

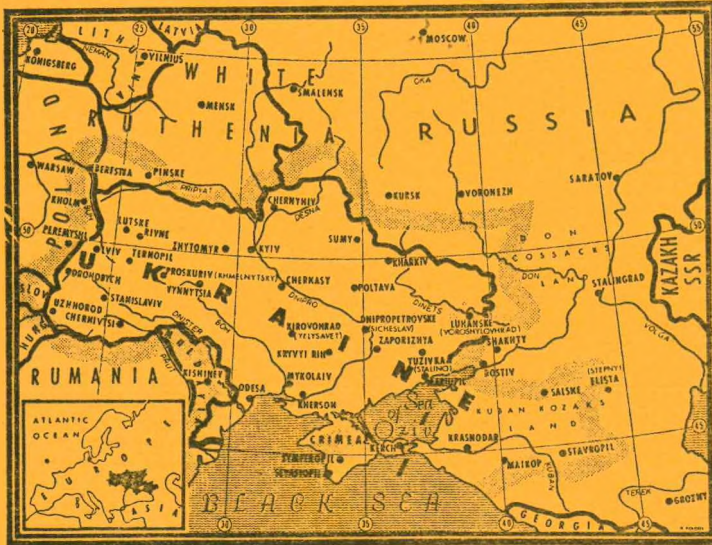
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Z. Karbovych

MOSCOW'S AGGRESSION IN THE NEAR EAST

Events in Hungary and, even more so, Moscow's action as regards the territories of Suez and Syria have revealed the grave danger which exists as far as the Anglo-Saxon world is concerned—namely the danger for Great Britain, which is not only rapidly losing her prestige as a world political power, but whose physical existence as a nation is threatened by Moscow's aggressiveness, since trade and industry are the vital basis for the existence of the British nation. Deprived of her fuel supplies, Great Britain is obliged to depend on the favour or disfavour of the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R., as the case may be. At present, a partition of the world between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. is in progress. Washington is preparing to occupy England's positions in the Near East, whilst Moscow is doing its utmost to forestall Washington in this respect. At the same time, however, there is undoubtedly a difference in their respective motives; the interests of the U.S.A. as regards the Near East are only economic in nature and it has no intention of subjugating foreign nations; Moscow, on the other hand, is mainly concerned with political and moral subjugation which will inevitably result in the ruthless economic exploitation and complete enslavement of these nations. Without wishing to approve of the time or the political form of the operations carried out in the Suez Canal Zone by London and Paris, one must, however, on the other hand, not be so naive as to assume that England set herself the aim of subjugating Egypt or undermining the latter's sovereignty. *England attacked Moscow in Suez and this conflict was provoked by Moscow*, which played up to hysterical Nasser and made extravagant promises to him. Instead of accepting the Anglo-American loan for the construction of the Assouan dam, Nasser, at Moscow's instigation, proceeded to blackmail Washington and in particular London. Nasser is not a champion of Egypt's sovereignty, but a willing satellite of Moscow—an Arabian Benes, in fact. One only needs read his interview in the Greek paper, *Ethnos*, in which he expresses his "sincere thanks" to Russia for her support, and makes the following statement: "The Russians helped us when the West refused us its aid. They supplied us with arms. They threatened the West, they supported our attitude, they gave us grain, fuel. . . And for this reason the Egyptians are deeply grateful to the Russians. . ." One only needs to recall the fact that the Egyptians blew up the monument erected to the memory of F. Lesseps—who built the Suez Canal and thus improved the lot of the fellahs very considerably—in order to realise in which direction Nasser is heading. We have always been in sympathy with the fight for freedom of subjugated nations and we wish every Arab nation complete independence; we have no intention of defending any form of imperialism, no matter who the author of such imperialism is, but we severely *censure* the rulers of any nation if they join the *pro-Moscow bloc* because they are either foolish or cunning. Therefore we did not and do not in any way sympathise with Nasser or with Syria, but with the attitude of Israel

which is indirectly putting up a resistance against Moscow. In any case, if the Jews aim to set up their own independent state in the land of their forefathers, where their prophets lived and preached and shed their blood after centuries of Egyptian slavery—and if their present struggle at least reveals an indirect anti-Russian trend—then it can only be all the more advantageous to us, since in this way former supporters of Moscow are now becoming its antagonists. In addition, the fact must not be overlooked that Bolshevik propaganda, every time it attacks England and France, also mentions Israel; and, as far as we are concerned, the fact that national-minded Jews are attacked by Moscow is of considerable importance, for this may help the Jews to realise that the real instigator of pogroms was and is, *not Ukraine, but Moscow*. We are well aware of the fact that international Jewry is opposed to the idea of our independence and is all for “one and indivisible” Great Russian empire; but perhaps this Russophil predisposition may partly abate when national-minded Jews in Israel suffer at the hands of Moscow. And since we in no way reject the idea of a Russian state within its ethnographical frontiers, why then should we oppose the idea of a Jewish state in the land of the Jews? Many of the Jews in Ukraine would undoubtedly gladly return to their ancient and original native country. And this does not mean that we are opposed to the independence of the Arabian states; we recognise the right of all peoples in the world to have their own state in their own ancient native territory.

In considering the Suez question, the following facts must also be taken into account. Moscow has dealt England a heavy blow. Under the pressure of America England has retreated and Eden has yielded. But the problem at issue, with all its consequences, still exists. We pointed out at the time that England's failure in Suez might actualise the Ukrainian problem in Great Britain. Great Britain must realise that it is only the dissolution of the Russian empire and the restoration of Ukrainian state sovereignty that can put a stop to Russia's advance on the vital trade-routes of the British Commonwealth. Were there at present a sovereign and integral Ukrainian state as well as sovereign states of the other subjugated nations in the U.S.S.R. (Caucasia, Turkestan, White Ruthenia, etc.), then the Dardanelles would not be endangered and the Near East with its fuel supplies would not have got involved in Moscow's intrigues; and an independent Azerbaijan state would be selling the oil of Baku to the free peoples of the world for peaceful purposes. Who—apart from Moscow—is nowadays striving to obtain the domination and subjugation of the world?

Recently, the British press has begun to take into account the importance of the Ukrainian problem; in this connection it has also been pointed out that it is imperative that programmes in Ukrainian should be transmitted by the B.B.C., a fact which has resulted in a brutal reaction (as well as threats directed against England) on the part of the Russian paper in Ukrainian, “*Soviet Ukraine*” (*Radyanska Ukraina*). The vulnerable spot of the Russian empire can be seen from the reaction of the Bolshevik press to the sensible realisation of British public opinion of the importance of Ukraine. It remains to be seen whether Mr. Macmillan will continue in this course, which is the only right one for England to adopt, and will support the idea of the disintegration of the Russian imperium and make it the basic principle of Great Britain's psychological warfare.

The sooner official political circles in Britain realise this fact, the more advantageous will it be for Britain and the entire free world.

There can be no peace and no security for the world without an independent and integral Ukrainian state and without the disintegration of the Russian imperium, the last remaining empire in the world, into national states in their own ethnographical territory. Eisenhower's doctrine will not even be able to cut the Gordian knot of Russian imperialism in the Near East, quite apart from the fact that this important territory is not the only one which is being attacked by Russian imperialism. *Arms and money* are not the only factors! There is also the striving for national independence, not only in the countries of the Near East but, above all, in the territories subjugated by the Russians, and the longing for an improvement in social conditions which are a sore point with the Arab peoples. The Israel problem is not merely a national, but also a social problem, inasmuch as the decrease in unemployment and the increase in prosperity in Israel are also making themselves felt as far as the Arab countries are concerned. In particular, the problem of the Arab refugees has in no way been solved, and, as long as matters continue as they are, conflicts between the Arab countries and Israel will be inevitable. The social order in the Arab countries is so reactionary—partly as a result of the conception of bondage and slavery—that a rebirth of the Arabian world cannot be effected by applying Eisenhower's doctrine, but only by the introduction of a new social and political order on the part of the Arab peoples themselves; and only new men will be in a position to realise such an order, but not the Arab feudal lords who subjugate the unfortunate fellahs. The fact that the fanaticism of the impoverished Arab masses is being fanned into animosity towards "imperialists" is a sly trick on the part of the feudal lords, who live in fabulous luxury and stir up the hatred of the ignorant proletarians of the Arab countries against the "Western imperialists", whilst it is precisely the major profit from the sale of oil to these same "imperialists" which falls to all these Saudi and other Arab "Caciques".

The Arab press accuses the "Western imperialists" of applying a "system of slavery", and Moscow and Peking behave as if they were the bosom-friends of these feudal lords and slave-drivers. It is, indeed, a *qui pro quo*: Moscow defends the biggest exploitation, ever known in the course of history, outside the Russian imperium, and, at the same time, professes to be the defender of the world proletariat in order in this way to be able to indulge in its traditional imperialism. And, incidentally, it is significant that at the same time a social reform is being carried out in Israel and that the feudal order has now been abolished there for all time. This fact naturally makes a certain impression on the Arab sheikhs and harem lords, who, in order to divert the attention of the impoverished masses from the possibility of a liquidation of feudalism, stir up chauvinistic feelings amongst the people by affirming that it is not their own methods of exploitation but the "foreign imperialists" that are to blame for the poverty and famine which prevail in their countries. We have no intention of siding with the "foreign imperialists", since our attitude is fundamentally an anti-imperialist one; but the truth cannot be concealed: doctor, cure yourself first!

Nasser should have realised that the Arabs do not need an Egyptian empire, but just national and social reforms, the abolition of the feudal system, the liquida-

tion of slavery, and the dividing up of feudal estates amongst the impoverished peasants on the strength of the principle of private property for those who work. If the financial aid of the U.S.A. for under-developed countries is accepted, but no change is made in the reactionary social order which has prevailed so far—and in this respect, it is precisely the socially interested national and anti-Communist forces in Arabia which should take the initiative, pro-Soviet feeling will continue as before in the Near East. External help cannot be more than an *additional factor as regards the national and social constructive and revolutionary internal processes in these countries*, and these processes can only be effected if they are based on the independent action of *responsible* national-minded and anti-Communist Arab forces. CARE parcels and tanks can be imported, but the rebirth of a nation can only be achieved on the basis of its attitude towards its own national *character and existence* and on the strength of an appeal to its own national values.

In order to be able to solve the problems of the Near East successfully, what is needed in the first place is not deliveries of arms and dollars as planned by the U.S.A., but an *ideological political conception of the transformation of the world* and, above all, of a new order of things, to be set up on the ruins of the Russian Bolshevist imperium. As long as the U.S.A. has no plan for an integral solution of the national problem of the nations subjugated by Moscow, as long as it refuses to abandon the idea of a partition of the world between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. and continues to support national Communism as a purely tactical form of pressure directed against Moscow, and as long as it refuses to take an active share in bringing about a radical solution of the problem of the liberation of the nations, all its plans for the semi-neutralisation of Bolshevism, including Eisenhower's doctrine, will prove a failure.

As seen against the background of the present crisis in the Near East, Moscow's anxiety, caused by the fact that part of the British press has recently placed a slight propaganda emphasis on the Ukrainian problem, clearly reveals where the vulnerable spot of the Bolshevist imperium and the main danger for Moscow is to be found.

It remains to be seen whether England will realise that her vital interests lie not in the further preservation of the "one and indivisible" Russian empire and not in a policy of "no precedent", but exclusively correspond to the fundamental principles of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), the realisation of which would liberate both the Commonwealth and also Great Britain herself from the Muscovite world imperialist menace for all time. And it is on this fact that the "to be or not to be" of Great Britain as a major power depends.

Ivan Franko

MOSES

(Prologue)

My people, tortured to excess and shattered,
Like to a cripple at the crossroads lying
Covered by sores that man's contempt has scattered,

My soul is anxious for your future, sighing,
I cannot sleep. Shame burns within me ever,
Shame for the lot before your children lying.

Ah! is it true you are condemned for ever
By some iron decalogue, to be the cattle
Dragging the chariot of your foes' endeavour?

True that your destiny must show its mettle
In hidden hatred, slavery's deceit,
To all whose treachery or open battle

Have forced you, having bound your hands and feet,
To swear an oath of loyalty? Are you,
Alone, denied some great historic deed?

True that so many hearts have burned for you
With sacred love, in vain? their great oblation
Body and soul, is useless? Is this true?

In vain your countryside, O hapless nation,
Soaked in the blood of heroes? And forbidden
The joys of beauty, health and liberation?

In vain the sparks within your language hidden
Of power and humour, tenderness and might,
And all that lifts the soul to peaks untrodden?

In vain your songs with laughter-chimes are light,
And thrills of longing, unrequited love,
A trail of hopes and joys, all glory-bright?

Oh! no. Not only tears and sighs will prove
Your destiny. I trust the spirit's power
A resurrection day your soul will move.

Oh! could I wake a wave that hears words' power,
And wake a word, filled with illumination,
To make the blessed wave breathe living fire,

Or make a song afire with inspiration,
A song to stir the multitudes, to lead them,
Winged with its words, the way towards salvation,

If only... but the cares that make us heed them
Make me unfit, doubt-torn, and crushed by shame.
Yours is the battle. It's for you to lead them.

The time will come, When, radiant with fame,
Carpathian-girt, and one of the free nations,
At last you'll shake the Caucasus with your name.

You'll roll the sound of freedom's proclamations
Over the Euxine, lands around will greet you,
Established freeholder, with acclamations.

Accept this song, earnest of what's to meet you,
Though washed by tears, and wrapped in longing sorrow,
Free, full of faith; accept it, I entreat you,
This humble bridal gift for your tomorrow.

Translated by Vera Rich

The Ukrainian Literary Renaissance of the 1920's

by Yar Slavutych

The 1920's are generally regarded in Ukrainian literature as the period of its literary and cultural Renaissance. The long-awaited declaration of political independence of Ukraine, proclaimed on January 22, 1918, gave an impulse to new developments within its literature and culture. In fact, the existence of an independent Ukrainian state during some three years (1918-20) was of great importance to the growth of the national consciousness of its people. This also marked the appearance of a new intelligentsia on Ukrainian soil. By this time many poets, writers and artists had introduced new styles of expression, developing them in their own way. The popular ethnographic trend of the nineteenth century no longer predominated in Ukrainian literature. In all branches of cultural life, a new point of view began to prevail.

The roots of the literary Renaissance are to be found in the first decade of the twentieth century; in some instances they can even be traced to the nineties. The poets Ivan Franko (1856-1916) and Lesya Ukrainka (1871-1913), the writer Mykhaylo Kotsiubynsky (1864-1913), and others were the first who in their later works manifested the apparent transition to the modernisation of Ukrainian literature. The growing maturity and refinement of their writings placed them on a par with world literature.

Another group of poets such as Mykola Vorony (1871-193?— the question mark is used for those authors who disappeared in Soviet concentration camps), Mykola Filyansky (1873-193?), Oleksander Oles (1878-1944), Hryhoriy Chuprynka (1879-1921), Petro Karmansky (1878-1956), and others consciously continued to break away from the earlier popular ethnographic trend, which seemed to them only provincial. Affected by West European literary developments, they embraced, in various degrees, symbolism and other modern trends. For such efforts they were called modernist poets by the literary critics. Thus, the beginning of the twentieth century marks the birth of modern literary styles in Ukrainian literature.

During the second decade and at the beginning of the twenties different schools, especially in poetry, were formed. Symbolism, futurism, neo-classicism or classicism, impressionism, expressionism, and neo-romanticism have all produced a worthwhile harvest, which, in its entirety, has given the world a worthy picture of the Ukrainian poetic genius. They have placed Ukrainian literature on a very high level.

Les Kurbas as stage producer, Mykola Kulish in drama, Oleksander Dovzhenko in the film, Hryhoriy Kosynka, Valeryan Pidmohyl'ny, Arkadiy Lyubchenko and Yuriy Yanovsky in prose were great artists and the spokesmen of their people. But probably the greatest representatives of the Ukrainian literary Renaissance of the 1920's were the poets Pavlo Tychyna, Mykola Zerov, Maksym Rylsky, Pavlo Fylypovych, Yevhen Pluzhnyk, Todos Osmachka, Mykola Bazhan and Mykhal'lo Dray-Khmara. Below I present a summary¹⁾ which, I hope, will give the reader some idea of the wealth and variety of Ukrainian literature, as it flowered during the twenties. It was not a period that was limited to any one style, any one range of ideas, but in full measure it showed all the varying aspects of Ukrainian life as it struggled after the fall of the short-lived political independence and during the gradual establishment of the Soviet regime.

Symbolists

Chronologically speaking, the first to appear were the symbolists Pavlo Tychyna (born in 1891), Dmytro Zahul (1890-193?) and others. Outstanding among them was Pavlo Tychyna, an unusually gifted and extremely intellectual poet, whose first volume *Sonyashni klarnety* (The Sunny Clarinets, 1918) is widely known and highly appreciated by many critics and readers. With novel colouring and with fresh sounds, he depicted the awakening of the Ukrainian people to their statehood, which he symbolically called *zoloty homin*, "the golden sound of voices". This "two-hundred-times-crucified" poet beautifully sang the praises of the "one-hundred-times-ruined" Kyiv, the capital of the long-suffering Ukraine, and in his "Duma on Three Winds" he vividly reflected the tragedy of the Ukrainians. In another of his poems, "The Suffering Mother", the poet so developed a Biblical theme that the work has gained immortal glory as the personification of his country.

¹⁾ For examples of poetry of the poets discussed in this summary, see "The Ukrainian Review", No. 3 and 4, 1956.

Another symbolist, Dmytro Zahul, who may be called the most orthodox from the view-point of symbolism, fled into "a land of dreams", "a realm of phantoms". "There are no tears, no pains, no sorrows," he reflected and he found his poetic pleasure in such expressions as "the dream of life", "the world of make-believe". Zahul has masterfully translated into Ukrainian Goethe's *Faust*, Byron's *Mazeppa*, etc.

Neo-classicists

At approximately the same time there also appeared the highly talented Kyivan neo-classicists Mykola Zerov (1890-193?), Maksym Rylsky (born in 1895), Pavlo Fylypovych (1891-193?), Mykhaylo Dray-Khmara (1889-193?) and Yuriy Klen (1891-1947). This "fivefold cluster of unconquered bards" (M. Dray-Khmara), whose influence upon Ukrainian poetry has continued over thirty years, has greatly enriched Ukrainian literature.

The neo-classicists or classicists of Kyiv were the high masters of true poetic art. No other contemporary school of poetry, whether that of the neo-romanticists, expressionists or impressionists (these schools had their own outstanding poets) reached the heights of the Ukrainian neo-classicists. At a time when various trends, often ephemeral, were fighting for the supremacy in Ukrainian literature, and when the poetic youth was misguided by the so-called "proletarian poetry", the neo-classicists with their deep-rooted traditions became a rock in the tumultuous Ukrainian literary sea. Their achievements may be regarded as almost revolutionary.

The founder of the neo-classical school and its maitre was M. Zerov, an outstanding poet and scholar. "Beautiful plasticity and sharp contour and selective style"—this was his creed. The motifs of the *Odyssey*, the separate instances from the history of Rome and the Near East, the Kyivan period of Ukrainian history, the cultural mission of the Ukrainian baroque in Eastern Europe with Kyiv as its seat—all this was *ad fontes* (to the sources) which stirred the soul of the poet.

The most original of Zerov's works are his masterful sonnets and Alexandrines published in the books *Kamena* (1924), *Sonnetarium* (Munich, 1948), *Catalepton* (Philadelphia, 1951).

Zerov translated into Ukrainian several Roman poets (*Anthology of Roman Poetry*, 1920) and French poets such as Ronsard, Du Bellay, J. M. Heredia and others.

The greatest poet among the Kyivan neo-classicists was Maksym Rylsky, the author of some twenty-five volumes of poems and one rhymed novel, *Maryna*. He also translated many world masterpieces such as Shakespeare's *King Lear* and other plays, Boileau's *Art of Poetry*, Voltaire's *The Maid of Orléans*, Moliere's *Misanthrope*, Racine's *The Phaedra*, Corneille's *Cid*, *Pan Tadeusz* by Mickiewicz, *Eugene Onegin* by Pushkin, Serbian folk epics and various other works.

Zerov characterised Rylsky as a creator "of the hard and sharp word, without lyrical overtones, of clearly defined contours." Rylsky introduced the Ukrainian

classical style with its balance and clarity, colourful epithets, strong logical construction and a rigid sequence of thought. In some places he reaches the heights of Leconte de Lisle... sometimes he reconciles the directness of Homer with the exquisite strokes of Heredia... sometimes he pours out into a capricious flow in the manner of the conversational syntax of Mickiewicz... or will borrow a motif of Ivan Franko and will refurbish unrecognisably the severe architectonics of his monumental masses...²⁾

Once Rylsky prophetically said about himself:

Eternity

Arrived and put her hand upon my brow.

Rylsky is generally recognised as one of the few standardisers of the Ukrainian literary language. Together with the other Kyivan neo-classicists, he created the high style of the Ukrainian poetic—we may call it a highly aesthetic—language.

Pavlo Fylypovych, the third neo-classicist, was a poet as well as a literary scholar. Like Zerov, he was a professor of Ukrainian literature at the University of Kyiv. In his early writings, Fylypovych was close to symbolism, but the classical forms of his poetry, especially in his later period, caused him to be regarded as a neo-classicist. Accepting life as it is, he endeavored philosophically to lend it meaning. To him a "man stands on the black field proud as the sky and strong as the earth." A philosopher pantheistically inclined, he valued above all else man as the unique ruler of space, earth and wind.

²⁾ Mykola Zerov, *Do dzherel*, Lviv 1943 (second edition).

The poems of Fylypovych, very economical in expression and small in number, were published in two volumes: *Earth and Wind* (1922) and *Space* (1925). The poet has also translated into Ukrainian some lyrics by Charles Baudelaire.

Mykhaylo Dray-Khmara, a fourth neo-classicist, also was a poet as well as a literary scholar, a professor at the University of Kamyanets-Podilsky. His first poems showed the strong influence of symbolism. "The holy oriflammes of the insurgent spring," the fatherland that "flew into the battle like an eagle" and "the wound in the middle of the brow"—all these figures referred to the recent struggle for Ukrainian independence.

The stylistic creed of Dray-Khmara is similar to Zerov's. "I like the image and the contour. . . I like full-ringing words"—he wrote once; this is graphically illustrated in the character of his vocabulary. Words are deftly chosen for richness and tone colour; even archaic words have new brilliance under his pen. However only one volume of his poems, *The Sprout*, was published in 1926. Many of his later poems, including his translations of the works of Stephane Mallarmé and Maurice Maeterlinck, disappeared in the State Publishing House after the poet's arrest in the middle of the thirties for publishing in the magazine *Literaturny Yarmarok* (1928) his sonnet "Swans" (see "The Ukrainian Review", 1956, No. 3). This sonnet allegorically told of the fate of the "fivefold cluster" under the Soviet regime:

*O fivefold cluster of unconquered bards!
Through storm and snow your mighty singing wards,
Wards off the sorrow, chilly and adrift.*

*Keep on, o swans! Though servitudes survive,
There stars of Lyre urge you your wings to lift,
Where foams the ocean of exultant life.*

The last of the group of the Kyivan neo-classicists was Yuriy Klen (real name Oswald Burghardt). During the twenties he translated into Ukrainian and edited many books of West European and American authors such as G. B. Shaw, Jack London and others.

The original poems of Klen were first published much later, after the author's escape from the Soviet Union at the beginning of

the thirties. His first book, *The Accursed Years*, appeared in 1936 in Lviv (Lemberg). In this long poem he depicted the artificially created famine in Ukraine in 1932-33, when some six million people died of starvation. In words of unusual emotion, the poet sent a message to his close friends, Zerov, Fylypovych and Dray-Khmara, who at that time had been deported to concentration camps. Klen's only collection of poems, *Carvels*, was published in 1943 in Prague when the author was a professor of Slavic literature at Charles' University.

Mykhaylo Orest in his article *The Testament of Yuriy Klen* brilliantly characterised the spirit of Klen's poetry:

The priority of absolute good and absolute truth expresses the complex of St. George, an illustrious warrior who wishes to overcome and will overcome the dragon. The Knights of the Holy Grail, "God's Warriors", left the castle of spiritual enlightenment and ecstasies, to go into the valley of the mortal in order to defend downtrodden truth and defiled virtue.³⁾

Klen considered his mission in exile as that of Noah during the deluge. While his best friends Zerov, Fylypovych and Dray-Khmara probably died in Soviet concentration camps and Rylsky declined spiritually, the poet had to bear their banner in order to save and develop their ideas in exile in Western Europe. Thus appeared his *Deluge*.

I

When filled the brim and burning was the jar
Of wrath of God repenting,—seething over,
And Angel of the Doom was sent to pour
It out, the Lord bade Noah: "Build the ark!"

Abyss grew strong, the disk of sun turned dark,
The cruel storms tore shore after shore,
Insatiate depths washed out the rocks and roared,
Devouring mountains, shapeless and bizarre.

The vessel then, whilst hail and thunder blew,
Was floating stately, saving from the vial
Of wrath, in holds besmeared with pitch her crew
Of animals and birds, who after trial,

When sun will bless renaissance after strife,
Will procreate on earth the bliss of life.

³⁾ M. Orest, *Zapovity Yuriya Klenu* in the monthly *Orlyk*, No. 2, Berchtesgaden, 1948.

II

Thus we do float through lifeless space of years,
Above the towns submerged, the towers deep on ground,
The churches ghastly dead, the cities drowned;
Their purple evening died in waters cold and clear.

And over empty seas our ark we steer,
And under empty skies we find no ground
To save immortal cargo,—future bound,
The heritage of ages,—treasures dear.

To save them for the future is our duty:
The miracles of all ages we have seen,
In soul preserved, engraved on magic screen.

And of this boon of indestructible beauty,
When dawn will break, and skies turn blue,
We will create the human thought anew.*)

Unfortunately, what was to be Klen's epopée, the promising *Ashes of the Empires*, in which he pictured Hitler's Germany and tsarist Russia, remained unfinished because of the author's death in 1947.

Neo-romanticists

The neo-romantic trend in Ukrainian literature of the 1920's was widely represented by the writers Mykola Khvylovy (born in 1893, committed suicide in 1933), Yuriy Yanovsky (1902-1954), Arkadiy Lyubchenko (1899-1945) and the poets Mykola Bazhan (born in 1904), Volodymyr Sosyura (born in 1898), Dmytro Falkivsky (born in 1898, executed by communists in 1934), Oleksa Vlyzko (born in 1908, executed by communists in 1934) and others.

It was Mykola Khvylovy who proclaimed in his pamphlets the slogan *Away from Moscow!* His short stories *The Mother and I* and his novel *Valdshnepy* (Woodsnipers) developed the conflict between Ukrainians and communism into a broad discussion, continuing until today.

*) Translated by V. Shayan ("Ukrainian Observer", Vol. V, No. 4-5, 1953, London).

Another neo-romanticist, the famous Yuriy Yanovsky, in his novel *Four Sabers* (1930) showed the recent struggle of the Ukrainians for their freedom. The manner of Yanovsky's expression was so permeated with the spirit and mannerism of *dumy* (Ukrainian epics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) and folk songs, that it produced a very interesting national style which may be called heroic.

There appeared many writers who gave their own interpretation of the vision of a future Ukraine. Yanovsky, for example, in his novel *The Master of the Ship* (1928) sought it in the growing Odessa, the large Ukrainian port on the Black Sea. Valeryan Pidmohylny, Mykhaylo Ivchenko and Borys Antonenko-Davydovych tried to find it in the spreading industrial cities with their factories and universities.

Arkadiy Lubchenko wrote a vivid neo-romantic legend *Haydar* (1925) based on the prehistoric period of Ukraine. His main work, the novel *Vertep* (1927) has an optimistic interpretation of his growing fatherland. The modern Ukraine, according to the writer's view-point, has a great mission in Eastern Europe—to establish a series of free and independent states in place of the imperialistic red Moscow empire. Lyubchenko was also known as an excellent translator. During the twenties he translated and edited many works of Alphonse Daudet and other French writers.

Among the poets, the most outstanding romanticist was Mykola Bazhan who also translated *The Warrior in Tiger Skin* by Shota Rustaveli, the twelfth century Georgian poet. The poet was called by a critic "a great architect of words". Starting as a disciple of Emil Verhaeren, he established the new stylistic and strophic forms in Ukrainian poetry. In such poems as *The Song of Campaign*, *The Blood of Captive Women* and others, he expressed his deep belief in the immortality of the Ukrainian nation. As the author of such philosophical poems as *Structures*, *The Night of Hoffmann*, *The Blind Men*, Bazhan raised modern Ukrainian poetry to a high level by virtue of his profound intellect and by constant innovations.

Another romanticist, Volodymyr Sosyura, was probably most widely read during the twenties. His short lyric poems which are noted for strong emotion seem like the song of a bird. Love and the beauty of the Ukrainian landscape are the usual themes of his melodious verses which are widely sung by the native youth. As an example, I quote one of his poems:

White acacias will blossoming rise
 On a moonlit, wonderful night,
 Between seas a golden meadow lies,
 Willows, brooklets and rocks upright.

We shall walk there together, you and I
 In the tender breeze till the morn,
 I shall drink in your eyes with a sign,
 Full of mist my love they adorn.

Sweetly the nightingales weep in the brier,
 As ever and changeless, profoundly sown
 Your eyebrows, your lips please and inspire
 Like my Ukraine, my dear and my own.

There she walks in a wreath like the spring,
 My heart feels compressed and cries out...
 Welded together she and you closely cling
 Into one image forever to sprout.

(Translated by Marie Trommer⁴)

Oleksa Vlyzko, a talented romanticist, enriched Ukrainian poetry by his treatment of sea themes. The most valuable poems of Vlyzko are those that reveal the high power of his youthful and vigorous enthusiasm. Thirsting for a great "superhuman love", the poet longed

...to love mankind and beast and earth,
 Live in the sun and breath with it alone,
 Build up a happiness by heavy sweat
 For sons and grandsons and descendants
 Of future days!

("Ninth Symphony")

"Having purified his heart with fire," the poet longed for "the great unknown":

I take thee, world of the existence,
 Into my ardent arms!

Yakiv Savchenko, a critic of that time, wrote of Vlyzko's "Ninth Symphony":

⁴) Volodymyr Sosyura, *Poems of Ukraine*, translated from the Ukrainian by Marie Trommer, Brooklyn, N.Y., 1939.

"I do not know in the Ukrainian poetry of the last decade anything better than this, from the aspect of its strength and social pathos. . . It strikes one all the more because Vlyzko is only 19 years old."

At the age of twenty-six Vlyzko was executed by the communists as an activist who tried to create by his works a new generation of defenders of Ukrainian independence.

Impressionists

In Ukrainian literature, impressionism may be found in the works of the writer Mykhaylo Kotsyubynsky. Later it appeared in Hnat Mykhaylychenko's (1892-1919) novel, *Blakytny roman* (The Blue Romance, 1921), and in Mykola Khvylovy's volume of stories, *Syni etyudy* (The Blue Etudes, 1923).

Valeryan Pidmohylny (1901-193?) also began to write in the impressionistic manner. In his novel *Tretya revolutsiya* (The Third Revolution, 1926) he depicted the elements of the struggle for liberation with its positive and negative sides. In another of his novels, *Misto* (The City, 1928), Pidmohylny shows a new generation which comes from the village to Kyiv to take an active part in the national reconstruction. These young people have a great thirst for scientific knowledge which was unavailable to them during the tsarist regime. Only the Ukrainian Revolution gave them the right to study in their native language and to build a manifoldly developed country. Beginning as an impressionist, Pidmohylny in his later period became a realist.

One of the most representative impressionists in prose was Hryhoriy Kosynka (born in 1899, executed by the communists in 1934). Ukrainian insurgents, who fought against the Bolshevik invaders, are the heroes of his stories (*In the Rye Fields* and others). Kosynka's style is both ornamental and colourful. An inexhaustible strength pulsates in the action of his heroes.

Impressionism in Ukrainian poetry was well represented by Yevhen Pluzhnyk (born in 1898, died in the Solovky concentration camp in 1936), whose poems revealed his sincere emotions. The philosophy of human life, its unknown paths and forces, always moved him. He created in his verses something essentially Ukrainian, tragic and atavistic. One of his poems tells about the peasant who, mowing a field of wheat, struck a yellow skull with his scythe. Who was killed here and for what? For whom was this life

sacrificed? The peasant was indifferent. Here, on the field of battle, the wheat grew luxuriantly; that someone had given himself as fertilizer was a trifle. The mower bent over the precious thing and, leading on the scythe with which he had struck the skull, prodded it with his foot and said, "You have been scattered everywhere." Sincere emotions are very characteristic of Pluzhnyk's poems. Here is an example:

*Dreams from my heart have I torn:
Branches enfeeble the root.
'Tis not enough to be born—
Life must be well understood!*

*Possibly, poets are those
Who became gray in their youth.
Dreams, o my fancies of loss,
Dreams, o my visions of truth!*

The philosophical elements which were hidden in the poet's first two volumes revealed their depth in his posthumous book, *Balance*, published by his widow in 1948, in Augsburg, Germany. Here Pluzhnyk presented all his ideas on the conditions needed for a man to grow into a great thinker.

Expressionists

Todos Osmachka (born in 1895) is a typical expressionist in Ukrainian literature. He began his literary efforts in the twenties, with hyperbolic imagery, giving strong promise of becoming an outstanding poet. But only after the Second World War were his best works published in Germany and Canada. His *The Poet* (Munich, 1947), comprising twenty-three chapters (628 stanzas), is one of the representative achievements in Ukrainian poetry of this century. The fortunes of the hero of this long poem offer a typical example of the travail of the Ukrainians under Soviet domination. Osmachka's expressionism tends in its form towards classicism, and the work itself in some places was influenced by Dante's *The Divine Comedy*. The poet has also written two works in prose. His novel, *The Plan to Farm* (Toronto, 1951), depicts the tragedy of Ukrainian peasants at the time of collectivisation. Osmachka recently arrived in the U.S.A. as a displaced person.

The expressionist Mykola Kulish (1892-193?) must be regarded as one of the outstanding Ukrainian playwrights. His popular

Narodny Malakhiy (1929) which is connected with the image of Don Quixote probes deeply into the falsehood of communist propaganda, while *Myna Mazaylo* (1929) shows the national antagonism between Ukrainians and Russians during the twenties. Another play by Mykola Kulish, *Sonata Pathetique* (1931), opens a wide panorama of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1920.

The plays of Kulish were successfully performed on the stage, thanks to the stage producer Les Kurbas (1887-193?) and his theatre, *Berezil* (Early Spring). Kurbas was a true modernistic artist who by his expressionistic performances opened a new era in the Ukrainian theatre.

Futurists

Although futurism had been expanding on Ukrainian soil, it nevertheless did not leave many exponents until the twenties. Only Mykhaylo Semenko (1892-193?), who considered himself a revolutionist in style, has some importance, which however depends not so much on his writings, as on his efforts at innovation. Semenko was one of the first to introduce town life into Ukrainian poetry: movies, show windows, parks and restaurants were liberally scattered through his poems.

