the 1950's led to major changes in education. Both students and teachers had to undergo substantial language training; many of them attended the universities and institutes in the Ukrainian SSR. A series of Ukrainian texts was published in Bratislava.

In 1962, however, the Party decided to make the language of instruction a matter of parental choice. For a variety of reasons, not the least of them being the pressure of the Slovak milieu, many Ukrainian parents opted for the Slovak language of instruction, thus leaving only a few Ukrainian language schools in operation. The rest became Slovak-language schools for Ukrainian children (with Ukrainian as an optional subject).

In 1966, there were 54 incomplete Ukrainian-language schools of general education (five-year course of instruction), 14 elementary nine-grade schools, and seven secondary schools of general education (Snina, Humenne, Medzilaborce (Mezhylabortsi), Stara Liubovnia, Svydnyk, Bardiïv, and Priashiv), but only in Priashiv (3 schools) are all subjects taught in Ukrainian. Ukrainian

classes are available in the following secondary professional schools: husbandry school, teachers' training school, nursing school (all in Priashiv), agricultural and technical schools in Medzilaborce. In all professional schools, there were 15 Ukrainian classes and 500 students (1967); subjects in social sciences and humanities are being taught in Ukrainian, technical and scientific subjects in Slovak. Only 5,800 students attended in 1967 all the Ukrainian schools in eastern Slovakia.

The Higher Pedagogical Institute in Priashiv has a Ukrainian division. A chair of Ukrainian linguistics and literature has been established at the Priashiv Šafarik University. The Priashiv Research Institute of Education also has a Ukrainian section. For a long time, Ukrainian teachers lacked a professional journal. In 1964, however, *Shkola i Zhyttia* (School and Life), a valuable supplement to the monthly magazine *Druzhno Vpered* (Jointly Onward) was started. The Slovak Pedagogical Publishing House in Bratislava is in charge of issuing Ukrainian textbooks; in all, over 250 texts were published in the years 1945–67.

## Adult Education

In 1945–8, local branches of the Duchnovych Society (Russophile orientation) were reactivated. At the present time, it is the Cultural Association of Ukrainian Workingmen which organizes and coordinates all cultural-educational activity of the Ukrainian minority. It sponsors local amateur artistic groups (choirs, orchestras, dance and drama groups), lectures, educational courses, reading rooms, etc. There are over 50 cultural centers and more than 40 reading rooms in Ukrainian villages. In 1967, 92 folklore and musical ensembles and 60 amateur drama groups were active. Among the best in their respective categories are the *Karpatianyn* (The Carpathian) dance ensemble and the *Vesna* (Spring) youth choir, both in

FIGURE 715. COVER PAGE OF THE LITERARY QUARTERLY *Duklia* (in Priashiv)

Priashiv. The folklore and musical groups take part in the annual festivals at Svydnyk which attracted annually in recent years (since 1955) over 20,000 spectators and over 2,000 performers.

**Professional performing groups.** There are two Ukrainian performing ensembles which have gained popular acclaim even beyond the borders of the Priashiv region: the Ukrainian National Theater, founded in 1946, and the *Duklia* Ukrainian Dance and Song Ensemble, established in 1953.

The National Theater has staged over 150 plays in its 23-year history, ranging from the Ukrainian classical and contemporary repertoire to translations from Russian, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, and west European languages. In the early 1950's, Russian-language performances predominated, but since then the theater has been performing only in Ukrainian. Among its outstanding stage directors and actors are: Ivan Hryts-Duda (founder), George Sherehii (producer

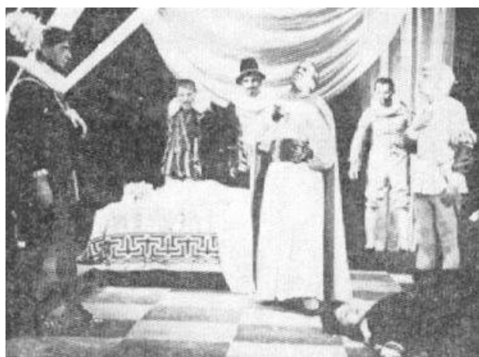

FIGURE 716. FINAL SCENE FROM SHAKESPEARE'S *Othello* STAGED IN 1964 BY THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE'S THEATER IN PRIASHIV

of musicals), George Zahrebelsky (*d.* 1957), Joseph Korba, Basil Ivancho, Nicholas and Tamara Symko, Margaret Lopata, Joseph Felbaba, Barbara Popovych, and Ivan Pykhanych (present director). The theater conducts the *Yunist'* (Youth) drama-studio. In addition to performances in Priashiv, where it has its own building, the Ukrainian National Theater tours other towns and villages of the region. In 1967, it performed successfully in the Ukrainian SSR; it has also toured Yugoslavia.

The *Duklia* ensemble (artistic director—George Tsymbora (Cimbora), choreographer—Melaniia Nemtsova) cultivates mostly regional music, songs, and dances. In 1966–9, it toured west European countries, Canada, Yugoslavia, and the Ukrainian SSR.

**Literary and Artistic Life**

The Priashiv region has a long tradition of literary activity. Most of the leading literary and intellectual figures of Carpatho-Ukraine were born here (Arsenii Kotska, Alexander Duchnovych, Alexander Pavlovych, George Popradov-Strypsky, Adolf Dobriansky, and many others). However, most of them wrote either in Russian or in a Slavonic-Ukrainian mixture; Russian cultural influences prevailed until the mid-twentieth century. Only since the mid-1950's have local literati turned towards the Ukrainian language. They soon produced a rich and interesting Czechoslovak branch of Ukrainian literature represented by all literary *genres.*

At the present time, more than thirty Ukrainian literati with some standing are active in Czechoslovakia. The leading members of the group are: Ivan Matsynsky (poetry, prose), Eva Biss-Kapishovska (short stories and plays), George Borolych (short stories), Victor Hainyi (poetry, plays), Basil Zozuliak (novels and plays), Fedir Ivancho (satire), Fedir Lazoryk (1913–69, poetry, prose), Ivan Prokipchak (prose), Serhii Makara (poetry), Michael Shmaida (novels, scenarios). A younger generation, in their twenties and thirties, has also become active in literature, representing for the most part modernistic trends: Elias Halaida, Joseph Zbihlei, Joseph Shelepets, Stephen Hostyniak, Michael Drobniak, and Myroslav Nemet. Of the older Ukrainian writers, who were active in the interwar period, the following continue to write: leading Carpatho-Ukrainian writer in prewar Czechoslovakia, Basil Grendzha-Donsky (*b.* 1897); poet Andrew Karabelesh (1906–64), who wrote in Russian; novelist Natalena Koroleva (1888–1964), and the prolific writer and civic leader Irena Nevytska (1886–1966). The leading critics are Orest Zilynsky, George Bacha, Basil Khoma, and Andrew Cherveniak.

The bimonthly review *Duklia* promotes the literary and artistic activity of this group of Ukrainian writers and intellectuals, whose writings have substantial impact beyond the confines of the Priashiv region.

Some of the best choir conductors are also active as composers, chiefly in arranging folk songs. One of the leading local composers was Oleksa Sukhyi (1904–50). Others presently active are: George Kostiuk, George Tsymbora, and Stephen Ladyzhynsky. The outstanding composer-conductor, Oleksa Prychodko (*b.*

1887) lives in Prague and is still productive.

A number of talented Ukrainian painters and sculptors work in Czechoslovakia, primarily in Priashiv: Stephen Hapak, Eva Biss-Kapishovska, Andrew Dobosh, Deziderii Mylyi (in Košice), Orest Dubai (rector of the Slovak Arts Institute in Bratislava); among the younger ones are Andrew Hai, Joseph Tulyk, Ivan Shafranko, and rediscovered cartoonist Fedir Vitso.

**Publishing and Broadcasting**

In the 1940's it was the Ukrainian People's Council which was in charge of all publishing activity. However, apart from newspapers, only a few books appeared. In 1952–5, KSUT supervised all Ukrainian publishing in Czechoslovakia, and in 1956, the publication of books was entrusted to the Ukrainian branch of the Eastern Slovak Publishing House. Since 1960, it has been the Slovak Pedagogical Publishing House in Bratislava which issues Ukrainian books. In all, over 200 books, excluding school textbooks, have been published in Czechoslovakia since 1945. In 1960–5 alone, 68 literary works appeared in print, i.e., 12–15 books per year.

The following Ukrainian newspapers have appeared in Czechoslovakia since 1945: *Priashivshchyna*, a semiweekly (March 1945–August 1951), official organ of the Ukrainian People's Council, published in Russian and Ukrainian; *Demokratychnyi Holos* (Democratic Voice, 1945–7), organ of the Ukrainian section of the Slovak Democratic Party; *Kostior*, a popular literary monthly of pro-Russian orientation, published in 1946–7 in Prague; the newspaper *Karpatskaia Zvezda* (Carpathian Star, 1946–8), also published in Prague; *Dzvinochok-Kolokol'chyk* (Little Bell), a Ukrainian-Russian children's magazine.

In 1951, after the reorganization of the Ukrainian press, the Russian language was gradually eliminated. Ukrainian periodicals appearing at the present time in Czechoslovakia are: the weekly *Nove Zhyttia* (New Life, since September 1951), organ of the KSUT Central Committee; the popular monthly magazine *Druzhno Vpered* (since 1951; in 1956–8, a biweekly); *Duklia*, first as a literary quarterly (1953–65), since 1966 as a bimonthly. They are all published in Priashiv. The children's biweekly magazine *Pioners'ka Hazeta* (Pioneer Gazette, since 1958) is published in Košice; after 1968 it changed the title to *Veselka* (The Rainbow). KSUT publishes annually the popular almanac *Narodnyi Kalendar* (People's Almanac), and non-periodically, the *Repertuarnyi Zbirnyk* (Repertory Collection) for Ukrainian artistic groups. The Orthodox Church publishes since 1958 a monthly *Zapovit Sv. Kyryla i Mefodiia* (Testament of SS. Cyril and Methodius); and the Catholic Church of Eastern Rite started its monthly *Blahovistnyk* (The Messenger) in 1969. The Ukrainian journalists have organized in 1968 their own section of the Slovak Union of Journalists.

A Ukrainian radio program is broadcast daily for almost an hour from Priashiv (previously Košice); Andrew Rudlovchak has been in charge since its inception in 1943.

**Scholarship**

Research in regional aspects of history, philology, ethnography, folk arts, etc. is quite well advanced. Many Ukrainian scholars, attached to the Czechoslovak institutions of higher learning, are engaged in various areas of research concerning Czechoslovak-Ukrainian relations. Some of the leading Ukrainian scholars in Priashiv are: Heorhii Gerovsky (1886–1959), noted philologist and historian, Peter Bunhanych, Michael Rychalka, Olena Rudlovchak, Nicholas Mushynka; Nicholas Shtets, Elias Voloshchuk; their work is connected chiefly with the Ukrainian chair at Šafarik Uni-

versity. Valuable work is being conducted by the Museum of Ukrainian Culture (formerly Ethnographic Museum), founded in 1956 with temporary seats in Priashiv and Krasnyi Brid, now in Svydnyk—present director, Ivan Chabyniak). The Museum publishes *Naukovi Zbirnyky Muzeiu Ukrains'koï Kultury* (four volumes by 1969), edited by N. Mushynka. In the field of social sciences Ivan Baitsura and Paul Uram are active.

Other Ukrainian scholars work in Bratislava at the Slovak Academy of Sciences (Nicholas Nevrli, Michael Molnar, Omelian Stavrovsky, Theodore Hondor, Paul Hapak); among leading Slovak experts in Ukrainian studies are Ludovit Haraksym, and Rudo Vrtan. In Prague, several Ukrainians and Czechs have been engaged in research of Ukrainian history and literature, e.g., Ivan Pankevych (1887–1958), outstanding Slavicist and head of the Ukrainian chair at the Charles University; literary scholars Kornylo Zaklynsky (1889–1966) and Paul Murashko; the dean of Czech scholars in Ukrainian studies, František Hlavaček (*b.* 1876), as well as František Tichy (*b.* 1886), Julius Dolanský, Florian Zapletal, Vaclav Hostička; among prominent Ukrainian scholars of the younger generation are Orest Zilynsky and Zinaida Genyk-Berezovska. Both Czech and Slovak academies publish works in the field of Ukrainian studies; translations from Ukrainian literature also appear in print.

Ukrainian scholars in Czechoslovakia have organized several international symposia, attended by scholars from the Ukrainian SSR, Hungary, Poland, and East Germany.

In addition to the museum in Svydnyk, there is a Museum–*khata* in Topolia, the native village of A. Duchnovych. A number of statues have been erected in the Priashiv area in honor of local cultural-literary figures, the so-called Carpatho-Ukrainian *budyteli* of the nineteenth century.

*V. Markus*

## IN YUGOSLAVIA

Ukrainians in Yugoslavia number about 40,000. They can be divided into groups according to origin: Ukrainians in Bačka and Srem, who settled in the middle of the eighteenth century; Ukrainians in Bosnia and Slovenia, who came at the end of the nineteenth century. They all belong to the Greek Catholic denomination.

### Ukrainians in Bačka and Srem up to 1918

Ukrainians began to settle the fertile Bačka, situated between the Danube and the lower Tysa (Tisza), in 1746. After the defeat of the Turks and the occupation of Bačka by Austria (the Treaty of Pozharovo in 1718), the Austrian government brought in Serbs to the wastelands. When the Serbs, dissatisfied with the Austrian policies, moved out, the Vienna government replaced them with Hungarians, Germans, Croatians, and Ukrainians from the southwestern areas of Transcarpathia (Komitats of Borszod, Abaui, Zemplin, and Szariz). They were settled, as free farmers, on state lands for a payment of one-tenth of the land's value and various obligations of labor. The settlers were provided also with their own parishes, which were allowed to maintain schools, and were integrated into the Greek Catholic eparchy in Križevci in Croatia. This development saved the Ukrainian settlers from Magyarization and Serbianization. The language of the Ukrainians was a transitional Ukrainian-Polish-Slovak dialect (with a preponderance of Slovak elements), which in time added numerous Hungarian, German, and Serbian borrowings.

The first Ukrainian colonies in Bačka were founded in Rusky Krstur (in 1746, Greek Catholic parish since 1750), Kocura (1765, in which Ukrainians constituted a majority), and Novi Sad (1780). After the abolition of serfdom in 1848, new settlers and workers came to Bačka from Transcarpathia. Like the

settlers of the eighteenth century, the new ones also established a series of colonies in Bačka (Staryi Verbas in 1848, Diurbovo in 1870, Gospodintsi in 1870, Kula, and others) and in neighboring Srem, situated between the Danube

FIGURE 717. WOMEN RINSING HEMP IN THE VILLAGE POND (Rusky Krstur, 1955)

and the lower Sava (the oldest Ukrainian settlements—Shid in 1800, Petrovtsi in 1936, Berkasovo in 1850, and others. In time, the Ukrainians bought additional land and grew into a middleclass peasant group.

The social and cultural preponderance of Ukrainians in Bačka was great enough to assimilate linguistically the Lemkian settlers who had come to Srem before 1848 from the northern part of the Priashiv area (the Szariz county) and settled in Privina Glava and Sremska Mitrovitsa (which are Croatized today). The bulk of Ukrainian settlers were saved from denationalization by the church and the parish schools. Nonetheless, a series of smaller Ukrainian Bačka villages, dispersed in Srem and Slovenia, ultimately became assimilated.

