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OCCASIONAL
PAPERS

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THE UKRAINIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES IN THE U.S.A.

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No. 1

**IN MEMORY OF
ARNOLD MARGOLIN
(1877—1956)**

**REMARKS AND REMINISCENCES PRESENTED
AT THE UKRAINIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND
SCIENCES IN U.S.A. ON
THE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF
HIS BIRTH**

NEW YORK 1983

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface.....	3
OLEH S. FEDYSIYN, EDITOR	
My Father in His Youth	5
LUBOW A. MARGOLENA	
In Memory of Arnold Davydovych Margolin on His Centennial	8
ANTIN BATYUK	
In Memory of Arnold Margolin, Ukrainian Citizen and Patriot	11
OLEXANDER OHLOBYN	
I Remember A. D. Margolin	14
PANAS V. FEDENKO	
My Recollections of Dr. A. D. Margolin	17
DMYTRO KORBUTIAK	
Dr. Arnold Margolin	19
JOSEPH L. LICHTEN	
Books by Arnold D. Margolin	21

Preface

Materials contained in this brief new publication of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the USA are remarks and reminiscences expressed at a commemorative gathering held at the Academy in 1977 to pay tribute to Dr. Arnold Davydovych Margolin on the centenary of his birth.

These "Occasional Papers" (or "Dopovidi i povidomlennia") will appear from time to time, either in Ukrainian or in English, and will enable us to share with our members and friends materials from memorials gatherings, commemorative conferences, jubilee celebrations, and certain lectures and addresses which may be of interest to wider circles of readers. In spite of some overlapping and understandable repetitiveness of these materials, the editor confined himself to the most necessary technical and clarifying modifications of the texts. Dr. J.L. Lichten's remarks are reproduced here in their original English version. All other presentations were translated from Ukrainian by Dr. V.P. Sokoloff of Washington, D.C.. Linguistic editing was done by Mr. Alexander Motyl, doctoral candidate in politics at Columbia University.

It is, indeed, fortunate, that we may launch the Academy's "Occasional Papers" with materials commemorating Arnold Davydovych Margolin. This will, hopefully, set a proper standard for such publications, and it is also hoped that the subject of future issues will be equally pertinent and weighty.

Even more significant, however, is the fact that Dr. Margolin belongs to those truly remarkable and rare individuals who should be commemorated and remembered by each generation of his followers. And not only those who paid tribute to Dr. Margolin six years ago, but many other members and friends of the Ukrainian Academy who had known this noble son of the Jewish people, who had also considered himself a son of Ukraine, are proud to be counted among his followers and admirers.

We also hope that these materials will help our younger colleagues, those who joined our ranks during the past two decades when Dr. Margolin was no longer with us, to appreciate the greatness of the man who not only contributed so much to Ukraine's struggle for liberation during its national revolution, but remained one of the most loyal and active defenders of the Ukrainian cause to the last days of his life.

Oleh S. Fedyshyn
Director of Studies

My Father in His Youth

LUBOW A. MARGOLENA

"Perhaps you will not finish the job, but you dare not stop trying", said the Sage. Arnold Davydovych Margolin lived by that precept, even if he may not have heard it spoken.

Some of you here have eulogized Arnold Davydovych as a grown-up. I wish to tell you of him as a child and a youth still in his formative years. His mother tongue was Russian. "I was accustomed to think and to speak in Russian," he wrote in 1921, "the language of my kinship with Russian culture, my native language."

His father, Davyd Semenovych Margolin, rose to eminence and wealth in the second half of the last century. Well-read, conservative, energetic, and strict, he was absorbed in his work: navigation on the Dnipro River and modernization of Kiev (development of utilities — gas, electricity, water, tramways, and charities). A pioneer in social improvements Davyd Semenovych Margolin had little time for anything else. Formal dinners, fortnightly card parties, and swimming were my grandfather's diversions.