Conclusion

As we can see, during the twenties there appear many notable poets and writers. Within the orbit of the Soviet Union, Ukrainian poetry forged ahead of the literature of other nations which regarded with admiration this prodigious literary growth.

Starting with literature, the Renaissance penetrated all phases of cultural life. During the twenties, the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kyiv, absorbing the best achievements of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (established in 1873), completed the new orthography of the Ukrainian language. Besides many scientific publications, there appeared the various dictionaries of technical, legal, medical terminology, etc. In the nineteenth century, modern Ukrainian was the language of poetry and prose; and only occasionally was it the language of literary criticism. At the beginning of the twentieth century, especially during the twenties, Ukrainian also became the language of scientific works. In addition, many Western European classics were translated into Ukrainian during this period.

During the twenties literary life centered in many literary societies and organisations such as Pluh (1922-32), Hart (1923-27), VAPLITE (1926-28), Lanka (1924-26), Mars (1926-28), Proletfront (1930-31) and others.

From the perspective of twenty-five years later, we may assume that there were two main figures who ruled the literary and cultural Renaissance of the twenties. On the one hand, there was the poet and literary scholar Mykola Zerov who was regarded as the founder of the neo-classical school and its *maitre*. On the other hand, there was the writer and publicist Mykola Khvylovy, a neo-romanticist, who opened the so-called Literary Discussion (1924-1928) which indicated the road to be followed by Ukrainian culture as independent from Russian. Khvylovy called upon his country to accept "psychological Europe". He demanded that a new, Faustian type of modern Ukrainian be created who would be inspired by the great ideals and figures of European culture. With all his heart, Khvylovy hated the regional, "domestic" kind of literature which was dominant during the nineteenth century.

Fighting for the new horizons of Ukrainian literature, Khvylovy wrote in one of his pamphlets:

Since our literature at last can follow its own path of development, we are faced with the following question: "Toward which of the world's literatures should it orient itself?" On no account toward the Russian. . . Our poetry (literature—Y. S.) must run away as fast as possible from Russian literature and its styles. . . The point is that Russian literature has been burdening us for ages; it has been the master of the situation, who has trained us to imitate him slavishly. Thus, if we try to feed our young art with it, we shall impede its development. . . Our orientation is toward Western European art, its style and its techniques. . .

Russian literature is above all the literature of pessimism or rather passive pessimism.⁵⁾

Zerov with his neo-classical school provided the inspiration for Khvylovy and his companions. At the same time Zerov called for a return *ad fontes* (to the Sources), and by this he meant a revival of the Ukrainian traditional connections with the classical world, the repository of still unexhausted and eternal spiritual values, and with the European culture, of which Ukraine in the past had been a component part.

⁵⁾ George S. N. Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine*, Columbia University Press, 1956, p. 99.

The Russian Communists in Moscow looked on with dismay and anxiety at the progress of the Ukrainian Renaissance which was spreading into all fields of Ukrainian life—cultural, educational, economic and even political—for it was supported by such pillars of national communism as Skrypnyk, the Commissar for Education and an old friend of Lenin. Stalin tried to interfere in the Literary Discussion with no success, and finally he and his associates gave the signal for a general attack upon Ukraine. This was to take a double form. It aimed to check the movement by attacking and liquidating the intellectual elite, the brains of the nation, and by attacking and breaking the opposition of the peasants, who were the backbone of the Ukrainian people and who had not accepted in their thinking the new philosophy of communism.

The movement started with thousands of arrests and deportations. Khvylovy and Skrypnyk and many others escaped the clutches of Moscow by suicide. Other writers and thinkers were arrested, executed or deported to concentration camps from which they never returned.

During the 1930's the Soviets executed or deported to concentration camps at least 200 Ukrainian writers. This figure included poets, prose writers, playwrights, literary scholars and critics. But the Soviets were not satisfied with their control of the present and the future. They sought to deny the past. As soon as a writer was arrested, his works were removed from all Ukrainian libraries and bookshops. His name was dropped from all histories and annals. It became a crime to read his works. It is small wonder that later generations quickly forgot some of these men or that it is almost impossible to find their works.

The Soviet Russian regime has caused many losses to Ukraine. Ukrainian literature, however, is not dead. It continues to struggle for its existence and growth. Even under the inhuman communist oppression, there appear highly patriotic works of Ukrainian authors as, for example, the following stanza of Volodymyr Sosyura:

*Of love for Ukraine, as of love for the sun
And winds and the grass and the water,
In days of our joy and when grief is begun,
Be proud as a son or true daughter.*

These lines written under the Soviet regime several years ago assure us that the Ukrainian nation with its culture and literature is everlasting.

FROM THE BOOK

"The Muse in Prison"

Yar Slavutych's Translations of Poems Written by Ukrainian Poets
who were killed by the Communists

Mykola Zerov
(1890-1937?)

An outstanding Ukrainian poet and literary scholar, the founder of the neo-classical poetic school of Kyiv (Kiev), an unsurpassable translator of Virgil, Horace, and other Roman poets, arrested by the Bolsheviks in 1935 and deported to the Solovky concentration camp (on the White Sea) where he disappeared without any trace.

To Kyiv

*Be welcome, dreaming by a golden dome
Upon blue hills! It's time a dream to meet.
A younger realm, not thou, thy kingdom's feat
Now claims as splendour of the ancient home.*

*Thy days of glory pass as if pale foam,
And copper bells are weeping in a beat
Because a happy trice will not repeat,
While Ukraine's freedom lives in catacomb.*

*Stop here, strange wanderer! Upon the rock
Behold the sculpture of the church baroque,
The wonder white of Shedel's*) colonnades.*

*Life still abides upon this pensive mount
That spreads its mass of green, and like to blades
In the bright sun, the azure gleams around.*

*) Shedel (or Schedel)—a prominent Kievan architect of the 19th century.

Aristarchus

Beneath the capitol in the bazaar of states,
 In the museums, lanes and under colonnades,
 There swarmed the voiceful poets and the poetasters.
 Descendants of the ancients, unsuccessful masters,
 They filled the shady steps of the poetic modes
 And brought to patrons wreaths of their abhorrent odes
 And strove among themselves and peace again concluded.
 There was a lonely nook, from all loud noise secluded,
 Where lovely calm itself could wholly isolate,
 Where clever Aristarchus, aesthete with bright fate,
 Immersed himself in Homer's rhapsody quotation
 Which must—for all Greek sons!—be saved from vulgar fashion.

Paulo Fylypovych
 (1891-1937)

A prominent Ukrainian poet and literary scholar, a neo-classicist with a considerable supply of pantheistic thought and symbolical style; being an intimate of M. Zerov, he has participated in his tragic fate.

* * *

There again in the sea is the azure.
 Cherry trees in white blossom vibrate.
 And the sun, a dispenser of pleasure,
 Brings the gold of encouraging fate.

There again with the glee of the sprouting
 Flies on purple the swift butterfly,
 Which will pass, o'er the greenery floating,
 But my song shall enjoyment supply.

To remain there invites a temptation,
 And the rye seeks the grain to produce.
 Undiscovered applause and elation
 In my soul and my heart now break loose.



Mykola Zerov



Maria Bashkirtsev

Dmytro Falkivsky
(1898-1934)

A rather typical representative of the neo-romantic current within the Ukrainian poetry of the twenties and early thirties. Having broken with his early sympathy with Communism, he was arrested by the Bolsheviks and executed in Kyiv, together with some other prominent Ukrainian writers.

* * *

One foot is in the stirrup.
The snows and winds and night.
His shoulder's blood is stirred up.
His head is lost in fight.

The horse desires to vanquish:
"Where am I going now?"
The iron hooves with anguish
Are pressed into the snow.

He looks with wary query:
"When will my master rise?"
And into space, unweary,
He gallops o'er the ice.

He dashes through a hallow
Toward south and north and east.
Red spots behind him follow
As 'twere a bloody beast.

And now, his course is slackened;
He neighs unto the moon.
"Why has he not awakened?
How soon?"

One foot is in the stirrup.
The snows and winds and night.
His shoulder's blood is stirred up.
His head is lost in fight.

He could rejoice tomorrow
With friends sincere and glad.
But now... O sorrow!
Dead.

Dmytro Zahul
(1890-1935?)

An outstanding representative of the symbolism in the Ukrainian poetry; notwithstanding his West-Ukrainian origin and education, he lived and wrote in Kyiv from the early twenties. In the early thirties he was arrested by the Bolsheviks and deported to the Solovky concentration camp where he disappeared without any trace.

* * *

Beyond the veil of earthly finite space
There live such men as I;
And here, unknown unto the human race,
Deploring my sad fate,
My soul can only cry.
I have been struggling against that rigid bar
Now for a thousandth year,
But with my thoughts which calm and steady are
I can't proceed from earth
Into that other sphere.
If may someone with hands that know no fear
Disjoin the veil of realm of day?
If he can feel the strength of joy sincere,
The strength of joy sincere,
As long ago I was extremely gay?

Dr. Dmytro Donzov

MARIA BASHKIRTSEV — a Crippled Glory

I anticipate happiness each day, each hour.

I am—that "crippled glory".

Nevertheless . . . Although in my veins flows the blood of the future, I have no future. . .

O. Kobylanska

A Ukrainian by descent, a well-known artist whose pictures adorn the walls of Luxemburg Museum, a friend of Bastien-Lepage, once a star of Nicean carnivals, an interesting figure in Parisian salons in the first days of the Third Republic, whose "esprit" was admired by Maupassant, Gladstone, Anatole France, Thiers, Barrès and François Coppé—this girl, whose turbulent life was cut short by jealous death, was the daughter of a marshall of the Poltava nobility¹). She lived until the age of ten in Ukraine in the provinces of Poltava and Kharkiv, later almost exclusively abroad and never in Russia. An aching desire to become someone before whom the multitude would kneel, together with arrogance toward this same multitude, a mad tenacity, wild work, a great artistic talent, an original "esprit", a kind of ancient faith in one's destiny, and a superstitious fear before the future, boundless ambition and an aristocratic sincerity in the revelation of the most intimate movements of her soul, full of spontaneity and endless reflection, temerity and doubts, a desire for fame and flight from society—all was mixed in her.

In love with life and conscious of its early end, she was burned up, as she said herself, like a candle burning at two ends. She died at the age of twenty four, leaving us about one hundred and fifty pictures and sketches²), letters and diary, an interesting document of human tragedy which Lord Gladstone called one of the most interesting books of the nineteenth century and one which has been translated from the French into English, German and Russian.

Especially interesting is this document for us. Because the tragedy of Maria Bashkirtsev was a tragedy which was experienced, perhaps not in the same form but in the same essence by many, who torn away from their native roots crippled their split souls in their restless wanderings.

1) "Le Journal de Marie Bachkirzew".

2) The XIX century, 1890.

But was she a Ukrainian? More yes than no! A Russian? With certainty no! She was less a Russian than Gogol (Ukr. Hohol). A Frenchwoman? Still less. She counted herself as one of that "nation" to which belong the "deracinés" of all countries: to the cosmopolitans.

Here are the biographical facts of her life. At the age of ten she went abroad with her mother to visit Austria, Germany, Switzerland, France and Nice. They foretold a singer's career for the little girl. From the Kievan Katarbysky she learned to draw. At the age of fourteen she learned the Greek and Latin classics, got her diploma and became interested in Shakespeare and the "Iliad". In 1872 she went to Italy with her mother—to Rome, Naples, Florence. Michelangelo, Titian became her beloved masters. She marvelled at the Pitta Gallery, at the Stozzi palace, the triumphant arches of old Rome. She wanted to study singing. She was enthusiastic about St. Peter's in Rome. In Naples she studied the paintings of Guido Reni and Bonaventura, visited the ruins of Pompey, Vesuvius, Sorrento. In 1876 she returned to Ukraine, to Poltava, and to the family estate in the village of Havrontsi. In 1877—again to Paris where she studied at the *Julian Academy*. Her teachers were Robert Fleury, the sculptor Saint-Marceaux, and finally the famous Bastien-Lepage. She exhibited her paintings at shows, won a gold medal.

But cruel fate took away this genius from our earth. In 1887 a group of Dutch artists in Amsterdam organised an exhibition of her paintings totaling one hundred and fifty oils, pastels, sketches, sculptures. After her death her Letters and Diary (in French) were published and at once the attention of the western world was attracted to this author. Gladstone, Fr. Coppé, Anatole France, M. Barrès, Cahuet wrote about her. She became the heroine in plays and in her honour a society of admirers was formed in Nice.

As a girl living in a foreign country she was able to capture the breath of her native land in the Ukrainian songs which her Aunt Sophie played on the piano.

"This reminds me of a country," we read in her diary. "I'm completely carried away in my thoughts there... Tears come to my eyes, they are brimming over and will soon be overflowing; now they are falling and I'm happy." While passing through the Milanese plains she is overcome by that particular pleasure so well-known by every one who has lived on the steppe—when "the place is so beautiful, so green, so flat" when "the

glance looses itself in the horizons and no mountain stands as a wall before the eyes." It reminded her of the Ukrainian steppe—and she was happy.³⁾

At home her circle included the ancient Ukrainian families such as the Kochubey and Hamaliya. While abroad she and her family openly acknowledged in their native land. At a papal audience at the question whether they were from Petersburg, Maria's mother answered, "No, Holy Father, from Ukraine".

When after a long wanderings fate carried her once more to Ukraine, to her native Havrontsi she noted in her diary with pleasure, "I talked with the peasant women whom we met on the way and in the woods and can you imagine—I don't talk too badly in Ukrainian." This must not have been a dilettante knowledge of the language if it wasn't forgotten by this sixteen year old child eager for new impressions after a six year absence from her country. . .

In general she loved her nation although not with the sentimental love, she liked them more as a queen willing to accept homage from them. She was aesthetically attracted by the Ukrainian village girls who, in her opinion, "are exceptionally well built, beautiful and interesting." She was in love with Ukrainian dances. "The dances of our peasants," we read in her diary, "apparently simple and hearty, but, in reality, clever as the Italian, are a real Parisian cancan, and a very seditious cancan, not to say anything more. They do not raise their legs as high as their heads, which moreover is a very ugly fashion; but the man and the woman turn, approach each other, pursue one another and all this with little cries, gestures and smiles that make you shiver." But still more did she love the wild, free life of her steppe which had not completely lost all traces of the old romanticism.

She also found an echo of this old romanticism in the plays which were acted in the domestic theatres of the Ukrainian aristocracy. She thus described one of these plays: "when I entered my box at the end of the third act, in the middle of the stage stood the heroine in a wide crinoline, in a black jacket with a wreath of wild flowers on her head and with a mass of red beads on her neck. This lady with the fatal vehemence of an ancient Lucretia was trying to plunge a knife into her breast as a gesture of refusal to accept the kingdom of the man who was wildly rolling his eyes while playing the part of a Turkish sultan. She did this with the

³⁾ "Le Journal. . ."

accompaniment of loud cries stating that she would not betray her faith, her native land nor her beloved knight who apparently behind the scenes, was marching to his death shouting curses at his enemies in a wild voice."

"Notwithstanding the inartistry of the actors," wrote Bashkirtsev, this play "evidently had in its essence something of the spirit of the great tradition of tragedy and morality." This interest in a distant echo of theatrical heroic tradition of Ukraine, and interest in the aesthetics of Ukrainian life, and the breadth of its nature, reflected the passionate temperament of a Ukrainian of the steppe."

This, not yet extinguished Ukrainian steppe temperament was still coursing in her veins even abroad when François Coppé wrote this about her:

"Harmoniously built, a round face finely chiseled, a reddish blonde with dark eyes which shone with thought and burned with a desire to see everything and to know everything, a clearly outlined mouth, the dilated nostrils of a wild Ukrainian rider—Maria Bashkirtsev from the first look gives an impression of will power mixed with sweetness, tenacity—with grace. Everything in this lovely child is betrayed by an extraordinary intelligence. Under the charming exterior of a woman one felt an iron, truly masculine strength."⁴)

But, when the natural beauty of her country and its "common people" touched more than one sympathetic vein of her heart, her Russianised environment evinced in her altogether different feelings. "My compatriots," she wrote during a short visit to Ukraine in 1876, "do not awaken in me any personal excitement such as overpowers me when I see familiar places again." Officially she was a Russian (although frequently she called herself French) because a Russian Tzar ruled her country and in order to go abroad she needed a Russian passport. She was just as much a Russian as the magnates of the Hapsburg monarchy were Austrians whose nationality was designated by the Emperor.

This is what she said herself in her diary about this. "I don't know any language thoroughly." She knew Russian, "but only for domestic use." She "talked well in Italian and English, but thought and wrote in French."

⁴) Lettres de M. Bachkirzew, preface par Fr. Coppé de l'Académie Française, Paris 1902.

She never lived in Russia and her first visit there was during her trip from France to Ukraine when she was sixteen years old. Therefore it was nothing strange for her to write about the Russians as though about a nation completely foreign to her. "The Russians and their two capitals are completely strange to me. Before my visit abroad I only knew Ukraine and the Crimea. The wandering Russian peddlars who rarely visited us seemed very strange to us and everyone laughed at their costumes and language," she wrote. Petersburg definitely did not please her nor the capital cab-driver "fat as an elephant" and renowned for the fact that "he drank three "samovars" full a day."

She wrote to her mother, "It's raining and I'm hoarse. Petersburg is a dirty place: The pavements are atrocious for a capital. We are unmercifully jolted; the winter palace is a barracks, so is the grand theater; the cathedrals are rich but odd and badly constructed."

No, she did not find her motherland here. She found it elsewhere; as I have said she became a cosmopolitan blinding herself with sophicism to the wasteland which stretched before her. "You can't measure me with a general measure. I'm not a Russian, nor a foreigner, I am I, that is to say, that which a woman with my ambitions must be."⁵) On what were these ambitions based? To become a famous artist. No matter where—she was a cosmopolitan then. And in art this lost soul comforted herself with the thought that "in the portrayal of completely sincere emotions has human nature any meaning. Habits, upbringing, all disappear. Shakespeare understood this and he is great because he is neither an Englishman, nor an aristocrat, nor a plebeian, of no definite time, but forever true, just as hate, longing, love, are."

She also wrote to Maupassant, "To be of no country, to belong to no world, to be true. Then only can true expression be achieved."⁶) And she threw herself into art. But that was later. First she thought she would become a singer, a musician, a sculptor, she dreamt about politics; she didn't find herself at once. Form was of secondary importance, her goal was to stand above all. In her childhood a Jewish fortune-teller told her mother, "You will have two children. Your son will be like everyone else, but your daughter will be a star." This prophecy was buried deep in the heart of the child.

⁵) Lettres. . .

⁶) Ibid.

"From that time," she wrote, "as I remember myself . . . all my thoughts and endeavours were directed to something great. My dolls were always kings and queens; all my thoughts all the conversation of those surrounding my mother seemed always to refer to these grandeurs inevitably approaching." She feared most of all that she would pass through life leaving no trace. To accomplish something so that "people would be attracted to me, by something more than my toilet"—here is how a twelve year old girl naively voiced her ideal in Nice. "Glory, popularity, known everywhere, these are my dreams." She blessed the lovers of virtue, because "virtuousness is a noble passion. To rise above human weakness and to find one's place among people and God . . . to raise oneself as high as possible over others, to be powerful! Powerful! Yes, powerful! No matter at what price!" Her device was—"Nothing before me, nothing—after me, nothing—besides me." A longing for greatness, no matter where. A longing for glory!')

Travel in Europe at first exalted her, especially Rome and she wrote: "The beauty and ruins of Rome turn my head. I want to be Ceasar, Augustus, Marcus Aurelius, Nero, Caracalla, the devil the pope!" She wants to be "rich, to own paintings, palaces, diamonds." She wants to be "the centre of some brilliant group, political, literary, charitable, frivolous." Modesty and weakness do not belong to her beloved virtues. "I always had," she wrote, "an aristocratic outlook and I recognise the breeds of people as well as those of animals." Finding somewhere a note about madame Recamier, she wrote "and naturally I was humiliated in thinking that I, too, might have a salon and have not." She was always lost in this fantastic dream of brilliance and glory, just as she more than once, forgetting about her surroundings, stared spellbound into a shining lamp. To become someone before whom the mob would fall on its knees—that was what she thirsted after. "The multitude is everything. What matters a few superior beings. I must have all the world. I must have noise, fame."

In the first years of her youth she really sought out those "prominent people." She fell in love with the portrait of the Grand Duke Vladimir, then with prince H. whose "face was so prominent among all the ordinary visages of Nice." In Rome she had an affair with Peter Antonelli, the twenty-three year old nephew of Cardinal Antonelli, the right hand of Pius IX, received several

7) Journal.

letters from a higher world about which she triumphantly told in her letters to her aunt, mother or father, she received the adoration of Bastien-Lepage and conducted a short "idylle cerebrale" with Maupassant who became interested in his unknown correspondent's extraordinary wit whose sharpness he himself was to experience. Finally in Naples, to the great consternation of all present she openly accosted King Victor Emmanuel who later sent to her hotel an adjutant to tell that the "bella ragazza" made a big impression on the king and that he had noticed her yet at the last carnivals in Naples and Rome.

What drove her to seek out these adventures? The need of living in an atmosphere of admiration. Here is what she wrote to Maupassant, "Why did I write to you? One morning a person wakes up and finds out that he is a rare specimen, surrounded by idiots. She is distressed that so many pearls are dropped before swines"—and in her awakens a desire "that some connoisseur could value the beautiful things which she could relate."⁸) Was she capable of the feeling of love? Hardly, because in such characters the need of friendship is the same as the need of love and they frequently intertwine.

But, it seems, she loved the cardinal's nephew, although she admits "I loved him because he loved me..." But even in her amorous adventures she is shy. At the age of twelve she is proud that no boy had touched her lips, but when this fatal event took place she told her mother about it. For the same reason she didn't like to dance because "I don't like to be held in the arms of a man this way."⁹) She especially could not abide dissonances, but for a "bon mot" she would sacrifice the most beautiful situation: to her sentimental lover who dreamt of living with her after marriage "in a little villa" she answered "better in a big one." And when count Antonelli during a tête-à-tête told her "he would never leave this place", she made the observation, that the both of them would die of hunger... A prosaic handkerchief taken out to wipe the eyes of the departed admirer and a false "thou" and the charm was ended, the illusion was destroyed. Finally she was only concerned about that "which slipped out of her hands." That's why she broke off her correspondence with Maupassant. He became anxious to meet her in person. That was why kings so impressed her.

⁸) Journal.

⁹) Idem.

To climb among the chosen—that was her goal, and, secondly, to shine in the world. She worked on this with a rare persistence. During her short visit to Poltava in Ukraine, she created a furor among the local aristocracy as she walked surrounded by a host of admirers or, as she called them, “Poltava’s crocodiles”. Also in Paris, this beloved and hated city. She mingled in the society of republicans, Bonapartists, Cassagnac, princess Jeanne Bonaparte and others, many others. Here began her extraordinary artistic career in the Julian Academy under the direction of Robert Fleury (1877). At first there was unbelief in the whims of a bored aristocratic lady, then an interest in her persistence and finally surprise and enthusiasm for her talent. After eleven months—the first gold medal. In 1880 (at the age of twenty) her first picture in the salon, in 1883—“Jean et Jacques”, followed by “The Meeting”, bought for the Luxemburg Museum.

Hundreds of papers printed her name. She was besieged by reporters and reproductionists. They singled her out. They admired her great masculine talent. Julian called her a “boy” and scolded her because she drew “like a hangman”. The first rays of the sun of glory had fallen upon the golden hair of this twenty-three year old consumptive destined for death.

Alongside all this she had cut out for herself a large scale plan of self-education. Homer and Livy, Stendhal, Ponson du Terrail, author of the immortal “Rocambol”, Byron and his followers, physics, Confucius, anatomy, a chemical laboratory—the mad desire to know everything by a person who saw death in her soul and knew that her days were numbered.

And here, really began the tragedy of this strange girl of Ukraine—the tragedy which, perhaps, sooner than death, annihilated her before her time. In what lay this tragedy? How was it manifested. In a spiritual cleavage, in dislike of her environment, discountenance of herself. She was an aristocrat by ancestry, upbringing and tastes. But less frequently than others, was she proud of her class. As a thirteen year old she wrote, “I am an aristocrat. I prefer the ruined nobleman to a wealthy bourgeois. I find more charm in old satin, tarnished gildings, antique pillars and ornaments than in trimmings rich, gaudy and glaring.” She didn’t like a poor man or anyone else who stood lower than she on the social ladder because “a poor man loses half of his dignity” and independence. But her environment was beginning to displease her. She complained

that there wasn't a soul with whom she could exchange a word. All this was a golden triviality which she could not abide. She needed "a turbulent life, or absolute peace." And this she could not find among the people of her circle. The people who surrounded her during her short stay in Poltava province, were "lovely people but you could smell provincialism a kilometre away." On their estate she described "they do nothing but eat; they eat, then they walk for half an hour then eat again and it is like that all day."¹⁰) This society only evoked her laughter and she did not forecast a happy ending for it. In a letter from Poltava to Julian she wrote about the socialist agitation among the peasants and "can you not fancy my head mounted at the end of a lance". Comparing the position of the aristocracy in Ukraine with last days of the "old regime" in France, she wrote: "a striking resemblance between the two periods—from the frightful condition of the people to the stupid blindness of the nobles (des grands)."¹¹)

And she did not feel at home among the bourgeois society of contemporary Europe. She hated it not with the hatred of something lower, proletarian, but with the scorn of an aristocrat. After a visit to Monaco she wrote: "I can never say how distasteful is this nest of "cocottes". Later without ceremony she called her environment one in which one "became an animal". After one tirade full of misanthropy she wrote: "Isn't it strange that I understand it this way? Perhaps the deductions of such a juvenile as myself is only needless proof what the world is worth! It must be well penetrated by dirt and wickedness that it could anger me in such a short time. I'm barely fifteen years old."¹²)

And really, neither Europe at that time, nor Russia, saying nothing about Ukraine, could quench her thirst if not for great impressions, at least, for great illusions of the soul. What epoch was it? Italy was just beyond the diaper stage in politics, having thrown off Napoleon's crutches, France in full moral prostration after the debacle of Sedan and just before the Panama affair. Russia—the last days of Alexander II and the first days of the rule of Alexander III which had driven everyone into the narrow cage of purely personal interests.

¹⁰) Journal. . .

¹¹) Lettres.

¹²) Lettres.

Was it strange that she was suffocating in the society of her era? Was it strange that her disgust with society was also transferred at the same time to the whole era in which she lived?

The people of the Parisian salons appeared to her as "shadows of the last century." Truly, there were a chosen few with whom she felt at ease with her refined "esprit", but the whole environment—"good for dancing a ten minute waltz, exchange a few banalities, answer compliments, and farther?"¹³⁾

Farther was a wasteland. She had too much masculinity in her to be pleased with the spineless world in which she lived. She painted "like a hangman". Prince H. appealed to her for his "haughtiness and cruelty" of appearance. Of all the statues of the Roman Caesars she was most impressed by Nero. This was her love of the hour. She deified Titian and Van Dyke but did not like Raphael for his sweetness: "that unfortunate Raphael: I hope no one finds out what I'm writing! They'd take me for a mad woman. I'm not criticising Raphael, I don't understand him!" While reading history, she wept over the death of Caesar and Napoleon as though she were their contemporary. Of all the politicians of her day she admired Clemenceau the most, was it not for the aggressive traits for which he was later dubbed "tiger"? With such a frame of mind it was not strange that she fled from contemporary civilization. In Berlin she visited at first the museum of antiquities which was "rich and beautiful—but does Berlin owe it to Germany? No!—to Greece, Egypt, to Rome!" "After the contemplation of all this antiquity, I entered the carriage," we read in her journal, "with the most profound disgust for our arts, our architecture and our fashions." "And our civilization," she could have added. Likewise is her attitude toward France, whose "palaces will never equal the great, beautiful grandiosity of Italian palaces." France is a charming and interesting country: uprisings, revolutions, people, wit, grace, elegance. But one must not look here for a serious government or virtue (in the ancient meaning of the word) no marriages of love, nor even true art. . . They lack the divine spark. And never, never would France create what Italy and Greece did."

In another place she wrote, "Paris! This bazaar, this coffee house, this gambling house," where everything beginning with love and ending with the press had its price. Even intellectual France ceased to attract her. She couldn't abide George Sand and Michelet nauseated her.

¹³⁾ Nouveau Journal.

She loved the ancient world as an incarnation of moral¹⁴⁾ force, grandiosity and vigour. In our civilizations this could only be found in the Middle Ages. "Why is the world worn out? Is it that the intellect of man has already given all that it could give? With us there is nothing original but the Middle Ages." She was fascinated by them as was Stendhal, Gogol and Taine. In Florence she was struck by "The judgment of Solomon" in medieval costume. Perglesi's "Stabat" based on the medieval hymn filled her with ecstasy. The genre of her talents was the genre of the heroic epoch of the first Empire. In the cities where she lived she liked to wander through old streets. In Paris she roamed over the Latin Quarter in which she saw something of Rome.

Strength to capture feeling and, above all, style were lacking to her epoch and that was why she sought them in the past. Whenever it seemed to her, that her old Europe was striving to make a dramatic and heroic gesture she was there in a moment! In the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 she was captivated by the enthusiasm of the volunteers, but a little later after the first wild defeats, she wrote in a careless way in her diary, "Things aren't going well for the Russians." The Russians were a strange nation to her! Then suddenly she clearly knew which was her motherland—Nice! But in 1883 overcome by an unusual outburst of French patriotism during the death and funeral of Gambetta she felt herself "French and patriotic" with her whole being: "We have been beheaded", she said bemoaning the death of the French patriot. In such instances there were no traces of her former cosmopolitanism. At such times this "deracinée" with longing and consciously fooling herself, was ready to let down her roots in a strange soil, to find the faith which she lacked and support from the great collective of a nation which hitherto had never existed for her.¹⁵⁾

But she was drawn to Rome most frequently. Rome was something almost mystical, touching, eternal, source of everything, the "At last I see something worth seeing. I adore those Strozzi palaces; symbol of power for her. And when she first visited it, she wrote, I adore those immense entrances, their superb courts, their galleries, their colonnades. They are majestic, they are grand, they are beautiful. Ah, the world is degenerating," observes this fourteen year old misanthrope. "We feel like sinking into the earth when we

¹⁴⁾ Journal.

¹⁵⁾ Idem.

compare modern structures to these gigantic stones piled one on the other and mounting upward to the sky." And again: "Oh, Rome! may I see thee once again or die! I hold my breath and draw myself up as if I would stretch myself to Rome."

Does not this expression remind one of the longings of another Ukrainian wanderer, another Marko the Cursed—Gogol (Hohol)? He also strained all his life for Rome. Maria Bashkirtsev wrote about Rome: "There I find myself as though on top of the world." For Gogol it seemed "it was closer to heaven from Rome."

Both she and he were drawn to the eternal city, as said the author of "Dead Souls"—"to save our poor souls" from the cold of egoism, unbelief, despair and the moral prostration of their environments. Gogol sought there an escape from Russia, liberation from alien form which like a miller's grindstone was oppressing his soul. She, too. There were moments, when she also was ready to bow her head before the majesty of the northern grindstone and to find in it those "illusions" and that "enthusiasm" for which she was seeking. But the burden was too great. Like Gogol she was quickly convinced that "it is easier to become a Russian in language, than a Russian in soul."

In 1876 she noted "I was so desperate yesterday. It seemed to me that I was forever chained to Russia and it exasperated me. I was ready to climb over the wall and I wept bitterly." There, there was none of that "glitter and greatness" for which she longed, all that thrilled her as in Italy. The Kazan Cathedral in S. Petersburg was a useless parody of S. Peter's in Rome. "Russia is unbearable," she observed, and later: "Russia has deceived me." She began to read Russian authors, but it soon was apparent that they all wrote "about over there" beyond Russia. Gogol's description of Rome induced "tears and sighs". And she ends by saying, "they who have had the good fortune to see Rome can understand my emotion." But later on we come across a deep observation which throws a light on the tragedy of the soul of this young girl, "if this wouldn't appear strange to anyone, but here (in Russia) there is no delicateness, no ethics, no simplicity in its true meaning. In France, in small towns they fear the priest, honour their grandmother or old aunt... Here there is nothing of the sort. They marry frequently out of love but it quickly dies out."¹⁶ Obviously "aunt" here was only meant as an example (she herself did not honour them much). But how brilliantly she has characterised that

¹⁶) Journal.

lack of style, lack of axioms, lack of principles, lack of something to which one could take hold of and also that lack of steadiness, faith and character which struck foreigners as inherent in Russians. This same cry of despair was sounded in the tirades of Gogol who vainly sought in Russia . . . Russia. "I saw," he wrote, "that in each (Russian) was created his own Russia—hence the endless debates." He also found no steadfast pole in the barbarian soul of the Russian, no axioms of good and evil—and he sought their phantoms in Italy just like Maria Bashkirtsev who sought her pathos in Paris, finally in Rome and at the end of her life in—art.

I have mentioned her successes which would have turned more than one head. But not hers. She was too strict a judge of herself to be satisfied with what she had accomplished. Reflection consumed her—she who believed so deeply in her star. In one letter she complained about her "love of analysis", which ordered her to penetrate deeper into other souls and her own more than was necessary. It seemed to her as though she had a microscope in her eyes. She saw things much too clearly to become attached to anything or love anyone. Everything was transformed into the element of observation and analysis. While still in her youth and in her quest for principles she wrote, "I do not ask an impossible perfection, nor a being who would have nothing human about him. But even its defects must be interesting, not to degrade it in my eyes by some vulgarity, pettiness or falsehood. . . One blot, however, small would be sufficient to destroy all my interest."

With such a measure she approached not only people, but everything, including herself. And—art. Disillusioned with princes, society and her whole era and finally with art. In spite of her success she began to doubt that art would give her that which she was seeking. She began to fear and to be anxious that her illness would not allow her to realize her goal and what was worse, it seemed to her, that she lacked something which would see her matter to an end. Robert Fleury called one of her pictures "good" and she was angry: "Good in comparison with what? I don't want a patronising "good". It means nothing." Praise did not touch her, because she felt that she had not reached her zenith. And when Julian found her statue "touching" and "well expressed", the result was that "she no longer respected Julian".¹⁸⁾ The latter had told her "one must be a phenomenon, but I could not. Already three years

¹⁷⁾ N. Gogol—Lettres.

¹⁸⁾ Lettres.

have gone by. And what have I accomplished? What am I? I'm a good student and that is all; but where is the phenomenality, glitter and fame?"

But really was it art, to which she was striving? At this time we read in her "Journal", "I'm bored, nothing in the world can interest me or cheer me. I want nothing. Reading, drawing, music—boredom, boredom, boredom! Beyond these occupations one must have something alive," and she did not have it.