The relatively small number of intelligentsia, included priests and, later, teachers, who prior to 1918 had come from Transcarpathia. Political Russophilism, closely connected with the problem of the literary language (*yazychiie*), also came from Transcarpathia through the medium of the press. In 1890–1939 close contacts existed with Galicia (theology students attended schools in Lviv). Volodymyr Hnatiuk collected ethnographic materials in Bačka and, in publishing them, drew the attention of the scholarly world to the problems of Ukrainians in Bačka. At the same time, the national-populist movement grew in scope and intensity. Gabriel Kostelnyk (1886–1948) initiated in 1904 a separate dialect of the Bačka Ukrainian literary language which eventually became the dominant language of the area.

**Ukrainians in Bosnia and Slovenia before 1918**

Ukrainian settlements in Bosnia were established in the 1890's and at the beginning of the 1900's by immigrants from Galicia, plus some from Transcarpathia. This immigration was due in part to the colonizing efforts of the Austro-Hungarian government after the occupation of Bosnia in 1878. Most Ukrainians at that time settled in northwestern Bosnia around the cities of Prnjavor, Derventa, Prijedor, Bosacka Hradiška, and Banja Luka; they were given, gratuitously, wooded land which had to be cleared and made arable. Smaller numbers were able to acquire better land in Bosnia as well as in neighboring Slovenia around the cities of Slovenski Brod and Novska in about 1900.

With the arrival of the first Ukrainian settlers in Bosnia, Greek Catholic church life was organized as well (the first priest to serve was the Rev. Andrew Segedi). In the 1900's came the first Ukrainian priests from Galicia, and new parishes were established. In 1907, the Rev. Joseph Zhuk was appointed general vicar for Ukrainians in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Sarajevo; in 1908 Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky founded a Studite monastery in Kamenica (the Studites were forced to leave Bosnia in 1922); the Rev. Mitrate Alexander Baziuk became apostolic administrator in 1914 in Banja Luka. A number of reading rooms, clubs, and courses in the Ukrainian language for children were organized during this period.

In 1914 there were about 10,000

Ukrainians in Bosnia, and about 5,000 in Slovenia; contact with those in Bačka was minimal.

**Ukrainians in Yugoslavia in 1918–41**

After the fall of Austria-Hungary both Ukrainian groups, in Bačka-Srem and in Bosnia-Slovenia, found themselves within the boundaries of Yugoslavia. With the closing of the Apostolic administration in Bosnia, all Greek Catholics in Yugoslavia were placed under the jurisdiction of the eparchy of Križevci; bishop of the eparchy at that time was Dionysius Niaradii (1920–40). But, as before, the life of both groups coursed separately.

FIGURE 718. BISHOP DIONYSIUS NIARADII AMONG UKRAINIANS IN SARAJEVO

On the initiative of the clergy in BAČKA in 1919, the Ruske Narodno-Prosvitne Druzhstvo (Ruthenian National Educational Society) was organized, with the Rev. Michael Mudryi as its first president; he was also the founder of its printing shop in Rusky Krstur, which subsequently became the headquarters of the society. Branches of the society were engaged in extensive cultural activity in the villages (drama and choral ensembles, reading rooms, courses of instruction, and the like). A prolific publishing output also developed: in 1921–40 the *Ruskyi kalendar* (The Ruthenian Calendar) appeared annually under the editorship of the Rev. Gregory Bindas; in 1922–41 the weekly *Ruski Novyny* (Ruthenian News) was published, initially under the editorship of D. Pavich, and later under that of the Rev. Michael Firak; in 1937–41 a children's monthly, *Nasha Zahradka* (Our Garden), appeared under the editorship of Michael Kovach; also published were various almanacs, literary works, primers for schools, and religious books.

All publications, written in the Bačka Ukrainian literary language, stressed the unity of Ukrainians in Yugoslavia with those in Ukraine. Playing a vital role in this process of national awakening of the Ukrainian population in Yugoslavia were students from Zagreb and members of the Soiuz Ruskykh Shkoliarov (Union of Ruthenian Students), a society of Ukrainian students of Bačka, founded in 1927. A Russophile trend was maintained by a group of Orthodox-oriented lay intelligentsia, organized in 1933 in Kocura under the name of Kul'turno-Natsionalny Soiuz Rusynov v Yuhoslavii (Cultural-National Union of Ruthenians in Yugoslavia). In 1934–41 the union published its own weekly newspaper, *Russkaia Zaria* (Ruthenian Star), under the editorship of Yovgen Kochish, as well as the annual calendar by the same name in 1935–40, which contained articles written in the local dialect, the *yazychiie*, and in the Russian language. After the German takeover of Yugoslavia, Bačka was occupied by the Hungarians, who banned all cultural and educational activity.

In BOSNIA and SLOVENIA cultural and educational life began to develop only in the 1930's. Through the efforts of priests and, later, of Ukrainian students from Zagreb, a series of Prosvita reading rooms, savings banks, and cooperatives were organized. In 1932–40 appeared the weekly *Ridne Slovo* (Native Word) in Pishkorevtsi under the editorship of the Rev. M. Firak, as well as yearly almanacs. There were no Ukrainian schools, and this fact, as well as the agitation for Orthodoxy conducted by local Russophile elements and the Serbian authorities, abetted the process of denationalization. After the occupation of Yugo-

slavia by the Germans in 1941, Bosnia was made part of the Croatian state.

The Ukrainian colony in ZAGREB played an important part in the life of Ukrainians in Yugoslavia. The Mission of the Western Ukrainian National Republic was active here in 1919. From 1922, the Prosvita Society developed a whole range of activities maintaining branches in Ukrainian settlements in Bosnia, Slovenia, Srem, and also in Belgrade, where a small Ukrainian colony also existed. There were such student organizations as the Students'ka Hromada (Students' Club) and the nationalist group student body, Dnipro. The newspaper *Dumka* (Thought) became the voice of the nationalist camp; it appeared in 1936–44 in Zagreb and Krstur under the editorship of Sylvester Solomon and the Rev. Nicholas Buchko. In 1941 *Dumka* became the organ of the Ukrainian Representation in Croatia under the leadership of Basil Voitanivsky; it was closely allied with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under Col. A. Melnyk. The partisans of the S. Bandera OUN thereupon established the Ukrainian Academic Society. During the war the Ukrainian Representation organized a Ukrainian legion to combat the Bolsheviks on the eastern front. But the Germans used the unit in the fighting against the Serbian "Chetniks" and Tito partisans in Bosnia. This fact was used later by Tito's regime and the Soviet authorities to justify the persecution of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and clergy, forcing the self-liquidation of Ukrainian centers in Belgrade and Zagreb.

FIGURE 719. UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE VILLAGE OF TSEROVLIANY

**After 1945**

The Ukrainian population in Bosnia declined in the aftermath of the war. Many inhabitants in the countryside escaped to Srem (Injia), Bačka (Bodjani, Kula, Novi Verbas), or emigrated either as "repatriates" to Poland or illegally through Trieste to Australia and North America.

The Catholic Church in general and the Greek Catholic Church in particular suffered persecution after the termination of the war. In 1942–6 the Greek Catholic Church had been headed by the Croat Bishop Yanko Shimrak, who died in prison. From 1950 to 1962 the eparchy of Križevci was administered by Bishop (later Archbishop) Gabriel Bukatko; presently it is headed by Joachim Segedi (both Bačka Ukrainians). The eparchy of Križevci today embraces all Greek Catholics and numbers a total of 52,000 faithful, including 38,000 Ukrainians (about 25,000 in Bačka alone), 10,000 Croats, 2,500 Macedonians, and a number of Rumanians and Hungarians. Of the 45 existing parishes, 28 are Ukrainian; of 59 priests, 41 are Ukrainian. There is a theological seminary in Zagreb.

Ukrainian life in Bačka and Srem was quite different. Some 1,500 Ukrainians of Bačka-Srem joined the resistance movement led by Tito; hence, after the establishment of the Communist regime in Yugoslavia, the new government supported Ukrainian cultural life. The direction of cultural activity was taken over by the Section of Cultural Work of the Ruthenians attached to the Union of

Cultural and Educational Societies of Voivodina, which was established in 1948 in Krstur. The Bačka Ukrainian dialect was introduced both in primary schools (nine in all, and in the gymnasium in Krstur); also, all school textbooks were written in the same dialect. The former press was replaced by new organs edited in accordance with the Communist spirit. A weekly, *Ruske Slovo* (The Ruthenian Word), started in 1945, a children's monthly, *Pionirska Zahradka* (Pioneer Garden), was founded in 1947, a literary quarterly, *Shvetlost* (The Light), was published in 1952–4 and resumed again in 1966. In 1965–6 the monthly *Literaturne Slovo* (Literary Word) began to appear as a literary and arts supplement to *Ruske Slovo*, which was partly written in the Ukrainian language. Since 1949, the radio station in Novi Sad includes broadcasts in the Bačka dialect and features Ukrainian music.

FIGURE 720. PROSVITA HOME IN RUSKY KRSTUR (1939)

By comparison, Ukrainian life in Bosnia and Slovenia shows less vitality. It was not until the 1950's that some cultural and educational societies were restored. Coordinating their activity are the official Ukrainian educational councils in Prnjavor and Banja Luka. Through their efforts Ukrainian radio broadcasts were introduced in Banja Luka and instruction in the Ukrainian language began in primary schools in Prnjavor and Lishnia.

Bačka Ukrainian literature was initiated at the beginning of the twentieth century by G. Kostelny, with his poem *Z moioho valala* (From My Village), which appeared in 1904. In the 1920's–30's Kostelnyk published his lyrical-philosophical poetry, short stories, and dramas in Bačka publications. His drama *Yeftaiova dzivka* (Yeftai's Girl) was published separately in 1924.

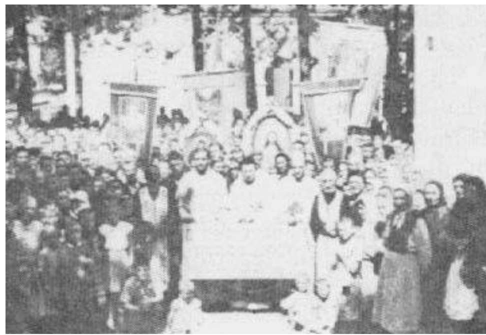

FIGURE 721. GREEK CATHOLIC PARISH IN PRNJAVOR OBSERVES A CHURCH HOLIDAY (1955)

Among the literary works of the 1920's–30's most notable are: *Pupche*, a collection of poetry by Yanko Feisa (1929), and the *Rus'ko-Ukraïns'kyi Al'manakh* (Ruthenian-Ukrainian Almanac (1936), containing poetry and short stories by Bačka Ukrainian authors. A series of Ukrainian plays, as well as several Russian and Serbian, were translated into the Bačka dialect by Peter Riznych. Also prominent in the field of drama in 1939–41 was George Augustine Sheregii.

After World War II, the literary works of the Bačka Ukrainians was permeated with socialist and war themes as well as memoirs. Among the poets of note are: Mytro Nadj (1896–1962), Maftei Vynai (*b.* 1898), and Y. Feisa (*b.* 1904), author of the collection *Zhelieny listochka* (Green Leaves) published in 1965. Others worthy of note are: Michael Kovach (*b.* 1909), author of a collection, *Moy shvet* (My World), published in 1964, and Michael Nadj (*b.* 1913). They, as well as a number of younger poets, are represented by selections in *Antologiia poezyï bachvansko-srymskykh*

*ruskykh pysateliov* (Anthology of Poetry of the Bačka-Srem Ruthenian Writers), published in 1963, and *Antologiia dzetsin'skei poezyi* (Anthology of Children's Poetry), published in 1964. In the field of prose, in addition to M. Kovach, active writers are Yovgen Kochish, Vlado Kostelnyk, and others whose works appear in the anthology, *Odhuk z rovniny* (Echo from the Plains), published in 1961. A few plays, written by some of the above-mentioned authors, are part of the drama repertory. Among the literary critics the most prominent are: Yanko Sabadosh, Diura Papharhai, Myroslav Stryber, and Diura Varga.

Well-known in the field of plastic arts are sculptor-academician and graphic artist Yovgen Kochish and painter and graphic artist Julian Kolesar, now in the U.S.A.

The grammar of the Bačka Ukrainian language (Ruthenian) has been given an elaborate treatment in *Gramatyka bachvansko-ruskei beshedy* (Grammar of the Bačka-Ruthenian Language), prepared by G. Kostelnyk in 1923, and the grammar, *Matserynski besheda* (The Mother Tongue), published by Nicholas Kochish in 1965.

The folklore of the Bačka Ukrainians has been explored by Volodymyr Hnatiuk in his work "Rus'ki oseli v Bachtsi, v poludnevii Uhorshchyni" (Ruthenian Settlements in Bačka, in Southern Hungary, published in *Zapysky*, Memoirs of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1898, No. 22, pp. 1–48), and "Etnohrafichni materiialy z Uhors'koï Rusy" (Ethnographic Materials from Hungarian Ruthenia), which appeared in the *Etnohrafichnyi zbirnyk* (Ethnographic Symposium, Vol. 9/1901, 25/1909, 29/1910, 30/1911). Folk songs and melodies have been collected in the publications of the Rev. Onufrii Tymko's *Nasha pysnia* (Our Song, 1–3, 1953–4) and Vinko Zhganets' *Pysni yugoslavianskykh rusynok* (Songs of the Yugoslav Ruthenian Women), published in 1964.

*O. Horbach*

## IN RUMANIA

Ukrainians in present-day Rumania live for the most part on their own ethnographic territories along the frontiers of Ukraine, with only a small percentage living in Rumania proper.

### Prior to 1918

Until 1918, Ukrainians lived in northern Dobrudja in the Danube estuary (in what was then Rumanian territority). They were descendants of the Zaporozhian Kozaks who had settled there after the destruction of the Zaporozhian Sich in 1775; it was then Turkish territory and constituted the so-called Zadunais'ka Sich [Vol. 1, p. 664]. In the first half of the nineteenth century the number of Ukrainians was increased by an influx of peasant-serfs, fleeing southwestern Ukraine, which was then part of the Russian empire. In 1878 Dobrudja became part of Rumania.

Ukrainian settlements in Dobrudja are connected directly with the Ukrainian ethnic territory in southern Bessarabia. Ukrainian inhabitants live alongside Russian *lypovany* (Old Believers) and descendants of the Don Cossacks, known as the *Nekrasovtsy*. The Danubian Ukrainians maintained their own traditions and did not succumb to the influences of denationalization. On the other hand, they did not manifest any marked cultural and national life or organizations. To this day they call themselves "Rusnaks" or Khakhols, and their language is heavily permeated with Russian words. Some enlightenment work among these people was done by young teachers in 1950–9.

### 1918–40

After World War I, Bukovina, Bessarabia, and a small part of Transcarpathia (the southern part of the Marmarosh district) [Vol. 1, pp. 856–9] found themselves within the frontiers of Rumania. Included were a series of Ukrainian ethnographic enclaves, espe-

cially in Bessarabia, along with some in the Banat province, which belonged to Hungary before 1918. Ukrainians coming from Transcarpathia settled in Banat in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; they had been partially assimilated among Hungarians and Rumanians. Isolated from Ukrainian lands, the level of their national consciousness was low; they managed to preserve their language and religion (most were Catholics of the Byzantine rite).