Arnold Davydovych Margolin's socially prominent mother, Rosalia Isaakovna, was a fine pianist in her own right. Gentle and firm with her son, she took his education seriously. Here is a typical character-building episode that happened when Arnold Davydovych was 7 years old. At some exhibit, the boy fancied an ugly and useless toy. His mother refused to buy it. He demanded the toy vociferously. She reminded him of his standing promise to behave in public places. He obeyed, adding "then I will cry at home."

Promises are not always kept, however. The boy loved birds. His mother bought him a beautiful pigeon-house on condition that he not neglect his school work. Indeed, for a while he attended to the house and birds as well as to his school work, but the parks and the river tempted him more and more. Some of his lessons were forgotten and some classes were skipped. The pigeon-house was taken away. His mother made him cram Latin and Greek. Arnold Davydovych was taught the violin and often played it with his mother at the piano. In his college years, he was a violinist in the University of

Kiev orchestra. As a student of law in his late teens, Arnold Davydovych once had a run-in with his cantankerous professor during the orals. Thereupon the professor declared that he "will never pass such a smart young man, not even if the Old Margolin would remove all his boats from the Dnipro River." So Arnold Davydovych transferred to the University of Yuriev (Derpt) and then back to the University of Kiev where he graduated, but not until another crisis was resolved — he decided to marry at the age of 19.

His beautiful bride, Lubow Greben of Kiev, was somewhat younger. Since both of them were under-age, they could not marry legally without their parents' permission. His father saw red. He told Arnold Davydovych to finish his university work first. As to the bride his advice was "Send her to some finishing school for some time in Switzerland...." There was no way out but to elope. My grandfather anticipated that action and wrote promptly to every rabbi in the province forbidding the marriage. The mail being what it is, the young couple miraculously found a rabbi who had failed to receive my grandfather's message. And so they were married and lived happily; children came and tempers mellowed....

After his graduation father studied abroad for two years. On his return to Kiev, he became a practicing lawyer mainly in criminal cases. Meanwhile, the Russian Empire, shaken by the lost war with Japan and the revolution of 1905 and humiliated by concessions to its foreign and domestic enemies, was pulling itself together for a counterattack, a reaction at home, in order to curtail, if not to annul, the freedoms so grudgingly conceded to its rebellious subjects. A wave of pogroms was sweeping the country — inspired and conducted by "patriotic" societies and urban scum while the police looked the other way more often than not.

Father's dedication to justice, equality, the human rights of the oppressed, and the defense of the helpless led him straight into the fray. A brilliant, resourceful, and tough lawyer, he scored victories for the defense time and again. He broke through the web of lies woven around the famous Beilis Case by the "patriots" and police — and paid for his courage.

And now a few words about my father as a family man . He had three daughters: I was the youngest one. Father had more time for us in summer than during the other seasons, especially when the entire family, together with grandmother, spent a few weeks abroad. I

remember our hikes in Switzerland, the flowers in the meadows, father's remarks about various countries and peoples, his explanations of history. Most of our summers were spent in the vicinity of Kiev, on Trukhaniv Island. Father taught us to swim. A good swimmer himself, he would jump off the second deck of a steamboat right into the river. Steamboats... row boats... sailing up the Dnipro and the Desna to visit the Shrags, our good friends in Chernihiv... sailing down the Dnipro to the Sekirna Estates (with wild animals in the park) and farther down, to Shevchenko's grave, and still farther, to Katerynoslav and the Rapids ("Porohy").

New Year was celebrated in style, in our home on Velyka Zhytomyrska in Kiev. Nearly all of our guests were lawyers and their wives and friends. Free-for-all discussions, eating, drinking, and singing were followed by an original cabaret, a new one every year. Father wrote the words and the verse for the music; Marc Vilensky sang to the piano accompaniment. One year we girls, made-up as blacks, danced the Cakewalk for the guests. I do not recall whether we could be trusted with the cake.

Guests would come and go all year round, but some of my father's activities seemed mysterious. I refer to small gatherings in his study with curtains drawn and voices subdued. Our chambermaid was instructed to exercise caution in opening the doors for visitors, to look out for the police, whether in uniform or in mufti, to delay their entry and somehow to alert the host and his guests.