What was this something "alive"? Here we are approaching the sorest spot of this split soul, the very heart of the problem of Maria Bachkirtsev. Her eternal idea was to create for herself a life "beautiful and glorious". She looked upon life with the egotistical love of an artist, who works over a canvas trying to create a "chef d'oeuvres", something harmonious and complete. But this was a difficult undertaking for her, who had swam from one shore but had not reached the opposite one. In this lay the reason, she said, for her "worry, past, present and future." Art?—"that is only an instrument, it is only music to draw out the lament of my soul." Society, friends? The same! But did she ever take them seriously? From every page of her diary a contempt toward people is evident. She did not leave them any place in her heart. She wanted to make use of them, like rungs on a ladder. She looked disdainfully on the world for she could not be angry at anyone, nor complain to anyone save God to whom she frequently and sincerely prayed. She hated the mob. During her visit to the Louvre she burst out: "Only Zola could describe this hateful crowd, who shouts, runs, shoves with its noses pushing out in front, with searching eyes. I almost faint from the heat and nervousness." Communists she called "an accursed sect" because "they wish everything to be held in common" and did not permit anyone "to make his way ahead."

Therefore, neither people, nor individuals, nor art were that "alive" thing for which she longed. What was it? It was none of these things but at the same time all of them: her ceaseless craving for glory, her eternal desire to leave her impression on canvas, on people, on her surroundings which were but means, not the end. Her end was to knead and to form life to her liking and to find satisfaction in doing so as though it were a sport. This same feeling must have moved her at one time when she was riding a horse in Ukraine and almost paid for it with her life. "I was overcome," she wrote, "and my flushed face flashed sparks, it seemed to me,

like the nostrils of the horse. I was beaming with joy; no one had ever ridden this horse before." In truth she was a woman, but she said "I have as much femininity as a pair of shoe-laces; one lace is a devilish femininity, as to the other, it is a devilish something else." This "something else" this "living" thing with which she breathed she called her Mephisto who was always with her. "My mad vanity—that is my Mephisto. O ambition, unjustified by results! O vain aspiration toward an unknown goal!"

Was this ambition really vain? Not completely. But she had a vague intuition that things would not turn out as she wished, that she would scorch her wings and would fall midway in her flight. And more! She felt the reasons for this anxiety. The reasons were that by descent, first upbringing and (as we shall see further) by instinctive sympathy, with all the fibres of her being she belonged only to one, to Ukrainian nation, but owing to the force of circumstances and the tragic fate of her nation from which she came, she was forced to express her creativeness, to realise her "ambition" in a form alien to her, in an alien environment which killed her creative urge and her very desire to live.

"Enthusiasm", "urge" (these are her own words) no matter in what form of creativeness they appeared—must have a certain meaning. They must be based on certain definite ideals and dogmas. But all this cannot be contrived like esperanto. It must grow organically from a definite environment and be tied to it organically, with a definite human collective, with the soil and with the past, in short—with a nation. Only technology is international,—culture, creativeness is national. That is why every creator needs this support, needs the "multitudes" (regardless whether they already are, or will be) in future, in order to give his creative urge a synthesis of its will, to become the apostle of its faith, regardless of whether he had to make up this faith at the time. V. Hugo understood the needs of this "multitude" when he wrote that "as long as Italy is not a nation, an Italian is not a person." Machiavelli and Dante dreaming of a united Italy sought this "multitude".

And Maria Bashkirtsev sought it. At first she thought she would attain her goal without this "support" and her spiritual drama really began from the moment she understood the vanity of these attempts, after her first successes she saw, like the poet who "fabricates" his verses with his reason only. In the first days of her wanderings abroad these bitter words came from her, "Everything that I say, is not my essence, nor my being. I don't have them yet.

I'm living in a completely external way." Here began her revolt against that which, it seemed to her, she loved from custom and upbringing but not with her subconscious "I". Then she began "to hate" Paris which she "loved" at the same time. Characteristically she also did not know whether she "idolized" or "hated" her first "amourette", prince H. Later she admitted that "power and glitter create an aureola around the one we love and forces us to love that which we do not love." Was this not a commentary on her temporary infatuation with France? Did not Gogol force himself likewise to love Russia? And with this crisis her dissatisfaction with France grew, even with French art, and with Russia. Only Bastien-Lepage existed for her in French art. "Others—plenty of knowledge, technique and conventionality, too much conventionality, far too much. There is nothing, true, vibrating, singing, soaring, nothing to take hold of you, to make you shiver or weep."¹⁹⁾

A foreign culture could not bestow life-giving sap to this delicate plant of the Ukrainian steppe; she did not grow upward in this soil, only stagnated. A Frenchman she always imagined holding a long lancet between two fingers, and a lorgnette on his nose while he dissected a corpse. The personification of cold analysis, the hypertrophy of intellect. This hypertrophy, this icy glitter did not find an echo in this different being. They were foreign to her self-willed personality. "Cogito—ergo sum" became the end of the world for this intellectualist who could no longer live without dogma. Perhaps France of her era had a dogma but "this coat wasn't sewn for me." Everyone in his own group possessed this dogma, this faith, Bastien Lepage and her mother. Each was organically connected with his native land. Maria Bashkirtsev could not become one or the other. Did that element, which had reached her in her childhood have too tight a grasp on her? Or did she see too clearly the downfall of the other into which they were forcibly pushing her? In any event already then she was trying, although unconsciously, to tear away from the Russian and French national elements the time she was creating her cosmopolitan idols. But this as I have already noted was a fight with insufficient means in which she found herself in within a short time. Her spiritual crisis was reaching the breaking point. She felt a deep disgust with herself. She had severe nervous attacks and often threw herself on her

¹⁹⁾ Le Journal.

knees on her bed "to pray for a miracle".²⁰) At that time, really, was born in her a dim idea of the need of some organic support, the need of a collective source from which her passion could draw ideas, direction and a goal. A long time ago she had confirmed that a woman who wanted to rule (all the same whether in love, in art, or in politics) "must lean on something strong, like a delicate plant leans on a tree." A person who wished to create had to subordinate himself to some entity. In her opinion everyone felt a need for something higher which would stand above him. In heaven it was God, on earth, it slowly became for her, her nation.

Instinctively, but for a long time, she searched for this entity, for this collective. As a young girl she imagined herself as the leading singer of the world. She sang, accompanying herself on the harp and "they carried me in triumph, I don't know who and where." Once as a girl at a market in Nice, she had sung a popular song and the enthusiastic market-women gave her an ovation calling out, "Che bella regina!" After one of her brilliant sallies in a salon in front of charmed listeners she noted in her diary, "if this had been in the tribune, they would have carried me in triumph." But such a triumph never awaited any cosmopolitan. Gambetta and Clemenceau experienced it when they were carried on the arms of their nation. One could sing an Italian song with success but to continuously create something among a foreign collective, to become spiritually related to it—was utopia. She understood this, although not immediately. At first a completely abstract idea about "support" was crystallised—a desire to find something spiritually native. And she broke open the crystalis of cosmopolitanism which had ordered her to break away from all foundations in order to gather "living" elements from all cultures. As Barrès has said about her the "Notre Dame du sleeping car" became the "Notre Dame qui n'était jamais satisfaite"—one who cannot be satisfied neither by a foreign land, nor a foreign people.²¹)

Already Lepage deeply disturbed her cosmopolitanism with his picture of Joan of Arc. She wrote, "Bastien-Lepage is from Lorraine and Joan of Arc, the most extraordinary of heroines, or perhaps of heroes, was also from Lorraine. Bastien-Lepage made a chef d'oeuvres of her."²²) This struck her! She began to think over the connection between the genius of the nation and her intellect,

²⁰) Le Nouveau Journal.

²¹) M. Barrès — La légende d'une cosmopolite.

²²) Le Nouveau Journal.

between the fertility of an artist and his national inheritance which awakened creative energy. Perhaps, under the influence of this fact she dreamt of a trip to Jerusalem to draw a picture from the Evangelic time. Finally she began to find her "Lorraine" in the "common people", not in a given nation, but only in the lower classes in general. Generally she was "greatly pleased with what was most natural, the closest to nature." Now she sought this "natural" in Paris street boys, fell in love with the Nicean dialect and found a new beauty in the Latin Quarter. Characteristically enough the Latin Quarter reminded her of Rome and one of her contemporary Frenchmen called the quarter the "Ararat of French tradition." Therefore it appears that this "cosmopolite" was searching for traditions in Rome and the Latin Quarter! Understandingly enough Anatole France said about her that she had barely begun to fly when she forgot the nest from which she had flown, but for which she continually longed.²³) All her wanderings were but a need to fill her soul with new emotional substance, a quest for "support", for her "Lorraine". No wonder that at every departure for a new place, this girl-traveller was nervous and was sorry for what she left behind. To live to love, to die at home were longings which were not strange to her, it seemed. It seems, that she wandered over the world because she so earnestly desired to find a place from which she would never need to move. . .

The quest for the traditional, the strong, the 'a priori', on which one could lean, pushed her to the "common people". She drew street boys, talked with market-women. In Paris she often talked with ordinary women, agitating at the same time for the Bonapartists. But one must not think that she was guided by sympathy for those lower than herself, a moral compassion for them, nothing of the kind! When the publisher of "Liberté", Drumont accused her how she "surrounded by luxury and elegance could care for what was ugly" (he found her "Street Boys" ugly, although he praised her artistry) and asked why she did not paint pretty faces? "I chose *expressive* faces," she answered emphasizing the word. "Besides the boys who run about the streets are not, as a rule, marvels of beauty; to find pretty children one must go to the Champs-Élysées and paint the poor little things who are decked out with ribbons and accompanied by governesses! But where can you find free action? Where is the wild primitive liberty? Where

²³) A. France — Marie Bashkirzew.

is real expression? Well brought-up children are always more or less affected." 24) Brutal strength, energy, something which would not evoke her malice but would be incentive for her talent that was what she needed and hence her attraction for the "common people". She remained "free, and loved no one" as before. But she surrendered her egoism. She was especially concerned about the question "in what environment" was the artist. She felt the need to intertwine herself with that which grew organically and not to hang in mid-air. She began to long for something which she could "worship" from which she could draw new strength. She longed to find it "as soon as possible" and asked if she would be happier than "that dirty mad man, they called Diogenes?" 25)

She was this Diogenes not only in her "gamins" but also when she tried to become some kind of patriot Russian, French or "Nicean". Finally her Diogenes search-light lost her in the "country". All her dreams were centered on that which expressed her idea of the "country" and which had a marked and clear meaning for her. Considering her spiritual drama, her distaste for Paris and French art, her search for a collective-support in which her creative "I" could be reborn, her constant return to the Ukrainian "countryside" and her constant reminiscences about the "country" in her journal are interesting.

She wrote "the country folk must especially strongly feel the beauty of the pictures of Bastien-Lepage (whom as a painter of the countryside, she alone considered worthwhile). Parisians cannot appreciate him, but could not help doing so if they would only take the trouble to contemplate grandeur, simplicity, beauty and poetry of the countryside. Every blade of grass, the trees, the ground, the looks of the women who pass by, the attitudes of the children, the manners of the old men are all in the strictest harmony with the landscape." Again she wrote, "Has it never happened to you, when alone in the country in the evening under a very clear sky, to feel troubled, pervaded by a mysterious sentiment, by aspirations toward the infinite, to feel as if you were, so to speak, on the eve of some great event—something supernatural," 26)

"Harmony", "secret", "eternal" "supernatural"—this was what she was seeking in the country! Harmony between form and essence, between knowledge and desire, between will and thought,

24) Le Journal.

25) Ibid.

26) Ibid.

and that "God-given spark", that creative "urge" which she felt neither in the Louvre, nor in the Kazan Cathedral, nor in French "lorgnettes, nor in Russian "samovars"—this was what she sought. Only the remembrance of her countryside could make the strings of her soul vibrate which were forcibly fashioned in a foreign form and were breaking up.

Finally she dotted her final i's. She tried to throw off the burden of not knowing where she was going and to what group she belonged. From cosmopolitanism, from Rome to Paris and from Paris to Rome, she went to the "streets" and the "gamins" and "country" until finally throwing off all abstraction she ended up in that country with which her childhood memories were linked.

Under the date: Fastiv, May 26, 1881, we read in her diary, "I was in need of this long journey; plains, plains, plains everywhere. It is very beautiful, I am fond of the steppes . . . as a novelty . . . it looks almost infinite. . ." The country of Bastien-Lepage, the "Meeting", the "gamins", the Latin Quarter? It was all a longing for that "country" which she, finally, found in her home in Ukraine:

"As soon as I finish with my boys" ("The Meeting") she wrote, "I'm going to the country, a real country with a broad landscape, steppes, without any mountains. Beautiful sunsets, ploughed fields, grass and field flowers, wild roses and space. And there I'll paint a picture—a sky which fades into the boundless horizon, grass and wild flowers"—in Ukraine.

This reads like a delirium of a dying girl. From half-remembered memories and childhood impressions was born an intense attraction for that country in which already at the brink of the grave, she felt she would find a strong foundation for those "triumphs" which she sought on the Promenade des Anglais, in Nice, in the Louvre, in the ruins of the Coliseum, in the moonlight. She thought that in that country, in Ukraine and her nature, she would cure her sickly split soul and fill it with the enthusiasm without which life was not worth living. At one time it seemed to her that Rome was on top of the world. But now "boundless perspectives" were opened to her from her native steppes. She regretted that she could not go to Rome "for the first time": evidently her first impressions of the eternal city were fading. She had seen her steppes a hundred times but she always felt as though "they were something completely new". For the first time the impressions and memories of childhood

were crystallized into new, independent strength—impressions where there was “action”, “naturalness”, “freedom” which are to be found only in native surroundings. Only thus can we understand her words and ideas.

The country? The steppes? The landscape? For one who as a girl grew up on an aristocratic estate, the country was a symbol of her native land. Just as it was a symbol for Shevchenko, for Amiel for whom “le paysage c'est l'état d'âme”. Just as for the “deracinés” of M. Barres who in “the beautiful landscapes of Lorraine” and in her “quiet villages” and rivers found “points fixes” support, a symbol of “national truth”. And her recurrent mentioning of the “country” and her “grandmother” (already dead)—what else was it but the return of a lost “I” to its race, to that “soil and the dead” without which, said Barres, “a human plant will not be strong nor fertile.”²⁷⁾

“From the Ukrainian steppe,” this author says, “she received the wild strength of her mind and heart.” No wonder that she wanted to return there.

And really, is it not strange that revolting against a foreign culture, those same expressions which she used to describe that which awakened her thoughts, touched her soul and held her in a constant state of excitement and moved to action her half conscious energy, are found whenever she spoke of her native land! She insinuated that in French culture and art there was nothing for her that *sang*, captivated the soul, or forced one to *tremble* and *weep*. When she heard the Ukrainian songs which her Aunt Sophie played and sang, there was something in them which made her *cry* in distant Nice. And when she watched the vigorous dances of the Ukrainian peasants *shivers* ran down her spine. This was not an accidental similarity of expression! Nor was that exaltation accidental which she lacked abroad but which was evoked by her native poesy. Not by accident did she seek harmony and union with that country and that nation; as a child she envied the brutality of her people as well as its refinement (in comparing them with Italians). It is strange that she should dream about it when she herself was a curious mixture of brutality and refinement? Is it strange that on the brink of death her soul pined to be in that country with the buoyant temperament of its inhabitants and with the still wilder temperament of its steppe horses which François Coppé found in

²⁷⁾ M. Barrès — Le Roman de l'énergie nationale.

her? When she recalled these steppes "the mysterious sentiment", and "longing toward the infinite", toward something "supernatural", which enveloped her there, then she sounded far different than a cold-headed artificial pathos of a French "patriot" who weeps at the tomb of Gambetta, or of a "Russian", who wished to destroy all Turks. Because here she had found her great collective which awakened warm emotions, a creative urge, passion without which every genius is sterile, without which no great deed is ever accomplished.

But it was fated that she should not express in a clear form this budding new idea. Rome was already dead—but Ukraine was not alive yet... The pathos which she wished to acquire artificially in Paris, did not have a natural foundation and therefore it had to wane. The turbulent temperament of her country could not assert itself. This was a strangely rich soil—only unfertilized. If she had had an eclectic nature she would have solved all differences and reached a compromise of which there are many varieties—but in her way stood the whole of her character and the aestheticism of her nature which could not endure one spot on the sun and contemporary Ukrainians were for her "half people" and "dear savages". She could have "sat on a throne" there. "Like an executioner," she wanted to sculpt life around her but the time of rulers—"executioners" had not yet arrived for Ukraine! She was like the deer which St. Hubert had met in the forest with a cross on its forehead. She did not wish to bow before a foreign cross, but it oppressed her and did not allow her true character to mature.

She has won an enduring place in the history of European and Ukrainian spiritual life not only as an artist-painter but as the writer of her Letters and Journal which she wrote in French. The French language was the language of the ruling classes of all of Europe. The contents? The genre of her memoirs? They were daily journal entries, poetry in prose, criticism, philosophy, the romantic personal life of a richly endowed girl both intellectually and physically. As Albert Cahuet emphasizes, Maria Bashkirtsev introduced to European literature a hitherto unknown genre of personalism, egocentricity—in the best meaning of the words. Maurois, a well-known French biographer of our day states emphatically that this genre of literature in France was evolved by Maria Bashkirtsev. Charles Borel draw attention to the fact that rarely has an author been able to make alive every picture, lands-



Halyna Mazepa : *Three Girls*. Oil.



V. H. Krychevsky: Kyiv, Cave Monastery. Oil.

cape, every human environment, seen through the prism of her personal, creative "I" like Bashkirtsev.

In her Journal, (as in that of Shevchenko) do not look for so-called objectivity, the virtues of weak and unprincipled authors. In it everything breathes with passionate response to everything, to history, to the present, to culture, to civilization, that of our own or others, to political problems, literary, artistic. Everywhere you feel the presence of an original personal philosophy of life, will-power, a militant spirit which wished to form and sculpt its own environment, national, social, foreign, to actively throw oneself into life's maelstrom and to cast one's form and formative ideas on it. To breathe upon everything her meaning, her desire of form, power and glory. She wanted with her thoughts and her personal self to form her environment—both in France and at home. She was saddened by the thought that her caste in Ukraine had resigned its right to rule the country and allowed itself to play the part of a provincial nobility which sought leadership in Petersburg.

Her Journal breathes with the energy of a passionate boiling activity, with protests against the somnolence, weakness and sloth of the ruling European élite and the élite of her country, a longing for something great, strong, heroic which she sought in vain in contemporary Ukraine. In temperament, character and likeness she was a typical Ukrainian woman—one of the most brilliant women of Ukraine, before it had wallowed in the dung of a lazy repose and provincialism of the nineteenth century. She reminds one of Halshka Ostrozka, Raissa Mohylanka of the era of the Volhynian chivalry, Cossack women, Anna, daughter of the Great Yaroslav, Queen of France.

Unhappily her era in history did not encourage the development of such types, and foreign land—was still a foreign land. In her times she was an exception, a brilliant meteor flashing through the sky of her era as were Lesya Ukrainka and Olena Teliha. She was like a luxuriant plant which required a certain kind of soil and temperature. She could not survive transplantation and withered away.

And really, with her aristocratic character, her strange, unfeminine will, her fantastic brain, her noble fancies—did she not appear in her surroundings as a person of a different race?

Her Journal has been left as a moving document of a soul's drama which destroyed one of the most dissatisfied figures of Ukraine at the end of the nineteenth century. Spiritual crisis, internal struggle;

similar to the Gogol tragedy of "two souls" finally tore apart this beautiful form under which they were taking place. In her last days she was conscious of her quick end. "God," she wrote, "would be unjust, if He would not take me away from this world after giving me ambition which cannot be fulfilled."

Especially tragic were her last days when they brought to her the incurably ill thirty-five year old teacher of Parisian fame, Bastien-Lepage (he outlived her a few months). On one such day when Maria Bashkirtsev was lying down in her white lace dress and with tale-telling stains on her cheeks, the artist cried out, "Ah, if I could paint!" But no one painted her that way. On October 31, 1884 she died.

"There is something in the short life of Maria Bashkirtsev," wrote Anatole France, "something bitter and tragic which breaks the heart. One dreams on reading her Journal that she did not die in peace and that her ghost is wandering about full of heavy desires."

In our day of triumphant mob rule, moral decay and unlimited materialism, our thoughts linger with pleasure on this compatriot of which we have been robbed, for whom life, style, the eternal search were everything; one who was true to the instincts of race and one who made before her death a tragic effort to return to her own national poesy.

I did not relate in this article, I constructed. I tied together the untied, left out the torn, sought out my premises, made hitherto unmade conclusions and guesses. I was mainly interested in the problem of the *deraciné*, unfortunately, an eternal, urgent and hitherto unsolved problem with us which will consume many more sacrifices of individuals whom otherwise our country could claim as its own.

Taken from D. Donzow's "Longings for the Heroic", London, 1953, p. 29-59, and translated by Mary Gaboda

Ukrainian Art in Past and Present

by S. Hordynsky

The beginnings of Ukrainian art can be traced back to prehistoric times. Figural sculptures going as far back as the late Paleolithic era have been found on Ukrainian territory. A highly developed ornamental pottery is characteristic of the Neolithic Trypillian Culture*) (3000-1000 B.C.) which was contemporary to the early Cretan art. In the 7th century B.C. Greeks came to Ukraine and their art intermingled with the local art of the Scythians who depicted mostly animal figures—deer, horses, gryphons and birds in a rich ornamental style. Many magnificent treasures of that era have been unearthed in the lower Dnipro region, and as many as a thousand golden objects have sometimes been found in a single *kurhan* (grave mound).

During the migration of various tribes across the Ukrainian territory (Goths, Huns, and later many Turkic tribes), numerous new cultures appeared in Ukraine, only to be destroyed by newcomers. Therefore it is not an easy task to give a compact picture of art of that era. However, it is certain that before the official introduction of Christianity in Ukraine (988) there existed already a highly developed artistic culture. At the end of the 9th century A.D. the Greek Theophilos placed Rus' (as the Ukrainian territory was then called) second only to Byzantium in the knowledge of various arts and crafts, and ahead of other Eastern and Western countries.

St. Olha was the first Christian ruler in Ukraine (945-964). Her grandson, Prince Volodymyr the Great, built a magnificent church with 25 domes in Kyiv, the so-called Desyatynna (Church of the Tithes) which was destroyed during the Mongol invasions in the 13th century. But there still exists the St. Sophia Cathedral built in 1017-34 by his son, Prince Yaroslav the Wise. The mosaics

*) Named after the village Trypillia, near Kyiv, where it was first found.

and frescoes of this church are regarded as among the finest in Byzantine art. A similar church with 11th century mosaics, the Golden-Domed St. Michael's Monastery, was demolished by Soviets in 1934 along with over thirty other Ukrainian national monuments of the Medieval and Kozak era in Kyiv alone.

Besides mural painting, icon painting also flourished in Ukraine until the 18th century. One of the most famous icons is Our Lady of Vyshhorod (near Kyiv) dating back to the 11th century. This icon, under the name of Our Lady of Vladimir is now in a Moscow museum. The Galician icons of the 16th century, hundreds of which, before the last war, were in the Ukrainian National Museum in Lviv (Lemberg), no doubt represent the highest achievement in this type of art. These icons, painted with tempera on wood, were placed in churches on iconostases or altar screens, which often accommodated as many as sixty pictures. The iconostasis still is a typical feature of the Ukrainian church of today.

Another great era of Ukrainian art came with the Kozak period (17th-18th century). It is characterised by the Baroque sometimes called Mazeppian, after Hetman Mazeppa who built and renovated many churches in this style. In that period, Ukrainian painting took over many features of West European painting and developed them along traditional Byzantine lines. However, after falling under Russian rule in the 18th century, Kyiv began to lose its importance as the cultural centre of all Eastern Europe. Many Ukrainian artists moved to the newly built imperial centre, St. Petersburg, where they were first to "Europeanise" Russian art. The classicist Antin Lysenko was the first president of the Art Academy there, and Volodymyr Borovykovsky and Dmytro Levytsky became the leading portrait painters of the Russian Empire. However, their art was devoted almost exclusively to foreign aristocratic circles, and soon they lost touch with the national art forms cultivated by the Ukrainian people.

The rebirth of Ukrainian art went hand in hand with the national revival in the 19th century, when such artists as Taras Shevchenko, the great national poet of Ukraine and also an outstanding Academy painter, took over the artistic traditions of the Ukrainian Classicists of the St. Petersburg School and enlivened them with new realism. He depicted everyday life in Ukraine, and scenes of Ukrainian history, as well as his life in Asian exile. New forms appeared with Impressionism, which with its colourfulness

was well suited for the sunny Ukrainian climate, and this style soon had many followers. The most important artists of that time are Ivan Trush, Oleksa Novakivsky, and Vasyl Krychevsky, Sr.

One of the first official acts of the newly constituted Ukrainian National Republic in 1918 was the creation of the Academy of Arts in Kyiv. It had a great influence on the Ukrainian art of the following decades. The most influential among the artists was Yuriy Narbut, and especially Michael Boychuk who created his own "Monumental School" based on Byzantine tradition and folk art, but modern at the same time. He and many of his followers were liquidated by the Soviets in the Thirties for alleged propagation of "bourgeois nationalistic art". Until 1932 when all seven Ukrainian art associations in Soviet Ukraine were liquidated, Kyiv and Kharkiv were the most important art centres, and Soviet Ukrainian artists were still able to exhibit in international shows such as the Venetian Biennale in 1928 and 1930. The outstanding artists of that period of Ukrainian art under the Soviets were the brothers Vasyl and Fedir Krychevskys, the "Cézannist" Anatol Petrytsky, the "monumentalist" Ivan Padalka and Vasyl Sedlar, and the engraver Vasyl Kassian. In the mid-thirties Soviet "socialist realism", the realistic depiction of life in an illustrative manner with a communist moral, became obligatory also for Ukrainian artists, all other styles being banned as formalistic.

Ukrainian artists, however, also lived and worked outside the Soviet Union, where they had a better opportunity to express themselves artistically. In Lviv (then under Poland) there were two great painters: Novakivsky with his world of expressionistic symbolism, and Peter Kholodny Sr., a neo-Byzantinist in his own way. Paul Kovzhun was the main-spring of the Association of Independent Ukrainian Artists (ANUM) which had good connections with Ukrainian artists all over the world. The European capitals had at that time many distinguished Ukrainian artists: Gritchenko and Andriyenko in Paris, Masyutyn and Yemets, both sculptors, in Berlin, Mazepa in Prague, and other artists in Vienna and Warsaw. where the group of "Young ANUM" existed. Exhibitions of Ukrainian art were at that time often held in the European capitals.

After the last war almost one hundred Ukrainian artists came to Western Europe, mostly to Germany, where they were very active in 1947-48, after which they emigrated to the Americas, and

even to Australia. The majority now live in the United States where such important Ukrainian artist as Archipenko had settled previously. The number of Ukrainian artists in the United States is now over sixty. Whereas in Ukraine under the Soviet rule "socialist realism" still persists, Ukrainian artists in the free world cultivate the free artistic expression which is the main feature of contemporary world art. The Association of Ukrainian Artists in the U.S.A. is located in New York City.

Mention must also be made of Ukrainian folk art which plays such a tremendous role in the formation of the artistic outlook of the Ukrainian people. This art is one of the oldest in Europe and is well preserved. Its largely abstract forms representing the old religious symbols—sun, swastica, crosses, or simply a geometrical ornament—enchant the modern artist. In this Ukrainian folk art the traces of oldest art motifs can easily be found: the Neolithic reminiscences of winding lines in pottery, the five-petal Egyptian lotus in embroidery, the Mycenaean geometrical motifs in the bronze ornamentation of the Hutsuls in the Carpathian Mountains. Pre-Christian and Christian motifs mingled in the ornamentation of Easter eggs (*pysanky*). This also applies to embroidery, still the most popular art, and still cultivated by almost every Ukrainian woman. All these works are characterised by superb composition arrived at through the intuitive feeling of an age-old aesthetic order, and by an unusual wealth of vivid basic colours that are held in form by a strongly marked outline. The main aim of the Ukrainian artisan was always, firstly, to create things which are "fine", and which are also an expression of rhythmical harmony, as in the folk song. The Ukrainian modern artist likewise strives to capture this rhythmic wealth which is the most characteristic feature of Ukrainian artistic expression.

(33rd International Exposition, Ukrainian Section, New York, November, 1956.)

V. D.

A Dubious Soviet "Cultural Achievement"

V. Mayakovsky's Farce on the Moscow Stage again

It comes as somewhat of a surprise to learn that in December 1956 the so-called "comedy" or "dramatic satire", "The Bug", by Mayakovsky was once more performed in Moscow—incidentally, with considerable success. Shortly before his death, the prominent Soviet Russian writer, Vladimir *Mayakovsky*—an exemplary "true to type" Bolshevik (which fact, however, did not prevent him from shooting himself for purely personal reasons in 1930)—tried his hand at writing prose dramas, but this attempt proved a complete failure. And as far as his first drama of this genre was concerned, namely "The Bug" (first performed in Moscow in 1929), even the Soviet Russian press, which was well-disposed towards the author, only described it as a very moderate "moral success". On the stage it was a complete failure, in spite of the fact that it was produced by no less a person than *Vsevolod Meyerhold*, the leading Soviet stage manager of the twenties. And although Mayakovsky was acclaimed the Bolshevik party writer soon after his death, his dramatic works, as far as we know, were not performed on the stage, at least not in Moscow, for twenty-five years.

The question thus obtrudes itself as to what explanation there is for the striking difference in the reception which the same play was given twenty-five years ago by Moscow theatre audiences and that which it was given recently. The negative criticism voiced in 1929 can still be corroborated by persons who saw the play in those days and are now living in exile. The positive criticism expressed in 1956 was even stressed by the Western press, too (for example in the Paris paper, "Le Figaro", of December 20).

The fact must be emphasized that "The Bug" is neither a literary play nor a "comedy" as such, but a fairly crude farce, in which a poor attempt is made to cover up the lack of scenic effects and the superficiality of the plot by means of feeble jokes, long-winded moralising (naturally, from the point of view of "proletarian class ethics") and various circus-like effects. The hero of the play is a young Communist, Peter Prisytkin, who is tired of the "proletarian" mode of life and intends marrying into the family of one, David Renaissance, the wealthy owner of a hairdressing establishment (the scene is set in the year 1926, when small private enterprises were still to some extent tolerated by the so-called "New Economic Policy"). Of course, Prisytkin falls a victim to all the temptations of the "petty bourgeois" world; he even learns how to dance—which from the point of view of Mayakovsky's "Puritan" party morals is definitely a serious sin; and with obvious ease and enjoyment he adjusts himself to the "petty bourgeois" life of comfort, and in exchange for this kind of life places his Party membership book and his connections with Party circles at the disposal of his

future father-in-law*). We should only like to mention the fact en passant that the names of Prisyppkin's future father-in-law and of his fiancée—David and Elzevira Renaissance—obviously indicate that they are Jews, since the anti-Semitic tendency of the play is only discreetly hinted at, as anti-Semitism was not Mayakovsky's special branch.

A brawl ensues at the home of the Renaissance Family during the wedding-feast; the house catches fire and all the persons present are burnt to death with the exception of Prisyppkin, who fifty years later (that is to say in the year 1976) is discovered in the cellar, where he has meanwhile been living an "anabiotic" life in a block of ice. Naturally, he is "re-awakened to life" in the nearest hospital, but he proves to be quite unsuited for this "new life"; by 1976 all mankind has been completely communised and "rationalised"; people have neither troubles nor passions, nor, in fact, any individual feeling whatever; life has become a huge ant-hill. Prisyppkin, however, continues to retain his "petty bourgeois" interests of the 19th century; he drinks, smokes and swears, and sings sentimental ditties and plays the guitar, and actually—horrible to relate—asks for novels and poems, things completely unknown in the new "socialist life". And as his behaviour proves "infectious"—cases of people "falling in love" are even said to have resulted—he is very soon placed in strict isolation and, together with his guitar and a bottle of schnaps, is put into a cage, in the "Museum for Human History". He finds his greatest consolation, however, in a bug, which he discovers in his shirt and which he looks after devotedly and lovingly, as a symbol of the "good old days".

The literary "qualities" of this very mediocre play are, of course, not worth discussing. But what is the *political* meaning of this farce? It is obviously a political satire directed against the supposed "bourgeoisization" of the Communist Party and in particular of the youth of the Party. Was there such a "bourgeoisization" in the Party, and why should a play directed against this tendency be such a sensational success in our day?

Of course, "bourgeoisization", as used in Soviet jargon, is nothing but a fairly natural urge to enjoy a more cultured and worthier way of life than that which the "purely proletarian" mentality found in the Soviet Union has to offer—both in the spiritual as well as in the material sphere. According to Mayakovsky's "orthodox" views, every Party man who keeps his finger-nails clean, or not only buys but even chooses a tie to suit his own personal taste, must be suspected of a "bourgeoisization". In this respect a "bourgeoisization" of the youth of the Party was constantly in evidence both in the 1920's and in the 30's, but extensive Party purges and ruthless terrorism prior to World War II, namely at the end of the 30's, kept it in check to a very considerable extent. After Stalin's death this control was for the most part relaxed, and the cultural prestige of the "West" is higher than ever in the eyes of the Soviet Russian Communist Party—quite apart from any political differences of opinion. Why then has Mayakovsky's "anti-West" satire now met with so much success in Moscow?

*) In the final version of the play Prisyppkin's Party membership book, at the instructions of the Soviet censorship authorities, was replaced by a Party candidate's membership book, so that naturally no audience or reader could be deceived as to the author's intentions.

Various Western papers have expressed the opinion that the success of the play is perhaps identical with Prisyarkin's "posthumous rehabilitation", and have affirmed that this character is regarded with obvious sympathy by Moscow theatre audiences as a kind of martyr of the general culture urge, whilst, on the other hand, these same audience ridicule and reject Mayakovsky's idea of the Soviet robots in the year 1976 (which is not so far away from us in time, after all!) Such an opinion, however, is sheer nonsense and is only likely to be expressed by someone who is not acquainted with the text of "The Bug". Mayakovsky has exposed his comic "hero", Prisyarkin, as a brutal and unscrupulous villain, and has endowed him with so much vileness and foolish arrogance that it is utterly impossible to take this character seriously or to sympathise with him.

The question as to why the play has now been acclaimed a success can be solved much more simply. At the end of the 1920's there was in Moscow still such a thing as public opinion—at least in the theatre, where audience demanded that a play should have a certain artistic level and should furthermore reveal an ideal attitude towards current social or political problems; and it was precisely for this reason that Moscow audiences (who could still at least partly recall the glorious days of the theatre of Chekhov and L. Tolstoy, of Stanislavsky and Vakhtangov) in 1929 definitely turned down Mayakovsky's inferior play. Nowadays, Moscow audiences are neither interested in artistic style nor in the ideas expressed in a play; they regard the theatre merely as a form of diversion and amusement; they laugh at the jokes they are supposed to laugh at and do not worry their heads about any deeper meaning. And this clearly shows the dreadful deterioration which has taken place as regards the theatrical and, in fact, the cultural level as a whole.

