

UKRAINE

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It is not very long ago that Ukraine was *terra incognita* not only to the masses of Western Europe and America but also to political and intellectual circles, and that even the very terms *Ukraine* and *Ukrainian* could not have been employed without most convincing and exhaustive annotations. Startling as this ignorance may seem, it is but too easily accountable. For centuries Ukraine has labored under the heavy yoke of Muscovy; it has suffered the most inexorable, the most barbarous and damnable process of assimilation which European history will ever be able to record. The interests of the Tsarist government necessitated the keeping of the whole world in ignorance of Ukraine and her people. The Russian authorities went so far as even to deny the existence of such a nation as the Ukrainian people.

Quite recently, however, the world has learned that there is such a country as Ukraine. The Russian government has been shown that the Ukrainian people, the existence of which had been so dogmatically denied, not only really existed but also was powerful enough to determine its national, political, and economic life. The Ukrainian nation is to-day one of the most important factors in the affairs of the world.

Since her entrance on the stage of world politics and affairs, Ukraine has been the object of many insidious attacks. Enemies of the Ukrainian people have been trying to misrepresent the Ukrainian movement with ever increasing audacity. Statements derogatory to the good name of the Ukrainian people and wholly unfounded were made by the Russian government even during the *regime* of the Bolsheviki. The Polish gentry, which until lately expected to witness the appropriation of Ukrainian territories by a new Polish kingdom, also assumed a malicious attitude toward the Ukrainian people. Russian nationalists and the Polish nobility—landlords and captains of industry—expressed their enmity in most calumnious ways since the Ukrainian People's Republic proclaimed the confiscation of large landed estates and the nationalization of industry, means of communication, and financial institutions. This unfriendly attitude of Russian and Polish lords will most probably continue until Their Graces become accustomed to the methods of democracy.

The Ukrainians themselves have not given any cause for ill-will; everything they have done so far tends to prove that they are endeavoring to organize themselves along the broadest democratic lines.

Their noble, altruistic ideals are briefly expressed in the following words of Professor Hrushevsky addressed last September to the Peoples' Congress at Kiev:

"The idea of federalism seems to be a principle that will become the firm foundation of the Republic. We look upon federation not as upon a means to obtaining independence, but as upon a thing that had long been discovered by the benevolent minds of the people—as upon a means for the confederation of Europe, a means for the confederation of the world.

"We shall struggle against all oppression of national life and against the exploitation of lands and peoples; for we have learned that there are neither more capable peoples nor less capable peoples, but that there are peoples which suffer from the unfavorable conditions of their historical existence."

To give the American reading public all the reliable information about the Ukrainian people, its aspirations, its culture, and its relations to other peoples, and to defend the Ukrainian people from such base calumniators as those mentioned above, are the main objects of this new publication. No propaganda whatever will be promoted in this review. The present war conditions are not very favorable, of course, to the obtaining of direct information from Ukraine and from other European countries; but special pains will be taken to sift out all news of questionable source, and events occurring in Ukraine will be described impartially and as accurately as possible.

The task of informing the public of Ukrainian affairs is not so simple a matter as may be supposed. One cannot comment justly upon the problems of Ukraine unless one knows the Ukrainian people, its history, and its conditions of life. The mere possession of facts is not sufficient. One must also be able to place a proper interpretation on the facts. The Ukrainian Alliance of America, which publishes this magazine, is qualified more than any other body of men to construe correctly statements and facts relevant to Ukrainian affairs. It now offers the initial number of its publication to the people of the United States, believing implicitly that its work will win the approval of the American Democracy, which is a nation of citizens who have no interest in leaning toward one Slavonic nation rather than another and who prefer to stand by a democracy rather than by the advocates of autocracy.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE UKRAINIAN PROBLEM

(A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE UKRAINIAN MOVEMENT DURING THE LAST CENTURY.)

It was not only in matters of sentiment, but in political ideas as well that the tradition of the Cossacks tinged all memories of their heroic struggles for liberty, the idealized figures of their knights, and the freedom which continued to exist among the intellectual classes and in the poetry of Ukraine, especially in the district of the Dnieper. The study of the past and of historic documents which were taken up with devotion by Ukrainian families in direct descent from the Cossacks, the collecting of popular traditions, which became numerous after 1820 or 1830—all this brought back to mind the symbols of national heroism and was handed down from generation to generation as a sacred legacy from the past and a promise for the future.

The feeling of romantic affection for everything concerning the immigrants coming from Germany and the Slav countries of the West, took root among the educated classes of Ukraine, especially about the year 1820. It strengthened the interest shown up till then for old traditions, ethnography and the language of the people, exerting a deep influence on the future development of the nationalist tendency. The study of ethnography and dialects, the researches into the life of the people, the renaissance of the Ukrainian language and literature, such as we see at the end of the eighteenth century and especially in the first half of the nineteenth century brought together the intellectual classes. This movement removed the lack of sympathy between nobles and people, which had been one of the causes of the political weakness of the Ukrainian upper classes, in addition to the national decadence and the Russianization during the eighteenth century. The educated Ukrainians in the nineteenth century regarded the people as the guardians of the national culture and of an art and genius full of unparalleled beauty. This recognition of the aesthetic value of the people slowly gave birth to a social and political democracy, founded on the sentiment of an ultimate alliance with the people which alone could be the foundation of Ukrainian regeneration.

On the other hand, the discovery of the inexhaustible genius of the people increased the intensity of the national ideal in the minds of the educated classes. A people of such numerical strength, covering such a vast extent of land, which had kept its patriotism intact in spite of all the difficulties created by political and religious disintegration; a nation which had maintained the fundamental purity of its language, its customs, traditions and poetry, which had founded such a remarkable material civilization: such a nation could not disappear, for it contained in itself the promise of its own resurrection. Such are the principles which make up the faith of educated Ukrainians as the tendencies we have endeavored to point out develop. Profiting by the old mistakes, the governing classes of the Ukraine assert their ideal from a firmer standpoint.

* * *

Under the influences of which we have just spoken, and thanks to the ideals imported from Western Europe, Ukrainian political thought abandoned its aspirations towards an independence that was no longer feasible, as well as to the establishment of a Cossack State, in order to replace them by a realizable political programme adapted to the existing circumstances. The oldest of these programmes that was in any way realized, dates from 1846. It was started by the Ukrainian organization of Kiev, known as the Guild of Cyril and Methodius, which played an important part in the course of later events. This body was organized at the beginning of the year 1846. It included the most eminent representatives of Ukrainian learning (the poet Shevchenko, the ethnographer Kulish, the historian Kostomarov, the lawyer Hulak, etc.) and soon found many partisans. As one of them says, the number of members of the Guild was raised to a hundred in the space of a year in the different towns of Ukraine, and this in spite of the secret nature of the body. The Guild aspired to a Slav Federation, an alliance between the "Slav republics" of which that of Ukraine would be a member. They desired a democratic and liberal constitution which would abolish privileges and classes and everything in fact of a nature to debase the people. Absolute freedom of speech, of thought, and of religion was to be guaranteed. Measures were to be taken to educate the people and to enlighten their political conscience. They counted on the creation of a popular literature to attain this end, on the bringing together of the upper classes and the people, and of working on the mind of the youth of the lycees and high schools so as to instil into them the ideas of confederation. Actually all this practical activity was killed at birth. For in the year 1847 one of the students informed on the leaders and denounced them,

with the result that they were arrested and condemned. This repression put a stop to any development of political thought in Ukraine, now that the most talented and active leaders were reduced to silence. When they returned from their exile and assumed their patriotic task, circumstances, such as the suppression of serfdom in Russia and the amelioration of the lot of the peasantry, compelled them to labor chiefly for the comfort of the peasants. They were occupied in teaching the agricultural classes and in educational work of various kinds as well as in creating a popular literature, etc. Yet this activity, though it was purely of an educative nature, was suppressed by the government in conformity with the principle proclaimed by the Minister of the Interior Valuyeff in 1863: "The Ukrainian language," he said, "never has existed, does not exist, and must not exist." As soon as the reprisals became less severe, about 1870, the work began again. It was directed in particular by an organization established at Kiev and known by the name of "Hromada" containing the best representatives of the new generation in Ukraine. As in the preceding period, its activity was concentrated chiefly in the direction of general culture, scientific researches, studies in history and ethnographical work. Moreover, efforts were made to develop the literature, the music and the theatre of Ukraine. The Ukrainian ruling classes disapproved of the secret revolutionary or terrorist associations which attracted towards them the greater part of the Ukrainian youth. They reproached them for their centralizing tendency, and their lack of interest in the national aspirations of the downtrodden peoples of Russia, especially those of Ukraine. The Ukrainian nationalists preferred liberal-constitutional ideals and were broad-minded with regard to the question of national autonomy. They especially favored the scientific and intellectual side of the Ukrainian movement.

In spite of such moderation in thought the Russian government regarded this activity with an unfavorable eye, because at the outset it hated any national Ukrainian movement, however moderate it might be. Moscow held strongly to the doctrine of "the unity of the Russian people," the complete unifying of the literary tongue, the schools and the general culture of all the Slav peoples of the East, whether inhabiting Ukraine, Great Russia or White Russia. Moreover, it regarded as dangerous any desire to establish a separate Ukrainian literature, any endeavor to awaken national feeling in this unfortunate race, and therefore any study which concerned its origin. Intellectual separatism was for it the first step which might lead to political separation between the two States. So whether it is intellectual or political, Ukrainian "separatism" is the scarecrow which dictates the movements of the Russian government with regard to Ukrainian aspirations.

For these several reasons then, the activities of the Ukrainians of Kiev were suppressed, no matter how modest or how politically innocent they might be. Any establishments or organizations where Ukrainian scientific workers congregated were forbidden and in the spring of 1876 the celebrated Ukase appeared determining the fate of the movement for many years. This Ukase forbade the publishing in Ukrainian of any work other than those of an historical or literary nature. It also required that Russian spelling should be used while every work was to be censored. Conferences, theatrical representations or Ukrainian concerts were absolutely forbidden.

These limitations were in themselves sufficiently severe, yet their severity was augmented by the arbitrary interpretations of the censorship. So that not only was popular and scientific literature suppressed, according to the letter of the Ukase, but even the printing of any other work in the Ukrainian language, for only works lacking interest or importance were authorized for publication. This state of things lasted a long time, for the Ukase was not repealed till 1906. However, the order with regard to concerts and theatres was soon repealed, on the advice of the local authorities, who became convinced that the prohibition was foolish and only served to excite the people. Nevertheless, all artistic manifestations were very strictly supervised.

The Ukrainian movement, however, was not to be extinguished by such coercive measures. They served on the contrary to keep it alive by putting obstacles in the way of any attempt made by so-called "Ukrainophiles" to adopt any loyal line of conduct. The Russian government did not approve of this attitude any more than of a radical one.

The impossibility of simply suppressing the Ukrainian movement was from now onwards demonstrated. It was to be explained by the political and intellectual force acquired by the nation during the nineteenth century. A lasting suc-

ness had already been secured to it in the domain of literature and general culture. The movement had its footing on the masses in a nation of twenty million inhabitants (now nearly thirty-five million) holding to their nationality at any price, and showing an inexhaustible power of evolution, hitherto only held in check by the bonds of a reactionary regime.

The educated classes of Ukraine fought incessantly in Russia for the national movement from 1880 to 1900 and endeavored to turn to their own advantage any possibilities which offered themselves. When the movement became no longer possible in Russia, it sought an outlet beyond the frontier in the territory of Austrian Ukraine.

The exodus of the Ukrainians or the divergence of the national activity towards Austrian Ukraine, towards Lemberg, which became a centre for the national life, was weighty with results not only for the Ukrainian movement in Russia, but also for the development of Austrian Ukraine itself. Already, about the year 1860, after the first prohibition of the Ukrainian language in Russia, this event had contributed to the sustenance of the Ukrainian national life in Austria at a very crucial moment in the development of this section of the subject people. After the movement had gradually grown weaker in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, under the pressure of the general reactionary movement in Galicia, the story year of 1848 poured a refreshing breath over the Ukrainians of Austria. The Austrian government sought in the Ukrainian population something to set off against the Polish revolutionary movement. The final liberation of the serfs, the admission of the moral and political rights of the Ukrainian people (or Ruthenians) the creation of the first institution of any importance in the domain of culture and politics, the nationalization of the schools, the formal promise of a university for Lemberg, the administrative separation of the two Galicias (Ukrainian and Polish) which had been artificially united in 1772: all these influences assisted the birth of a new era in the life of Austrian Ukraine.

But these years that were so full of hope soon passed, to be followed in its turn by the reaction of 1850, which brought to the Ukrainians of Galicia the most bitter deceptions. The promises made were completely forgotten for the most part, and the Ukrainians of Galicia, this "Tyrol of the East," after having aided the Austrian government in its combat against the rising of the Polish aristocracy were left to the unscrupulous rule of these same nobles, into whose hands the whole administration of Galicia passed once again in the year 1850. The Polish aristocracy and bureaucracy utilized the growing influence which they possessed for the purpose of insinuating to the Austrian rulers that the Ukrainian population of Galicia was an uncertain element, devoted to Russia and the orthodox faith. These intrigues were an obstacle to any attempts on the part of the Ukrainians to open the eyes of the government to the fatal consequences of a Polish predominancy in Galicia, under which the Ukrainians suffered horribly.

Thus arose a painful crisis in the national life of the Ukrainians of Galicia. Disillusions and doubts followed one another, and the way was open for the Russophile current towards which the Polish aristocracy was eagerly driving the Ukrainian element. Certain intelligences, despairing of any Ukrainian regeneration, turned to Russian culture in order to escape complete Polonization.

The arrival of fresh Ukrainian immigration, coming in 1863 to employ their activity on Galician soil, after the suppression of the Ukrainian movement in Russia, cannot under the circumstances be too highly appreciated. At a critical moment this influence brought the necessary aid to the Ukrainian element, chiefly of the younger generation—which had remained faithful to the programme of 1848. It helped them to strengthen their morale and to play their part in the life of Galicia.

From about 1880 this "popular" Ukrainian movement, as it was called, took a firm hold of the people in Galicia, nor did it fail to keep in touch with the Ukrainian movement in Russia as well. It acquired considerable influence over the masses. This was especially so with the left wing of the movement which was the more radical part and originated in 1890. Moreover the close bond which united Russian and Austrian Ukrainians, enabled the latter to utilize the resources of Galicia for their own development. The writers of Russian Ukraine took part in propaganda work and education in Galician Ukraine. From 1880 to 1905, that is to say for a quarter of a century, Galicia was, so to speak, a kind of intellectual Piedmont for the Ukrainian movement. Galician newspapers became the political tribune for the discussions and resolutions of the questions which were agitating the big Russian Ukraine and the small Austrian Ukraine. Galician educational establishments became the meeting places of the elite of both regions, who came together to combine their intellectual resources with the object of preserving their common patrimony.

One can easily understand that this movement, almost entirely banished from Russia, took up an irreconcilable at-

titude in regard to the centralizing policy of the Russian government. It was further equally intransigent in its hostility to the Polish oppression in Galicia. It goes without saying that the Russian government, always hostile to anything which would favor Ukrainian "separatism" in a broad sense, put a stop to any opportunism in the Ukrainian movement. In Austria Polish supremacy raised an insuperable obstacle between the Ukrainians and the government; any compromise with the latter was subject to the assent of the masters of Galicia, which meant, of course, the surrender of all Ukrainian aspirations. And as soon as one of the political leaders of Galicia showed any intention of making generous concessions, the Galician masses and the radical Russian Ukrainians were not long before they exhibited a vigorous disapproval.

This is what happened in 1890, when some leaders tried to arrive at a compromise with the government. The Austrian and Russian Ukrainians united in offering such opposition to the plan that it could not be carried out.

The end of the century was signalized by a rapprochement between the two Ukraines. This had a most happy result for the national life, thanks to the reciprocal control exerted on political questions.

From this moment the progress of national culture in Russian Ukraine has made rapid progress, in spite of all attempts made to stop its course. The present time shows a remarkable development in Ukraine which, benefiting by the enthusiasm of all classes, has reached a high state of culture, thus rendering service to the progress of national feeling. Ukrainian literature has produced a number of excellent writers. It has at last succeeded in securing the abrogation of the law which forbade the popularizing of scientific works. However, it was not until the advent of the new period which followed the Russo-Japanese war that the daily Press regained its liberty.

The stormy years 1904-6 brought to the fore the whole question of the Russian reactionary powers. The chief reform desired by the Ukrainian peasantry—the backbone of Ukraine—was in the matter of agriculture. The educated classes concern themselves with the solution of political questions. With the spokesmen of other disinherited races they unite to give voice to the national grievances. Their first demand is for the repeal of the law forbidding the use of the Ukrainian language. The Russian government has examined this question and found that the restrictions placed on the Ukrainian movement are quite unjustifiable. In answer to a question from the government the southern universities and those of Russia have given a similar reply. The Petrograd Academy addressed a memorandum to the Russian government proving that the current conception that the Russian literary language (Great Russian) was employed by the whole of Russia, was false, and did not include the Little Russians (Ukrainians). In the most positive manner this memoir affirms the right of existence to the Ukrainian language and literature. In spite of this, the delay brought about in the progress of the language was not immediately dissipated; this only occurred in 1906 when the law concerning newspapers was repealed. This law did away with all restrictions in respect of special idioms, under which term the Ukrainian language was included.

From this time on the Ukraine was freed of its shackles and was enabled to found papers, associations and all kinds of organizations with a certain amount of freedom. The constitution of 1906, although it left many restrictions still in existence, enabled the Ukrainians to choose their representatives. As a consequence the first and even the second Duma contained an important fraction of deputies elected by Ukrainian peasantry; yet the short duration of these assemblies prevented the representatives from accomplishing anything of importance.

It looked at this period as if the most joyous future were in store for the Ukrainian movement in Russia. Influenced by the aspirations towards political liberty shown by their brethren, the Austrian Ukrainians also claimed universal suffrage. Galicia was moved by a stronger national impulse than it had ever known before. It was hoped that once "œcumenical" Ukraine achieved freedom in Russia its intellectual and political power would be strong enough to release its sister States from foreign hegemony. These hopes, however, were not realized. A new reactionary movement disappointed all hopes, and all the promises made to the Russian people in 1905 and 1906 were completely forgotten. This blow was especially hard for Ukrainians. They suffered from the modifications introduced in the election laws, modifications which revoked the suffrage of the peasantry. At the same time Ukraine lost its representation in the Duma. The promised liberties—freedom for the Press and for associations—have never come into force, and a strict censor is still kept over printed works, newspapers and associations in the country.

The Russian Senate, and also Stolypin in his celebrated circular, "Associations among members of subject nations speaking a foreign language," affirmed once more the old principle of the unity and indivisibility of the Russian people,

and labelled as "dangerous separatism" all Ukrainian national activity, even in the domain of culture. There is certainly a strange contradiction in the fact that Ukrainians as members of an indivisible Russia are forbidden to use their own language, and that at the same time they are considered as "people of a foreign tongue" of the Empire, who must undergo restrictions for the benefit of "the Russian people."

The Ukrainian associations which were set on foot in former years were nearly all dissolved and the establishment of new ones was forbidden. The daily and periodical Press was subjected to intolerable administrative restrictions, so much so that it became impossible for it to reach the agricultural community. Anything which showed the slightest sympathy for the Ukrainian ideal was considered as a crime, and the most vigorous reprisals were taken against officials, employees, students, etc., suspected of nationalist sympathies. The Ukrainian movement in Russia was forced back to its old position.

Nor were the Austrian Ukrainians spared the most cruel disillusion in their turn. They saw their chances of improving their condition disappear as the hope of a solution

of the Ukrainian problem in Russia faded away. The electoral reforms had proved inadequate and the new "Volksparlament" on which were set such great hopes appeared absolutely powerless either to solve the complicated problem of nationalities, or to reduce the general chaos to order. Polish domination lost none of its rigors. Moreover, the government, not wishing to quarrel with the Poles, stipulated for a compromise between them before they would promise any amelioration in Ukrainian conditions. Under governmental pressure and in spite of the opposition of Ukrainian opinion, a compromise was brought about at the beginning of 1914, on the basis of a reform in the law concerning the elections to the Galician Landtag. This arrangement soon proved itself to be insecure.

Such was the situation when, sooner than one expected, there broke over Europe the cataclysm from which one expects a radical transformation of the conditions of existence of many subordinate nations, and the solution of numerous problems.

MICHAEL HRUSHEVSKY.

THE UKRAINIAN CENTRAL RADA

ITS ORGANIZATION AND POLICY.

The present *Ukrainian Central Rada*, which is the preliminary parliament of the Ukrainian People's Republic, is the outcome of the initial *Ukrainian National Rada* which was formed in Kiev on March 16, 1917.

It was formed by the Ukrainians of the said city, and was first composed of 20 members of the Ukrainian *intelligentsia*, representing mainly the thought of the Ukrainian Social-Democrats, Socialist-Revolutionaries and Socialist-Federalists, as well as of the non-partisan democrats. Professor *Michael Hrushevsky*, the noted historian, was elected President while *Vladimir Vinnechenko*, the leader of the Ukrainian Social-Democrats, and *Serge Yefremov*, one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionaries, were elected Vice-Presidents.

The U. C. Rada then planned to organize a real democratic representation of the people of Ukraine by means of electing representatives to a preliminary governing body for the country at democratic Congresses to be convoked with a short time.

For that purpose it convoked the first *All-Ukrainian National Congress* which was held in Kiev during April 19, 20, 21, 1917. This Congress was attended by representatives of all the organizations of Ukraine, who elected to the Rada 150 members and recognized it as the provisional government body of Ukraine.

The name of Rada was changed into the *Ukrainian Central Rada* as it had to represent not only one Ukrainian nation but the other peoples of Ukraine as well, and therefore the representatives of all the minority nationalities of Ukraine were then admitted to it, according to their percentage of the population of the country.

The newly reorganized U. C. Rada issued an appeal to the people of Ukraine asking them to put the life of the country on a new basis.

This appeal was first answered by the Ukrainian soldiers who called an *All-Ukrainian Army Congress* which was held in Kiev on May 18, 1917. The soldiers organized the *Ukrainian Military Rada*, recognized the Ukrainian Central Rada as their supreme governing body, and promised it their support. Besides, it passed a resolution demanding immediate nationalization of the army, especially with respect to Ukraine.

On June 10, 1917, the *Congress of the Ukrainian Peasants Union* was held, which also recognized the U. C. Rada and sent to it 212 of their representatives.

On June 23, 1917 another *All-Ukrainian Army*

Congress was held which approved the decisions of the first Congress and elected 132 deputies to the U. C. Rada.

On July 23, 1917, an *All-Ukrainian Workingmen's Congress* was held in Kiev, which delegated 100 deputies to the U. C. Rada.

In that way the Ukrainian Central Rada had been organized out of the representatives of peasants, workingmen and soldiers, as well as of all existing democratic organizations in Ukraine.

At that time it numbered about 650 members.

At all the congresses mentioned the main issue was to demand the *full measure of autonomy for Ukraine within the Russian federal union*.

This principle was left to be brought into practice by the Ukrainian Central Rada, which sent, through its central committee, called the *Mala (Little) Rada*, the demand to the Provisional Government at Petrograd to recognize the Rada and proclaim the principle of autonomy of Ukraine as having been accepted and indorsed by the central government of Russia; and to approve the general program of organization for Ukraine. Besides, the U. C. Rada demanded the immediate acceptance of representation at the Peace Conference and consideration of issues "*in connection with the fate of Galicia and the Ukrainian territories occupied by the Germans*"; the appointment of a High Commissioner for Ukrainian affairs; the drafting of Ukrainians into Ukrainian regiments; official recognition of the Ukrainian language; and a grant of funds for administrative purposes.

The U. C. Rada, or rather its central committee, the *Mala Rada*, sent its delegates to Petrograd with those demands; but they returned to Kiev with empty hands.

The refusal which the Ukrainian delegates met at their meeting with the first Premier of new Russia, Prince George Lvoff, aroused indignation in Ukraine, and particularly in the Ukrainian Central Rada.

It then began to act.

It called an *All-Ukrainian Congress* to Kiev, which was in session there during the 23 and 24th of June, 1917.

The delegates at that Congress resolved to create a *separate government for Ukraine* which should be responsible to the U. C. Rada. Nevertheless, they decided not to sever Ukraine from Russia, which should become a federal republic.

Simultaneously the second Ukrainian Army Congress was in session at Kiev. It had been, it is true, forbidden by M. Kerensky, who was then Minister of

War, but it was held in spite of his interdiction. This Congress sent a demand to the U. C. Rada that all relations with Petrograd be broken, and that Ukraine be proclaimed independent.

This, however, did not happen, for the All-Ukrainian Congress and the U. C. Rada were in favor of supporting the idea of a federal republic of Russia of which Ukraine would be a part. The Ukrainian Central Rada then prepared a Manifesto (called "Universal") which was approved by both the Congresses on June 24, 1917.

The most important parts of it ran as follows:—

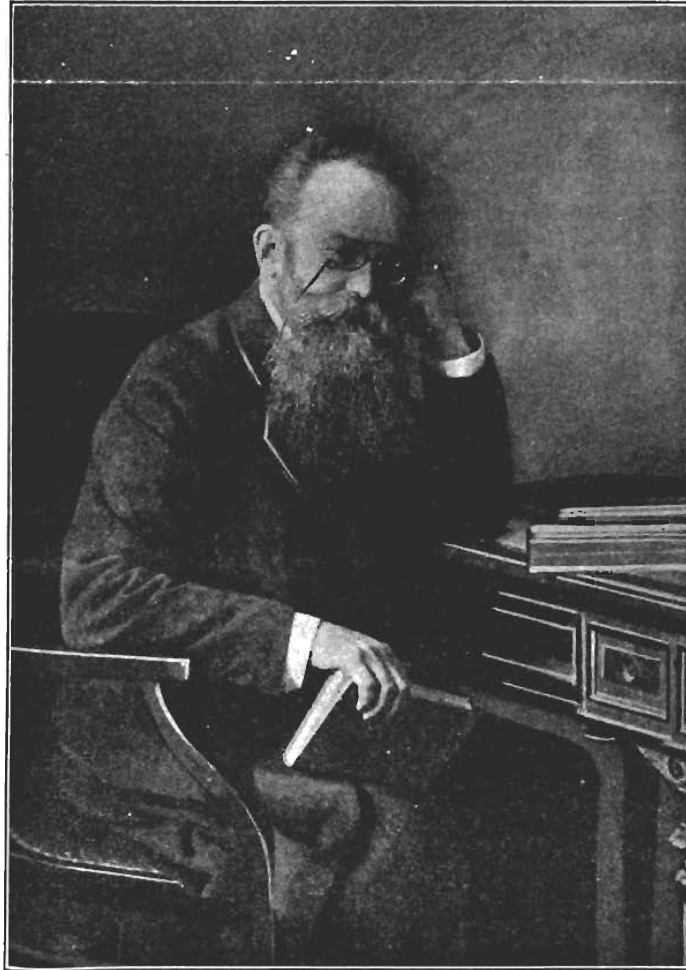
"Without separating from Russia, and without breaking away from the Russian State, let the Ukrainian people on its own territory have the right to dispose of its life, and let a proper Government be established in Ukraine by the election of a Ukrainian National Assembly, a Diet, on the basis of universal, equal, direct, and secret suffrage. Only such an assembly has right to issue laws which are to establish permanent order in Ukraine, while those laws which affect the entire Russian State must be issued by an All-Russian Parliament. No one knows better than ourselves what we want, and what are the best laws for us. No one better than our own peasants knows how to manage our own land. For that reason we wish, after all private, State, Tsarist, Ministerial, and other lands have been handed over throughout Russia to the various peoples, and after a constitution has been drawn up by the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, that the constitution and public order in our Ukrainian territories should be entirely in our own hands, that is, in the hands of a Ukrainian Diet. . . . We thought at first that the Central Russian Government would lend us a hand in this work, and that we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, would be able in co-operation with it, to organize our country; but the Provisional Russian Government has rejected our demands and has refused the outstretched hand of the Ukrainian people. We have sent out delegates to Petrograd to submit to the Russian Provisional Government our demands, the principal of which are as follows:—That the Russian Government should publicly, by a special Act, proclaim that it is not opposed to the national will of Ukraine and to the right of our people to autonomy; that the Central Russian Government should, for the decision of all affairs affecting Ukraine, have by its side our High Commissioner; that the local authority in Ukraine itself should be vested in the person of a Commissioner elected by ourselves, acting as the representative of the Central Russian authority; and that a definite portion of the taxes collected from our people into the State Exchequer should be handed over to us, the representatives of the Ukrainian people, for cultural and national needs. All these demands have been rejected by the Central Russian Government, which did not want to say whether it recognized our people's right to autonomy and to dispose of its own life. It has evaded a direct reply by referring us to the future All-Russian Constituent Assembly. It has refused to have by its side our High Commissioner. It has refused to co-operate with us in bringing about a new order in our country, and it has refused to ap-

point a Commissioner for Ukraine in order that we may administer our country in harmony and in order. The Government further refuses to hand over to us the taxes, collected from our people, for the needs of our schools and our organization, and now the Ukrainian people has compelled us to assume the entire responsibility. . . . It is for this reason that we are issuing this Universal Act to our people, proclaiming that henceforth we alone shall regulate our life."

The Act proceeds to call upon every individual member of the Ukrainian people to help in the work, and to proceed to organize the nation locally in various institutions, and then calls upon them to come to an agreement with the other nationalities living on Ukrainian territory: —

"The Central Rada hopes that the non-Ukrainian peoples living on our land will also concern themselves with the maintenance of law and order in our country, and will, in this grave hour of general political anarchy, co-operate cheerfully with us to organize the autonomy of Ukraine."

Soldiers were dispatched to various cities to read and explain this document, and incidentally to levy a land tax of a penny per acre for the Rada's expenses. The promulgation of the Universal in Kiev was attended by a grand open-air meeting amid the ringing of church and cathedral bells (June 26). Prince Lvoff issued a counter-manifesto on the danger of changing the form of administration in the country and in the army in war-time. His arguments were two-edged; they fell unheeded upon the Rada. Within a few days the new Ukrainian Government had been formed under the modest name of General Secretariat. The following is a list of the Ministers:



Professor Michael Hrushevsky,
President of the Ukrainian Central Rada.

President of the Gen. Secretariat and Gen. Secretary for Interior Affairs: V. K. Vinnechenko.

Director of General Affairs of the Secretariat: P. Khristiuk.
General Secretary of Finance: Kh. A. Baranovsky.
General Secretary of International Affairs: S. A. Yefremov.
General Secretary of Provisioning Affairs: M. M. Stasiuk.
General Secretary of Agricultural Affairs: B. Martos.
General Secretary of War Affairs: S. V. Petlura.
General Secretary of Justice: V. Sadovsky.

This body proceeded to address the population of Ukraine as the responsible Government of an autonomous State. The writ of the Provisional Government was no longer recognized in Ukraine. Its administrative prerogatives were suspended. It had to deal with the Rada or repudiate the Revolutionary theory of "self-definition" and invite an open revolt. The commencement of the Russian offensive west

of Tarnopol (July 1) which was to free Galicia and Poland from the Germanic yoke and qualify the Revolutionary Government for a predominant part in the Allies' counsels did not for an instant deter the Rada from its work. On July 11 M. Kerensky and his associates, MM. Tseretelli (a Georgian) and Tereshchenko (a Ukrainian), came to Kiev to confer with the members of the General Secretariat and with the Soviet. The Military Secretary had ordered a parade of Ukrainian soldiers in honor of the occasion. The commander-in-chief of the district forbade it. Nevertheless the parade was held. MM. Hrushevsky, Petlura and the other Ukrainian Ministers went out to take the salute, while M. Kerensky and his Ministers discreetly abstained from appearing. That two rival authorities—the Russian and the Ukrainian—were in open conflict became self-evident. A temporary solution based upon a virtual surrender by the Provisional Government was reached some days later. M. Kerensky had tried to appeal to sentiments of patriotism. At a meeting of political organizations in Kiev (July 13) he described how he had seen "under a terrible storm of deadly fire, our comrades and brothers rush forward bearing the red ensigns of the Revolution with cries of 'Long live freedom! Land and liberty!'" He admonished his audience not to compromise the great task of defending their freedom. "To create a special national army in time of war was absolutely unallowable," but "there would be no objection to forming certain units entirely of Ukrainian soldiers, if circumstances allowed." As a matter of fact the Ukrainians had done so already. M. Kerensky left again for the Front, commissioning his associates to conclude an arrangement. Negotiations reduced themselves to bargaining for a larger number of non-Ukrainian members of the Rada. The Ukrainians offered a quarter, the Provisional Government asked for at least a half.

An agreement was concluded with the Rada by MM. Tseretelli and Tereshchenko (July 14), without the previous assent or knowledge of non-Socialist Ministers in Petrograd. (This led to a serious Cabinet crisis on the eve of a fateful Bolshevik uprising, which will be described further on.)

The agreement was as follows:

For unifying the revolutionary democracy and the nationalities of Ukraine there must be created a territorial organ, the composition of which will be defined by agreement with the Ukrainian Central Rada. Its ranks will be filled up by representatives of the revolutionary democracy and of the nationalities which have hitherto not been represented, who will enter it in the proper numbers to give them a just representation. The establishment of the reformed Rada as a territorial organ requires the ratification of the Provisional Government. After ratification this organ will be regarded as a juridical organ of the administration, receiving its power from the Provisional Government. The proposed territorial organ will be given wide rights for the Government of Ukraine as is the case in the Caucasus.* In regard to the army, the Government gives the Ukrainians those rights which Kerensky outlined in his speech and the right of raising separate military units in so far as that does not interfere with the principle of the unity of the army. Also the right to have a representative of the Ukrainian Military Committee with the Minister of War, with the Generalissimo, and with army commanders.

One highly important point had been omitted, viz., a definition of the status of the General Secretariat. The Rada had flatly declined to admit that the Secretariat should be in any way responsible to or dependent on the Provisional Government. The Ministers had been obliged to give way. It was a crucial factor in the controversy. Its tacit acceptance implied Home Rule for Ukraine and all the logical con-

sequences thereof. The Provisional Government approved the agreement. Then all the Cadets in the Lvoff Cabinet and the Prime Minister himself, who had been playing the game of opportunism *à outrance* ever since he took office in March, 1917, resigned. The Rada, having scored an undoubted victory, issued another "Universal," in which it repudiated separatist aims and alleged its willingness to await the decision of the Constituent Assembly, taking comfort from the assurance that it would be difficult to cancel an accomplished fact.

In accordance with the above agreement made with the Russian provisional government, the Ukrainian Central Rada resolved on the Fundamental Principles of the Provisional Administration in Ukraine, which are as follows:

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF THE PROVISIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN UKRAINE.

Ratified by the Mala (Little) Rada, the Committee of the Ukrainian Central Rada, on the 29th of July, 1917.

In accordance with an agreement made with the provisional government on the 16th of July, 1917, the Ukrainian Central Rada, which is the organ of the revolutionary democracy of all the nationalities of Ukraine, and which is to prepare Ukraine for the final realization of autonomous government and to administer the affairs of the country until the meeting of the Ukrainian and all-Russian Constituent Assemblies, creates a General Secretariat which will constitute the highest organ of the administration of Ukraine.

The powers of the General Secretariat will be determined for the present by the following regulations:

§ 1. The highest administrative organ of Ukraine shall be the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian Central Rada. It will be appointed by the Rada, to which it must also remain responsible, and will be ratified by the provisional government.

§ 2. The appointment of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian Central Rada shall be made through the Committee of the Rada.

§ 3. The Rada shall ratify the General Secretariat as a whole by passing a vote of confidence.

§ 4. The General Secretariat shall consist of fourteen general secretaries,—secretary of internal affairs, secretary of finance, secretary of military affairs, secretary of food, secretary of agrarian affairs, secretary of justice, secretary of education, secretary of national affairs, secretary of commerce and industry, secretary of the post and telegraph, secretary of labor, secretary of communications, general auditor, and director of general affairs of the Secretariat.

Supplementary remark:

Besides the general secretary of national affairs, there shall be appointed three undersecretaries,—one from the Great Russians, one from the Jews, and one from the Poles. Concerning the affairs of their respective nationalities, these undersecretaries shall have the right of making reports and of casting the decisive vote. The appointment of the undersecretaries is to be ratified by the Committee of the Rada.

§ 5. The General Secretariat shall exercise its power through all administrative organs in Ukraine.

§ 6. All administrative organs in Ukraine shall be subordinate to the authority of the General Secretariat.

Supplementary remark:

The General Secretariat shall decide what organs are to communicate directly with the provisional government, with what limitations, and under what circumstances.

§ 7. To all official positions in Ukraine which are not elective, appointments shall be made by the General Secretariat or by the authorities subordinate to it.

§ 8. In the central provisional government there shall be a state secretary to look after the interests of Ukraine. This secretary will be appointed by the provisional government in agreement with the Ukrainian Central Rada.

§ 9. In his official services, the state secretary shall regard primarily the interests of Ukraine. He shall submit newly proposed bills to the General Secretariat for discussion by the Central Rada, whenever he considers such discussion necessary.

§ 10. The General Secretariat shall submit to the provisional government for ratification all bills that have been discussed and approved by the Ukrainian Central Rada.

§ 11. The General Secretariat shall submit to the provisional government for ratification the preliminary account of financial expenditures in Ukraine which has been certified and indorsed by the Ukrainian Central Rada.

§ 12. All expenditures that enter the account of the Central Rada shall have been made at the recommendation of the General Secretariat, in accordance with the budget-law passed by the Ukrainian Central Rada.

* The administration of the Caucasus, like that of Turkestan, had been a separate entity under the Empire for military and racial reasons, like the British rule in India. It offered scant analogy with the Rada.

§ 13. The General Secretariat shall leave all questions which it deems unusually important to the decision of the Ukrainian Central Rada.

§ 14. The General Secretariat shall be strictly accountable to the Central Rada for all its actions. Any activity of the Secretariat shall be subject to the control of the Rada, which control will be exercised by means of interpellation.

Supplementary remark:

The order of interpellations is to be determined by a special regulation.

§ 15. When the Central Rada is not in session, the General Secretariat shall be responsible to the Committee of the Ukrainian Central Rada. On such occasions the Committee shall be authorized to execute all the functions of the Rada except that specified in section 3.

§ 16. If the General Secretariat cannot agree with the decision of the Committee upon any question, the issue is to be left to the decision of the Central Rada, which shall be convoked immediately, when such a difficulty arises.

§ 17. Should the Ukrainian Central Rada fail to pass a vote of confidence in the General Secretariat, the latter shall tender its resignation.