In addition, on the territory of Rumania proper, especially in Bucharest, there were many Ukrainian political émigrés hailing from central and eastern lands of Ukraine. They had established their own Ukrainian Relief Committee [Vol. I, p. 869]. Many Ukrainians from Bukovina and Bessarabia had come to several Rumanian cities in search of employment as teachers and government employees. As a result of the Rumanian government's policy, designed to weaken the Ukrainian national element, this group was unable to find gainful employment in Bukovina. Also, there were many Ukrainian students at schools of higher learning, especially in Bucharest and Jassy. Excluding the province of Banat, there were some 5,000 Ukrainians in Rumania proper.

Ukrainians streamed into Rumania proper in 1940 following Soviet occupation of Bukovina and Bessarabia. Before the occupation of Rumania by Soviet troops in 1944, some Ukrainians emigrated to western Europe; most, however, remained in Rumania.

### Ukrainians in the Present-Day Rumanian Socialist Republic

The present frontiers of the Ukrainian SSR and Rumania do not coincide with the ethnographic boundaries [Vol. I, pp. 17–18]. Extensive areas of Ukrainian ethnographic territory have remained in Rumania; southern Bukovina (about 40,000 Ukrainians in 39 localities), the Marmarosh district (30,000 Ukrainians in 16 localities), and Dobrudja (30,000 Ukrainians in 37 localities). Moreover, there are about 10,000 Ukrainians in Banat in eight villages and about another 10,000 scattered throughout Rumania proper. The total number of Ukrainians in present-day Rumania is estimated to be about 120,000.

According to the official population census of February 21, 1956, there were 68,252 Ukrainians in Rumania. Of that number, 4,706 lived in the *oblast* of Banat (*raions* of Lugoj and Caransebeş), 7,949 in Dobrudja (*raions* of Tulcea), 25,162 in the *oblast* of Maramureş (*raions* of Vişeu and Sighet), 28,999 in the *oblast* of Suceava (*raions* of Rădauţi [Radivtsi], Cîmpulung, Dorohoi, Gura-Humorului, and Vatra Dornei) and 1,526 Ukrainians were scattered throughout Rumania (official statistics reported 500 Ukrainians in Bucharest, but the true figure was nearer 2,000). Ukrainians also are to be found in such cities as Constanţa, Timişoara, Baia-Mare, Braşov, Ploieşti, and Jassy. A number of Ukrainians, too, live in the border cities of Siret, Sighetul Marmaţiei, and Tulcea.

**Community life.** There is no organized Ukrainian community life in present-day Rumania, although the constitution guarantees national and cultural rights to each minority group. The official organs, the party and the government, have frequently altered their attitude toward the Ukrainians. Until 1947 they simply did not recognize the existence of the Ukrainian minority, causing a number of Ukrainians to emigrate to the USSR, especially from Dobrudja and Banat. From 1947 to 1959 a degree of relaxation allowed the Ukrainians to become active in the cultural and educational fields. But beginning in 1959 the Rumanian government has been progressively negating the gains of the Ukrainian ethnic group attained in the previous decade.

**Schools.** The school reform of 1948 was conducive to the development of primary and secondary education in the Ukrainian language. For many years,

Ukrainians in Rumania had 120 primary schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction (with about 200 Ukrainian teachers and 10,000 pupils), three gymnasiums with parallel instruction in Ukrainian in Siret, Sighetul Marmaţiei, and Suceava (in 1957 they graduated 77 students), and three parallel teachers' colleges in Siret, Sighetul Marmaţiei, and Tulcea (in 1957 they graduated 54). Since 1952 the Slavic Department of the University of Bucharest included in its curriculum instruction in the Ukrainian language and literature under the direction of Constantine Drapaka, with Basil Bilivsky, Magdalena Laszlo, Sylvester Zahorodnyi, and Sophia Luchyk as instructors. In 1963 the courses came under the supervision of the Chair of Slavic Languages of the Institute of Foreign Languages and Literatures and are given under the direction of Nicholas Pavliuk. Most of the instructors received their training at universities of the Ukrainian SSR.

A number of Ukrainian textbooks were printed for these schools: *Bukvar* (Primer); *Hramatyka ukraïns'koï movy* (Grammar of the Ukrainian Language); *Ukraïns'ka mova* (The Ukrainian Language); *Teoriia literatury* (Theory of Literature); *Zbirnyk literaturnykh tekstiv* (Collection of Literary Texts); *Kurs istorychnoï hramatyky ukraïns'koï movy* (Course in Historical Grammar of the Ukrainian Language), by N. Pavliuk; *Rumuns'ko-ukraïns'kyi slovnyk* (Rumanian-Ukrainian Dictionary), containing 30,000 words, and *Ukraïns'ko-Rumuns'kyi slovnyk* (Ukrainian-Rumanian Dictionary), containing 35,000 words. The dictionary was published under the general editorship of George Kokotailo (Cocotailo).

**Community and cultural work.** Community and cultural activities were carried on extensively through reading rooms, clubs, houses of culture, and youth groups, which existed in almost every Ukrainian village. In the cities, cultural activities were conducted under the auspices of the Rumanian Association for Liaison with the Soviet Union (Asociaţia Română pentu legături cu Uniunea Sovietica, ARLUS). The level of this cultural work, however, was quite low. All programs were given in three languages: Ukrainian, Rumanian, and Russian. There was no outstanding ensemble or artist of note. Up to 1960 impressive Shevchenko commemorations were held in Bucharest.

Ukrainian literature is represented by the following writers: Orest Masikevych, Denys Onyshchuk, Oksana Melnychuk, and Valerian Kordun (also a translator). All contributed to the literary review, *Kul'turnyi Poradnyk* (Cultural Consultant) and to the page "Literatura" in the biweekly *Novyi Vik* (New Century). The literary collection *Serpen'* (August) appeared in 1964.

The Ukrainian press in Rumania is represented by the biweekly *Novyi Vik*, which began in 1948 as the organ of ARLUS, becoming in 1960 "a political and social-cultural biweekly for the

FIGURE 722. UKRAINIAN VILLAGE, SELETIN, IN RUMANIAN BUKOVINA

Ukrainian population of the Socialist Republic of Rumania." Its first editor, Basil Bilivsky (1948–59), was followed by Ivan Kolesnyk. At the beginning its

circulation was 7,000; today it is only 4,000. The bimonthly *Kul'turnyi Poradnyk*, which appeared between 1950 and 1959, had a circulation of 600 to 1,000.

**Religious life.** The majority of the Ukrainian population in Rumania was Orthodox. Ukrainians of the Catholic Byzantine rite lived in the districts of Marmarosh and Banat and few in southern Bukovina. After 1948 the Byzantine-rite church was liquidated, and the faithful, both Rumanian and Ukrainian, were forced into Orthodoxy. Throughout the postwar period the church has been one of the strongest Rumanianizing elements. This policy of Rumanianization was frequently criticized by the review *Novyi Vik* between 1948–59. Today religious services and sermons are given in Rumanian only, one of the main reasons for the spread of sects (*pocăiţi*) in the district of Marmarosh and in southern Bukovina. At present these sects also must conduct their services in the Rumanian language.

Since 1958 Ukrainian cultural life in Rumania has been increasingly subjected to harsh pressures from the authorities. As a result, almost all schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction have been closed. Initially, the teaching of the Ukrainian language was optional; later, on the alleged "demands of parents," Ukrainian schools were closed in Bukovina and Dobrudja. There are some exceptions to this rule in the districts of Marmarosh and Banat. Still in existence are Ukrainian classes at the gymnasium in Sighet and a Ukrainian instructorship at the University of Bucharest. All Ukrainian national and cultural activity in the villages was prohibited, as was the use of Ukrainians names of localities in publications.

To frighten the Ukrainian intelligentsia the Rumanian authorities staged a show trial in 1959 accusing Basil Bilivsky of encouraging people to study the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian culture. He received a prison sentence of seven years. A similar trial of Ukrainian cultural workers was held in Sighet.

The future of the national life of Ukrainians in Rumania is rather bleak. Repression of Ukrainians under socialist Rumania is no less severe than that during the mid-1930's [Vol. I, p. 858b]. Ukrainians in Rumania live in total isolation, being barred from contacts with their kin in other countries, especially in the Ukrainian SSR. The intimidated Ukrainian intelligentsia, who reside in cities, have lost contact with the Ukrainian masses. Rumanianization is further abetted by the current efforts of the government to secure the return of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina back to Rumania.

*A. Zhukovsky*

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# 9. IN ASIA AND AUSTRALIA

## IN CHINA

Towards the end of the nineteenth century several thousand Ukrainians lived in China. An overwhelming majority were employed in various institutions of the Russian empire on Chinese territory (legations, consulates, postal service, merchant marine, traders, priests serving the religious mission in Peking). Their number increased considerably with the construction of the Eastern-Chinese (Manchurian) Railroad by Russia in 1898 (Manchuria then belonged to China). Several Ukrainian enclaves were formed in important railroad centers, especially Harbin, which became the central city in northern Manchuria. Other Ukrainian colonies were to be found in central and southern Manchuria (Mukden, Liao-yang, and Dairen) and in China proper (Shanghai).

Prior to the revolution of 1917, there were over 20,000 Ukrainian families in Manchuria; the men were primarily employees of the Eastern-Chinese Railroad. They maintained close ties with Ukraine and with those Ukrainians who had settled in the Far East (Zelenyi Klyn). Ukrainian national life was manifested in the activity of various drama groups, social circles (organized by railroad men's clubs), and professional associations. The first Ukrainian organization was established in Liao-yang (1903). After the revolution of 1905, a Ukrainian organization was established in Shanghai (1906) and a Ukrainian club in Harbin (1907). There were no Ukrainian newspapers, but the official organ of the Eastern-Chinese Railroad, *Kharbinskii Vestnik* (The Harbin Herald), carried a great deal of informative Ukrainian material.

The revolution of 1917 stimulated Ukrainian national life and led to the establishment of a series of institutions and organizations, which were integrated in the District Council of Manchuria (Mandzhurs'ka Okruzhna Rada), with Ivan Mozolevsky as president and Peter Tverdovsky, H. Peshtich, S. Kukuruza, and M. Yurchenko as outstanding members. The Ukrainians in Manchuria took an active part in Ukrainian political life of the Far East, especially in the Far-Eastern Ukrainian congresses, and maintained close contact with Kiev. At the end of 1917, a Ukrainian military unit commanded by P. Tverdovsky, was dispatched from Harbin to Ukraine to help the Ukrainian government in its efforts to establish an independent state. In the fall of 1918, Tverdovsky returned to Harbin as a consul of the free Ukrainian state.

Harbin became the center of Ukrainian organized life. A Ukrainian gymnasium, an Orthodox parish, and a number of Ukrainian organizations were established here. All these were housed in the building of the Ukrainian National Home. A Ukrainian-language weekly, *Zasiv* (The

Sowing), published 34 issues. The number of Ukrainians increased by the influx of refugees from the Far East after the Bolshevik takeover.

During 1922–31, the flourishing Ukrainian life in Manchuria suffered as a result of the termination of ties with the Zelenyi Klyn colony and because of the increasingly hostile attitude of the Chinese administration dominated by the Russian influences (confiscation of the Ukrainian National Home in Harbin, closing of the Ukrainian gymnasium and many organizations). Prominent in its activity at that time was the Prosvita Society in Harbin, which, in order to survive, functioned under the auspices of the YMCA.

More favorable conditions prevailed in 1931, at the time the Japanese established the buffer state of Manchoukuo (although the Japanese authorities frequently meddled in Ukrainian affairs). The Ukrainian National Home in Harbin again became the center of all Ukrainian community life. In 1935, the Ukrainian National Colony was established as a central organization for all Ukrainians in Manchuria; all other Ukrainian organizations were dissolved by the Japanese in 1937. Published during 1932–7 was the Ukrainian-language newspaper *Mandzhurs'kyi Visnyk* (The Manchurian Herald), under the editorship of John (Ivan) V. Sweet. From 1934 on, Ukrainians conducted a radio program in Harbin (and in Shanghai in 1942). Close cooperation with non-Ukrainian émigré groups was achieved in the organization, Prometheus (Harbin). After the occupation of Manchuria by Soviet troops in 1945, most of the Ukrainians were arrested and deported to the USSR, and all Ukrainian organizations were dissolved.

On the territory of China proper in the years 1920 through mid-1940's, in addition to Shanghai (*Ukraïns'kyi Holos na Dalekomu Skhodi* [Ukrainian Voice in the Far East, 1941–4] and the English-language The Call of Ukraine, 1941–2), Ukrainian organizations and societies existed in such cities as Tientsin and Tsingtao (Ukrainian newspaper *Na Dalekomu Skhodi* [In the Far East]). All Ukrainians had left China by 1949 (before the Communist takeover) and resettled in the countries of the free world.

Statistical data on the number of Ukrainians who lived in China are not available. A reasonable estimate puts some 30,000 of them in both China and Manchuria in the 1930's. Nearly half of them resided in Harbin.

*J. V. Sweet*

## IN AUSTRALIA

### History of Ukrainian Settlement

Few Ukrainian families lived in Australia before 1948. The large-scale influx of Ukrainians began that year, within the framework of an agreement concluded between the Austrialian government and the International Refugee Organization (IRO). Australia agreed to admit 1,000 immigrants monthly from the displaced persons camps in Germany and Austria. In the first year, the Australian government took Ukrainians and others from the British zone of Germany only; in 1949–50, from the whole of Germany and Austria.

All immigrants were required to sign a two-year work contract. After a brief period in special government camps, the newcomers were assigned to work in various parts of the country; wives and children were kept in special camps for some time. After the expiration of the two-year contract, immigrants automatically received the right of permanent residence in Australia and could choose work according to their talents and desires. Five years of residence made the immigrant eligible for citizenship.

The Department of Immigration and the Employment Office were the two government institutions which supervised all immigrant affairs. Inasmuch as

the Australian government was unwilling to accredit the former professions of the immigrants, many of them had to switch to other occupations. Ukrainian farmers, for example, could not work in agriculture but had to seek employment in industry.

**Number and Distribution**

The bulk of Ukrainian immigrants came in 1947-50, totalling over 20,000 persons, or 10 percent of all Ukrainians who emigrated at that time from Germany and Austria. Few Ukrainians arrived in Australia after 1950. On the basis of official statistical data of the Australian government, by June 30, 1966, a total of 21,550 Ukrainians had settled in Australia; of this number, 10,680 were brought by the government, 10,970 entered as members of families. In recent years a number of Ukrainians, especially professional men, have left Australia for the United States and Canada.

The population census of 1954 reported 17,239 Ukrainians in the country; this number, however, included only those Ukrainians who had not been naturalized. According to the population census of June 30, 1961, 13,873 Australian citizens reported Ukraine as their country of birth (by sex: 8,104 men, 5,769 women). By virtue of natural increase the number of Ukrainians has grown substantially. Estimates of Ukrainians in Australia in 1967 ranged from 30,000 to 37,000.