Whilst the national cultural achievements of the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R., in defiance of Moscow's ruthless terrorism and constant Russification policy, have to a certain extent at least managed to assert themselves, the Russian "cultural source", Moscow, is obviously lapsing more and more into a stagnating marasmus or rather into a disgraceful degradation and deterioration to primitiveness, which by no means refutes the chauvinistic "all Russian" propaganda of Stalin and his present successors, which is still disseminated, but, on the contrary, ensure that both sides of the picture tally.

K. Kononenko

The Dreadful Balance of 39 Years

Ukrainian Population Losses

The data published by the Soviets on population statistics in the U.S.S.R. and in the so-called "National Republics" has naturally evoked a lively reaction in the press. All the leading papers have printed these statistics and have discussed them in various articles. Considerable attention has also been devoted to these figures by the emigrant press. In my opinion, however, this subject cannot be treated exhaustively merely by comparing the statistics for the years 1940 and 1955 and commenting on them, for the main question to be considered is not limited solely to the losses suffered by Ukraine during the past sixteen years, which include the four years of the war, during which period Ukraine was devastated to a terrible

extent. It is precisely this point which, as far as many persons are concerned, conceals the true facts of the case and prevents them from realising the main question at issue, namely that *Moscow has systematically and incessantly always sought to depopulate Ukraine*. The period from 1940 to 1955 is thus merely the most recent stage in this dreadful process of extermination.

The statistics which have been published compel one again and again to raise the highly significant question: *in what way and to what extent has the systematic extermination of the population of Ukraine been carried out by Moscow throughout the entire period of Bolshevik rule?*

It is our duty not only to our own fellow-countrymen, but also to the whole world, to clarify this question exhaustively. But if one starts working out the necessary calculations, one's mind refuses to comprehend the figures arrived at. One is apt to examine these figures again and again in the hope of discovering an error; but the final result always remains the same. And still one goes on hoping, despite all logical reasoning, that these figures are not final and that one will discover errors somewhere which can be corrected.

And it is with this reservation, therefore, that I wish to present the following calculations to the reader—not merely the final results, but also the process leading up to these results, so that the reader, by following these calculations, may the more easily detect any possible errors. And if he should succeed in doing so, then not only I, but every Ukrainian would be extremely grateful to him and most relieved.

* * *

The entire 39 years' rule of Communist Russia in Ukraine can be divided into six periods.

The first period, up to and including 1920, consists of three years' civil war, when Ukraine carried on an armed fight for her state independence. As far as calculating population statistics is concerned, these three years are unfortunately always combined with the four preceding years of the first World War; my task, however, at the moment is to work out the depopulation carried out by Communist Russia in Ukraine. It is true that data on the population figures in Ukraine in the year 1916 are available, but these statistics are not correct since, on the one hand, they do not take into account the Ukrainians who had been called up for military service, and, on the other hand, include a large number of persons who were only living in Ukrainian territories temporarily.

For this reason and in order to ensure greater exactitude, we shall base our calculations on the statistics of the census taken in 1897. The head of the Central Statistical Department of Ukraine, M. Horevych, writes as follows in his pamphlet, "The Famine and Agriculture in Ukraine" (published as a supplement to the report of the Committee to Check the Famine, before the 7th Soviet Congress of Ukraine): "If, on the basis of the census of 1897, one assumes a population increase of 18 (actual increase) to every 1,000, there should, according to complicated percentages, be a population of 32.9 million in Ukraine. Actually, the population there numbers 25.5 million; 7.4 million are thus missing. This undoubtedly represents a huge loss in population as a result of the war and the revolution, pestilence and disease, and privations which the population has suffered owing to the serious food supply situation" (p. 70).

The loss in population thus amounts to 7.4 million. It is impossible to ascertain exactly what percentage of this loss is due to the war, but the figure of 3.4 million as an estimate is by no means too low, but, if anything, too high; namely for the following reason,—the loss in population in the Russian empire during the first World War amounted to 11 to 12 million; the population of Ukraine at that time amounted to 27.4 per cent of the total population of the Russian empire; and if we calculate this percentage of 12 million, the figure we arrive at is 3.3 million.

The remaining figure of 4 million thus represents the number of persons in Ukraine who perished in the civil war, conducted for the cause of national freedom, and as a result of the complete devastation of Ukraine by Russia at the time of the so-called war-Communism. It is impossible to ascertain exactly what percentage of this loss in population must be imputed to Moscow itself and what percentage to its enemies and rivals as regards imperialistic claims to Ukraine,—namely to the White Russian movement and to the Germans; but there is no denying the fact that Moscow bears the blame for the appearance of both these factors.

The years from 1920 to 1926 are to be regarded as the second period of the 39 years' rule of Communist Russia in Ukraine. It would be more correct to separate the years 1921 and 1922 from this period and in their stead to add the two subsequent years, that is 1927 and 1928, as years in which the so-called New Economic Policy, which held good for the entire period, prevailed. But the census was taken in 1926, and we are therefore obliged to take this year as the dividing-line. In spite of this fact, however, the years from 1920 to 1926 should be considered as two separate periods, namely from 1920 to 1922 and from 1922 to 1926, and for this reason I refer to six periods. The year 1921-22 (the fiscal year at that time was reckoned from October to October) was one of an extremely poor harvest in Ukraine, a fact which led to a disastrous decrease in population. The subsequent years up to 1926 (and, in fact, up to 1928), as far as the population level was concerned, were more or less normal, with a fairly high increase per year of 2.6 per cent; this percentage for the year 1926 is also mentioned in the statistics which have now been published, namely 47 births and 20.3 deaths per thousand. All population losses in this period thus occur exclusively in those years in which the harvest was a poor one.

The objection may perhaps be raised that it is unfair to blame Moscow for these losses, since a poor harvest is a natural catastrophe. Yes, it is perfectly true that a poor harvest is a natural catastrophe, but the consequences which it had in the case of Ukraine were entirely the work of Moscow. This is not the time and place to give a detailed report of all the crimes committed by the Bolsheviks in Ukraine in those days. We shall therefore confine ourselves to mentioning certain facts which speak for themselves.

Ukraine had no food reserves whatsoever available to counteract the effects of the poor harvest, since she had been completely exploited and impoverished by Russia during the years preceding the poor harvest; prior to the revolution, on the other hand, reserves had always been put by as a precautionary measure. At the time of the poor harvest Ukraine only possessed reserves amounting to 25 per cent of a normal grain harvest, which was less than the reserves available in the other districts hit by a poor harvest—the lower Volga region. Despite this fact, however, Ukraine was forced to supply the lower Volga region with food-

stuffs. Of the total resources collected in Ukraine for the purpose of supplying the starving population with food, Ukraine was only allowed to keep 67 per cent, whilst 33 per cent had to be handed over to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR). In addition, Ukraine was forced to feed 35,000 children from the Volga region and to hand over all her coal supplies to Russia for the latter's transport needs. Ukraine was thus even deprived of the possibility to supply those districts in which the famine was most dire with the foodstuffs which were destined for them. It is stated quite openly in the above-mentioned report before the 7th Soviet Congress: "In the towns and villages of Ukraine in which the famine was most dire the worst months of the famine, namely the later part of the winter and the beginning of spring, passed without any help being forthcoming from the central authorities (that is to say, from Moscow)" (p. 32).

And later on it was the U.S.A. who helped Ukraine, by supplying meals in American canteens to 1.8 million of the 2.2 million starving persons entitled to receive public relief. Regardless of the terrible famine, of the fact that people died by the thousands and that cases of cannibalism occurred, the food tax was even imposed in the end in the districts in which the famine was worst, and in this connection the above-mentioned report proudly comments: "The fact remains to be mentioned that even in the districts in which the famine prevailed the collection of the food tax was effected more successfully than in many of the districts of those provinces in which the harvest was a normal one" (p. 15).

The above examples, which are but a few of the many examples which one could quote in connection with the famine of 1921-22, should suffice to show that Russia was to blame for the consequences of the poor harvest in Ukraine.

I have calculated the extent of the loss in population which occurred in the year 1921-22 as follows: taking the above-mentioned population figure of the year 1920 as a basis—25.5 million with an annual increase of 2.6 per cent during six years—the population in the year 1926 according to the formula of complicated percentages should have numbered 29.3 million. In addition, part of the Ukrainian districts of the neighbouring provinces were incorporated in Ukraine during this same period, and the population of these districts numbered approximately 1 million (the exact figure is not available). The total population figure should therefore have been 30 to 30.5 million. Actually, however, it was only 28.9 million, and there is thus a deficit of 1.1 to 1.6 million.

This tallies with the calculations of the Committee to Check the Famine: 4 per cent of the population figure plus annual increase, equals 1.5 million.

Let us now turn our attention to *the next period from 1926 to 1939*, the characteristic features of which are collectivisation, "de-kulakisation" and the intentionally created famine of 1932-33.

Taking the population figure of 1926 as a basis and assuming that the annual increase is now 1.7 per cent (the statistics which have now been published give an annual average of 25.6 births and 8.4 deaths per thousand for the years from 1926 onwards), the population of Ukraine according to the formula of complicated percentages should have numbered 37.3 million *thirteen years later*; Actually, however, it only numbered 30.9 million, and there is thus a deficit of 6.4 million.

This figure does not include all the population losses in Ukraine, for during the years which followed the ravages of 1932-33 a large-scale resettlement of peasants from the provinces of Ryazan and Tambov to Ukraine took place and, in addition, there was a huge influx of civil servants into Ukraine which by far exceeded the number of Ukrainians who went to Russia (we have not taken the deportation of Ukrainians to concentration camps into account, since we shall deal with this question later on).

The next period covers the years from 1939 to 1940, and must be considered separately, since it includes the incorporation of the West Ukrainian territories in Soviet Ukraine and since, moreover, data for the year 1940 is given in the above-mentioned statistics which have been published.

According to the "Big Soviet Encyclopedia" ("Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya"), 1947 edition, heading "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic", the population which was incorporated numbered 9.5 million. If we add together the actual population figure for 1939, the increase in one year and these 9.5 million, the total figure arrived at is 41 million, which tallies with the statistics which have now been published.

Let us now turn to the last period, from 1940 to 1956. Taking the population figure of 1940—41 million—with an annual increase of 1.7 per cent as a basis, the population of Ukraine according to the formula of complicated percentages should have numbered 53.7 million sixteen years later, namely in 1956. In addition, during this period Carpatho-Ukraine, with a population of 725,000, and Crimea, with a population of 1.5 million (a figure which has proved incorrect; it should be higher) were incorporated in Soviet Ukraine. In view of the annual increase in population in Carpatho-Ukraine in the course of 10 years, the population figure for Soviet Ukraine should be 2.4 million more as a result of this "reunion". Actually, the figure calculated on the strength of the statistics which have been published is 40.6 million, and there is thus a deficit of 15.5 million.

One could of course reduce this figure by 2.7 million, the population figure for Moldavia which is given separately in the statistical report, but in that case it would also have to be deducted for the year 1940, too; and the population figure given by Moscow for Western Ukraine would then be too low and it would be impossible to arrive at a total of 41 million. In order to ensure that the above-mentioned deficit is not exaggerated, however, let us deduct the said 2.7 million. *The loss of population in Ukraine in sixteen years then amounts to 12.8 million.*

There can be no doubt about the fact that the war must be held responsible for the process which played a decisive part in this loss of population. But whether it would be right to exonerate Communist Russia from blame as regards all the ravages of the war, is another matter. Was it not Moscow's friendship pact with Hitler which led to the war! Was not Moscow itself to blame for the fact that Ukraine was defenseless! Khrushchev himself admitted in his anti-Stalin speech that the Stalinist clique was to blame for the fact that the country was unprepared for military operations and that it suffered such crushing defeats during the first two years of the war. Was not the entire population reduced to starvation because the Communists confiscated all the food reserves when they fled from Ukraine! The losses in population which occurred during those years of a *non-Ukrainian* war must likewise be charged to Moscow's account.

In the "general volume" of the above-mentioned Encyclopedia the war casualties in Ukraine are calculated as follows: 2.5 million civilians perished during military operations and 1.5 million persons died as a result of "difficult occupation conditions" (that is to say, as a result of the famine caused by Moscow); in addition, 3 million persons were abducted and taken to Germany. The reason why these 3 million, the majority of whom, incidentally, have been "repatriated", should be counted as losses would be incomprehensible if this fact were not corroborated by reports about the deportation of the "repatriates"; for only in this case can they be counted as part of the losses in population in the national territory.

To the civilian losses amounting to 4 million there must be added the actual military losses. The exact extent of the latter is not known, but we can calculate their approximate number as follows: the statistics on military losses given in Soviet reports differ very considerably, and the highest figure given is 17 million; if one applies this figure in ratio to the percentage of the Ukrainian population in the U.S.S.R. (18.2 per cent), the figure arrived at is 3.1 million. The losses in population in Ukraine during the war which can more or less be calculated thus amount to 7.1 million of the total deficit of 15.5 million; and *the remaining 8.4 million are postwar losses due to the measures to which Moscow has resorted in order to depopulate Ukraine still further.*

The total losses suffered by the population of Ukraine during Moscow's Communist rule thus amount to 23.4 million, without taking the military losses amounting to 3.1 million into account.

The above statement does not mean that all these persons have been physically exterminated; the figure of 23.4 million also includes the millions of persons who have been sent to concentration camps or who have been forcibly resettled for the purpose of cultivating new, hitherto unexploited regions. The fact remains, however, that Ukraine has suffered a dreadful depopulation as a result of mass extermination and compulsory deportations; and, incidentally, deportation to concentration camps has resulted in the physical extermination of the greater part of the deportees.

We can safely affirm that *Ukraine has lost about 40 per cent of the population which she would have, had life and conditions there been normal during the past 39 years and had Russia not resorted to such depopulation measures.* And this is the bill which Ukraine must charge to the account of Communist Russia.

The categorical aspect of this bill is not even weakened by the consideration that Communism has inflicted dreadful ravages on all the peoples subjugated by it, including the Russian people, too. That is perfectly true, but the fact remains irrefutable that the ravages inflicted on Ukraine reveal a certain distinct tendency, and this entitles us to regard them in the light of a national suppression.

It is not difficult to convince oneself of this fact. One only needs to consider the constant decrease in the percentage of the population of Ukraine as compared to the total population figure of the U.S.S.R. The figures we have quoted above show that in 1914 the population of Ukraine represented 27.4 per cent of the total population of the entire Russian empire, whereas in 1920 it represented 23.6 per cent, in 1926 20.4 per cent, in 1939 18.2 per cent, and in 1956 20.3 per cent. The last of the foregoing index-numbers which shows a certain increase is by no means a contradiction of the constant process of decrease, since

the population of Ukraine increased by more than 11 million during this latter period as a result of the union of all the Ukrainian lands, and this last figure, which is more than 5 per cent of the total population of the U.S.S.R., should guarantee Ukraine a percentage of 23.7 (18.2 plus 5.5) if the percentage had remained stable instead of continuing to decrease.

One can likewise convince oneself of this fact if one considers the population deficits in all the Soviet republics during the years from 1940 to 1956 and bases this consideration on the normal annual increase given in the statistics which have been published. It will thus be seen that the deficit in the total population of the U.S.S.R. amounts to 20 per cent, whilst that of Ukraine amounts to 27.6 per cent. Lithuania has the same deficit percentage, whilst in the case of Byelorussia it is even higher (33 per cent). Russia proper (and also Latvia) has not even a deficit percentage of 20 per cent; her losses in population are thus by no means in excess of the deficit in the total population of the U.S.S.R. In the case of the Soviet republics in the East the percentage of losses is less: Tajikistan 5 per cent, Uzbekistan 11 per cent, and Kirghiz 0 per cent, whilst Kazakstan actually has a surplus percentage of 5 per cent.*) Accordingly, Russia proper has kept the same percentage as compared to the total population of the U.S.S.R. (56.4 per cent as compared to 56.2 per cent in 1940), whereas the corresponding percentage in the case of Ukraine has dropped.

The above facts also provide the solution to the question as to what has happened to the 8.4 million Ukrainians who are still a missing number, even after the war casualties have been deducted. Even if many of them perished as a result of the famine of 1946 (the data supplied by the underground movement in 1950 estimates the number of persons who died as a result of the famine in Ukraine in 1946 at 1.5 to 2 million), the remainder must have been sent to prison or to concentration camps and to the hitherto uncultivated regions of Siberia or to the eastern Soviet republics. And this fact is corroborated by the information supplied by countless prisoners who have returned to West and Central Europe after being released from Soviet concentration camps, according to whose statements the Ukrainians interned in these camps constitute 40 to 50 per cent of the total number of prisoners.

Such is the dreadful balance of the past 39 years which can be drawn up on the basis of the official statistics recently published by Moscow.

*) It goes without saying that these population conditions in Latvia and in the Central Asian (Turkestanian) Soviet republics are, in the first place, the result of mass Soviet Russian and Soviet Ukrainian colonisation—both voluntary and, above all, compulsory.—The Editor.

Rostyslav Yendyk

UKRAINIANS IN PRESENT-DAY POLAND

In June 1956 the "Ukrainian Social and Cultural Society" was founded in Warsaw and began to publish a weekly newspaper called "*Nashe Slovo*" ("Our Word"). This periodical for the first time gives us some information about the life of our fellow-countrymen, who were living west of the Curzon Line and who, on the strength of the agreements between Poland and the U.S.S.R., were incorporated in the Polish state. The information published in "*Nashe Slovo*" is, as it were, the first official news in this respect.

In 1945 the Polish government forcibly evicted all the Ukrainians living in the Lemky district, for the purpose of resettling them elsewhere. The Lemky region is situated to the west of the River San, along the Slovak frontier, and extends in a narrow strip almost as far as the Polish town of Zakopane in the Tatra Mountains. This eviction and resettlement was carried out because of the military operations which took place on the part of the Ukrainian insurgents at that time in the said district. By introducing these measures, the Polish government wanted to deprive the Ukrainian Insurgent Army of any help and support it might receive from the population and aimed to destroy the Western divisions of this army. The Ukrainians who were evicted from the Lemky region were transferred in groups, consisting of two to four families, to various places in eight northern and western voivodships. On this occasion many of the villages in the district of Peremyshl-Jaroslav and Kholm, which were inhabited by Ukrainians, were also resettled. To use a modern expression—these resettlement measures were an act of genocide on the part of the Polish government, against a national group of the Ukrainian people. Whether it was the Poles or the Russians who played the leading part in enforcing these measures, we do not know.

Resettlement was carried out in a most brutal manner and in no way differed from the resettlement measures imposed on the German population in Polish territory. Within a couple of days, and, more often than not, within a couple of hours, the Ukrainians were forced to leave the houses and farms which had belonged to their families for generations, and had to set out for an unknown destination with only a few belongings. They were assigned to the farms which had belonged to the German expellees. But it was a matter of luck as to who was assigned to a farm which had not been reduced to a heap of ruins as a result of military operations during the war. And the fact that the Ukrainian expellees were seldom assigned to farms which were still in good condition, can be seen from various accounts, according to which many Ukrainian families were still living in dire poverty even in 1956 and had not been able to improve their financial position since they had never been given any assistance by the state.

The attitude of the Polish Communists towards the Ukrainians in the districts to which the later had been resettled was extremely hostile. Most of the Ukrainians used the Polish language in order to avoid being persecuted by the Poles. Cries of "Ukrainians get out and go to Ukraine!", on the part of the Polish Communists, were a frequent occurrence. The *Nashe Slovo* writes as follows:

"It is sixteen years since the Polish state assumed control of this territory, but many of the Ukrainian intelligentsia have not yet admitted who they are. Those who admit their identity openly run the risk of being decried as 'nationalists', 'Bandera men' or 'Hitler hirelings' and of being deprived of their jobs." And in another passage: "Even today there are still persons who would like to make use of the present situation in order to drive all Ukrainians and Jews out of Poland. I do not think there are many such persons or that the Polish people will allow them to gain the upper hand."

It was a long time before the Ukrainians who had been resettled could overcome their anxiety as to how to protect their lives and eke out a bare existence, and even today many of them are still haunted by such fears. Some of the Ukrainians who are educated and know the meaning of the expression "national affinity" affirm that they are neither Poles nor Ukrainians, but only members of the Greek Catholic Church. Another example which clearly shows to what extent fear rules the lives of these people, is the case of the village of Jamne, which is about ten kilometres away from Koszalin. There are about eighteen Ukrainian families living in Jamne. On several occasions the district committee of the "Ukrainian Social and Cultural Society" tried to arrange a meeting there of the inhabitants who were of Ukrainian origin, but it never met with any success. The villagers were afraid to admit openly that they were Ukrainians or of Ukrainian origin.

The change in the official regime in Poland—the so-called "de-Stalinisation" or democratisation of the government—has to a certain extent helped to allay the fears of the Ukrainian population. After this change took place attempts were made for the first time to organise national and social life. These attempts assumed various forms and consisted for the most part in the founding of schools, national art societies, in particular theatre choirs and folk-dancing groups, and just recently in the setting up of local groups of the "Ukrainian Social and Cultural Society". Their cultural level is hardly above that of the public reading rooms which existed in the West Ukrainian territories before the war. Sometimes, in fact, they are extremely primitive and remind one of the days of the national renaissance in Galicia a hundred years ago, especially when poems by young and immature poets are read, who choose as their themes the fact that their native language has been forbidden and the sorrow which this causes.

The longing to use their own language and also "de-nationalisation", which resulted in many of the young persons not even being able to understand Ukrainian, was bound to lead to the founding of schools by the Ukrainians. Owing to the fact that many districts are very sparsely settled with Ukrainians, there were many practically insurmountable difficulties to be dealt with. In some districts, however, these obstacles could be coped with, whilst in others attempts are now being made to overcome them. It was no laughing matter that the official organ of the Communist Party, *Trybuna Ludu*, wrote, on the first day of the first general meeting of the "Ukrainian Social and Cultural Society", "the Ukrainian nationalists have organised a linguistic and cultural underground movement".

It was not long before the Ministry of Education issued a decree, which stated that Ukrainian was to be taught outside proper lesson hours in the schools where the Ukrainians raised this demand. But the Ukrainians are not satisfied with this

ruling. They demand that Ukrainian should be taught as part of the curriculum in schools in those villages in which there are more than twenty Ukrainian families. This request is particularly important as regards the district of Podlissie, where there are about sixty Ukrainian villages.

But the main question at issue is not merely the teaching of Ukrainian in the schools, but the improvement of the cultural level in general. For this reason attempts were made to found a department of Ukrainian language and literature at Warsaw University. The dean of the faculty of philosophy gave his consent, but as yet there are still all kinds of "technical" obstacles to be overcome. The biggest problem in this respect, of course, is the selection of suitable professors, but it should be possible to obtain teachers from the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, from Kyiv or Lviv. According to the periodical, *Nashe Slovo*, it is to be assumed that this new department will be opened in the 1957 winter term.

During and after the resettlement of the Ukrainians many churches were destroyed, some of which were several hundred years old. Everywhere else in the world such buildings and shrines come under the protection of the competent authority for the national trust of cultural monuments, but such a thing is unheard of in the Lemky district. Old churches are constantly being destroyed; the old paintings and shrines which they contain are likewise destroyed either "privately" or officially, and it is even dangerous for Poles to try to save them from destruction. In Jaroslav the municipal council issued an order that the church dating back to the 17th century was to be handed over to the mental home there, to be used as building material.

The founding of the "Ukrainian Social and Cultural Society" has enabled the Ukrainian minority to draw up and formulate its claims and present them to the Polish government. At the Voivodship Congress in Wroclaw (Breslau), on October 4, 1956, these claims were summarised as follows:

- 1) that it be admitted that in 1947 the principle of collective responsibility was applied in the case of the Ukrainians and that compulsory deportation to the West was a breach of Leninist doctrine in the national policy;
- 2) that it is necessary to make every effort to ensure that the Ukrainians shall be able to return to their native country and that they shall receive assistance from the state to help them to be able to run their farms;
- 3) the practical realisation of the right to freedom of religious worship in every confession, including the Greek Catholic Church, which right has been guaranteed by the Constitution of the People's Republic of Poland;
- 4) a guarantee to be given that the Ukrainian population will be represented in the elections in January 1957.

Since the Ukrainians have no delegate in the Sejm, the Polish government has refused to recognise their political rights. The same also applies to repatriation. It is true that the government has sanctioned repatriation, but the administrative authorities are making things so difficult for the Ukrainians who wish to return to their native districts, that there are not likely to be many cases of repatriation. In fact, people who attempt to go back to their former farms are being arrested.

Poland of today is at present facing big upheavals, which will also affect the Ukrainian minority. Time alone will show what the consequences of these upheavals will be. But at least one can already say for certain that as far as the Ukrainians are concerned their position will only improve very slowly.

Wolfgang Strauss

UKRAINIAN PRISONERS IN VORKUTA

I was arrested in 1950 in the East Zone of Germany and was sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment. At the beginning of 1951 I was sent to Vorkuta. As regards my political views, I had up to this time supported the system which may be called neo-liberalism. At the same time, I was also a pan-Europe supporter, a cosmopolite and a pacifist. I knew practically nothing at all about Ukraine. When I was assigned to brigade No. 1 (Kapitalka) in October, 1951, I was told by my compatriots that I should be working together with Ukrainians most of the time.

On the first free day we had, the Ukrainians invited me to have tea with them. They wanted to know all about the political situation in Western Europe at that time. I told them all I knew and commented on current events from the neo-liberal point of view. In return, they promised that they would let me have their points of view when next we had an opportunity to discuss such matters.

In the meantime I learned that of the total number of prisoners, amounting to 5,000, in mine No. 1, 70 per cent were Ukrainians. This percentage applied to those who *spoke* Ukrainian. From prisoners working in the mine, who had been brought to Vorkuta by other transports, I learned that there was approximately the same percentage of Ukrainians in the other camps in Vorkuta.

In 1951 there were 200,000 prisoners in Vorkuta, of whom about 140,000 were Ukrainians. The second largest group consisted of Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians; next in order of percentage were the Caucasians and Turkestanians. There were a number of Russians in the camp. Despite the fact, however, that their number never exceeded 10 per cent, they held high posts in the camp administration.

In the course of time I learned a great deal about the Ukrainians. I was particularly interested in their conception of Ukraine after her liberation, and the views they expressed in this respect may be summed up as follows: state independence for the Ukrainian people, political severance from the Russian empire, but without hatred towards the Russian people as such; a separate and individual cultural and national existence for the Ukrainian people and a specifically Ukrainian cultural tradition as something entirely apart from the Russian tradition. My Ukrainian friends did not wish their people to be divided into classes or economic or ideological groups. They expressed the opinion in the life of the state, and said that the entire state system should be set up with the support of the people, by the people and for the people. They opposed every form of dictatorship and supported the idea of democracy with the participation of the people, in the form of national councils, trade unions, etc. They were opposed to the one-party system, but at the same time they also rejected the other extreme, namely a state system with too many parties. They emphasised the principle of free elections and stressed in particular the need for people's plebiscites in all vital problems.

As regards social problems, they regarded the agricultural or land problem as the most vital one. They said that it was imperative that the kolchozes should be divided up and the land distributed among the people, that is to say, the former kolchoz workers. They were opposed to the idea of the land being restored to the big landowners.

As far as question pertaining to industry, mines and transport were concerned, my Ukrainian friends were of the opinion that these branches should belong to neither private persons nor the state, but to the workers engaged in them. The control and distribution of profits should be in the hands of authorities representing the workers. They were not in favour of either the restoration of the former system or the maintenance of the present one.

They supported the idea of religious freedom, but rejected the idea of a political party supported by any one religious sect. The more intelligent of my Ukrainian friends did not adhere closely to the doctrines of any one particular Church, but, on the other hand, they were not atheists either. As regards the teaching of religion in schools, opinions were divided. Some were all in favour of this idea, others were opposed to it, whilst some of them were indifferent to this question.

As regards the education of youth, they were of the opinion that it should be neither a party ideological nor a strictly denominational education, but a national education.

They substantiated their views by quoting historical examples, which I was unable to contradict, not having any counter-arguments to offer. Thanks to their influence, I revised my views and there is now nothing left of my neo-liberalism. My comrades used to say, "a nation is not a temporal union, but a constant unifying form of community and the highest form of integration of the human community." My fellow-workers and friends were, as they themselves told me, either members of the O.U.N. (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists) or the U.P.A. (Ukrainian Insurgent Army).

The majority of the Ukrainian prisoners came from Halytchyna (Galicia), Volynia or Polissia (Western regions of Ukraine), and most of them were between 20 and 35 years old. The majority had come to the camps prior to 1947 and most of them had been sentenced to 20 years hard labour. The men who came from Volynia and Polissia were for the most part farmers, as were those who hailed from Carpatho-Ukraine. The prisoners from Halytchyna were students, teachers, intellectual, townspeople, and farmers. As a rule, the leaders of the national groups were students. After 1950 new transports of prisoners began to arrive from Eastern Ukraine, in particular from Kyiv. Most of these prisoners were young students, their ages ranging between 17 and 19. They had been sentenced not for fighting as partisans, but for disseminating illegal propaganda. They spoke Ukrainian and were nationally conscious in spite of having formerly been members of the Komsomol (Communist Youth Organisation). They had no clear political programme, but they were definitely in favour of the severance of Ukraine from Russia.

The views of my Ukrainian fellow-workers were, however, not confined to theories alone. This became evident in 1953 during the various strikes which occurred. The strike which took place in Vorkuta was the result of events connected with Beria affair, events in Berlin on June 17, and the subsequent

transfer of prisoners from Karaganda (where a strike had already occurred). The main reason for the strike was, of course, the prisoners' desire for freedom. But in spite of all these facts, the strike would not have taken place had there not been a certain leading group which gained the support of the masses. The moving force of the strike, both as regards initiative and numbers, were the Ukrainians. There were no direct economic reasons or motives for strike, and its character was therefore national. The official demands of the strikers were that paragraph 58 should be abolished and that the prisoners who were released should be allowed to return to their native country and should be completely rehabilitated. But the secret slogan of the prisoners was "death to the MVD" and it was directed against the system in general. The secret police was well-informed as to what was going on and resorted to the use of tanks and machine-guns in dealing with the strikers.

The methods used by the strikers varied. At mine No. 1 the strike was carried out in the "Italian" way, that is to say, the prisoners did not openly refuse to work, but went on a passive strike, and the coal was simply not mined. It later turned out to be the best way of going on strike, for in this case the prisoners were not shot.

At mines No. 7 and No. 29, however, the radical method was applied. The prisoners openly refused to work and remained in the camp. After they had got rid of the camp overseers, they proceeded to attack the camp prison. They refused to let the MVD enter the camp, and the result was that the latter encircled the camp, the food supply was cut off, and finally military units intervened. Many of the prisoners were killed or seriously wounded (at mine No. 29, 73 prisoners were killed and more than 200 wounded, many of whom later died).

Many of the soldiers refused to fire on the prisoners and committed suicide. After the military intervention, purges were carried out among the prisoners. Some of them were sent to penal camps, others were put into prison. Though the strike claimed many victims, it nevertheless resulted in various privileges being introduced. The prisoners were no longer compelled to wear a number; they were allowed to write letters home once a month; the fence round the camp was removed and the sheds in which the prisoners lived were no longer locked and barred; the prisoners' families were even allowed to visit them once a fortnight; some of the invalids and adolescents were released.

In my conversation with Ukrainian prisoners I asked them what they thought about emigration. In their opinion the leading class should be composed of persons who live in Ukraine or who were imprisoned in concentration camps on account of their views. They do not want aid in the form of parcels or in the form of propaganda, but military aid in the event of an insurrection. They do not want foreign occupation forces in their country. They believe in their own national strength, even though they possess no weapons.

I was in Vorkuta until January 1955. According to information I received in the summer of 1955, there was a new wave of strikes in Vorkuta and Inta.

(*"Suchasna Ukraïna"*)

Prof. Olexander Kulchysky

PROFESSOR IVAN MIRCHUK

A Philosopher of Ukrainian Intellectual Life

(To mark the occasion of the 65th birthday of Professor I. Mirchuk)

If one casts a glance at the long and varied list of Professor Mirchuk's fifty-four scholarly works, which deal with history, the history of civilization, pedagogics, philosophy, and the history of literature, one may perhaps come to the conclusion that my intention to consider him as a philosopher may possibly result in a dangerous limitation of the complete picture of his creative work. The fact must, however, be realised that, in depicting intellectual reality, completeness as a wealth of detail, that is to say as a *detailed depiction*, may run counter to the *true aspect of the complete picture*. If, on the other hand, one selects a few certain traits which are characteristic of the creative work of the scholar concerned, one is far more likely to reproduce their *quidque suum* more correctly—to borrow an expression used by Petrarch, who in the Renaissance discovered the individuality of the human countenance and in this way brought up the problem of the "countenance of individuality".

And, in deciding for this reason to confine ourselves to Professor Mirchuk's philosophical works, we should at this point in our fundamental argument—and every attempt to characterise a person, the *individual ineffabile* which Goethe described with the words "there is a universe in the inner man, too", must be based on a fundamental argument—like to raise a subsidiary question which will facilitate our task, namely, "who can be regarded as a philosopher?"

Etymologically, the word does not designate as a philosopher the man who already possesses knowledge, but the man who loves knowledge and seeks to gain it—a knowledge which does not consist solely in a rational knowing, but also, according to Sheler, in a direct "insight", the direct "insight into all essential factors, which can be proved by examples, in the vital chain of existence". A philosopher is a man who loves knowledge in a platonic eros and seeks to gain it, without, however, forgetting that he will never be able to attain it completely. By preserving this spirit of philosophical humility before the unfathomable mysteries of existence, in his heart, the philosopher is able to direct the mirror of his soul *sub specie aeternitatis* towards the truest possible perception of the eternal, everlasting and all-important essence of existence as a whole. An attitude of platonic eros towards the object of knowledge, an attitude of humility in assessing man's and one's own potentialities of discerning what is discernable, and, finally, self-discipline, the intellectual discipline without which there can be no objective discernment—these are the three subjective preconditions which are necessary for a man to become a philosopher in the truest sense. And these three preconditions must be fulfilled if our discernment is to be rightly applied to the true object of philosophy, which represents the entirety of existence and its quintessence: in this way our discernment becomes truly philosophical, that is to say, *universal*, inasmuch as it comprehends the entirety of existence, and *radical*, inasmuch as it understands the profoundest fundamental truths of existence.