§ 18. The General Secretariat shall countersign all acts of the Ukrainian Central Rada and of the Committee.

§ 19. All laws adopted by the provisional government shall be in full force in Ukraine from the day of their promulgation in the Ukrainian Official Messenger, in the Ukrainian language.

Supplementary remark:

In cases of urgent necessity, the General Secretariat shall promulgate new laws through other channels.

§ 20. All laws, administrative regulations, and decrees that shall be promulgated in the Ukrainian language, shall also be proclaimed in the Russian, Jewish, and Polish tongues.

§ 21. Concerning its internal administration, the General Secretariat shall be authorized to adopt its own regulations.

The Russian provisional government afterwards sought, however, to take away from Ukraine what they had granted it.

M. Kerensky, under the pressure of the Cadets, issued an "instruction" to the Ukrainian Central Rada limiting its powers as well as those of the General Secretariat.

The first consequence of this move of Petrograd against Kiev was the resignation of the first Ukrainian Cabinet.

Further developments might have brought about a serious struggle between North and South, and only the unexpected attempt of Korniloff to seize the government caused the excitement to die down.

At the moment when Kerensky's government was endangered by Korniloff, the Ukrainian Central Rada as well as the Ukrainian army declared for Kerensky by which declaration the danger of counter-revolution was averted.

The Ukrainians then expected that the attitude of the U. C. Rada towards Kerensky's government in its crisis would improve the relations of Petrograd to Ukraine, but it did not.

The Ukrainians felt that they were being deceived by Petrograd and that they had enemies in the Russian provisional government. Therefore they did not want to defend it at the time of the Bolsheviks' rebellion. They adopted a neutral attitude. They then cared only for Ukraine.

The following, *third Manifesto* issued by the Ukrainian Central Rada on November 20, will best express the policy of the Ukrainian Central Rada at the start of the government of the Bolsheviks:

THE PROCLAMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC.

(The third Manifesto of the Ukrainian Central Rada issued on November 20, 1917.)

To the Ukrainian people and all the peoples of Ukraine!

An hour of trials and difficulties has come for the land of the Russian Republic. In the north, in the capitals (Petrograd and Moscow), a bloody internecine struggle is in progress. A Central Government no longer exists, and anarchy, disorder and ruin are spreading throughout the State.

Our country also is in danger. Without a strong, united and popular Government, Ukraine also may fall into the abyss of civil war, slaughter and destruction.

People of Ukraine, you, together with the brother peoples of Ukraine, have entrusted us with the task of protecting rights won by struggle, of creating order and of building up a new life in our land. And we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, by your will, for the sake of creating order in our country and for the sake of saving the whole of Russia, announce that henceforth Ukraine becomes the **Ukrainian People's Republic**. Without separating from the Russian Republic, and preserving its unity, we take up our stand firmly on our lands that with our strength we may help the whole of Russia, and that the whole Russian Republic may become a federation of free and equal peoples.

Until the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly meets, the whole power of creating order in our lands, of issuing laws, and of governing belongs to us, the Ukrainian Central Rada, and to our Government—the General Secretariat of Ukraine.

Having strength and power in our native land, we shall defend the rights of the revolution, not only in our own lands, but in all Russia as well.

Therefore we announce:—to the territory of the Ukrainian People's Republic belong the lands where the majority of the population is Ukrainian: Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia, Chorniv, Poltava, Kharkov, Katerinoslav, Kherson, Tauria (without the Crimea). The further delimitation of the frontiers of the Ukrainian People's Republic, viz., the addition of part of Kursk, Kholm, Voronezh and the neighboring provinces and districts, where the majority of the population is Ukrainian, is to be settled according to the organized wishes of the peoples.

To all the citizens of these lands we announce:—Henceforth in the territory of the Ukrainian People's Republic the existing rights of ownership to the lands of large proprietors and other lands not worked by the owners which are fit for farming, and also to lands belonging to the Royal Family, to monasteries, to the Crown and to the Church, are abolished. Recognizing that these lands are the property of the whole working people, and must pass to the people without compensation, the Ukrainian Central Rada instructs the General Secretary for Land Questions to work out immediately a law for the administration of these lands by Land Committees, chosen by the people before the meeting of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly.

The labor question in the Ukrainian People's Republic must immediately be regulated. For the present we announce:—In the territory of the Ukrainian People's Republic henceforth an eight hours' day is ordained in all factories and workshops.

The hour of trial and danger which all Russia and our Ukraine is now experiencing necessitates the proper regulation of labor, and a fair distribution of food supplies and a better organization of work. Therefore, we instruct the General Secretary for Labor, together with representatives of labor, to establish from to-day State control over production in Ukraine, respecting the interests both of Ukraine and also of the whole of Russia. For four years on the front blood has been shed, and the strength of all the peoples of the world has been wasting away. By the wishes and in the name of the Ukrainian Republic, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, firmly insist on the establishment of peace as soon as possible. For this end we make resolute efforts to compel, through the Central Government, both allies and enemies to enter immediately upon peace negotiations.

Likewise we shall insist that at the Peace Congress the rights of the Ukrainian people in Russia and outside Russia shall not be infringed in the treaty of peace. But until peace comes, every citizen of the Republic of Ukraine, together with the citizens of all the peoples of the Russian Republic, must stand firmly in their positions both at the front and in the rear.

Recently the shining conquests of the Revolution have been clouded by the re-establishment of the death penalty. We announce: Henceforth in the lands of the Republic of Ukraine the death penalty is abolished. To all who are imprisoned and arrested for political offences hitherto committed, as well as to those already condemned or awaiting sentence, and also to those who have not yet been tried, full amnesty is given. A law will immediately be passed to this effect.

The courts in Ukraine must be just and in accordance with the spirit of the people.

With this aim we order the General Secretary for Judicial Affairs to make every attempt to establish justice and to carry it out according to rules understood by the people.

We instruct the General Secretary for Internal Affairs as follows: To make every effort to strengthen and extend the rights of local self-government, which shall be the organs of the highest local administrative authority, and that before the establishment of the closest connection with the organs of the revolutionary Democracy, which are to be the best foundation of a free democratic life. Also, in the Ukrainian People's Republic all the liberties won by the Russian Revolution are to be guaranteed, namely, freedom of the press, of speech, of religion, of assembly, of union, of strikes, of inviolability of person and of habitation, the right and the possibility of using local dialects in dealing with all authorities.

The Ukrainian people, which has fought for many years for its national freedom and now has won it, will firmly protect the freedom of national development of all nationalities existing in Ukraine. Therefore, we announce that to the Great Russian, Jewish, Polish, and other peoples of Ukraine we grant national personal autonomy for the security of their rights and freedom of self-government in questions of their national life, and we instruct our General Secretary for Nationality Questions to draw up in the near future a measure for national personal autonomy.

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

Citizens! In the name of the Ukrainian People's Republic in federal Russia, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, call upon all to struggle resolutely with all forms of anarchy and disorder, and to help in the great work of building up new State forms, which will give the great and powerful Russian Republic health, strength, and a new future. The working out of these forms must be carried out at the Ukrainian and all-Russian Constituent Assemblies.

The date for the elections of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly is fixed for January 9, 1918, and the date for its convocation January 22, 1918.

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

As it is well known, the Bolsheviks did not let Ukraine alone. They initiated a civil war against the Ukrainian People's Republic which they have been waging for more than two months.

By so doing they forced the Ukrainian People's Republic to separate from Russia as well as to sign a separate peace with the Central Powers.

As an organ of an independent nation the Ukrainian Central Rada has recently issued the Fourth Manifesto to the Ukrainian people, which in effect is as follows:

THE FOURTH MANIFESTO OF THE UKRAINIAN CENTRAL RADA.

The Socialistic Régime in Ukraine.

LONDON, February 11.—The telegram from Stockholm to the *Times* says:

"The Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Central Rada (called Mala Rada) indorsed the fourth 'Universal' (Manifesto) at its sitting on the 25th of January. This Manifesto goes beyond the three preceding ones in many respects. It begins with a bitter reproach directed at the Bolshevik government for having needlessly prolonged the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk, and for having sought causes for a new war—a so-called 'holy war.'

"Subsequently, the Manifesto declares that the Ukrainian democracy would on no condition allow itself to be drawn into war again. It announces that, in order to frustrate the aims of the Petrograd government, 'we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, declare that from to-day on the Ukrainian People's Republic is completely free, and desires to live in friendly relations with Austria, Russia, Rumania, Turkey, and other neighboring nations.'

"The Manifesto proceeds with the declaration that all private landed property including forests, waters, mines, and other large estates shall be nationalized without indemnification; and that all branches of commerce and industry, including state monopolies for banks and for the production of coal, iron, leather, tobacco, etc., shall be taken under the management of the Republic.

"In concluding, the Manifesto makes mention of the dark forces which are trying to provoke dissatisfaction among the ignorant masses of the people, and which are longing for the return of the old 'regime.' It warns all who are striving to restore the Tsar, or to bring Ukraine under the sovereignty of Russia, or who seek in any other way the detriment of the Republic, that they will be arrested for high treason."

According to the latest reports from Ukraine, the present Ukrainian Central Rada consists of 729 members, of whom 25% are the representatives of non-Ukrainian nationalities from the country, for the most part of Russians, Jews and Poles.

The members of the Rada are divided thus:

212 representatives of the peasants;
282 soldiers and work ingmen's deputies;

the remaining 235 members of the Rada form the representatives of the professional organizations of Ukraine.

There are no Cadets (Constitutional Democrats) in the Rada, for they left the Council long ago; nor are there any representatives of big business or industry.

As to the percentage of the Socialist representation in the Rada, it cannot be given correctly at present. About two months ago, according to the Ukrainian papers from Kiev, it amounted to two-thirds.

NEW MANIFESTO OF THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT OF UKRAINE.

(From "L'Ukraine," Dec. 20, 1917.)

The Ukrainian General Secretariat has addressed the following manifesto to all the citizens, to all the governmental institutions, as well as to all the political and social organizations of the Ukraine:

The Central Russian Government is not in a position to take charge of all the affairs of the State. Entire sections of the country have been abandoned to themselves.

The disorganization of political, economic, and social life is growing daily worse and worse. For this reason the Secretariat has created the following commissariats: for Foodstuffs, for the Army, for Justice, for Post and Telegraph, and for means of Transportation.

The jurisdiction of the General Secretariat extends over all the territories in which Ukrainians make up the majority of the population. The governments of Khereson, Kharkiv, Katerinoslav and Tauria are therefore a portion of the Ukraine. The functionaries of all these governments will therefore apply to these various Secretaries in all matters concerning their activities, as will, under similar circumstances, all other citizens of the Ukraine also.

All reports of a separation of the Ukraine from Russia are based either on some anti-revolutionary propaganda, or on idle talk by persons of no consequence. The Central Rada, as well as the General Secretariat, have both declared in a manner that leaves no room for doubt, that the Ukraine is to be a part of the federated Russian Republic, under the same conditions as all the other nationalities of Russia; the present political situation cannot in any way alter this decision.

So long as peace has not been concluded between the belligerent states, activity on the front is not to be discontinued.

The troops must be clothed, fed, and armed.

The General Secretariat, in agreement with the central military authorities, will do all in its power to have the army properly provided with all that is needed.

Elections to the Russian Constituent Assembly are to take place on November 25th. The administrative organs are to do everything in their power to assure the most punctual procedure of these elections, and to secure a participation of the whole population in them.

In a short time the proposed law concerning a Ukrainian Constituent Assembly will be ratified by the Central Rada and published by the General Secretariat.

Furthermore, a plan for military defense of the entire territory of the Ukraine will be worked out, in order to prevent pogroms, armed attacks, and, in short, all attempted violations of order.

Troops will be placed at the disposition of the government and district commissaries in order to maintain order, in order that they may effectively and determinedly combat anarchy and all other causes of disorder.

In this conflict, the General Secretariat will be supported, in the localities, by the organs of the local administration, which, in turn, are to have the support of the Ukrainian Democracy.

The proposed law concerning the solution of the agrarian question has been almost finished and will be published in a few days. Until then any attack on property is prohibited.

All administrative organs are requested to follow precisely the instructions of the General Secretariat. The citizens of the Ukraine must be free in every respect, and it is therefore necessary that they lend their active and eager assistance to the authorities in this work which is so important for all: the maintenance of order and the defense of all the achievements of the revolution.

Given at Kiev, Nov. 16, 1917.

THE GENERAL SECRETARIAT.

THE INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF UKRAINE

The plenary session of the Peace Conference at Brest-Litovsk, which had been broken off on January 9th was continued with Minister von Kühlmann in the chair. The Chairman of the Ukrainian Delegation, Secretary for Trade and Industry *Ysevolod Holubovich* (the present Premier of the Ukrainian Cabinet) was announced as the first speaker. His remarks were as follows:

"Honored ladies and gentlemen! The nations, exhausted and tormented by the war, long for peace. In the pursuit of this longing for peace, the representatives of the democracy of Great Russia, paying no heed to attacks directed against them by a certain section of Russian society and of the Russian press, have boldly pierced the lines of trenches of the belligerent powers, not with the purpose of dying on the battlefield the death by blood and iron, but in order to bring

public will undertake independent international relations through its General Secretariat. The General Secretariat, therefore, considers it absolutely necessary to inform all the countries and peoples of the world concerning the attitude of the Ukrainian People's Republic to the peace negotiations which are at present being inaugurated at Brest-Litovsk, between the representatives of the Council of Popular Commissaries, on the one hand, and the governments of the powers at war with Russia, on the other. Unalterably maintaining the ground that the present war is a terrible calamity for all countries, and particularly for the laboring classes of each country, and that all the belligerent states should relinquish any possible intentions of conquest and immediately inaugurate peace negotiations, the Ukrainian Central Rada of the State of the Ukrainian Republic has considered it to be imperative that it enter, immediately after the proclaiming of the Ukrainian Republic, upon an active policy in peace matters. The Ukrainian Central Rada has, therefore, after declaring the necessity, in its Third Universal Note, of imme-



Ukrainian Manifestation in Kiev on the 16th of March, 1917.

about, by peaceful agreement, the peace between nations, of which the whole world is so much in need. After peace negotiations had been begun, and the principles of peace had been proclaimed, you very appropriately provided for an intermission of ten days, to enable those states that had hitherto not taken part in the negotiations, to have a share in them. Our country, the Ukrainian People's Republic, whose people has always been for peace, was the first government to accept your call. After the Third Ukrainian Central Rada (Nov. 7—20) had defined the national function, the Ukrainian People's Republic at this moment again resumed its existence as a nation, which it lost 250 years ago. In the full sense of this relation, our government enters into the practice of all the international functions to which it is entitled. In accordance with the above, the General Secretariat of the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic considers it proper to assume an independent position in the present peace negotiations. The Government hereby transmits the following note to the governments of the powers that are here represented:

"The Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic herewith calls the attention of all the belligerent and neutral states to the following: By means of Universal III of the Ukrainian Central Rada of Nov. 20, the Ukrainian People's Republic was proclaimed. This national document defined the international status of the Republic. The Ukrainian People's Republic aims at the creation of a federative alliance of all the republics that have thus far arisen on the soil of the former Russian Empire. Until such time as may see the formation of a central federal government in Russia, as well as an international regulation in the matter of the diplomatic representation of this federation, the Ukrainian People's Re-

public will undertake independent international relations through its General Secretariat. For this purpose, representatives of the General Secretariat were sent to the southern front and to the Rumanian front, which are at present consolidated in a single Ukrainian front under the supervision of the Ukrainian People's Republic. Simultaneously the Ukrainian Central Rada commissioned the General Secretariat to inform the Central Allies of the inauguration of these negotiations, which commission was duly carried out by the General Secretariat. Subsequently, when the Council of Popular Commissaries, acting in concert with the governments of the states at war with Russia, assumed control of the armistice question on all the Russian fronts, the General Secretariat sent its representatives to Brest-Litovsk for purposes of information and control. In this connection, the General Secretariat considers it imperative to call attention to the fact that the representatives of the Council of Popular Commissaries, in spite of the fact that they had been informed of the arrival of the representatives of the government of Ukraine, for the purpose of taking part in the negotiations, nevertheless disposed of the armistice matter independently, without any consultation with the Ukrainian People's Republic. Now that the Council of People's Commissaries, in accordance with the last clause of the conditions of the general armistice, have undertaken peace negotiations with the Governments of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria, at Brest-Litovsk, the General Secretariat has the following declaration to make in the name of the Ukrainian People's Republic:

1. The entire democracy of the Ukrainian State aims at a conclusion of the war in all the world, and a general peace between all the states now waging war.
2. The peace that is to be concluded between all the

powers must be a democratic one and must guarantee to every state, even to the smallest, an absolute and in no wise limited right of national self-definition.

3. To enable the neutral will of the peoples to express itself, adequate guarantees must be created.

4. Yet any annexation, that is, any forcible incorporation of any territory, without the consent of its inhabitants, is inadmissible.

5. Equally inadmissible from the standpoint of the interests of the laboring classes, are any war indemnities, no matter what form they may assume.

6. The small nations or peoples which have suffered considerable damage or devastation in the course of the war, must receive material aid in accordance with lines to be laid down at the peace congress.

7. The Ukrainian People's Republic, which at present holds the Ukrainian front, which is in its territory, and which in international relations is represented independently by its government, on which devolves the protection of the Ukrainian national interests, must, like all the other powers, be permitted to take part in all peace negotiations, conferences, and congresses.

8. The power of the Council of Popular Commissaries does not extend over the whole of Russia, and therefore not over the Ukrainian People's Republic. The peace which may result from the present negotiations with the powers at war with Russia will be binding on Ukraine only if the conditions of this peace are approved and signed by the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic.

9. Peace can be concluded in the name of Russia as a whole only by such government as would be selected,—and it would have to be a federal government, and recognized by all the Republics and nationally organized territories of Russia. Should the formation of such a government not come to pass in the immediate future, then only a united representation of the aforesaid republics can conclude peace.

"Firmly adhering to the principle of a democratic general peace, the General Secretariat aims simultaneously at a general peace, to be concluded at the earliest possible moment, and will lend its approval to any efforts that might aid in the realization of this object. The General Secretariat, therefore, considers it imperative that it be represented at the conference of Brest-Litovsk, simultaneously expressing the desire that a final solution of the peace matter may be achieved at an international congress, to which the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic invites all the belligerents to send their delegates.

Signed by the President of the General Secretariat, VINCENKO; by the Secretary for International Affairs, SHULHIN.

KÜHLMANN'S ANSWER.

In answer hereto, Kühlmann, Chairman, State Secretary, said:

"Gentlemen! We have taken note, with real interest, of the statements of the Chairman of the Ukrainian Delegation, as well as of the content of the communications transmitted to us. I suggest that the Ukrainian note be incorporated with the transactions of this Congress as an important

historical document. The representatives of the (Central) Allies welcome the Ukrainian representatives, who have come to Brest-Litovsk, in the spirit of your telegrams of Dec. 26, 1917. The representatives of the (Central) Allies reserve for the future their statement of their position on the details of the Ukrainian presentation."

In this connection, the Chairman declared that he was obliged to ask certain questions in order to arrive at a suitable basis for the decisions of the (Central) Allies. Hitherto, he said, negotiations had been carried on with the Petersburg Government, concerning all matters connected with Russian territory. He must therefore ask the Chairman of the Delegation of the Petersburg Government, whether he and his delegates still wished to continue to represent diplomatically, at this place, the interests of Russia as a whole.

A STATEMENT BY TROTZKY.

Hereupon Trotzky made the following declaration:

Being informed of the Note of the General Secretary of the Ukrainian People's Republic, which has been communicated by the Ukrainian Delegation, the Russian Delegation, for its part, declares that, acting in full recognition of the principles of the right of self-definition for every nation, it finds no objection to the participation of the Ukrainian Delegation in the peace negotiations, even if this should involve the complete secession of the latter from Russia."

Concerning the interpretation of this declaration of the Russian Delegation, a discussion of some length arises. Finally it culminates in the question as to whether the Ukrainian Delegation constitutes a subdivision of the Russian Delegation, or whether it is to be considered, for diplomatic purposes, as the representation of an independent state. The Russian Delegation considers this question to be answered by the fact that the Ukrainian Delegation states itself to be an independent delegation, which is recognized by the Russian Delegation as independent, and by the fact that no other proposal seems to be forthcoming from any other quarter.

The Chairman of the Ukrainian Delegation, Holubovich, thanks the representatives of the Russian Delegation for this declaration, and for the nature of its reception. He assumes that this defines the independent position which his delegation may take in peace negotiations, with the result that the Ukrainian and Russian delegations will constitute two distinct delegations of the same party.

TERMS OF PEACE MADE BY UKRAINE

The treaty is entitled: "*A Treaty of Peace Between Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey on the One Part and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the Other.*"

The Ukrainian people, having in the course of the present world-war declared itself independent and expressed the wish to restore peace between the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Powers at war with Russia, the Governments of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, have resolved to agree on a Peace Treaty with the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic. They thereby desire to take the first step towards a lasting world peace, honourable for all parties, which shall not only put an end to the horrors of war but shall also lead to the restoration of friendly relations between the peoples in the political, legal, economic, and intellectual realms.

To this end, the Plenipotentiaries of the above-mentioned Governments—namely, for the Imperial German Government, the Foreign Secretary, Herr von Kühlmann; for the Austro-Hungarian Govern-

ment, the Foreign Minister, Count Czernin; for the Bulgarian Government, the Prime Minister, M. Radoslavoff, and the Envoys, M. Andrea Tcheff, M. Ivan Staia Stoyanovich, the Military Plenipotentiary, Colonel Peter Gantcheff, and Dr. Theodor Anastassoff; for the Imperial Ottoman Government, the Grand Vizier, Telaat Pasha, the Foreign Minister, Nessini Bey, Hakki Pasha, and General Izzet Pasha; for the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, MM. Alexander Sevriuk, Nicholas Liubinsky, and Nicholas Levitsky, members of the Central Rada—have met together at Brest-Litovsk for the inauguration of peace negotiations, and after submitting their credentials, which were found to be in good and proper form, they have reached agreement on the following points:—

The names of all the plenipotentiaries engaged in the negotiations are then set forth, and they are declared to have reached an agreement on the following points:

ARTICLE I.—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey on the one hand and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the other declare that the

state of war between them is at an end. The contracting parties are resolved henceforth to live in peace and friendship with one another.

ARTICLE II.—(A) Between Austria-Hungary on the one hand and the Ukrainian People's Republic on the other hand, as far as these two powers border one another, those frontiers will exist which existed before the outbreak of the present war between the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and Russia.

(B) Further north the frontier of the republic beginning at Tarnohorod will in general follow the line of Bilhoray to Shchegreshin, Krasnostav, Puhachiv, Radin, Mezhyreche, Sarnaki, Melnik, Visoke Litovske, Kamenets Litovsky, Pruzhani and Vihonivsky lake. This will be fixed in detail by a mixed commission according to ethnographical conditions and with a regard to the desires of the population.

(C) Should the Ukrainian People's Republic yet have common frontiers with another of the powers of the Quadruple Alliance, special agreements will be made thereon.

ARTICLE III.—The evacuation of occupied territories will begin immediately after the ratification of the present treaty. The manner of carrying out the evacuation and transfer of the evacuated territories will be determined by the plenipotentiaries of the interested parties.

ARTICLE IV.—The diplomatic and consular relations between the contracting parties will be entered upon immediately after the ratification of the peace treaty. The widest possible admittance is to be reserved for a special agreement.

ARTICLE V.—The contracting parties mutually renounce the reimbursement of their war cost—that is to say, the State expenditure for carrying on the war, as well as indemnification for damages—that is to say, those damages suffered by them and their subjects in the war, as through requisitions made in the enemy's countries.

ARTICLE VI.—The respective prisoners of war will be permitted to return home, in so far as they do not desire, with the approval of the State concerned, to remain in its territories or proceed to another country. The regulation of the questions connected herewith will follow by means of separate treaties provided for in Article VIII.

ARTICLE VII.—The following is agreed upon respecting the economic relations between the contracting parties:—

They undertake mutually, without delay, to enter into economic relations and to organize the exchange of goods on the basis of the following prescriptions:—

1. Until the 31st day of July of the current year reciprocal exchange of the more important surplus supplies of agricultural and industrial products will be carried out as follows for the purpose of covering current requirements: The quantities and sorts of products to be exchanged will be settled by a joint commission, to sit immediately upon the signature of the peace treaty. Prices will be regulated by the joint commission. Payments will be made in gold on the basis of 1,000 German imperial gold marks as the equivalent of 462 gold rubles of the former Russian Empire, or 1,000 Austro-Hungarian gold kroner as the equivalent of 393 rubles, 78 kopeks of the former Russian Empire. The exchange of goods fixed by the joint commission aforementioned, which commission will consist of equal numbers of representatives of both parties, will take place through State central bureaus. The exchange of those products which are not fixed by the aforementioned commission will take place by the way of free trade, according to the stipulation of a provisional commercial treaty.

2. So far as it is not otherwise provided, the economic relations between the contracting parties shall continue provisionally, and in any case until the conclusion of a final

commercial treaty. But until the termination of a period of at least six months after the conclusion of peace between the Central Powers on the one part and the European States at war with the Central Powers, as well as the United States and Japan on the other part, certain prescriptions are laid down as a basis of relations.

As regards economic relations between Germany and Ukraine the text of the treaty prescribes what parts of the Russo-German commercial and shipping treaties of 1894 and 1904 shall be put into force. The contracting parties further agree to maintain the general Russian customs tariff of Jan. 26, 1903.

It is provided that articles transported across the territory of either party shall be free from transit duty. In regard to trade-marks as between Germany and the Ukraine, the declarations of July 23, 1873, shall continue in force. The contracting parties are to give all possible support to each other in regard to railway tariffs, especially by the restoration of direct tariffs.

As regards economic relations between Austria-Hungary and the Ukraine, the Treaty prescribes what parts of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Commercial and Shipping Treaty of February 15, 1906, shall be maintained, and sets forth various technical revisions of this Treaty. The Treaty says that the parties further agree to maintain the general Russian Customs Tariff of January 26, 1903. For this purpose both parties are prepared to enter into negotiations with each other as soon as possible.

As regards economic relations between Bulgaria and the Ukraine People's Republic, these shall, until the conclusion of a definitive commercial treaty, be regulated according to the right of the most favoured nation. Neither party will claim preferences which the other party grants or shall grant to any other State on the ground of an existing or future Customs agreement or in small frontier traffic up to the frontier zone 15 kilometres [9½ miles] wide.

Regarding the economic relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Ukraine People's Republic, both parties will, until the conclusion of a new commercial treaty, reciprocally grant the same treatment which they apply to the most favoured nation. Neither party will claim preferences which the other party grants or shall grant to another State on the ground of existing or future Customs agreement or in small frontier traffic.

The validity and duration of the provisional prescriptions provided for under figure (2) of the present treaty for the economic relations between Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and the Ottoman Empire on the one hand, and the Ukraine People's Republic on the other, may be prolonged by mutual agreement.

These prescriptions may be prolonged by mutual agreement:

3. If the period provided for in the first paragraph of Sec. 2 should not occur before June 30, 1919, each of the two contracting parties is free from June 30, 1919, to give six months' notice to terminate the prescriptions contained in the above-mentioned section.

4. (a) The Ukrainian People's Republic will make no claim to preferential treatment which Germany grants Austria-Hungary, or another country bound to her by a customs alliance, which directly borders on Germany, or indirectly through another country bound to her or Austria-Hungary by a customs alliance, or which Germany grants to her own colonies, foreign possessions and protectorates, or to countries bound to her by a customs alliance. Germany will make no claim to preferential treatment which the Ukrainian People's Republic may grant to another country bound to her by a customs alliance, which directly borders on Ukraine, or indirectly through another country bound to her by a customs alliance, or to the colonies, foreign possessions and protectorates of one of the countries bound to her by a customs alliance.

(b) In economic intercourse between the treaty customs territory of both States of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy on the one hand and the Ukraine People's Republic on the other, the Ukrainian People's Republic will make no claim to preferential treatment, which Austria-Hungary grants to Ger-

many or another country bound to her by a customs alliance which directly borders on Austria-Hungary, or, indirectly through another country bound to her or Germany by customs alliance. Colonies, foreign possessions, and protectorates are in this respect placed on a similar footing. Austria-Hungary will make no claim to preferential treatment which the Ukrainian People's Republic grants to another country bound to her by a customs alliance which directly borders on Ukraine, or indirectly borders through another country bound to her by a customs alliance, or to colonies, foreign possessions, and protectorates of one of the countries bound to her by a customs alliance.

5. (a) So far as commodities which originally came from Germany or Ukraine are stored in neutral States, though the obligation rests upon Germany and Ukraine that they shall not be exported either directly or indirectly to the territories of the other contracting party, such restrictions regarding their disposal shall be abolished so far as the contracting parties are concerned. The two contracting parties, therefore, undertake immediately to notify the Governments of neutral States of the above-mentioned abolition of this restriction.

(b) So far as commodities which originally came from Austria-Hungary or Ukraine are stored in neutral States, although the obligation rests upon Austria-Hungary and Ukraine that they shall neither directly nor indirectly be exported to the territories of the other contracting party, such restriction respecting their disposal will be abolished so far as the contracting parties are concerned. Both contracting parties, therefore, undertake immediately to notify the Governments of neutral States of the above-mentioned abolition of these restrictions.

ARTICLE VIII.—Restoration of public and private legal relations, the exchange of prisoners of war and interned civilians, the question of amnesty and the question of the treatment of merchantmen in enemy hands will be regulated in separate treaties with the Ukrainian People's Republic, to form an essential part of the present peace treaty,

which, so far as practicable, will take effect simultaneously therewith.

ARTICLE IX.—The agreements made in this peace treaty form an indivisible whole.

ARTICLE X.—For the interpretation of this treaty the German and Ukrainian texts are authoritative in regard to relations between Germany and Ukraine, the German, Hungarian, and Ukrainian texts for relations between Austria-Hungary and Ukraine, the Bulgarian and Ukrainian texts for relations between Bulgaria and Ukraine, the Turkish and Ukrainian texts for relations between Turkey and Ukraine.

The concluding part of the treaty provides:

"The present peace treaty will be ratified. Ratified documents shall be exchanged as soon as possible. So far as there are no provisions to the contrary, the peace treaty shall come into force on ratification." (Here follow the signatures etc.)

The supplementary treaties provided for in Article VIII, also were signed. They cover the following points:

Restoration of consular relations.

Restoration of State treaties.

Restoration of civil law.

Indemnification for civil damages caused by laws of war or by acts contrary to international law.

Exchange of war prisoners and interned civilians. Care of burial grounds of those fallen in enemy territory.

Provision for the return to their homes of persons affected by the treaty.

Treatment of merchant vessels in enemy hands.

DIARY OF THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

The First Bolshevik Demands.

Dec. 15.—Armistice agreement signed.
Dec. 22.—In conformity with the armistice agreement, peace negotiations opened at Brest-Litovsk, in the presence of Herr von Kuehlmann, Count Czernin, Bulgarian and Turkish delegates, and of a Bolshevik deputation.

The following Russian demands were presented:—

- (1) No forcible acquisition of territory.
- (2) Restoration of political independence to peoples who have lost it during the war.
- (3) Right of self-determination for all peoples.
- (4) No indemnities.
- (5) Compensation for war losses out of a general fund.
- (6) Colonies to be treated on same footing as parent countries.
- (7) No economic boycott.

Trotsky, in a speech in Petrograd, protests that "we did not overthrow the Tsar and the 'bourgeoisie' in order to fall on our knees before the German Kaiser and beg for peace."

Dec. 25.—Count Czernin announces at Brest-Litovsk readiness of four enemy States to enter into negotiations for general peace on the basis of "no annexations or indemnities," provided that Russia's Allies forthwith pledge themselves to these principles and signify their desire to join in the "pourparlers." As for self-determination, Count Czernin said that the four enemy States could not contemplate the resignation of questions of allegiance except by internal constitutional means.

Dec. 28.—Provisional agreement at Brest regarding formal restoration of normal relations.

As against Russian proposals for evacuation of occupied territories with a view to the exercise by them of the right

of self-determination, the enemy delegates proposed the following draft for Articles I. and II. of an eventual peace treaty:—

I.—Russia and Germany are to declare the state of war at an end.

Both nations are resolved to live together in future in peace and friendship.

On condition of complete reciprocity towards her allies, Germany would be ready, as soon as peace is concluded with Russia and the demobilization of the Russian Armies has been accomplished, to evacuate her present positions and occupied Russian territory in so far as no different inferences result from Article II.

II.—The Russian Government having in accordance with its principles proclaimed for all peoples without exception living within the Russian Empire the right of self-determination, including complete separation, takes cognizance of the decisions expressing the will of the people demanding full State independence and separation from the Russian Empire for Poland, Lithuania, Courland, and portions of Esthonia and Livonia. The Russian Government recognizes that in present circumstances these manifestations must be regarded as the expression of the will of the people and is ready to draw conclusions therefrom.

As in those districts to which the foregoing stipulations apply the question of evacuation is not such as is provided for in Article I., a special commission shall discuss and fix the time and other details in conformity and accordance with the Russian idea of the necessary ratification by "plebiscite," on broad lines, and without any military pressure whatever, of the already existing proclamations of separation.

Jan. 2, 1918.—Trotsky, before the Central Committee of Soviets, denounces

"Germany's hypocritical peace proposal," and declares that if Poles, Letts, and other nationalities are not given the right of self-determination, it would become urgently necessary courageously to defend the Russian revolution. Violent Bolshevik Press crusade against the enemy's "unconscionable lies."

Jan. 4.—Expiry of 10 days' grace during which Russia's Allies were to have an opportunity of intimating their desire to join in peace negotiations.

Jan. 9.—Herr von Kuehlmann announces at Brest that, failing any response by Russia's Allies, the enemy offer on December 25, 1917, to negotiate a "no annexation, no indemnity" peace, has lapsed.

Jan. 10.—Trotsky agrees to continue negotiations at Brest.

Special Russian and Austro-German committee on territorial questions formed.

Ukraine.

Jan. 11.—Kiev Rada delegation at Brest announces resumption by Ukraine of its international existence as an independent State, in conformity with the Rada proclamation of November 20, 1917. Rada delegates declare their readiness to conclude a democratic peace, with due respect to the right of self-determination.

Trotsky acquiesces in presence of independent Ukrainian delegation.

On the question of peace Trotsky declares that:—

"Our Government has placed at the head of its programme the word 'peace,' but it has pledged itself at the same time, before its people, to sign only a democratic and just peace."

Jan. 12.—Trotsky submits at Brest detailed Bolshevik proposals regarding the evacuation and political reconstitution of occupied territories.

Jan. 14.—Germans considered rejection of Trotsky's demand for evacuation of occupied territories.

Jan. 15.—Bolshevist ultimatum to Rumania.

At Brest Herr von Kuehlmann repeats that there can be no evacuation until general peace concluded.

Jan. 16.—Separate negotiations between Austro-German and Rada delegates begun.

Protest by Trotsky to Rada delegation against these negotiations.

Jan. 18.—Brest Conference adjourned.

Jan. 20.—Agreement in principle between Rada and Austro-German delegates regarding basis of a separate peace.

Jan. 25.—Herr von Kuehlmann announces in the Reichstag that he counts on peace with Ukraine, and consequently

with Rumania; and that a settlement with the Petrograd Bolsheviks depends on their own will for peace.

Jan. 26.—Petrograd Soviet definitely breaks with the Kiev Rada.

Polish legions revolt and occupy Mohilev.

Jan. 27.—Trotsky informs Soviet Congress that he cannot guarantee victory for Russian revolution over German imperialism! "we cannot promise a democratic peace."

Jan. 30.—Brest Conference reopened. Trotsky protests against any but a "federal" Russian agreement with the enemy States and presents Soviet delegates from Ukraine.

Feb. 1.—The enemy delegates at Brest recognize the claim of the Kiev Rada

delegates to speak for an independent Ukraine.

Feb. 3.—Bolsheviks claim to have put Kiev garrison to flight.

Feb. 8.—Bolsheviks claim to be in military and political possession of Ukraine; nothing remains of the Rada "but a sad memory."

Feb. 9.—Peace signed between Ukraine and enemy States at Brest, at 2 a. m.

Feb. 10.—Trotsky at Brest intimates that Russia, while refraining from signing a formal peace treaty, declares as ended the state of war with the four enemy States, and that the Russian forces on all fronts will be demobilized.

This unconditional surrender is equivalent to acquiescence by the Bolsheviks in all the enemy demands, including the German scheme for the disposal of the occupied territories.

THE PEOPLES' CONGRESS IN KIEV

At the initiative of the Ukrainian Central Rada, a Congress of the representatives of the peoples of former Russia was held on September 27—30, 1917. The object of this Congress was to strengthen the movement of federalism among the peoples of the former Russian Empire, a movement for the preservation of unity among the peoples which live their own individual lives and strive for independence, as against the centralism which was the aim of the Tsarist autocracy and which is also favored by the Russian Social-Democracy of the Bolshevik faction.

The Congress was opened on September 27 last, attended by the delegates of eleven different peoples.

The delegates at the Peoples' Congress were divided as follows:

Ukrainians (8); White Ruthenians (7); Muscovites (13); Estonians (4); Jews (11); Georgians (2); Lithuanians (9); Letts (19); Moldavians (6); Tatars (10); Turks (5).

Besides these, there were representatives of the Don Cossacks and of the Poles. The delegates of the latter people, however, participated only as guests; for they declared that there will be an Independent Poland, which shall settle its affairs quite independently.

Professor Michael Hrushevsky, the President of the Ukrainian Central Rada, about to address the Peoples' Congress, receives a prolonged ovation from the entire audience. The applause becomes uproariously enthusiastic.

"Honorable Friends," began the speaker when the noise had subsided sufficiently for him to be heard, "our difficult, eight-day task is nearing completion. We all came here fully possessed by the principle of federation. None of us had any doubts in the matter. However, it was necessary again to study the issues and to consider them in connection with their bearing upon the question of defending the government, upon economic questions, and upon the relations between lands and peoples. Consequently we gave the issues a most thorough consideration. With every advance in our work, we became convinced that there was no important disagreement among us. We also perceived that we were united not by an abstract mathematical axiom but by a tangible platform, upon which we could unhesitatingly construct our new life.... Only now when we have established on this stable platform the foundation of our future Rada of the Peoples' do we begin to see that fatherland which we have not yet had. Therefore, let the future federal republic live! Let the nations live! Let them give us peace and bring us nearer to our noble goal, the brotherhood of nations! (applause)."