According to the Federation of Ukrainian Associations in Australia, the distribution of Ukrainians in states and territories was as follows: New South Wales 12,650; Victoria 12,450; South Australia 6,200; Western Australia 2,690; Queensland 2,100; Tasmania 640; Australian Capital Territory (ACT) 460; Northern Territory 10; a total of 37,200.

Almost two-thirds of Ukrainians live in the larger cities, less than one-fourth in smaller cities and towns, only 3 per cent on farms. The greatest concentrations of Ukrainians are in the following cities: Sydney–10,000 (including suburbs); Melbourne–9,000; Adelaide–5,800; Perth–1,600, and Brisbane–1,500 (figures are approximate).

As in all other countries of resettlement, men outnumbered women in the incoming group (for 100 men between the ages of 35–59 there were only 60 women, according to the Australian census of 1961). The result was a great number of mixed marriages: in 1955–63, out of the total of 1,965 Ukrainian married men, only 317 had Ukrainian spouses.

**Religious Life**

On the basis of estimates furnished by the Federation of Ukrainian Associations in Australia, the religious affiliation of the 37,000 Ukrainians in 1967 was as follows: 19,000–20,000 Catholics, 15,000–16,000 Orthodox, 2,000–3,000 Evangelics.

Arriving with the first wave of Ukrainian immigrants were three priests, two Catholic and one Orthodox, who provided spiritual care in the various camps and centers, utilizing local churches. At the outset, Ukrainian Catholic priests were under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church authorities of Australia. On October 19, 1958, an exarchate was established for Ukrainians in Australia and New Zealand; it is subordinated directly to the Apostolic See. Bishop Ivan Prashko became the first Ukrainian Catholic Exarch in Australia. In 1967 the

FIGURE 723. UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SYDNEY

Ukrainian Catholic Church in Australia and New Zealand had 6 parishes, 10 churches and 13 priests.

The Orthodox Ukrainians, numbering about 15,000, belong to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, headed by Metropolitan Nikanor in Europe. It is subdivided into two eparchies: The Metropolitan and the United, headed by Archbishop Sylvester Hayevsky and Archbishop Donat Burtan respectively. For some time, the Metropolitan church had been headed by Varlaam Solovii, who died in 1966. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Australia and New Zealand has 14 churches, 17 priests, and 5 proto-deacons and deacons. A number of Orthodox Ukrainians and their priests come under the jurisdiction of the Conciliar Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, headed by Archbishop Gregory Ohiichuk.

Active in parishes of both Ukrainian churches are lay brotherhoods and sodalities.

**Social and Political Life**

Ukrainian social and political life in Australia assumed the same organizational forms which were established by Ukrainian émigrés in Europe. The first half of 1949 saw the establishment of the first Ukrainian community organizations, which functioned in the state capitals of Australia. In 1950, at the first congress of Ukrainian organizations, held in Melbourne, a Union of Ukrainians in Australia was established as a coordinating and representative body. The union was renamed The Federation of Ukrainian Associations in Australia (SUOA) in 1953; it holds a congress every two years, attended by delegates from all Ukrainian communities. Its president is Myron Boluch. The federation has a number of branches throughout the country. The Ukrainian community purchased its own homes, where all cultural, educational, and political life of Ukrainians is centered. In 1967 there were 21 Ukrainian halls (10 in Victoria, 7 in New South Wales, for example), with a total value of $624,000.

Since 1949, a great number of Ukrainian organizations have been established. The Ukrainian Women's Association of Australia (over 800 members) is active in all Ukrainian communities. Its president is Mrs. Lidia Denes-Haievska. Among youth oganizations, the most active are *Plast* (over 1,000 members), which has branches throughout the country and a national council, and SUM, also with over 1,000 members and a national council. Among veterans' groups are the Union of Ukrainian Veterans, the Brotherhood of the First Ukrainian Division, and the Simon Petliura Legion. Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide also have Ukrainian student associations. A number of Ukrainian sports clubs are active in the various states of Australia.

Ukrainian political organizations abound in Australia: the Ukrainian Rada, DOBRUS, and local affiliates of virtually all political parties. Most active are the nationalist organizations, Foreign Branch of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), which has also organized a strong Ukrainian Anti-Bolshevik League, and the OUN Abroad. In spite of the efforts to influence the organized life of Ukrainians in Australia, the Ukrainian community is generally nonpartisan and its activities are not dominated by any one group.

**Educational and Cultural Life**

First steps in the establishment of supplementary schools were made during the early stages of Ukrainian settlement in Australia. Elementary schools were operated by the churches. In 1952, a school council was established in Victoria and an educational council in New South Wales. The first Ukrainian teachers' convention was held in 1956; it established the Ukrainian Central School Council which supervises education in Ukrainian schools. The council holds a general convention of teachers trienni-

ally (heading the council at the present time is Theodore Pasichynsky). School administration is in the hands of parents' committees in the various localities. Instruction in Ukrainian schools is given on Saturdays and is generally limited to three subjects: Ukrainian history, geography, and language. At the end of 1966 there were 35 Ukrainian schools (lower grades) with 1,624 students, and 9 schools of advanced Ukrainian studies and pedagogical courses with 127 students. The total number of teachers was 148. Nearly 35 per cent of all Ukrainian children are enrolled in these schools.

In addition, educational work is conducted by the youth organizations *Plast* and SUM, parish societies, and the like. Active in cultural life are the branches of the Federation of Ukrainian Associations in Australia, and all other local organizations and societies.

The first Ukrainian-language newspapers in Australia began appearing in 1949; the weekly *Vil'na Dumka* (Free Thought) and *Yednist'* (Unity), the latter appearing in Adelaide until 1956. Since 1949, a total of 23 Ukrainian newspapers and magazines (not counting mimeographed bulletins and circulars) have appeared at one time or another. Most have ceased publication, for example, the satirical review *Perets'* (Pepper) and the literary-scientific quarterly *Nash Visnyk* (Our Herald) in Melbourne. Still appearing is *Vil'na Dumka* in Sydney and the semi-monthly *Ukraïnets' v Australii* (The Ukrainian in Australia); both have a circulation of approximately 2,500 copies.

Ukrainian scholars are organized in the Australian branch of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, founded in 1950, which now has centers in Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide. In 1966 the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Federation of Ukrainian Associations in Australia published an extensive monograph, *Ukraïntsi v Australii* (Ukrainians in Australia).

Among the members, past or present, of the Shevchenko Scientific Society are literary critics Eugene Pelensky (died in 1956) and Sylvester Haievsky, philologist Ivan Rybchyn, and Germanist and historian Theodore Lachowych; the younger scholars include Roman Olesnytsky and Ihor Hordiiv.

Most prominent among Ukrainian writers and poets in Australia are nov-

FIGURE 724. ST. VOLODYMYR UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN WODONGA

elist Nicholas Lazorsky, poet and memoirist Dmytro Nytchenko, and poet Vasyl Onufriienko. Among the painters are Michael Kmit, Volodymyr Savchak, and Vasyl Tsybulsky, with Olia Radion representing the younger generation.

The cultivation of Ukrainian national life in Australia does not meet with any obstacles from the Australian government, nor does the comparatively short stay of Ukrainians in Australia favor the process of assimilation, except among the youth. In a relatively short period of time, the Ukrainian immigrants succeeded in establishing strong bases of organized community life: they built churches and national homes, established a network of Ukrainian schools, youth organizations, and press organs, and created a flourishing scholarly and artistic life. Great difficulties had to be overcome: the initial lack of general coordination, the dispersion of Ukrainian immigrants and, in some cases, friction among political groups. Another difficulty was the vast geographical distance separating Ukrainians in Australia from those in America and Europe. The main

problem confronting the Ukrainian community in Australia is the continued preservation of the Ukrainian national and cultural heritage by the younger generation. Promisingly, the youth are beginning to form their own organizations, such as the Young Union of Ukrainian Women, students' clubs, and the like.

## Economic Life

The majority of Ukrainian settlers came from farms in Ukraine (45 per cent). In Australia they have become, in most cases, industrial workers. Nor is the majority of intelligentsia employed in their professions. Today barely 2 per cent of Ukrainians work in agriculture; over 50 per cent are employed in industry (mostly as unskilled workers), and others are employed in transport, trade, administration, and the like. Over 3 per cent own their own industrial enterprises and workshops. There are 30 Ukrainian doctors, 60 engineers, and 40 architects.

By dint of great diligence and frugality the living standard of Ukrainians has greatly improved. Almost all Ukrainian families own homes, cars, and other modern conveniences. The new generation, raised in Australia, has acquired higher education and specialized training, leading to well paid positions.

## Assimilation

The process of assimilation has hardly touched the older generation after twenty years' stay in Australia. It is confined to external forms only, not having extended to the language, way of thinking, or mentality. The peasant element among the Ukrainians particularly is conservative and virtually immune to assimilation.

Quite the opposite is true of the younger generation. Raised and educated in Australian schools and living constantly in the Australian environment, it has absorbed the Australian culture. For the youth, Ukraine is a faraway country, an exotic land personified by their parents. The young often stray far from the Ukrainian community (although at home many of the young people still use the Ukrainian language). Mixed marriages, as a rule, result in losses for the Ukrainian community.

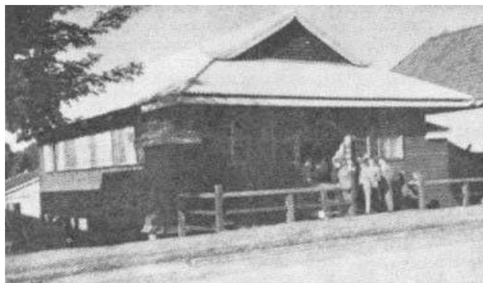

FIGURE 725. UKRAINIAN NATIONAL HOME IN BRISBANE

*T. Lachowych*

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# INDEX

This index is prepared to provide the reader with easy access to the material contained in the Encyclopaedia and to help him make the best and most effective use of all the information on a particular topic, information which may be scattered throughout the book.

For the convenience of the reader the two columns on each page are designated "a" and "b." Thus, a single reference to a topic is indicated in the following manner: agriculture, 694a; a topic discussed throughout a page is indexed 694a–b; and two separate mentions of the same topic on one page are indicated by 694ab. In general, all pertinent material on a topic is grouped under alphabetically arranged subheadings. Entries under the subheading "history" are in chronological order, however. The use of bold type indicates the basic material on that particular topic. In certain cases there are references to the material in Volume I of this Encyclopaedia.

An attempt has been made to include Christian names, pseudonyms, and other data necessary for complete identification of a person. A person is indexed under his real name except in those cases where he is better known under his pseudonym.

Organizations, societies, etc. are indexed, as a rule, under their names in English translation with their full names in Ukrainian added in certain cases. All periodicals are indexed under their original titles with English translation and are indicated by italic type.

Places are indexed almost invariably under their most recent names. References to cities, towns, and villages located within the present borders of the Ukrainian SSR include the province (*oblast*). In most other cases only the country is indicated. This method has been adopted for practical reasons, although it results in a number of places (within Ukrainian ethnographic territory but outside the Ukrainian SSR) being identified as belonging to neighboring states.

Since the pronunciation of Ukrainian names is somewhat difficult for non-Ukrainians, stresses have been added to all Ukrainian names.

The following list includes abbreviations used in the index.

| | |
|---|---|
| adm. | administrative |
| Alta. | Alberta |
| anc. | ancient |
| antiq. | antiquities (archaeological) |
| Arab. | Arabic |
| arch. | architecture |
| archae. | archaeology, archaeological |
| archbp. | archbishop |
| Arg. | Argentina |
| au. | author |
| Aus. | Austria, Austrian |
| Aust. | Australia |
| Bel. | Belgium |
| Belo. | Belorussia, Belorussian SSR |
| bp. | bishop |
| Braz. | Brazil |
| Bulg. | Bulgaria |
| Byz. | Byzantium, Byzantine |
| Calif. | California |
| Che. | Cherkasy *oblast* |
| Cher. | Chernihiv *oblast* |
| Chern. | Chernivtsi *oblast* |
| Col. | Colorado |
| compos. | composer |
| Conn. | Connecticut |
| Crimea | Crimean *oblast* |
| Cze. | Czechoslovakia, Czechoslovak |
| Den. | Denmark |
| dist. | district |
| Dnip. | Dnipropetrovske *oblast* |
| Don. | Donetske *oblast* |
| dram. | dramatist |
| E. Rom. emp. | East Roman emperor |
| emp. | emperor, empress |
| Eng. | English |
| f. | former, formerly |
| fig. | figure |
| Fla. | Florida |
| Fr. | France, French |
| gen. | general |
| Ger. | Germany, German |
| Gr. | Greece, Greek |
| Gt.B. | Great Britain |
| hist. | historian, history |
| Hung. | Hungary, Hungarian |
| Ill. | Illinois |
| isl. | island |
| It. | Italy, Italian |
| Ivano. | Ivano-Frankivske *oblast* |
| k. | king |
| Kaz. | Kazakh SSR |
| Khar. | Kharkiv *oblast* |
| Kher. | Kherson *oblast* |
| Khm. | Khmelnytsky *oblast* |
| Kir. | Kirovohrad *oblast* |
| Krasn. | Krasnodar *krai* |
| Kyi. | Kiev *oblast* |
| lit. | literature |
| Lith. | Lithuania, Lithuanian |
| loc. | local |
| Luh. | Luhanske *oblast* |

| | |
|---|---|
| Lvi. | Lviv *oblast* |
| Man. | Manitoba |
| Mass. | Massachusetts |
| Mich. | Michigan |
| min. | mineral |
| Mosc. | Moscow |
| mus. inst. | musical instrument |
| Myk. | Mykolaïv *oblast* |
| myth. | mythology |
| N. Dak. | North Dakota |
| N.J. | New Jersey |
| N.Y. | New York |
| Neb. | Nebraska |
| Nor. | Norway, Norwegian |
| Odes. | Odessa *oblast* |
| Ont. | Ontario |
| Pa. | Pennsylvania |
| Parag. | Paraguay |
| philos. | philosopher |
| Pol. | Poland, Polish |
| Polt. | Poltava *oblast* |
| prov. | province |
| pseud. | pseudonym |
| q. | queen |
| Que. | Quebec prov. |
| reg. | region |
| rel. | religions |
| riv. | river |
| Riv. | Rivne *oblast* |
| Rum. | Rumania, Rumanian |
| RSFSR | Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic |
| Russ. | Russian |
| Sask. | Saskatchewan |
| Sp. | Spain, Spanish |
| Sum. | Sumy *oblast* |
| SSR | Soviet Socialist Republic |
| Swed. | Sweden, Swedish |
| Switz. | Switzerland, Swiss |
| Tern. | Ternopil *oblast* |
| terr. | territory |
| Tex. | Texas |
| Tur. | Turkey, Turkish |
| UNR | Ukrainian National Republic |
| USSR | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics |
| USA | United States of America |
| Urug. | Uruguay |
| Ven. | Venezuela |
| Vin. | Vinnytsia *oblast* |
| Vol. | Volhynia *oblast* |
| wr. | writer |
| Yug. | Yugoslavia |
| Zak. | *Zakarpats'ka oblast* |
| Zap. | Zaporizhia *oblast* |
| Zhyt. | Zhytomyr *oblast* |