It would, however, be erroneous to believe that the universal and radical aspects of philosophical discernment are necessarily to be understood as the will to create all-embracing system which are to reveal the fundamental truths of the entirety of existence. It is precisely in our day that *N. Hartmann* has explicitly compared philosophy as "problem thinking" with philosophy as "system thinking", and has very plausibly proclaimed the end of the setting up of philosophical systems and the ever-increasing importance of the *philosophical profundity* of various problems. In order to remain a universal knowledge, philosophy by no means needs to represent an all-embracing knowledge of the entirety of existence; it suffices for it to consider some one section of the world, that is, some special problem, with the "intention" on the entirety (as the phenomenologists say), that is to say, from the perspective of the entirety, in connection with the entirety. In the course of its development philosophy has on several occasions narrowed its field down to a theory of knowledge (gnosis) only or to a theory of values (axiology), without however ceasing to be philosophy. And this is all the more reason why one may—and, in fact, sometimes should—confine oneself to a single problem, so that its true profundity remains a matter for philosophy.

It is worthwhile bearing these problems regarding a philosophical attitude towards life and the world in general in mind, when trying to understand the spiritual and intellectual picture of Professor Mirchuk as a philosopher of the Hartmann school of "problem thinking"—as a philosopher of the problem of Ukrainian intellectual life. At the same time, however, one should ask oneself the question: how do we interpret the philosophical conception of "intellectual life"?

Whereas the psychology of nations, in our opinion, has as its main object of discernment the national psychic and its characteristic qualities and functions, and social psychology, on the other hand, is able to fathom and examine the mentality of a nation, that is to say the entirety of its convictions and its social attitudes in all their differences, the problem of the intellectual life of a nation on a philosophical level represents the problem of the form, chosen in a characteristic way by the nation concerned, in which the "realisation of values" is effected—a process which likewise reveals its cultural form.

Professor Mirchuk did certainly not arrive at his "real" problem of Ukrainian intellectual life right from the start. He first of all paid homage in his earliest works to the theme of gnosis in neo-Kantianism, which was still at its height in his youth: "Metageometry and its Importance for Kant's Theory of Space" (in which he used metageometry in an original way in order to substantiate the Kantian a priori reasoning) and "On the Possibility of Synthetic Deductions a priori" are two of these early works which should be mentioned. Despite considerable terminological difficulties, he also translated Kant's "Prolegomena to all Future Metaphysics" into Ukrainian. But in spite of all this, his interest in the theory of gnosis is not particularly tense or constant. His subsequent works, as for instance "Foundations of Greek Ethics" and the "History of Greek Ethics", would indicate rather that he was more interested in the theory of values (axiology). But ethics, too, seem to interest the author more or less indirectly, namely as part of the philosophical survey of the world as a whole, which depends in its other parts, metaphysics and aesthetics; at least that is the case in the "Foundation of Greek Ethics", which clearly stresses the problem of the connection

between the various parts of a general philosophical survey of the world; and it was precisely this question which was to lead Professor Mirchuk to his main problem, the problem of the Ukrainian national philosophical survey of the world as an expression of national intellectual life; and, incidentally, he arrived at this problem by way of his studies in the field of Slav philosophy as an expression of Slav intellectual life in general.

In his "Slav Philosophy—An Attempt at Characterisation" he endeavours to determine the conception of the Slav philosophy "on the strength of certain common errors and certain corresponding values" which "reveal a cultural sphere of the Slav world as an entirety". But here already, on the general basis of a "Slav Philosophy", the problems of the national philosophies of the individual nations stand out quite clearly—problems, for the solution of which the study of the "Slav Philosophy" is merely a preparatory work.

The characterisation of the "Slav" philosophy, which partly tallies with that of the Ukrainian philosophical survey of the world, though the latter also reveals certain specific, special characteristics, can be roughly formulated as follows: the intellectual energy in the form of a philosophical way of thinking, in the case of the Slavs, does not show a vertical but a horizontal direction; it does not reveal an upward trend; it is not centred in the minds of individual great thinkers, but depends on a relatively high standard of philosophical creative work on the part of many circles of society, including the masses, too, whose intellectual culture reveals many philosophical elements. Accordingly, in the case of the Slavs the role of philosophers is frequently assumed by writers, such as the Russians, Dostoyevski and Tolstoy, or by poets, such as the Poles, Krasinski and Slovacki. As far as the trends in the Slav psychology are concerned, Professor Mirchuk stresses in particular a marked inclination to the concrete—the "reality urge" which seeks to convert theory into practice. The reverse of this trait is determined by a "profound contempt for all abstract and rational theories", a fact which frequently results in the application of emotional and intuitive methods of discernment in philosophical research (a question discussed in detail by the Russian religious thinker, Vladimir Solovyov). This close connection between Slav philosophy and the Slav attitude to life in general is also substantiated by the religious aspect, since religion is closely allied to the attitude to life. In connection with the above-mentioned intuitivism, which is pervaded with emotional elements, this religious attitude to life in the Slav philosophy frequently leads to mysticism, that is to say, to an emotional inner unity of man with transcendental forces, and, accordingly, to Messianism (as for instance, in particular in the case of the Russian Slavophiles). This general characterisation of the Slav philosophy is corroborated in various special studies by Professor Mirchuk which are devoted to certain individual philosophical thinkers of the Slav world, as for instance the Czech, Masaryk, the Russian, Tolstoy, and the Ukrainian, Skovoroda.

The *Ukrainian* philosophy is also regarded by Professor Mirchuk as a practical philosophy of life, as are also the Czech, the Polish and the Russian philosophy. "Its aim", so he writes, "consists in searching for the truth of life; its essential quality is never one of pure abstraction, that is to say, it does not confine itself to an objective discernment of things or to the corresponding expression, but it strives for practical expression in an emotional and religious attitude to life, in an ethical order, and in the interpretation of world events."

According to Professor Mirchuk the fundamental characteristic of Ukrainian intellectual life is, above all, to be found in the "extremely close ties with the country in which the Ukrainian people have been living since time immemorial." And this accounts for the close ties which exist between the Ukrainian people and Nature. "Modern man", so Professor Mirchuk writes, "has withdrawn too far from his surroundings and from Nature; and this has inevitable resulted in a hostile attitude between these two camps, an attitude which leads to the decline of culture and must therefore in future be eliminated. In my opinion, the greatest evil of dreadful Bolshevik reality consisted in a split—in the antagonism between the internal and the external world, between subject and object, between Nature and man, whose aim had become a victory over Nature and no longer the desire to understand Nature completely. And it is in this respect that a role of world-wide importance confronts the Ukrainian people, namely to regain the world harmony of former times, the harmony between the individual and his surroundings which is the basis for all future cultural progress."

Another characteristic of Ukrainian intellectual life is the tendency to idealise reality, not, however, by negating this reality, but by believing in an ideal, namely in the possibility of being able to turn reality into a better form of existence.

A further characteristic of Ukrainian intellectual life—and one which frequently allies it to that of Western Europe—is its personalism, its firm conviction regarding the personal freedom and the personal responsibility of the individual towards the community (formulated most explicitly by Kostomarov in his characterisation of social conditions in the Kozak state); and it is precisely this characteristic which constitutes the sharp distinction between Ukrainians and Russians (Muscovites).

But the most important role in this characterisation of Ukrainian intellectual life—according to Professor Mirchuk's analysis of the fundamental ideas expressed the "emotional philosophy" of the Ukrainian philosopher, *Yurkevych*—must be ascribed to those cultural elements which derive their origin from the emotions, or, as Professor Mirchuk so aptly says, from the "prefunction of the heart".

This "prefunction of the heart" also create another specific characteristic of Ukrainian intellectual life—its profound religiousness which, although it is to be found amongst almost all Slav peoples, is particularly characteristic of the Ukrainians, since in their case it assumes a distinct form of religious tolerance and is centred on the nature itself of the religious attitude without taking the purely formal aspect of this attitude into account.

Thus it was the problem of the fitting in of Ukrainian intellectual life into the cosmic perspective of the development of mankind and the universe, which provided the crystallisation axis, as it were, for Professor Mirchuk's philosophical work. And all his works, however, varied and manifold they may appear at first glance, can be grouped round this main problem.

Professor Mirchuk's chief concern is always to draw a distinct line between Ukrainian intellectual life and other products of the Slav mentality; occasionally, to compare them, and sometimes to show connecting lines between them, and in doing so, he always emphasizes the "realisation urge" which is so vital a trait of the Ukrainian mind and soul. He undoubtedly deserves to be acclaimed the "philosopher of Ukrainian intellectual life"—a philosopher to whom the Ukrainian national movement is greatly indebted.

W. Luzhansky

Conference of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Europe In Karlsruhe, Germany, from December 16-18th 1956

The Ukrainian Orthodox Church was one of the main factors in Ukraine which were opposed to the conclusion of the Treaty of Pereyaslav (January 1954) between Ukraine and Muscovy (Russia), since the Ukrainian clergy did not believe that Muscovy would be an honest ally; and their doubts in this respect were confirmed by Muscovy's treachery towards Ukraine. In the years that followed Tzar began to intervene in the internal affairs of Ukraine and in those of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. About thirty years after the conclusion of the Treaty of Pereyaslav the Muscovite Tzar succeeded in destroying the independence of this Church by subjecting it to the supremacy of the Muscovite Autocratic Church; this subjugation was, of course, effected by means of the so-called "gifts" presented to the Orthodox Patriarch in Constantinople, under whose supremacy the Ukrainian Orthodox Church had hitherto been. Thus, the cultural mission of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Ukraine was undermined within a very short time. On the death of the last Ukrainian independent Metropolitan, Joseph Tukalsky, Prince Hedeon Sviatopolk-Chetvertynsky was elected his successor. He recognised the supremacy of the Muscovite (Russian) Patriarchate (1685). The Ukrainian Orthodox Church thus lost its autonomy and no longer played a part as an independent Church, but was, by degrees, completely annihilated by the Russians.

After World War I and the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was re-established. But the successors of the Russian Tzars, the Red Russian Communists, would not tolerate the existence of either an independent Ukrainian state or an independent Ukrainian Church, for the simple reason that Ukraine is a region of considerable value to Moscow, and the loss of this territory, with its fertile soil, its mineral resources and its great strategic importance, would practically put an end to Russian supremacy in Europe.

The Red Russian armies accordingly invaded Ukraine and in November 1920, succeeded in occupying the last remaining Ukrainian territory. May we be permitted to mention the regrettable fact that the victorious powers of the Entente did not support the new Ukrainian Republic; here were, of course, a few exceptions, as for instance the then Prime Minister of Great Britain, Lloyd George, who objected to the invasion of the West Ukrainian territories by the Polish armies, which had been equipped extremely well by France. It was obvious that the main aim of the Red Russians was now to liquidate the newly re-established Ukrainian Orthodox Church. All the bishops and the Metropolitan

Lypkivskiy as well as all Ukrainian Orthodox priests were imprisoned and liquidated. Under Red Russian occupation there is no longer an officially recognised Ukrainian Orthodox clergy in Ukraine; the Russian Church has built up its power on the blood and tears of the Christians of Ukrainian origin and co-operates with the Kremlin "ad maiorem Russiae Rubrae gloriam", whilst the Ukrainian Church is obliged to continue its activity in secret.

The Ukrainian clergy abroad were thus obliged to establish a Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in exile, mainly in Europe and America. Ukrainian priests from Volhynia and Bukovina, Ukrainian ethnographic territories which prior to World War I were under Russian and Austrian rule and later under Polish and Rumanian occupation, joined this Church. The Head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Europe is the Metropolitan Nikanor in Karlsruhe, Germany. This Church recently held a conference in Karlsruhe for the purpose of consolidating its present position abroad and finding new ways to ensure its further successful development. The conference was opened by the Metropolitan himself on December 16, 1956. In his opening address he said that the present situation of the Church was satisfactory and added that there were twenty priests in Germany alone. The official organ of the Church is the monthly, "Ridna Tserkva" ("Our Church"), which is published in Karlsruhe. The Metropolitan is hoping that the publication of religious manuals and books will be possible in the near future. Incidentally, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in exile has three priests in France, one priest in Belgium and one priest in Austria, with two thousand faithful. In Great Britain and Scotland there are twelve priests, most of them young persons.

With regard to the organisation of the Church overseas, it was stressed at the conference that Ukrainian religious life in South America comes under the administration of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the U.S.A. In Australia the Ukrainian Orthodox Church is confronted by certain difficulties due to special conditions which prevail there.

On the first day of the Conference in Karlsruhe the Rev. D. Burko held a lecture on the main problems of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church abroad. He pointed out that the essential preconditions for the further successful development of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church abroad were: 1) the unity of the Church; 2) its autocephalous character; 3) the national idea and principle; and 4) an all-Ukrainian organisation of the Church. The speaker stressed the fact that all Ukrainian bishops and priests abroad, in view of the tragic situation of the Ukrainian Church in Ukraine, have now a greater responsibility than ever before God and towards mankind. He said that countless Ukrainian martyrs have fought for the autocephalous status of the Ukrainian Church and that this fact must be constantly borne in mind by the Ukrainian Orthodox clergy living abroad. As a free member of the Universal Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church must assume the status to which it is entitled. After her liberation Ukraine must have her own patriarch. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church is a national Church and as such it serves God and the Ukrainian nation. In the course of its troubled history the Ukrainian Orthodox Church has protected Ukraine from spiritual destruction. The Church must at present be national abroad and national in Ukraine in the near future.

The Rev. D. Burko went on to say that the constitution of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church must be the same as it was in former times, namely in the period of the first Ukrainian state (the reign of the Ukrainian princes in the Kyiv State of Ruthenia or Rus until the invasion of the Mongols in the XIIIth century), in the period of the second Ukrainian state (before and after the Great Ukrainian Revolution—in the following centuries, until the liquidation of the Ukrainian Church by the Russian Tzars) and, finally, in the more recent period of the third Ukrainian state (until 1920). Three sectors of the Ukrainian nation must play an active part in establishing the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church anew: the bishops, the clergy and the faithful. All have equal rights and duties and all are responsible for their national Church. The discussion which followed the Rev. D. Burko's lecture showed that all those present at the conference were unanimously agreed in their opinions.

On the following day, December 17th, the first meeting was concerned with the passing of a new statute of the Church in exile. In accordance with this statute, the supreme organ of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in exile is the Sobor (or Synod), consisting of bishops and representatives of the clergy and the faithful. This Sobor is convened by the Metropolitan himself.

The main amendment in this new statute, as compared to the previous statute, is the setting up of the Supreme Council of the metropolis. This Council acts as a supreme organ in the interval between the conferences of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. The Metropolitan himself is the Head of this Council, which includes not only the bishops and the heads of regional Church organisations, but also three representatives of the clergy and the faithful who must be elected by those taking part in the conference.

The supreme executive organ of the Church in exile is the supreme Church Administration which must have its headquarters in the metropolis.

The new statute contains many new sections and paragraphs, several of which refer to the setting up of the Church Court and Control Commission of the Church. It was adopted unanimously by all the members of the conference.

The election of new organs was then carried out, and subsequently questions pertaining to the appointment of new bishops and to the setting up of new Ukrainian Orthodox Churches in Paris and in Frankfurt on Main were discussed. Reports from France, Great Britain, Germany and various other countries were submitted, and, in addition, the question of the union of all Ukrainian Orthodox Churches was discussed and resolutions were passed accordingly. A special message to the brethren in Ukraine under Red Russian occupation was also drafted.

The members of the conference commemorated all those martyrs who, in the course of the past centuries, have fought for the cause of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and have been murdered, as for instance the Metropolitan Arseniy Matsievych, Archbishop Varlaam Shishatsky and many other zealous defenders of the Ukrainian Orthodox Faith.

After the Ukrainian hymn, "Oh, Great and Unique God. . .", and the Ukrainian national anthem, "She lives on, our Ukraine", had been sung, the conference terminated on the evening of December 18th.



† NIKANOR

*The Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous
Orthodox Church in Europe*



Prof. Dr. Vadym Stcherbakiwskyj

OBITUARIES***Professor Dr. Vadym Stcherbakiwskyj*****(1876-1957)**

Ukrainian science in general and Ukrainian archaeology and ethnology, in particular, have suffered a great loss in the death of V. Stcherbakiwskyj, who was an outstanding specialist in these fields and a worthy representative of his native country on the strength of his works, which were published mainly in foreign languages and in foreign journals, and his participation in international and Slav scientific congresses. Stcherbakiwskyj was a Ukrainian nationalist in the best sense, who, all his life, fought for the state independence and better future of his native country—not with a weapon in his hand at the front and not in the ranks of the revolutionaries, but as a prominent fighter in the cultural sphere, who always held aloft the banner of Ukrainian science in the international forum.

Stcherbakiwskyj was born in Spychyni near Koziatyn, in the district of Kyiv, as the son of a clergyman. He began his university studies in Moscow, in the faculty of mathematics and natural sciences, and continued them in the department of history and philosophy at Kyiv University, where he attended lectures on history by Prof. Volodymyr Antonovych, the leading Ukrainian historian, and lectures on archaeology by that distinguished Czech scholar, Prof. Chvojka, who discovered the so-called Trypillia Culture. It was not long before young Stcherbakiwskyj attracted the attention of older experts and, at their instructions, carried out independent excavations in the Kyiv district for the purpose of studying the prehistoric ages of his native country. These excavations of prehistoric remains dating back to the Palaeolithic period, to the period of the Trypillia Culture and the ancient era of the princes, formed the starting point and the basis for later archaeological studies. He took a very active part in the archaeological congresses, which at that time were the only manifestation of free Ukrainian thought, and held countless lectures on his field of research. But this purely cultural activity on his part did not meet with the approval of the official Tzarist authorities, who, on the pretext that he was a member of illegal organisations, placed him under police surveillance and later forced him to leave his native country in order to prevent him from engaging in further cultural work. In order to avoid further persecution, he fled from the country and spent the rest of his life, save for small interruptions, until his death, abroad. The chief stages of his wanderings were Austria, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, Bavaria, and finally England, where he died in a convalescent home in Brighton after a life dedicated to and enriched by culture. He stayed for a considerable length of time in the above-mentioned countries, and, in addition, also visited various other

countries in Europe, including Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, France, Germany, Poland, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

His cultural activity was so manifold that it is impossible to give even a general account of it in a short article such as this. For this reason, I should like to deal only with two stages in his wanderings, namely with his sojourn in Prague from 1922 to 1945 and with the period of his activity connected with the setting up of the Ukrainian Free University in Bavaria. When he went to live in the capital of the Czecho-Slovakian state, he was immediately appointed professor of ancient history and archaeology in the faculty of philosophy at Prague University. He commenced his pedagogic work there in the winter-term of 1922-23 with a course of lectures on prehistoric archaeology. In the terms that followed he continued this series of lectures and later dealt with the following special themes: "The Iron Age in Ukraine", "The Rule of the Scythians in Ukraine", "The Rule of the Sarmatians and Their Supersession by Other Nomads", "The Period of the Migration of Peoples and the Era of the Princes in Ukraine", "The Culture of Painted Ceramics", "The Bronze Age in Ukraine", etc. It is not possible in this article to give a complete list of all the courses of lectures which he held, but we should, however, like to stress the fact that he always endeavoured to present a comprehensive picture of the subjects which he taught and which so far had only been dealt with in a very fragmentary way by Ukrainian scientific literature.

Upon his arrival in Prague, Stcherbakiwskyj at once established contact with his Czech academic colleagues, namely with the archaeologist of European renown, Prof. Lubomir Niederle, and the second leading Czech scholar in this field, Stocky. The extent of his contacts with scientists of other countries increased from year to year, especially once he had decided to take an active part in the various Slav and international congresses which were held during the years of his professorship in Prague. Indeed, in this respect he can rightly be said to have ranked as first amongst the representatives of Ukrainian science. In view of the brevity of this article it is not possible for me to give a complete list of all the congresses which Stcherbakiwskyj attended, and I shall therefore confine myself to mentioning only the most important ones:

XIIIth International Congress of Anthropology and Archaeology, in Prague, 1924;

Vth International Congress of the History and Philosophy of Religion, in Lund (Sweden), 1929;

IIIrd Congress of Slav Geographers and Ethnographers, in Belgrade, 1930;

XIXth International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Studies, in London, 1931;

IInd Slavist Congress in Warsaw, 1934;

VIth International Congress of the History and Philosophy of Religions, in Brussels, 1935;

XXth International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Studies, in Oslo, 1936;

XIIth International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology, in Bucharest, 1938.

Mention must be made of the fact that on all these occasions and at many other congresses Stcherbakiwskyj played an active part and held lectures which were later published in the French, German, Czech and Ukrainian languages in various professional journals. To mention but a few examples: "Les rites funéraires dans la culture de la ceramique peinte de l'époque neolithique en Ukraine"; "Au problèmes des Slaves primitives"; "Reste der ursprünglichen Religionen in der Ukraine"; "Souziti lidstva malovanê keramiky a skrcenych okrovych pohrbu"; "L'habitude de la populace de s'éviter" etc.

World War II put an end to Stcherbakiwskyj's further participation in international congresses, for the centres of learning lost contact with each other and Europe under Hitler's rule was not interested in an exchange of ideas among scholars, who were, in the first place, obliged to work for wartime purposes if their special branch of knowledge could be applied in practice.

From 1945 onwards Stcherbakiwskyj devoted himself to new tasks connected with the renewal of the activity of the Ukrainian Free University in the capital of Bavaria, Munich. When the Red Army occupied Prague, the majority of the professors and students left the kindly atmosphere of the university of the Czech metropolis and withdrew to the West, to Bavaria, in order to seek protection from the Bolshevik danger. Stcherbakiwskyj, too, left Czecho-Slovakia, where he had lived for practically twenty-five years, and settled in Munich, the biggest Ukrainian emigrant centre this side of the Iron Curtain. And it was here, in entirely strange surroundings, that he devoted himself with youthful enthusiasm—he was, incidentally, already seventy years old at that time—to reorganising the Ukrainian University, which in a very short time, under his guidance, became a highly esteemed institution, a fact which was acknowledged with considerable admiration by others.

The complete list of works by Prof. Stcherbakiwskyj in the field of archaeology, art and ethnology comprises more than sixty titles in various languages; most of them are treatises dealing with some special subject or other and, though not very long, are extremely profound in content. They were published in various foreign journals and their purpose was to acquaint the world with the achievements of Ukrainian science. Owing to lack of space, I should at this point like to mention only a few of these outstanding publications: "L'art de l'Ukraine: L'Architecture et la Sculpture en bois", Léopol-Kyiv, 1913; "The Formation of the Ukrainian Nation", Prague, 1941; "The Stone Age in Ukraine", Munich, 1947; his comprehensive work, "The Ukrainian House", with illustrations, was unfortunately never completed, and no doubt a number of unpublished manuscripts will also come to light amongst the possessions of the deceased. I do not consider myself qualified to express an opinion on the scientific value of Stcherbakiwskyj's works; his professional colleagues are more fitted to do so and it is moreover their duty to stress in particular his achievements in the field of archaeology and ethnology. The esteem which he enjoyed among his foreign professional colleagues is proof of his renown as a scholar. Indeed, Prof. Stcherbakiwskyj is an example of a scholar inspired by the national ethos and of an organiser of Ukrainian scientific research.

Hetmanych Danylo Skoropadsky

(13. 2. 1904 - 23. 2. 1957)

Danylo Skoropadsky, Head of the Ukrainian Monarchist movement and President of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, died recently in London, and a vigorous life full of activity and dedication to the Ukrainian national cause was cut short unexpectedly. With his departure the Ukrainian community has lost one of its worthiest representatives, a man of noble character and wisdom.

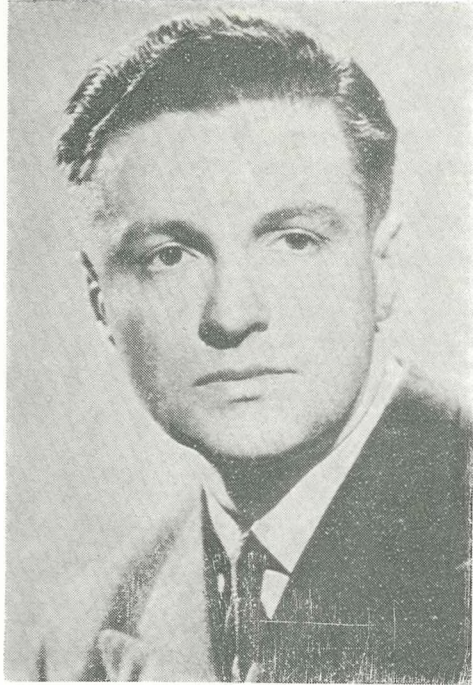
Hetmanych Danylo Skoropadsky was born on 13 February 1904 in St. Petersburg as a son of Pavlo Skoropadsky, then junior officer in the army, later to become General and, in 1918, the last Hetman of Ukraine, the Head of the reborn Ukrainian State. Skoropadsky family belonged to old Ukrainian nobility and descended from the Hetman Ivan Skoropadsky who ruled Ukraine at the beginning of the 18th century. Young Danylo Skoropadsky who went to school in St. Petersburg every year visited Ukraine where his family owned a landed estate at Trostyanets, near Poltava.

After the revolution of 1917 Hetmanych Danylo went with his father to Kyiv and in the autumn of 1918 to Switzerland where all the family was later reunited. After completing his secondary education in Switzerland Danylo Skoropadsky studied at the Polytechnic in Scharlottenburg, in Germany, and obtained a science degree. At the same time he took an active part in Ukrainian students' organisations.

In 1933 Pavlo Skoropadsky announced his will to appoint his son, Danylo, as his successor. In the years 1937-38 Hetmanych Danylo visited the U.S.A. and Canada where he was warmly received by the representatives of the Ukrainian community.

Shortly before the Second World War Hetmanych Danylo came to live in this country where he worked in his professional field. He devoted his leisure to the participation in the Ukrainian political and social life. His tactfulness and wise counsel earned him respect and admiration even of those who did not belong to the Monarchist Movement. Hetmanych Danylo Skoropadsky was one of the first founders of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain and from 1949 onwards he was annually re-elected President of the Association. He was also Chairman of the Committee for Aid to the Ukrainian Students.

Hetmanych Danylo Skoropadsky was a sincere Ukrainian patriot, deeply devoted to the cause of Ukrainian national freedom. He was a broad-minded man and always stated that the final decision about the constitution of Ukraine rested fully with the Ukrainian people and that he was ready to serve his nation in all circumstances. The Ukrainian community will be grateful to him for his dedicated life and will cherish his memory.



Hetmanych Danylo Skoropadsky

REVIEWS

Clarence A. Manning: UKRAINE UNDER THE SOVIETS Bookman Associates, New York, 1953, 224 pp.

The author, a well-known Slavist and one of the best authorities in the West on Ukraine, an associate professor of Columbia University's Slavic Department, has already done the anti-Bolshevist fight for freedom of the Ukrainian nation a great service by his numerous and highly competent publications, but in particular by his excellent book, "20th Century Ukraine", which despite its somewhat terse style is one of the most reliable and objective works on present-day Ukraine to be published in America during the past years. In "Ukraine under the Soviets" the author sets himself a more specialised task, namely to analyse from the historical point of view the many zigzag courses of the Bolshevist regime in Ukraine and to expose the main and unswerving aim of this regime,—the ultimate colonisation and Russification of Ukraine. That the author succeeds in accomplishing this task in so convincing a manner is in part due to the fact that—as he himself stresses—"this volume is primarily based upon a series of detailed studies of Ukraine under the Soviets, which were prepared by a group of Ukrainian DP professors in Europe." These include such well-known authorities as, for instance, the legal specialist, O. Yurchenko, the economist, K. Kononenko and M. Vasilyiv, the historian, O. Ohlobyn, and the literary scholar, M. Hlobenko. Occasionally, however, the author appears to have delved into somewhat doubtful sources, and neither the data supplied by Iv. M. on "Ukrainian Religious Life" nor the information about Khvylovy, supplied by that acknowledged "neo-Khvylovyist", Yur. D., are to be credited seriously,—especially not if the remark that "Khvylovy was an ardent admirer of Trotsky" (which sounds improbable for the simple reason that Trotsky always purposely ignored every aspect of national problems) is to be accepted as coming from Yur. D. And the somewhat disparaging opinion of so-called formalism (expressed on p. 196) appears to be based on pro-Marxist sources and in any case completely disregards the simple fact that the Soviets regard "formalism" (not merely in the field of literature, but in every art and in particular in music, too) simply as the aesthetic, that is to say purely artistic, attitude towards the work of art as such—something which is thus considered perfectly normal in the entire free world.

A somewhat too extensive reliance on DP sources no doubt explains the frequent use of Ukrainian (or Russian) terms in the text, as for example "radhosp", "Torgsin", the "Khakhals" (incidentally, this should be "Khakhols"), etc., which as they stand, namely without any explanation, are bound to be unintelligible to most English and American readers. The Soviet Russian abbreviation ZATS is correctly explained in one place ("The Records of the Acts of the Civil Populations"), but elsewhere in the book an entirely incorrect explanation is given ("The Soviet Bureau of Vital Statistics"), and, in any case, the correct designation is not ZATS but ZAGS ("Zapisy Aktov Grazhdanskogo Sostoyaniya").

But these are, of course, only minor faults. For the most part the author has succeeded most admirably in unfolding in the twenty-five chronologically ordered chapters of his work a continuous and complete history of Bolshevism in Ukraine, without in the least glossing over or denying its atrocities. The following survey of the contents of the book serves to show the wide scope of the subject-matter dealt with: 1. The Background of the Communist Triumph; 2. The Foundation of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic; 3. The Period of Militant Communism; 4. The New Economic Policy; 5. Ukrainization; 6. The Literary Renaissance; 7. The Scholarly Revival; 8. Mykola Khvylovy; 9. The Five Year Plan; 10. The Famine; 11. The Famine, the Soviets and the World; 12. The Early Trials; 13. The Turning of the Cultural Tide; 14. The Debacle; 15. The Thirties; 16. Ukraine in the Late Thirties; 17. The First Occupation of the Western Ukraine; 18. The Western Ukrainian Reaction; 19. The Soviets and the Ukrainians in Rumania; 20. The German Attack on the Soviets; 21. The Return of the Communists; 22. Soviet Ukraine during World War II; 23. Ukraine after World War II; 24. The Soviet Cultural Policy in Ukraine after the War; 25. The Soviet Religious Policy.

The author deserves special credit for the fact that the book gives an objective and, for the most part, true picture of the Ukrainian national armed fight for freedom both against the Nazi and the Bolshevist occupants; though there are, incidentally, certain factual errors in the chapters in question. Dr. Oleh Kandyba-Olzhych, for example, was not murdered by the Nazis "by the winter of 1941-2 in Kiev" (as is affirmed on p. 170) but in June 1944, in Sachsenhausen; and it strikes one as rather strange that the author, in referring to the Ukrainian Division, on p. 173 mentions "some battles with the Bolsheviks in the Carpathians", but not the extremely grim battle of Brody (the issue of which resulted in the Soviets having free access to Lviv). And Kharkiv, during World War II, was not recaptured for the first time by the Soviets "in the late fall of 1942" (p. 175), but in the middle of February, 1943.

The strongest feature of the book lies in the fact that the author does not regard the fate of Ukraine under the Bolshevist regime as an isolated case, but explains it as a paradigm of Soviet imperialistic policy in all the countries occupied by Moscow:

"It is no exaggeration to say that the Russian Communists have used the Ukrainian land and the Ukrainian population as the laboratory for their future conquests. It is there, among the Ukrainian people, that Lenin and his associates worked out their program of disintegration, infiltration, conquest, exploitation and russification that they have employed so successfully since the end of World War II. It has cost the Ukrainians dearly to serve as this laboratory. By the millions they have perished of starvation, execution, and deportation, and the other peoples of central and eastern Europe are meeting the same fate. . . Despite all the verbiage and the apparent exceptions, it was abundantly clear from the very beginning that the economic system of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic was to be bound hand and foot to the Moscow regime and that its financial and industrial potentialities would be treated as Moscow wished. . . Step by step, Stalin and the Russian Communist Party was changing the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics into a Russian empire with its non-Russian dependencies and,

despite the Constitution of the Union and of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, it was becoming ever more and more clear that the latter was to be treated merely as a geographical colony of the new Russian-dominated union, with no attention to its wishes or its needs."

And it is precisely this fact which constitutes the special significance of subjugated Ukraine for the fate of the Soviet Union and the whole world:

"It has been made evident that the Russian Communists cannot hope to achieve their goal until they have eliminated the entire Ukrainian population. They are trying to do it, but despite the millions of their victims and their attempts to separate the Ukrainian children from their parents and to rear them as slaves for Russian factories, they have not succeeded in winning the population to their views. . . In a very real sense Ukraine and the Ukrainians are the touchstone of the system. If the Kremlin can win a lasting victory, it has a chance of success. If it can persuade the Ukrainians to be happy in their new slavery, it may win out. If it cannot stop their opposition except by their total extermination, then we can be sure that the world can save itself if it awakes."

But for this to happen, Bolshevik influence in the West itself must in the first place be eliminated, since the Russian Communist Party "had taken advantage of the good will of the liberals and progressives of the rest of the world by exploiting the distrust which they felt for Hitler and the Nazis and had infiltrated Communists through the media of popular fronts into nearly all the governments that boasted of their democracy."

And the author is thus quite right when he affirms that his book is "not only a study of the past": "it is the story of a process," from which "we will know what to expect and what methods can best be devised to check this creeping paralysis of civilization and bring back to mankind its hope for a civilized future."

V. D.

Romain Yakemtchouk, Licencié en Sciences politiques et diplomatiques, Membre-chercheur de l'Institut des Relations Internationales: *L'UKRAINE EN DROIT INTERNATIONAL*, préface de M. Paul Vischer, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Louvain-Belgique; published by Centre Ukrainian d'Etudes en Belgique, Louvain 1954, 56 p. Bibliography.

The book "L'Ukraine en Droit International" by R. Yakemtchouk, published in French, may be considered a most scholarly work on the subject of the Ukrainian nation, which since the middle of the seventeenth century has struggled to free herself from the "elder brother" protection by imperialistic Russia. The book deals with international status of the Ukrainian State, reborn after the overthrow of the Tsarist Russian regime and the declaration of Ukrainian independence on January 22, 1918, in Kyiv, as well as with the problem of the legal status of Ukraine under the Soviet rule. The most important chapter deals with Ukrainian sovereignty question in the years 1917-1924, when Ukraine was recognised by several European states and concluded various international agreements with a number of states.

The author also discusses the sovereign rights of Ukraine, as declared in the Soviet Constitution of 1936, when Ukraine was reserved the right to secede from the Union, if and when she desires, a condition which cannot, however, be realised because Ukraine is kept in the Union by force of Russian colonial imperialism. With the creation of the United Nations Organisation, the Soviet Union changed its constitution so that Ukraine would have the right to join that world organisation, where Ukraine plays the role of Moscow's puppet, obeying and executing her orders, and not infrequently causing serious difficulties in the United Nations.

The last chapter deals with the problem of Ukraine under international law. Theoretically, Ukraine, in the present form of the Ukrainian S.S.R., has the right to enter into direct relations with other states. However, Soviet Russian colonial policy prevents her doing so.

This work is useful as a starting point for a more comprehensive study of a subject so little known in the entire Western World.

A selected bibliography at the end of the book is a valuable guide to the sources for the study of the Ukrainian problem and its international significance.