"Allow me to express the satisfaction we feel from the fact that the provisional government has authorized its representative to participate in our work. (At these words, all present rise and greet M. Slavinsky with generous applause). In the name of the Congress, I refer to you, Maxim Antonovich," continued Professor M. Hrushevsky, turning directly to M. Slavinsky, who remained standing and attentive. "In our work we concealed nothing from you. You were present at all our private sessions and heard everything that we said; you saw how sincerely we applied ourselves to our task; and now, when you have delivered our resolutions to the provisional government, you will bear witness to our earnest desire for the best settlement of the Russian State."

The speaker was again greeted with an ovation. The chairman then gave the floor to the representative of the provisional government, who was also greeted enthusiastically.

After M. Slavinsky had concluded, Professor M. Hrushevsky again appears to deliver his address. He is greeted with thunderous applause.

Having outlined the history of the development of the

Ukrainian Central Rada, he asserts that his statements should convince everyone of the groundlessness of accusations made against the Ukrainians, and that they should prove unfounded the fears of those who think that the Ukrainian movement involves in itself a danger to the Russian Republic.

"The idea of federalism," says Hrushevsky, "seems to be a principle that will become the firm foundation of the Republic. We look upon federation not as upon a means to obtaining independence, but as upon a thing that had long been discovered by the benevolent minds of the people—as upon a means for the confederation of Europe, a means for the confederation of the world."

"We shall struggle against all oppression of national life and against the exploitation of lands and peoples; for we have learned that there are neither more capable peoples nor less capable peoples, but that there are peoples which suffer from the unfavorable conditions of their historical existence."

CLOSE OF THE PEOPLES' CONGRESS.

M. Hrushevsky, concluding the last session of the Congress, made a reference to the dreams of the Cyril-Methodius Brotherhood of federalists and to the project for the future assembly of nations which was conceived by this Brotherhood.

"This project," he said, "was put in writing by Kostomarov, but in a few days the manuscript was confiscated. At the end of the written document were the following words: 'Believe me, it will come, it will come!' Now I, not being a mere enthusiast, but considering myself a practical politician, shall part with you with these same words, which I reiterate, 'Believe me, it will come, it will come!'"

With these ominous words, Professor Hrushevsky at exactly 6 P. M. on the 30th of September, 1917, declared the Peoples' Congress dissolved.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE PEOPLES' CONGRESS IN KIEV.

The congress of representatives of the peoples of Russia adopted at its last session on September 15th the following resolutions:

CONCERNING THE FEDERAL ORGANIZATION OF RUSSIA.

The Peoples' Congress summoned to Kiev by the Ukrainian Central Rada, having considered at its sessions from September 8th to 15th the future state organization of Russia, reached, after special reports had been submitted, the following decisions:

1) The chief defect in the state organization of Russia during the old regime as well as during the revolution is the excessive centralization of legislative and executive authority.

2) A government founded upon such a principle cannot work efficiently, and hinders the development of the state.

3) By disregarding the fact that the economic questions confronting the lands and peoples of Russia are very diverse, centralized power checks the development of the economic self-activity of a nation, lends itself readily to the designs of the idle classes of the centre to exploit outlying communities, and eventually redounds to the economic decay of the centre.

4) The settlement of all economic questions pertaining to the life of an industrious people—agrarian and emigrational questions, questions in regard to mutual assistance among communities, and others—requires a flexible national administrative apparatus adapted to the local idiosyncrasies of a people.

5) When the present war placed before the government special requirements in efficiency and productivity, the administrative machinery showed its complete uselessness. It could not satisfy even the most vital necessities of the people.

6) The prevailing state of political disorder both at the front and within the country, and in all branches of state activity, has for its source a centralistic system of government.

7) To save the state from utter ruin, it is necessary to rebuild it upon completely new principles,—principles which would leave no possibility for centralization of power.

8) It must be borne in mind that in the course of history two types of state organization of large countries have been produced, a unitarian type and a federal.

9) The principal requisite of a modern democracy, wide participation of the community in the work of the government, can be fulfilled only by a federally organized state.

10) A republican rule can thrive vigorously only in a federal state; for with centralism, changes in the administration can be too easily effected by the seizure of dominant institutions.

11) A central administration can hold the confidence of all classes of a people; i. e., can be effective, only within a federal organization.

12) Since Russia consists of many nations, each of which has a more or less prominent national self-consciousness, a culture peculiar to itself, and an historic past, and forms a distinct native unit in economic affairs, the one suitable form of federation is that which is founded upon a national basis.

13) Large states that are populated by a single nationality may, at will, either divide into several federal units or, by remaining a single federal whole, may grant autonomy to separate parts of the state.

14) Those nationalities—as the Jews, for instance—that are scattered over the entire state and nowhere have a country of their own, benefit by the right to obtain extraterritorial personal autonomy.

Observing the above-mentioned opinions, the Peoples' Congress, convened by the Ukrainian Central Rada, avers that Russia should be a Federal Democratic Republic.

CONCERNING A GENERAL STATE LANGUAGE AND NATIONAL LANGUAGES.

The Peoples' Congress convoked by the Ukrainian Central Rada resolved that:

1) Since the revolution, all the languages of the Republic have become equally legitimate. Consequently the future federal republic of Russia must insure to all languages unqualified freedom of use in private and private-legal matters.

2) The chief revolutionary organs advocating the formation of distinct state-units of a confederation ought to designate one or more languages of a given prospective federal state-unit as "national languages," through which the administrative organs of this state-unit will be able to hold intercourse with the inhabitants, with the central organs of the state-unit, and with each other. In a given state, the language of every nationality which counts a certain minimum population, set by law, shall become a national language of that state.

3) All citizens of the federal state-units; i. e., inhabitants of the Russian Federal Republic, should accept the Russian language, which is most intelligible to a majority of the people, as a general state language, through which the central organs of the state-units can hold intercourse with the central organs of the confederation, and with each other.

4) With reference to language as well as to all other particulars, schools, churches, and courts should be entirely independent; they should be directed only by the will of interested parties. The acceptance of a language as a national state language, therefore, does not give it ascendancy over other tongues of the Republic in matters of school, church, or court.

THE PEOPLES' COUNCIL.

Referring to the principles involved in the resolutions adopted concerning the future state organization of Russia and concerning the means of its realization, the Peoples' Congress convened by the Ukrainian Central Rada resolved:

1) To realize all the ideals for organizing an Association of Peoples, there should be formed, upon principles to be stated later, a special, fully authorized organ,—the Peoples' Council.

2) Into the personnel of this Council, there should enter four delegates of each people that was represented in the Congress.

3) In voting at a given session of the Council each people has two votes, regardless of the number of delegates of that people present.

4) The Council has the power to admit into its number delegates of those peoples which were not represented in the Congress. These new members of the Council are to have the same rights as the original members.

5) The Peoples' Council has authority to invite at will persons necessary to its work. Such persons may cast an advisory vote.

6) The Council has power to establish within itself all

institutions essential to the carrying on of its work, and to incur reasonable expenditures in so doing.

7) To concentrate the work of the national military organizations, there may be founded within the Council a Central Military Committee.

8) Concerning its internal organization, the Council should itself draw up a suitable regular procedure or order of the day.

9) The Council is to be situated in Kiev; but, whenever it is necessary, sessions may be held in other localities.

COUNCIL OF NATIONALITIES.

The Peoples' Congress decided to direct the present administration's attention to the need of converting the "special Committee on Provincial Affairs" into a special Council of Nationalities which, as a branch of the administration, would look after the interests of the various nationalities.

CONCERNING THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

The Peoples' Congress observes that, besides calling together an all-Russian Constituent Assembly, there should also be convened, upon democratic principles, national constituent assemblies, which shall determine standards for the relation of the races to the central organs of the confederacy, and define the forms of internal organization of autonomous institutions in a given state or nation. The sphere of authority of a given nation will also be decided by a national constituent assembly convened in that community upon the basis of a universal, equal, direct, secret, and proportional suffrage for both sexes.

CONCERNING THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

In consequence of these decrees:

a) that the approaching conference should proceed on the basis that all nationalities have full right to self-determination;

b) that, in drawing future national boundaries and in specifying international guarantees, vital questions of all nations will be decided, among which nations there will be those that have been deprived of their government and subsequently of their international representation;

c) that, in designating new political boundaries, one state should not transfer peoples to another or divide them without their voluntary consent;

d) that the representatives of Russia at the peace conference should insist upon the abolition of all kinds of social, political, national, and religious restrictions in all states of the international coalition, and should also demand security for the rights of national minorities;

the Peoples' Congress, assembled by the Ukrainian Central Rada resolved that, into the representation of Russia at the peace conference, there should enter also the representatives of those peoples concerned which have not a government of their own.

CONCERNING THE PRESENT MOMENT.

The Peoples' Congress summoned by the Ukrainian Central Rada resolved:

1) It is necessary to proclaim the principles of unrestrained self-determination of nationalities. The Russian Republic should be declared federal and democratic, and should substantiate the above-mentioned principles in its organization. A prompt, comprehensive declaration of its federal nature can justify and elucidate the circumstances of the war, and incidentally can expedite the conclusion of the honorable peace which is so much desired by all nations.

2) Only the nationalization of the Russian army under the administration of revolutionary-democratic national organizations, and a suitable arrangement of conditions within the state, with these same organizations participating in the work, can increase the state's capacity for self-defense and bring nearer the possibility of concluding an honorable peace.

CONCERNING NATIONAL-PERSONAL AUTONOMY.

Whereas:

a) it is impossible to fix the territorial boundaries of all peoples inhabiting Russia;

b) among the peoples of Russia there are nationalities which do not comprise the majority in any district or state;

c) national-territorial autonomy does not decide conclusively the questions of national minorities and small nations; be it resolved by the Peoples' Congress:

1) That each of the nations inhabiting Russia has a right to national-personal autonomy; that is, a right to organize itself into a lawful and public alliance, into which any member of this people may enter regardless of what part of the state he may reside in.

2) A statute of the government insures the right of national minorities, the size of which in a certain state is above a minimum, set by the same statute, to make use of their native tongue in state or federal institutions and in the municipalities.

THE NATIONAL POLICIES OF UKRAINE

It would be a grave error to assume that the policies expressed in the Ukrainian national movement, before the Russian Revolution, and later, officially, in the *Universals* (General Manifestoes) of the Ukrainian Central Rada, are called for merely as a response to the attitude assumed on the same questions by the Petrograd Government of People's Commissaries. Yet there is a basic difference of viewpoint between the two bodies, which makes possible an elucidation of the attitude of either in the light of the opposite position taken by the other.

Thus, in the matter of the national soil, the national language, nationalizing of the army, for instance, the positions of the two governments are distinctly opposed. In the Petrograd body we have the exponents of a colorless cosmopolitanism, a universal brotherhood theory, all very fine in appearance, but far too utopian to be human nature's daily food. The political expansiveness of the Great Russian, which led him in the days of Czarism to annex all lands available, to occupy Siberia and then do nothing with it, to regard Turkey as his, to waste vast armies in fruitless tropical campaigns, and to meditate the devouring of Persia as a certainty,—this political hunger of the Muscovite has now assumed, in the Petrograd principles, a new form, even more utopian and therefore more dangerous. Now Great Russia is to be the mother of socialistic systems, the world is to apply for admission to her fold, nothing short of the achievement of the "Socialist International" will satisfy these ambitious political visionaries. Just as in former days the Czarist ambitions covered a vast expanse of possessions, not for use, but for the mere pleasure of possession, so now the "internationalist" imperialism aims at a spread of its domination over the world, not so that the individual parts thereof may fare better thereby, but so that the red flag, the symbol of the new slavery, may be as blindly accepted in all the corners of the globe as was formerly the Czarist emblem.

This dogmatic insistence on a mental position, a doctrine, a preoccupation with the constructions of the imagination, requires the Muscovite not only to demand the introduction of the same colorless political and economic system in all the belligerent and neutral countries, but also to wipe out the genuine racial and national differences which actually prevail in Russia; except that there is no likelihood that the Muscovite centralization mania would be in any way abated even by such a policy. There is therefore, in spite of many superficial differences, a profound similarity between the policy of Czarism and that of Bolshevism in the treatment of the one-time "subject" races of Russia. Czarism held down the Poles in subjection, but so will the Bolsheviks, if they can; Czarism prevented the Finns from retaining their autonomy, but the Red Guard is likewise eager to keep them under the Russian yoke, although this time the yoke calls itself "socialistic." Not different is the case of Ukraine: here also we see the Great Russian's racial character once more appearing. Ukraine must accept the Great Russian's conditions. He does not wish her to use her own language, the Ukrainian; he does not wish her soldiers to constitute a Ukrainian army, with units manned and officered exclusively by Ukrainians; he wishes to see the Ukrainian soldiers accept Russian service, speak Russian, associate with Russians,—to be submerged, in short, in the great mass of the Great Russian army, without a country, a home, a personality of their own.

Finland is fighting resolutely, as the newspaper reports show, for her national independence from the uniform red deluge. Ukraine also is expressing her desire for a national life in accordance with her own racial characteristics, her geographical position, her economic resources, and the official formulation of this expression is in the four *Universals* of the Ukrainian Central Rada that have hitherto appeared; they are dated June 26, 1917; July 29, 1917; Nov. 20, 1917;

Jan. 25, 1918. In these four documents we have an expression of the feelings of a people which has not fallen away from its national sentiments and declined into a dull, flabby, pasty internationalism that is too proud to defend its racial heritage. The Ukrainian, we shall see from these declarations, has a strong love of country and a distinct understanding of the fact that mere ideals of international brotherhood are not a good substitute for healthy patriotism and real national self-definition, which is not identical with Bolshevik self-definition.

The *First Universal* definitely declares the intention of the people of Ukraine to manage their own affairs, free from any Bolshevik or Great Russian interference, but it also affirms their readiness to remain an autonomous section of the new "Russian Republic of Republics," or "United States of Russia," provided that this shall not involve the subordination of their own country to the centralizing and theorizing tendencies of their fellow-Slavs to the north, the Muscovites, or Great Russians. Another article in this periodical shows how this *Universal* fared after the receipt of a copy by Prince Lvoff at Petrograd. But opposition came not only from the reactionary, almost Czarist cabinet of Lvoff, but also from

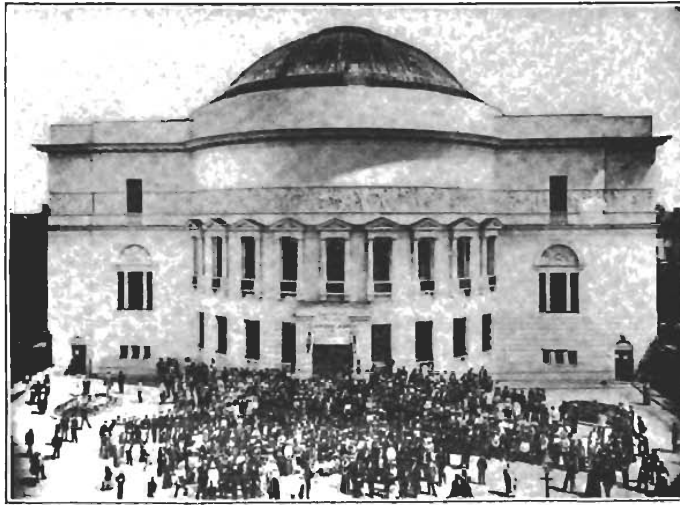
the later "Government of Kerensky," as it was popularly called. It was difficult for the Great Russian to familiarize himself with the notion that his momentary theories of Russian solidarity, with himself in the lead, are not to continue to dominate all the non-Russian peoples of the former Russian Empire. The various efforts made since by the succeeding Provisional Governments of Russia to limit the authority of the General Secretariat, have not been more successful than those following the *First Universal*, yet all are subject to the interpretation that Petrograd desires at any cost to prevent any kind (even the most limited) of autonomy in Ukraine.

The fullest and clearest declaration of the policies of the new nation seems to be given in the *Third*

Universal. In it (the reader will find it printed in full elsewhere in this paper) there is repeated a statement of the full willingness of the people of Ukraine to constitute, with their national organization, an autonomous portion of Russia, and in it also is contained an emphatic statement of their intention not to be dominated by a centralized government which would elevate the state at the cost of its component parts, and to the advantages of the relatively small Great Russian section of the population.

It might be urged that after all an over-emphasis of local nationalizing might harm the minor percentages of other races living in the autonomous sections: for instance, might not a Finland which had been nationally organized, and which was governed chiefly by Finns of the genuine Finno-Ugrian stock, be a menace to the Swedish, Great Russian, Lepp and German minorities of the population? However this might work out in other parts of Russia (and there is little reason to believe that it would operate disadvantageously for such minorities anywhere in Russia)—the Ukrainian solution of the problem, as offered in the *Third Universal*, precludes any possibility of injustice in this direction. For a nation which obtains its liberty, its national self-definition, as it were, after a struggle of many years, is not likely to deny these privileges to the weak minorities of other races that are present within its borders, enjoying its hospitality. We are, therefore, not surprised to find that the *Third Universal* guarantees national personal autonomy to the members of these minorities, and proclaims the right to use local dialects in communicating with all authorities.

An interesting light on the greater intelligence of the moderate Ukrainian government as opposed to the more violently idealistic Petrograd institutions is observable in the war attitude of the two bodies. That of the Petrograd workers is probably not more eager for peace than the Ukrainian Rada, but expresses its eagerness in such peculiar measures



Kiev Pedagogic Museum, where the Ukrainian Central Rada holds its sessions.

as to endanger every possibility of attaining a tolerable peace. Disbanding the army, throwing away one's only defensive weapon in the presence of the most powerful enemy in all the world, seems to be the Petrograd method of reaching peace. The Ukrainian method has no such follies. Hear the words of the Third Universal on this subject:

"By the wishes and in the name of the Ukrainian Republic, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, firmly insist on the establishment of peace as soon as possible. For this end we make resolute efforts to compel, through the Central Governments, both allies and enemies to enter immediately upon peace negotiations.

"Likewise we shall insist that at the Peace Congress the rights of the Ukrainian people in Russia and outside Russia shall not be infringed in the treaty of peace. But until peace comes, every citizen of the Republic of Ukraine, together with the citizens of all the Russian Republic, must stand firmly in their positions both at the front and in the rear."

No advance of German armies in Ukraine is possible without the consent of the Ukrainian people as expressed through their Central Rada. But in Great Russia, the Germans have everything their own way, in spite of all the protests of the Government of Workers' Commissaries.

In general, we may say that the positions taken by the Central Rada are more moderate and therefore more likely to be permanently successful than those of the Petrograd Government. We therefore feel that the Central Rada, when it calls "upon all to struggle resolutely with all forms of anarchy and disorder," is more really likely to pursue a policy of reasoned and orderly development than is the Central Russian Government under its present Great Russian Bolshevik leadership.

T. M.

The Bolshevik Elements in Ukraine

AMSTERDAM, February 2.—At the plenary sitting at Brest-Litovsk yesterday, M. Lublinsky, a member of the Ukrainian delegation, said:—

"The Ukrainian people, step by step, by its own labor, created its own State, and the Petrograd Government has no cause, no ground whatsoever, for interference in its internal affairs. In reality, the facts are that already, under the Tsar's regime, soldiers of non-Ukrainian origin were sent by preference to Ukraine and adjoining fronts, and it has not been possible during the Revolution to free Ukraine from these foreign elements. While the Ukrainian soldiers sent their front Congress delegates to Kiev from all war theatres and all fronts, and rallied round the Ukrainian Military Rada, which forms part of the Kiev Central Rada, non-Ukrainian soldiers in some towns of Ukraine established their Soldiers' Councils, which have no influence on the life of the surrounding districts.

"Desiring, on one or another pretext, to interfere in the internal life of the Ukrainians, the Petrograd Bolsheviks began to demand from the Ukrainian Government that the entire authority of the Government in Ukraine should be transferred to these Soldiers' Councils, without any regard to the demands of the Bolsheviks at the Peace Conference that foreign troops should be removed from the occupied regions. The Ukrainian Government, of course, could not comply with this demand.

"A second ground for interference with the internal life of the Republic was furnished by the demand of the Petrograd Bolsheviks that a new election of the Central Rada should be held. Apart from the fact that such a demand constitutes an open violation of the right of self-determination, it is also impracticable, because the rules regarding representation in the Rada give the electors the right at all times to recall their representatives in the Rada and replace them by others. The elections for the Constituent Assembly for All Russia which occurred at the end of last November led all over Ukraine to a brilliant victory of the Ukrainian Central Rada, and of the parties organized therein over 75 per cent. of the Ukrainian candidates were elected, while about 15 per cent. of the other parties represented in the Central Rada were elected, and of the Bolsheviks less than 10 per cent. The Petrograd Government has now resolved to resort to its last expedient. With the silent consent of the Central Rada it convoked a Ukrainian Congress of Peasants and Soldiers for December 3 in Kiev. Over 2000 delegates attended the Congress, and, against the hopes of the convener, began their sitting with a big ovation for the Kiev Central Rada and its President, Professor Hrushevsky, and by an over-

whelming majority expressed full confidence in the Central Rada.

"After this event a small group of Bolsheviks, about 80 men, fled from the Congress, and went to Kharkov, and has declared itself a new Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic. The People's Commissioners have sent thither unorganized bands of Red Guards to plunder the population of the Government of Kharkov, and to protect the Kharkov Government from the residents of the Government of Kharkov. It was in this way that the Kharkov Government arose, and those are the powers upon which it rests. No doubt is possible not only that it is not called to represent the Ukrainian Republic, but that it can hardly be regarded as representing the towns of Kharkov. Our future, our history, our descendants, and the broad masses of the working people on both sides will themselves decide which of us is right, and which is guilty, which is Socialist, and which counter-revolutionist, which creates, and which destroys what has been created."

Why Ukraine Called to Germany

AMSTERDAM, Feb. 17.—According to a Berlin telegram the Ukrainian Delegation at Brest-Litovsk has handed to the German Imperial Government the following declaration:—

To the German people: On February 9 this year we signed, in the deep and ardent desire to live in peace and friendship with our neighbors, a Peace Treaty with the States of the Quadruple Alliance in order to put an end to this useless and fratricidal war, and we united all our strength to one end, namely, to establish and ensure the life of our own independent State.

The joyful news of February 9, however, for which the working masses of our people so greatly longed, has brought us no peace in our land. The enemy of our freedom has invaded our country for the purpose once more, as 254 years ago, to subjugate the Ukrainian people with fire and sword. The Russian Maximalists, who, a month ago, dispersed the All-Russian Constitutional Assembly in Petrograd, consisting almost solely of Socialists, have now undertaken, as they call it, a Holy War against the Socialists of Ukraine.

From the north, hired bands of Red Guards are falling upon our country. They unite themselves with Russian soldiers who have deserted from the front, and with liberated gaoil birds. Under the experienced command of former police gendarmes, they force their way into our towns; have our public men and leaders of public opinion shot; they levy contributions from the inhabitants; and after destroying and burning our towns they pass on, seeking new booty.

This barbaric invasion of our northern neighbors once again, under hypocritical pretexts, sets up as its aim, as earlier in our history, the destruction of the independence of our State. Its real and ultimate objects lie, however, in the ignoble intentions and machinations of those who have an interest in seeing anarchy reign in Ukraine, as also of those who are striving after the return of the old despotism.

Before the whole world we declare that the Petrograd Commissioners of the People lie when they talk about a rising of the people in Ukraine, and that they lie when they describe the Central Rada, the Parliament of the Ukrainian People's Republic, which consists of Ukrainian Socialists and has carried out far-reaching social-democratic reforms, as a Rada of "bourgeois."

The Petrograd Commissioners, who with words only have stubbornly defended the weal of Ukraine, Poland, Courland, and other peoples, have made use of a fine pose at Brest-Litovsk to recall from the front the remnants of the Russian Army for the purpose of secretly throwing them against the Ukraine to rob us, to send our stocks of corn to the north, and to subjugate the country.

Now, when, after four years, the rigid wall has fallen which separated us from our Western neighbors, we raise our voice to proclaim the misfortune of our people. We see the fruits of our own young Revolution in danger, and we fear for our newly-won freedom. Sanguinary collisions with Russian bands take place daily. In Volhynia and at other points we are collecting new forces to oppose the swarms who are ever anew pressing in from the north.

In this hard struggle for our existence we look round for help. We are firmly convinced that the peaceful and order-loving German people will not remain indifferent when it learns of our distress. The German Army, that stands on the flank of our northern enemy, possesses the power to help us, and, by its intervention, to protect the northern frontiers against further invasion by the enemy. This is what we have to say in this dark hour, and we know that our voice will be heard.—REUTER.

UKRAINE AND RUSSIA

(From "New Europe," London, January 3, 1918.)

There are few questions in Europe of which so little is known in the West as that of Ukraine. So long as the Russian eagle spread its all-embracing wings over the Empire of the Tsars, the existence of the Ukrainian people was studiously ignored; but last March, when the eagle was cast down and trampled in the snow, Western Europe slowly began to realize that in South-Western Russia there had come to light a new people, conscious of its individuality and prepared to claim its place among the peoples of Europe. The collapse of the Tsarist Government in March, 1917, raised the Ukrainian question in Russia; the "coup d'etat" of November, by which the Provisional Government was overthrown, has for the time being made the Government of the Ukraine a factor of international importance.

A former article in the "The New Europe" (No. 45) traced the history of the Ukrainian movement in Russia from the outbreak of the Revolution till the agreement with the Provisional Government on 14th of July. The subsequent history of events in the Ukraine may be divided into two periods, the first embracing the controversies between Petrograd and Kiev on constitutional questions from July till November, the second the disputes between the Bolshevik Government and the Rada.

On 14th of July the Provisional Government on the advice of Kerensky, Tereshchenko, and Tseretelli came to terms with the Rada, according to which the General Secretariat was to be recognized as the highest administrative organ in Ukraine, but the future constitution of Ukraine was to be decided by the Constituent Assembly. This agreement led to the resignation of the Cadet members of the Provisional Government, and was the immediate cause of the riots (?) in Petrograd which began on 16th of July. A few days later, on 22nd of July, Kerensky became Prime Minister with a Coalition Cabinet. The inner Cabinet, consisting of Kerensky, Tereshchenko, and Nekrasov, had all favored the agreement of July 14, but when the details came to be discussed it was found that the agreement satisfied neither Petrograd nor Kiev. On August 8th Ukrainian delegates arrived in Petrograd to discuss constitutional questions with a committee of the Provisional Government consisting of Nekrasov and three well-known Russian jurists, Baron Nolde, Halperin, and Bart. It soon became clear that neither side was willing to abide by the agreement that had been concluded. The object of the Russians was to gain time and, as far as possible, postpone any further development of the Ukrainian question until the meeting of the Constituent Assembly. With this end in view they raised a number of minor difficulties and accused the General Secretariat of demanding more than an autonomous federal constitution. The Ukrainian delegates grew impatient at these obstructive tactics, which they considered due to the influence of the Cadet party in the Provisional Government. The truth is that the Russians were very well aware that any concession made to the Ukrainians would only be used by the latter as a stepping-stone to further demands. They knew that the leaders of the Rada intended to profit by any weakness on the part of the Provisional Government to go much further than what they had themselves publicly proclaimed to be their policy. For this reason they preferred to gain time and throw the responsibility of a final decision upon the All-Russian Constituent Assembly in which the Great Russians would vastly outnumber the Ukrainians.

It was this object which guided them in the "Instructions" sent to the Rada as the result of the Petrograd Conference. The chief points in the "Instructions" were the following: (1) Until the meeting of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly the highest organ of the Provisional Government in Ukraine is the General Secretariat, appointed by the Provisional Government and representing the Rada. (2) The decisions of the General Secretariat are to be confirmed by the Provisional Government, but can be discussed beforehand in the Rada. (3) The powers of the General Secretariat extend over Kiev, Volhynia, Podolia, Poltava, and Chernigov (with the exception of four districts). They may also extend over other Governments if the Zemstvos decide in favor of it.

The unwillingness of the Provisional Government to yield any further ground forced the Ukrainian leaders to recon-

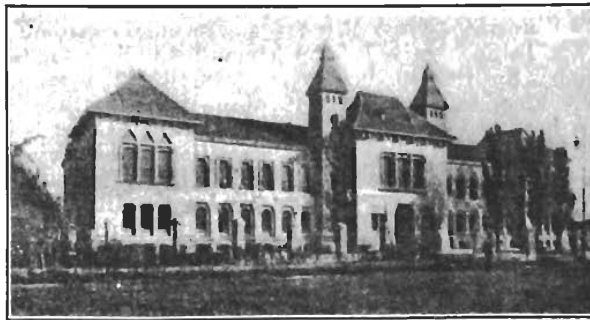
sider their tactics. In continuing the controversy with Petrograd the first thing they had to do was to dissociate themselves entirely from the Austro-German "Bund zur Befreiung der Ukraine." At a meeting of the Rada on August 24th all the party leaders denounced the German attempts to sow disunion between Russia and Ukraine. Kovalevsky, the leader of the Ukrainian Social Revolutionaries, declared that his party had always taken the Russian orientation even in times of reaction. Vinnichenko, the President of the General Secretariat and leader of the Social Democrats, maintained that his party had always fought against Germanophilism and had published pamphlets in which they declared themselves opposed to the Austro-German orientation. Professor Hrushevsky, the President of the Rada, stated that he knew no members of the Rada who supported the Austrian orientation. A few days later he made an official statement explaining that on several occasions the Rada had received greetings from the "Bund zur Befreiung der Ukraine," but that as far back as last May had decided to have no relations with them.

Having cleared themselves of the charges of complicity with the Germans, the Ukrainian leaders devoted themselves to the struggle with the Provisional Government. The "Instructions" of the latter called forth violent protests in the Rada, and on August 20th Vinnichenko tendered his resignation. Vinnichenko stood for resistance to Petrograd, and his object in resigning was to appeal to the Rada. After a stormy sitting the Rada condemned the "Instructions" by a majority of 247 to 36 in the following resolution: "The Instructions of August 17th break the agreement of July which alone will enable the Rada to prepare Ukraine for autonomy and for the Ukrainian and Russian Constituent Assemblies. They create unnecessary complications and weaken the position of the Revolutionary Provisional Government."

The resignation of Vinnichenko was followed by the attempt of Doroshenko to form a Cabinet, the only difference in policy being a more conciliatory attitude towards Petrograd. But the Rada was not in a mood for conciliation, and a few days later, on September 3rd, Vinnichenko returned.

The Ukrainians claim that it is they who for generations past have kept alive the federal idea in Russia. They have fought not merely for local autonomy, but for the transformation of Russia from a centralist into a federal State. As the most important of the nationalities of Russia, after the Great Russians, they are the natural leaders of such a movement, and they were not slow to realize the importance of gaining the support of the other nationalities before coming to conclusions with Petrograd. In September, therefore, they called together in Kiev a Congress of the Nationalities of the Russian Republic. All the leading nationalities were represented as well as less known peoples such as the Crimean Tatars, the Bashkirs, and the Kalmucks. The Congress was presided over by Professor Hrushevsky, who opened the proceedings. "The desire for federation," he said, "has permeated the masses of the Ukrainian people. The idea of federation will in Russia play the same part as in the United States in saving the country from disunion." This Congress was a weapon with which to fight the Central Government in its opposition to the claims of the nationalities; once the Central Government collapsed, it served as a rallying ground for those national units which are endeavoring to build up the Russian Republic on a new federal basis.

A new period in the history of Ukraine opened with the Bolshevik "coup d'etat" in Petrograd. The General Secretariat, which has been denounced by the Bolsheviks as a bourgeois government, is a Socialist coalition, its bourgeois supporters remaining discreetly in the background. The Bolshevik opposition is not due to the Rada's refusal to grant social reforms of a far-reaching character, but to its nationalism as opposed to the internationalism of Petrograd, for the Ukrainian Social Democratic party has adopted the national standpoint. "Hitherto," wrote "Robitnicha Gazeta" (the official organ of the party), "we have agreed with the Bolsheviks in many questions. We and they have demanded, and still demand, immediate peace, the transference of the lands of the big landowners and others to our poverty-stricken peasantry. We and they have fought and still fight for



Zemstvo building in Poltava.

control over industry, for the maximum taxation of large property and capital. But even when we worked together against our common enemies we never wholly agreed. We stood for the Ukrainian democratic republic and federation with other countries of Europe; they were entirely indifferent to the national, cultural, and political needs of our people."

So long as the Provisional Government remained in power the opposition between Kiev and Petrograd was on constitutional questions. With the advent of the Bolsheviks this was entirely reversed. The Bolsheviks cared nothing for constitutional technicalities; they were willing to grant complete self-determination to the Ukrainians without a thought for the interests of Russia as a State. What they were not willing to abandon was their campaign in favor of social revolution in Ukraine. Their declaration of war on Ukrainian nationalism was not because it threatened the interests of Russian nationalism, but because it showed itself an obstacle to the internationalism of their dreams.

When the news of the Bolshevik success in Petrograd reached Kiev, the Rada formed a Provisional Committee to safeguard the revolution. It felt itself threatened on two sides. On the one hand, Shulgin and other Russian Nationalists in Kiev had been in close touch with the Cossack troops, urging them to suppress the Rada as being in revolt against the Provisional Government; on the other, the Bolsheviks were endeavoring to spread their subversive doctrines throughout Ukraine as well as Northern and Central Russia. The opposition organized by the Russian Nationalists was of short duration. Cossack regiments and a body of Czecho-Slovak volunteers, who had been moved to Kiev to support the Provisional Government against the Bolsheviks, refused to fight and offered to leave Kiev when they learnt it was against the Rada that they were being used. The danger from the Bolsheviks was more real. On November 10th the General Secretariat published an appeal to the people to remain calm,

promising that it would do everything possible to suppress any Bolshevik movement in Kiev. But the spirit of unrest had spread to Kiev, and for two days there was a general strike, none of the bourgeois papers being permitted to appear. The Rada, however, with the support of the Social Democrat party, which issued an appeal to the workmen, soon mastered the situation, and on November 20th issued its "Universal" or General Proclamation, transferring the land to the peasants, establishing an eight-hours' day and labor control over industry and fixing the frontiers of the Ukrainian National Republic in federation with the Russian Republic.

Having secured its position in Kiev the attention of the Ukrainian Government has been concentrated on the frontiers. On the east it has entered into an alliance with the Cossacks after the latter had agreed not to interfere in the Donetz Basin, which is claimed by the Rada as Ukrainian territory. On the south the Ukrainians after some fighting have captured Odessa, which they still hold, while they have entered into an agreement with the Roumanians, recognizing the "self-determination" of Bessarabia. It is on the north and the north-east, especially in the Government of Kharkov, that they are still threatened by the Bolsheviks, but fighting has not been of a sustained character, nor is it likely, in view of the general unwillingness to fight, that the Bolsheviks will attempt to gain a military victory. Recognition of the Constituent Assembly by the Bolsheviks would probably lead to an understanding between Petrograd and Kiev. So long as counsels of moderation prevail in Petrograd and no attempt is made to extend the reign of terror of which Petrograd has been the victim, the Ukrainians are not likely to wish to sever their connection with the north. Race, history, and tradition demand that Russians and Ukrainians should live together in the closest political and economic ties.

RURIK.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

Petrograd, January 15.

Important news items are being received from Kiev. On the 22nd of January the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly will meet. Elections are to begin January 9th. Ukraine has been divided into ten (10) election districts, each of which sends from nine (9) to forty-five (45) deputies to the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly. Altogether there are to be 300 delegates. According to the proposed Constitution of the Constituent Assembly the legislative period for the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly is to be three (3) years. The President of the Ukrainian Parliament will also be for the corresponding period the President of the Ukrainian Republic. State sovereignty in Ukraine is reserved to the Ukrainian people and to the minority races and will be administered by the Ukrainian Parliament. The cabinet is formed by the President of the Republic, but the confirmation of it depends on the decision of the majority of Parliament.

The chief guardian of the Constitution of the Ukrainian Republic is the General Court (Supreme Court), to consist of the judges appointed by Parliament, and of the representatives of the provincial supreme courts. This General Court is the highest court of appeal and cassation in the Ukrainian Republic.

As the manifesto of the Rada declares, the territory of the Ukrainian Republic at present includes ten (10) governments: Kiev, Podolia, Volhynia, Kholm, Chernigov, Poltava, Kharkov, Katerinoslav, Kherson, and Tauria, not including the Crimea. As to the western Ukrainian territories, the Proposed Constitution makes no concrete provisions, as the Commission to whom the draft was entrusted did not wish to anticipate the decisions of the Constituent Assembly. The final definition of the boundaries of the Ukrainian People's Republic will not take place until such time as the general consensus of the nations may be obtained on this point.

UKRAINIANS IN THE CAUCASUS

The descendants of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, Ukrainians, extend the territory of the Ukrainian people.

The number of Ukrainians in the Caucasus is estimated at about 2,000,000. They live mainly in the northern part, where they constitute the greater part of the population. Thus, in the province of Kuban 47% of the inhabitants is Ukrainian; in the province of Stavropol, 37%; in the province of Terek, 18%; and in the Black Sea District, 16%. Most of these Ukrainians are Cossacks; that is, they are descended from the famous Zaporozhian Cossacks of the 16th—18th centuries. Since they settled in the Caucasus about a hundred years ago, they are still looked upon as colonists.

In 1775, as is well known, the stronghold of the Ukrainian Cossacks, the "Zaporozhska Seech," a fortified community situated on islands of the Dnieper River south of Katerinoslav and in the vicinity of Alexandrivsk, was destroyed by order of Catherine II of Russia. The Cossacks were sent to the district which at present forms the governments of Kherson and Tauria, where the task assigned to them was to free the region of Tatar hordes and then to colonize the land. No sooner had this task been accomplished than the Tsarist authorities began to regard the Cossacks as a danger to the State. Soon the colonizers of the modern Kherson and Tauria were sent to Northern Caucasus also to colonize the country. It was in 1790 that these Zaporozhian Cossacks were compelled to leave the wild steppes of their fatherland

and to go to the Caucasus to establish a new "Seech" on the eastern shores of the Sea of Azof. They settled in the basin of the Kuban River, and there made the new motherland of Ukrainian Cossacks. From here they spread to the Black Sea District, to Stavropol, and to Terek, leaving everywhere the fruits of their constructive efficiency.

Ukrainian Cossacks of the Caucasus still maintain many traditions of the old "Zaporozhska Seech," although the character of their army has undergone a radical change.

Most of the Ukrainians living in the Caucasus are naturally Kuban Cossacks, who, forming the relative majority and the military power of Kuban, are the rulers of the province. Quite recently these Cossacks proclaimed the Cossack Republic of Kuban. This new republic, which may be called the second Ukrainian republic born on the territory of former Imperial Russia, desires to witness the formation of a federacy of the republics of Russia, into which federacy it would wish the Ukrainian People's Republic and its own to be incorporated. If, however, the realization of this wish should prove impossible, the Kuban republic would advocate the creation of a confederacy of the republics of Southern Russia with Ukraine at the head. The Cossack Republic of Kuban would readily enter into a federal union with Ukraine.