Years passed... I was eleven when Stolypin was killed in the theater in Kiev and I happened to be right there and saw it. The assassination marked the passage of real power in Russia from the retrograde gentry to the Department of Police. The Beilis Case was engineered by provocateurs of anti-semitism. Father's heroic action cracked the case wide open, but he was disbarred and our family was harrassed and threatened anonymously. We moved from Kiev to St. Petersburg....

In Memory of Arnold Davydovych Margolin on his Centennial

ANTIN BATYUK

I had the honor of knowing Arnold Davydovych Margolin when I was head of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association. Liberating Ukraine from alien overlords was our common interest. We worked together in promoting our cause. We worked against the current, as each of us was in the minority within his sphere of competence and influence.¹

I particularly remember our visits in 1950's to the U. S. Department of State, where Arnold Davydovych was regarded as an expert on Czarist Russia, the Soviet Union, and other countries in Eastern Europe.

United States' policy toward the USSR was being vehemently debated within the State Department. Some of the staff were advocating dismemberment of the USSR. Others were inclined to a more lenient course. Arnold Davydovych was in favor of dismemberment. He believed that America would be safe only if Russia were divided into five or six countries, even if under fascist regimes, but that it would be endangered, were the USSR to remain intact. He believed that a free Ukraine would function as a barrier against Soviet designs for Europe and that, frustrated in Europe, the USSR would then turn against communist China, its current ally. Our prophecies proved to be correct.

Time and again, we discussed Ukrainian affairs with high officials of the State Department. We were especially successful in our contacts with Mr. Davis, who was in charge of Soviet affairs. Our discussions would last for one and a half hours. Dr. Matviy Stakhiv, then editor of "Narodna Volya," took part in them too, arguing that Ukraine, a

¹In the Ukrainian original this introductory statement is followed by excerpts from the first chapters of Arnold Davydovych Margolin's *Ukraine and Policy of Entente* and quotation from P. Holubenko's article, "Na storozhi natsional'noi hidnosti" ("Guarding national honor"), *Svoboda*, April 1976. They were excluded from the translation in order to preserve continuity.

sovereign member of the United Nations, could easily secede from Soviet Union according to the Soviet Constitution.

Davis declared his complete agreement with us, but pointed out that he did not make policy in the Department. He then arranged for a meeting with the three-member Planning Committee. The Ukrainian side was also represented by Col. Kedrovsky, Prof. Stepanenko, and the head of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party, whose name escapes me. But the meeting was not very successful.

Later on, Arnold Davydovych and I used to visit the Department of State on behalf of Ukrainian and Belorussian problems. Our discussions were often passionate, but as a rule would end calmly and courteously.

Organizing the Ukrainian Wilson Society parallel to the American counterpart was another one of our joint undertakings intended to promote the idea of independence for Ukraine and the other "captive nations." Arnold Davydovych's initiative led the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association to organize seminars for Ukrainian youth at its resort in Glen Spey, N. Y., as well as in Detroit, Boston, and Toronto, where Ukrainian language and literature were taught. The Ukrainian Wilson Society ceased to function after Arnold Davydovych's death.

Nor did we succeed in promoting friendly relations between Jews and Ukrainians, the cause to which the entire life of Arnold Davydovych Margolin was dedicated. The only result of the initiative taken by Arnold Davydovych and Dr. Lichten, the representative of the Jewish Anti-defamation League, B'nai Brith, was a series of meetings between leaders of the Ukrainian and Jewish communities, with the participation of Prof. Smal-Stocky, head of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. Prolonged and often controversial discussions was all we have had.

Here is what Arnold Davydovych Margolin wrote, in 1921, on relations between different nations living side-by-side in the same state:

My share in the construction of the edifice in which both Jews and Ukrainians would have to live would benefit them all, as I believed then and believe even now.... Retrospectively I feel no regrets for the hard work of those three years of my life spent in the service of Ukraine. I feel that my duties were discharged, both as a citizen of Ukraine and a son of the Jewish nation.... I was often like

a fly sitting on a spindle who does not help spin it but sees everything... The true nature of people shows better in adversity than at the peak of success... during the three days in Tarnov, I saw Petlyura three times. His sober political ideas, love of his country, capacity for orientation and clear understanding of the situations abroad were even more striking than when I saw him in Kamenets-Podol'sk. He seemed to have grown. He was tempered by the sufferings he had had to endure, the accusations of all kinds, and his awareness of immense responsibility. He stayed at his post.... I left Tarnov feeling deep respect for all these people with faith in the ultimate success of their aspirations....