Dr. A. Sokolyslyn

500 UKRAINIAN MARTYRED WOMEN. Edited by Stephania Halychyn, published by the United Ukrainian Women's Organisations of America, Inc., New York, 1956.

This book has grown out of the demand to make known to the world the suffering of humanity behind the Iron Curtain and the conditions prevailing in the Soviet concentration camps in which thousands upon thousands of Ukrainian men and women find themselves today.

It is almost incredible that such conditions and brutality could have happened in this twentieth century, yet such did happen. This report of them is a gruesome, horrid, factual story told by former inmates of the Russian concentration camps in Siberia, and now released.

The Western World has already noted evidence of the great sacrifices and the desperate efforts of the Ukrainian people to throw off the yoke of Communism and Soviet Russian imperialism and to establish a free and independent Ukrainian Republic, a cause for which thousands have suffered and died while others have found themselves in Siberian concentration camps.

The publication of this book was made possible only when the United Ukrainian Women's Organisations of America, Inc., sponsored a Manifestation in New York, in February 1956, to protest publicly the inhuman and intolerable conditions of the notorious Soviet concentration camps.

This book is in two parts and consists of addresses delivered and resolutions adopted at the Manifestation and a study which the editor compiled from various books, magazines and articles by well-known American, English, German, Russian and Ukrainian authors and eyewitnesses, who repeatedly confirm the existence of the deplorable conditions that exist today in the U.S.S.R. concentration camps.

It is dedicated to the memory of 500 heroic Ukrainian women, who were crushed under Soviet tanks in an attempt to offer resistance. In the wake of these heroines, who so perished, there will always be other women who will step in to carry on the struggle for liberation of Ukraine. And as long as there are such heroic women, freedom will ever be a barrier against Soviet Russian aggression and Communism.

J. G. Bolechivna

Walter C. Hucul: *SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE TURKISH STRAITS*,
"World Affairs Quarterly", October 1956.

A lengthy article by the assistant research historian at the University of Southern California, Walter C. Hucul — an American scholar of Ukrainian origin — which is entitled "Soviet Russia and the Turkish Straits" and was published in the October number, 1956, of the leading American journal, "World Affairs Quarterly" (published under the auspices of the School of International Relations, University of Southern California, Berkeley), deserves particular attention, not only because the author, in analysing the Russian policy which has as its aim control of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, takes into account the Ukrainian problems connected with this question, but, above all, because the entire article, which, incidentally, runs to about thirty pages, presents such a concisely formulated and informative and objective study of the whole "Dardanelles question" that it can truly be described as comprehensive according to the present standards of historical research.

The author goes far beyond the scope of his subject as defined by the title, and, in order to clarify the question of how "Soviet expansion somewhat followed the nineteenth century pattern set down by Tzarist diplomacy", begins his historical account by mentioning the Russo-Turkish Treaty of Unkiar-Eskelessy which in 1833 gave the Petersburg government control of the two Turkish Straits by excluding the Western powers, but was revoked in 1840 under pressure of Great Britain and France. He then proceeds to describe most aptly the part played by the "Straits problem" in the outbreak of the Crimean War (1853-56) and in the issue of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, and in this connection also discusses the "Secret Agreement" of March 4, 1915, between Great Britain, France and Russia, which, as he rightly stresses, "if realised, would have given Imperial Russia outright territorial possession of the Straits" and even more, since the following territories were destined in advance for annexation by Russia: "the city of Constantinople, the western shores of the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora and its islands, the Dardanelles, southern Frigia to the Enos-Midia line, the shores of Asia Minor between the Bosphorus, the Samarra river and the Ismid gulf, and the island of Imbros and Tenedos in the Aegean Sea. This, in fact, is a good deal more than Molotov demanded of Hitler in November and December 1940, namely "the right of unrestricted passage of the Soviet navy at any time" (at the same time denying access to the navies of all other powers including Germany and Italy) and "a base in the Straits for Russian land and naval forces".

We are not able at this point to discuss in detail the author's comprehensive and lucid account of the extremely complicated diplomatic relations which existed between the Soviet Union and Turkey from 1920 to 1936, but we should, however, like to stress the fact that it was precisely during these years, when Turkey needed Soviet "support" in order to restore, step by step, her sovereign rights regarding the Straits which had actually been abolished by the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), that "Soviet policy was somewhat analogous to the Tzarist efforts in 1833-1840, when Russia almost dominated the Straits through its alliance with Turkey". This foreign policy game which was extremely dangerous for Turkey

(but which she managed to carry on with remarkable skill) continued until the Treaty of Montreux (1936), which solved the Straits problem in favour of Turkey and made any further "support" for Ankara on the part of Moscow unnecessary, and finally ended when the "Tripartite Pact" with Great Britain and France was signed on October 19, 1939, which definitely determined the future "pro-Western" trend of Turkey's foreign policy.

Special mention must be made of the fact that the author—basing his arguments on the results of the research carried out by the Ukrainian economist, V. P. Timoshenko (see the latter's "Agricultural Russia and the Wheat Problem", Stanford, 1932, and "Reports of the Ukrainian Academic Institute in Berlin", August 1928),—refutes the Russian theory which is fairly widespread, namely that Russia needs to have control of the Straits mainly on account of her trade interests, and, of course, also Ukraine's trade interests. In this respect the author rightly stresses: "By and large, 30-40 per cent of the pre-World War I. total Russian trade was exported through the Black Sea consisting, in the main, of Ukrainian staples. Imports were carried largely through the Baltic since only 6 per cent of the total was admitted through the Black Sea ports. The revolution did not alter the situation appreciably. Following the emergence of the Baltic States, the Soviet Union concluded agreements with these republics in order to exploit the ports of Riga and Reval as well as Leningrad, thus retaining the primacy of the Baltic over the Black Sea as far as export-import trading was concerned. . . Moreover, the Soviet expert (Rothstein, "Proliv", Moscow, 1924, p. 5) recognised that the Straits were, for Russia, of strategic and political rather than economic importance." And this "economic" argument of Soviet foreign policy is even less valid after World War II, after the annexation of the three Baltic States by the U.S.S.R.

The author's analysis of Russo-Turkish relations since 1939 corroborates his statement that "Soviet policy . . . with reference to the Straits in particular and the Near East in general crystallised during the negotiations with Nazi Germany. In this period Russian strategy and tactics were clearly defined and remain unchanged until today . . . It was precisely the Middle East which Germany wished to use as a stepping stone for further expansion. It is the strategic area that the Soviet Union is today attempting to control in its relentless quest for world domination."

In conclusion the author stresses that "the Soviet injection of the interests of Ukrainian, Georgian and Armenian nations into the problem of the Straits in particular and Russo-Turkish relations in general, cannot have any significance as long as these nations retain their present dependent status." The real vital interests of all the so-called "riparian powers" of the Black Sea—apart from Soviet Russia, of course,—tally with those of Turkey, and it is certainly perfectly obvious to Turkey that the threat of an aggression against her from the north will only vanish when all the coasts of the Black Sea, as a result of the disintegration of the Bolshevik imperium, once again become the possession of independent national states that are not interested in any expansion beyond the limits of their own ethnical frontiers, and, above all, of the sovereign Ukrainian state, whose population and expansion would afford the only genuine guarantee of a just and lasting peace throughout the entire Black Sea territory.

Western Press on Ukrainians in Slave Camps

After Japanese prisoners of war returned home the Western press brought many articles about Soviet concentration camps on Kolyma. Two remarks were significantly repeated again and again, namely that Kolyma is »a living graveyard for slaves« and that in these camps Ukrainians are the majority.

Daily Express, 28. 12. 1956.

SOVIET 'GRAVEYARDS'

Tokyo. Thursday.—Thousands of prisoners are being sent each year to the slave labour camps at Kolyma, in Siberia, three Japanese repatriates said today. They said they were there for 10 years, with other Japanese, Ukrainians, Poles, Hungarians, and Germans. They called it a "living graveyard for slaves."—A.P.

Chicago Daily Tribune, 28. 12. 1956.

Russia has poured more than a million prisoners into slave labour mining camps in the Kolyma district of north-eastern Siberia, three Japanese repatriates said today.

Most of the prisoners—Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, Hungarians and some Japanese—are doomed never to return, the repatriates told a Kyodo news service correspondent.

The repatriates described Kolyma as a "living graveyard for slaves".

Newark Evening News, 27. 12. 1956.

MILLION RED SLAVES

JAPANESE TELL OF SIBERIAN CAMPS

Soviet Russia holds more than a million prisoners in slave labour mining camps in the Kolyma district of northeastern Siberia.

Most of the prisoners—Ukrainians, Poles, Germans, Hungarians and some Japanese—are doomed never to return.

The repatriates described Kolyma as a "living graveyard for slaves".

They spent 10 years in Kolyma and were released a year ago last October. Every morning there were 10 or more prisoners ill or dead.

"Most prisoners had to slave more than 10 hours daily in uranium, gold and chromemanganese mines.

"Every summer a Russian slave ship leaves once a week from Sovetskaya Gavan via Magadan for Kolyma."

Sovetskaya Gavan is a Russian seaport across the Tartar Straits from Southern Sakhalin. Magadan is a Siberian seaport on the Sea of Okhotsk. It is the gateway to Kolyma and Siberian hinterlands.

From July to September 8,000 prisoners were jammed each week into a freighter ranging from 5,000 to 8,000 tons for the voyage to Kolyma.

Each ship had four circular holds. Guards armed with clubs watched from the upper decks.

"On the bottom deck in the ship's center were huge vats." "Some contained soup, some drinking water, and others were used as latrines."

"Life inside the ships was a fight for survival of the fittest."

UKRAINIANS IN KOLYMA

The French paper, "Le Parisien", recently published a report by three Japanese prisoners who were released from Soviet camps. On their return to Japan they stated that the Russians still continue to deport persons to Siberia and other remote regions of Asia. The three Japanese spent more than ten years in Soviet camps as prisoners-of-war. They were frequently moved from one camp to another and thus had plenty of opportunity to become acquainted with other prisoners. They said that the majority of prisoners were Ukrainians. The remainder of the prisoners for the most part belonged to other nationalities in the U.S.S.R. and the satellite countries.

They added that the prisoners call the district of Kolyma the "camp grave", since the majority of prisoners taken there die.

European prisoners, the report continued, were usually taken to the Kolyma camps by sea routes. During the summer months of July and August, a ship, bearing about 8,000 prisoners, arrives every week. The journey by sea is sheer torture, for the prisoners are forced to endure thirst and hunger and are crowded together under most inhuman conditions. Scores, in fact hundreds, of prisoners usually die during the sea-voyage. As soon as the prisoners arrive at the camps they are forced to work like slaves, despite the fact that the temperature in winter is usually 30 to 40 degrees centigrade below zero. From the transit camps the prisoners are sent to work in the uranium, gold and manganese mines, where conditions are so terrible that the majority of prisoners die after working there a year.

The Japanese prisoners were full of praise for the Ukrainian internees, who, they said, constantly gave proof of their feeling of solidarity, human dignity and sense of social and moral values.

* * *

PROF. DR. ANTON KNIAZHYNKY ON VORKUTA

Prof. Kniazhynsky who returned recently from imprisonment in the Soviet Union and lives now in the U.S.A. states that the Ukrainian movement has grown in strength to such an extent that Russia will not be able to destroy it even if she resorts to most drastic means, and he quotes as an example the strikes which have occurred in the camps in Vorkuta, Norylsk, Karaganda and Kingiri.

The same national spirit on the part of the Ukrainian people was evident in the attitude displayed by the Ukrainian soldiers of the Soviet Army in Hungary.

And when terror reigned in West Ukraine in 1946, the kolkhoz farmers in East Ukraine wrote in one of their newspapers "We are your brothers; come to our provinces; here you can live in peace." Again it was this national Ukrainian spirit which prompted them to write such words as these, which had a positive result, namely that not only the Ukrainians in the concentration and slave labour camps joined forces, but also all those living in freedom.

When Prof. Kniazhynsky was released from the concentration camp as an Austrian citizen and was about to leave for the West, his fellow-prisoners requested him to "ask Ukrainian emigrant circles to spread the truth about Ukraine and her fight, to correct the false impression entertained by the Western world about the U.S.S.R., and to try and get the support and help of the free world for the fight for freedom of Ukraine and the other peoples subjugated by Moscow."

Western Press on Ukrainian Freedom Fighters

The foreign journalists who were in Budapest during the last days of October and saw the first Russian intervention against the Hungarian resistance mentioned already in their first reports one very significant fact namely, that during the first days of the Hungarian revolution the crews of three tanks came over to the side of the demonstrators and fired at the AVO troops. It was revealed that they were Ukrainians. Afterwards followed further reports in the whole Western press about the Ukrainians joining the Hungarian resistance fighters.

Below we quote some of them :

THE OBSERVER, 16. 12. 1956.

15,000 UKRAINIANS JOIN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

A LARGE-SCALE revolt of Soviet troops, chiefly Ukrainian, has broken out in Hungary and has linked up with armed Hungarian units still preserving control in several maquis areas.

This development, which has transformed the situation and gravely increased the dilemma of Soviet policy over Hungary, has taken place in the last few days.

During the first Soviet intervention in October, individual desertion of Soviet soldiers reached thousands.

When the second wave of Soviet tanks returned on November 4 to crush the national rising, they were kept well in hand, firing blindly, for four days. As soon as they were dispersed over the country to terrorise people into submission piecemeal, it proved very difficult to make them carry out orders, and friendly contacts with the population were established in many areas.

After some time, the higher Soviet authorities reacted by flying in large numbers of officers of the political administration, exchanging—and in a number of cases arresting—local commanding officers.

During the past week, this has led a number of officers, chiefly Ukrainian, to take their units over to the Hungarian freedom fighters and call on other units to join them. Some units have come over with their tanks, other with only light equipment.

The defecting officers have broadcast on Army transmitters, giving their own name and rank, and calling in the Ukrainian language on their comrades to join the fight for the liberation of their own country and their families.

On the 17th of December the Hungarian broadcasting station Miskolcz reported that "the Hungarian insurgents together with the Ukrainian insurgent-groups after heavy fighting with Russians won a victory in Miskolcz. The Ukrainian insurgents have blown up the railway bridge and tunnel in Vorokhta (Western Ukraine) and have interrupted the railway connection between Vorokhta and Hungary. Moscow's reply was the deportation of many thousands of Ukrainians."

This anti-Communist and anti-Muscovite activity of the Ukrainian insurgents in the Carpathian Mountains has been stressed by the entire free world press.

SUNDAYS NEWS in New York wrote :

"Thousands of Ukrainian partisans are said to be operating in the pathless forests in the province of Carpathia-Ukraine and in the western parts of the province bordering Poland."

DAILY EXPRESS

"FREEDOM SQUADS BLOW UP RED SUPPLY LINE"

"Ukrainian freedom fighters have blown up the railway line used by the Red Army to supply its troops in Hungary.

The line was sabotaged at a number of points near Lviv, a rail centre in Western Ukraine about 1000 miles east of the Hungarian border. Red Army reinforcement, including security men, have moved into West Ukraine.

The Russian press has begun a new campaign against the "re-emergence of Ukrainian nationalist elements."

NEW YORK TRIBUNE, 17. 12. 1956.

Ukrainian partisans derailed several Soviet Army troop supply train in a new outbreak of violence against the Soviet government. Western intelligence sources said yesterday that thousands of Ukrainian partisans are operating in the forests of Carpathia. The partisans, according to reports, blew up several vital railroad lines last month, interrupting the supply lines to the Russian troops in Hungary.

THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

published a lengthy article under the headline "SOVIETS ADMIT UNREST IN UKRAINE" on the front page. It writes :

Soviet trains sabotaged by partisans. Student criticism of Hungary action disturbs Kremlin. Russia admitted unrest inside the Soviet Union. Western intelligence reports said the ferment behind the Iron Curtain has reached into Ukraine, where freedom fighters sabotaged Soviet Army supply trains bound for Hungary. 16 December, 1956.

THE CHICAGO SUNDAY TIMES has published not only the whole information about the unrest, on its front page, like the "*CHICAGO DAILY NEWS*" did, but also gave its commentary under the headline "The downfall of the empire".

THE YORKSHIRE POST of the same date wrote as follows :

"Thousands of partisans are operating in the pathless forests in the province of Carpathian-Ukraine, and in the western parts of the province bordering on Poland.

The area said to be dominated by the partisans is near Vorokhta in the Carpathian-Ukraine. The reports said that between November 12 and November 18 they wrecked several Russian army supply trains, blew up railway lines or blocked them with timber and laid mines between the tracks."

In the same newspaper there is an article by Mr. Ragland. He draws attention to the attack which is going on against the Ukrainian writers in Soviet Ukraine. "Look at the map," he begins, "of Eastern Europe—the post-Potsdam map. See

how Soviet Ukraine is the key to Poland and Hungary. Remember that Ukraine has a long history of anti-Russian nationalism. . . The Moscow *Pravda* has published a report which—bearing in mind the character and methods of Soviet journalism—gives strong confirmation to the suspicions. If there had been a strike anywhere in Ukraine — just a strike, let alone riots—there would have been no mention of it in the newspapers, but where publicists are themselves concerned, even the Soviet Press must do something about it, for the writer has his public, which watches what he does and listens to what he says. And some Soviet Ukrainian writers—Communist party members, moreover—have been doing and saying things that by no means accord with the party line.” Further on he refers to two Ukrainian writers, V. Shvets and A. Malyshko. It is significant that “it is the younger Soviet Ukrainian writers who are foremost in the dangerous new movement—the young writers who were born after the Revolution and have never known intellectual freedom. Judging by repeated official exhortations, this is so throughout the Soviet intelligentsia.”

THE DETROIT FREE PRESS in the article, “Russian Army trains sabotaged in Ukraine”, of December 16, writes that in consequence of “the new partisan activity which cut the direct supply lines between Russia and Hungary, the Russians were forced to reroute troop transports and supplies for Hungary via Rumania. The railroads between Stanislav and Kolomea, Stanislav and Nadvorna, and from Ungvar to the Hungarian border were blocked for at least one week.

The sources said that Soviet Transport Ministry and Secret Police formed an investigating committee which ordered the arrest of hundreds of Ukrainians.”

Mr. W. J. Brown in *THE RECORDER*, of December 29, 1956, asks “What a system Communism must be when a whole people says to itself that collective death is preferable to living under it! The Russians, possessing overwhelming military power, do not know what to do. This is a situation they have never faced before; and it baffles them. And it makes them afraid. For they fear similar upheavals in all the countries which they now oppress. If fear is contagious, so is courage.

And the blazing courage of the Hungarians in standing up to the oppressor has sent a surge of rebellious hope through all the satellite countries. In this connection watch Ukraine. In forty years of Russian domination the national spirit of the Ukrainians, who are not Russians, remain alive, and may shortly explode into action.”

The *BAYONNE TIMES* wrote that thousands of Ukrainian partisans were operating in the pathless forests in the province of Carpathia-Ukraine and stressed the fact that “they are fully supported by the resident population, most of whom are poor farmers and lumbermen.”

News about the activity of the Ukrainian partisans was repeatedly printed on the pages of the Austrian press: *Kleine Zeitung*, *Grazer Montag*, *Oesterreichische Nachrichten mit Tagespost* and French press *L'Aurore*, *Le Parisien Libre*, and were reprinted by numerous provincial newspapers in various Western countries.

The Vienna newspaper, *NEUER KURIER*, of December 16, 1956, stated that Hungarian refugees, who had reached Austria from Hungary via Kyiv, reported that numerous demonstrations had been held by Kyiv University students during the previous week. Large crowds of the population had spontaneously joined in the students' demonstrations. Some of the demonstrators overpowered the guards at the prisons and prison camps and liberated the internees, who included 300 Hungarians who had been deported to Ukraine at the beginning of November. The Ukrainian population actively helped them in their illegal return to Hungary.

The *Neuer Kurier* also reports that the official newspapers of the Soviet republics of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania have admitted that there were unrests and riots in these countries. The paper, *Sovietskaya Estonia*, reproached the youth organisation of the Komsomol with having failed to instil into the youth of Estonia 'a feeling of affinity with the other peoples of the Soviet Union, in particular with the Russian people'.

The Moscow paper, *Pravda*, saw itself forced to comment on such exaggerated statements on the part of the press of the non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union and declared most emphatically that "as regards events in Hungary, countless newspapers in the Soviet republics express views which are a violent contradiction of the principles of Marxism and Leninism".

The *SALZBURGER NACHRICHTEN* of Dec. 17, 1956, corroborated the report that Ukrainian insurgents had blown up the railway line from Kolomea and Stanislaviv to Hungary at several points, thus forcing the Soviets to convey troops to Hungary via Roumania. The paper also reported that mass arrests were being carried out among the Ukrainian population, who were doing all they could to assist the insurgents.

"UKRAINIAN INSURGENTS HELP HUNGARY"

This was the title of a report published in the Vienna paper, *WELT AM MONTAG*, of Dec. 17, 1956, which was worded as follows: "Reports about considerable activity on the part of Ukrainian insurgents are increasing from day to day. We have learned from well-informed sources that Ukrainian insurgents completely destroyed the railway line to Hungary, via the Carpathians, on November 12th and November 18th, and that the Soviets were thus forced to send trains to Hungary via Rumania. The insurgents blew up the railway tracks and damaged the bridges in the eastern and western districts of the Carpathians."

The following report was published in the newspaper, *GRAZER MONTAG*, on December 17, 1956:

"Vienna, December 16 (Reuter, AFP, APA) . . . According to reports from various news agencies, 15,000 Soviet soldiers, most of them Ukrainians, have gone over to the side of the Hungarian freedom fighters. Students from North Korea are also said to have joined the Hungarian freedom movement. In the course of fierce fighting Hungarian freedom fighters cleared the town of Miskolcz of Soviet troops. . ."

The *KLEINE ZEITUNG*, which likewise appears in Graz, in its edition of December 16, 1956, published a report with the following title:

"UKRAINIANS LIBERATE DEPORTEES"

"In connection with events in Hungary, demonstrations have been held by the students of Kyiv University. Large crowds of the population spontaneously joined in these demonstrations. In the Ukrainian capital a riot broke out which could only be put down with considerable difficulty. Demonstrators overpowered the guards at the prisons and prison camps, liberated young Hungarians who had been deported, and took them through the town in a triumphal procession."

Ukrainian Chronicle

KYIV VERSUS MOSCOW

"In Kyiv we met something we had had little chance to meet in Moscow . . . the general friendliness of the people," reported Canon H. L. Puxley, president of the University of King's College in Halifax, Canada, upon his return from the Soviet Union recently.

"It is hard to assess the attitude of Ukraine towards Russia," Canon Puxley stated. "In Kyiv we were constantly reminded that they are a separate nation; their language is substantially different; superficially they look more advanced; the city is dotted with statues of national heroes; and everywhere there is emphasis that Kyiv has longer history than Moscow."

UKRAINE'S KOMSOMOL APATHETIC

Molod Ukraïny (Youth of Ukraïne), organ of the Central Committee of the Komsomol organisation of Ukraine, has this to say in its September 14, 1956 issue of a Komsomol meeting in Stanislaviv, Western Ukraine:

"The meeting was without animation. Irene Gural, secretary of the Komsomol organisation, delivered the principal report, which failed to provide any analysis or sharp criticism and self-criticism; as a result, the report provoked no discussion. The chairman of the meeting was compelled to call each member individually and ask for his comments. But most refused to give any comments at all. . ."

BISHOP NYKYTA BUDKA DIED IN A SOVIET CONCENTRATION CAMP

The last reports from behind the Iron Curtain confirmed the sad news that Bishop Nykyta Budka, Assistant to the Metropolitan of Lviv, died in a Soviet concentration camp in Karaganda, Asia, in 1949. Bishop Nykyta Budka was the first bishop in Canada for the Ukrainian Catholics (1912) and later was General Vicar and assistant to Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. In 1945, he was arrested along with the entire episcopate (seven bishops) of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Western Ukraine and deported to Karaganda, where he died.

ADDRESS AND RESOLUTION ON UKRAINE READ INTO
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

"The Expanding Reality of the Communist Calculus for World Conquest"

On July 10, 1956 Rep. Alvin M. Bentley (R.-Mich.) introduced into the *Congressional Record* an address of Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Chairman of the UCCA, which he delivered at the convention of the Ukrainian National Youth Federation of Canada in Winnipeg, Canada last June. In his introductory remarks Rep. Bentley stated:

"A great deal of confusion and misguided speculation in the free world has resulted from the Moscow exploitation of the concept of peaceful coexistence. Unfortunately, many are being lulled into a false sense of security and, in thought and spirit, are abandoning the captive nations and peoples in a finality of Red colonial slavery. These are the prime objectives of the current Russian propaganda drive. The skill and cleverness with which this drive is being managed, undoubtedly makes this period of the cold war the most dangerous of all.

"An attempt to synthesize the many elements at work in the present situation, with a cautious appraisal of their significance, is provided in an interesting address on the 'Expanding Reality of the Communist Calculus for World Conquest', delivered on Saturday, June 30, by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, who is a professor of Soviet economics in the graduate school of Georgetown University and also chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and who appeared before the Ukrainian National Youth Federation of Canada.

DR. L. E. DOBRIANSKY APPOINTED TO INSTITUTE OF ETHNIC STUDIES
OF GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of Soviet economics at the Graduate School of Georgetown University and also national chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, has been appointed a member of the Executive Board of the recently formed Institute of Ethnic Studies at Georgetown University. The Institute is considering various projects in the field of ethnic studies with primary consideration being given to all of the captive nations in the Communist empire, including those in the Soviet Union.

The purpose and aim of the Institute is to provide authentic and authoritative surveys and studies on all of the nations in the Communist empire, both in Europe and Asia. Ethnic studies in other parts of the world will be considered, notably in relation to the overall Communist imperialist threat. Its facilities will be readily available to Government and private agencies. It will be recalled that in 1954 the staff of experts at Georgetown University assisted the Select House Committee to Investigate Communist Aggression, which was under the chairmanship of the Hon. Charles J. Kersten of Wisconsin. Special report No. 4 on the "Communist Takeover and Occupation of Ukraine" was one of its productions. This was the first time that any official report by any government was released to furnish an authoritative account of the history of the Ukrainian nation and the occupation of Ukraine by the foreign yoke of Moscow.

The director of the Institute is Dr. Tibor Kerekes, professor of history and chairman of the department of history at Georgetown.

PIERCING THE IRON CURTAIN

Broadcasts to Ukraine

Under the above headings a letter of the leading British members of the Anglo-Ukrainian society demanding broadcasts of the B.B.C. in Ukrainian language has been published in the "Daily Telegraph".

The Ukrainians living in Great Britain have for years been trying to get permission to relay programmes in Ukrainian through the B.B.C., but their endeavours have so far not met with any success. This year the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain repeated their request in a memorandum addressed to the authorities concerned. This problem has already been discussed on a previous occasion in the House of Commons. The Minister for Foreign Affairs at that time, Mr. G. Morrison, said that such programmes were out of question on account of the expense involved and added that, in any case, "the Ukrainians on account of the expense involved and added that, in any case, "the Ukrainians community. In view of the international situation the need for such programmes is even more vital now than it was hitherto. The Ukrainian friends of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society supported this request in a letter which was published in the "Daily Telegraph" on January 8, 1957. This letter was worded as follows:

From

Sir COMPTON MACKENZIE and others

To the Editor of The Daily Telegraph

Sir — According to Soviet statistics, the Ukrainian Republic has 42 million inhabitants, and its industrial and agricultural output amounts to at least 40 per cent. of the Soviet Union's production.

It seems strange that this nation, which occupies an area of supreme strategic importance, should be one of the relatively few countries which do not benefit from the objective presentation of the truth as we see it, as provided by the overseas service of the B.B.C.

Like most of us the Ukrainians appreciate the sound of their own language. Even those who understand Russian do not consider that language the most congenial medium for speaking of freedom; Dutch and Norwegian people might not have welcomed the use of the German language in programmes addressed to themselves during the recent war and alien occupation.

This is not the first time that the question of broadcasts in the Ukrainian language has been raised. Hitherto, the principal objections have been based on reasons of economy, on minor technical obstacles, and on the lack of any feeling of urgency. But in the light of what is still happening in Eastern Europe the last of these considerations no longer holds good.

If a country as remote as Brazil finds it politic to broadcast to the Ukraine, we surely cannot afford to neglect so strong a potential ally — an ally, moreover, accustomed to look to Britain for what our fathers were proud to call moral strength and resolution.

Yours faithfully,

AUBERON HERBERT, Vice-Chairman.

CHRISTIAN HESKETH, President,

COMPTON MACKENZIE, Chairman,

Anglo-Ukrainian Society,

London, W.11.

BOOKLOVERS HEARD DR. YAR SLAVUTYCH

Dr. Yar Slavutych, of the Ukrainian Department of the Army Language School, was the speaker at the monthly meeting of the Carmel Foundation Town House, November 12, 1956. He spoke on the subject: *The Ukrainian Literary Renaissance of the 1920's and the Attitude of the Red Kremlin Toward It*. It was the thrilling story of national heroism in the face of cruel repression.

Dr. Slavutych was educated at the Pedagogic Institute of Zaporizhyya, the Ukrainian Free University, and at the University of Pennsylvania. From the last named institution he holds A. M. and Ph. D. degrees. He is the author of several books of poems in Ukrainian, one booklet of selected poems translated into German, by Volodymyr Derzhavyn, and two books of studies in contemporary Ukrainian literature. His latest publication, "*The Muse in Prison*", is his first book in English. He has served as secretary of the Ukrainian section of American Slavists, and recently arranged an exhibition of Ukrainian folk arts in the Monterey Public Library.

* * *

Ostap Vyshnya (real name Pavlo Hubenko) the very talented satirist died in Kyiv in the 67th year of his life on September 28, 1956.

In the years 1917-1920 he took part in the struggle for an independent Ukraine. With his scorching satire he mocked the Soviet system in his "Cherry Smiles" until in the 30's he was arrested and sent to a concentration camp.

During the war he was released. His war collection, "Hunting Smiles", did not have the same fire as his "Cherry Smiles".

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Niko Nakashidze

NATIONAL REVOLUTIONS

The Technical Age and the Wonders of Life

Our age is an era of great technical achievements. Distances have been bridged by means of wireless and aeroplanes. Man has penetrated into the very essence of matter and has won enormous resources from it. Indeed, it seems that man has succeeded in revealing the secrets of life and Nature. And yet, there are things unknown which lie beyond the reach of human intelligence and which will always remain a divine secret.

Scientific research has discovered and ascertained the nature of the origin and development of the embryo. But the creation of life itself, that is to say from an organic body to a living being, to a being with a soul, is still a thing of mystery.

Death, too, as a process of transformation of matter in which the living organism ceases to function, has likewise been studied and comprehended by human intelligence. But what actually happens in this process and what happens beyond death will always remain a divine secret, too.

Is a living being created out of nothingness and does it pass into nothingness?—This would be a contradiction of the very laws of Nature!

The Phenomenon of the Nation

There are, therefore, still wonders in this world of ours and there will always be wonders. And one of these wonders is the phenomenon of the nation, its soul and its spirit. The essence of the nation cannot be studied and ascertained solely from the anthropological and sociological point of view, for it also belongs to the sphere of biology, theology and even metaphysics. The nation is something noble like Nature itself.

Nowadays, patriotism is acknowledged, but, at the same time, nationalism is rejected.

Can there be such a thing as "patria" without a nation? Does patriotism solely mean love of one's native country without the people of this country? No, *patriotism includes the nation, too*, that is to say the community of those persons who, anthropologically and psychologically, represent an organic unit.

Nationalism is not a political, but a bio-psychological and sociological concept. It is in no way connected with nationalistic and political views and doctrines.

Nationalism is consciousness of one's national qualities, of one's own individual national character, of one's national history, culture and traditions. It is consciousness of one's own value as a community of persons of a specific kind, as distinct from the natural community of other peoples.

This consciousness naturally leads to certain national and political demands,—to be master in one's own country, to live a free life as individuals and as a nation, and to be a member—with equal rights—of the voluntary community of free nations.

Every person is an integral organic part of the nation, and there is no political, social and cultural equality of rights and no free development for the individual if the nation is not free. Without national freedom there is no political and social freedom for the individual.

A very obvious example of the strength of national idea is seen in the case of Israel. When the Jews lived in dispersion they were regarded as an unwarlike people, even though there was sufficient evidence in history to prove that they had once been a nation of warriors. As soon as they returned to their original native country, however, their former national spirit and their original national character became apparent once more, as can be seen from the fact that they have waged two wars against the Arabs.

Recent events in the countries ruled by Soviet Russia, the revolt of the subjugated peoples against the Russian tyrants, are bound to make those politicians and journalists of the West who regard the nation merely as a state and political concept and negate nationalism, ponder over this question.

These events reveal the whole force and greatness of the national spirit. There are times in the life of every nation when its creative and fighting spirit asserts itself less, but sooner or later, however, this spirit comes to the fore, even without the guidance of a political leader, solely because it is the expression of the natural urge of the nation.

What has happened and is still happening in our countries beyond the Iron Curtain is really a national wonder. In the glowing embers under the ashes there is often a spark which unexpectedly bursts into flame. And this, too, can happen in the life of a nation, provided that its spirit has not been paralysed and its will to assert itself has not been broken.

A Nation Revolts Without a Leader

The recent insurrections and revolts in Poland, Hungary, Ukraine and Georgia, where the people have openly revolted against Russian rule and Communist slavery, clearly prove what a nation is capable of achieving, even when it has no leader. *These insurrections and revolts were the spontaneous expression and manifestation of the will of the people.*

Who are these people and what are they fighting for? Are they perhaps fighting for the restoration of the old system?

Who is their leader?

Prof. Dr. Marek S. Korowicz, the legal adviser of the Polish UNO delegation, remained in exile in 1953, and in August, 1954, he published an interesting article about conditions in the Soviet-Russian occupied countries. He said that the younger generation in these countries was still influenced in its views by the family and that young persons were trained by their parents and grandparents, etc., to adhere to the latter's opinions, but added:

"In the meantime, however, the Communists are not relaxing their hold, and gradually grandmothers and aunts are dying out. New generations who have never known freedom are growing up. Under the constant pressure of Communism the evil influences are spreading. Whereas yesterday one ambitious little informer betrayed his friends in order to curry favour, today there are a hundred such informers and tomorrow there will be a thousand. In this way the nation is gradually made compliant."

But he was very much mistaken in this respect, for it was precisely the youth of Poland that revolted.

In our non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union the grandmothers and aunts, etc., have long since died out, but the Russians have not been able to infect the soul of the people or to destroy their national will. And they constantly oppose alien Russian rule and Communist tyranny.

The older generation in our countries has either been shot or has meanwhile died a natural death. Those of this generation who are still left are too old, too weak physically and too depressed spiritually to be able to play an active political part.

The old ruling class has either been completely exterminated or has died out. The majority of the intelligentsia of today belong to the younger generation; most of them are the children of farmers and workers; and all the children who attend school and the students are, without exception, the sons and daughters of farmers and workers.