POLITICAL PARTIES IN UKRAINE

In an interview with the Berlin "Tageblatt," Andrew Zuk, a Ukrainian, declared that the majority of the Ukrainian parties are not opposed to a union with Russia. He discussed the influence and strength of the various parties in the ministry and the Ukraine Parliament, the Central Rada, which consists of 792 members, and pointed out that neither the ministry nor the Central Rada is bourgeois in character, but both are dominated by Socialist members.

Reviewing the various parties entering into the present government, Andrew Zuk declared:

"I have been personally connected with almost all the members of the government of the Ukrainian People's Republic. Premier Vinnichenko, War Minister Petlura, Minister of Justice Tkachenko, Minister of Public Works Porsh, Minister of Instruction Steshenko and Minister of Agriculture Martos, are the leaders of the Social Democratic party. Vinnichenko is somewhat more moderate than the other members of the Ukrainian government, and it is thanks to him that admission to the Ukrainian Central Rada has been granted to the national minorities, the Russian Social-Democrats (Mensheviks), the Jewish Social-Democrats (of the 'Bund,') and the Polish Social-Democrats.

"The leader of the Ukrainian peace delegation, which signed the peace treaty with Germany, was Vsevolod Holubovich, who belongs to the second leading party of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary party, the real head of which is the Minister of Provisions M. Kovalovsky. Also, the president of the Ukrainian Central Rada, the great Ukrainian historian M. Hrushevsky, belongs to this party, which is for the distribution of the soil.

"The third leading party, which has fewer representatives in the Central Rada and in the ministry than the two parties just mentioned, is formed by the Ukrainian Socialist-Federalists. This party may be called bourgeois. Among its members are the intelligent classes, the officials, teachers and the representatives of the liberal professions. Of course, it is democratic through and through.

"Most radical, from the national point of view, are the National-Revolutionists and the 'Union of the Ukrainian State.' They have only little influence in the Rada and no representatives in the ministry. But there is no doubt that they will play an important role in the future political life of Ukraine.

"All the Ukrainian parties are for the sovereignty of the Ukrainian people. The

Social-Democrats and the Socialist-Federalists want Ukraine to be united in a federal union with Russia. The Socialist-Revolutionists, the National Socialists and the 'Union of the Ukrainian States' are for the absolute separation of Ukraine from Russia. The parties of the national minorities, however, and the Jewish 'Bund' are in general opposed to the idea that Ukraine should form a separate state."

Speaking of the contrast between Ukraine and Russia, he said:

"In the revolution which is now taking place in Russia the social question is predominant. The Trotzky-Lenine government is a dictatorship of the proletariat. In Ukraine, on the contrary, the revolution has a national character. In spite of the opposition on social questions, all the Ukrainian parties are acting in solidarity on national problems. It is true that we had been at war with the Kerensky government, and no political party of Ukraine is in favor of Kerensky's party, which was opposed to the autonomy of Ukraine. But the Ukrainians have never been hostile to the social revolution in Great Russia.

"The Russians and the Ukrainians need peace in order to devote themselves to their great social problems and to form a federated republic."



Session chamber of the Zemstvo at Poltava.

MICHAEL HRUSHEVSKY

Michael Hrushevsky, a most eminent leader of the Ukrainian cause, was born on the 30th of September 1866. Under the pseudonym of Zavoloka, he began his literary activity in 1885, contributing short historical stories to Ukrainian newspapers and almanacs. However, it was not to be in the field of belles-lettres that Hrushevsky was destined to attain the extensive popularity which his name enjoys in Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian circles. He soon went to Lviv (Lemberg), whither he was called to accept a professorship in the University. Here he displayed an unusually broad and fruitful intellectual activity: he became the head of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, edited the *Transactions* printed by this organization, and co-operated in the editing of many other scientific publications. Inserting in these publications his learned articles and the works of his assiduous associates, whom he had organized, and for whom he had elaborated a mode of procedure, Hrushevsky placed the publications upon the level of the best European work in their respective fields. This organizational work of his gathered into the Society such older scholars as Fedir Vovk, Ivan Verchratsky, Volo-

dimir Shukhevich, and Ivan Franko; and gave accommodation and assistance to younger scholars such as Alexander Kolesa, Kirilo Studinsky, Volodimir Hnatyuk, Stephen Tomashivsky, and others. Due to the exertions of these erudite men, the publications of the Society, particularly historical and ethnographical works, were raised to such a high degree that for a long time they have equaled the works of foreign academies of sciences. To students this Society became an institution wherein young scholars prepare themselves for their future occupation.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society publishes such periodicals and journals as: *Transactions of the Shevchenko Scientific Society* (six volumes a year); *Collections* (containing the works of three faculties,—one for history and philosophy, another for philology, and a third for mathematics, the natural sciences, and medicine); *Historical Library*; *Outlooks in Social Sciences and Statistics*; *Materials for a Ukrainian Bibliography*; *Sources of Russo-Ukrainian History*; *Ruthenian Literature*; *Ethnographical Collections*; *Materials for Ukrainian Archives*; *Monuments of the Ukrainian Language*

Rutheno-Ukrainian Ethnology; Annals of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. All of this huge task was accomplished without large material funds, and without appreciable subsidy from the state or even from the Ukrainian public; but was consummated solely through the laborious endeavors so freely bestowed by the energetic members of the Society, at the head of whom invariably stood Michael Hrushevsky.

The pinnacle of all Hrushevsky's achievements is without question his extensive **History of Ukraine**, of which eight volumes, comprising the history of the Ukrainian people to the year 1650, have already appeared. The author of this work not only collected the attainments and labors of his predecessors, but interpreted and judiciously elaborated all this vast material, at times changing or entirely rejecting views which previously had considerable weight in the intellectual world. For Russian readers Hrushevsky wrote in Russian **A Review of the History of the Ukrainian People**. The first volume of the **History of Ukraine** was issued in German. Our indefatigable author also composed a short history of the Ukraine in the French language.* On the whole, it must be said that hardly anyone has done so much to acquaint the world with Ukrainian history as Michael Hrushevsky.

In instituting the **Literary-Scientific Messenger**, which appears monthly, Hrushevsky rendered an invaluable service to Ukrainian letters. He printed in this periodical his literary reviews and criticisms of Ukrainian literary works, and quite recently wrote sedulously such articles on current public issues as of the present moment on Ukrainian questions. These articles on public affairs, which can be found in practically every number of the **Literary-Scientific Messenger**, are very interesting both in respect to the topics discussed and to the method of their presentation. Regarding matters of Ukrainian life, Hrushevsky always proceeds from a Ukrainian national point of view and from that broadmindedness which is vouchsafed him by his extraordinary knowledge of history and by his extensive general education. These attributes of his work on public affairs have afforded him the foremost

position in the eyes of the modern Ukrainian public, and have made him often the intellectual pilot of Ukrainianism.

Though toiling specially in Galicia, Michael Hrushevsky not only did not sever the already existing bonds between Galician Ukraine and Russian Ukraine, but, on the contrary, strove to create a very firm intellectual bond between these parts of Ukraine, which are separated by political boundaries. And he united these parts with this wonderful personality. The ideal of an all-Ukrainian union is Hrushevsky's most precious possession. It is an ideal to which he constantly recurs in his works, ever enlightening it and presenting new arguments in its behalf. "Pan-Ukrainism or Ukrainian universality—a firm union of all divisions of the Ukrainian land, and a settlement of all the differences which separate them, for a single common object: national evolution—appears finally not only because it is desirable in itself (ideally, so to speak), but because it is necessary to the local life of its parts; i. e., to their immediate aims and problems." (M. Hrushevsky in **New Year's Thoughts**, 1910.)

In the co-operation of all sections of the Ukrainian land in such an all-Ukrainian coalition, Michael Hrushevsky sees the only road to national evolution. "It lies in the interest of Ukrainian national development in its present stage", Hrushevsky once wrote, "that all national forces be assembled immediately; and hence, that all portions of Ukrainian territory be united without delay. It is necessary to foster in these separate parts a spirit of unity, solidarity, and fellowship, instead of exciting the differences which divide them, and which, under such excitement may result in their total cultural and national separation."** Desiring to make the interests of the parts the common interests of the whole, Hrushevsky bitterly denounces everything that tends to widen the breach between the parts.

SERGIUS YEFREMOV.

* This history has appeared in London in an English translation.—Ed.

** From *Galicia and Ukraine*.

VLADIMIR VINNICHENKO

Vladimir Vinnichenko, the first Premier of the Ukrainian Cabinet, and Minister of the Interior, was born to a poor peasant family of Kherson in the year 1880. Having completed the lyceum studies in Kiev, he enrolled himself in the faculty of law at the University of Kiev; but because he advocated several student uprisings and held too radical, individual views, he was soon expelled from the University.

Driven from school, he was ordered by the military authorities of Kiev to be arrested and forced into military service. But he escaped this fate by fleeing beyond the frontiers, where he remained for a long time. During his self-imposed exile he applied himself to literary work and traveled through Switzerland and France. While he was in the latter country the sensational outbreak of the world war occurred. At present he is 37 years old.

A young man who himself had long worked in factories as an ordinary laborer, Vinnichenko devoted himself in the course of his life to the cause of the proletariat, the wretched existence of which he portrayed in most vivid colors. The deterioration and ruin of the old life, general, community contrasts, and the creation and organization of new forces which will fight resolutely for new ideals—such is the content of the first works of this unusually strong realist, who knew how to condense into the space of a page hundreds of minute, constructive details which everyone experienced but no longer wished to notice. Everyone, however, who read the narratives of this talented author was led by the peculiar charm of his words to live these experiences over again.

Vinnichenko, who writes in both Ukrainian and Russian, is the most erudite Ukrainian in the literature of the present age. He has written several novels and dramas and a large number of short stories. Eight volumes of an edition of his works have already been published.

His Socialistic essays and proclamations belong to the best agitative literature of the Ukrainian language. He is

an efficient organizer, an eloquent orator, and a person of uncommon revolutionary energy.

As a propagator of religious and universal reform, Vinnichenko delights in drawing contrasts. The following, for instance, is what he writes of philosophy in his "Contrasts": "What philosophy is there where one is scorched by the sun, drenched by the rain, tortured by hunger, and harmed by one's fellows...? What philosophy can there be, it may be asked, where one's whole life consists of only unpleasant experiences? What categorical imperative or absolute can there be where one's belly commands categorically that one should eat?... The philosophy of life, the philosophy of morals, aesthetics.... No, give me a philosophy that will enable me to teach these people to be happy and fortunate."

Like a true poet, Vinnichenko seeks new paths of life, new ways of living. He is not satisfied with the life through which we pass at present. He does not wish to be someone's slave! He wants to be master of himself for himself!

Besides Vinnichenko's idea of ameliorating the conditions of economic and general life, there is also his idea of reforming national life. At heart he is a Socialist;* but above all he is a Ukrainian. Hence the reason why he desires reform of national life, and why he took his stand at the head of the Ukrainian national movement in conjunction with Hrushevsky. To free the Ukrainian people from the evils which arise out of political and economic dependence upon other peoples; to free the working peasants and the proletariat from the miseries which are inevitably consequent where capital is completely independent—these are the ends for which the Vinnichenko of to-day is striving.

* Vinnichenko is the leader of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labor Party which is federalistic in principle as well as in action as opposed to the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party of the Bolshevik faction which is in reality prosecuting the centralistic ideas.

The Protest of the Ukrainian Representatives in the Austrian Parliament against Annexation of Ukrainian Territory to Poland

The meeting of the Austrian Parliament (Reichsrat) on May 30, 1917, after being suspended for over three years, was made the occasion for declarations of policy by all the leading racial groups in the house.

Dr. Eugen Petrushevich, chairman of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Club, read the following declaration:

With regard to the conditions created by the war and the new situation announced for Galicia by the Imperial Decree of December 4, 1916, the representatives of the Ukrainian people in Austria consider it necessary to enter the following constitutional protest:

1. The present Crown land of Galicia is an artificially-created administrative unit which conflicts with historic and national rights. By the October Diploma of 1860 and the February Patent of 1861 the historic Ukrainian Kingdom of Galicia and of Lodomeria was welded with the Duchy of Cracow and the principalities of Auschwitz and Zator into a constitutional unit; and this has always been regarded by the Ukrainian people as illegal and as a national outrage. In view of the historic events of to-day the representatives of the Ukrainian people lay special emphasis upon the inalienable constitutional rights of Galicia and Lodome-

ria; they demand the restoration of the Ukrainian territories as a constitutional unit within the framework of the state as a whole, and they solemnly protest against the intention of forcing these Ukrainian territories or of providing the latter with a special autonomy of their own.

2. The representatives of the Ukrainian people protest against even the smallest portion of the Ukrainian territories of Kholm, Pidlassye (abound Brest-Litovsk in the government of Grodno, and the eastern part of the government of Siedlce—Ed. "Ukraine"), and Volhynia ever being added to the kingdom of Poland which is in process of formation, and regard any attempt in this direction as an outrage upon the living body of the Ukrainian people, as a violation of its historic rights and a mockery of the principle of the self-determination of peoples.

3. The representatives of the Ukrainians of Austria greet most heartily the efforts of the Ukrainians of Russia to secure the right of constitutional self-determination, and declare that they in Austria, too, will not abandon the struggle, so that the great Ukrainian nation may acquire the fullest rights upon the whole of its national territory.

Austro-Polish Attempt at the Rights of the Ukrainian People

(A DEBATE ON THE UKRAINIAN-POLISH PROBLEM IN THE AUSTRIAN PARLIAMENT, NOVEMBER 9, 1917).

[On November 5, 1917, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, Count Czernin, visited Berlin in connection with a Crown Council convoked there by the German Emperor. It has been admitted that the main subject of discussion was the Polish question, and it was very widely believed that the project favored in all the highest quarters took the following form:—(1) that the Emperor Charles should be proclaimed King of Poland; (2) that Austria should cede Galicia to the new Poland, which would then form a new State within the Habsburg Monarchy, on an equal footing with Austria and Hungary; and (3) that Lithuania and Courland should be linked up in a similar manner with Germany, each with a special autonomous position. This rumored agreement caused a profound sensation in Berlin, where it was finally regarded as a direct challenge to the Reichstag, and also as calculated to raise the question of control of foreign policy in a specially acute form. In Austria the alarm and excitement was even greater, and at once found open expression in parliamentary circles. The effect of any such arrangement upon the internal political situation in Austria, upon German-Magyar relations, upon the prospects of the other Slav nationalities realizing their dreams of national unity, and in particular upon the fate of the Ukrainian population of East Galicia, would be great and almost incalculable. It was also felt that it would radically affect the whole future of Austro-Russian relations, and create, in the obvious interests of Berlin, a barrier to direct intercourse between Vienna and Petrograd. Anxiety was heightened by the fact that simultaneously proposals of a very secret nature were under discussion, vitally affecting Italy, the Yugoslavs, and even the Austrian Germans, and calculated to assure to Germany her long-coveted access to the Adriatic.

The debate of November 9, 1917 in the Austrian Parliament, to which the whole incident gave rise, is certainly one of the most remarkable since parliamentary life was restored, and deserves the special attention of our readers.]

A whole series of urgent interpellations were introduced in the Reichsrat on November 9, 1917, by the Ukrainians, who protested against the proposed "enslavement of 4 million Ukrainians" as "an insult to the constitutional rights of all nationalities"; by the Southern Slavs, who expressed "the greatest consternation" at the idea of solving the Polish question without simultaneously dealing with the Ukrainian, Bohemian and Yugoslav questions, and thus placing the Slavs in a permanent minority in Parliament; by the Czechs, who denounced the plan as a defiance of all democratic and constitutional principles by the diplomats and as calculated to destroy all hope of peace; by the Ukrainian Socialists, who emphasized their nation's desire to form "an independent national unitary state formed out of parts of Austria-Hungary, Volhynia, Kholm and the present Russian Ukraine"; and by the Bukovinian Roumanians, who were alarmed at the prospect of being suspended in mid-air in the event of Austria's ceding Galicia to Poland.

Most interesting of all was the interpellation of the German Socialists, who treated the intention of uniting Poland with Austria-Hungary, and Courland and Lithuania with Prussia, as bound to antagonize the Entente, and assumed Germany's consent to the former to be contingent on Austria's consent to the latter. "The realization of this plan involves the overthrow of the rival coalition," and hence a great prolongation of the war for purely dynastic reasons, such as "would not permit of Austrian policy being determined by Austria's own needs." The new regime would mean "leaving Austrian parliamentarism 'in a state of swoon.'" "In a conglomerate state such as Count Czernin wants to create, real democracy is impossible." "For Germany and the German nation's whole position in Europe this plan is also dangerous. If Germany cuts off Russia's access to the ice-



Dr. Kost Levitsky, President of the Ukrainian National-Democratic Party in Galicia, and one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Representation in the Austrian Parliament.

leaving Austrian parliamentarism "in a state of swoon." "In a conglomerate state such as Count Czernin wants to create, real democracy is impossible." "For Germany and the German nation's whole position in Europe this plan is also dangerous. If Germany cuts off Russia's access to the ice-

free sea, the enmity between Germany and Russia will be perpetuated. At the same time the friendship between Germany and Austria-Hungary is endangered, for our foreign policy will be partly decided by Polish interests, which are irreconcilable with Prussian interests." It also means that the Central Powers turn against democracy, impose a monarchical constitution upon Poles, Letts and Lithuanians, and subject the Ukrainians to a foreign yoke. "The whole policy of the Central Powers will be turned against democratic Russia, the Russian Revolution endangered, and the danger of a counter-revolution conjured up, such as would bring into power a nationalist Bonapartism, eager for military glory. We wish the Polish people independence."

DR. EUGEN PETRUSHEVICH, President of the Ukrainian Club, spoke as follows: "No Austrian people has had to put up with so much even before the war as the Ukrainians. Ever since the first constitutional era they were excluded from the most rudimentary civil rights, for the most part by imperial decrees regarding the Polish official language and the Polish schools. Their hopes of securing universal and equal suffrage were not fulfilled. In view of the far worse conditions under which their kinsmen outside Austria lived, under the yoke of the Tsar, they were grateful to the Austrian State for such few national rights as they had managed to win in long struggles. Then came the war, and the Ukrainian part of Galicia suffered most heavily. The Ukrainians were convinced that, in return for the terrible sacrifices which their people had made for Austria in this war, they would at least meet different treatment afterwards.

"The committee of the Ukrainian Club, being seriously alarmed by the first rumours of agreement between Germany and Austria as to a Personal Union with the Kingdom of Poland, visited Count Czernin on November 1, 1917 and begged him for explanations. Count Czernin gave us the solemn assurance that until peace came neither the Polish nor the Ukrainian question would or could be decided, because the solution of both questions depended on the results of the peace conference; till then not a single step in the solution of these questions would be made. And then, on the very next day, he went off to Berlin in order to begin the preliminary discussions. Thus the facts are clear. The negotiations regarding a solution of the Polish question have already gone on for months, and it was only when they seemed ripe for decision that the Crown Council was summoned and the question finally decided. We Ukrainians, then, are to be ceded to the Kingdom of Poland. As a reward for our loyalty and superhuman sacrifices, we are to be thrown over, and our unhappy people are to be delivered up to their hereditary enemy (i. e., the Poles).

"But we are not altogether without hope. There is one thing which consoles us. Peace conditions will not be dictated by the Central Powers alone. At the peace table there will be representatives of other nations, and probably also those of the Ukrainian State. And not only our brothers, but also the representatives of those against whom our soldiers are fighting, will protect us against outrage, lest they should share the responsibility before the tribunal of the whole civilized world."

FATHER KOROSHETS, President of the Yugoslav Club, condemned the idea of a partition of Poland between Habsburgs and Hohenzollerns as a danger to European peace, and did not oppose in principle the cession "of the Polish part of Galicia." "But to make decisions now and in a one-sided way with regard to conquered Russian Poland would simply mean that Count Czernin and the German Government were throwing overboard a peace by agreement, and postponing to a distant date the possibility of peace.... The Poles will realize that any such intention (as the cession of Galicia to the new Poland) cannot leave us indifferent. Unless other changes in the Empire were made, such an act would place the Ukrainians in a minority in the Kingdom of Poland, and the Southern Slavs and Czechs in a minority in the remainder of the Empire. Bureaucracy in the Crown lands, militarism and Germanization, would be our fate for ever. We want a solution of the Polish question, but only in connection with a simultaneous solution of the Southern Slav, Ukrainian and Czech questions. We want the liberation of the Southern Slavs, not merely of Austria, but also of Hungary. Therefore, Dualism, on which the hegemony of two races rests, must fall; and the peoples who, by blood and language, belong together, must be united, and live independent and free from every alien rule."

MR. STANEK, leader of the Czech Union, attacked the German and Magyar hegemony, which forms the present basis of the Monarchy, and declared that, at a time like the present, the Slav peoples of Austria-Hungary have everything to win or to lose. He appealed to the Poles to declare here openly that they recognize the same rights for the Ukrainians. "Do the Poles wish to incur the same blame as we did formerly by leaving the Slovaks in Hungary so long without help? Unfortunately we did not protest much against Dualism in those days, and that unhappy form which the

Germans also are now beginning to feel because they get nothing to eat. The Austrian Slavs are in duty bound to hold together, so that the whole public opinion of Austria may recognize that the Slavs with the other non-German peoples possess a majority. A country thrown into confusion by Dualism is incapable of organizing its peoples on a constitutional basis. In Hungary Dualism personifies the idea of national and political barbarism. Under high patronage an unproductive aristocratic clique is left free to employ all its efforts on Magyarization. The ill-treatment of the Slovaks in North Hungary, which has been tolerated even in the highest circles, is a warning, in letters of flame, as to how loyalty is treated. In Hungary, by His Majesty's orders, a government was formed to introduce electoral reform; but his orders are being carried out in such a way as to reduce the seven per cent. of non-Magyar mandates to four per cent. Would that be possible if there were people around the Emperor who really informed him as to these disgraceful conditions?" (Loud applause). (A Czech deputy: "We are going to speak of Hungary here, and don't mean to be prevented.") "You forget that for His Majesty the speeches delivered here will perhaps be confiscated. Anything is possible under present circumstances, especially in Hungary; the Magyars presume to negotiate with our Government and demand a law by which we should perhaps be hanged if we spoke in this House against the integrity of the Magyar State.

"The Hungary of to-day and its national system is the second greatest cause of the world war and the second greatest obstacle to peace. (Loud applause.) No peace, no recovery of Europe is conceivable as long as in Vienna and Budapest the Dual System blocks every sensible move on the part of five small and medium nations, and until, on the ruins of the Dual Monarchy, there blossom flourishing national States.

"The Emperor Charles is not responsible for this terrible war; he did not declare it. Nor has he hitherto permitted any breach of the constitution on the part of the Governments, although such were intended. He is popular among the people, owing to his democratic views and various actions by which he has lessened the terrors of war. He has also repeatedly declared that the war would not last a moment longer if it depended on him. If the responsible Government thwarts the will of the Emperor as the Hungarian Government has done with regard to electoral reform, this means a further obstacle to peace and a prolongation of war. If peace is to be concluded there must be open and honest discussion as to what is to happen to the peoples of Austria, and how their future is to be shaped. That is not a matter of secret diplomacy, but of representative bodies, which, it is true, must be elected differently from the Austrian Parliament, and still more from the Hungarian. You should work with a view to creating such conditions in this country as the representatives of the peoples have demanded in their declarations of May 30."

The German Social Democrat, MR. SEITZ, spoke in favor of peace "without annexations and indemnities," and expressed deep sympathy with the Russian Revolution. He treated the rumored arrangement regarding Poland as calculated to help the war agitators and to create grave complications between Germany and Austria-Hungary, and even more between Austria-Hungary and Russia. "What we desire is the independence and full sovereignty of Poland. But we must have a word to say in the matter, and we will not tolerate any one-sided decision according to dynastic interests." As a Socialist he desired freedom and independence not only for the Poles but for every other people in Austria and in Europe.

MR. VEETIK (Ukrainian Socialist) warned the Poles that to present them with Ukrainian territory was a Danaïdan gift. "The Ukrainian people desires an understanding with the Polish people, but will never go under the yoke of the Polish gentry. It has one hope—Ukraine." MR. ISOPESCU-GRECU (Roumanian) described the alarm of the Bukovinian Roumanians at the prospect of the cession of Galicia to Poland, since this would vitally affect the relations of their own province to Austria. He protested against the mere idea of their being united to Hungary, and raised objections even to East Galicia being organized as a separate unit.

MR. KURANDA (Viennese Progressive) criticized the Government's method of dealing with a question which concerns all the Austrian peoples from the Bistritza to the Rhine. "According to the fundamental laws, State-treaties relative to changes of territory—not merely losses of territory—are dependent upon the sanction of both Houses of the Reichsrat. Any change with regard to Galicia would involve a change of imperial representation and of the fundamental laws, and for this a two-thirds majority is necessary." He went on to treat the cession of Galicia as incredible and as calculated to destroy Austrian prestige.

The Premier, RITTER VON SEYDLER, then made a short statement: "To-day the Polish question cannot yet be said to be solved. So long as the preliminary discussions with the German Government have not led to a complete clearing of ideas, it is naturally not possible to say how this question is to be solved. But if, in future, the Kingdom of Poland should

seek a rapprochement with the Monarchy, then the whole of the complex questions which have to be treated by way of legislation would naturally be reserved for this purpose, and the representatives of the Austrian people would be given an opportunity in good time and without prejudice to express themselves in the matter. I should like further to emphasize that the Polish question, however it may be solved, cannot be an obstacle to peace, since a forcible solution (Vergewaltigung) is excluded. The Polish State is to have free choice as to the will of the Central Empires, and fall back for all a solution under the Polish yoke.

"In all the world we hear the cry:

"All nations, even the smallest, are to have the right to dispose of their fate in accordance with their own desires. None is to be handed over by force to a foreign oppression! No people shall be separated by force from its mother-country!"

"Only the Ukrainian population of Galicia is to constitute an exception to this rule, which is to become universal, and thus preserve humanity from the horrors of a new war. Only this race, whose whole history is simply one vast protest against Polish domination, is to be torn away from its brothers, against its will, and

solution was expressed. "We had no reason to doubt that all qualified factors, especially the Austrian Parliament, and notably its Slav and Progressive parties, who have always condemned the partitions of Poland as fatal international crimes, would make a point of unreservedly supporting our aims in order to atone for the injustice done to the whole Polish nation, and to secure for Europe and mankind the conditions of a permanent peace. We concede to every people freedom and self-determination, but we have the right

of Galicia, firmly convinced, as we are, that we shall simultaneously speaking for all of Ukraine.

"We declare that we consider the annexation of Galicia, or of any other portion of Ukraine, to the future Polish state, as a flagrant violation of the rights of nations, and that we shall oppose it by every means at our power.

"We demand the enforcement of the principle of nationalities, and the establishment of a free and independent Ukraine.

"And in the defence of our menaced rights, we call on the sentiments of justice of the whole civilized world, for aid."

THE UKRAINIAN PROVINCE OF KHOLM

In the Ukrainian peace treaty of February 9 last, the boundaries between the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Polish Kingdom are defined in article II as follows:

"Farther north (of Galicia) the frontier of the Republic, beginning at Tarnograd, will, in general, follow the line of Bilhoray to Shchegreshin, Krasnostav, Puhachiv, Radin, Mezhrich, Sarnaki, Melnik, Visoke Litovske, Kamenets Litovsky, Pruzhani, and Vihonivsky lake."

The clause of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty transferred the heritage of our princes and kings of Halich, and this heritage we shall defend by every means. We are told that the Poles will grant us national autonomy. For fully five centuries the Poles have had an opportunity of showing their brotherly nature. In point of fact we have had an uninterrupted struggle, and this must continue if we come under Poland. The real reason why Poland perished was because the Ukrainian territory was incorporated in the Kingdom."

MR. GRIGOROVICI (Roumanian Socialist) treated the attitude of Ukraine in its first months of freedom as a happy proof that the Ukrainians will not attempt to enslave other peoples. He praised the protests of Ukrainian representatives against the idea of incorporating Roumanian Bessarabia in the Ukrainian republic. He finally described the Dual system as a fatal obstacle to any solution of national problems in Austria and Hungary.

DR. SCHOEPPFER (Christian Socialist) dwelt on the glorious victories in Italy as "a fresh step to speedy peace, for he who will not offer the hand of peace of his own accord must be forced to do so by the superior strength of his opponent. All the more regrettable is it that in this House, instead of patriotism, there should be indifference to a strong Austria. Undoubtedly the events of this war make a new order throughout Europe necessary, and the Monarchy as a conglomerate of different peoples is specially affected. A solution of the national question requires insight and strength. We want freedom to be assured to all the peoples who inhabit the Monarchy, but we also want these peoples to adopt the standards of the State and of the Empire."

MR. SOUKUP (Czech Socialist) favored Polish independence, but as the result of popular agreement, not as a monarch's act of grace. In the solution of national problems no single one can be treated separately. "Above all, the Czech question must be solved. It is not to be supposed that the Czech people, which has made such huge sacrifices in blood and property, can be pushed to one side, and that an independent Czech State is something which cannot be set up! Nor can one imagine that the Czech people will recognize the Magyar frontiers for all time."

DR. GLOMBINSKY (Pan-Pole), speaking in the name of the Polish Club, reaffirmed the Polish declaration of May 28, according to which the fate of Poland could not be settled without the knowledge of its representatives, but in which full reliance upon the Emperor's capacity to produce a happy

Respecting the percentage of the nationalities of Khmelnytsky Province, there are no recent and reliable statistics, but according to comparative estimates compiled from Russian, Polish, and Ukrainian sources the following average percentages of races in the said province may be given:

Ukrainians	60%
Russians	5%
Jews	15%
Germans	5%
Poles	15%

As to religion, the Ukrainians are mainly of the Greek Catholic faith. It is impossible that the

Emperor of Austria should at one and the same time be a good King of Poland and a good ally of the German Empire. That the King of Prussia should give up his Polish territories is out of the question. "The Poles have opted for the West because their experience of the East has been unhappy enough. Their geographical situation, their commercial and political interests, urge them to unite with the German Empire. Hence the proper solution would be, not that Poland should be united to Austria, but in some form or other to Germany. There is no alternative save to unite East Galicia with the Ukraine—of course, not without compensations, since the simple cession of Galicia would mean a loss of prestige, population and riches. This compensation can be found. Qualified persons such as Carp, Marghiloman and Malorescu have during the war offered the Crown of Roumania to the Emperor of Austria. So far as the actual form is concerned,

the fates of these various countries must not be regulated by simple agreements between kings, or by diplomatic arrangements, but by agreements between one people and the other."

MR. ZENKER (Viennese Progressive) urged that the Austrian Parliament must not be confronted with a "fait accompli" in the Polish question, as happened in 1867 with the institution of Dualism, and in 1908 with the annexation of Bosnia. "The representative of the Poles has declared with all the manners of a Hungarian statesman that the Polish question is not yet ripe for treatment in the Austrian Parliament. That this very statesman is at the moment still a member of this Parliament does not seem to affect him. Whether the extension of territory is the best means of improving the position of the friends of peace in enemy countries need not be discussed. But are those in high quarters clear as to the effects of such a solution on internal political conditions? It is only necessary to consider the flaming indignation and the very natural greed which found expression as soon as the news of the alleged Polish project became known. We, too, are ready to grant the Poles their independence, but we have not waged the war for the sake of Poland. The war has been waged for the freedom of all peoples and for a new and better Austria, but not that this Austria should be put up to auction in sections."

DR. WALDNER (German Nationalist) declared in the name of his party that the time had not come for treating this question, and that, as it would be premature and unprofitable to do so, they did not intend to take part in the discussion.



Dr. Eugene Petrushevich,
President of the Ukrainian Representation
in the Austrian Parliament.

"The Germans in Austria are glad that the Polish question is being taken in hand, and desire a solution in an Austro-Polish sense, that is, in a sense which shall secure the interests of the Ukrainian people. We emphatically protest against the solution of our internal constitutional questions being made contingent upon the Polish question or becoming the subject of any discussion whatever at the future Peace

the Central Powers will be turned against us. In Russia, the Russian Revolution endangered, and the danger of a counter-revolution conjured up, such as would bring in power a nationalist Bonapartism, eager for military glory. We wish the Polish people independence."

DR. EUGEN PETRUSHEVICH, President of the Ukrainian Club, spoke as follows: "No Austrian people has had to put up with so much even before the war as the Ukrainians. Ever since the first constitutional era they were excluded from the most rudimentary civil rights, for the most part by imperial decrees regarding the Polish official language and the Polish schools. Their hopes of securing universal and equal suffrage were not fulfilled. In view of the far worse conditions under which their kinsmen outside Austria lived, under the yoke of the Tsar, they were grateful to the Austrian state for such few national rights as they had managed to win in long struggles. Then came the war, and the Ukrainian part of Galicia suffered most heavily. The Ukrainians are convinced that, in return for the terrible sacrifices which their people had made for Austria in this war, they should at least meet different treatment afterwards."

"The committee of the Ukrainian Club, being seriously alarmed by the first rumours of agreement between Germany and Austria as to a Personal Union with the Kingdom of Poland, visited Count Czernin on November 1, 1917 and begged him for explanations. Count Czernin gave us the solemn assurance that until peace came neither the Polish nor the Ukrainian question would or could be decided, because the solution of both questions depended on the results of the

Conference. We repudiate as gross presumption any interference of enemy Powers in the solution of our internal questions, but we must also enter a protest against any interference here in the questions of Lithuania and Courland, which solely concern our ally Germany." He concluded by expressing his desire for a speedy peace, but only in such a form as "would not enable the enemy Powers to misrepresent our desire for peace as a sign of weakness."

efforts on Magyarization. The ill-treatment of the Slovaks in North Hungary, which has been tolerated even in the best of times, is a warning, in letters of flame, as to how it is treated. In Hungary, by His Majesty's orders, a law was formed to introduce electoral reform; but the orders are being carried out in such a way as to reduce seven per cent. of non-Magyar mandates to four per cent. Would that be possible if there were people around the Emperor who really informed him as to these disgraceful conditions?" (Loud applause.) (A Czech deputy: "We are going to speak of Hungary here, and don't mean to be prejudiced.") "You forget that for His Majesty the speeches delivered here will perhaps be confiscated. Anything is possible under present circumstances, especially in Hungary. The Magyars presume to negotiate with our Government demand a law by which we should perhaps be hanged in spite of this House against the integrity of the Magyar State."

"The Hungary of to-day and its national system is the second greatest cause of the world war and the second greatest obstacle to peace. (Loud applause.) No peace, no recovery of Europe is conceivable as long as in Vienna Budapest the Dual System blocks every sensible move on the part of five small and medium nations, and until, on the ruins of the Dual Monarchy, there blossom flourishing nation States."

"The Emperor Charles is not responsible for this terrible war; he did not declare it. Nor has he hitherto permitted any breach of the constitution on the part of the Governments, although such were intended. He is popular among the people, owing to his democratic views and various acts by which he has lessened the burden of the war."

The Ukrainians Are Opposed to an Annexation of Galicia to Poland

(A correspondence to "L'Ukraine", Lausanne, Switzerland, No. 37, Dec. 20, 1917.)

Lemberg, Galicia, Austria, Nov. 23, 1917.

The Assembly of The Ukrainian National Committee met yesterday, with a full attendance, with all the representatives of all the Ukrainian districts of Eastern Galicia.

This meeting decided to publish a solemn protest against the incorporation of Ukrainian territories with Poland, which is proposed by the Central Empires. The protest is couched in the following terms:

"The Ukrainian people of Galicia has been struggling for six centuries against the Polish yoke; for six centuries it has opposed the Polish offensive against Ukrainian soil, and in all this period of slavery it has never lost the sentiment of its unity. In the present war it has emphasized its right to dispose of its own destinies, and it now protests with emphasis against the annexation of Eastern Galicia, or of any other Ukrainian territory, to Poland."

"The plan to reestablish Poland in its historical boundaries is an attack on the Ukrainian people, and, particularly, on Eastern Galicia."

"As far back in history as we can go, Galicia has constituted an integral portion of Ukrainian territory, and served the latter as a bulwark against Poland,—first by the fact that it was a portion of the State of Kiev, then as the basis of the State of Galicia—Lodomeria, under the dynasties of the Rostislavs and the Romans, who at one time united under their sceptre all the territories of the Ukraine."

"In its struggle against the Polish oppression Galicia finally succumbed, when the Roman dynasty died out, and Galicia became a prey to the Polish State."

"However, the country never gave up its claim to be united with the other Ukrainian states,—its independence, in other words. It never accepted the Polish domination, and permitted no opportunity to pass by, to shake off the hated yoke."

"The Galician boyars rebelled against Poland. Later, at the time of the Cossack rebellions, Galicia took an active part in the battles. Under Bohdan Khmelnytsky, all Galicia rose, and the plans made by this hetman for the creation of a centralized Ukrainian state included also Galicia, which proves that three hundred years of Polish domination could not stifle in this country all hope of deliverance."

"Vihovsky thought also of uniting Galicia with the Ukraine when he sought to conclude the Treaty of Had-

"Likewise all the efforts of Petro Doroshenko were directed at freeing all the territories of Ukraine, from the Polish yoke as well as from that of the Muscovite."

"In a word, during the whole period of Polish domination in Galicia, this idea remained alive. All the plans drawn up for the formation of a state make mention of it: they are all evidences of the immortality of the national sentiment."

"The annexation to Austria was considered by Galicia as a liberation from the Polish yoke."

"It became the regular order of the day to struggle for the elimination of every trace of Polish sovereignty, and it found an active expression in 1848, in the demand to unite all the Ukrainian territories of the monarchy in a special autonomous province. The Austrian Government, however, united Galicia (which had constituted, in Poland, a special territory: the "Ruthenian voyodship") with the Polish territories that had been acquired in the partitions of Poland, and all political authority within this "kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, with the Grand-Duchy of Cracow and the Duchies of Auschwitz and Zator," which was thus formed, was handed over to the Poles."

"This was the state of affairs when the World War broke out: in Russia servitude under the Czars; in Austria, Polish domination, against which an energetic struggle was needed, in order to obtain the rights granted by the Austrian constitution to all its nationalities. Our greatest enemy, however, was Czarist Russia, and the war found us standing by the side of the Central Empires, for it was from them that we expected our liberation from the Czarist yoke."