There are no "good" or "bad" nations. There are simply different levels in the evolution of any nation.... The former rulers of Russia failed to understand that the edifice of state may endure only on a firm foundation. Instead of deriving the strength of the empire from its roots, from the inner depths of its multitude of nationalities, they were trying systematically to reduce to the same official common denominator the entire polymorphism of historical-cultural life of the nationalities....

It would be a great disaster, were all Jews thinking and feeling alike. They would become only a party, no longer a nation. Jewry can be held together only by mutual tolerance, the only cement... the high feeling of mutual tolerance, unity of its own milieu alongside close contacts with the people among whom Jewry lives — these are the slogans that must become universally adopted by all Jews. The voice of my appeal is lonely now, but the time will come when it will resound in the soul of every Jew. I believe firmly that this time is not too far away, that the hour of its advent is at hand.

These words, a prophecy, are the conclusion of Arnold Davydovych Margolin's *Ukraine and Policy of Entente*. They testify to the nobility of his character, his knowledge of humanity, and his statesmanship far better than my humble words could have done. Arnold Davydovych Margolin's stature in the history of both nations is unassailable.

Notwithstanding the propaganda of the Soviets and their follow-travelers, Soviet oppression of Ukrainians and Jews only brings these suffering nations closer together.

I conclude my story with the words of Walter Lippmann: "Civic greatness of man is his dedication to truth and not to opinion, whatever must be done will be done, regardless of certainty of the success."

In Memory of Arnold Margolin Ukrainian Citizen and Patriot

ALEXANDER OHLOBLYN

On October 30, 1956, Arnold Davydovych Margolin died tragically and our Academy lost one of its outstanding members and staunchest friends. We held a special session in his memory. A commemorative volume of *The Annals* of the Academy was published in 1959. Twenty years passed.

We intend to have a commemorative conference for Arnold Davydovych Margolin last year, but decided to hold it in 1977, to celebrate the centennial of Arnold Davydovych Margolin's birth rather than the vicennial of his death.

What was Arnold Davydovych Margolin's bond to Ukraine? He was born in Kiev, in the family of Davyd Semenovych Margolin, a distinguished industrialist and a socially minded benefactor of the community. A graduate of Kiev Gymnasium and of the University of Kiev Faculty of Law, Arnold Davydovych Margolin became a noted lawyer, a specialist in criminology, and an outstanding Jewish activist. He joined the Party of People's Socialists and became a member of its Central Committee.

But Arnold Davydovych Margolin always remembered that Ukraine was his fatherland. He was well aware of the oppression of Ukraine by the Czarist regime. He understood that one of the purposes of that oppression was to enhance the enmity between Ukrainians and Jews and concurrently to inhibit the Ukrainian cultural movement. Arnold Davydovych Margolin's wide circle of friends included many Ukrainian activists, some of whom rose to prominence in the revolution of 1917. He joined the Party of Ukrainian Socialist Federalists, the best intellectual forces of Ukraine at that time. He dedicated his knowledge, talent, and authority to the rebirth of the Ukrainian state.

In 1918, he was elected to the Ukrainian Supreme Court by the Central Rada; he was nominated Senator and member of the General Criminal Court by the Hetman's government; in October of the same

year, he was recommended for the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs by the Directory.

He served as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs in Volodymyr Chekhivsky's Cabinet and was delegated to defend the interests of Ukraine at the International Forum during the catastrophic times that befell the country.

In 1920, as an advisory member of the Ukrainian mission at the Peace Conference in Versailles, he strove, albeit unsuccessfully, for the acceptance of Ukraine to the League of Nations.