In former times the political leaders were in part responsible for the political training and enlightenment of the nation. And in this respect they guided the people. Or the poets did so, by inspiring the people with their works; indeed, a poem frequently achieved more in the life of the nation than did volumes of political writings.

But under Russian Communist rule every national urge is stifled and freedom of expression is forbidden. And yet the people rise up against this violation. And herein lies the wonder of the nation. Their opposition is prompted by the inner urge of their national character and nature. It is the urge of the people for freedom, in keeping with the demands of their spirit, their traditions and their social and political views. They were never slaves; they were always free people and they want to be free again.

Our countries are in a state of constant political ferment. In Ukraine, as even the press and the broadcasting stations of the U.S.S.R. themselves admit, the "Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalists" are still fighting. Thousands of Ukrainians who belonged to the Soviet Army have gone over to the side of the Hungarian freedom fighters, a fact which has been mentioned by practically every British and American paper.

In Georgia not only the younger generation in general, but also the students are openly demonstrating. The sons of the farmers and workers deny that Russia's invasion of Caucasia in the 19th century brought about the progress of the country and that Russia has preserved the peoples of Caucasia from ruin. In an article entitled "Regressiveness amongst Georgian Historiographers", the Soviet press severely censures the men of learning in Georgia, and stresses the fact that the nationalist spirit has not yet been exterminated. (The organ of the Georgian Communist Party, *Kommunisti*, No. 226, of November 15, 1956.)

In a previous edition, namely in the statement made by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, it was pointed out that the youth of Georgia imagined that the Georgians were "a special people" (*Kommunisti*, No. 230, of October 24, 1956).

The national spirit of our peoples is unshaken and their will is broken. They refuse to allow themselves to be humiliated and subjugated.

The Complete Collapse of Marxism

For a long time now, life itself has refuted the teachings of Marxism and has shown them to be a false and artificially created doctrine. The theory of permanent class conflict and of the incompatibility of the interests of the various classes has proved to be the biggest piece of bluffing. Historical facts have shown that it is possible to balance these differences and overcome them. The fact has also been corroborated that it is possible to unite persons of various social classes in one cause, as for instance by political or social groups which have one common aim.

Members of all social classes and occupations and professions were represented in the Fascist movement (I am referring not to the period after this party assumed power, but to the years prior to that event). The Christian Social Democratic parties likewise include members of every social class.

And the Christian trade unions include persons of various social classes (in Holland, for instance, the trade unions are all denominational).

In spite of the fact that the workers in the U.S.A. are organised in trade unions in order to protect their interests, the majority of them are not Socialists and support middle-class and capitalist Republicans or Democrats.

The Marxist theory, according to which the workers are internationally minded and national aims on their part would be alien to their attitude, has also proved false. This theory may perhaps have held good in the days of capitalist arbitrariness, when the workers were not regarded as being part of the nation and maintained a hostile attitude towards the state. But since the workers have also become the pillar and support of the state, this theory must be regarded as completely out of date. In both World Wars the workers of every country proved that they were prepared to make great sacrifices in the interests of the nation.

The workers and the youth of Germany were the people who put up a resistance when the Ruhr territory was occupied; they were

the people who objected to the dismantling of workers and factories after the last war; and they were the people who started the revolt against foreign rule, in Berlin, on June 17th. (Unfortunately, the political leaders have never realized that the workers could be used in this way for the nation's good.)

But it was the revolt in Poland and, above all, in Hungary and the people's risings in Ukraine and Georgia and in the other countries ruled by Russia which dealt Marxism the death-blow.

According to the Marxist theory, national consciousness is determined by economic conditions and changes when these conditions change. It is the basis for man's attitude as regards politics, social questions, morals and laws. With the introduction of the socialist system of economy, man's attitude and his way of thinking will change accordingly. But although the socialist-Communist system was introduced in our countries more than thirty years ago, the way of thinking of our peoples has not changed.

Another important fact must also be taken into consideration in this respect: in these countries everyone is a proletarian, for there are no wealthy people. And this proletarian nation of workers and peasants and their children object to the "socialist" system and to the government "of workers and peasants".

And it is precisely these workers and peasants, that is to say the proletarians of the countries conquered by Russia, who do not want to be kolkhoz beasts of burden and factory slaves. In this case the slave-driver is not the capitalist employer, but the Marxist, Leninist, Communist Russian state. It is a monopolist capitalist state and the rulers of this state are the leeches of the proletarian peoples.

These proletarians are fighting against "socialist", Communist Russian subjugation. And for this reason recent events in our countries are of world significance, for they have exposed the falsity and deceit of Marxism and have dealt it a fatal blow.

National Revolutions

What is happening in our countries is not political or a social revolution, but a *national revolution*.

The Russian people were the representatives of Bolshevik thought and the executors of the Bolshevik revolution.

After the revolution of 1917 the non-Russian peoples of the Tzarist empire severed their relations with Russia and restored their independent national states, namely as democratic republics.

Russia reconquered them by military superiority, imposed the Communist system on them and forced them to become part of the so-called Soviet Union.

Our peoples are fighting against alien Russian rule and against the odious Communist regime. They want to be free individuals and independent as a nation. They do not want to be an individual of the socialist Communist system or a subject of Russia. It is true that these peoples are obliged to rely on their own strength but that does not discourage them.

For the time being, this resistance on the part of the peoples is in some countries disguised as "national Communism", but this is only a tactical manoeuvre which will be called off in due course. Gomulka was aware of this, and that is the reason why he was in favour of the Soviet troops remaining in Poland. The ominous prophecy about the German menace is merely a conscious attempt to conceal this reason.

Cracks are beginning to show in the mighty Soviet Russian colossus. The people ruled by it are gradually preparing to act and to launch an attack. It is inexcusable of the West to content itself with the role of an onlooker.

The Americans called the transfer of Hungarian refugees to America "taking them into a safe port". No doubt they meant well, but is this really a "safe port" for people who only a short time ago were prepared to sacrifice their lives for their national freedom?

What will be the feelings of these people in this "safe port", seeing they know that ruthless terrorism continues to rage in their native country and that their fellow-countrymen there are suffering indescribable hardship and misery?

Is there such a thing as a "safe port" anywhere? As long as the Russian colonial empire with its huge military strength continues to exist, there can be no security for the free world. It would be extremely fatal for the West to believe in the illusion of security.

Dmytro Donzov

IS RUSSIA INVINCIBLE? *

Politicians who only regard events superficially look upon Russia—since they are scared by its size and area—as an invincible giant. As proof of this fact they mention not only the size of Russia, but, of course, also quote historical facts: the failure of Napoleon's campaign, of the campaign of Charles of Sweden prior to that date and of the later campaigns of Wilhelm II and Hitler.

It is true that facts are facts, but one must be able to interpret them in the right way.

In the first place, I should like to define my thesis, which I shall endeavour to prove or at least show to be provable in the course of this short article. This thesis is as follows: *the causes of the success with which Muscovy so far managed to get rid of every conqueror were not of a military and strategic but of a political nature.*

Let us consider the campaign of Charles XII against Peter I. Contrary to the assertions made by Russian historians and by those Ukrainian historians who are influenced by the former, the campaign of Charles XII might just as well have ended in a victory for Sweden as in her defeat. In his excellent work on the "Great Nordic War" (published prior to 1914 by the Russian "Imperial War History Society") General Yunakov proves that Charles' invasion brought Muscovy to the verge of ruin. The author of the "Oxford History of the European East" affirms that the alliance of the Swedish King with Mazeppa was his only real political combination. And yet it failed. Why? Because the short-sighted policy of the European states impeded it: Denmark and Poland joined forces with Peter against Sweden. And this proved too much for Sweden to tackle on her own. . .

Two years after the battle of Poltava, Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, thanks to his diplomatic astuteness, succeeded in enlisting the aid of Turkey in the war against Tzar Peter. In the steppes of the Pruth the Tzar's army, together with Peter himself, was encircled

*) An article taken from the Ukrainian book by the same author, "Muscovite Poison" ("Moskovs'ka Otruta"), Association for the Liberation of Ukraine, Toronto—Montreal, 1955.

by the Turkish forces, and, under normal circumstances, the Tzar would have had no other alternative but to capitulate and to become the captive of the Sublime Porte. One can well imagine what consequences such an ignominious end to Peter's career would have had for the future fate of Russia.

But actually things turned out quite different: Dazzled by the jewels and charms of the Tzarina Catherine I—she had been in the Russian camp together with the Tzar and, incidentally, she was as lacking in chastity as Catherine II—the Vizier accepted a ransom and set the Tzar and his army free in a situation which would certainly have proved catastrophic, after he had forced Peter to accept a peace treaty which was ignominious for Moscow and, among other things, guaranteed the independence of Ukraine, which, of course, Peter later on never dreamt of observing. Neither in 1709 nor in 1711 was Muscovy saved from destruction by a strategic impracticability, but only by the unfortunate policy of the statesmen of the West and of Turkey.

Meanwhile Russia had been growing in size—since the so-called “Troubled Times” (from the death of Ivan the Terrible until 1613)—likewise thanks to the political indecision of the West: even during the reign of Ivan the Terrible there had already been certain far-sighted Western politicians—but unfortunately only few in number—who had uttered words of warning regarding the danger of Muscovy increasing in size and strength. As early as 1571 the famous Duke of Alba advised the German imperial states not to supply the Muscovites with any artillery or modern weapons since, as he affirmed, “if the Muscovite Tzar adopts all the new technical ideas in warfare, he will become the most powerful opponent, dangerous not only for Germany, but also for the entire West.” But the West was more interested in carrying on trade at the moment than in thinking about the dangers of the morrow. There were in those days likewise a number of West Europeans who, after they had served in the Tzar's “Special Guards” (the “Oprichnina”)—some of them for a considerable time—submitted detailed plans of how to attack the Muscovite empire from the White Sea, in order to destroy the despotic rule of the Tzar, that “ancient enemy of the whole of Christianity and cruel tyrant”. The author of one of these invasion plans even gave advice as to how a certain army was to be formed against Muscovy: just as the Bolsheviks have done in our day on various occasions (in Spain and Greece, for instance), an international force was to be

set up which was to consist of homeless soldiers who, as a result of the wars of those times, were roaming about West Europe in large numbers. But neither these plans nor the Duke of Alba's warnings succeeded in establishing the idea in Europe that the danger of a Muscovite invasion must be fought; nor did the warnings and the diplomatic action of the exiled Hetman Pylyp Orlyk have any considerable influence on Europe's policy towards Russia.

Napoleon's campaign failed, but certain Western historians maintain that this was not due to strategic reasons. The Emperor's plan was to advance as far as the Dvina and Dnieper, to move into defensive positions there, strengthen the front lines, set up big supply depots there, and then advance on Moscow in the spring of 1813. The impetuosity of the Corsican and the fact that he was firmly convinced that he had a lucky star, as well as the advice he was given by certain over-hasty marshals caused his plan to fail and brought disaster upon the "great army" in the early winter, a disaster which could well have been avoided. And the fact that his troops were not sufficiently prepared and equipped to carry on a winter campaign did the rest. Certain writers maintain that if the invasion had been better prepared, Napoleon's retreat from Moscow would not even have been a defeat, since the French in the course of their retreat could have confronted the Russians at Vilna with an army which was twice as strong as the Russian army.

The cause of failure—so it is affirmed by these writers—lay not so much in the faultiness of the invasion plan, but, rather, in the mistakes which were made when the plan was realised. The main cause, however, was a political one. After Napoleon's army had occupied the whole of Poland, Byelorussia (White Ruthenia) and parts of the Muscovite territories and had begun to advance towards the frontiers of Ukraine, demoralisation and defeatism began to make themselves felt to an ever-increasing degree amongst the population of Russia and even in the Russian army. Russian memoirs written in those days clearly show how great the demoralisation caused by the surrender of Moscow was. The Russian army which had been defeated at Borodino (or rather in the battle of Moskva) and passed through Moscow in the course of its retreat was received with jeers and insults by the population. In the army itself the spirit of resistance was already becoming weaker. Cases are known to have existed of priests in Byelorussia administering

the oath of allegiance to the Emperor Napoleon to the people; it is also a known fact that a marshal and member of the nobility of Ukraine, a certain Lukasevych, proposed a toast to the health of Napoleon at a banquet. Of course, this may merely have been a piece of daring on the part of one individual; but nevertheless, the fact that this was possible in a country which was still occupied by the Russian army and administration, shows what a serious blow Russian prestige had suffered. And what was even more serious—the peasants began to revolt. Rumours were circulated to the effect that Napoleon was a son of the Tzarina Catherine II and had come to free the peasants from serfdom; the peasants began to rebel against their feudal lords. Napoleon was advised to issue a manifesto on the liberation of the peasants... Such a manifesto might well have proved a spark whose flames would have devoured the Russian army (which consisted of peasants who were serfs) and would have destroyed the defensive strength of the Russian state and the position of the Tzar himself... But Napoleon refused to take this step; on the contrary, in certain cases he even ordered his own troops to put down peasants' revolts against the big landowners; he did not want to kindle the "natural force of a people's rebellion". And thereupon the people's rebellion was directed against him.

Later on, he regretted having missed this opportunity, as can be seen in the memoirs of his adjutant, Colaincourt, with whom he travelled the whole of the weary journey by sledge from Moscow back to Paris in the winter of 1812. Still later, he showed considerable interest for Kotliarevsky's Ukrainian "Aeneid" and ordered his court historian, Lesueur, to write a history of the Ukrainians and Don Cossacks—whom he obviously regarded as the elements which in the course of history had always put up a resistance against the expansion of power of the Muscovite empire. But it was too late...

It is thus apparent that in this large-scale campaign, too, the West was afraid to resort to those weapons which Moscow has always used against the West—in the past in the form of political agitation against the governmental authority of the Cossacks in Ukraine, against the nobility in Poland, against the Turkish "Beys" in the Balkans, and nowadays against the "bourgeoisie" everywhere. The main point, however, was that the West disregarded the national factor—the many differentiated national components of the vast Russian imperium, the national dividing-lines, into which a

wedge could easily have been driven in order to split up Russia. And what held good for the past, now holds good for the present in exactly the same way. Not strategic causes, but wrong policies are to blame for the failure of the attacks which have been carried out against Moscow in the course of history.

In the Crimean War (after Russia seized Rumania)—fortunately for Europe and mankind—farsighted statesmen were in charge of Europe's policy. Great Britain formed an anti-Russian coalition together with Turkey, France under Napoleon III and Sardinia. This coalition drove the Russians out of Rumania and the Balkans, annihilated the armies of the Tzar in the Crimea, captured Sevastopol, sank the Russian fleet. This hastened the death of Nicholas I and the new Tzar was forced to beg for peace at terms which were ignominious for him: Russia was forbidden to have a navy and military bases in the Black Sea territory. Thus, when European policy was at the height of its tasks, the attempts to overthrow Russia were successful. Of course, it was only a partial success, but politics were to blame for this fact. The Western allies constantly urged Austria-Hungary to join the coalition. At that time—that is to say before Germany was united by Prussia—the Hapsburg monarchy was the strongest military power in Europe (except France); and its participation in the war would have caused Russia considerable anxiety and would have undermined the latter's imperial position to a far greater extent. But Austria remained neutral and contented itself with an armed demonstration at the frontiers. . . It was not until 22 years after the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Crimean War, that Russia, taking advantage of France's downfall in 1870-71, succeeded in invading the Balkans once more. In 1878 the armies of the Tzar advanced practically as far as Constantinople and were prepared to seize the Turkish capital. . . Considerable pressure on the part of Great Britain and the concentration of the British fleet in the Dardanelles forced the Tzar to retreat and to surrender not only Constantinople but, soon afterwards, the entire Balkans, too.

In 1905, that is to say during the Russo-Japanese war, it was only thanks to the kindly disposition of the West that Russia's defeat was not a greater catastrophe. Russia at that time decided to accept a peace treaty not so much because of the defeats which she had suffered at the hands of the Japanese, but in view of the imminent danger of a revolution, which actually did break out in the autumn of 1905. This revolution was by no means insignificant,

and it was with considerable difficulty that the Tzarist regime managed to put it down and direct it into the channels of a lawful parliamentary opposition. Had Russia at that time been defeated in the East, paralysed internally by a revolution, and exposed to an attack from the West on the part of Germany and Austria-Hungary, then the imperium would most surely have fallen to pieces. Who knows whether the states of West Europe would have hastened to help Russia, already defeated so decisively in the Far East, if she had been in the throes of an internal revolution and had also suffered a defeat on her Western frontiers at the hands of new enemies; and help from America would have been both strategically and psychologically impossible in the year 1905. But Germany failed to take the necessary steps; on the contrary, Wilhelm II assured the Tzar of his friendly attitude. And for this neutrality Russia expressed her gratitude to her Western neighbours by carrying out an invasion in 1914.

If we consider present events, we come to the same conclusion: the Allies have won the war against Germany, but have lost the peace. The fact that Russia is now threatening the whole world is not the result of her military power, but the result of the pro-Russian policy of the West. The reason for Russia's power lies in the fact that the West—most unnecessarily—handed over Manchuria to her, contrary to the agreement with Free China, that in deference to Stalin's and Roosevelt's wishes it did not start an offensive in the Balkans, that it handed over Czecho-Slovakia, which it would have done better to have kept for itself, to the Muscovites, and that it surrendered the Balkans and Germany on the east side of the Elbe to Moscow, which was likewise by no means necessary. The West itself has destroyed all the barriers which impeded Russian expansion in Europe and in the Far East, without, however, intending setting up any barriers of its own in their stead. The West definitely refuses to regard the vast Russian imperium as a patchwork of various nations and to approve of the programme of a partition of Russia; it refuses to use the only effective weapon which would destroy the Russian imperium and put a stop to its imperialism. No wonder that Russia continues to expand and grow! The alleged futility of an attack on Russia from the West or from the East has nothing whatsoever to do with this fact, just as the vast imperial territory, too, has nothing to do with it. The reason for the ever-increasing Russian menace is to be sought in the indolence of Western political thinking.

Similarly, the cause of the failure of the German invasion of 1918 lay not in the military power of Russia, which had already been decisively defeated and as regards armed strength was no longer existent, but in the policy of the Western allies who would not permit the collapse of the Russian imperium—just as in 1905 they prevented the collapse of the Tzarist empire. These same causes also played a part in the years 1941-45—in particular, the indolent policy of German National Socialism, which, above all in Ukraine, Poland and the Baltic countries, set its hopes not on the liberation of the subjugated peoples, but on a “new White Russia” with General Vlasov at its head. . . . And this is precisely what those politicians are now doing, who ignore Ukraine and the other freedom-loving nations and set their hopes on an all-Russian political corpse, namely on Kerensky. It is time the legend—a very pleasant legend as far as the Muscovites are concerned—of the impossibility of conquering Russia was discarded, for it is, after all, only a legend. The lack of will-power on the part of the West to destroy the Muscovite monster is a subject that can be discussed, the impossibility of achieving this—never!

Is this a reason why we should despair? No,—however regrettable this fact may be, it gives us no right to capitulate or lose courage. In view of this indifference or ignorance on the part of the West, we can only repeat what the Ukrainian monthly journal “Visnyk”, published in Lviv (Lemberg), wrote in its last edition (shortly before the outbreak of the war in 1939). “The Ukrainian problem as a problem of international significance grew and increased even under most unfavourable conditions. Neither the age of the biggest expansion of power of Tzarism, the age of its alliance with the two largest democracies of West Europe, nor the era in which these two democracies supported the Russian counter-revolution in Ukraine, nor the era of Rapallo (of German and Soviet friendship in the 1920’s), nor the era in which France sought to curry favour with the U.S.S.R.—have liquidated this problem. Nor will any action on the part of Hitler or Stalin succeed in doing so.” And elsewhere in the same article: “There can be no talk of the Ukrainian problem being liquidated as a result of some temporary favourable international situation or other. . . . Ukraine alone must produce men who will set up this problem in keeping with its importance—men and not puppets.”

These remarks can be repeated in our day, too—especially as far as the last sentence is concerned.

V. Oreletsky

Ukraine and Turkey

Of all the neighbours of Ukraine—Muscovy or Russia, Poland, the Rumanian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, White Ruthenian or Byelorussian lands, Lithuania and Hungary, not to mention the Khanate of the Crimea which was the mightiest Turkish vassal—the relations of the Ottoman Empire with Ukraine during the past, namely in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, i. e. at the time of the existence of Cossack Ukraine, has been least analysed and elucidated. This is due to the early downfall of the Crimean Khanate and to the loss of valuable documentary sources on Ukrainian-Tartar relations, as well as to the fact that Ukrainian and, above all, Ottoman research scholars paid little attention to the political relations which existed between the Ukrainian Cossack State and the Turkish Empire. Moreover, the documents needed in this respect were taken either to Russia or Poland and were, therefore, not always available to Ukrainian research scholars. For the purpose of studying former Ukrainian and Turkish relations more closely, a few young Ukrainians are learning the Turkish language in order to be able to examine the sources which may throw a new light on these relations in the past.

The political events of those times in Ukraine followed each other in rapid kaleidoscopic succession. It was very often not clear whether the Tartars invaded Ukraine or joined the Ukrainian armed forces with the consent of the Turkish Sultan or against his will. The frequent betrayals of the Ukrainian ally by the Tartars are not always comprehensible to us. The latter probably sought to maintain a balance of power between Ukraine and Poland in order to use the weakness of the one or other military partner. The Muscovites (Russians) need not be mentioned in this respect since they did not appear on the political scene in the Black Sea territories until the young Ukrainian Cossack State had been undermined or partly subdued by them.

Since the Crimean Khan took his orders from Constantinople it is often difficult to separate Tartar military action from Turkish military and political action in Ukraine. We shall, however, concentrate on the direct political (diplomatic) contact which existed between Ukraine and Turkey. This contact was particularly close during the Ukrainian-Polish war under the leadership of the great Ukrainian Hetman (Chief of State) Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1648-1654) and immediately after his death (1657) under other Ukrainian Hetmans. It is generally affirmed that it would have been better for Ukraine if she had been united to Turkey in some political form, like Moldavia, Wallachia and other countries, since in that case she would have been able to attain her independence as other peoples who were under Turkish rule did.

The military organisation of the Ukrainian Zaporozhian Cossacks, who had their headquarters near the falls of the same name on the River Dnieper, did not play an important part in Ukraine's diplomatic relations with Turkey, although it was this organisation (known as the Zaporozhian Sich) which met the many attacks carried out by the Tartars and the Turks. For this reason we shall not deal in detail with all the clashes which occurred between the Zaporozhian Cossacks and their Mohammedan neighbours.

An account of the political relations which existed between the Ottoman Empire and the Crimean Khanate is given in a short monograph, dealing with the years 1648 and 1649, the years of the Ukrainians' great victories over the Poles, by the Ukrainian scholar and authority on Turkey, Omelian Pritsak. Below, we quote the most significant points of these relations. Mr. Pritsak's work is based on certain paragraphs of the "Tarish-i Nacima" (of the year 1058, that is 1648-49), which bear the title "Ahwali-Qazaq" ("On the Cossacks").

An examination of these paragraphs reveals that they contain three different accounts of three historical events in Ukraine.

The first account deals with the arrival of a Crimean Tartar messenger in Constantinople with the news that the Ukrainian Hetman Khmelnytsky had surrendered to the suzerainty of the Crimean Khan and that the Khan was preparing a campaign against Poland.

According to the second account, the Crimean Tartar Khan in the course of a pillaging expedition had invaded the territory of the "unbelievers", had captured more than 40,000 "Rus" (Ukrainians) and had destroyed the fortress of the "Rus-i manhus"

(the disastrous Rus-Ukraine). The Grand Vizier, however, was not inclined to present a robe of honour to the bearer of this good news. He asked why the Khan had pillaged the territory of the "Rus" (Ukraine) who had entered into an alliance with Turkey. And for this same reason he sent a special delegation to the Crimea to demand that the captured "Rus" (Ukrainians) should be brought to Constantinople so that they might be set free in accordance with the Ukrainian-Turkish agreement.

This Tartar invasion of Ukraine probably amounts to nothing more than the arrival of the Khan to assist Khmelnytsky on May 27th, after the Poles had been defeated by the Ukrainian Hetman. After the defeat of the Poles the Tartars for a month pillaged Ukraine whose would-be allies they were.

According to various historical documents, Khmelnytsky sent a delegation, with Colonel Djalaliy as its head, to Constantinople for the purpose of signing an alliance with the Turkish government. Colonel Djalaliy, incidentally, was second in importance to Khmelnytsky. In June 1648, he entered into an alliance with the Grand Vizier Ahmad Hazarpara.

The most significant points of this Ukrainian-Turkish alliance were:

- 1) The Crimean Khan was to desist from invading Ukrainian territory;
- 2) Should he violate this decree, the Ottoman government would release the Ukrainian prisoners;

The supremacy of the Crimea over Ukraine was not mentioned in this pact, since the Khan, as a counterpart of the agreement, was prepared to acknowledge the project in terms of which only the Ottoman government could appoint the Ukrainian Hetman.

This fact was pointed out in all Polish-Ottoman treaties concluded in the course of the 17th century.

Consequently, the Polish-Turkish alliance was replaced by the Ukrainian-Turkish alliance, since Ukraine, after Khmelnytsky's victories over Poland, now became the immediate neighbour of Turkey.

In his work Pritsak assumes that some other conventions besides the one mentioned above (for example, the Turko-Ukrainian Sea Convention) must have been signed in Constantinople in 1648.

Turkey's treaty with Ukraine was considered to be so important by Constantinople that it censured the Crimea for having violated

this treaty. On the other hand, the Tartar Khan also censured the Turkish delegation. The Crimean Khan, the then "ally" of Ukraine, tried his utmost to prevent an agreement between Ukraine and Turkey, since he feared that a convention between these two states would endanger the very existence of the Crimean Khanate itself. According to a paragraph of the "Nacima" (IY 4, 337), the Khan reprimanded the Turkish delegation on August 8, 1648. This paragraph also gives some information on the above-mentioned treaty between Ukraine and Turkey. On August 7th, however, a new Janissary government assumed power in Constantinople. This new Turkish government sought a reconciliation with the Crimea by leaving the "northern matters" to the Khan. Mr. Pritsak in his book mentioned the fact that "honours were showered on the Khan and the reprimand by the former Grand Vizier was considered insignificant". The Turkish-Ukrainian alliance had terminated on June 7, 1648, but a new agreement was now signed by Hetman Khmelnytsky and the Janissary government which was not, however, as favourable for Ukraine as the former agreement had been.

In addition to the "Nacima", the Ottoman writer and historian, Katib Celebi also dealt with the 1640's and 50's in his work "Fedleke", which contains valuable documentary material.

Relations between Ukraine and Turkey date back to the 16th century, but it was not until the beginning of the following century that they became really intensive. In 1624 the Tartar Khan, Shahin-Ghirey, concluded a military convention with the Zaporozhian Cossacks. The Zaporozhians were involved in the internal affairs of the Crimean Tartars; at that time there were two parties in the Crimea. One party was for complete independence and severance from the Ottoman Empire, whilst the other party was in favour of a Turkish protectorate over the Crimea.

The Ukrainian Hetman Mykhailo Doroshenko invaded the Crimea, conquered Bakhchisaray and besieged Kaffa, but was himself killed in combat in 1628.

With the assistance of the Tartar army under the command of the Murza Tuhay Bey, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky began the great Ukrainian uprising against Poland. He first of all destroyed the Polish fortress Kodak and defeated the Polish armies near the River Zhovti Vody (Yellow Waters); and at Korsun in the summer of 1648 the Polish commanders-in-chief, Potocki and Kalinowski were captured and extradited to the Crimea. A little later, Khmelnytsky captured the entire Polish military camp near the

River Pylyava in Podolia and advanced into Galicia as far as Lviv (Lvov) and subsequently as far as Zamostye on the Ukrainian-Polish ethnographical border.

In 1649, after a two-days' battle at Zboriv in Eastern Galicia, Khmelnytsky defeated the Polish army under the command of the Polish king himself. But the Tartars betrayed the Ukrainian forces and thus saved the Polish king from captivity. The Tartars evidently feared that the fact that there was no balance of power between Ukraine and Poland might endanger the Crimean Khanate. It is doubtful whether the Ottoman government was pleased at this betrayal of the Ukrainian ally by the Tartars.

After the conclusion of the treaty between Ukraine and Moscow at Pereyaslav in 1654, which, however, did not last very long, Russia tried her utmost to impede relations between Ukraine and Turkey. Ukraine, on the other hand, in exercising an independent foreign policy, did not consider herself bound by the terms of the Pereyaslav Treaty.

In the spring of 1651 another war broke out between Ukraine and Poland. In virtue of a Ukrainian-Turkish agreement, the Sultan ordered the Tartar Khan Islam Ghirey to send an army to the assistance of Hetman Khmelnytsky. But the Khan was not prepared to support the Ukrainian ally and once again betrayed him at the crucial moment, in the battle of Berestechko near the Galician-Volhynian border.

As mentioned above, Ukraine did not feel bound by the Treaty of Pereyaslav. She refused to renounce her direct diplomatic relations with Turkey which was hostile to Moscow. Ukraine did not want Moscow to interfere in Ukrainian-Turkish relations. And in view of Muscovite perfidy, Hetman Khmelnytsky continued his liberation war against Poland with his new allies, Sweden and Transylvania. At the same time, he also negotiated with Prussia and Turkey for the purpose of signing an agreement directed against Moscow and Poland.

Two years after Khmelnytsky's death, the Muscovite army was heavily defeated near Konotop (on the Ukrainian-Russian ethnographical frontier) by Khmelnytsky's successor, Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky (June 28th and 29th, 1659). 30,000 Russian cavalry were slain and some voyevods and Prince Pozharskoy were captured. Only the events in the south of Ukraine and the withdrawal of the Tartar army from Konotop prevented Moscow from being taken by the united Ukrainian-Tartar armies.

In 1675 and 1676 Hetman Doroshenko, together with his Tartar and Turkish allies, waged another war against Muscovy. After the resignation of Doroshenko the Turks continued the war against the Russians until 1678. They tried to cooperate with the new Hetman Yuriy (George) Khmelnytsky, but with little success because the territory of the right bank Ukraine was completely devastated and depopulated.

After the battle of Poltava (1709) where the united Swedish and Ukrainian armies under the command of the Swedish King, Charles XII, and the Ukrainian Hetman Mazepa were defeated by the Muscovite (Russian) Tzar Peter I, these two prominent leaders of Sweden and Ukraine sought refuge in Bendery which was under Turkish protection.

Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, Mazepa's successor, was recognised as such by Sweden and Turkey. In 1711 the Turks attacked and encircled the Russian army near the River Pruth. At the same time, Orlyk and his Tartar allies succeeded in conquering the territory of Ukraine as far as the town of Bila Tserkva, south of the Ukrainian capital Kyiv (Kiev).

After the battle of Poltava, part of the Ukrainian territory belonging to the Zaporozhian Cossacks remained under the protection of the Tartar Khan until 1740.

When the Ukrainian military organisation of the Zaporozhian Cossacks (the Zaporozhian Sich) was liquidated by the Russian Empress Catherine II in 1775, some of these Cossacks settled in the territory south of the Danube estuary which was under Turkish rule. And it was here that a new military organisation of the Ukrainian Cossacks was set up. The well-known Ukrainian comic opera, "Zaporozhets za Dunayem" ("The Zaporozhian Beyond the Danube"), dates back to this period of the Ukrainian Cossacks in exile.

Much has been written in the Ukrainian and also in the non-Ukrainian press about the endeavours of Chaykivsky who, under the Turkish name of Sadyk Pasha, tried to organise legendary Ukrainian legions for the purpose of liberating Ukraine from the Russian yoke. This happened in the 19th century when there was no hope of liberating Ukraine, and even Napoleon during his advance on Moscow was not able to organise a Ukrainian army owing to his early defeat in Russia.


During World War I the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine was recognised by the Turkish government. As a point of interest

we should like to mention the fact that the Ukrainian volunteers, the "Sichovi Striltsi", joined forces with the Turkish troops stationed in Eastern Galicia and together fought against the Russians.

In the Treaty of Berestye (Brest-Litovsk) in February 1918, the Turkish government recognised the independence of Ukraine.

Professor Olexander Lototsky of the Ukrainian Free University (until 1945 in Prague and now in Munich) was the first envoy of the Ukrainian National Republic in Constantinople.

In conclusion, I should like to stress that the common past of the Ukrainians and Turks and the geographical position of their respective countries are the best guarantee for their political and cultural cooperation in the future.



V. Derzhavyn

“The History of the Rus”

Introduction

The anonymous work, “The History of the Rus” (“Istoriya Rusov”), certain characteristic passages of which are here presented in the English translation for our readers, is undoubtedly one of the most significant works of 18th century Ukrainian literature and, at the same time, must be regarded as one of the works which had the greatest and most lasting influence on the development of Ukrainian national thought in the 19th century. On the strength of its circulation and its profound influence on the thought and works of great Ukrainian national writer, Taras Shevchenko—who, according to leading Ukrainian literary scholars, owed more to the “History of the Rus” than to any other book save the Bible—this work represents an extremely important epoch in the history of Ukrainian culture.

Its origin, however, still remains fairly obscure, despite all the research undertaken in this connection for over a century by various prominent historians and literary scholars. According to the latest research,* it was written between 1796 and 1805 (probably nearer to the latter date), in the northern part of Central Ukraine and most probably in the district of Novhorod-Siversky, where for a time, during the last decades of the 18th century, an important Ukrainian cultural centre existed, and where the wealthy and politically minded and to some extent influential circles of the local “gentry” zealously continued to cultivate and enrich with new ideas the autonomic and national, historical traditions of the “Hetmanate” of the autonomous and partly independent Kozak state, which was not finally dissolved until the years 1781-1783.

Much has been written and argued—with extremely dubious results—about the name and person of the anonymous author of the work. Only one fact appears to be certain and that is, that

*) We refer in particular to the recent and excellent publication of a Ukrainian translation of this work, the original version of which is in Russian (New York, 1956, “Visnyk”)—a translation for which we are indebted to the well-known Ukrainian historian, Prof. Olexander Ohloblyn, who has devoted himself to this task with tireless energy.



Богданъ Хмельницкій
Самозванецъ и ватажникъ
въ Украинѣ

BOHDAN KHMELNYTSKY
(From the engraving by V. Hondius, 17th C.)



A MAP OF THE BLACK SEA AREA
 made before 1800, one of the earliest known bearing the name
 of Ukraine
 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

the author could not possibly have been George (Heorhy) Konysky, the Archbishop of Mohyliv and Byelorussia, who died in 1795 and whose name appears on the title-page of the first printed edition of the book (Moscow, 1846); the name of this ecclesiastical dignitary (who, incidentally, was known for his sermons on morality) was merely used as a pseudonym by the first editor of the work, Prof. O. Bodyansky, for very obvious political reasons.