"Yet it was not the Central Empires that were destined to deliver the Ukraine. United with the other nationalities of Russia, this country rebelled against Czarism, which was deposed, and on its ruins she raised the foundations of her own state. During this time, on the other side of the military front, the Polish domination was extended also over those Ukrainian territories which had been torn from Czarist Russia by the Central Powers."

"Exactly one year ago, Germany and Austria proclaimed the creation of a Kingdom of Poland whose Eastern boundaries should extend as far as their conquests should reach, and at the same time the Austrian government published an edict granting a much larger

measure of autonomy to Galicia, and transforming even this province into a Polish political organism.

"But, at the present moment, Vienna is negotiating with Berlin to make of the kingdom of Poland, and of Galicia, a Polish state that would include Ukrainian Galicia and other parts of Ukraine that had been acquired by force of arms.

"While the foundations of the Ukrainian State are being laid at Kiev, the people of Galicia must, according to the will of the Central Empires, be forever separated from their mother-country, and fall back for all time under the Polish yoke.

"In all the world we hear the cry:

"All nations, even the smallest, are to have the right to dispose of their fate in accordance with their own desires. None is to be handed over by force to a foreign oppression! No people shall be separated by force from its mother-country!

"Only the Ukrainian population of Galicia is to constitute an exception to this rule, which is to become universal, and thus preserve humanity from the horrors of a new war. Only this race, whose whole history is simply one vast protest against Polish domination, is to be torn away from its brothers, against its will, and

handed over to the tender mercies of Poland, which, in its relations with them, has never respected either their laws, or the treaties signed between them, and has always sought to destroy them.

"The Ukrainian representatives in the Reichsrat have solemnly protested against these intentions, and have demanded that the Ukrainian population of Galicia should also have the right of self-definition.

"It is in the defence of this right that we raise our voice, in the name of the whole Ukrainian population of Galicia, firmly convinced, as we are, that we are simultaneously speaking for all of Ukraine.

"We declare that we consider the annexation of Galicia, or of any other portion of Ukraine, to the future Polish state, as a flagrant violation of the rights of nations, and that we shall oppose it by every means in our power.

"We demand the enforcement of the principle of nationalities, and the establishment of a free and independent Ukraine.

"And in the defence of our menaced rights, we call on the sentiments of justice of the whole civilized world, for aid."

THE UKRAINIAN PROVINCE OF Kholm

In the Ukrainian peace treaty of February 9 last, the boundaries between the Ukrainian People's Republic and the Polish Kingdom are defined in article II as follows:

"Farther north (of Galicia) the frontier of the Republic, beginning at Tarnohrad, will, in general, follow the line of Bilhoray to Shcheshreshin, Krasnostav, Puhachiv, Radin, Mezhrichie, Sarnaki, Melnik, Visoke Litovske, Kamenets Litovsky, Pruzhani, and Vihonivsky lake."

This clause of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty transferred to the Ukrainian People's Republic the Ukrainian territory which had been included in the so-called "Polish Kingdom" of the Russian Tsars since the Congress of Vienna (1815), and which was divided into the two governments of Lublin and Siedlets ("Siedlice," in Polish) at the administrative division of the "Polish Kingdom" in 1867.

This territory, of about 6,000 square miles with nearly 1,000,000 population, is generally called Kholm ("Kholmshchina," in Ukrainian) but it has also two special Ukrainian names. The eastern part of the government of Lublin is the proper Ukrainian Kholm Province, while the southeastern part of the Siedlets government is usually called by the Ukrainians Pidlassye (which means, "the country in the neighborhood of Poland"). Nevertheless both of these provinces form one integral portion of Western Ukraine, and therefore they were united in 1912 by the Russian Duma into the single governmental district of Kholm. If not for the latter reason, then at least for the sake of greater simplicity of reference, we shall also call both these provinces by the single name of Kholm.

In detail, the Ukrainian territory of the Kholm province is constituted thus:

Out of 10 counties of the former government of Lublin six have been wholly or in part detached from Poland, namely:

a) Eastern counties:

1. Kholm;
2. Hrubeshiv;
3. Tomashiv;

b) Middle counties:

4. Krasnostav (about 20%, in the east);
5. Zamostye (about 65%, in the east);
6. Bilhoray (about 35%, in the east).

This would mean that about 40% of the territory of the government of Lublin has been given back to Ukraine.

Out of nine counties of the government of Siedlets (Siedlice) only four, and these not entirely, have been taken over by Ukraine. These are:

1. Vlodava;
2. Bila;
3. Konstantiniv (about 30%, in the southeast);
4. Radin (about 60%).

This would mean that over 25% of the territory of the government of Siedlets has been given up to Ukraine.

All those portions of the territory which previously were included in the Polish Kingdom, form an integral Ukrainian territory, bounded by the line set up at Brest-Litovsk in the west and by the River Bug in the east.*

* The Kholm Province, as made up by the Russian Duma in 1912, was likewise formed out of the eastern parts of the governments of Lublin and Siedlets. Its territory was then also about 6,000 square miles.

Respecting the percentage of the nationalities of Kholm Province, there are no recent and reliable statistics, but according to comparative estimates compiled from Russian, Polish, and Ukrainian sources the following average percentages of races in the said province may be given:

Ukrainians	60%
Russians	5%
Jews	15%
Germans	5%
Poles	15%

As to religion, the Ukrainians are mainly of the Greek Orthodox Church, but some 10 or more per cent. of them belong to the Catholic Church.

Therefore if religion and not nationality should be taken into account—as the Poles would like to have it—then the Catholics of the said Ukrainian province would embrace over 25% of the population. But they still would be a minority which could not be entitled to decide whether Kholm should belong to the Catholic Polish Kingdom.

It is true, the Polish leaders do not care for the majority as this majority is the common people. Though the Poles have been in the minority in Kholm, they have been ruling that province for centuries. The main Polish element in that province is the nobility, which owns the big landed estates (about 50% of the arable land and nearly all the forests.) Feudal conditions, only slightly modernized, have remained in Kholm as in all Poland and in the neighboring provinces which had belonged to the "Polish Republic" of 1772.

This feudalism had been abolished only in the governments of Kiev, Volhynia and Podolia, by the decree of the Ukrainian Central Rada issued on November 20, 1917.

Yet the Ukrainian Government as well as all the people of Ukraine desire to deliver from the yoke of the Polish gentry also all the Ukrainian territory which has thus far remained under unchanged conditions, which territory comprises Polissye (the region around Brest-Litovsk and the city of Pinsk, in other words, the southern parts of Grodno and Minsk), the province of Kholm, and Eastern Galicia.

In the province of Kholm the Ukrainian People's Republic is about to effect the same reforms that have been mentioned with regard to the other provinces. The Ukrainian people there is very poor, and the big landed estates which are in the hands of the Polish gentry are of no profit to them. Since the development of industry caused some indolent Polish nobles in the Kholm province to sell their estates, they sold them to the Jews and to the German colonists; while the Ukrainian people grew steadily poorer, and, being illiterate, could not even think of any means of self-defence, as, for instance, of co-operative associations. The Ukrainian Government, having reunited Kholm with Ukraine, intends to give that province also economic freedom, which is a challenge to the Polish gentry, there and elsewhere. The Polish leaders do not say that they want to sell their landed estates to the Jews and the German colonists, they only talk of the Polish nationality in the Kholm Province which consists mainly of the Polish gentry and their officials, and of a little percentage of the city population, which, however, is a minority of no stable character. Therefore the Polish demands are only of a selfish economic character, to defend which would be to desire the preservation of feudal conditions in the country and to drive the people to desperate acts.

THE TERRITORY OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

The Ukrainian territory is of 850,000 square kilometers, or about 330,000 square miles.

It embraces the following provinces of the former Russian Empire and of Austria-Hungary.

A) IN FORMER RUSSIA:

1. Volhynia (Vollin),
2. Podolia (Podeelye),
3. Kiev (Kiyiv),
4. Chernihiv,
5. Poltava,
6. Kherson,
7. Kharkiv,
8. Katerinoslav,
9. Tauria (without Crimea),
10. Kholm (eastern part of the government of Lublin, and the southeastern part of the government of Sidelts, united in one separate government by the act of the Russian Duma of 1912),
11. Bessarabia (over 20% of territory, in the north, around Khotin, and in the south the littoral portion, from Dniester to Danube),

12. Grodno (about 30% of the territory of the government, mostly to the south),

13. Minsk (about 30% of the territory of the government, embracing its southern part),

14. Kursk (some 30% in the south),

15. Voronizh (the southern half of the government),

16. Don Cossacks' Province (over 25% of the territory, mostly in the southwest),

17. Kuban.

B) IN AUSTRIA:

18. Eastern Galicia (as far westward as the river San),

19. Bukovina (the northern half of the province),

C) IN HUNGARY:

20. Carpathian districts, to the south of the Carpathian mountains of Eastern Galicia, on the whole over 10,000 square miles.

All this Ukrainian territory is inhabited by over 50,000,000 people, of which number the Ukrainians constitute more than three quarters.



Extent of Ukraine.

The Boundaries of the Ukrainian Ethnographical Territory

The ethnographic boundaries of Ukrainian territory are the following: the western boundary begins at the Sulina section of the Danube Delta, the city of Ismail, passes through Akkerman in Bessarabia, then along the lower course of the Dniester, past Orghiyiv and Biltsi to Novoselitsa. In Bukovina, the Ukrainian boundary passes via Storozhinets, Vikiv, Moldavitsa, Kirlibaba to the source of the Cheremosh, after which it enters northeastern Hungary. Here it follows the course of the Visso and Theiss Rivers, as well as the Gutinge Mountains, and then, by way of the towns of Uylak, Beregsass, Munkach, Ungvar, Bartfeld, and Lublau, it reaches the Poprad River in Galicia. The boundary line in Galicia between Poles and Ukrainians is indicated by the towns of Hribiv, Horlitsi, Dukla, Sianik, and by the River San as far as Yaroslav and Siniava. In "Russian Poland," the western boundary runs east of the towns of Zamostye, Krasnostav, Lukiv, Sidelts, Drohichin, finally terminating in the government of Grodno, at the source of the Narev, in the forest of Bilovezha.

The northern boundary of Ukraine, in the governments

of Grodno and Minsk, passes along the Yasiolda River and Lake Vihonivsky, to the Pripet, which it follows until that river empties into the Dnieper. The continuation of this northern boundary in the government of Chernihiv is indicated by the course of the Dnieper as far as Loyiv, then by the cities of Rylsk, Sudsha, Oboyan, Korotsha, Oskol; in the government of Voronizh, by the river Don at Ostrohosysk, and the town of Novochechersk.

The eastern line runs, in the basin of the Don, along the river Choper to its mouth, then follows the Kalitva and the Lower Donets and the Don as far as Novochechersk, and then, following the Sal past Lake Manich and the city of Stavropol, it strikes the northern approaches to the Caucasus. At this point the boundary becomes rather uncertain, for a very active colonizing movement has been drawing Ukrainian peasants into this region for decades, and a thin line of Ukrainian settlements already extends to the Caspian Sea. At any rate the territory along the Black Sea, north of a line drawn through Piatorsk, Labinsk, Maikop, Tuapse, is Ukrainian.

THE UKRAINIAN POPULATION

(Estimates based on Conscription of 1897 in Russia, and of 1910 in Austria-Hungary.)

Governmental districts, provinces, States	X Absolute Maj.—Strong min. + Relative Maj. (Plur.) = Small min.	Total area in square kilometers	Total population	Population per square kilometer	U K R A I N I A N S				Percentage of certain other nationalities of the total population						
					Total number of Ukrainians	Ukrainian percentage of total population	Area inhabited by solid Ukrainian population	Percentage of Ukrainians on such territory	Percentage of Poles	Percentage of Russians	Percentage of Germans	Percentage of Jews	Percentage of White Russians	Percentage of Rumanians and Bulgarians	Percentage of Tatars
A U S T R I A - H U N G A R Y.															
Galicia west	=	78,500	8,000,000	102	120,000										
					3,500,000	44	56,000	59	55	—	1	—	—	—	—
Hungary east	X	—	—	—	3,380,000										
					470,000	—	14,000	46	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bukovina	X	—	—	77	300,000	38	5,000	87	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL					4,270,000		75,000	average 64%							
R U S S I A.															
Lublin*	—	16,800	1,500,000	90	250,000	17	10,000	60	17	—	14	15	Pruzany 79	—	—
Sidlets*	—	—	—	69	140,000	14			20	—	—	13		—	—
Grodno	—	38,600	1,950,000	51	440,000	23	14,000	83	—	—	—	9	—	—	—
Minsk	=	91,000	2,800,000	31	390,000	14	17,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Volhynia	X	71,700	3,850,000	54	2,700,000	70	71,000	86	6	3	6	13	—	—	—
Kiev	X	51,000	4,570,000	90	3,620,000	79	51,000	90	2	6	—	12	—	—	—
Podolia	X	42,000	3,740,000	89	3,030,000	81	42,000	90	2	3	—	9	—	—	—
Kherson	X	71,000	3,450,000	49	1,640,000	54	71,000	88	1	21	5	12	—	Rum. 6	—
Bessarabia	=	46,000	2,440,000	53	460,000	20	10,000	56	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kursk	—	—	—	65	670,000	22	12,000	61	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Voronezh	+	65,000	3,360,000	51	1,210,000	36	29,000	94	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Don	—	164,000	3,500,000	21	980,000	28	45,000	69	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kuban	+	92,000	2,630,000	28	1,250,000	47	56,000	81	—	44	—	—	—	—	—
Stavropol	—	60,000	1,230,000	21	450,000	37	22,000	48	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Terek	=	69,000	1,183,000	17	50,000	5	—	—	—	29	—	—	—	—	—
Tchornomorie	=	7,000	130,000	17	10,000	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tauria	+	60,000	1,880,000	31	790,000	42	40,000	76	—	28	5	5	—	Bulg. 3	13
Katerinoslav	X	£3,000	3,060,000	48	2,110,000	69	63,000	83-94	1	17	4	5	1	—	1
Kharkiv	X	54,000	3,250,000	60	2,275,000	70	54,000	66-87	—	28	—	—	—	—	—
Poltava	X	50,000	3,580,000	72	3,410,000	95	50,000	88-89	—	1	—	4	—	—	—
Chernihiv	X	52,000	2,980,000	57	2,450,000	86	52,000	99	—	4	—	5	5	—	—
Astrahan	=	—	—	—	190,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Saratov	=	—	—	—	220,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Samara	=	—	—	—	150,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Orenburg	=	—	—	—	50,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Russian Asia	=	—	—	—	500,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL					29,435,000										
A M E R I C A.															
United States	—	—	—	—	800,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Canada	—	—	—	—	300,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Brazil and Argentine	—	—	—	—	70,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TOTAL					1,170,000										

* The Ukrainian parts of the governments of Lublin and Sidlets form now the province of Kholm.

Statistical Survey

	Sq. kilome- ters of land	Number of Ukrainians
1. The backbone of Ukraine, with absolute Ukrainian majorities.		
Eastern Galicia	56.000	3.380.000
Bukovina	5.000	300.000
Volhynia	71.700	2.700.000
Kiev	51.000	3.620.000
Podolia	42.000	3.030.000
Kherson	71.000	1.640.000
Katerinoslav	63.000	2.110.000
Kharkov	59.000	2.275.000
Poltava	50.000	3.410.000
Chernigov	52.000	2.450.000
	520.000	24.915.000
2. Territories with relative Ukrain- ian majorities (pluralities).		
Voronezh	29.000	1.210.000
Kuban	56.000	1.250.000
Crimea	40.000	790.000
	125.000	3.250.000
	520.700	24.915.000
Total for Ukraine proper.....	645.700	28.165.000
3. Total of strong minorities.....	117.000	3.400.000
4. Small minorities, and scattered in Europe	92.300	2.900.000
Total for the outlying Ukrainian population	209.300	6.300.000
GRAND TOTAL		
1. plus 2.	645.700	28.165.000
3. plus 4.	209.300	6.300.000
	855.000	34.465.000

How Many Ukrainians There Are Now in the World?

Professor Stephen Rudnitsky, Ph. D., estimates from the official Russian statistics that in 1910 there were 28,500,000 Ukrainians in Russian Ukraine alone. Since the population of Russia has increased during the last seven years by almost 2% (1.8%)—also from official Russian statistics—it follows that in the same interval the number of Ukrainians in Russian Ukraine has grown to 32,000,000, an addition of $3\frac{1}{4}$ million or a half-million per year. When at least 5,000,000 Ukrainians living in Austrian Ukraine (Galicia and Bukovina) and Hungarian Ukraine are taken into account, the number becomes 37,000,000. Considering those Ukrainians who have settled in Muscovy (Great Russia) and in other provinces of European Russia, and those who inhabit Central Asia, Southern Siberia, and Maritime Province of Eastern Siberia, the number then reaches 39,000,000. Adding to this 39,000,000 over one million Ukrainians from North and South America, the total finally attains the grand proportions of 40,000,000.

At present about 3 million Ukrainians live as colonists in Muscovy, in Asia, and in America; but after the war at least half of them will return to their native land.

There is still another fact which may not be overlooked. During the present war many Ukrainians have perished on the battlefield, and many others have died from disease and hunger as they were being driven from their native homes. The number of these fatalities is not negligible; but since no advantage has been taken of the fact that the taking of a census in Muscovy, in Galicia, in Bukovina, and in Hungary is very unfair to the Ukrainians, it can be asserted boldly that the decrease due to casualties in the war is more than compensated by the addition which would be obtained were the above-mentioned, falsified enumerations taken into consideration.

Consequently it can be maintained with a fair degree of certainty that the total number of Ukrainians in the world is now in the neighborhood of 40 million, and that the Ukrainians inhabiting purely Ukrainian territory number about 37 million.

The nearest impartial census in Free Ukraine will undoubtedly confirm this estimate, or perhaps prove it even too low.

Ukrainians in America

There are about 1,200,000 Ukrainians in North and South America, where they are distributed as follows:

1. In the United States there are 400,000 Ukrainians from Eastern Galicia and Bukovina, 300,000 from Hungary, and about 100,000 from Ukraine (mostly from Volhynia, Podolia,

and Kiev). All these immigrants are laborers, living chiefly in the Eastern States.

2. In Canada there are 300,000 Ukrainians, nearly all of whom are from Galicia and Bukovina. Most of them are farmers in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta.

3. There are over 60,000 Galician Ukrainians in the province of Parana, Brazil.

4. In Argentina there are about 10,000 Ukrainians from Galicia.

One million of these Ukrainian immigrants are Uniat Greek Catholics; while the remaining two hundred thousand, those who are from Ukraine and Bukovina, are of the Greek Orthodox Church.

Ukraine, The Ukraine or Ukrainia

The reader of English newspapers and magazines is at a loss to know just how he should call the new republic of the Ukrainian people. In one newspaper he sees *Ukraine*; in another, *the Ukraine*; in still another he meets such newly-coined terms as *Ukrainia* or *Ukraina*. It would seem that when speaking or writing of the newborn European power, he may use any of four names, according to his whim or fancy.

But the fact is that the land of the Ukrainians has but one name; consequently the American press should not take the liberty of giving it four. The Ukrainians themselves call their country *Україна* (*Oukrayeena*). This enunciation can hardly be approximated by one unacquainted with a Slavonic language. Hence, though *Ukraina* may be nearer the Latin equivalent of *Україна* in form than either *Ukraine* or *Ukrainia*, it is no better when enunciation is considered. In other words, all four terms are wrong, or all four are right. The word *Ukraine*, however, has so many advantages which the other two names have not, that it should be universally adopted in English-speaking countries. The most important of these advantages, and the only one which need here be considered is the fact that throughout English literature the Dnieper country has been known as *Ukraine*, with or without the article. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* uses the term *the Ukraine*; the *Historians' History of the World*, edited by Henry Smith Williams, LL. D., uses both *Ukraine* and *the Ukraine*; Larned's *History for Ready Reference and Topical Reading*, the *Cambridge Modern History*, and the *History of the World*, edited by Dr. H. F. Helmholtz, make use of the term *the Ukraine*. Though the preponderance seems to be to use the word *Ukraine* with the article, this use is contrary to general custom. We do not say *the Germany*, *the England*, *the Russia*, or *the France*. Why should we say *the Ukraine*?

It would be the means of avoiding much unnecessary ambiguity, if all publishers of English composition would refrain from using any term but *Ukraine*, without the article.

G. A.

SKETCH OF UKRAINIAN HISTORY

The history of Ukraine can be divided into five principal periods:

1. The semi-legendary period, from 700 B. C. to 900 A. D., when the country was in a state of ceaseless turmoil, the consequence of invasions, emigrations and wars. It witnessed the beginning of a forcible blending of the different races of invaders into one people, known later as Ruthenian. This period is usually described by the Ukrainian historians as the "Scytho-Sarmatian."

2. The period between the 9th and 14th centuries, called the Golden Age, when the country rose to the position of a proud and independent kingdom, the largest among its contemporaries in Europe, highly civilized, rich and strong.

3. The Lithuano-Polish Period, an era of foreign domination, which began in the 14th century and lasted about two hundred and fifty years.

4. The Cossack Period, one of revolt against foreign masters. Ukraine reasserts itself as a free nation and forms a military republic, the last vestige of which is removed in 1775 by an Ukase of Catherine the Great, Empress of Russia.

5. Finally, the Russo-Austrian Period, lasting to this day. Ukrainian lands are again without their own government and form parts of other political bodies.

Leaving out the "Scytho-Sarmatian Period", it being one that cannot properly be included in history, we may start our sketch with the era that has left written records in native literature. We see Ukraine gradually develop into a great political nation. The first records of the "Grand Duchy of Kiev" are lost in the unparalleled confusion that filled the first period of the Ukrainian national life. Whoever might have been instrumental in laying the foundations of that great historic structure, and whether it had been founded by the Goths or could be traced directly to the "Scythian" times, in the 9th century A. D., it emerged as a consolidated nucleus around Kiev. At this epoch the country was divided into a number of districts, each populated by a separate tribe, all tribes closely related to each other.

The first known Ukrainian writer, Nestor, the monk, gives us a description of these tribes and tells how the princes of Kiev gradually united them all under their sway. He calls the tribes "Ruthenian." Living among them are a great number of Scandinavian settlers; in fact, the very dynasty of the Ruthenian rulers and the name itself are according to him of Viking origin. The Ukrainian tribes were: Poliani, Drevliani, Sieveriani, Dulibi, Tyverci and Ulich.

Ukrainian Kings or Grand-dukes first mentioned in history are three semi-legendary brothers, Kyl, Schek and Horiv, the first and eldest of whom is credited with building and restoring the ancient capital called since then by his name: Kiev (Kyiv). After a lapse of years they are succeeded by rulers whose historical authenticity cannot be doubted: these are a Norseman (?), Oskold who reigned from 860-867, and another Norseman (?), Dyr (about 880).

A Greek description of Oskold portrays him as a typical Ukrainian Cossack of later days, with a heavy drooping mustache and shaved head, with a tuft hanging down from the middle of it. King Sviatoslav, who reigned after his grandmother Olha (Olga) the Wise, wife of Ihor (Igor), is described in the same way.—Ihor succeeded a popular prince called Oleh (Oleg) who reigned after Oskold and Dyr, and fastened his shield to the gates of Constantinople.

The further behind we leave the infancy of the kingdom, the more distinct are its main personages. From the mist of the remote ages they rise before us, with their determination to extend their sway over the whole of their native land; with their cunning and cruelty in pursuing their ambitious ends; with their truly Ukrainian "Cossack" disposition.

King Sviatoslav's character appeals strongly to the imagination of his countrymen even to this day. His successor was the ruler under whom the realm reached its highest point of development.

He was Vladimir the Great, or the Saint. Both titles he deserved; he was Great because he completed the amalga-

mation of the different Ukrainian provinces into one centralized state, extending his rule to far distant foreign lands—the Khazars of the Volga, the Finns of the North, who two centuries later became known as the Muscovites, and to several others, all of whom he made pay tribute to Ukraine. He was a Saint, because he made Christianity the official religion of his realm; literally speaking, he threw the doors wide open to the learning and arts of Byzantium, and allied himself by marriage with Anne, daughter of the Emperor. An indefatigable builder and restorer, he made his capital very beautiful and rich.

Kiev was now in command of the whole way from the Viking to the "Greek", as the Dnieper used to be called in those days. Sviatopolk, who succeeded him, witnessed the first serious conflict between the Ukrainians and the Poles, which foreshadowed the fierce struggles of later years. He only reigned a short time, and murdered several of his brothers whom he considered rival pretenders to his throne. His successor Yaroslav (1019-1064) is remembered as the compiler of laws, and a restorer of the happy days of Vladimir. Vladimir II, "Monomachos," (1112-1125), was a ruler in whom the Golden Era found its conclusion. He accomplished 83 great campaigns, concluded no less than 19 treaties with the barbarians, who pressed upon the frontiers of the kingdom, and took prisoners 300 princes of the nomad Mongolian nation of Polovetzians.

He was married to Gytha, daughter of Harold, king of the Anglo-Saxons. His death was the signal of an outburst by the nomads for whom the Steppe had become the highway of their Westward march and they furiously stormed the walls of the Realm.

The nomads, whose appearance was thus manifested, were the Tatars, of whom nothing had been heard until then. Ukraine, less protected by nature on her eastern frontier, became an object of ceaseless invasions. The Ukrainian Kings strove to defend this part even at the cost of neglecting other problems.

Anarchy grows in consequence, and provincial ambitions rise within their own dominions, weakening the position of the State against the Tatars. The whole country east of the Dnieper degenerates by degrees into an insecure zone, the centre of national life is transferred towards the better protected parts of Western Ukraine.

Kiev itself loses a great deal of its former importance. The Viceroys of Galicia and Lodomeria begin to acquire still greater weight with the Ukrainian princes and the whole country to look up to them as their national leaders. However, they were unable to establish their overlordship in Ukraine before Kiev and the region around it underwent a double devastation at the hands of fierce barbarians.

In 1169, Andrew Kitan, the prince of the newly founded Finno-Slavonic Duchy of Muscovy, arrived unexpectedly before the ramparts of the Ukrainian capital; he treacherously entered it and handed it over to pillage.

In 1240, the Tatars completed the work of the Muscovites. Dnieperian Ukraine gradually turned into a desert or a number of disunited communities paying tribute to the Tatars.

Halicz, and afterwards Lemberg, the chief towns of Western Ukraine, now take the place of Kiev.

Among the rulers of that period, Roman and his son Danilo were the most remarkable. Roman (1199-1206) succeeded in uniting under his rule the provinces of Galicia, Volhynia (Lodomeria), Kholm and Podolia, without which the whole heritage of Kniaz Vladimir might have passed into the hands of the Tatars or the Muscovites. His dominions, stretching between the Carpathians and the Dnieper, and reaching in the south as far as the shores of the Black Sea and the mouth of the Danube, still formed territorially the largest among the States of contemporary Europe. Roman was the first among Galician princes to have been called "The Lord of whole Ruthenia". After his death an interregnum ensued, during which Hungarian and Polish princes related to the Galician dynasty reigned for brief periods.

The reign of Roman's son Danilo (1228-1264) was the culminating point in the career of the Galician kingdom and



Tsar Peter the Great at the prison of the Ukrainian Hetman Paul Polubotok.

the last great page in the history of ancient Ruthenia. After Danilo's death the process of decomposition decisively obtained the upper hand, and, in another hundred years, Ukraine's political independence was over. The Poles and the Lithuanians put in their dynastic claims to the country harassed by the Tatars, and thus begins the next period of its history: the Polono-Lithuanian period, from 1349 to 1648.

The Poles and the Lithuanians, separately and independently, annexed parts of the Ukrainian territory. While the first centred their attention upon Galicia and neighboring provinces, the Lithuanians busied themselves with the lands lying between the latter and the River Dnieper. In 1568, both Powers concluded a union, forming a federated State of which Ukraine was a part. But the Poles soon began to play a leading role in the federation, and succeeded in removing the Lithuanian claims upon the Ukraine and turning the latter into their exclusive property.

The chief events filling the Lithuano-Polish period, which as far as Ukraine was concerned, was marked by a stagnation of political life, but a great activity in the domains of religion, art and literature, were the establishment of the "Unia" and the rise of the Cossacks.

We cannot attempt to give here anything like a description of the "Unia."

Its starting point is usually found in the celebrated Council of Brest (1596), when a number of Ukrainian bishops proclaimed their adhesion to the dogma and hierarchy of Rome. Apart from its tremendous ecclesiastical importance, "Unia" manifested a great strengthening of Western European influences. In the hitherto Byzantine Ukraine, these were stimulated by the close relations established then with Poland.

The second great event, the rise of the Cossacks, was a sign of deep social changes taking place in the country. Many of the old aristocratic families of Ukraine, whose political co-operation was solicited by the Poles, became gradually Polonized and allowed themselves to degenerate into oppressors of their own people. In several other countries a similar process was supported without a murmur. In Ukraine it was different. Here it provoked revolution. The Cossacks existed in Ukraine long before the period we are describing. Their origin could be traced to the Scythian and Cimmerian times, but it was only then that the attempts on the part of the Polonized and Polish barons, supported by the government of Warsaw, to tie the peasants to their land, swelled the ranks of the Cossacks to an overflowing measure.

Hundreds and thousands of peasants threatened by slavery fled to the Steppe seeking the protection of its knights.

The whole Polono-Lithuanian period is remarkable for the gradual growth of the Cossacks in number, strength and organization. Their first great chief was Peter Konashevich, who flourished between 1602-1624. By numerous successful campaigns and by many clever acts of diplomacy, he had succeeded in transforming the Cossacks from a half-military, half-piratic caste, into a widely ramified, disciplined organization, a nucleus of the revived national State. The strength and influence of the Cossacks grew so rapidly that presently the whole of Ukraine called itself Cossackian. Petro Mohyla, the metropolitan of Kiev, with Petro Konashevich's protection, founded the first Ukrainian University or, as it was called, the "Akademia" of Kiev. The period is famous for education spread, printing presses were established, churches were built, as well as works of learning and art, to which the Cossack regime gave birth.

The Cossacks period properly began with Petro Konashevich, who, in 1618, proclaimed himself Hetman of the Kiev Ukraine and of the whole Cossack army. Since then, Ukraine, or part of it, led the life of a semi-independent State; its complete national re-assertion was only a question of time. A number of armed conflicts with the government of Warsaw, which attempted to resist the Ukrainian separation, set things going. In the first of these risings, the Ukrainians were beaten by the Poles, but each time seemed to emerge from their defeats with increased strength. The wars of liber-

ation reached their climax when Bohdan Khmelnitsky became Hetman of Ukraine. In a series of brilliantly conducted campaigns, he annihilated the enemy's forces, put the Polish State into a process of rapid disintegration, and freed Ukraine from the foreign yoke. He entered Kiev in state, and there was proclaimed "Hetman" by the grace of God and by the will of the nation, of the whole Ruthenian Ukraine. Foreign powers sent their ambassadors to the ruler of the liberated Ukraine, and the Hetman sent his own envoys to foreign courts.—Poland, Muscovy, Turkey, Venice, Hungary and Sweden sent costly gifts, offering alliance.

For ten years the Cossack Republic refused to enter into a close relation with any of her neighbors or professed friends.—In the meantime, Poland, who could not reconcile herself to the loss of the country on which her existence as a Great Power depended, stirred up the enmity of her neighbors against the new nation.

It was in these circumstances that the Hetman decided to enter into an alliance with Muscovy. Although the latter was very unpopular among the masses of the Ukrainians, the alliance was concluded in 1654 at Pereyaslav. This treaty was the most momentous event in the life of the Republic. From that time, a portion of it, that which spreads beyond the Dnieper, stood in uninterrupted connection with Muscovy. Almost immediately after its conclusion, the Russians began to encroach upon its independence, provoking great dissatisfaction. At last, in 1667, contrary to solemn obligations, Muscovy concluded a secret convention with Poland with a view to the partition of Ukraine. The Dnieper was to be the boundary between the two spheres of influence, Russian and Polish. The Ukrainians obstinately resisted the Russian-Polish treachery. In western Ukraine, Doroshenko, who was elected Hetman, had repulsed both the Muscovites and the Poles. In Eastern Ukraine, soon after this, Mazeppa was chosen as Hetman; he induced the Swedes to come to his assistance. At the battle of Poltava, both the Ukrainians and Swedes were defeated by the army of the Czar. Since 1709, the history of Eastern Ukraine is that of the gradual destruction of the independence of the people. In 1764, the Hetmanian system of administration was abolished. The same year a "Little Russian board" was introduced in its place.

In 1775, the Zaporogian "Sitch" was demolished. The text of the Treaty alone, remains to this day in the Statute book of the Empire which has risen on the ruins of the once independent Ukraine, reminding the present generation of their rights.

Western Ukraine, which, according to the secret Russian-Polish Convention, was to constitute a Polish sphere, was the cause of a long series of struggles between the Poles and Ukrainians, in which success swayed like a pendulum to and fro. The ill luck of Mazeppa affected the future of both parts of his native country. The latter now became a centre of joint Russian and Polish intrigues, which ultimately brought about the partitions of Poland. The participants in the partitions agreed to regard Western Ukrainian lands as a part of Poland, and these were divided between Russia and Austria-Hungary. The latter was satisfied with the small Western portion which included Galicia, although her claims (based upon the "Hungarian rights to the Ruthenian throne") entitled her to far greater territories. Thus the Austrian-Russian period of the history of Ukraine set in.

The nineteenth century found in place of that once independent nation, a number of "governments" of Russia, and the "Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria" of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

During this century, fierce persecution of the Ukrainian language, literature, and of the Uniate religion took place in the Russian part of the country, but at the same time a national revival, begun in Russian Ukraine, quickly spread over the whole territory, including its Austrian part, and has taken root and grown enormously in strength. The present age has seen a new attempt on the part of the Ukrainians to re-establish their former independence.



The Monk Nestor,
the first Ukrainian Historian

THE TREATY OF PEREYASLAV

According to the Constitution of the old Russian Empire "Ukraine is an autonomous province governed in accordance with the Privileges confirmed to it." (This is a quotation from an Instruction given by Catherine II to prince Viazemsky.)

These Privileges are guaranteed by the articles of the Treaty of Pereyaslav or as it is officially called, the Articles of Bohdan Khmelnitsky on the basis of which Ukraine in 1654 recognized the supreme authority of the Czars over herself.

The principal of these articles are:

1) At first favor us, Thy Czarish Majesty, with the confirmation of our rights and our privileges as they were "ab antiquo" in Ukraine, which had its own laws and its own privileges. Let no Voyvoda or Boyar, or Stolnik (the Muscovite officials) interfere with our property or our Laws. Ukraine must be governed by her own people: Where there are three Ukrainians, two will judge the third.

Concerning this article the Czar ordained and the Boyars voted: let it be according to their wish.

2) If the Hetman dies by the will of God (for every man is mortal—such is the law of nature) let Ukraine herself choose a new Hetman from her own people, and only inform the Czar of the election. Let His Majesty be not discontented by that, for it is an ancient custom of the country.

The Czar ordained and the Boyars voted: let it be according to their wish.

3) Let the Hetman and the Ukrainian Government receive the Ambassadors who "ab antiquo" come from foreign lands to Ukraine. The Hetman and the Ukrainian Government will consider themselves bound to inform His Czarish Majesty about proposals which might be directed against it.

Concerning this article the Czarish Majesty ordained: To receive and to dismiss the Ambassadors who come with good intentions informing His Czarish Majesty precisely and in good time about their proposals and the replies given to them. Those ambassadors, however, who will be sent from anywhere with propositions hostile to His Majesty, must be retained in Ukraine, and His Czarish Majesty must be asked immediately for instructions. Without such instructions they must not be allowed to depart. With the Turkish Sultan and the King of Poland they are not to treat without an express instruction of His Czarish Majesty.

4) That the Ukrainian Army be always 60,000 men strong. The Czar ordained and the Boyars voted: let it be according to their wish.

5) That the privileges granted "ab antiquo" by the Grand Dukes of Kiev, Kings of Galicia and Lodomeria, Grand Dukes of Lithuano-Ruthenia and the Kings of Poland,—to the clergy and to the laity of Ukraine be in no way violated.

The Czar ordained: let it be so.

6) As the custom in other countries is, that the taxation is regulated, it is likewise our wish, that in our country the tax be levied in accordance with a fixed rate by those persons who have been recognized by Czarish supremacy. In no case however to allow a Czarish Voyvoda to treat separately concerning this matter. Should it be nevertheless found that a special Voyvoda for these matters be necessary, let him be elected from among suitable persons of our own nationality. He will then have to collect all the taxes and to deliver them into the Treasury of His Czarish Majesty.

Concerning this article the Czar ordained and the Boyars voted: Let it so be as is written above. Let the Ukrainian elected functionaries collect the taxes for the Czar and let them deliver them into the Czarish Treasury by the intermediary of those people whom the Czar will send for this purpose. These Czarish envoys will likewise have to control the Ukrainian collectors, that they may act conscientiously.



Bohdan Khmelnitsky, Hetman of Ukraine.

The articles of B. Khmelnitsky were confirmed by the solemn letter-patents of the Czar Alexis Michaelovich Romanoff given in Moscow on March 27th, 1654.

According to its Laws and Privileges ("Leges libertatesque Exercitus Zaporoviensis") Ukraine is governed by the Hetman ("Dux, Princeps") elected for life at the General Ukrainian Council ("Concilium Generale"). The Hetman is supported and controlled by a body called "Primores Generales" and elected by the same General Council convened periodically. The Country is divided into administrative units called "Chiliarchates" governed by "Collonelli," who are elected by the local Councils of "Chiliarchatus" and confirmed in their dignity by the Hetman.

Ukraine used to consist of 25 "Chiliarchates." The latter were subdivided into Districts governed by "Centuriones," etc.

The General Council, representing the supreme authority of the people of Ukraine consists of the delegates of all parts of the country. The right of election used to belong exclusively to the so-called Military Confraternity or the Zaporogian Army ("Exercitus Zaporoviensis") which represented the civil and the military governing class of Ukraine.

The Privileges and Laws were one by one unlawfully suspended by the Russian administration in the course of the 18th and the 19th centuries, in spite of unceasing protests from the Ukrainians.

The above articles of Bohdan Khmelnitsky, confirmed by the Czar Alexis Michaelovich Romanoff, are still included in the Statute Book of the Empire; for they were never officially repealed, although they did not have any practical value for more than a hundred years. Now, after the declaration of the Ukrainian People's Republic, they have only an historical significance.