After the collapse of the Ukrainian state, Arnold Davydovych Margolin emigrated to Germany and then to the United States. Until the end of his life, he remained true to Ukraine as its spokesman and representative, as a supporter of Ukrainian independence. He lectured, he organized, he participated in conferences and consultations, he published. *Ukraine and Policy of Entente* (1922) and *From a Political Diary: Russia, Ukraine, and America, 1905-1945* (1946) are two of his best-known books.

Was Arnold Davydovych Margolin an exception in Ukrainian history? An individual case of a Jewish-Ukrainian activist?

No! Against the tragic background of Jewish-Ukrainian relations in history, the Ukrainian Jewry has produced several outstanding Ukrainian patriots who served their country faithfully, particularly during the Mazepa Renaissance. For example, both Pavlo Semenovych Herzyk, Colonel of Poltava and son-in-law of Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, and Mykhailo Andrievych Borokhovych, Colonel of Hadyach, were of Jewish descent. Both of them were redoubtable Cossacks, both were benefactors of Ukrainian culture. So was count Hryhor Orlyk, a general in France — son of Pylyp, and grandson of Pavlo Herzyk. So was Fedir Nakhymovsky, a life-long protagonist of Ukrainian independence, who settled in the Crimea and Turkey.

Arnold Davydovych chose to follow their path of glory in the 20th century.

Today, as we celebrate his centennial, the birth of an outstanding statesman and a true friend of our Academy, traditions of our statehood come to mind, the same traditions that he renewed and sustained in a particularly complicated period of our history. And he passed them on to his descendants.

We honor these traditions in the person of his daughter, Lubow

Anolddovna Margolena-Hansen, full member of the Academy, whose Ukrainian patriotism stands out so clearly in her publications. She is the precious ideological heritage left us by Arnold Davydovych.

I Remember A. D. Margolin

PANAS V. FEDENKO

I met Arnold Davydovych Margolin in the fall of 1919, in Kamenets-Podil'sk, the seat of the UNR government after the loss of Kiev. As editor of *Robotnycha Hazeta* and Secretary of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Workers' Party, I was invited to the news conference at which Margolin was to report on political developments in Western Europe in relation to the situation in Ukraine.

Our ministers and leaders were already assembled when I arrived: Mazepa, Bezpalko, Cherkasky, Starosolsky, Tymoshenko, Vityk, Chekhivsky, Stepanenko, and others. Margolin was introduced by Prime Minister Mazepa, as a distinguished Ukrainian diplomat, just back from Paris, a member of the Ukrainian Mission at the Peace Conference in Versailles.

Margolin spoke of British disappointment in the "White generals," who were losing the civil war in Russia, and of the change in Entente policy with regard to Eastern Europe. The British were already supporting Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania in their struggles for independence. This re-orientation could have opened new perspective for Ukraine were it not for the catastrophic defeats of the Ukrainian army, its lack of munition, the typhus epidemic that ravaged it, and the Galicians' accord with Denikin. The news was sad, but it was better to know the truth than to comfort oneself with delusions. In 1922 Margolin left for the United States.

We corresponded between the wars. But it was only after World War II that Margolin sent me a copy of his letter to Louis Marshall, Chairman of the Jewish Committee in America, the largest Jewish organization in the world that abstained from defending Samuel Schwartzbard at his trial in Paris in 1927.

We met again in 1937, in Prague. Nazism and fascism were gaining strength. Hitler was re-drawing the map of Europe, while France and England were appeasing both Hitler and Mussolini. At Margolin's request, Mazepa and I appraised the international situation, particularly the impact of German propaganda concerning Ukraine. Our analysis of the evidence showed the duplicity of that propaganda as

well as the Nazis' lack of interest in Ukrainian independence. According to Alfred Rosenberg, the Nazi ideologue, the "Hetman's baton" was to be wielded by a disreputable former secretary of Skoropadsky, under German tutelage. Margolin returned to the United States.