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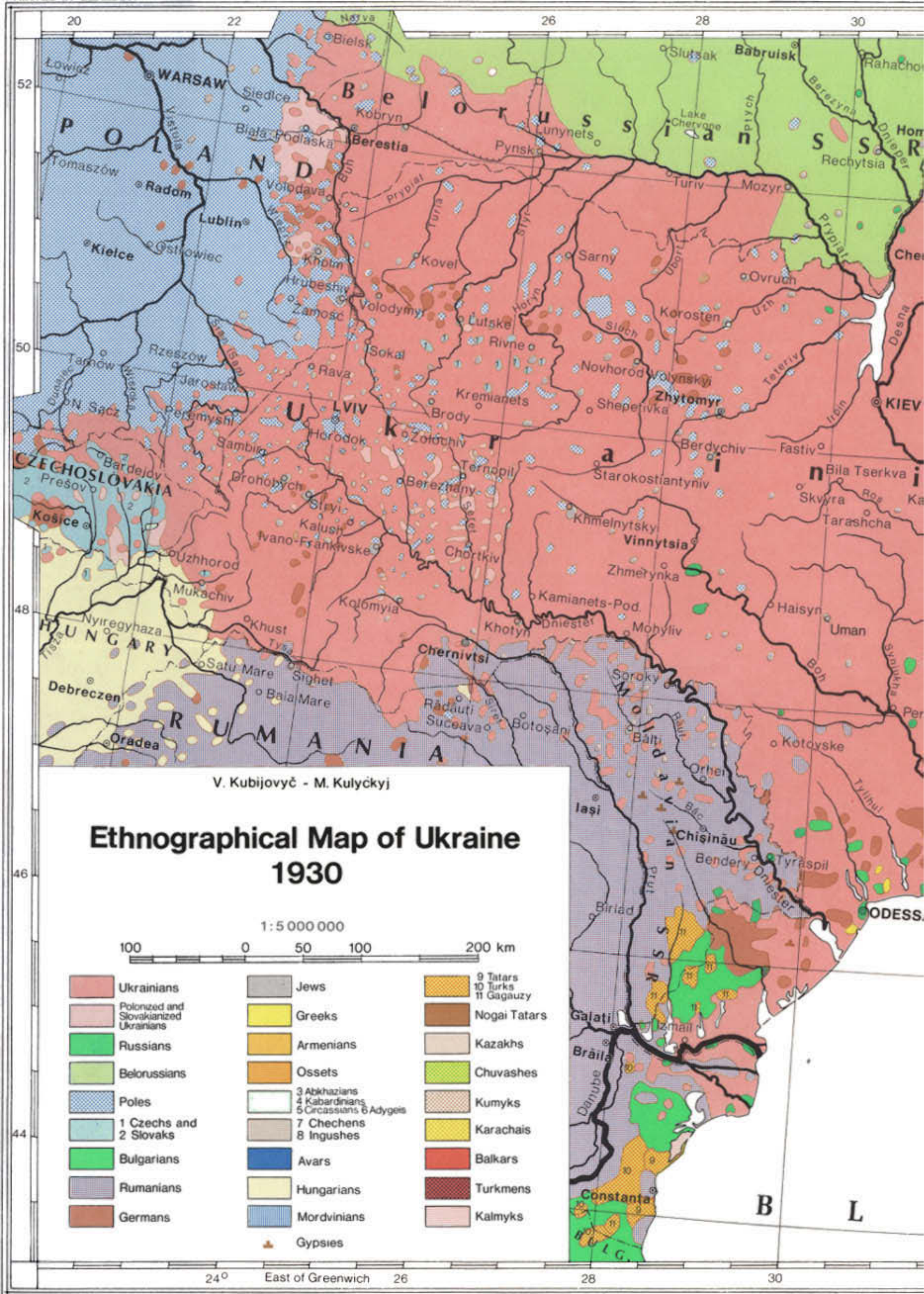


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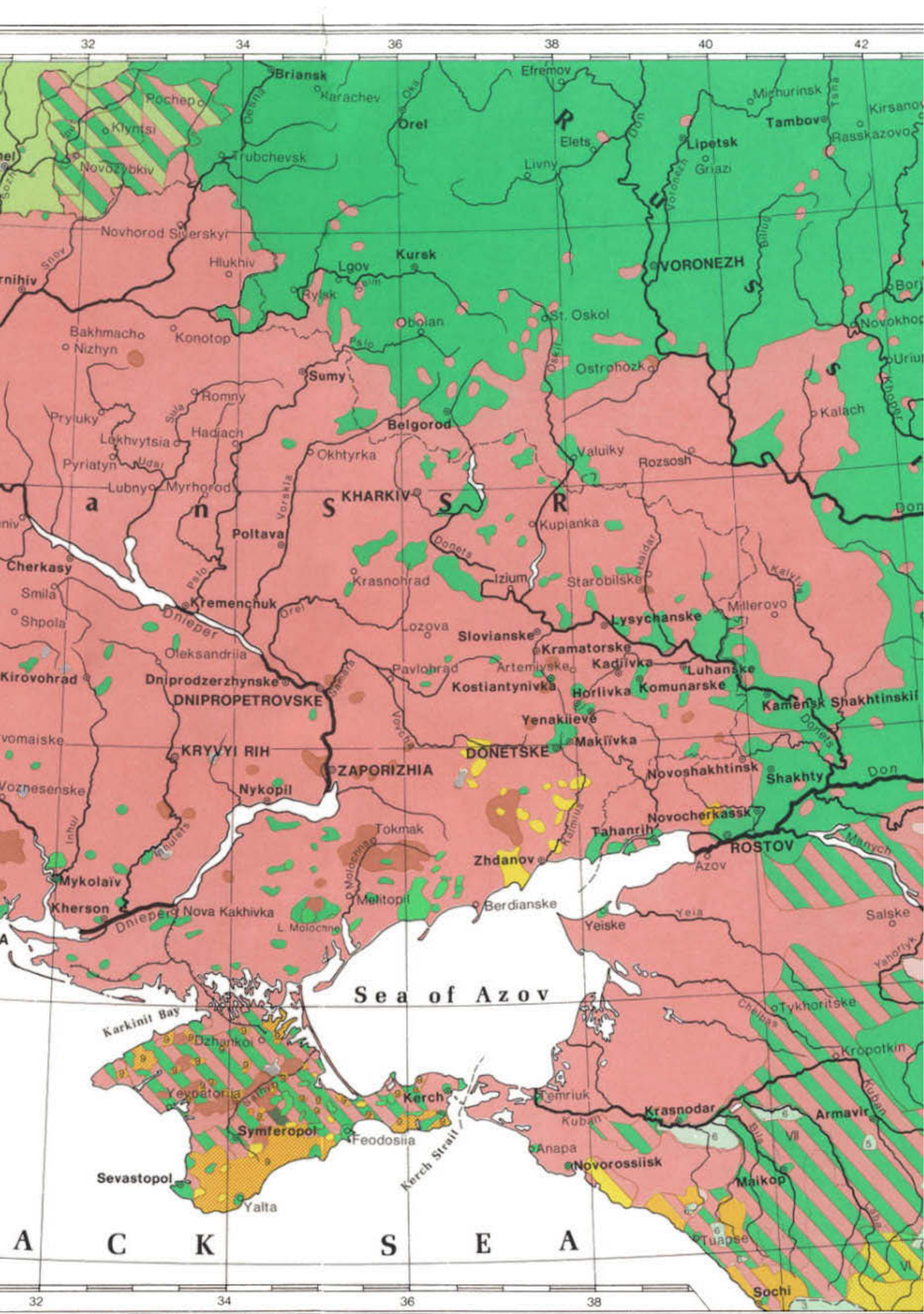
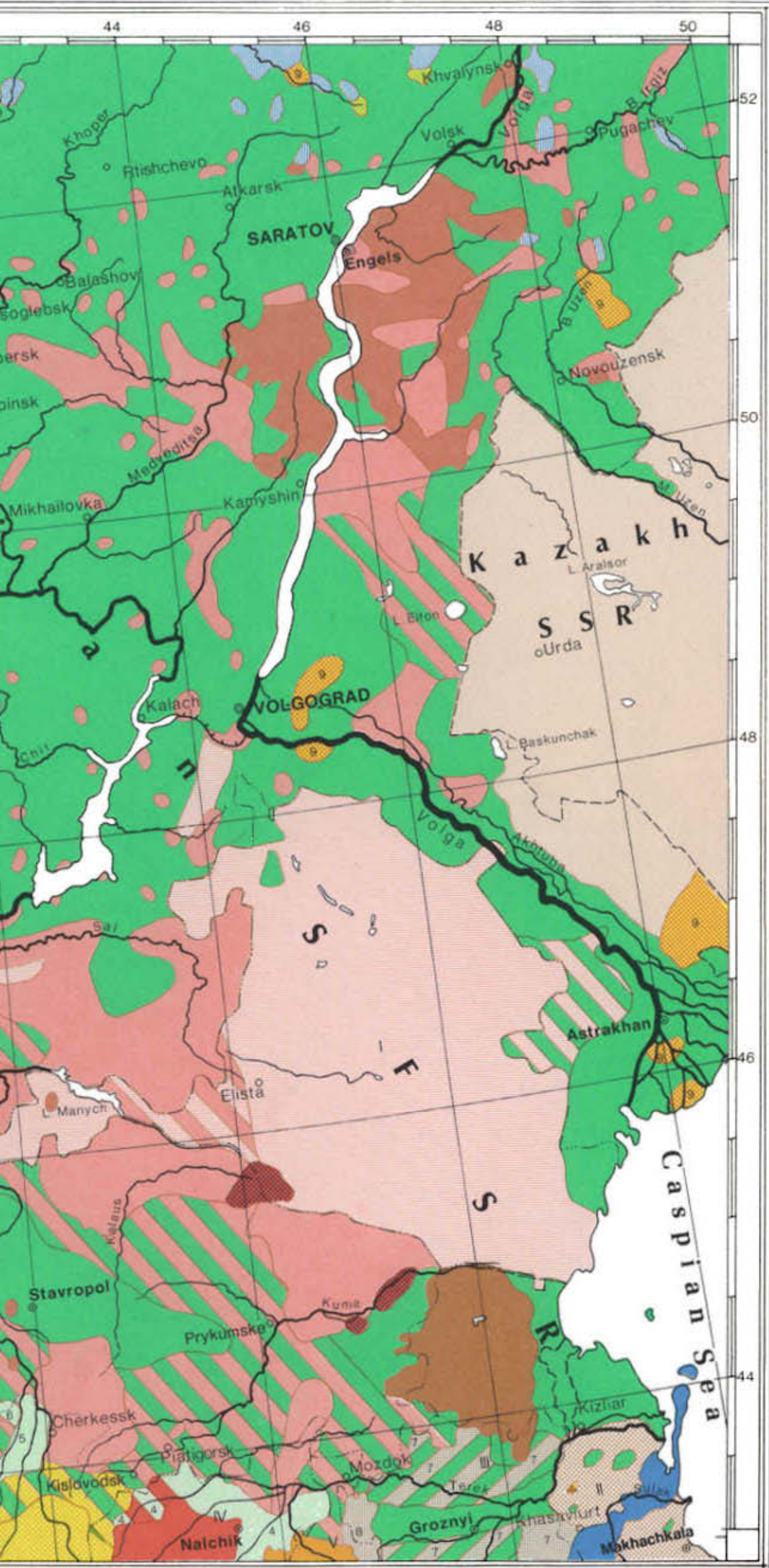



of autonomous oblasts  I Kalmyk ASSR  II Daghestan ASSR  III Chechen - Ingush ASSR  IV Kabardino - Balkarian ASSR




V North - Ossetian ASSR VI Karachai - Cherkess Autonomous Oblast VII Adygei Autonomous Oblast