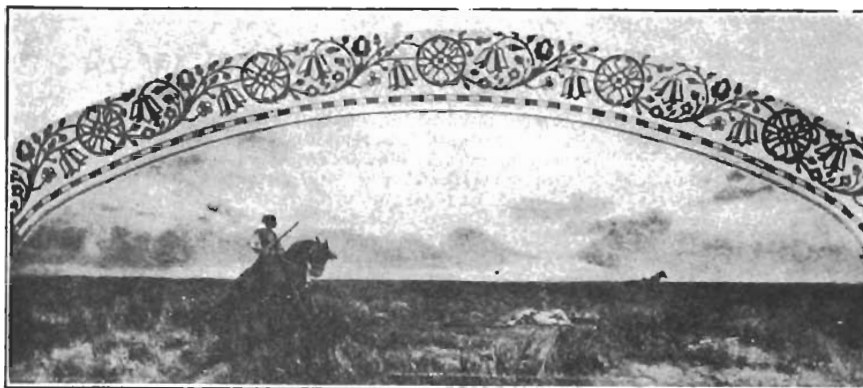
Capitals of the Ukrainian Provinces

(Estimate of 1916.)

Volhynia—the city of Zhitomir, 90,000 inhabitants.
 Podolia—Kamenetz Podilsky, 47,000.
 Kiev—Kiev, 626,000.
 Chernihiv—Chernihiv, 32,000.
 Poltava—Poltava, 77,000.
 Kharkiv—Kharkiv, 249,000.
 Kherson—Kherson, 67,000.
 Tauria—Simferopol, 68,000 (now outside Tauria, in the separated Crimea.)

Kholm—Kholm, 23,000.
 Kuban—Katerinodar, 90,000.
 Eastern Galicia—Lviv (Lemberg), 220,000.
 Bukovina—Chernivtsi (Czernowitz), 90,000.
 Hungarian Ukraine—Mookachiv, 20,000.

The largest Ukrainian city is the seaport of Odessa (650,000 inhabitants,) Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, being the next largest.



Ukrainian Cossack in the Steppes. (From a decoration in the Zemstvo Building at Poltava.)

THE COSSACKS

By Alan Lethbridge.

Glancing recently through the pages of one of the most widely circulated books of reference, under the heading "Cossacks" I came across the following statement:—"Greatly execrated for their brutality." What is to be said of such comment? Happily the war is responsible for a fresh valuation of our time-honored opinions, which were generally founded upon prejudice born of ignorance, and misconception such as the above will in due course, presumably, die a natural death. But since hardly a day passes that one does not see mention made of these troops, and since also a veil of mystery and romance surrounds them, it may be of interest briefly to relate something of their history. The word "Kosak" is of Tartar origin, and its primal significance was applied to those who had no visible means of subsistence, and who were literally "tramps". This as early as the middle of the fifteenth century. With the breakup of Tatar domination, squabbles became frequent between isolated bands of Tatars, who had no central authority to whom to appeal for assistance; and the frontiersmen of the actual Ukrainian Empire, owing to the naturally unsettled state common to all non-permanent frontiers, were generally of that restless, adventurous type to whom England, for instance, owes many of its Colonies. This was the genesis of the Cossack movement, for it was a well-defined movement related in a very minor degree to any nationalistic spirit.

It was not until approximately 1560 that certain discontented Ukrainians gathered together and settled in a lonely, uninhabited stretch of country in the neighborhood of the rapids of the Dnieper, not far from where the town of Katerinoslav stands to-day. These Cossacks took as a distinctive title the name of "Zaporogian" (from the Ukrainian "za"—beyond, and "porog"—a rapid), and it was this community which became famous in legend and history, both on account of the power it acquired and on account of its peculiar constitution.

In 1570 Stephen Bathory, then ruler of Poland, fearing the rise of this organization, himself attempted to utilize Cossack services, and formed a troop, which received regular pay on a liberal scale and equipment, which doubtless he hoped would prove a counter-attraction to the Zaporogians. The ultimate fate of this endeavor is not very clear, except in so far as it seems certain that a goodly few of those thus enlisted deserted, bag and baggage, at the first opportunity, and joined their friends down the river. As can well be imagined, the fame of this freebooter's colony rapidly spread, and adventurous spirits from all over Europe quickly gave their adherence to the movement, an adherence, incidentally, which was always of an entirely voluntary character. Those who were dissatisfied with what they found were under no compulsion to remain, and it says something for the internal administration that few ever left the "Sitch," as the central and chief encampment was designated.

It must have been an uncommonly motley throng which gathered there. No credentials were required from those who threw in their lot. Criminals fleeing from justice, religious fanatics, adventurers, those irritated by the trammels of the State or of society, all were welcomed in this extraordinary melting pot, Germans, Russians, Tatars, Poles, Kalmucks, Khirgiz, certainly Scandinavians, probably Italians. —I have never heard of any English,—accepted without query the ordinances of this republic. For that is precisely what it was. There were thirty-eight divisions, called "Kourens"—the name given to Cossack huts to-day—and each of these divisions elected its own "Ataman", or chief. Above these ruled a Chief Ataman, likewise chosen by popular vote. Dissatisfaction with the one or the other was followed by desertion, and the Ataman became once more an ordinary Cossack and nothing else.

There were no written laws, but the unwritten word carried just as much weight, and amongst themselves these outlaws became eminently law-abiding. No woman was allowed in the Sitch, and marriage was discouraged. However, there were married Cossacks, and those lived without the main settlement, busying themselves with farming and fishing, in which they were assisted by their wives. The fruit of their labors went into the common pool, and provided that commissariat which was necessary for their celibate brothers when they started forth on those forays in which the "Benedicts" were forbidden to participate. Murder was punished by death; the corpse of the victim was laid in a grave, and his assailant was then placed beside him and buried alive. Theft and debt were both punished by tying the criminal to a stake in a convenient place, where all and sundry might throw stones at him, beat him, or otherwise manifest their displeasure. If the proceeds of the theft were returned or the amount of the debt was paid, the prisoner was set at liberty.

In many of their mannerisms the Cossacks were bizarre, and this was probably designed with the specific purpose of terrifying their enemies. Thus it was their habit to shave their heads, leaving only one long wisp of hair, which would trail from the crown down to the nose. In Repin's famous painting of "Cossacks inditing a letter to the Sultan," this curious custom is plainly discernible, adding considerably to the mien of ferocity tinged with grim humor depicted upon the faces therein. In fact, there may have been some truth in the remark of the chronicler Eustaphie (1813), who wrote: "They pride themselves upon everything opposite to civilization and to the common feelings of man." Unfortunately, it must also be allowed that in their dealings with outside States their diplomacy was not unlike that of Bulgaria to-day—they went to the highest bidder. One day they were fighting for Poland, the next day for Russia, and on the third they would be in treaty with their much-hated enemy, the Sultan, or intriguing with the Khan of the Crimea, whom they despised. The year 1648 must be regarded as the zenith of their power, when, by popular vote, they passed under the protection of Russia. Thereafter the Zaporogians were frequently a thorn in the sides of their chosen masters. Such a community, enjoying a semi-independence, was bound to be a fertile breeding ground for conspiracy. Partially suppressed by Peter the Great, the rebellion of Pugacheff decided for Catherine II, her course of action, and in 1792 the Sitch was once and for all dismantled, and the little republic ceased to exist.

Catherine, however, was wise in her generation, and offered to its survivors lands on the eastern shores of the sea of Azov, watered by the River Kuban. The famous Kuban Cossacks of to-day are their descendants. As to the other Cossack communities, those of the Amur, Ural, Akmolinsk, etc., their history, while possessing no such concrete narrative, has ever been bound up with Russian expansion. Dwelling upon the confines of the empire, peopling the loneliest and remotest steppes, they have by evolution become a people apart, the hardest and most resourceful of soldiers, as the Germans have every reason to know, and the most loyal supporters of their country and of their Czar. Maybe in times of popular unrest, during strikes and other disorders, they have not distinguished themselves by their gentleness as much as by their efficacy in handling crowds! But it is manifestly unfair to judge them by that standard. Speaking from personal experience, I have found them simple, hospitable, kindly and, above all, helpful to the stranger within their gates. Can one expect more?

A SKETCH OF MODERN UKRAINIAN LITERATURE

The modern literature of Ukraine is scarcely 120 years old; it has passed through a speedy and successful development, and is to-day worthy of general attention.

It was in the eighteenth century that Ukraine ceased to be politically independent. In 1764 the office of "Hetman" was abolished, and the Republic of Ukraine was incorporated into the Russian Empire as "Little Russia." Austria received a portion of the former Empire of Halich in 1772 and called the province Galicia. Then in 1775 the Sitch and the Zaporog Republic (on the lower left bank of the Dnieper) were destroyed.

The nation that had come to grief politically was to be restored intellectually. Soon, in the year 1798, appeared the first cantos of the "Aencid" by Ivan Kotlarevsky. This epic travesty ushered in the revival of the Ukrainian literature. In this work the poet set up a memorial to his politically moribund nation by transferring the unhappy state of things in Ukraine to the city of Troy, and applying it to the Trojans, hounded from their home, which were sympathetic features to the scattered Cossacks. Euphonious language and a regular metrical form endowed the work with that stimulating power which was necessary in order to arouse and renew intellectual activity. In Poltava, where Kotlarevsky lived and labored, there is to-day a monument in his honor.

It was not until some decades later that Galicia, separated politically, was awakened. In 1837 there appeared at Budim (Hungary) the "Rusalka Dnistrovaya" (Fairy of the Dniester), a collection of Ukrainian folk-songs, interspersed with songs by several young poets, under the editorship of Markian Shastkevich. Together with three young associates, N. Ustianovich, J. Holovatsky and I. Vahilevich, he founded in Galicia the first scientific and literary society that set itself the task of furthering the development and elaboration of the Ukrainian language and literature, in order to raise and enlighten the Ukrainian nation.

It was even later still that the Bukovina was aroused to fresh vitality. Here, in the year 1859, George Fedkovich began his valuable literary activity. This Austrian Lieutenant, who had served with his Ukrainian regiment in the campaign against Italy, and who at first wrote German poems, turned his attention to his deserted race. The poet's stories and tales, in which he deals with the idyllic lives led by his fellow-countrymen, his love of personal freedom and the freedom of his mountains, are worthy of comparison with the best short stories of other literatures. He also wrote a number of dramas; but, unfortunately, the greater part of his work was still in manuscript when the poet withdrew into solitude and made no further attempt to achieve literary fame. It was only a few days ago that arrangements were made to issue all his works in printed form.

Hungary is the only country where the Ukrainian nation is in a very backward stage of its development, and takes scarcely any share in the intellectual life of its members in Galicia, Bukovina and Russian Ukraine. It may be said that the people of Ukraine, which had been divided into four parts politically, first began to unite again intellectually about the middle of last century, and from that time onwards it has shown signs of a mutual and even expansion. This significant intellectual union was brought about by Tarass Shevchenko, the greatest Ukrainian poet. Besides his verses he also wrote "The Artist," an autobiographical novel. In this work, the curious vicissitudes of Shevchenko, who was

free only for twelve years of his life (he was first a serf for twenty-four years and later banished for a full decade into the Kirghiz steppes because of his spirited chants), are related partly in diary form, partly in the more elaborate manner of fiction. Much can be learned about Shevchenko, the great poet, painter and martyr, by reading his lyrical verses. But his epic poems, breathing as they do the youthful fragrance of Ukrainian poetry, also deserve to be studied. In his "Haydamaki" he left a splendid and a true memorial to those heroes who in 1768 prepared a St. Bartholomew's Eve at Uman for their Polish oppressors, and made an attempt to shake off the foreign yoke and to gain freedom for their native country. In his ballads the Ukrainian steppe, with the magic of its landscape, and its romantic traditions, is infused with fresh life.

Thousands of Ukrainian pilgrims, like Mohammedans seeking the grace of their prophet, visit Shevchenko's resting-place and mound at Kaney on the Dnieper, and sing and recite the stern words in their poet's bequest, which in its second stanza ("Ye shall bury me, then arise, shake off the foreign yoke, and purchase liberty with the blood of foes") is now being sung throughout Ukraine.

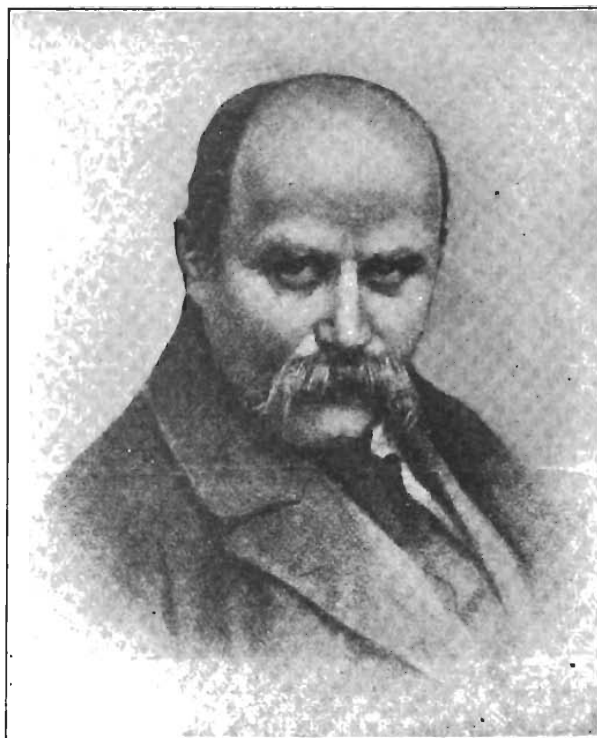
Since the year 1873 there has been a Shevchenko Literary Society with its centres at Lemberg and Kiev. It is soon to be raised to the status of an academy, and in addition to the literary monthly "Vistnik" ("Bulletin") it also issues "Communications of the Shevchenko Society" and arranges systematic reprints of literary monuments.

Soon after the death of Shevchenko (February 21, 1861) Galicia became the focus of intellectual life, and assumed the intellectual leadership for a lengthy period. The guiding spirit here was Ivan Franko, who died in 1916. Franko has issued numerous volumes of poems; in his lyrics he imitates Heine and his pessimism. In his satires he makes unmerciful attacks on all empty patriotic show and middle-class prejudices. The tendency of his works is, on the political side, liberal; from the ethical aspect, individualistic. He aims at freeing himself and his friends from all shackles. Hence he infused the patriarchal, uncorrupted literature of a primitive people with many new elements, which

were very rarely constructive, and frequently only destructive. He brought about a period of storm and stress in the intellectual life of his nation. Nearly all the works of Franko and his great school, which eked out an existence till the end of the nineteenth century, foster radicalism and free-thought; the same is true of his tales and novels. Perhaps Franko's greatest merit lies in the fact that by his translations he made the great works of literature known to his people, and thus trained a whole generation. He translated the "Faust" and other works of Goethe, the "Don Quixote" of Cervantes, and introduced the literature of Western Europe to his fellow-countrymen. To-day the inhabitants of Ukraine hold Franko's versatile activity in high esteem, and his fiftieth year was marked by festive gatherings in his honor.

Franko's school, the so-called "Young Ukraine," remained faithful to its master by treating political and social questions in his manner. Occasionally, however, a quieter keynote was struck, as, for instance, in the peasant tales of Vasil Stefanyk. The youngest generation has emancipated itself completely from Franko's influence, and treads its own independent paths.

. VASSIL LEVITSKY.



Tarass Shevchenko.

THE UKRAINIANS AND THE MUSCOVITES

(On the "two Russian nationalities.")

Anyone who has visited the Russian Ukrainian provinces, especially those of Poltava, Chernigov, and Kiev, after having visited central Russian provinces such as Moscow, Yaroslavl, Kaluga, and others, can certainly not help being struck by the great differences in all outward signs of life. The types of the southern people, the houses of the peasantry, their costume, speech, and habits are so dissimilar to those he has seen in the north that even the least observant must notice the local national peculiarities. The traveler will at once remark that, whereas in the central parts of Russia, there is some estrangement between man and nature, some reserve between the dwelling of man and its surroundings, in the Ukraine there is something of mutual understanding, of sympathy and deep-seated enjoyment. He will find a village in the Kaluga province rather desolate and bleak, no gardens to the houses, no flowers on the window-sills, and the windows themselves small and rarely opened, as if the inmates were afraid of the sun and air. In the Ukraine, on the contrary, there is hardly a village where the houses are not surrounded by trees and flowers, the windows looking gay and bright owing to the colors of their sills and shutters and their pots of flowers.

But these outward differences, which might depend only on climatic conditions, have a far deeper significance.

In the middle of last century, a celebrated Ukrainian, who was also a great Russian historian, Nikolai Kostomarov, wrote a most interesting and learned essay on the "Two Russian Nationalities," showing the great differences that exist between the characters of the "Great" and the "Little" Russians. According to this acknowledged authority, there is in the Great Russian a greater sense of the State, of the interests of society as a whole than in the Little Russian who "is more individualistic and personal." In the nature of the Southern Russian," say Kostomarov, "there is nothing of a violating force, nothing of a leveler; there is no politician, nothing of the cool calculator, of the determination to pursue one's purpose."

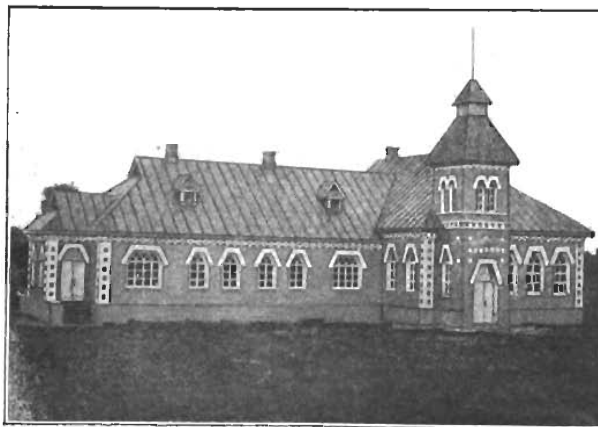
Love for personal freedom was the distinguishing feature in the character of the southern branch, and communalism the feature of the Great Russian tribe. The cardinal conception of the Southerners was that the tie between men should be founded by mutual consent and sundered on grounds of mutual disagreement. The Northerners held that once a tie was established, it should be permanent. They considered it the will of God, and therefore not liable to human criticism. In public institutions the former recognized only the spirit, the latter tried to give it substance. In politics, according to Kostomarov, the Southerners would only create voluntary communities bound by their needs and in no wise interfering with their immutable right of personal freedom. The Great Russians, on the contrary, aimed at a strong communal body on the basis of permanence and unification. The first named reached federation, but could not realize it properly; the second attained unity and created a strong State. "The South-Russian tribe," says Kostomarov, "repeatedly showed itself incapable of a monarchical form of state. In the ancient days it was the dominating tribe in the land of Russia; but when the inevitable time arrived to perish or to unite forces, it had to yield the first place to the Great Russian tribe. In the latter, there is something colossal, creative; a spirit of the architectonic, a sense of unity; the domination of a practical sense which knows how to go through hard times; to choose the time for action, and to make use of favorable circumstances. This is lacking in our South-Russian tribe. Its love of unrestraint brought it either to a state of disintegration of communal ties, or to a whirlpool of motives which turned the historic life of the nation into a squirrel's wheel." Such are these two Russian tribes as represented in the past.

According to the same writer, the Great Russians are

more materialistic, the Ukrainians more spiritual. The latter have greater poetic imagination. Their poetry is rich in beautiful images, in love of nature, in dreamy, melancholy contemplation. The South Russian poetry is inseparable from nature, which is represented as full of life and participating in man's happiness and distress. The grass, the trees, the birds, the beasts, the stars, morning and evening, spring and snow—all these breathe, think, feel in unison with man, and all resound in a charming voice of sympathy or hope or condemnation. The Great Russian poetry, on the other hand, is extremely poor in poetic images, and in its relation to nature, but is rich in depicting action and the struggle of the soul. The Great Russian, being chiefly practical or materialistic, can rise to poetry only when he leaves the sphere of daily life. His poetry is therefore more in the domains of immensity or of simple play and amusement. A historical reminiscence becomes a fairy-tale, whereas the song of the Southerner produces in a poetic form the very reality. The feeling of life in Great Russian songs is rarely lifted above the materialistic side. On the contrary, in the songs of the Southerners it reaches the highest degree of spirituality, purity, nobility of motive and gracefulness of imagination. In the Great Russian songs a woman's beauty is very rarely raised above her material form: it is the form of the woman's body and her voice that charm and captivate. The South Russian woman, on the contrary, almost lacks bodily form—she is a spiritual creation. It is her purity, her spirituality, that attract and captivate the poet.

In religion the same differences can be noticed between a nature disposed to contemplation, to union with nature, to a mystical conception of life, and a nature corresponding more to the material and external side of life. The Ukrainian, being a more spiritual and mystically-disposed character, is stronger in his religious feelings and not so liable to religious indifference as the Great Russian, who, if educated, easily becomes atheistic.

There is also a great difference in the sects which are concerned more with formalities and rites on the Great Russian side and more with the spirit of the teaching among the Ukrainians. The religious toleration of the Ukrainian also contrasts very favorably with the spirit of intolerance prevailing among the



Ukrainian school.

Great Russians.

The Great Russians have a much higher conception of duty than the Ukrainians. Having deeper communal inclinations, they hold national as well as family ties in greater respect, though they may have little love for superiors or parents. The Ukrainian, on the other hand, being more inclined to personal freedom, has little respect for anything that tends to restrict him. He is therefore a very quarrelsome being as a member of a family, and not a staunch friend of a state where he does not possess full freedom.

Such, in brief outlines, according to Kostomarov, are the chief characteristics of the two great divisions of the Russian race.

It is not my intention to give a detailed account of the political relations between the two branches. The seniority of this or that branch, the origin of the Ukrainian language, whether the real Russians are in the south or in the centre, have occupied too much space in Russian literature to be reproduced here. Suffice it to say that, after becoming separated somewhere in the thirteenth century, the two branches united in the seventeenth century, and a treaty of union was signed by the Cossack hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1654. It was then that the name Little Russia was first officially mentioned and the word Ukraine came to be adopted. The people themselves prefer the latter designation, which had already been used in part of their territory during their Polish-Lithuanian connections.

SEMEN RAPOPORT.

(From the "Contemporary Review," London, Sept., 1917.)

THE WEALTH OF UKRAINE

The land inhabited by the Ukrainian people, which covers 850,000 sq. kilometers (about 328,185 sq. miles), and stretches along the banks of the Dniester, the Dnieper and the Don, and to the northern shores of the Black Sea, is one of the regions the most favored by nature on the face of the globe.

Ukraine belongs for the most part to that region of "black earth" which is one of the most fertile in Europe, certainly the most fertile in Russia. While in the Russian provinces (Russia properly so called) the arable land varies from 12 to 43 per cent. of the whole area, in Ukraine the cultivated land amounts in some parts (in the province of Kherson, for instance) to 78 per cent. and taking the whole Ukraine it reaches a percentage of 53, which is an average attained by no country in Europe, except France.

These hundreds of thousands of square miles of "black earth", these fifty million hectares of arable land, make it possible for Ukraine not only to provide for its own wants, but also to supply the whole of Russia, and to export in large quantities to the rest of Europe.

Ukraine produces yearly fifty million hundredwt. of corn, wheat, barley and rye. It is the richest country in Europe, and wheat is its most important export. Of the total products of Ukraine, which are one fifth of those of the whole of Russia, wheat forms 46 per cent. and barley about 60. Ukrainian wheat is richer by half in albumen than either English or German, and is only equalled by that grown in Canada.

It may be remarked here that only a comparatively small portion of Ukraine (the province of Poltava) is overpopulated; for the rest, the country and the arable land, is as yet by no means exhausted.

Ukraine with its industries of sugar, tobacco, wine and fruit, in addition to the products of its tilled lands, is a granary and supply store for the whole of Russia.

The provinces of Kharkov and Tchernyov are the chief sugar centres, and it is calculated that they furnish 88 per cent. of the total sugar produced in Ukraine. The ground devoted to sugar producing roots in Ukraine covers 8,800,000 acres, and the sugar supply exceeds two million tons yearly. Ukraine is the chief seat of tobacco culture in Europe. In the south-west and south-east maize and vines are grown, and the whole Ukraine possesses orchards and fruit gardens.

In the north-east and north of Ukraine there are large tracts covered with forest; these supply the whole country with wood, the river Dnieper and its tributaries offering facilities for transport.

Ukraine is also rich in grass land and thirty million head

of cattle graze in its fields and meadows. These supply one third of the entire beef market of Russia.

From an industrial point of view Ukraine is the most important province of Russia. In the centre and along the banks of its two principal rivers, coal and minerals abound. This wealth would offer plentiful opportunities for the development of the iron industry and for the manufacture of machinery. The Donetsk coal field is the largest in the world, though it has not yet been fully exploited. The coal output of Ukraine is the largest in Russia. Of the 29,070,000 tons of the coal mined in Russia in 1912, 20,345,000 tons came from Ukraine (from the bed of the Donetsk in the district of Katerinoslav) and the rest from Poland. Ukraine also supplies the whole of Russia with coke.

The southern Ukraine is a centre for the supply of iron ore, 2,795,000 tons being found in 1912 while the rest of Russia and Poland only yielded 1,338,000 tons.

The production of iron and steel in Ukraine rose in 1911 to 1,812,000 tons whilst that of the remainder of Russia and Poland amounted only to 1,446,000 tons. Quick-silver is found exclusively in the province of Katerinoslav, and, excepting those of the Caucasus, the chief sources of manganese and the largest salt districts of Russia are also in this province.

Galicia also supplies naphtha and naphtha products. Although the mineral wealth of the Carpathians and adjoining lands has not yet been fully exploited, the oil

mines situated in the submountainous districts of central Galicia are, beside those of Roumania, the richest in Europe.

The geographical position of Ukraine is not unfavorable to commerce and industry, for the country possesses the natural conditions necessary to the development of traffic.

Without counting the Crimean peninsula, which has a coast line of 800 kilometers, Ukraine possesses a coast measuring more than a thousand kilometers. In Ukraine the land is connected with the sea by three great river systems (the Dnieper, Dniester, and Don and their tributaries) and eight smaller waterways, all of which flow into the Black Sea.

The industrial value of the coast as an agent in universal commerce, is no doubt lessened by the fact that the Black Sea has but a small outlet and that this leads not directly to the Ocean, but only to the Mediterranean Sea.

On the whole, Ukraine offers an independent industrial area, which is not only self-supporting, but which through its agriculture and industry supplies and feeds the whole of Russia.



Ukrainian school children.

Russians Lose Six Universities

Before the outbreak of the revolution in Russia there were ten Russian universities, situated in Moscow, Petrograd, Kiev, Dorpat (Yuryev), Kharkov, Warsaw, Helsingfors, Odessa, Kazan, and Tomsk. Now only four, those in Moscow, Petrograd, Kazan, and Tomsk, are purely Russian universities; the other six have been taken by those peoples which have separated from Muscovy. The universities in Kiev, Kharkov, and Odessa have fallen to the Ukrainians; the university in Dorpat went to the Estonians; the university in Warsaw was taken by the Poles; and the university in Helsingfors was taken by the Finns.

This division of the ten universities among the peoples of former Imperial Russia will undoubtedly help to effect many desirable changes in the intellectual status of European Slavs. It will stimulate the desire of the people for cultural advancement and will indirectly bring about the foundation of many more universities and institutions of learning.

In the Ukrainian universities Russian culture and science will, of course, remain an indispensable factor for a long time to come; but there is no doubt that with the evolution of Ukrainian national culture and science the Russian learning will be superseded in a great measure.

A LETTER FROM KIEV

Kiev, Aug. 20, 1917.

A Frenchman occupying a high position here said to me today: "What! You intend to make Frenchmen interested in Ukrainian problems? I must say that that is a hopeless procedure—"

I intend nevertheless to make the attempt to interest the French public in the Ukrainian question. To follow the internal evolution of this state, to which our destinies are bound for better or for worse, has become a patriotic duty for us.

In order to give at once an idea of the great importance of the Ukrainian question, let me say at the outset that this question is a specific example of a very interesting group of questions—perhaps it is the most important of the group—at any rate it is the most serious of all the various movements which, since the revolution, have impelled the various peoples of the old Russian Empire to organize themselves autonomously and to pursue new ideals that are more harmonious with their national traditions and with their culture. As a matter of fact, Russia in the sense in which we have formerly regarded her, as a country that was united and centralized, with linguistic differences that amounted to nothing more than dialectic variations of the same Slavic tongue, has never existed. Even under the old regime there was no Russia; there was only a number of Russias. The Muscovite Czar was simultaneously the Czar of all the Russias. Just as is the case with Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire, and also with the British Empire, Russia was a sort of crazy quilt of a thousand patches, a conglomeration of peoples of varying civilizations, some civilized to the point of excess, others still half savage, who were held together only by a fictitious bond, the mailed fist of Czarism.

Once the Czar had disappeared, once his bond was broken, it was inevitable that the concert of oppressed peoples should cause to be heard in Russia the most insistent clamorings for the right to a new life. As the revolution had liberated the nationalities of the ancient regime as well as its individuals, each people took advantage of this opportunity, in order to secure without delay an assurance that it would not be persecuted in its national individuality under the new federative republic. The great question for us is to know whether all these new stars that will issue forth from this chaos, will consent to gravitate about one centre, forming a harmonious solar system, or whether each of them will follow its own course in the limitless space of History.

All I have seen since my arrival in Russia strengthens me in this idea. Among all the nationalities in Russia which aspire to autonomy, Ukraine has thus far made her voice the most audible, and has therefore obtained the greatest privileges from the provisional government. The Central "Rada" of Kiev (the Ukrainian National Council) is about to become a genuine parliament of the Ukrainian autonomous state. Its Secretariat will become the provisional government of

Southern Russia. A great state of more than 30 million inhabitants, as large as France, is about to be created before our very eyes. This phenomenon has for each one of us, for the humblest of the sons of France, a more basic, more fundamental interest still: it is that the creation of this new state will affect in a very high degree the economic and military life of Russia.

As a matter of fact, the greater part of the Russian front, from Brest-Litovsk to Roumania, extends over Ukrainian territory.

Ukraine has herself at the front more than two and a half million soldiers, scattered, to be sure, through all the corps of the Russian army.

The leaders of the Ukrainian movement want to include in

the territory of autonomous Ukraine, all the lands in which the majority of the population is Ukrainian, that is to say, an enormous country extending from the Carpathians to the Caucasus, bordered on the North by a forest and lake region, and on the South by the Black Sea,—in other words, all of Southern Russia. It is a land of unheard of fertility and one of the richest in Europe. Its black soil is the granary of Russia. To give an idea of it, a few figures seem to me to be indispensable. The total production of cereals in Ukraine in 1910 was 215,000,000 quintals, i. e., 39% of the total harvest of Russia in Europe and 33% of that of the whole Russian Empire. At the beginning of the war, the Ukrainians had 30,000,000 head of major cattle, a third of what all European Russia raised. The enormous quantity of cereals exported from Russia comes almost exclusively from Ukraine. The Muscovite territories export hardly 0.7% of their harvest, while Ukraine exports no less than 27%.

Ukraine also produces more than 50 million quintals of sugar-beets (80% of the Russian harvest), as well as 4,000,000 "puds" of tobacco (69% of the total Russian production). The production of hemp and flax is considerable. The wealth of iron and coal greatly surpasses that of Russia. The iron mines on the Donetz, a region where a number of French enterprises flourish, produce

about 80,000,000 tons of ore annually, and the coal-mines with their 20,000,000 tons, constitute the real source of all the industries of the whole Russian Confederation. The salt-mines of Ukraine supply all of Russia. The Galician petroleum wells are equally well-known.

At the present moment, it is practically Ukraine alone which furnishes the Russian army with all its grain, its sugar, and the other foodstuffs it needs. And this country is demanding its autonomy, and the provisional government is compelled to compound with the leaders of this national movement. This is an event of quite a different significance than a mere news item, and it is important for us fully to understand its nature and its significance.

MEMOR.

"Est Republicain," Nov. 5, 1917.)

LAND AND PEOPLE OF UKRAINE

(By a correspondent of the "London Times.")

Roughly speaking, about two-thirds of the territory of Ukraine—that so-called "Little Russia," which is now so much to the fore—are represented by the Steppes. The prairie, indeed, is its characteristic feature and the predominating type of its scenery. It has also played a very important part in the formation of the Ruthenian race, in the building up of its national psychology, and in the shaping of its historical destinies, that a fuller acquaintance with it is indis-

pensable. To borrow a description from an English author of the 17th century, who wrote on Ukraine:—"The Steppe does so far resemble the sea that the mariner's compass might be useful for the direction in one as in the other." This gives a fair idea of these mighty plains, stretching along the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov in a broad strip some 600 miles wide, the western boundary of which is the Lower Danube and the Carpathian range, and which in the

east, after crossing the Don, the Volga and the Ural Mountains, continues to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

The Steppes are, as a rule, completely devoid of trees, and in their primitive state are covered with grass which sometimes reaches an enormous height. At the present time, however, by far the greater part of them is cultivated. The Steppes never rise higher than about 800 ft. above sea level; in fact, this height is reached only in the north,



Ukrainian girl of Poltava.

where they gradually lose their pure prairie character and become an undulating wooded region, typical of Northern and Western Ukraine. Like the plains, the numerous rivers that interest them descend from the north to the south and abundantly water their soil. The chief among these is "Father" Dnieper, which divides the Steppes into two almost equal parts. Unlike Northern and Western Ukraine, the Steppes are noted for the dryness of their climate. The average annual rainfall does not exceed 14 in. The summers are hot and the winters, lasting for about three months, snowy and cold. The whole climate is so distinct that some French geographers employ the expression "the Ukraine climate" as a scientific term.

Iron, Coal, and Oil.

In olden days the Steppes were famous for their huge eagles, their wonderfully enduring and swift horses, and their grand, strong oxen. At the present time their fame is overshadowed by the great iron foundries of Katerinoslav, the coal mines of the Don district, and the oilfields of Kubagne. The old primitive charm of the Steppes, however, is still preserved, and is likely to withstand the influences of the commercial age with the same stubbornness as did their sister the sea—that one element of Nature with which they can be truly compared. The traveller journeying from the west or northwest—as most travellers do who visit Ukraine—on passing the romantic scenes of beautiful and hilly Podolia, stately Volhynia, with its numerous ruins of castles and palaces, or North Kiovia, with its pine forests, is struck with amazement, on reaching the Steppes, on beholding these vast plains.

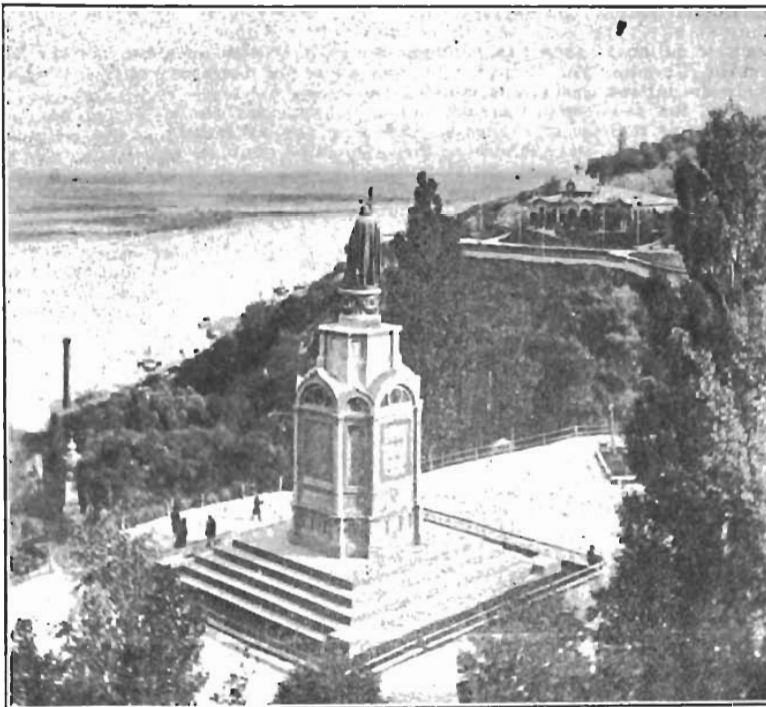
The towns of the Steppes being few and far removed from each other, and their villages invariably hidden in the occasional "balks", or depressions, filled with trees, the only feature to relieve the monotony of their scenery is supplied by an occasional "mohyla," or tumulus, covered with grass. These "mohylas," dotted here and there like lonely isles amid the ocean, are the tombs of ancient heroes of the country.

"The Ukrainians," says Dr. Edward Clarke in his 'Travels in Russia' of 1810, "differ altogether from the inhabitants of the rest of Russia. They are a much more noble race, and stouter and better-looking people than the Russians, and superior to them in everything that can exalt one set of men above another." Herodotus tells us that the country was

remotely populated by the Cymmerians, who, in the seventh century B. C., were driven out by the Scythians, a people from Asia. Modern historians have pointed out Celtic elements in the present inhabitants.

Produce of the Soil.

The famous black soil of Ukraine—famous for its extraordinary natural fertility—is composed of elements of organic decomposition, and produces everything in plenty. Among agricultural produce,



Monument of St. Vladimir in Kiev.

wheat easily stands first. The golden waves of enormous wheat plantations are the feature of the month of June in Ukraine. As no gold is found in the country in a natural state, wheat, being its chief wealth, is called "the gold of Ukraine." Next to wheat ranks rye, which is largely used in the country, where a dark bread is greatly esteemed. Barley, oats, potatoes, flax, hemp, &c., are things in which the country abounds, and which, in normal times, it exports to foreign parts. Sugar beet occupied, before the outbreak of war, a place not much inferior in importance to wheat itself.

On the right bank of the River Dnieper there are buried the remains of the prophet of the present Ukrainian national revival, the illustrious and revered poet, Taras Shevchenko (1814-61). His tomb overlooks the river and the Steppes, stretching far beyond, in fulfillment of a last wish. The Ukrainian is enamoured of his river. Gogol dedicated to the Dnieper one of his finest literary productions. The view of the famous river from the heights of Kiev is unchallenged for sheer breath-taking beauty.

Kiev and Odessa.

Kiev is a typical Ukrainian city, with shining white houses and painted roofs. Ancient battlements, churches, monasteries—containing priceless holy relics—sunny streets, and beautiful houses surrounded by fruit gardens and flowers make up the capital of Ukraine. A modern English writer has described Kiev as peaceful and romantic, and, compared with Warsaw, the capital of Poland, as cleaner and more refined, while at the same time greatly superior to the cities of Muscovy.

A few words on the subject of the other cities and towns of Ukraine. Odessa, founded by the Zaporogian Cossacks at the end of the 18th century, is a modern city, full of commercialism. It has been losing some of its importance owing to the competition of Nikolaieff and Kherson, two modern towns on the Black Sea which have succeeded in diverting some of the Odessa corn trade towards their own harbors. Katerinoslav, on the Dnieper, in the centre of the Steppes, may be called the Glasgow of Ukraine. Kharkov, on the eastern outskirts of Ukraine, in the vicinity of Muscovy, presents rather a happy combination of commercialism and intellectual life.