After the outbreak of the war in 1939, all communication with A.D. Margolin came to a halt. Following the collapse of the Hitler's Germany, however, A.D. Margolin had an opportunity of visiting the "old world" again and also spending some time in Germany. We met many times in Bavaria. Our talks centered mostly upon the international situation, particularly on the attitude of the western democracies, following the defeat of the Third Reich, toward their wartime ally — Stalin's empire. A.D. Margolin knew that the non-Russian peoples of the USSR continued to hope for a determined pressure on the part of western great powers on the Soviet prison-house of nations. But the Western governments had other thoughts on the subject. In my view, the Soviet people defended their country so well during the war not because they adhered to Stalin's dictatorship but because they hated the German occupation regime. They would not be too willing to fight the West, for they hoped for a better life once the dictatorship was liquidated.

Convocation of the Ukrainian National Rada was underway while Margolin was still in Germany. He emphatically opposed the anti-democratic propaganda of certain groups as particularly damaging to the Ukrainian cause. We also discussed Ukrainian-Jewish relations, which were so close to his heart, and the anti-Semitic publications of certain Ukrainian journalists who tried to develop a racist image of pre-liberation Ukraine. That was not too different from the racism of the fallen Reich. Their efforts were but the grist for the anti-Ukrainian mill.

In our discussions and in his subsequent letters from America, Margolin was consistently skeptical of the "federation" of Ukraine with Russia, which was a fashionable idea in certain Ukrainian circles at that time. He believed that a true federation is possible only between equals, that the traditional centralism of Russia, the stronger partner, could lead only to subjugation of Ukraine, and that the grievous experiences of the Ukrainian people were not conducive to their desire for federation with Russia, regardless of the type of government ruling from Moscow.

We are commemorating the 100th anniversary of the birth of a

great man and statesman, a defender of the oppressed, of freedom and truth, justice and humanity, a true patriot of Ukraine, unwaveringly steadfast in his dedication, the kind of whom Shevchenko said:
“Raz dobrom nalyte sertse vvik ne prokholone.”

My Recollections of Dr. A. D. Margolin

DMYTRO KORBUTIAK

I had known Dr. Arnold Margolin even before I came to Washington, D. C. in 1955, when I met him personally. I knew about him from the memoirs of those who had worked with him for the Ukrainian national rebirth in 1917 as well as from his own writings. And when I lived in Scranton, Pa., I heard about him from leaders of the Ukrainian Workingmen's Association who maintained close relations with Dr. Margolin. Therefore, as soon as I arrived in Washington, where Dr. Margolin was representing Ukrainian cause, I made an effort to get acquainted with this outspoken Ukrainian democrat of Jewish origin. Dr. Margolin received me amicably and since that day we met periodically either in his apartment or at my home. Our last meeting took place in a hospital, a few hours before his tragic and premature death.

In the course of our conversations, Dr. Margolin told me and my wife about his role as defense attorney in the widely publicized Beilis trial, about the motives which prompted him to join the Ukrainian movement, about his part in building the Ukrainian People's Republic as a sovereign state, about his diplomatic missions in Paris, Geneva, and London where he tried to convince the Entente powers that the Ukrainian people also had the right to self-determination, and about his activities in the United States. In particular, he told us about his tireless efforts to clear the names of the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic and of Symon Petlura of charges of anti-Semitism and of perpetrating pogroms. These charges were in his words, a great injustice to the leaders of the Ukrainian People's Republic who were known for their liberal and democratic convictions and who were free of anti-Semitism or any discrimination against the national minorities of Ukraine.

Our conversations confirmed what I had already known about Dr. Margolin, namely, that he was a man of immaculate integrity and deep democratic convictions which he preserved to the very end of his life. As a staunch democrat, who firmly believed in the democratic

principle of self-determination of nations, Dr. Margolin wholeheartedly supported the just aspirations of the Ukrainian people to become masters of their own country and did everything he could to help them achieve this goal. His loyalty to the Ukrainian cause, which has always had many adversaries, was a serious obstacle to his career in America, but he never regretted his choice. In the English-language edition of his book *Russia, Ukraine and America*, which was published in America in 1946, he said: "I believe that as a native of Ukraine I should take part in the constructive work that had been going on since April 1917 under the leadership of the Ukrainian Central Rada". And in another passage in this book, he wrote: "In looking back over the years wholly devoted to the cause of the Ukrainian people, I feel no regret for all the toils, the sacrifices and privations which were bound up with this task. On the contrary, I believe that it was a duty laid upon me as a son of Ukraine and one from which I had no moral right to abstain."