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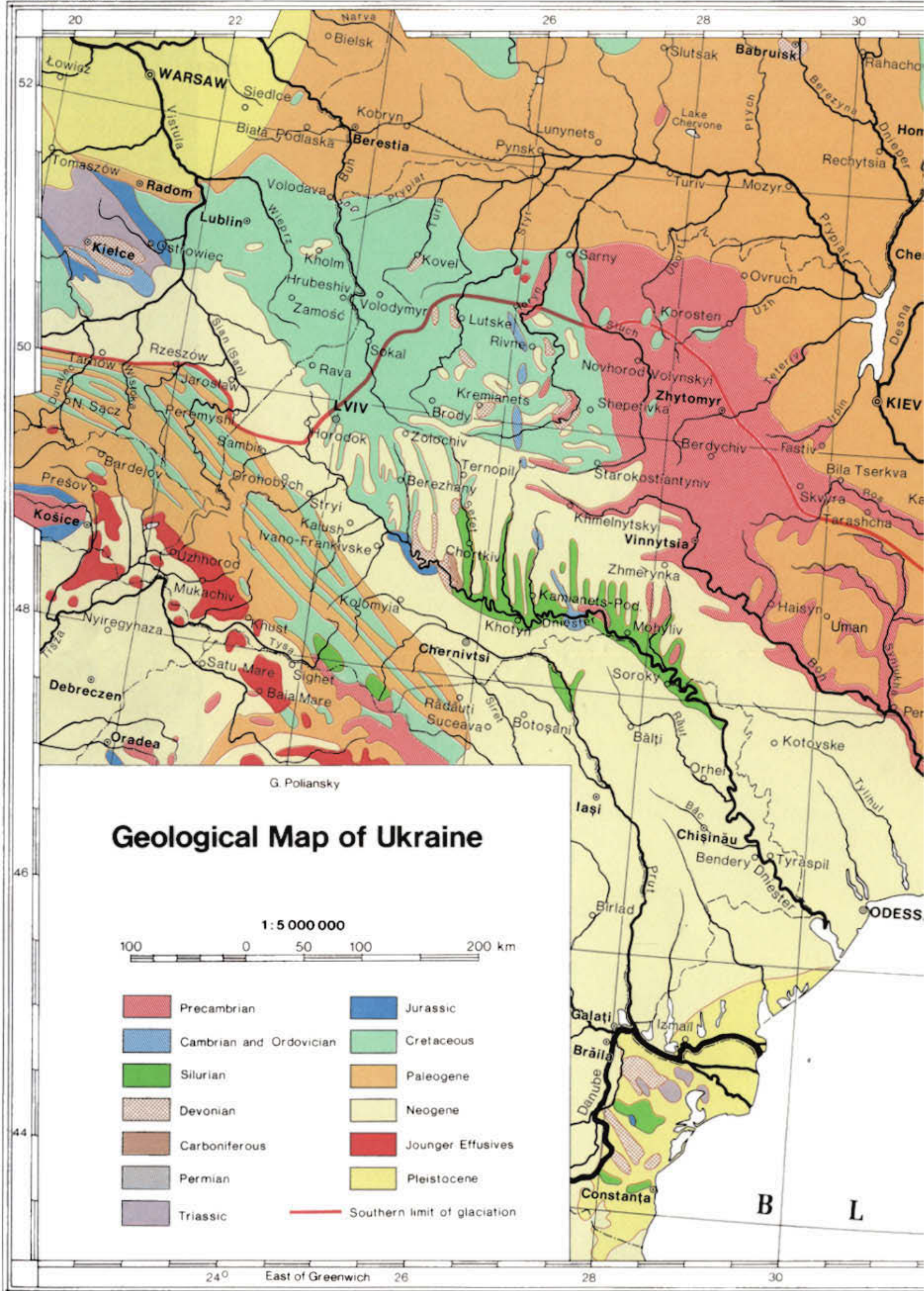
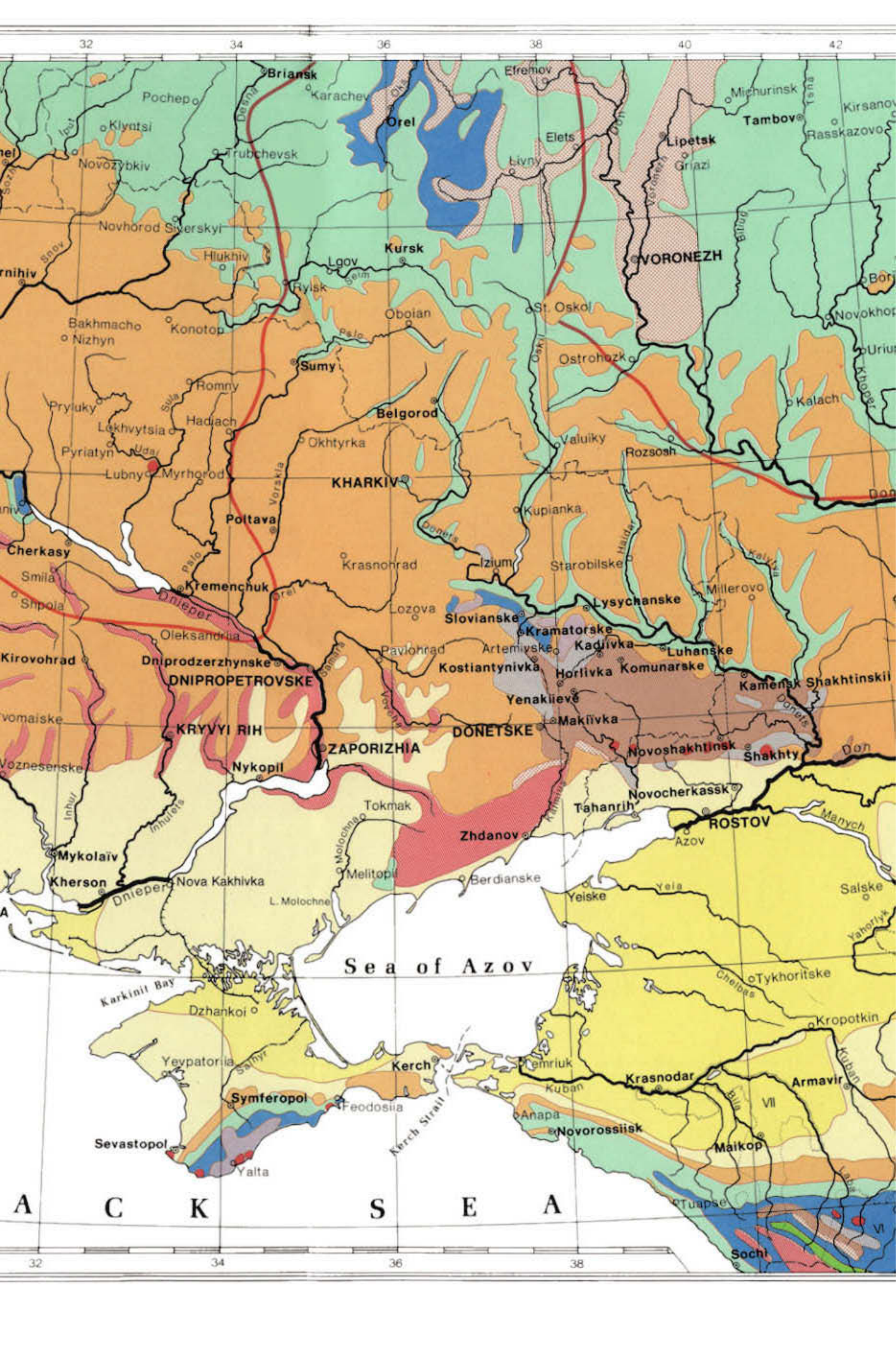
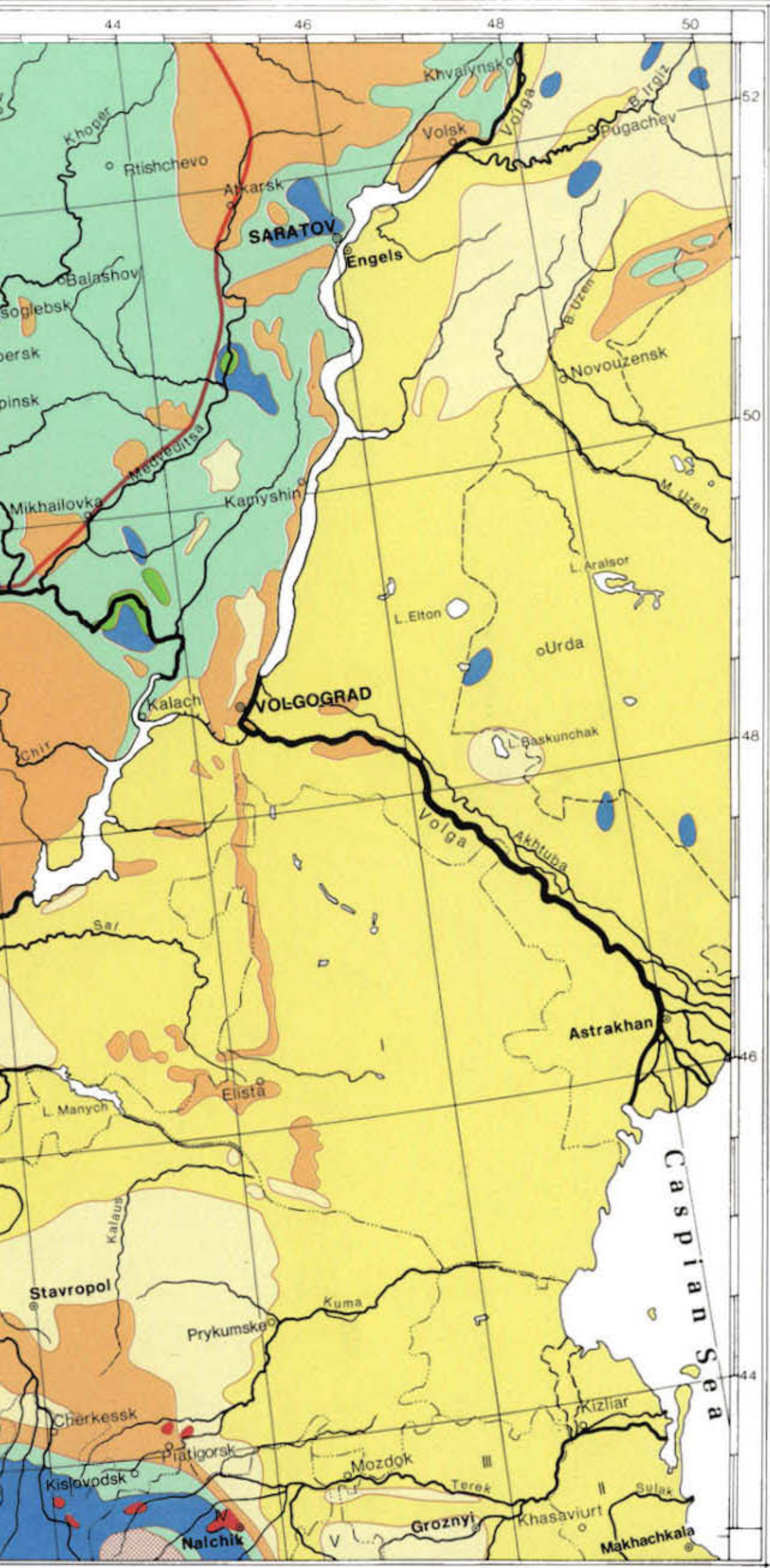




Briansk
Karachev
Orel
Efremov
Michurinsk
Kirsanov
Tambov
Rasskazovo
Pochep
Klyntsi
Elets
Lipetsk
Griazi
Livny
Trubchevsk
Novozybkiv
Novhorod Siverskyi
Kursk
VORONEZH
Hlukhiv
Lgov
Rylsk
Oboian
St. Oskol
Novokhopersk
Bakhmach
Konotop
Nizhyn
Ostrohozk
Uriupinsk
Sumy
Romny
Pryluky
Belgorod
Kalach
Hadiach
Lokhvytsia
Okhtyrka
Valuiky
Pyriatyn
Rozsosh
Lubny
Myrhorod
KHARKIV
Kupianka
Poltava
Cherkasy
Izium
Starobilske
Smila
Krasnohrad
Kremenchuk
Millerovo
Shpola
Lozova
Lysychanske
Slovianske
Oleksandriia
Kramatorske
Pavlohrad
Artemivske
Kadiivka
Luhanske
Kirovohrad
Dniprodzerzhynske
Kostiantynivka
Horlivka
Komunarske
DNIPROPETROVSKE
Kamensk Shakhtinskii
Yenakiieve
Makiivka
KRYVYI RIH
DONETSKE
ZAPORIZHIA
Novoshakhtinsk
Shakhty
Nykopil
Novocherkassk
Tokmak
Tahanrih
ROSTOV
Azov
Zhdanov
Mykolaiv
Melitopil
Berdianske
Kherson
Nova Kakhivka
L. Molochne
Yeiske
Salske
Sea of Azov
Tykhoritske
Karkinit Bay
Dzhankoi
Kropotkin
Yevpatoriia
Kerch
Temriuk
Krasnodar
Armavir
Symferopol
Feodosiia
Kerch Strait
Anapa
Novorossiisk
Maikop
Sevastopol
Yalta
A C K S E A
Tuapse
Sochi
Dnieper
Donets
Don
Kuban
Manych



44
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Khvalynsk
Volsk
Volga
B. Irgiz
Pugachev
Khoper
Rtishchevo
Atkarsk
SARATOV
Engels
Balashov
Novouzensk
Medveditsa
Kamyshin
Mikhailovka
M. Uzen
B. Uzen
L. Aralsor
L. Elton
Urda
Kalach
VOLGOGRAD
L. Baskunchak
Chir
Volga
Akhtuba
Sal
Astrakhan
Elista
L. Manych
Caspian Sea
Kalaus
Stavropol
Kuma
Prykumske
Cherkessk
Kizliar
Piatigorsk
Mozdok
Kislovodsk
Terek
Sulak
Groznyi
Khasaviurt
Nalchik
Makhachkala

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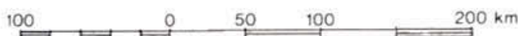
# Administrative Map of Ukraine 1968

1: 5 000 000




**Population Scale**

- ○ less than 10,000 inhabitants
- 10,000 - 25,000
- 25,000 - 50,000
- 50,000 - 100,000
- 100,000 - 250,000
- 250,000 - 500,000
- 500,000 - 1,000,000
- over 1,000,000 inhabitants

Symbols of Capitals and Administrative Centers are underlined in black

**Lines of Communication**

Railways: a. Principal Lines

b. Shorter Lines

Highways

Roads

Navigable Canals

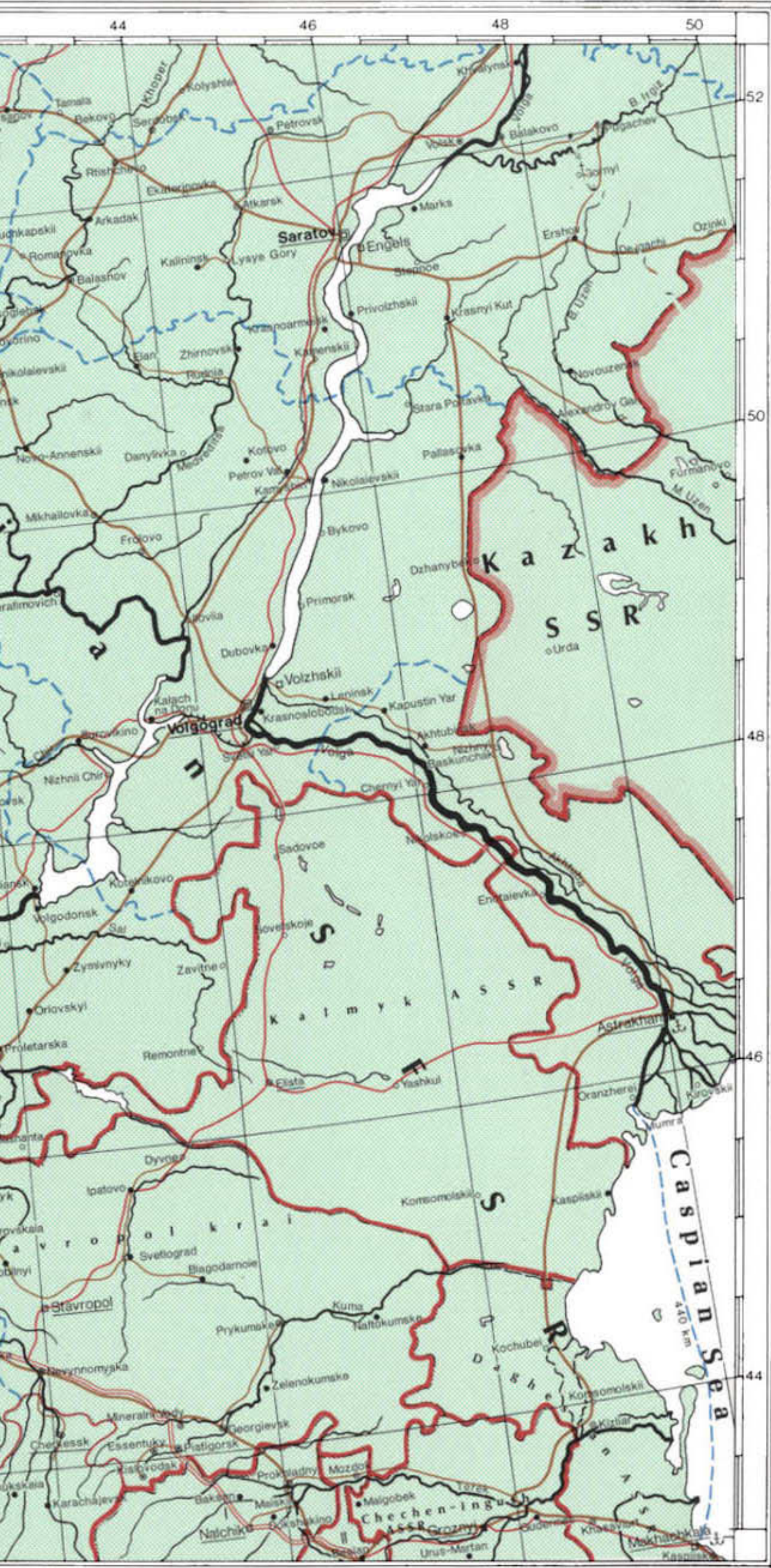
470 km Sea Routes and distances in kilometers