In a country so essentially agricultural, the village naturally constitutes the most typical form of settlement. Ukrainian vil-

lages, with their cottages sheltered from inquisitive eyes by the traditional cherry trees, are, as a rule, very large. The peasant agriculturists are owners of the land they cultivate.

The national costume of Ukraine is peculiarly fascinating. The women wear a kilt and a long sleeveless coat; the men a dark brown and peculiarly cut overcoat, called a "Swyta," a white embroidered shirt, and a grey sheepskin cap. The highlanders of Carpathia wear red trousers. The great French writer, A. Rambaud, who several times visited Ukraine, greatly admired those wonderful embroideries which, under the name of "Russian" embroideries, have found a good market in London and Paris. He wrote that the embroidered jacket of a Ukrainian woman was a real poem—"doubtless inspired by the fairies of their beautiful Steppes."

("London Times," Feb. 13, 1918.)

MELODIC FOUNTAINS UNSEALED

The prospect of freshly liberated melodic fountains in Ukraine, as foretold so absorbingly by Andre Tridon in last week's issue of "Musical America," is truly alluring. These fountains, hitherto sealed by the blighting commands of tyranny, ought to do much in watering the melodically sterile earth of Europe and helping toward the renaissance of

musical inspiration which is surely coming after the war.

According to Mr. Tridon, the popular songs of Ukraine are probably the most beautiful in the world. Certainly there are no finer in Russia and we need not be reminded to-day to what extent the folk music of Russia is wonderful. In the days of Czars the language of the

Ukrainians was forbidden and their songs held to be seditious. Even their publication was prohibited. Now Czars are no more and the forbidden music is free as air. One looks with longing to the treasures about to emanate from Ukraine.

May they come soon! And may they revivify and freshen an art sorely in need of their stimulus!

("Musical America," March 9.)

WEALTH OF FOLK MUSIC ADDED TO WORLD'S STORE WHEN UKRAINE SEVERED ITS CHAINS

NEW REPUBLIC'S FOLK SONGS WERE CONSIDERED SEDITIOUS AND WERE BANNED BY TSARS—MANY COSSACK SONGS AMONG THEM—LITTLE RUSSIAN SONGS DIFFER DECIDEDLY FROM FOLK TUNES OF GREAT RUSSIA—FREQUENTLY VOICE JOY OF LIVING—OTHER CHARACTERISTIC ARE NAÏVETE, SPIRIT AND HUMOR.

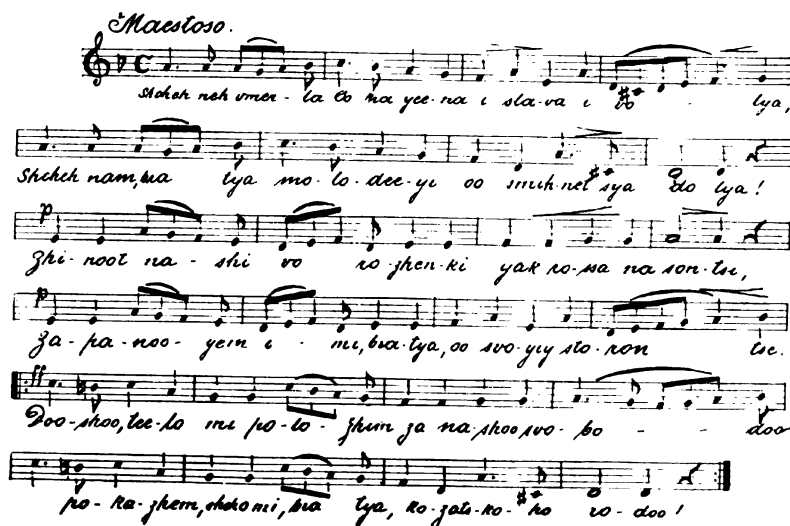
By ANDRE TRIDON.

We will have to learn a new national hymn, the national hymn of Ukraine. Ukraine is the first of the Slav nations to secede from old Russia and the new republic is something so new to us that there does not seem to be an English name for it. We call it Ukraine, which is a French word. In the Little-Russian language it is called Oo-kra-ee-na, with the stress on ee. To musicians, espe-

tonomy in exchange for military service. The Cossacks became an armed nation and earned quite a reputation for bravery in their continuous fights against the Asiatic hordes. One can see at once what difference there would be temperamentally between the Russians proper, enslaved for centuries, and the Ukrainian Cossacks who threw off very early the yoke of serfdom.

asked "Father Bogdan" why he "sold his country to the accursed Moskalietis."

One of the verses of the Ukrainian hymn alludes, of course, to that event. But the national hymn of Ukraine is not among the best musical productions of Little Russia. The most interesting songs of Ukraine are songs which from an artistic point of view (at least as far as the words are concerned) show an extremely modern trend; naïve stories without beginning or end sung on a short phrase of no more than four measures, repeated generally two or three times. They describe the day-dreams of a shepherd or fisherman who simply sings everything that comes into his mind. These compositions have no equivalent in the folk song of any other nation.



The Ukrainian National Anthem.

ally to singers, the independence of Ukraine means a good deal. It will mean the letting loose of a stream of melody which had been arbitrarily dammed up, forced into subterranean channels, but fortunately not dried up.

Under Tsarism the use of the Ukrainian language was forbidden; even the folk songs of Ukraine were held to be seditious and could not be published in Russia. Now the ban has been lifted. Repressed for so many years, the great Cossack nation is seeking every form of self-expression, in speech and in song.

It was nothing short of criminal for the Tsars to consign to oblivion the popular songs of Ukraine, for they are probably the most beautiful any nation has produced. Russian folk song is not devoid of monotony; its everlasting whine palls in the long run, although Russia has produced some of the most poignantly beautiful laments in the world.

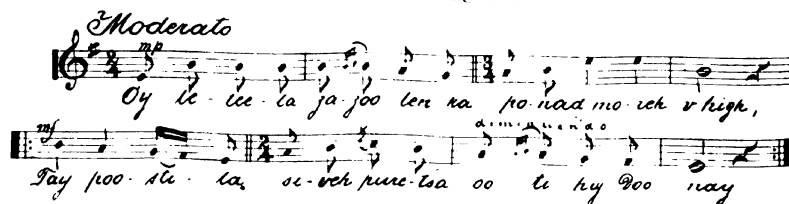
Little-Russian folk song is infinitely more varied. There is less "Weltschmerz" in it and infinitely more spirit. We must remember that Ukraine was originally a Cossack state. The Cossacks were at first rebellious Russian slaves, who escaped from feudal estates to seek freedom in the Eastern steppes and settled along the banks of the Don and the Dnieper. Unable to seize those refugees and to turn them over to their previous owners, the Tsars decided to grant them an almost complete independence and au-

In the middle of the seventeenth century Ukraine was a powerful land, holding its own against its neighbors, Poland and Muscovy. The Ataman, Bogdan, then signed with the Tsar of Muscovy a treaty of alliance which Russian diplomacy easily transformed into a surrender of Ukraine's independence. Many Ukrainian folk songs have ever since

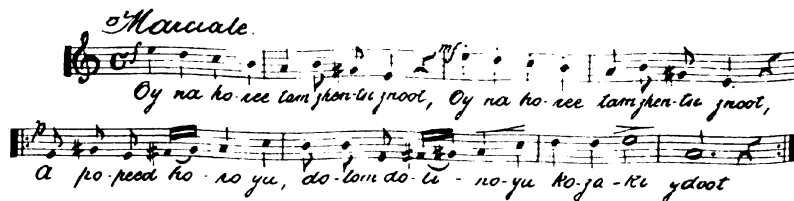
Character of the Songs.

Even the ballads and complaints of German and French troubadours have more definite themes and more sequence. A very typical song is "The Cuckoo" (see quotation A). The singer remarks that the bird has flown over the lake and into the wood, then while the brooklet flows over the yellow sand he announces that he will sing a song. He enumerates the members of his family, mentions that apples in the orchard are quite ripe, invites the audience to eat some, then remembers that one of his sisters has gone to a foreign country and is always "immersed in her tears like a fish in water" . . . and the song stops there. The melody is strangely poignant and penetrating.

Cossack songs form, of course, the majority of Ukrainian songs. They are characterized by material strength, a spirited delivery and a rough variety of humor which creeps into dirges. The best known is the Cossack march (see quotation B), which dilates upon the great advantages that a pipe and tobacco have over a wife when a man is a Cossack fighter.



"The Cuckoo" (Example A)



The Cossack March (Example B)

Love songs (see quotation C) partake of the same cheery, whimsical quality. Flirting songs for two voices or for chorus are common in Ukrainian folk song. The Ukrainian Eve is generally represented as tempting the Cossack Adam, who is rather retiring and modest and fears a thrashing at the hands of the girl's father.

We often hear an Oriental note sounded in melodies evidently adapted from Asiatic themes; frequently one recognizes the simple, monotonous melopæia which Arab shepherds play on their short flute accompanied by the beating of a small drum.

Songs in Every Mood

Every chord has been sounded by Ukrainian folk song from the most cheerful and rollicking mood to the most tragic lament. It is the joy of life, however, by which Ukrainian folk song is characterized, as folk song is characterized in Russia by woeful resignation, in Germany by sentimentalism, in France

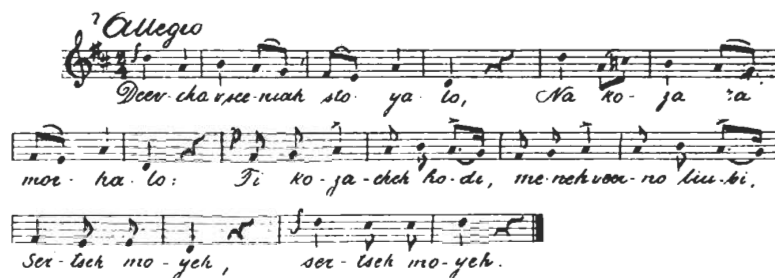
by light cynicism, in Spain by passionate outbursts, in Italy by exaggerated lyricism.

Technically speaking, Ukrainian folk song differs from Russian folk song in not being in any way related to ritualistic church themes. Much of the Russian (and French) folk tunes were probably awkward adaptations of liturgical

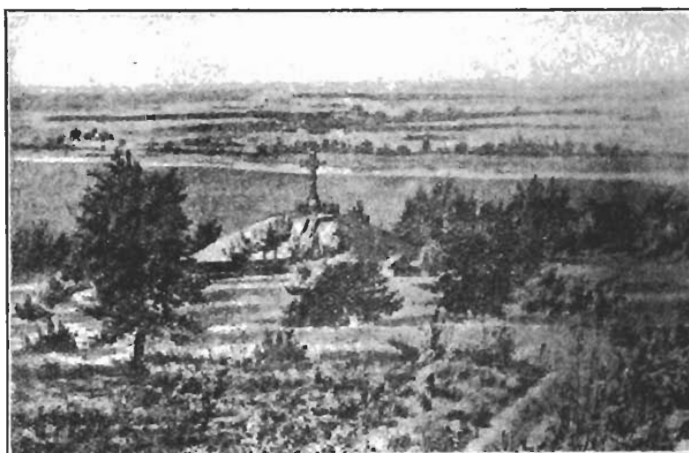
chant to popular words. Ukrainian folk songs have fortunately escaped that form of standardization.

The reopening of this gold mine, sealed up so long, will prove a boon to singers in search of the novel and unusual.

("Musical America," New York, March 2, 1918.)



"The Girl and the Cossack" (Example C)



Tomb of Tarass Shevchenko on the Dnieper.

ZAPOVIT

(LEGACY.)

By Tarass Shevchenko.

*When I'm dead, then let me slumber
Underneath a mound,
Mid the rolling steppe, with precious
Ukraine earth around;
That the mighty girth of acres,
Dnieper's craggy shores
I may gaze on, and may hearken
How the blusterer roars.
When it bears away from Ukraine
To the azure sea,
Foeman's blood—then I'll depart from
Mountain-side and lea;*

*These unheeding, I'll be speeding
Even unto God,
There to pray. But till that happen
I'll know naught of God.
Grant me burial, then uprising
Shatter every gyve;
Drench with evil blood of foeman,
Freedom, that it thrive.
And my name in your great kindred,
Kindred free and new,
Ye shall cherish, lest it perish—
Speak me fair and true.*

(Translated by P. SELVER.)

PRESS COMMENTS

BOLSHEVIK FIRST FRUITS.

With the "bourgeois" Ukraine entering into peace with the Central Powers, and the Bolshevik delegates at Brest-Litovsk apparently announcing that the war is at an end, this generalization emerges out of the chaos on the eastern front: the Bolsheviks have made peace with Germany and Austria and have declared war on Russia. There is to be no more bloodshed as between Slav armies and German armies, but the sanguinary war between Whites and Reds in Finland is to continue. The conflict between the "bourgeois" Rada of the Ukraine, with headquarters at Kiev, and the Bolshevik Rada of the Ukraine, with headquarters at Kharkov, is to be resumed. The Polish armies are now reported to be pressing into the heart of Russia. And Bessarabia, on the Rumanian border, is the scene of conflict between Rumanian forces and Bolsheviks. Of the Bolshevik programme which called for international peace and civil warfare, only the second part has so far made impressive progress. But whereas the civil war contemplated by Lenine and Trotzky was to break out at Vienna and Berlin and end in the triumph of Bolshevik principles in Europe, it is in the former territories of Russia that civil war is now under way, and it is Bolshevik principles within Russia and the safety of the Russian Revolution as a whole that are endangered.

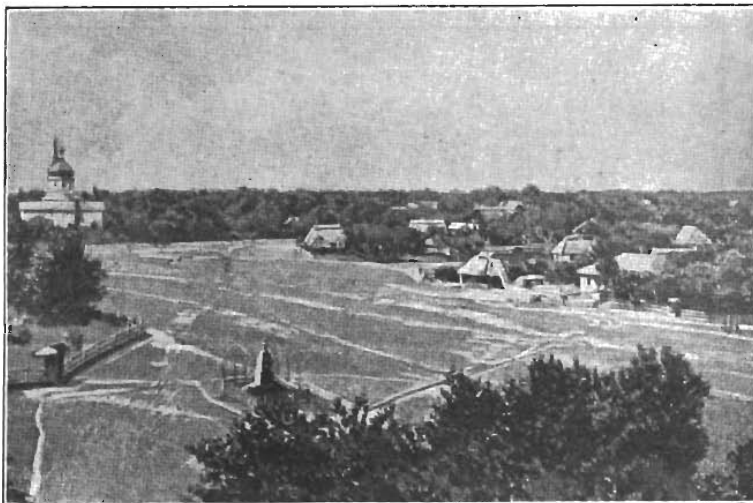
To the Bolshevik gospel of immediate and remorseless class warfare is directly to be attributed the separate peace which the Ukraine has concluded with the Central Powers. Up to the Bolshevik "coup d'etat" of early November, the Ukraine, with a population of some thirty millions, and comprising the vast stretch of Russian territory from the Polish frontier to the Black Sea, regarded its future as bound up indissolubly with that of the rest of the Russian nationalities. The Ukraine was to be an "independent" republic, but in the sense that any of the States of the United States are independent. Its wish was to live in federation with the new Russian Republic. It was independence in name, but autonomy in fact, to which the Ukraine aspired. But social conditions in the Ukraine differed from those in northern Russia. In the Ukraine the "mir," or peasant communal form of land ownership, was hardly known. The peasants were small proprietors, and therefore, from the Bolshevik point of view, the peasants were "capitalists," against whom the principles of the holy war of proletarianism held as rigorously as against the richest of landed proprietors and the Rothschilds. That was why the Ukrainian Rada, or Parliament, was stigmatized at Petrograd as a "bourgeois" government, and why civil war broke out at Kiev and Odessa. With this result, that the Ukraine has been forced into the arms of the Central Powers. Or if that is to be averted, it is only through a savage war be-

tween the classes, like that which is under way now in Finland.

Actually, the Ukraine Rada, which has been compelled to make peace with the Central Powers and which Petrograd denounced as "bourgeois," was a Socialist coalition, with a far-reaching programme of social reform. After the Bolshevik "coup" in Petrograd, the official organ of the Ukrainian Social-Democrats declared:

Hitherto we have agreed with the Bolsheviks in many questions. We and they have demanded, and still demand, immediate peace, the transference of the lands of the big landowners and others to our poverty-stricken peasantry. We and they have fought, and still fight, for control over industry, for the maximum taxation of large property and capital. But—we stood for the Ukrainian democratic republic and federation with other countries of Europe; they were entirely indifferent to

have been expected that influences, after peace, would be exerted to frustrate the progress of the Revolution, but within Russian territory itself, and what might have remained Russian territory but for the Red crusade of the Bolsheviks. While Trotzky and his associates were contending at Brest-Litovsk for the self-determination of Courland, Lithuania, and Esthonia, meaning by self-determination the opportunity to put through their principles of social revolution, the Central Powers have delivered a powerful counter-offensive. Its success is no credit to their own astuteness; they would have been arrant fools if they had missed the chance opened to them by the Bolshevik agitators. The Central Powers have utilized the fear of the Bolsheviks in the Ukraine to win that country to their side. If any doubts existed of their influence in Poland, they are removed by this same factor. Any day we may see Swedish troops coming to the aid of the



Ukrainian village.

White army in Finland. Any day we may see Rumania concluding a separate peace with the Central Powers; for with the Bolsheviks threatening Ferdinand with deposition and the Rumanian landowners with expropriation, and the Teutons, on the other hand, offering Rumania compensation in Russian territory in Bessarabia, to which side is human motive likely to swing the Rumanian Government? Thus, while Krylenko's Red army was preparing to impose the Social Revolution on all Europe, and while Trotzky was planning the first campaign of that crusade for Courland and Lithuania, the social

revolution at home finds itself endangered to-day by the estrangement of Russian lands—Ukraine and Finland—whose self-determination did not even come into question at Brest-Litovsk.

the national, cultural, and political needs of our people. And a careful student of Russian affairs has summed up the case in the following words:

The Bolsheviks were willing to grant complete self-determination to the Ukrainians without thought for the interests of Russia as a state. What they were not willing to abandon was their campaign in favor of social revolution in the Ukraine. Their declaration of war on Ukrainian nationalism was not because it threatened the interests of Russian nationalism, but because it showed itself an obstacle to the internationalism of their dreams.

The result has been just the reverse of Bolshevik aspirations. The Ukraine, today, instead of standing with the rest of Russia for international amity, has been compelled to take sides with the Central Powers. More than this: if the Bolsheviks persist in carrying on their campaign for social revolution in the Ukraine, we face the possibility of German and Austrian troops coming to the aid of the Ukraine against the Bolsheviks.

Therein stands the danger to the permanence of the Revolution in Russia proper. The Bolsheviks have brought up against themselves counter-revolutionary forces in unexpected quarters; not in Germany and Austria, whence it might

revolution at home finds itself endangered to-day by the estrangement of Russian lands—Ukraine and Finland—whose self-determination did not even come into question at Brest-Litovsk.

(From New York "Evening Post,"
February 11, 1918.)

UKRAINE MAKES PEACE.

Peace with the Ukraine will be a great help to Germany and Austria in the matter of furnishing them with food. They need it, the Ukraine has it, and the whole negotiation, to judge by Count Czernin's frank statement to the Austrian Parliament, centred around that one question. How they are to pay for it has not been disclosed, since they assuredly will not pay in gold and the German mark is too much depreciated to be acceptable, but they must have been able to make some arrangement with the practical business men who apparently have charge of the interests of the Ukraine. The only consideration with these individuals seems to have been the best commercial terms on which they could arrange to see the backs of the Austrian soldiers.

According to Count Czernin, peace with Ukraine is of far more practical value than peace with Petrograd, since the Ukraine has food to export and Petrograd "has nothing but revolution and

anarchy to export." Well, he has got what he wanted. Of course, there is more behind it, food was not the only thing talked about in that secret negotiation. We shall see some of the secret bartering revealed very soon, no doubt; perhaps when Ukrainians and Austrians join forces to wrest some territory from Russia's dying hand to swell the territory of the Ukraine. It appears to be an example of secret diplomacy at its worst, and to furnish additional evidence of Germany's reasons for preferring not to discuss peace terms with any country in the open. The Bolsheviks denounce the Ukrainian Government as "bourgeois". "Bourgeois" it may be from a Trotsky standpoint, since from that standpoint all Socialists who do not subscribe to every jot of Bolshevism are as bourgeois as millionaires; but from every other point of view the Rada is just as socialistic as Trotsky himself. While Trotsky has been displaying the firm devotion of socialism to open diplomacy, the Rada has been displaying the sophisticated skill of other Socialists in making use of secret diplomacy of the worst sort.

(The "New York Times," Sunday, February 10, 1918.)

THE FIRST PEACE.

The fact that the first peace treaty growing out of the world war has been signed cannot but excite keen interest among all the peoples, for there is none, among neutrals or belligerents, unshaken by the tremendous shock of the ecumenical upheaval. What are the terms of the treaty between the Central Coalition and the Ukrainian Rada has not been revealed. There is doubt even as to the stability of the Ukrainian Government, which assumes to act for the people of Little Russia. It is openly assailed by the Bolshevik forces that have prevailed elsewhere in what was the Russian Empire when this war began. The authority of its representatives at Brest-Litovsk is challenged by a contesting delegation, Bolshevik in character, which asserts its sole right to speak for the Ukrainian peoples.

There is, however, a strong probability that the Ukrainian Rada has the elements of stability in it. The Bolsheviks, since the fall of Kerensky, have met with real and successful opposition in Ukraine. The population of the territory has a distinct national feeling. Memory of its proud place in the constituency of the old Polish Kingdom has never died among its people. The preponderance ethnically is of the Cossack breed, a proud race, a fighting race, a race not easily inflamed by agitators of the type of Lenin and Trotsky.

It is interesting to note that the government which now signs a peace with the Central Powers and their allies, is not among the governments which declared war upon the German system. When Ukraine went to war it was a part of the Russian Empire, and the last thing to be expected was that it would ever be anything other than that. It comprises the provinces of Kiev, Poltava and Podolia. Watered by the Dnieper and its lower affluents, this extensive and fertile plain is one of the richest pieces of land in agricultural productivity in the world, and the Germanic powers may have made considerable concessions for the possibility of access to its large crops of wheat.

The signing of the treaty increases apprehension that Rumania may be forced

into a peace. It is reported that the Rumanian army, of close to a million men, is still intact, and the recent resumption of conflict with Russian troops incidental to the overrunning of a part of Bessarabia indicates that it is not inactive. The bribe for Rumania would, of course, be the Bessarabian province of which Rumania was despoiled for Russia's advantage by the Congress of Berlin. Bulgaria is to be satisfied, according to report, by recovering part of the Dobrudja on the Black Sea, of which she was bereft by the same process.

This leaves open to Germanic pressure Serbia and Montenegro and Greece, perhaps, unless an offensive from Saloniki shall give those countries hope of assistance from the Western Allies. But it is remembered that a War Council at Paris foreshadowed a withdrawal of the French and British forces in Greece, and the sinking of transports in the Mediterra-

ent significance can be written. The expressions of joy in the Central Powers and dismay among the Allies at the solving of the Teutonic food problem may be well-founded or mistaken—equally reliable "evidence" being offered to prove either notion—but the one sure thing is that in her peace pact with Ukraine, Germany has secured a prize of vast significance if she can weather her present food shortage and the war goes on another year or longer.

Of a country whose bounds are unknown it is impossible to give definite statistics, those available being bunched in the general statistics of the empire, but as it probably includes all or parts of the provinces of Podolia, Kiev, Poltava, Kharkov, Volhynia, Kherson, Chernigov, Katerinoslav, and at least the western portion of the Province of the Don Cossacks, we may judge of what the opening up of this territory means to Germany.

Odessa, the principal seaport, stands third in commercial importance, being surpassed only by Petrograd and Riga. Some maps do not include this port in Ukraine, but none of the maps thus far published agree in anything beyond the fact that Ukraine is in South Russia.

In Kharkov sheep, cattle and horses are raised in vast numbers. At the annual fairs held at the capital a business of fifteen to twenty millions of dollars was done in wool alone before the war. The city of Kharkov was also an educational centre. Kiev is the centre of Russia's sugar industry and a large general business besides. Its sugar works produced a million and a half tons of sugar and fifty thousand tons of molasses annually. Podolia was famous for its cattle, fruits and wines. Poltava's main industry was live-stock raising. The annual fair at Poltava was of importance to the whole woolen trade of the empire, and other merchandise to the amount of twelve to fifteen millions of dollars was usually exchanged there for imported goods. In the Donets basin, in the west of the Province of the Don, is the largest coal field in Europe, though the geological formation breaks it up into districts of great variation in quality of coal, thickness of veins and ease of working.

South Russia in 1910 produced about two-thirds of the empire's pig iron output of three and a half million tons, and of the twenty-seven works of the Russian Iron Syndicate sixteen were situated there, as against seven in Poland, two in the Baltic provinces and two in the Urals.

Coal is found also in Kiev; manganese, quicksilver and salt in Katerinoslav; phosphorite in Podolia; iron and china clay in Volhynia. Petroleum is found in the east, the great wells of the Baku district will be easily accessible to the Germans, even though they be not included in the boundaries of Ukraine.

But it is probably in its agricultural resources that the Germans have secured their greatest prize. Most of this country is of the famous "black earth" of great depth on which, according to the Encyclopedia Britannica, corn (probably meaning wheat) has been grown on the three-field system for fifty to seventy years without manure. Small wonder that the annual production of grain in South Russia was two-thirds of the empire's whole yield and larger than that of France and Germany combined! More than four-fifths of Russia's grain exports are alleged to have come from



Types of Ukrainians.

mean recently may indicate that such a withdrawal is actually in process.

Thus the war faces west, and against its onset we must stiffen our line of defense. It is this that makes the next few months critical and gives a multiplied value to every man, every gun and every pound of supplies we can get across the ocean now.

(From the "Brooklyn Times," February 11, 1918.)

RUSSIA, UKRAINE AND THE CENTRAL POWERS.

By STEPHEN BELL

Of the distressed country formerly known as Russia whatever is written one day may usually be torn up the next. The Germans, refusing to recognize the "won't fight" edict of Trotsky as an ending of the war, are pressing forward in a triumphal parade, capturing artillery, motor trucks and other war supplies and such soldiers as do not consider it worth while to get out of the way. It is of Ukraine only that anything of perman-

Ukraine. Tobacco and flax were also grown in large quantities.

Vast forests also exist, particularly in Volhynia, and exports of timber to Germany and Great Britain were large.

It is indeed an epoch-making deal the Germans have concluded with Ukraine, involving as it does free trade for six months or until further arrangements are made, subject to such modifications as may be agreed upon by a joint commission which will supervise and regulate exchanges. Small wonder that Vienna decked herself in flags while business came to a standstill, followed by marked advances in railway, shipping and other securities. The more subdued expressions later doubtless mark the disappointment of the Austrians at learning that in the disorders of the past year the food resources of Ukraine have been neglected and that there is at present little or no surplus. To develop the country that has thus placed itself at the disposal of the Central Powers will no doubt test the Teutonic genius for organization severely but we would be fatuous to close our eyes to the reinforcement of both morale and material that the enemy will receive as a result of the week's developments.

("Commerce and Finance," Feb. 28, 1918, New York.)

UKRAINIAN PEACE CALLED BETRAYAL BY BOLSHEVIKI; NO CHOICE, FRIENDS SAY.

(By HERMAN BERNSTEIN.)

Regarding the Ukrainian separate peace I send the anti-Bolshevik viewpoint as expressed by General Constantin Oberutcheff, a revolutionist, and formerly military commander of the Ukraine, whose whole life has been bound up with the Ukraine.

General Oberutcheff, answering my questions, said:—

"The Bolsheviks, unrecognized leaders of Great Russia, seated on bayonets' points, will doubtless condemn the Ukrainian separate peace. As a matter of fact, the Ukraine was forced to conclude a separate peace by the Petrograd Bolsheviks.

"When Trotzky and Lenine usurped power in Petrograd, seeming to force it on all Russia, when they destroyed the army at the Austro-German front, the Ukrainian Rada kept appealing to the Ukrainian armies not to leave their positions in order to fortify the demands of the Ukrainian representatives at the peace conference.

"Then the Petrograd Bolsheviks removed their armies from the northern and western fronts, directing them against the Ukraine and Finland for the self-definition of nationalities according to Bolshevik prescriptions.

"The Ukraine was compelled to defend her independence against the new apostles of violence that sprang up on the ruins of Tsarism. The Ukraine was compelled to withdraw her armies from the enemy's front to resist the Bolshevik troops. The same soldiers who heard the warning of the Bolsheviks that they must not make war on the German proletariat were sent to shoot down the Ukraine proletariat.

"Thus the Ukraine was placed in the dilemma of a choice between two evils—the Central Powers and the Bolsheviks, who are ruining Russia. The Ukraine chose the lesser. I have always been opposed to a separate peace between Russia and the Central Powers and have exerted all my energies in helping the Kerensky government to maintain the Russian army as a fighting force.

"I fought the Ukrainization of the army, but in the present circumstances

I cannot reproach the Ukraine representatives for their separate peace. Some Ukraine leaders perhaps are Austrophiles, but all cannot be thus charged. The Ukraine proclaimed her complete independence only after the Bolsheviks sought to help the Ukraine to self-definition with bullets and bayonets.

"If Russia and the Allies suffer as a result of the Ukrainian separate peace, the entire responsibility before mankind and history falls not on the Ukraine but on the few Petrograd demagogues who temporarily have won the masses to their side and compelled the Ukraine to this step."

General Oberutcheff expressed the opinion that because of the latest developments in the Ukraine the days of the Petrograd Bolshevik regime are numbered.

(From the "New York Herald," February 12, 1918.)

THE MEANING OF "SURPLUS."

There is not now, if there ever was, the slightest chance of "starving out Germany." It is evident that peace with Ukraine means access, by Germany and her allies, to the greatest wheat region of the East. It is probable that Trotzky's "demobilization" means acquisition, by the Teutons, of great resources in Russia.

It is senseless in the Entente Powers to try to minimize these two highly important events, on the ground that neither the Ukraine nor Russia has any surplus supplies. When Germany gets its heel on a country it is never particular as to whether what it takes is surplus or the necessities for normal subsistence of that country. Oh, yes! Ukraine has a treaty. So had Belgium.

The Ukraine and Trotzky affairs are great triumphs and advantages for Germany. To minimize them would be superlative folly on the part of the Entente Powers, and confession that all they've said of German intentions and methods was lying.

Germany will eat. What's more, famished Turkey will eat. The starvation policy is now pretty largely directed at England, France and Italy. The job cut out for the United States is larger, more clearly defined than ever.

And what's our problem? Ships, ships, ships!

(From the "Post," Cincinnati, Ohio, Feb. 13, 1918.)

UKRAINE PEACE PACT.

The report that a separate peace agreement has been concluded between the Central Powers and the representatives of the Ukrainian Rada is good news as well as bad. The Bolsheviks, who from the first have questioned the authority of the Ukrainian Rada, will certainly refuse to accept the action of its alleged commissioners as binding upon the Ukrainian people. The episode will not only intensify civil warfare in the Ukraine but will drive the wedge deeper between the Bolsheviks and Germany.

The disquieting feature of the episode is its effect on the food situation in Austria and Germany. Rich stores of grain are supposed to be held in the fertile Ukraine region; and these stores the Austro-Germans will pay heavily to acquire. They will probably go to the length of sending troops to support the Ukrainian conservatives in their fight with Trotzky, but it would bring the Central Powers the sorely needed foodstuffs and would enable the militarists to placate the workmen with fragments of the "peace and bread" for which they clamor.

A similar policy will presumably be pursued with Finland, where, however,

the Bolsheviks seem to have more numerous supporters than in the Ukraine. It is greatly to be deplored that the allied diplomats have found no means wherewith to offset or to block the unscrupulous game which Germany is playing in Russia.

(From the "Philadelphia Press," Feb. 10, 1918.)

BAD FOR RUSSIA.

The independence of Ukraine, if not fabricated in Austria, was conceived there before the war began, proof of which is contained in the archives of the Russian government, a Russian diplomat declared today. He believed the negotiation of a separate peace between Ukraine and the Central Empire creates a most serious situation for this country and constitutes also a very material advantage for the Teutonic powers.

"The Ukrainian situation," he said, "is very important and difficult for Russia. It is proof that the Bolsheviks are leading the country into disintegration, and although they may not be actually in the pay of Germany, they are nevertheless working in accordance with the German scheme.

"An independent Ukraine was an aspiration of the Central Powers before the war began. Sheptitzky, a Galician archbishop, had elaborated a plan for an independent Ukraine which must be in alliance with Austria-Hungary, and the Russian government possessed data concerning the Austrian scheme.

"The Ukrainians did not at first aim at independence, but aspired to a Russian federation, something like the United States of America. The Bolsheviks, however, were hostile to them from the beginning, arresting their representatives in Petrograd and using force against them upon their own territory. They were compelled, therefore, to abandon the federative idea and look to Germany and Austria-Hungary; and that explains their separate peace."

(From "The Pittsburgh Post," Feb. 13, 1918.)

UKRAINE MAKES PEACE.

The Ukrainian Rada, which is said to have signed peace with Mitteleuropa, speaks for one-sixth of the Russian peoples and affects to speak for 4,000,000 Austrian subjects besides.

Ukraine has been Russian for a much shorter average time than Alsace-Lorraine in 1871 had been French; and its national and religious aspirations have been rudely persecuted. Still, the new Government is democratic. Its official title is "Ukrainian National Republic." Its purpose, declared in the November Constitution, is "to help the whole of Russia, and that the whole Russian Republic may become a federation of free and equal peoples." The Rada can hardly approve the fierce tyranny of Austria.

The lands claimed by the Rada lead in Russian sugar-beet production and are important in wheat yield. But these lands conflict in the south with Cossack claims and in the north with those of the Poles and Russians proper; while Bolshevik forces keep up strife with the Rada even in regions which are indisputably Ukrainian.

Manifestly the importance of a separate peace must hang upon the fortunes of war—including civil war. That it will advantage Austria for a time can hardly be doubted. Whether much Ukrainian food will find its way for long distances, over inferior railroads and through starving peoples clamoring for bread, to Germany is quite another question.

But Ukrainian peace, however much of a disappointment it may prove, does give

notice yet again that the war must be won in the west.

(From the New York "World," Monday, February 11, 1918.)

RUSSIA WAS.

Russia was. That out of the wreck made by the treachery of the Russian autocracy and the notions of the Russian proletariat leaders there will ever arise again that vast state, including the whole of the north of Europe and Asia, is inherently improbable. As we do not yet know what the Russian ingenue was, it may very well be that one menace to the future peace of the world has been removed. What a Russia inspired with the German idea might have become beggars description.

In all probability Russia, which was rather the estates of the Romanoff family than truly a nation will continue to disintegrate. That there shall be a reconstituted Poland is generally accepted by both Allies and Teutons. Finland has gone on its way and the Bolsheviks have driven the Ukraine into the arms of the Teutons. Other races have variously declared independence or autonomy. The longer they go their own gait the less likely it is that they will ever come together again. What is of more immediate interest is what is going to become of the fragments.

It is not at all impossible that the Germans, balked with their Mittel-Europa scheme, may find themselves presented, at least temporarily, with a North-Europe scheme, even harder for the Allies to break down by any physical attacks directed with the idea of driving a wedge between its portions. Now the North-Europe scheme is just as bad as the Middle-Europe scheme. The inherent badness in both of them is not their size so much as the purpose for which the size and the corresponding strength are used. If Germany is to continue a militaristic autocracy making conquest by force or fraud its purpose, then it makes little difference whether the German dominion is expanded to the north or to the east. The Allies simply have to break down the spirit which animates the whole. That spirit is the dominant spirit of Germany.

Therefore it follows that the Allies have to deny that autocratic spirit's success, because success is its test and its hope of life. They have to break down the German idea and save Russia from herself, and they need not expect the Bolsheviks to thank them while they are doing it. They may rather expect Trotsky's lieutenants to speak as one of them already has; that he hopes the releasing of German troops from the eastern front will make the Allies more ready to enter negotiations—presumably of the Bolshevik order, since negotiations of a new type are going on already in the speeches of the various Premiers.

If we are ever going to understand the Bolsheviks, we have to keep it clearly in mind that they are not only do-nothings but have-nothings. The only war they are interested in is the war that they are carrying on against the Russian "bourgeois," which in their definition is anybody who has anything at all. They drove out the Ukraine because the Ukraine was a socialistic republic of small land-holding peasants. The land-holding peasant is just as bad a capitalist as a millionaire exploiter, in Bolshevik doctrine.

The natural result was that the Ukraine made peace with the Teutons, which offered them land tenure, rather than with the Bolsheviks, who proposed to take away everything they had. The same is probably true of Finland, and will be found true of all other of the revolting elements. In all probability, and

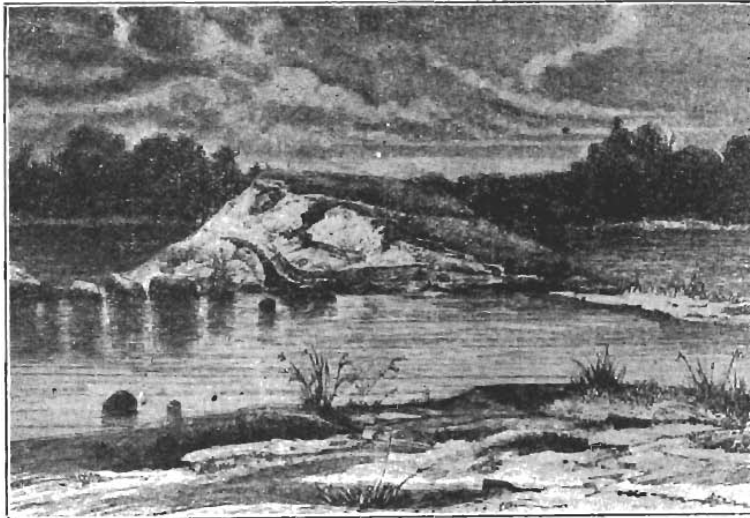
RUSSIA IN DISSOLUTION.