This attitude of Dr. Margolin should serve as an example to the minorities living in the hospitable Ukrainian land on the day the Ukrainian people complete the work that was begun in 1917 with his active participation. For his convictions and his deeds, the Ukrainian nation will always remember and honor Dr. Margolin as one of her own true sons. For the same reason, we pay tribute to him today on the occasion of this 100th birthday.

Dr. Arnold Margolin

JOSEPH L. LICHTEN

This solemn gathering in commemoration of Arnold Davydovych Margolin brings to mind several thoughts and reflections.

The very fact that it takes place twenty years after his tragic death, while a whole new generation has grown up in the meantime, is significant as well as symbolic.

Very few individuals, very few political leaders or scholars have attained such a high honor — to be commemorated two decades after their departure from this earth, and to be remembered by their co-workers and by the people at large with appreciation, respect, and love. He is mourned not only by his immediate family, not only by his personal friends, but by a community; perhaps it would be more correct to say by two communities — Ukrainian and Jewish.

There must be a reason for all this, when people of two hemispheres bow their heads to an individual, pay tribute to his life and work and to his achievements. Indeed there are many reasons for these feelings.

Dr. Margolin trained himself to serve others, and not those who were wealthy, prosperous, and powerful. He learned in his youth that these values do not bring happiness. He occupied himself with the common good of the individuals and people who, because of their religion, or national origin, were oppressed, persecuted, or deprived of freedom in their own land. He never thought of himself, of his personal interest, but rather always worked for others; for them he always had time and his mind was constantly occupied with their problems and their difficulties.

With his great powers of persuasion he tried to convince everyone who wanted or even did not want to listen that the Soviet totalitarian dictatorship was the enemy not only of Ukrainians and Jews, but of the entire civilized world. He believed that the proper answer to communist oppression should be close cooperation between the democratic forces of Ukrainians, Jews, and others both in the Ukraine and in the diaspora.

Dr. Margolin was the best representative the Ukrainian people ever

had in the United States. He was one of the very few for whom the doors of the State Department were always open. Unfortunately he was not always able to convince his interlocutors, though at least he was listened to with respect and attention.

The day before his tragic death he called me in New York from Washington to let me know of another important meeting at the Department of State. I promised to visit him the next day, but when I came, Arnold Davydovych already lay unconscious in a hospital bed.

Many times I observed his powers of persuasion when he stood before various political and cultural groups. The older listeners remembered that he was one of the founding fathers of the democratic and independent Ukraine; for the young he was a legend, though even they knew of this legal and diplomatic achievements. Not everyone at that time could grasp the meaning of Dr. Margolin's message. The events of the last 20 years showed how basically and deeply right he was not only in his analysis of the present but also in his predictions of the future.

If Arnold Davydovych were among us today, I doubt that he would be entirely happy and satisfied. True, he would notice how prophetic his evaluation of the cruel Soviet reality was, but, alas, this has not brought us, Ukrainians and Jews, close enough together. We could proudly present to him a long list of events — the establishment of a Ukrainian-Jewish commission, a series of conferences, lectures and articles, but they have been sporadic and have not endured. And our greatest weakness is that there are so few among us who are interested and willing to continue Dr. Margolin's work, to fulfill his message, his heritage.

For all these reasons your anniversary conference fills my heart with joy, for it brings new hopes and anticipations that we are still walking on the path of understanding and friendship.

May I congratulate the Academy for its noble initiative. I would wish to be physically present among you, but unfortunately the ocean divides us. However, I am with all of you, family, friends, old and young, in spirit and I greet you most heartily, especially those with whom I have had the pleasure and honor to work together for thirty years.

Let us join together in memory of a great man, a great Ukrainian and a great Jew, remembering that he who does not treasure his past does not deserve the future.

Books by Dr. Arnold D. Margolin

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302

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