⚓ Ports

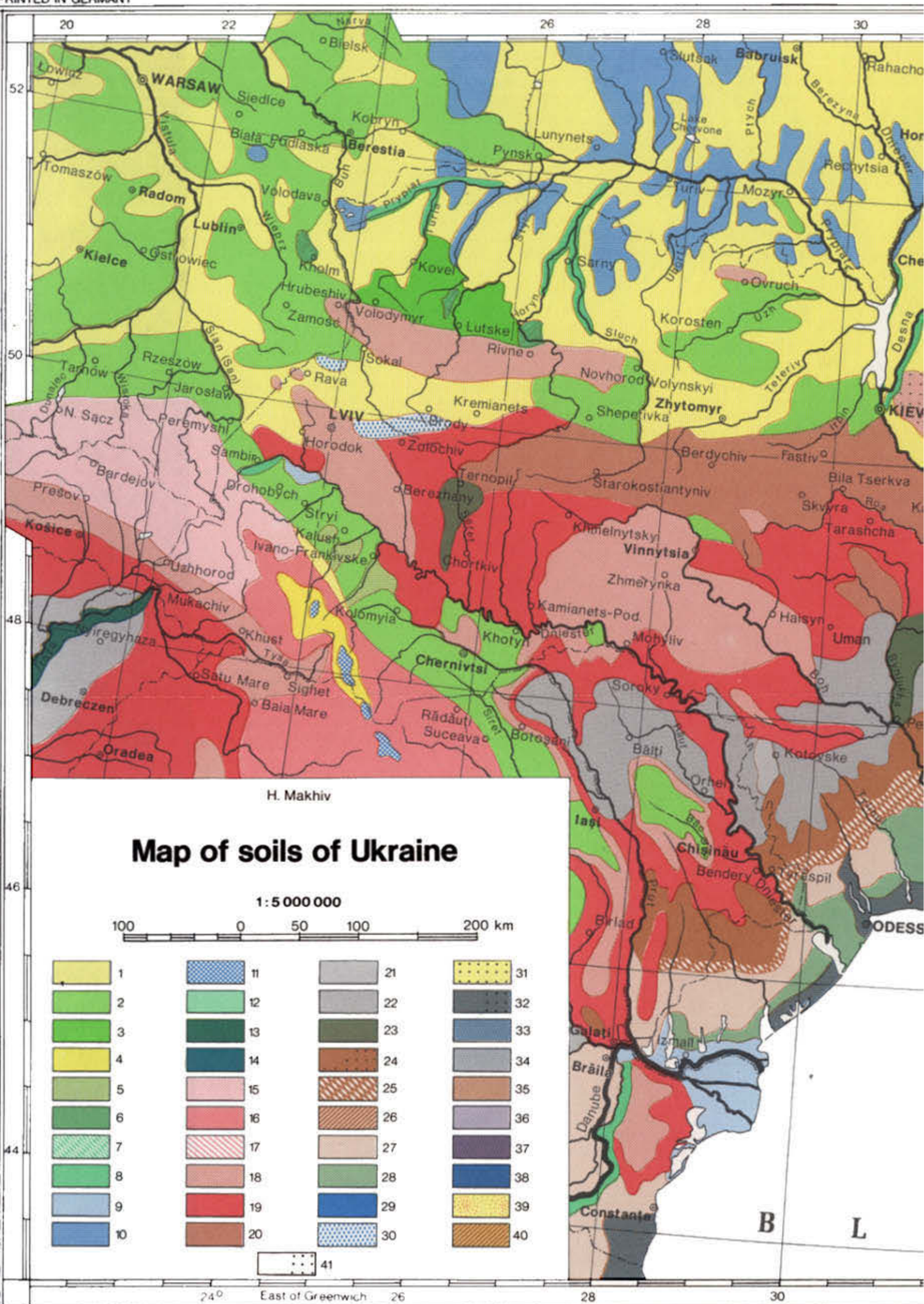
24° East of Greenwich 26 28 30

borders of states borders of Soviet republics borders of autonomous republics borders

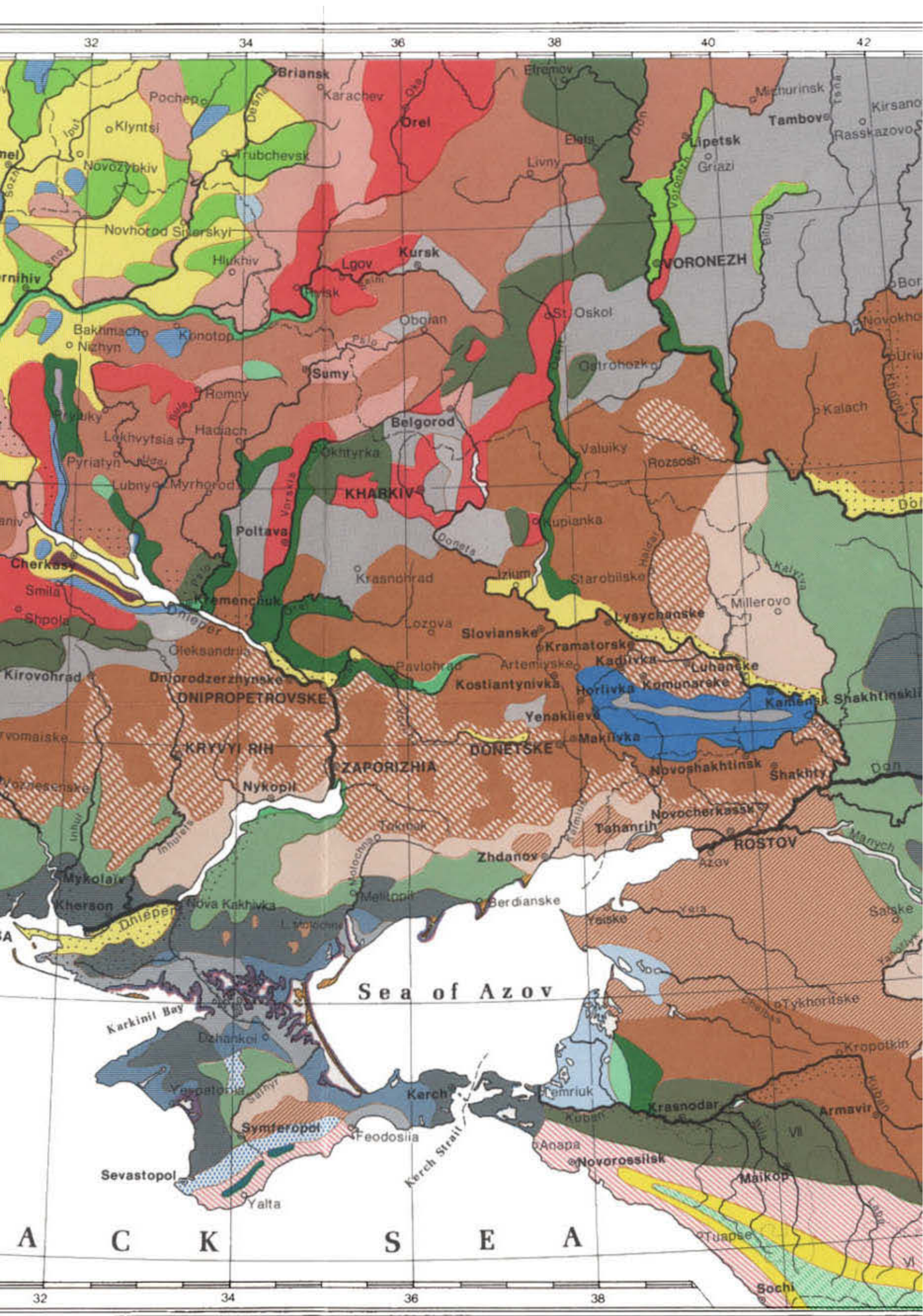
of autonomous oblasts — boundaries of oblasts, krais, voievodstvos — I Kabardino - Balkarian ASSR



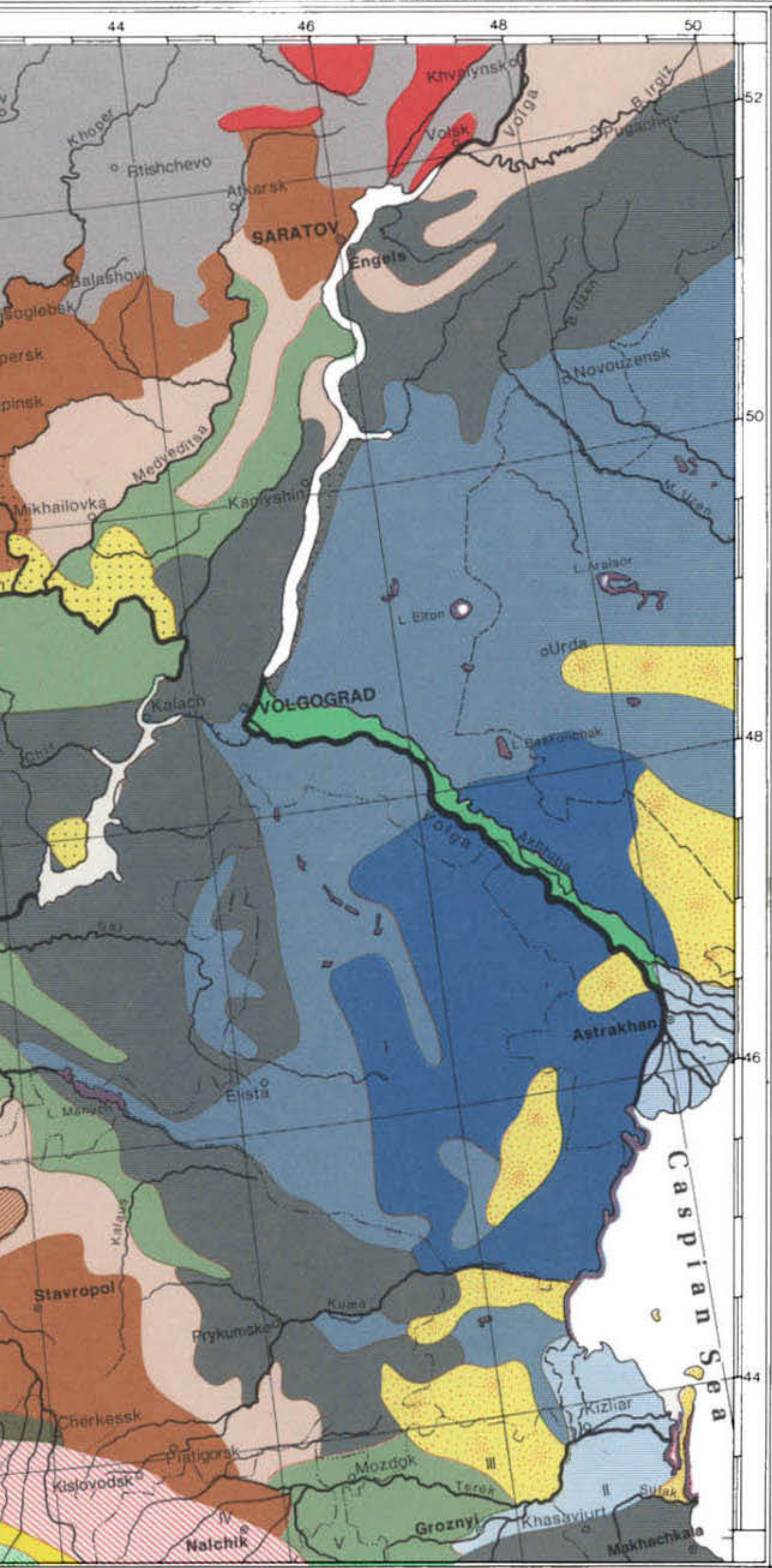

II North - Ossetian ASSR   III Karachai - Cherkess Autonomous Oblast   IV Adygei Autonomous Oblast



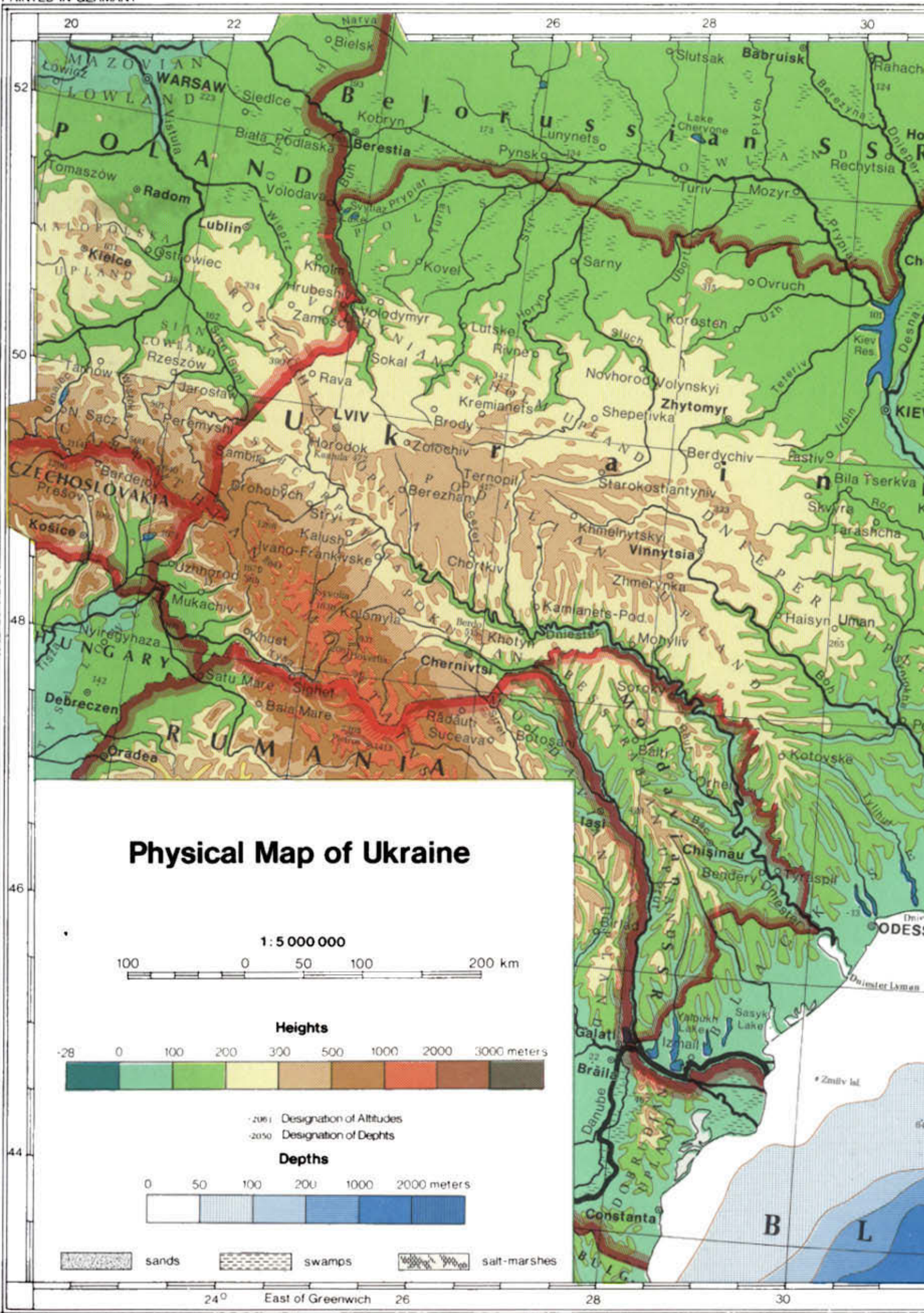

1 - Podzolic sandy soils; 2 - Podzolic loamy soils; 3 - Podzolic soils and rendzinas; 4 - Mountain podzolic soils, 5 - Meadow gley soils; 6 - Humus-calc
13 - Chernozem-meadow solonchak soils, 14 - Mountain chernozem-meadow soils; 15 - Mountain podzolized brown earth, 16 - Podzolized brown earth and po
23 - Deep leached chernozems; 24 - Ordinary steppe chernozems; 25 - Ordinary chernozems, eroded; 26 - Ordinary deep chernozems, calcareous; 27 - Sout
35 - Solodized gley soils in steppe depressions; 36 - Sodium solonchak soils and solonets soils; 37 - Chloridesulfatic solonchak and solonets soils; 38 -




careous soils on chalk; 7 - Mountain-meadow and peaty-meadow soils; 8 - Meadow gley and meadow solonchak soils; 9 - Peaty-gley soils in swampy area
dzolic soils; 17 - Dark brown earth and red earth; 18 - Light gray and gray forest podzolized soils; 19 - Degraded (podzolized) chernozems in the forest-ste
hern chernozems on loess; 28 - Lean southern chernozems; 29 - Chernozems on solid rocks; 30 - Chernozems on chalk; 31 - Sandy chernozems; 32 - Dark ches
Sierozems of semi-arid areas; 39 - Sandy soils of semi-arid areas; 40 - Sandy solonchaks in coastal areas; 41 - Sandy-loamy soils.