If an accurate map could be made of the present chaotic and divided Russia it would present many features of resemblance to the political alignment of eastern Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The revolution has proved centrifugal instead of centripetal in its tendency; and the past six months have witnessed a remarkable and almost unprecedented revival of long repressed and dormant nationalist aspirations. Ukraine, long ago betrayed by its own leaders into the rapacious hands of the Russian Czars, has asserted and established its existence as an independent political entity. Even German and Austrian statesmen admit the necessity of treating Poland as a single State and undoing the effect of the infamous partitions. The twenty millions of Asiatic

Mohammedans who inhabit the wide plains of eastern Russia are seeking to return to the independence which they enjoyed before the arrival of the Russian colonists and conquerors. Finland, although distracted by a sanguinary civil war, has apparently definitely repudiated all connection with the Government at Petrograd.

The list might be prolonged indefinitely; but it is easy to see that the great, heterogeneous, mis-governed Russian empire is well on the way to dissolve into the dozen or more large and small independent States which appear on the map of eastern Europe in the days before the imperialistic ambitions of the Czars spread the hated Muscovite rule from the Black Sea to the Arctic Ocean and from the Baltic to the Pacific. It is possible that these States will eventually come together in some sort of federative union; but this prospect is not particularly bright. If it be remembered that the thirteen American colonies, united by language, by race and by the memory of seven years of fighting in a common cause, were unable to come into any sort of union for a period of eight years, what can be expected of these Slavonic peoples, radically divided in racial and religious sympathies, whose only common memory is one of wrong and oppression?

One clear lesson emerges from the confused and tangled spectacle of Russia in dissolution. This is the absolute necessity for a future world order purged of the last traces of militarism, commercial imperialism and secret diplomacy. The enlightened conscience of the civilized world cannot permit these separate Russian States to suffer the fate of Balkan principalities, to become fields of intrigue and exploitation and ultimate war between a set of unscrupulous great Powers.



Devil's Mill Island in the Dnieper.

if not for the Allies, the council of workmen who will not work, and soldiers who will not fight, would simply find themselves both working and fighting for a militaristic autocracy not even of their own race.

When President Wilson said the Allies had to save Russia, he had foreseen what is already coming to pass. The delicious inconsistency of warring on the Socialist peasants of the Ukraine and refusing to fight the militaristic and capitalistic autocrats of Germany, is as typically Bolshevik as their naive assumption that if all the Allies should copy the Russian demoralization, the German autocracy, binding the German people to it by its triumphs, would worry for twenty minutes about Trotsky's verbal offensive. Trotsky can talk because the Allies can fight, and it Trotsky and all the rest of his fellow-theorists do not find themselves yet in German "bourgeois" goose step, it will be because the embattled democracy of England, France and the United States has the moral force to overcome all its difficulties and condemn the German system by proving its failure. The future "self-determination"—Bolshevik, Socialist state, republic or what not—of the fragments of what once was Russia, still rests with the Allied armies.

(From "The Newark Evening News," Feb. 13, 1918.)

(From the "Philadelphia Press," Feb. 18, 1918.)

THE WHITE RUTHENIAN REPUBLIC

A telegram came from Petrograd towards the end of December, 1917, saying that the White Ruthenians had proclaimed their independence. In the city of Minsk a convention of White Ruthenian delegates was held which declared that White Ruthenia was a separate republic which could freely unite with other peoples into a Federal Russian Alliance. A Rada was established similar to the Ukrainian Central Rada to act as a provisional parliament.

The White Ruthenians or, as they are more often but less properly called, the White Russians are about ten million in number. They inhabit eight government districts of Russia, in three of which they constitute the majority of the population, in two others they comprise about half the population, and in the remaining three they are decidedly in the minority. The percentage of White Ruthenians in each of the government districts is as follows:

1. Mogilev -----	82%	5. Grodno -----	43%
2. Minsk -----	76%	6. Smolensk -----	12%
3. Vitebsk -----	60%	7. Chernihiv -----	10%
4. Vilna -----	56%	8. Pskov -----	5%

The capital of White Ruthenia is Minsk in the northern

part of the district of the same name. It has a population of 100,000.

That portion of the district of Minsk which is south of the Pripet River is Ukrainian; so also is the southern part of the district of Grodno. In both these districts the Ukrainians form about 30% of the population. The district of Chernihiv is almost wholly Ukrainian.

The northern part of the district of Vitebsk is Muscovite, as is also nearly all of Smolensk and Pskov.

The western part of the district of Vilna is Lithuanian; but the city of Vilna, which has a population of 200,000 and which is the capital of Lithuania, is on the border of the White Ruthenian territory.

In their language the White Ruthenians are most closely related to the Ukrainians, with whom they also are very much in sympathy. At the time when Ukraine, White Ruthenia and Lithuania were united under a single government, the state language of this coalition was a mixture of the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian tongues. In this mixed language was written in 1529 the so-called *Statute of Lithuania*.

The White Ruthenians belong mainly to the Greek Orthodox Church, only a small part (in the governments of Grodno and Vilna) belonging to the Catholic Church.

THE POLISH QUESTION

POLISH COUNCIL OF REGENCY.

AMSTERDAM, October 16, 1917 (by A. P.)—Archbishop Alexander von Kakowski, of Warsaw; Prince Lubomirski, Mayor of Warsaw, and Count Josef Ostrowski have been appointed members of the Council of Regency of the new Polish state by the Emperors of Germany and Austria-Hungary, according to a telegram from Berlin. Emperor William of Germany has sent the following message to Gen. von Beseler, the German Governor-General of Poland:

"I have found it advisable, in agreement with my illustrious ally, the Emperor of Austria-Hungary, and in the spirit of Article 1 of the decree of September 12, 1917, to install as members of the Council of Regency of the Kingdom of Poland the Archbishop of Warsaw, Alexander von Kakowski, the Mayor of Warsaw; Prince Lubomirski, and the landed proprietor, Josef Ostrowski."

The Emperor requested Gen. von Beseler to carry out the decree in conjunction with Count Stanislaw Sheptitsky the Austrian Governor-General.

The decree of September 12 transferred the supreme authority in Poland to a Council of Regency of three members. The legislative power is to be exercised by the Council, all of whose decrees must be countersigned by a responsible Premier. One of the first tasks of the Council will be the appointment of a Premier, which must be sanctioned by Germany and Austria-Hungary. The decree called for the reorganization of the Polish State Council with increased authority.

FIRST POLISH CABINET IN WARSAW.

The first Polish Cabinet formed under the above Council of Regency was as follows:

John Kucharzewski, Premier;
Mikulowski-Pomorski (from Austrian Galicia), minister of agriculture;
Stanislaw Bukowiecki, minister of justice;
Count A. Rostworowski, minister of the "political department of the Council of Regency;"
John Kanty Steczkowski (from Austrian Galicia), minister of finance;
Stanislaw Staniszewski, minister of labor;
John Stecki, minister of the interior;
Anthony Ponikowski, minister of instruction;
John Zaglonezny, minister of commerce and industry;
Stephen Pszanowski, minister of food supplies.

NEW POLISH CONSTITUTION.

State to Be Hereditary Monarchy, Diet to Elect Ruler and Control Dynasty's Affairs.

BERLIN, Sunday, November 4, via London, November 5, 1917 (by A. P.)—The Constitution of the new Polish state is a document containing nine paragraphs and one hundred and fifty-one articles. Professor Cybichowski, of Warsaw, who was commissioned to make the draft, which was ap-

proved by a former State Council, states that the charter contains the following provisions:

Poland to be an independent constitutional state.

In view of the fact that an overwhelming percentage of the population is of the Roman Catholic faith, it is ordered that the ruling house be of the same faith.

Catholicism is prescribed as being the official religion to be recognized in connection with state functions and official ceremonies. Beyond that full freedom of religious belief is vouchsafed.

The state is to be a hereditary monarchy, the Diet to elect the ruler and control the dynasty's affairs and succession.

If the King marries without the consent of the Diet he forfeits his crown. This proviso is intended to preclude the possibility of a feminine member of an unfriendly Power attaining the throne.

The King is obliged to reside constantly at home, and is not permitted to be represented through a substitute authority or be sovereign of another state at the same time.

Parliament will consist of two Chambers, the Lower House to be elected on the basis of a general secret direct ballot of one Deputy to every 60,000 inhabitants. Half of the Senate will be elected, the remainder to be appointed by the King. Deputies will serve five years and Senators ten.

N. B. As a whole, this constitution of Poland is said by the Polish Socialist paper "Naprzod" of Cracow, Galicia, to be the most retrograde in the world.

THE RESIGNATION OF THE FIRST POLISH CABINET.

AMSTERDAM, Feb. 14.—A Berlin telegram to the Dutch Press reports that following upon a long Ministerial conference at Warsaw regarding the latest political developments, and particularly the peace treaty with Ukraine, M. Kucharzewski, the Premier, tendered to the Regency Council the resignation of the entire Cabinet.—REUTER.

AMSTERDAM, Feb. 15.

The "Vossische Zeitung" says the retirement of the Warsaw Ministry is an event of extraordinary import, as appears from the following message from Warsaw via Lemberg:—

The feeling in Polish Government circles was already critical when the mere news of the conclusion of peace with Ukraine was known. When the details of the Peace Treaty were known the Austrian Military Governor, Count Sheptitsky, immediately tendered his resignation, and the Civil Associate, Ritter von Madeyski, requested to be relieved of office. Councillor Dr. Rosner, who worked as representative of the Imperial and Royal Foreign Ministry in Warsaw, also retired. The Polish Government has likewise resigned, and the members of the Regency Council contemplate resigning. The intention exists in leading Polish circles to prevent the execution of this plan, because otherwise it is possible that all the political institutions already created will disappear and the upper hand will be gained by the ultra-Radical elements who seek attachment to Russia with a Republican form of government and could form a secret Government.

In place of the Ministry of M. Kucharzewski a Stecki Cabinet will probably be appointed. M. Stecki belonged before his entry into the Government to the Russophile National Democratic Party. The elections arranged in the State Council for February 27 cannot be held because elections are also arranged for districts which would fall to Ukraine. The conviction generally prevails that Poland's independence is seriously endangered and that Poland will again become an occupied State, and the possibility of a federal solution of the Polish question in an Austro-Polish sense would be dissolved.

PSEUDO-DEMOCRACY IN POLAND.

Formation of a Provisional State Council.

AMSTERDAM, Feb. 10.—The first number of the Polish State Gazette, the "Monitor Polski," publishes a law relative to the State Council of Poland and the elections for the Council.

The State Council, which is to meet in Warsaw, will consist of 110 members, namely:—

(1) Twelve "ex officio" members, these being the five Roman Catholic Bishops, the Superintendent-General of the Evangelical Augsburg Confession, the Superintendent of the Evangelical Reformed Confession, the Senior Jewish Rabbi of Warsaw, the Rectors of the University and the Technical University of Warsaw, and the first President of the Supreme Court;

(2) Fifty-five elected members, who will be elected by the municipal councils of those towns which form self-governing bodies (Warsaw, six; Lodz, three; Lublin, one); and

(3) Forty-three members appointed by the Regency Council on the Premier's nomination.

Any male citizen of the Polish State, resident within the territory of the Government-General of Warsaw or of Lublin, who has completed his 30th year and writes and reads the Polish language is eligible for election. The ballot will be secret.

The Regency Council intimates that as soon as the State Council has passed the Diet Law it will make every effort to issue this law without delay and to carry through the election. The Regency Council will appoint the President of the State Council, which will have to co-operate in the legislation of the country, especially respecting the draft of the Constitution, &c. The occupying authorities are entitled to have their interests represented in the State Council and its committees. The sittings of the Council will be public.

The State Council will cease to exist at the moment of the meeting of the first Diet.—(Reuter).

GERMAN WARNINGS TO THE POLES.

ZURICH, Feb. 17.—A Vienna telegram to the "Frankfurter Zeitung" says that the continued threatening attitude of the Poles has produced a complete reversal of opinion among leading circles in the Central Empires, and all thought of a so-called Austro-Polish settlement has already been abandoned, as no weapon can be left in the hands of an irreconcilable Poland coquetting with the Entente.

The possibility that the new Russia might seize the leadership of Poland and pursue, with the Czechs, a Great Bohemia policy, must, it is declared, be prevented. Perhaps the individual Republics of Livonia, Esthonia, Lithuania, and Ukraine will enter into friendly relations with the Central Powers, when Poland would be completely cut off from Russia, and the idea of uniting Congress Poland and Western Galicia would likewise come to an end.

The correspondent suggests that unless the Poles change their attitude at the last moment the whole combination will be ended. In these circumstances there can be no more talk of "Mittel-Europa." Nevertheless, some part of the proposed union can be maintained.—(Reuter).

DEFENDING "HISTORIC RIGHTS OF POLAND."

PARIS, Feb. 12.

The Polish National Committee sitting in Paris issues the following protest against the Austro-German peace with Ukraine:—

According to the published text, the peace treaty which has just been concluded between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and their allies, on the one hand, and a pretended "delegation of the Ukrainian people," on the other hand, draws the frontier of the Ukrainian State through Polish territory and gives

to this State wide territories which formed part of Poland before the partitions, and even a portion of the Kingdom of Poland created by the Vienna Congress in 1815. This treaty grants to the Ukrainian State not only vast territories of Polish civilization possessing important minorities, but also provinces in which the great majority of the inhabitants are Polish. The fate of these territories has been decided without the consent of their inhabitants.

All Poles will to-day unite in a common effort to struggle against this violation of right and against those who are its authors, in order to win a unified, truly independent Poland, having full liberty to con-

clude alliances with nations akin by community for principles and bonds of traditional sympathy.

M. Rudnicki, editor of the "Glos Polski," published in Paris, has made the following statement to the "Temps":—

I express the sentiment of all my compatriots without distinction of party when I say that the limits assigned to Ukraine by the Brest-Litovsk treaty are irreconcilable with the historic rights of Poland and with the undoubted wish of the populations. Poles will never accept this mutilation of their country. The other nations cannot consent to it either. It is not merely a Polish question.

"Shall Ukraine benefit by the Western influence and by the Latin civilization brought to her by Poland in the past, or shall she be invaded by the disastrous influence of German 'Kultur'?"

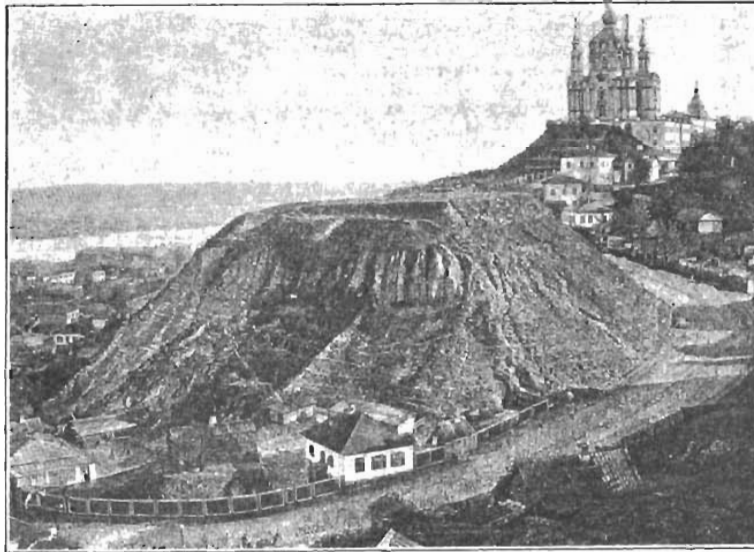
We Poles only desire to make friendship and progress reign among the neighboring nations whose educators we have been. Germany, on the contrary, endeavors to fan hatred, which she utilizes in order to develop her domination. Between these two methods the world will choose, for it is not Germany who can pronounce a sentence against which there is no appeal.

AMSTERDAM, Feb. 16.—It appears from a Berlin telegram to this morning's "Rheinisch-Westfaelische Zeitung" that there is a general strike in Warsaw.

According to the "Cologne Gazette," the Polish Press Bureau in Berlin learns from Warsaw that the theatres and cinemas have been closed there and that the representative of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office has left.

The Polish newspapers appeared with black borders in consequence of the treaty with Ukraine.

All the Cracow papers published the appeal of a committee formed of all Polish parties in favor of a one-day's general strike on February 18 as a protest against the severance of the Kholm region (allotted by Germany to Ukraine). In Lemberg a general strike on Monday was resolved on, suspending work in all departments, institutions, schools, and workshops.—(Reuter).



One of the hills on the Dnieper River.

END LATEST VIENNA CRISIS.

By PAUL SCOTT MOWRER.

WITH THE FRENCH ARMIES, March 15.—The Austrian crisis was momentarily deferred, and the budget has been voted, thanks to the final decision of the Poles to abstain from opposition. The history of this denouement is briefly as follows:

The negotiations with the Poles were begun again by Premier von Seydler on Feb. 27, with no result. The tension was increased by the news that a brigade of the Polish legion in Bukovina had revolted on Feb. 15 and after a bloody fight with the garrison of Czernowitz had escaped into Roumanian territory. On Feb. 28 the Polish group decided by a majority of one vote to form a joint organization with the Czech group, but the first joint meeting was also the last, for on March 1 von Seydler confided to some of his leaders his project for constitutional reform and "national autonomy" for all Austrian peoples.

On March 3 the government reopened the negotiations with the Poles. On the 5th the government signed a curious agreement with General Musziki, commanding the Polish troops around Minsk, which reads:

"The Polish troops form a neutral army to which is assigned definitely a limited territory having the town of Mohilev for its centre. It will fight only if attacked on this territory. It will accord free passage to German detachments."

On March 7 Emperor Charles received the Poles' leaders and confirmed to them the government promises. The Poles thereupon abandoned the Czechs, and while refusing confidence to the government agreed to abstain from voting, so as to relieve von Seydler from the necessity of dissolving parliament.

The civil credits were adopted 240 against 121, the opposition votes being Czechs and Slovenes. The Socialists voted for the civil credits, but refused to vote for the military credits, which

were adopted by vote of 203 against 165. By way of compensation the government is thought to have promised large concessions to the Poles.

It is said that the Kholm district will be withdrawn from Ukraine, which will have as a frontier the River Bug from Soki to Brest-Litovsk. These concessions are so great that the Germa-Austrians, fearing for their own preponderance, are jealously and violently protesting. Thus it is doubtful if the government can fulfil its promises to the Poles. In this case the crisis is merely deferred.

(N. Y. Globe).

GERMANY AND POLAND.

Amsterdam, Feb. 13.

The "Rheinisch-Westfaelische Zeitung" publishes a leading article headed "Poland as an Obstruction." Polish troops, it says, have taken advantage of the already practically long since completed demobilization of the Russian Army in order to make themselves masters of Mohileff, the great province which adjoins the Minsk region and commands the road to Moscow. They have proclaimed the union of this territory, which is mainly inhabited by White Russians, with the Kingdom of Poland.

These Polish gentry, it adds, have thereby been somewhat preysious with world history, for the victorious Central Powers will determine the Kingdom of Poland's frontiers in agreement with Ukraine and the States of Russia which are disposed to enter into firm peace relations with us. It appears to us improbable that the Central Powers will agree to such an extension of Poland at Russia's expense.

We have no interest in the Kingdom of Poland's pushing itself in the future like a gigantic obstruction between Germany and the various Russian States. We are far rather interested in entering into direct territorial connexion both with Great Russia and with Ukraine. We assume that this connexion can con-

veniently be established via Lithuania. Polish obstruction will not prevent this connexion, for our Prussian Baltic territories would then be in a position to enter into direct communication with Russia, but not the industrial, infinitely valuable regions of Silesia, Saxony, Posen, &c.

On this ground alone, quite apart from all military and political considerations, Poland's connexion with Austria is much to be deplored from the German standpoint, while it will certainly not be in the interest of Poland herself. Poland, geographically, is the advance-land of German, all her railways, rivers, and roads lead into Germany; while Galicia and the rest of Austria lie south of Poland, and economically they are of secondary importance. Poland, therefore, should lean on Germany, both economically and politically. Unfortunately, this possibility is not present, since, despite the natural community of interests between Poland and Germany, the new kingdom will be politically bound to the Dual Monarchy.

Should this occur, care must be taken that the kingdom does not become an obstruction for Germany. Economic securities must be created which will procure us unrestricted export through Poland to the Russian States.

If Russia dissolves into a number of independent States, there is a danger that each State will introduce a new tariff at its own frontiers, which will make German export practically impossible. We must prevent this by taking over the whole railway system of Poland.

The German Government has presumably considered these points and has secured guarantees that Germany's just interests will not suffer by a possible Austrian solution of the Polish question. We consider it to be quite out of the question that we should be rewarded for our enormous successes in the East, for the conquest of the whole of Poland by the German sword, with the annihilation of German exports.

(From the London Times.)

LITHUANIANS AND LETTS

The Lithuanians (Lietuviai), about 2,500,000 in number, occupy four governments of Russia: Vilna, Kovno, Grodno, and Suvalki. Specifically, the Lithuanian territory is as follows:

1. In Kovno, about 80% of the government district is Lithuanian; the remaining 20% is divided equally between the White Ruthenians and the Letts, who live in the eastern and northern parts of the district respectively.
2. Of Suvalki, about 78% is Lithuanian; the remaining 22% is Polish, or more properly "Mazurish."
3. In Vilna, about 60% of the district is Lithuanian (in the southwest); the remaining 40% is White Ruthenian.
4. In Grodno about 20% of the territory is Lithuanian; the remainder is divided between the Ukrainians and White Ruthenians.

In the extreme western part of the Kovno district, the Lithuanians are called "Zhmudians." They are related to Lithuanians of Eastern Prussia and are said to number 600,000 (200,000 in the Kovno district and 400,000 in Eastern Prussia.) When the 400,000 Lithuanian immigrants in America are taken into account, the number of Lithuanians becomes 3,500,000.

The capital cities of the above-mentioned four governments are regarded as territorially Lithuanian, although Vilna, the capital of the nation, and Suvalki, the capital of the government of the same name, lie on the border of Lithuanian territory. In respect to nationality, the chief cities of Lithuania are actually more Jewish and Polish than they are Lithuanian. This peculiar fact, however, is merely "a sign of the times" which will vanish with the economic growth of the nation.

The Lithuanians have an old, distinct language and a literature rich in popular legends and folk-lore. They are mostly Roman Catholics, although they still cling to many heathen

customs and traditions. In spirit they are broadly democratic and progressive, and, like most agricultural peoples, are very hospitable and peaceful. They have always preserved friendly relations with their neighbors, the Ukrainians and White Ruthenians.

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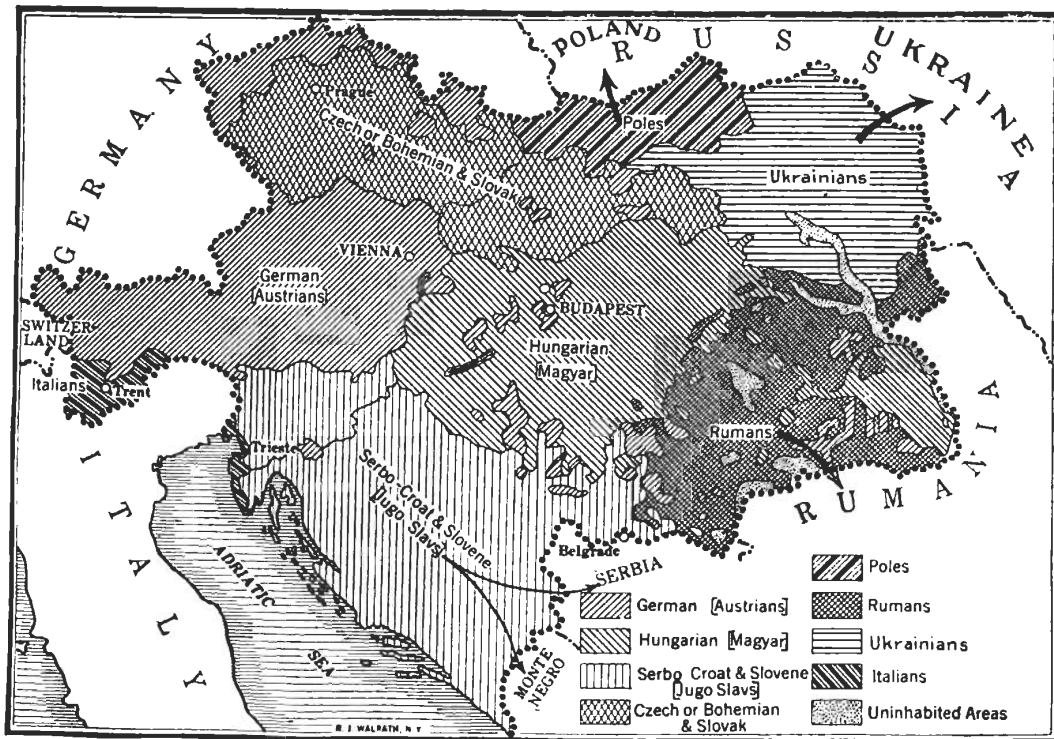
Closely related to the Lithuanians are the Letts. The relation between these peoples is evident from the remarkable similarity which exists in their languages, customs, and traditions. In number the Letts are approximately 2,000,000, living chiefly in Courland, Livonia, and Vitebsk. There are also many Lettish emigrants in cities throughout Russia, Ukraine, and the Caucasus. Unlike their northern kindred, the Lithuanians, these people are Lutherans, with the exception of some communities of Vitebsk which have embraced the Roman Catholic faith. Very few of them, however, belong to the Orthodox Church. The Letts are the most highly developed and advanced people of the Baltic provinces.

Lettish territory consists of 1) Courland, 2) the southern half of Livonia, 3) the northwestern part of Vitebsk, and 4) the northern part of Kovno. The principal cities of this territory are Riga, Libau, Dunaburg, the population of which is mainly German and Lettish.

* * *

It seems at present that the Letts and Lithuanians would like to form a single state, a kind of Lithuano-Lettish federation. The combined territories of these two peoples would be somewhat larger than present Poland; that is, an area of over 40,000 square miles. The population of this area would be between five and six million. The state of Pennsylvania approximates most nearly both in area and population this union of Lithuano-Lettish territories.

THE POPULATION OF AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY.



The official estimate of the population of Austria and Hungary of 1910 is as follows:

AUSTRIA:

1. Germans	9,950,226
2. Bohemians	6,435,987
3. Poles	4,967,984
4. Ukrainians (Ruthenians)	3,518,854
5. Slovenes	1,252,940
6. Serbs and Croats	783,334
7. Italians and Ladins	768,422
8. Rumanians	275,115
Foreigners	608,062

Total.....28,571,934

HUNGARY:

1. Magyars	10,050,575
2. Rumanians	2,949,032
3. Serbs and Croats	2,939,633
4. Germans	2,037,435
5. Slovaks	2,031,782
6. Ukrainians (Ruthenians)	472,587

Others 405,443

Total.....20,886,487

Total in Austria and Hungary.....49,458,421

* * *

In truth, however, this estimate is not exactly correct. The Austro-Hungarian estimate of the population has always been a sheer camouflage. The Jews, for instance, have always been included in the census of dominating nationalities.

There were in 1910 1,313,687 Jews in Austria and 932,458 in Hungary, but they were named as Jews only under the caption of religion; while under the caption of nationality they were Poles, Magyars or Germans. For instance, 871,006 Jews in Galicia were counted as Poles.

Besides, the dominating nationalities in Austria-Hungary regarded all enslaved peoples of their faith as belonging to their nationality as well. Over 300,000 Roman Catholic Ukrainians in Galicia were classified as Poles.

Thus the number of Poles in Galicia had been officially estimated as high as 58%, though in reality it was slightly over 43%, that of Ukrainians 46%, of the Jews 11%, and 2% of others.

More impartial and accurate estimates of the Galician population would most probably be as follows:

Ukrainians	3,680,000
Poles	3,440,000
Jews	880,000
Others	160,000

THE AUSTRIAN "EQUALITY."

On January 24, 1918, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister Count Czernin said in the Austrian "Delegation" the following:

I should say that I must refuse politely but definitely any advice as to our internal government. We have a Parliament in Austria, elected by common, equal, direct and secret suffrage. There is no more democratic Parliament on earth, and this Parliament, in conjunction with other constitutionally authorized factors, alone has the right to decide the internal affairs of Austria.

Thus spoke Count Czernin, but let us observe what equal suffrage in Austria really is.

According to impartial statistics there were in Galicia in 1910 3,680,000 Ukrainians, while there were only 3,400,000 Poles; or about 46% Ukrainians against some 43% Poles, the rest being Jews, Germans, Russians, and others.

The Polish population of Galicia, according to the electoral law of the "most democratic parliament on earth" elects 78 representatives to that body, or 73.6% of the Galician representation; while the Ukrainian population elects only 26.4% of the parliamentary representation of Galicia, or 28 members.

Such is the equality advertised by Count Czernin, and such is this "most democratic parliament on earth."

The "equal" electoral law had been passed by the old parliament in 1906, and this law has also been "petrified" by a special amendment to the effect that the electoral law respecting Galicia can be changed only when two-thirds of the deputies from Galicia vote for it, which means that the said law cannot be changed without the consent of the privileged Poles.

THE RUSSIAN SOCIALIST PARTIES

The advanced parties in Russia fall into the groups:

1. SOCIAL REVOLUTIONARIES.

The Terrorists broke away from the Social Revolutionaries in 1905. To-day in Russia they are called **Maximalists**.

The other section of the Social Revolutionaries, represented by Cherkoff and Chaykovsky, rejected the policy of terror. To-day they are less extreme than the "quondam" Terrorists, the present-day Maximalists.

2. SOCIAL DEMOCRATS.

The Social Democrats are divided into **Bolsheviks** and **Mensheviks**.*

The Bolsheviks form three more or less separate parties.

First, are the followers of Lenin. Lenin is against the Coalition Government. He advocates the establishment of a republic based on local Councils composed of delegates from the soldiers, workingmen, and peasants. He does not want a separate peace, but thinks peace could and should be brought about by the proletariat in the belligerent countries taking concurrent action. His general position is much like that of Liebknecht, but he is marked out by his advocacy of

* At the second Conference of the Russian Social Democracy, at Stockholm in 1903, the first differences revealed themselves. Lenin succeeded in rallying around himself a majority of the Conference, to which the minority was strenuously opposed. The party split then into two factions: the Bolsheviks, or "member of the majority," and the Mensheviks, or "members of the minority."—Ed. U.

reform by immediate violence. For instance he urges the peasants to take forcible possession of land at once.

The second group of the Bolsheviks accepts Lenin's programme, but rejects his method. It would proceed constitutionally, and not by violence.

The third group of the Bolsheviks is very small. It consists of Internationalists.

The Mensheviks are for Coalition Government, and are prepared to abide by the decision of the Constituent Assembly. They are Marxists. There is a merely theoretical difference between the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries represented by Cherkoff and Chaykovsky.**

* * *

There are three agrarian policies among the Social Revolutionaries and the Social Democrats.

The Social Revolutionaries advocate the **Communalization** of land.

Of the Social Democrats the Bolsheviks advocate the **Nationalization**, and the Mensheviks the **Municipalization**.

There are some signs, however, that the dispersion of strength will not continue.

(From an article by T. Hagberg Wright, in the "Contemporary Review," August, 1917.)

In English papers these are often spoken of as **Maximalists and **Minimalists**, but that liberalism is misleading, and does not represent Russian usage. In Russia, "Maximalists" and "Minimalists" designate the sections of the Social Revolutionaries, not of the Social Democrats.—The author.

THE PEOPLES OF FORMER RUSSIA.

In 1916 the population of Russia (European and Asiatic) was estimated at 184,000,000 souls.

This population could be approximately divided as follows:

1. Russians	76,000,000
2. Ukrainians	33,000,000
3. Turco-Tatars	20,000,000
4. White Ruthenians	10,000,000
5. Poles	10,000,000
6. Jews	6,000,000
7. Finns	3,500,000
8. Lithuanians	2,500,000
9. Letts	2,000,000
10. Estonians	2,000,000
11. Germans	2,000,000
12. Rumanians	1,500,000
13. Georgians	1,000,000
14. Armenians	500,000
Total	170,000,000

The other 30 smaller peoples numbered about 14,000,000 souls.

All of those main nationalities, except Jews and Germans who do not form a territorial integrity, have declared either independence or autonomy.

THE TERRITORY OF THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE IN EUROPE.

The Russians (Great Russians, or Muscovites) whose number in 1916 was 76 millions, inhabit the north-eastern part of the former European Russia, and besides, to a large extent, Siberia and the Caucasus.

In the European Russia these governments (governmental districts) may be regarded as Russian (Great Russian, or Muscovite):

1. Archangel
2. Kaluga
3. Kazan

7. Novgorod
8. Olonets
9. Orel (Aryol)
10. Pskoff
11. Ryazan
12. Petrograd
13. Saratoff

14. Simbirsk
15. Tamboff
16. Tula
17. Tver
18. Vladimir
19. Viatka
20. Yaroslaff.

By the absolute majority of the population, or because of larger portions of the territory being Russian, these governments may be yet, wholly or in part, added to the Russian territory in Europe:

Kursk (70%), Orenburg, Penza, Samara, Ufa, Vologda, Voronezh (60%).

The area of the above Russian territory, comprised in 27 governments, is over 1 million square miles, or some three times as large as that of the Ukrainian people.

This territory is inhabited by more than 60 million Russians, or over 80% of the whole Russian population.

THE UKRAINIAN ALLIANCE OF AMERICA

At the congress of the Ukrainians of the United States which was convened in New York City on December 25, 1916, the Ukrainian Alliance of America was organized. The majority of the Ukrainian immigrants in the United States are represented in this organization through their numerous associations, which have been founded all over the country.

The purpose of the Alliance is to promote among the Ukrainian immigrants all endeavors toward intellectual and social evolution. Substantial aid has been given the Ukrainians in many of their enterprises: in the formation of educational societies and clubs, in the institution of libraries, in the holding of popular assemblies, and in the financing and supervision of lectures. One of the principal objects of the Alliance is the publication of books, magazines, and newspapers through which American democratic principles and ideals

can be disseminated among Ukrainians. Another important task which this organization has assumed is to inform the American nation as well as all English-speaking peoples, of the aspirations and efforts of the Ukrainian people. This periodical, the "Ukraine," has for its end the performance of such a function; that is, it supplies readers of English publications with reliable information with regard to Ukrainian affairs.

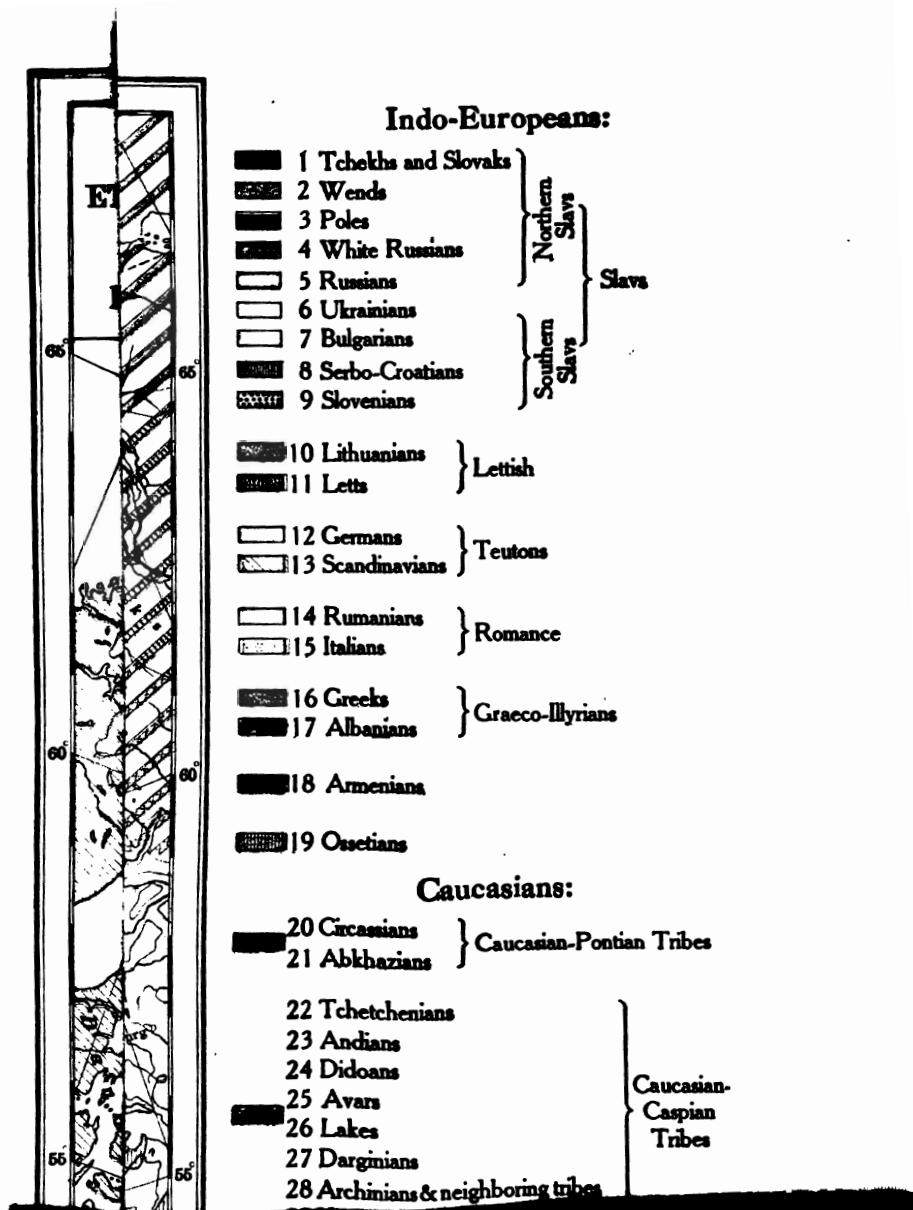
The Ukrainian Alliance of America has chosen an Editorial Committee which takes upon itself the duty of publishing news pertaining to Ukraine and its people. This news is printed in the columns of the "Ukraine." The following are the members of the Committee, appointed by the Alliance:

Alexander Pavlak; Vladimir B. Lototsky; and Bohdan Dutkevich.

THE UKRAINIAN WAR RELIEF COMMITTEE

The Ukrainian Alliance of America has formed a War Relief Committee the object of which is to solicit contributions for the Ukrainian war sufferers in Siberia, Russia, and Ukraine. Thousands of homeless refugees, from Ukraine, are struggling in all parts of Russia for bare sustenance. Until recently they have been given aid by the War Relief Committee of the Ukrainian Alliance of America; but at present

it is impossible to render these needy people any assistance, since they cannot be reached. The Committee, however, is planning to resume its work as soon as the conditions in Europe permit, when it will distribute among the Ukrainian war sufferers in Ukraine, Russia, and Siberia whatever funds it may have collected.



UKRAINE

THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

AN INTRODUCTION TO ITS GEOGRAPHY

BY

STEPHEN RUDNITSKY, Ph. D.

Professor of Geography at the University of Lemberg

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