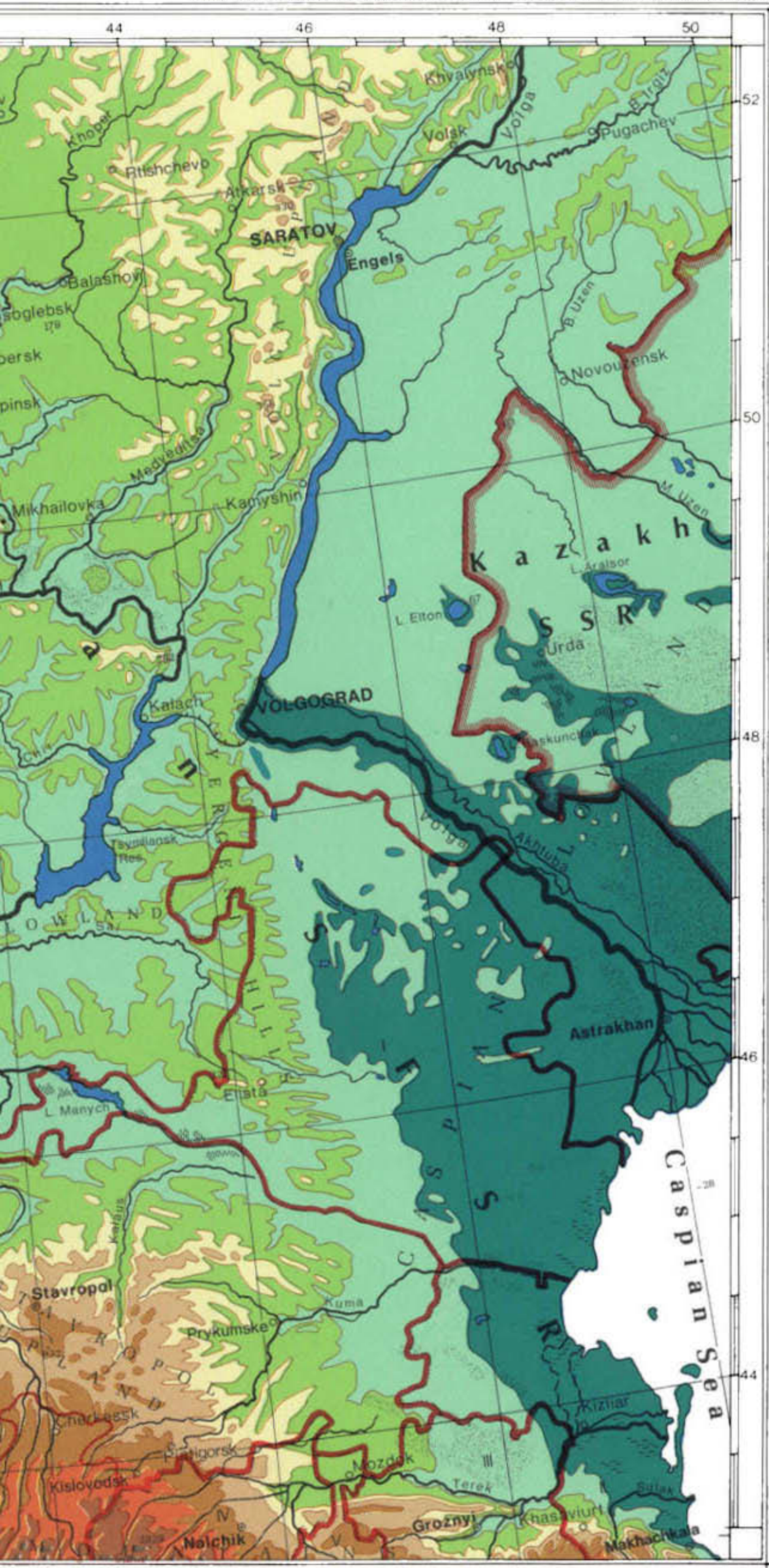



as; 10 - Lowland meadow bogs and green mossy bogs; 11 - Mountain peat bogs; 12 - Chernozem-meadow soils;
ppe zone; 20 - Deep chernozem on loess; 21 - Lean (eroded) chernozems; 22 - Deep chernozems, rich in humus;
stnut soils, slightly solonized; 33 - Chestnut soils, strongly solonized; 34 - Light chestnut soils and solonets soils;




borders of states borders of Soviet republics borders of autonomous republics borders

of autonomous oblasts    I Kalmyk ASSR    II Daghestan ASSR    III Chechen - Ingush ASSR    IV Kabardino - Balkarian ASSR




V North - Ossetian ASSR VI Karachai - Cherkess Autonomous Oblast VII Adygei Autonomous Oblast

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25 30

B e l o r u s s i a n S

POLAND

Ukrainian

RUMANIA

Moldavian SSR

Siedlce, Berestia, Kobryn, Luninets, Rechytsia, Biała Podlaska, Pynsk, Turiv, Mozyr, Vistula, Buh, Ratne, Kamin Koshyrskyi, Volodava, Prypiat, Dubrovytsia, Styr, Lublin, Wieprz, Liuboml, Manevychi, Sarny, Kholm, Kovel, Ovruch, Chornobyl, Olevske, Kolky, Sandomierz, Hrubeshiv, Volodymyr Volynskyi, Horyn, Berezne, Uzh, Zamość, Novovolynske, Kivertsi, Kostopil, Korosten, Bazar, Lutske, Klevan, Sluch, Malyn, Teteriv, Horokhiv, Rivne, Korets, Novohrad Volynskyi, Radomyshl, Irpin, San, Sokal, Dubno, Zdolbuniv, Chervonohrad, Cherniakhiv, Rzeszów, Belz, Rava Ruska, Ostrih, Slavuta, KIEV, Boiarka, Berestechko, Jarosław, Kamianka Buzka, Chervonoarmiiske, Korostyshiv, Nesterov, Iziaslav, Shepetivka, Zhytomyr, Fastiv, Yavoriv, Brody, Kremianets, Dzerzhynske, Mostyska, Buzk, Polonne, Andrushivka, Peremyshl, Pochaiv, Berdychiv, Lviv, Horodok, Zolochiv, Liubar, Sianik, Peremyshliany, Starokostiantyniv, Skvyra, Sambir, Zbarazh, Koziatyn, Staryi Sambir, Mykolaiv, Zboriv, Krasyliv, Pohrebyshche, Ternopil, Drohobych, Volochysk, Khmilnyk, Tetiiv, Boryslav, Truskavets, Berezhany, Medzhybizh, Kalynivka, Rohatyn, Skalat, Stryi, Terebovlia, Khmelnytskyi, Latychiv, Lityn, Turka, Bolekhiv, Pidhaitsi, Derazhnia, Vinnytsia, Halych, Skole, Kalush, Horodok, Michalovce, Chortkiv, Dolyna, Buchach, Bar, Zhmerynka, Perechyn, Ivano-Frankivske, Khrystynivka, Dunaivtsi, Tovmach, Borshchiv, Haisyn, Uzhhorod, Bratslav, Uman, Svaliava, Mizhhiria, Nadvirna, Horodenka, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Tulchyn, Kolomyia, Zalishchyky, Mukachiv, Deliatyn, Dniester, Chop, Sniatyn, Kitsman, Khotyn, Vapniarka, Boh, Berehove, Sokyriany, Mohyliv-Podilskyi, Haivoron, Kosiv, Chernivtsi, Sadhora, Bershad, Yasinia, Khust, Vynohradiv, Novoselytsia, Yampil, Chechelnyk, Vyzhnytsia, Storozhynets, Hertsa, Tysa, Tiachiv, Rakhiv, Soroky, Kodyma, Mátészalka, Sighet, Dorohoi, Balta, Satu-Mare, Rădăuţi, Siret, Răut, Liubashivka, Baia-Mare, Botoşani, Bălţi, Kotovske, Ananiev, Suceava, Orhei, Prut, Iaşi, Vaslui, Bîrlad, Danube

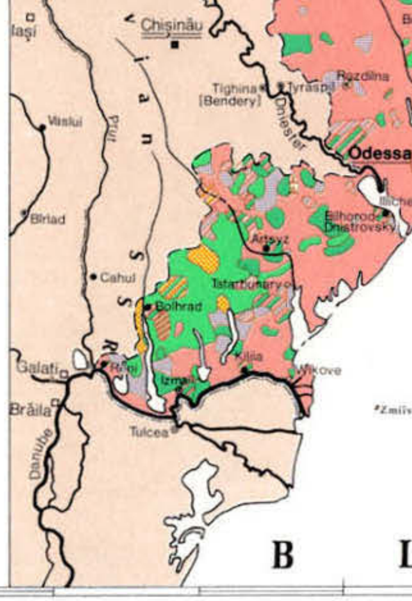
Ethnographical Map of the Ukrainian SSR 1959

1:4 000 000

- Ukrainians
- Russians
- Belorussians
- Poles
- Bulgarians
- Czechs
- Slovaks
- Rumanians
- Germans
- Jews
- Greeks
- Albanians
- Gypsies
- Hungarians
- Gagauzy
- Tatars
- Others

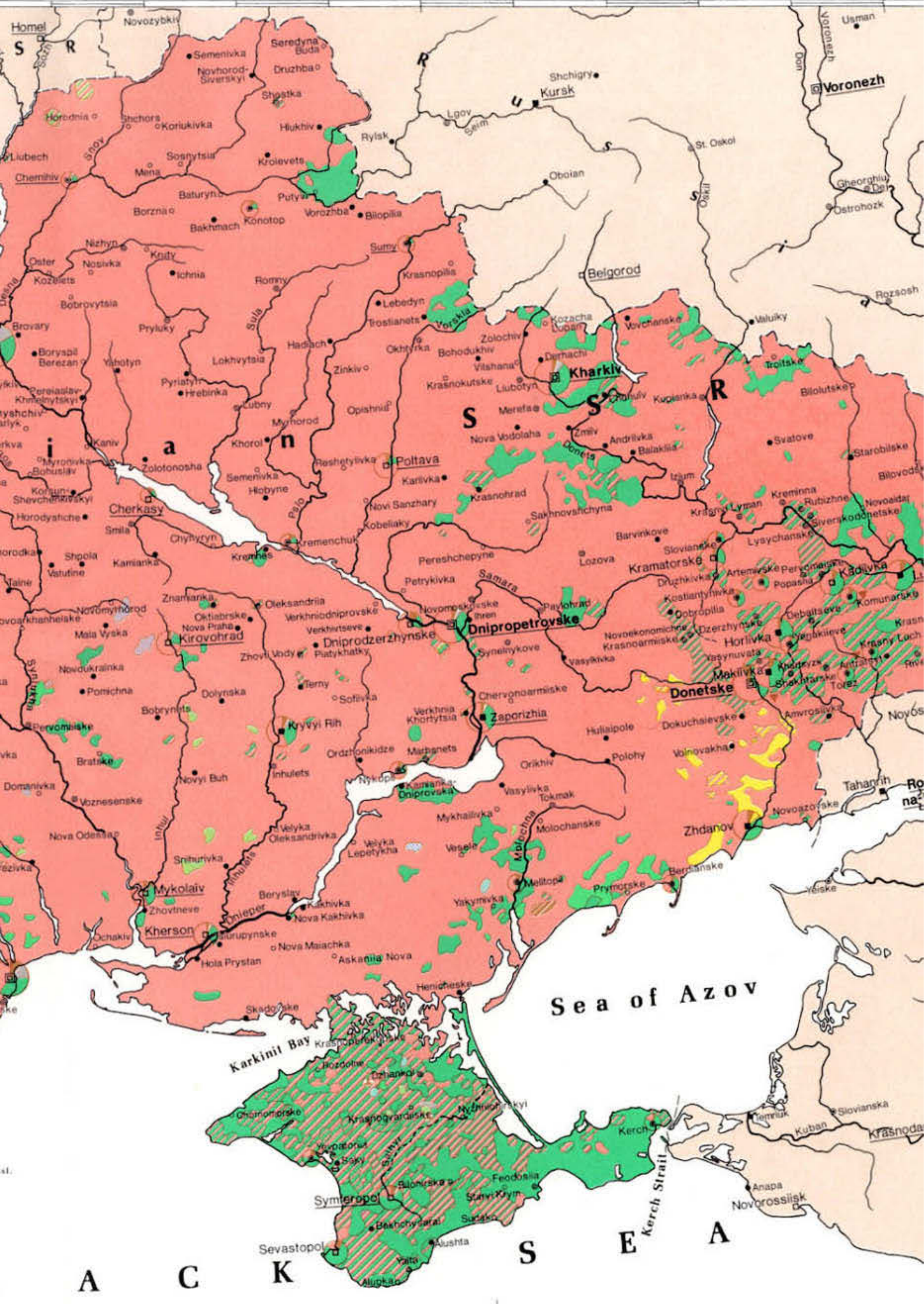
Cities with over
- 50 000 inhabitants
- 100 000 inhabitants
- 250 000 inhabitants
- 500 000 inhabitants
- 1 000 000 inhabitants

Ethnic composition in areas with mixed population
- Approximately equal ratio of ethnic groups
- Single group majority (60-80%)




45 50

25° East of Greenwich 30



35
40
Sea of Azov
Karkinit Bay
Kerch Strait
Kharkiv
Dnipropetrovske
Donetske
Zaporizhia
Poltava
Kirovohrad
Mykolaiv
Kherson
Cherkasy
Chernihiv
Sumy
Symferopol
Sevastopol
Kursk
Belgorod
Voronezh
Zhdanov
Kryvyi Rih
Kremenchuk
Melitopol
Kerch
Feodosiia
Yalta
Novorossiisk
Homel

TORONTO PRESS

50

Donetsk

S

F

Don

Azov

S

R

45

Tuapse