It seems highly probable that the unknown author was unable to complete his work, which covers the period from "earliest times" up to the beginning of the year 1769, and that it either remained unknown for a considerable time or else fell into oblivion; for it was not until the beginning of the 1820's that copies written by hand began to appear. Within a few years' time, however, it became one of the most widely read manuscript works in Ukraine. The first printed edition of the work in 1846, which was published and edited by Osyp Bodyansky (under the patronage of the Moscow "Imperial Society of Russian History and Antiquity") under considerable difficulties, naturally contributed to a great extent to the enormous popularity and circulation of the book during the 40's, 50's and 60's, for this was a book which was in keeping with the "spirit of the times" and with the ideals and aims of the newly roused Ukrainian national spirit.

And neither the antique literary style and form, no doubt chosen by the author intentionally*), nor the apparent inappropriateness of this style and form in view of the actual *political* contents of the work could detract from its popularity. Although the "History of the Rus" claims to be a compilation of old Kozak chronicles or annals and imitates the style of the latter, it is not a historical work in the true sense. The author is not greatly concerned with historical truth, and, though one must admit that he has an outstanding knowledge of the historical sources available in manuscript form in his day, he on the whole selects from them precisely those parts which appeal to him most from the ideological point of view, and occasionally even goes so far as to mention incidents which are purely fictitious. He takes even more liberties when dealing with the extremely numerous public speeches, proclamations, tractates and other documentary matter "cited" by him, the originals of which

*) This, of course, also includes the use of the Russian literary language, a use which was characteristic of Central and Eastern Ukraine during the second half of the 18th century, and, incidentally, the author intersperses this language very considerably with Ukrainianisms and purely Ukrainian idioms.

were in various cases either not available or were altered by him as he saw fit. This, of course, is also the case occasionally in the "genuine" Kozak chronicles of the 17th and 18th century, but there—especially as far as the "public speeches" are concerned—it is usually a question of a literary imitation of ancient Roman historiography; and although this stylistic trend to "classicism" is by no means foreign to the author of the "History of the Rus", the true reason why he resorts to it is, in his case, to be sought elsewhere.

The author of the "History of the Rus" is not so much concerned with *recounting* the history of Ukraine, but rather with *exemplifying*, by means of this history, the national rights and the national characteristics of the Ukrainian people. As Prof. O. Ohloblyn aptly says, his work is "a political treatise presented in a historical form", that "represents the ideas of the Ukrainian national independence, sovereignty and statehood; in the light of these ideas it reviews the history of Ukrainian-Moscow relations in the 17-18 centuries deriving Christian morals and inherent rights, and judges Moscow colonial politics in Ukraine".

The historical form of representation has, above all, the advantage of enabling the author to show again and again, by means of an almost immeasurable amount of material, that the Ukrainian state of the 17th and 18th century really existed from the national and legal point of view and that it was only thanks to Moscow's systematic perfidy that it was robbed of the autonomous rights which had originally been officially conceded to it. Was it really only robbed of its autonomous rights? Is it not possible that the author had the complete restoration of the national and state independence of Ukraine in mind? This cannot, of course, be definitely ascertained. The historical form of representation made it possible for the author to attribute his own criticism of Muscovite imperialism to persons who were notorious for their opposition to Moscow; but he *had* to proceed carefully when it came to producing positive proof of Ukraine's lawful rights. From the point of view of the tzarist regime any demand for internal autonomy bordered on high treason; and it would have been sheer madness on the part of the author to have given expression to more radical "separatist" opinions even in an anonymous manuscript.

All the more consistently does the "History of the Rus" therefore endeavour to assert an *ethical* justification of Ukraine's lawful

rights; and it is precisely in this respect that the work reveals two outstanding merits which have made it an organic and vital connecting link between the autonomic rights of the old Hetmanate and the national patriotism of the democratic masses of the 19th century. The extremely clear distinction which is constantly made throughout the work between the Ukrainian*) people (designated as "the Rus"—the archaic name—by the author) and the Russian people (designated as "Russian" or "Muscovite" people) not only destroys the tendentious legend about an allegedly close relationship between the Russians and the Ukrainians (and the Byelorussians, too), but also stresses the original independence of Ukraine's national culture and national continuity of the history of Ukraine, which has been denied and doubted by certain Russian and Polish historiographers. It is true that this historical continuity of the Ukrainian nation is only apodictically proclaimed in the "History of the Rus", and that it was not until a hundred years later that the great Ukrainian historian, Mykhailo Hrushevsky, produced regular and conclusive historical proof of this fact; but it is the author of the "History of the Rus" who must be given credit for having taken the first step in this direction.

The significance of the "History of the Rus" as regards the development of Ukrainian national thought was intensified still more by the fact that its author, though himself a member of the Ukrainian "gentry" who were descended from the Kozak upper class, did not merely defend the autonomic class interests of the landed nobility, but also most definitely supported the principles of a democratic republic and the rights of the masses. In doing so, he is quite obviously inspired by the American "Declaration of Independence" of 1776 and possibly, too, by the French "Declaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen" of 1789; and in his work he thus creates the vital connecting link between the national urge to autonomy of the 18th century and the democratic freedom movement of the 19th century, and includes the Ukrainian fight against Muscovite czarism in the all-European struggle of the nations against absolutism and tyranny:

"Every human being has a right to defend his existence, his property and his freedom, and Nature herself or the Creator have

*) It should be borne in mind that the designations "Ukraine" and "Ukrainian" in the 18th century had a predominantly *geographical* and not an ethnical and national meaning, and often only referred to the old territory of the Hetmanate (that is to say, excluding Western Ukraine).

given him adequate tools or means to do so... All peoples on this earth have always defended their life, their freedom and their property and will always continue to do so."

And it is on these principles that the "history of the Rus" is based—as the first systematic declaration of the rights of the Ukrainian people.

Extracts from "The History of the Rus"

KHMELNYTSKY'S LETTER TO KING WLADYSLAW OF POLAND (pp. 109-111)

... Of the officers taken prisoner-of-war on the battle-field at Pylyava, Khmelnytsky has released eleven on their word of honour and with a promise in writing that they will never again fight against Kozaks, and has sent thirteen Poles to his son Tymish to Crimea with instructions that he is to hand them over to the Khan as a present. Three Poles, namely Cavalry-Captain Thomas Kosakowski, Storeman Jan Czerwinski, and Volunteer Ludwig Ossolinski, he has released and sent to Warsaw and through them he has, on August 11, 1648, sent a letter to King Wladyslaw and all the officials of the Commonwealth with the following contents: "I call upon Heaven and Earth and even God the Almighty as witnesses that the war fought by me and all the Christian blood shed in it is the deed of certain Polish magnates who defy the power of His Majesty the King, our gracious Lord, and pursue their tyrannical habits and presumption in order to destroy the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) people. They were the ones who thirsted for human blood; they were intent upon this unlawful and barbarous sacrifice; let them sate themselves therefore with it; I, however, wash my hands before the people and the whole world of all responsibility for this bloodshed.

As all the officials of the Commonwealth know, as even His Majesty our King knows, and as the state archives prove, there have been many embittered and convincing requests, complaints and petitions received from the officials and the Ukrainian people about countless untenable atrocities, unheard of even amongst savage tribes, countless cases of robbery, murder and various kinds of acts of tyranny, committed by corrupt and rapacious Poles and their drunken soldiery; no one has, however, heeded these complaints; indeed no one has even seen fit to investigate all these matters or to see that reparation is made to the victims; on the contrary, the complaints have been regarded as crimes and as evil intentions; this unfortunate people has been surrendered to the mercy of the ill-reputed soldiery and rapacious Jewry and has been exposed to slavery and humiliation.

Vetoes and prohibitions have been imposed on this people in every respect, and things have gone so far that no one has seen fit to intercede for it or to support its side. And the Poles have not only not recognised this people (the Ukrainian people) as their racial brothers and as human beings created by God, but have insulted and scorned it in various ways and have decied it most infamously as renegades and rogues.

The Poles have forgotten and shamelessly trample underfoot the services rendered by the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) soldiers and their heavy battles with foreign forces—fought in order to protect and extend the Polish frontiers. The

Ruthenian (Ukrainian) blood which has been shed, the many thousands of Ruthenian (Ukrainian) soldiers who have died on the battlefields, have been requited by the Poles with the gallows, with the burning alive of innocent beings, and with all kinds of tortures and atrocities.

But Divine Justice, which sees all human deeds, has ceased to tolerate such inhuman crimes, has inspired the people to defend its own life and has chosen me as the humble tool of His Will.

This Divine Providence was clearly shown in the defeats suffered by Poland, in seven main battles and in various smaller battles and combats, at the hands of the Kozak forces which in numbers were far less than the Polish forces. The Polish armies were defeated and put to rout; many of their leaders and commanding officers were killed, and a considerable number were taken prisoner by the Tartars; for reprisals were taken in the same measure as they themselves had applied. The only revenge which must still be taken for all that the Ukrainian people has suffered is to ruin the Polish settlements and destroy their families.

But I call God to judge my soul, that I do not desire or seek a revenge which is infamous for Christians and for mankind, for God alone in His Justice is competent to avenge these crimes, namely on the Day when all earthly rulers and governors of this world, who are responsible for having destroyed innocent beings and shed their blood since the day when Abel was murdered by his brother, shall come before Him.

And so I exhort thee, our just and beloved King and Monarch, and you, His counsellors and the nobility of Poland, to fear God the Merciful, to cease from enmity, to spurn the evil which destroys our own peoples, to make your peace with these peoples and to let them live, so that they may praise you. And this depends entirely on you alone!

I for my part am always prepared to fulfil what my duty and my obligation demand of me before God and before the people."

* * *

From the "HISTORY OF THE RUS", pp. 131-133

BOHDAN KHMELNYTSKY RECEIVES THE FOREIGN DELEGATES IN AUDIENCE

In May 1650 the foreign delegates were sent by their rulers to great Bohdan Khmelnytsky in Chyhyryn in his new office as Hetman. This office and dignity has become even greater after outstanding military successes and after the treaty of Zboriv, which recognised him (Khmelnysky) and the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) people as free and entirely independent.

These delegates were: from the Turkish Sultan, Osman Aga and the Pasha of Silistria and several other well-known Turkish personalities; from the Russian Tzar, his counsellor Vassily Buturlin and various boyars; and from the King of Poland and the Polish Republic, the Chancellor, Prince Lubomirski and Voivode Kysil and several other persons. On behalf of their ruler the Turkish delegates presented the Hetman with a Hetman's staff set with gems and pearls, a valuable sabre of damascene steel, a cloak resembling ermine, and, as a present for the Kozaks, forty sacks of puma skins; all these presents were wrapped in cotton sacks and carpets which were edged with silk and embroidered with gold and silver flowers.

The Muscovite delegates brought presents consisting of valuable sable skins and other costly furs, various materials woven with gold and silver thread which were packed in bales, and a gift for the Kozaks which was packed in barrels round which rugs had been wrapped.

The Polish delegates presented the Hetman with bales of thin materials and carpets, and brought a present covered with valuable carpets for the army.

The Hetman received the delegates in audience. After the usual greetings and addresses, delivered by each delegate on behalf of his ruler and his people, the suggestion was put to the Hetman and the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) people that friendship, a pact and protection should be established, which was to be based on principles that were to be worked out jointly, whereby the first point would be the confirmation of the fact that the Hetmanate was to remain in Khmelnytsky's family and pass to his descendants.

Whereupon the Hetman replied to the delegates in the following definite terms: "I am prepared to observe the alliance and friendship with all peoples and, since such an alliance and friendship is a divine gift and worthy of the whole mankind, I shall never violate it; as regards protection for the people, however, should they need it, then it depends on the good will of the people, after mutual counsel and decision.

"And I definitely reject the idea of the hereditary rule of my family over the people as Hetmans and stress that it (this legacy), since it is contrary to the laws and customs of the people, shall always be avoided by the people, by the appointed officials and by the Hetman himself. And I should be ashamed to think of such a thing, seeing that I have revived these rights at the sacrifice of many soldiers and seeing that they (these rights) have been confirmed by the blood of these soldiers!"

* * *


From the "HISTORY OF THE RUS", pp. 186-187

KHMELNYTSKY'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE SULTAN AND THE EMPEROR

The correspondence of the Hetman with the (Holy Roman) Emperor and the Primate and their threats were actually marked by a new danger for Ukraine (Little Russia). At the beginning of the year 1657 the Emperor's troops concentrated on the frontiers of Galicia, the Turkish troops advanced in Bessarabia and Moldavia, and the entire Crimea was in a state of unrest. After the Hetman had informed the Tzar about his correspondence with the Emperor and the Primate and about the troop movements of the neighbouring states, he promptly covered his frontiers by stationing several detachments and commands there and set up two camps to assist the latter; one camp on the River Tashlyk, under the command of his son Yuriy, who was assisted by the advice of older and experienced officials who were with him, and the other camp near the town of Zaslavl, under the command of the nominated Hetman, Doroshenko. The troops on both sides of the frontiers were in constant movement, but no hostilities occurred; they only wanted to show that they were prepared for war at any time. In the meantime the foreign delegates arrived and put forward new demands.

The Turkish Sultan Ibrahim and the Roman Emperor in their joint mission informed the Hetman as follows: "The Kingdom of Poland is ruined and ex-

hausted to the utmost through incessant wars and through his, the Hetman's, victories, and through the Kozak troops who have mercilessly destroyed the Poles and for no valid reason have helped the Swedes and the Russian Tzar; this state (Poland), having been reduced to ruin, will see itself forced to join with the Muscovite state, either by means of negotiations or as a result of armed force; and if the neighbouring states and the whole of Europe look on all this passively, they will soon, to their shame, see a huge state (Muscovite state) grow out of almost nothing, to the detriment and destruction of various states, including their own states; therefore these monarchs, who are most justified in their reasons for defending national rights and preserving a political balance of power in the states, warn the Hetman to desist from alliance with Sweden and from a union with Moscow, and, instead of this, advise him to form an alliance with the Kingdom of Poland, as was formerly the case, under the present government and with all the rights and privileges which are characteristic of a free nation, and to this end and through the intermediation of these monarchs to work out a constitution with Poland, which the monarchs are prepared to guarantee and to defend at all times; otherwise, if he fails to do so, they will declare war and will force him to do so."



Prof. H. Vashchenko

BOLSHEVIST TERROR

And the end of World War II, when the German Army retreated before the Bolsheviks, the people of the West witnessed strange things.

Hundreds of thousands of people left their native countries and their homes and fled in a panic to the West. The majority of them came to Germany, although the Germans had not been at all tolerant towards the occupied territories during the war. But to the refugees the Bolsheviks appeared more terrible than the Germans. Having found shelter in Germany, the emigrants, through the medium of the spoken word and the press, began to inform the people of the free world about Bolshevik terrorism, about the concentration camps, about the arresting and shooting of innocent persons, and about the famine in Ukraine, artificially organised by the Bolsheviks in the years 1932-33. The majority of persons in the West regarded this information as an exaggeration and were inclined to be extremely sceptical in this respect. And when the collective leadership itself recently dethroned Stalin, and Khrushchov and Bulganin, with their smiles and their presents, began to travel through the European countries, the Western world began to believe in the possibility of "coexistence" with the Bolsheviks... Suddenly, however, events in Hungary opened the eyes of many persons in the West and they saw the terrible Bolshevik monster in its true colours. This was the end of "coexistence".

And yet, events in Hungary only partially revealed the Iron Curtain to the free world. In order to realise how dangerous Bolshevism is to the whole world, it is necessary to examine the Bolshevik system more closely. This is a system of totalitarian terrorism, unparalleled in the world. It is not connected with a certain person, as for example with Stalin. And Lenin, for instance, was no less a terrorist than Stalin. It was he who worked out in detail the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat with its dreadful terrorism. It goes without saying that dictatorship excludes all

freedom. About this dictatorship Lenin, in his appeal to the Hungarian workers, says perfectly clearly, "in order to destroy the classes a period of dictatorship of one class is necessary, and precisely of that class which is able to put down the employers and is not only able to crush their resistance, but also to break with the entire bourgeois democratic ideology, with the entire bourgeoisie and all the phraseology about *freedom* (the italics are ours—the author.) and complete equality" (Collection of works, XXIV, p. 315).

But this is not all. Lenin also elaborated the programme for the complete enslavement of society, not only of the "bourgeoisie" but also of the workers themselves. In this connection there exists a very interesting article written by Lenin in 1918 and entitled "How to Organise Social Competition" (Collections of works, XXII, p. 158-167). In this article Lenin wrote as follows: "Hundreds of forms and means of practical account for controlling the wealthy usurers and bread spoilers would be worked out in practice by the Communist themselves, by the small Party cells (consisting of three persons) in the villages and the towns. Variety in this respect is the precondition for livelihood and for achieving a unique aim: the purging of the Russian soil of all kinds of infectious insects. In one place, for instance, wealthy persons who do not want to work will be sent to prison . . . in another place they will be forced to clean the public lavatories. In yet another place after they have served their prison sentence they will be given red passports in order to draw the attention of the entire population to the fact that they are the persons who are causing harm. In other places one in every ten will be shot on the spot."

The methods of enslaving society which Lenin advocates are severe, to say the least. Those who are not acknowledged as real proletarians are not persons—they are insects which must be destroyed. And this "theory" was on the whole applied by Stalin and, after his death, by the collective leadership. And the whole life of the population of the U.S.S.R.—in all spheres, in all institutions, factories, schools, etc.—continues under this Bolshevist terrorism. But that is not all. Private life "in the country of materialised socialism" is likewise dominated by constant terrorism. Formerly the GPU and the N.K.V.D. were the institutions which were the organs of this terrorism; now, this function is performed by the M.G.B. This system of terrorism is like a state within a state. It has its own extensive territory, namely the concentration camps

scattered throughout North Europe, in the Archangelsk and Perm regions, in Siberia, in the tundras of Asia, in the steppes, and in the Far East. The N.K.V.D.-M.G.B. has a huge staff of officials and its own special army equipped with modern weapons. In every institution, factory and school there is a so-called secret staff who literally look after every worker and official. In addition, the N.K.V.D. also has a huge cadre of secret collaborators, the so-called "secsots", who keep an eye on every citizen in the U.S.S.R. —as to how he works, what he reads, to whom he talks, who visits him, etc. The "secsots" then pass on their information about all this to their command. In the U.S.S.R. spying is considered to be the moral duty of every citizen. Thus, it frequently happens that wives spy on and denounce their husbands, and children spy on and denounce their parents. Spying of this kind is regarded as an extremely heroic deed. And, accordingly, the boy, Pavel Morozov, is known to everyone in the U.S.S.R. as a hero. He denounced his father who, during the famine, had hidden a few pounds of grain. The father was thereupon arrested and liquidated. As a result of this system of spying, the feeling of distrust on the part of the population of the U.S.S.R. is steadily increasing. The people have become taciturn and reserved; they no longer trust even their closest co-workers; they are afraid to be frank even among their own children, especially as regards political and religious questions. Everyone lives in a state of constant fear, even those persons who perform their duties conscientiously and observe the orders of the Communist Party in their private and personal life, too. This may be explained by the fact that the general line of the Party frequently changes and sometimes very suddenly. The following case is an example of this: until August 1931, the system of education which was complex projective was considered to be purely Marxist, but from August 5th onwards, this system was declared to be a bourgeois system of misinterpretation and, accordingly, numerous pedagogues who continued to advocate this system were arrested and deported.

The entire population of the U.S.S.R. thus lives in a state of constant fear, especially in times when changes are introduced either in the home or foreign policy. Considerable fear prevailed amongst the population of the U.S.S.R. for instance in the years 1937-38 during the so-called "Yezhovshchina", which followed the proclamation of "Stalin's Constitution, the most democratic constitution in the world". Millions of persons and among them many Party

men were arrested, deported and taken to concentration camps, or shot.

Persons are often arrested in the U.S.S.R. for no reason whatsoever, the aim of such arrests being to intimidate the population or to prevent a "counter-revolution", according to the precept that "it is better to sentence 99 innocent persons than to acquit one guilty person".

Many persons get no sleep at nights, but are constantly on the alert and listening out whether they can hear the "Black-Maria" (the N.K.V.D. cars) approaching in order to arrest completely innocent persons. And this state of fear and these sleepless nights inevitably have certain results.

To fall into the hands of the N.K.V.D. is the most dreadful thing which can happen to a person. The tortures inflicted on the victim in the course of interrogation and investigation are terrible; indeed, compared to these methods the tortures of the Inquisition were nothing. The Bolsheviki exploit all the achievements of psychology and philosophy in order to aggravate the physical and moral suffering of their victims. In the course of interrogation and investigation the N.K.V.D. men frequently rape women-prisoners, or threaten men-prisoners by telling them that if they do not plead guilty their wives will be arrested and tortured before their eyes. It is characteristic of the Bolsheviki that they try to make their victims plead guilty to crimes which they have never committed. The N.K.V.D. men know perfectly well that their demands in this respect are unjustified and unreasonable, but the reason for their demands lies in the fact that they want to force their victims to collapse and want to deprive them of human dignity and make them submissive tools in their hands. Sometimes the Bolsheviki suggest to their victims that they should become co-workers of the N.K.V.D. and frequently they achieve their aim in this respect.

Arrests, deportation to concentration camps and the shooting of the victims concerned are the chief methods applied by Bolshevist terrorism. All the documents containing data pertaining to such cases are guarded with great secrecy by the Bolsheviki, and only the organs of the N.K.V.D. and of the Politbureau have a precise knowledge of these documents. For this reason, the only source of information about imprisonment and deportations in the U.S.S.R. can be the eyewitnesses who are now living in exile. I myself, as a scientist and pedagogue who worked in the U.S.S.R.

from 1917 to 1941, am in a position to furnish information about the imprisonment of scientists. In Poltava the INO (Institute of People's Education, which was later transformed into the Pedagogical Institute, had in 1925 about 130 members, among them 20 well-known scientists. When in 1940 I returned from Stalingrad to Poltava I found new men there. Of the former scientists there, only one was left. All the others had either been arrested and deported or shot. As early as 1929 and in connection with the S.V.U. (Union of Liberation of Ukraine) trial the professors Shchepotiev, Buzynny and Voropay, and, later, Prof. Buldovsky in Vladivostok, who had formerly worked in Poltava, were arrested.

Extensive purges were carried out in the high schools in Ukraine in 1933, and most of the teachers were arrested. In the same year numerous writers were also arrested—Vlyzko, Yalovy, Krushelnytsky, and various others. Zerov and Fylypovych had already been arrested previously. Some time later, Kulish, Mykytenko, Semenko, Vrazhlyvy, Bureviy and various other writers were imprisoned. In 1933 Khvyliovy committed suicide.

In 1930, in connection with the S.V.U. trial 40 scientists and social workers, including Yefremov, Chekhivsky, Hermaize, and Starytska-Cherniakhivska, were sentenced.

Many Party men and Communists, among them persons who held high positions in the government, did not escape arrest and deportation. Chubar, Hrynko, Zatonky and many others, for instance, were arrested and disappeared. The Commissar of Education who was known to be Lenin's co-worker, Mykola Skrypnyk, committed suicide in order to avoid being arrested. Panas Liubchenko, the head of Soviet Ukrainian government in the middle 1930's, likewise committed suicide. Many writers, scientists and Party leaders were arrested and deported in the years 1937-38 during the so-called "Yezhovshchina". It was during this period that a good friend of mine, Dmytro Byzko, the writer, was also arrested and shot.

The leaders of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church suffered most cruelly under Bolshevik terrorism. In the 1920's and at the beginning of the 30's thirty bishops, two thousand priests and thousands of members of this Church were arrested and deported. Among the victims of Bolshevik terrorism were Vasyl Lypkivsky, Archbishop Alexander Yaremenko, and the well-known Church leader, Prof. Chekhivsky.

During the first years of the Bolshevik revolution, when the Bolsheviks crushed the Ukrainian liberation movement, terrorism often assumed a mass character. Sometimes entire districts were victimised. Thus in 1921, for instance, Chesak and his group raided the rayon of Kobeliaky in the Poltava district and arrested and shot entirely innocent persons. Prior to 1920 another large group under Mykola Skrypnyk had already raided the same region and committed atrocities.

In 1930 a large-scale insurrection on the part of the farmers took place in Pavlohrad region. I learned about it from a farmer from this village, M. Bilyayev. The leader of the resistance was Kyrylo Shopyn, a farmer who was in touch with the member of the Academy, Serhiy Yefremov. On July 18th, a conference of the S.V.U. was to convene in Pavlohrad region in order to discuss the fight against the Bolsheviks and above all the methods to be adopted against the collectivization organised by the latter. A spy of the name of Yazyn, however, informed the Bolsheviks about the conference. Twenty-two persons were arrested thereupon. The rest of the farmers decided to liberate the persons who had been arrested and, accordingly, attacked the GPU prison. On April 5th, an organised group of insurgents from a farm near Blyznytsia proceeded through Mykolaivka, Kakhivka, Nova Datcha and Bohdanivka in the direction of Pavlohrad, and liquidated the Bolshevik Party men who had helped to enslave the farmers by forcing them into kolkhozes. But their large-scale resistance plan was undermined. After having heard about the insurrection, the GPU sent its units from Zaporizhia to the scene of unrest. The insurgents retreated, but did not surrender, and the fight continued for several days. After this resistance had been crushed a new wave of arrests ensued. More than 1,500 persons were imprisoned; investigations began and the insurgents were most cruelly tortured. The sentences passed were no less cruel. Twenty-two insurgents who had been arrested in February, 1930, were sentenced to death. Of those who were arrested in April 29 were sentenced to death and 212 to forced labour in concentration camps. Many of the persons who were imprisoned showed great heroism when they were interrogated and tortured. One of them was Shopyn. Despite the fact that he was tortured in a terrible way, he refused to disclose any information. His last words were: "I know that I shall be shot, but all hearts will be with me; and when you are shot everyone will be satisfied." Many of the insurgents escaped and lived in hiding until

1934, when they were eventually found and shot. Many intellectuals from Pavlohrad were compelled to appear as witnesses at the trials. They were tortured and forced to denounce the accused. When they refused, they were tortured anew. Tymchenko, for instance, who had been tortured in a most dreadful way, whilst being taken from one building to another asked the guard, "What do you do with those who try to escape?"—"We fire on them", was the answer. Tymchenko thereupon summoned up his last ounce of strength and tried to run. The guard fired at him and, seriously wounded, he fell to the ground. But despite this, he was taken to hospital, sentenced and deported to Siberia. His colleague Rudenko was likewise not spared. When he refused to sign a statement accusing the others of many crimes which they had not committed, the GPU men began to slash at him with knives, until he finally collapsed and signed the statement. The sentence passed on him was "guilty and should be sentenced to death, but in view of his deposition, to be sentenced to 10 years in a concentration camp."

The other method of Bolshevist terrorism applied to the masses is famine. This method has, above all, been applied in Ukraine. Prior to the Bolshevist revolution, Ukraine was called the "granary of Europe" and famine was a thing unknown there. There was even a famine in 1892, a year of severe drought (when there was no rain at all during the spring and summer). The grain did not grow very high, but, at least, the crop was abundant, and when, at the end of the summer, rain finally did fall, the late grain crop was particularly abundant.

Under Bolshevist terrorism there have been three great famines in Ukraine, namely in the years 1921-22, 1932-33, and in 1946.

In 1921-22 the Bolsheviks artificially created a famine in South Ukraine in order to crush the liberation movement. They accordingly deprived the population of all bread supplies and sent these supplies to the North. In order to prevent the population from travelling to the districts where bread was still to be had, they set up guards all along the border between South Ukraine and North Ukraine, the so-called "zagraditelnye otriady" (military units which checked the movements of the population). During this famine about 2 million persons died of starvation.

The most terrible famine in Ukraine occurred in the years 1932-33 and was artificially created by the Bolsheviks in order to force the people to join the kolkhozes. Much has been written on this subject, and I shall, therefore, confine my remarks in this respect

to a few observations which I myself made. At the end of July, 1934, I was in the village of Orchykova Chernechchyna in the Poltava district. The soil there is particularly fertile. Before the famine the population of the village numbered about 5 thousand. In 1934 there were only 1 thousand inhabitants left; all the others had either died of starvation during the famine or had fled to the Donbas (mining area) in order to escape death.

In 1933 I was living in Poltava and at that time the streets there were literally strewn with corpses. From time to time carts drove through the town and collected the bodies. At the same time, Bolshevik propagandists at all the Party meetings talked about the great achievements of the U.S.S.R. and about the misery of the workers and farmers in the capitalist countries. Nobody, however, dared to mention a word about the famine which was raging in Ukraine, as he would at once have been accused of being a counter-revolutionary and would have been arrested.

The main aim of Bolshevik terrorism is to make the entire population of the U.S.S.R. humble slaves who will not only not protest against the injustice and terrorism which prevails in the U.S.S.R., but, on the contrary, will support the Soviet government and the Communist Party. It is the aim of the Bolsheviks to set up an army of humble slaves who will go into battle unhesitatingly and will destroy those whom the Bolsheviks order them to destroy. The farmers and workers, who live under terrible conditions, are forced to fulfil and, in fact, must even surpass the quotas imposed; the writers are forced to glorify the "great" achievements of Soviet rule and the Communist Party and to censure the Western countries and the bourgeois nationalists; and, on the whole, the Bolshevik plan is that everyone must do as the Bolsheviks command them.

Their other aim is to convert the whole world into a concentration camp like the U.S.S.R. The Bolsheviks will never abandon this plan, and it is time the Western peoples realised this fact and bore it in mind constantly. For this reason there can be no "co-existence" with the Bolsheviks, but only a steadfast and decisive fight against them, in order to bring about the liquidation of the Bolshevik system and the Bolshevik prison of nations.

B. Stebelsky

Mykola Burachek — a Master of Ukrainian Impressionism

Mykola Burachek was born on March 18, 1871, in the town of Liatychiv which is in the Podolia region of Ukraine as the son of a post-office clerk and the eldest of three brothers. He lost both his parents when he was still only a boy, and consequently had a hard struggle to continue attending a grammar school until he was able to take the final school-leaving examination in 1888; and it was a long time before he was able to devote himself to painting which he had loved since childhood. To begin with, he became an actor and until 1905 belonged to a theatrical company in Kamianets, the capital of the province. This period in his life, incidentally, had a positive influence on his conception of art as a whole. "Their group (that is to say, his older theatrical colleagues) taught me—so he writes in his autobiography—to understand the simplicity and artistic truth which, so it seems to me, I later endeavoured to express creatively in my paintings".

When the revolutionary events of 1905 resulted in many of the theatres in that part of Ukraine which belonged to the Tzarist realm closing down, Burachek happened to fall ill with typhus. By chance, the doctor who attended him during this illness was a Pole, a Dr. Stanislawski, and after his reconvalence the latter, on the strength of the friendship which had sprung up between them, introduced him to his brother, Jan Stanislawski, one of the outstanding Polish landscape painters of those days. Jan Stanislawski was also a professor at the Cracow Art Academy, which at the beginning of the 20th century was regarded as one of the main cultural centres of the fine arts in Central and Eastern Europe, and particularly of the impressionist trend which prevailed at that time. Burachek felt drawn to Jan Stanislawski, since the latter, though of Polish nationality, as regards his knowledge and cultural interests

and even his creative work belonged to the Ukrainian rather than to the Polish school; indeed, his school in Cracow was frequently described as "Ukrainian".

"In this way—so Burachek continues in his autobiography—I came to Cracow, to the Art Academy, which in my opinion could be proud of its various talented professors—Falat, Wyczulkowski, Neuhofer, Stanislawski and others. . . Stanislawski devoted himself completely to the reproduction of Nature; the influence he had on his pupils was very considerable. He was particularly fond of the Ukrainian landscape and revealed its beauty to us, his pupils, and taught us to reproduce it as Nature in a serious mood, in fact, sometimes even in a harsh mood, instead of turning out sickly, sentimental 'Little Russian views'."

After Stanislawski's death Burachek joined the school of Professor Ruszyc, who, himself a product of the Petersburg Art Academy and a pupil of the famous Ukrainian landscape painter, Kuindji, endeavoured to "divert his pupils—as Burachek himself says—from the French influence of Stanislawski and bring them closer to the creative work of the Russian painters." This trend was not in keeping with the taste and attitude of the young artist, and after the loss of his teacher Stanislawski he felt that Cracow had little to offer him as far as his further studies were concerned. Whilst in Cracow, however, he used his holidays and the traveling facilities afforded to students of the Art Academy, to visit Vienna, Germany and Italy in order to become acquainted with the latest trends in art in these countries and with the old masterpieces. In 1910, Burachek, who by this time had his own mature philosophy of life, left Cracow and went to Paris, where some time he worked in the very midst of all the art problems of the day. To begin with, he joined the school of Henri Matisse, but he remained in the school of this master and also in the "Académie Ransome" of Maurice Denis a short time only because, as he himself says, "their trend was foreign to me". "Nevertheless", he continues, "I gained experience and learnt much in Paris. The 'preliminary training' I had been given by my (Cracow) professors stood me in good stead. In addition, I knew what I wanted to do and I went in search of what I needed. In salons and exhibitions I saw many works that were artificial and cheap in artistic effect. But in the midst of such 'sensational' works I sometimes came across real masterpieces, too. I chose as my teachers, as it were, Velasquez of the old

masters, but of the newer masters, Corot and the Barbizon School (Apigny, Diaz), and of the impressionists, Monet, Renoir, and Sisley."

Mykola Burachek not only knew what he needed and what he must look for, but he also knew equally well what had oppressed him since his youth and what had caused him to leave Cracow and the Ruszyc school. "My work was also characterised by the influence of Levitan, Dubrovsky, Perepletchikov and others artists" (Russian painters)—says this painter, who spent twelve years in the centres of Western art and most zealously avoided Moscow's influence, in order to find his own personal—individual and national—expression.

On his return to Ukraine in 1912 he was tormented by deep inner conflicts and found he had to fight against illusion of Russian culture and the official art trends which prevailed. His friends, the Ukrainian artists, welcomed him with sincere esteem and furthered his fame, but "my fame as an artist", says Burachek, "brought me little material advantage. The so-called 'patrons' treated me with arrogance and sometimes even with contempt. And thus life went on; sometimes I starved, but I could neither give up painting nor was I inclined to chase after easily earned money. And things continued in this way until 1917."

Mykola Burachek thus refused to capitulate and steadfastly adhered to the principles of art which he had chosen as his mode of expression. For a short time (1917-1920) the national revolution and the restoration of the state sovereignty of Ukraine offered him new prospects for his creative work. "I was", he writes, "one of the first professors of the Ukrainian Art Academy (in Kyiv)." But after the victory of Bolshevism he was obliged to leave Kyiv and for some time lived in hiding in the country, where he then remained and engaged in decorative painting. In 1925, however, he was appointed head of the Ukrainian College of Art in Kharkiv, but two years later he resigned from this post and, without attracting the attention of the Soviet rulers, devoted himself to the academic duties of a professor of painting and to his own purely creative work.

Two comprehensive exhibitions of Burachek's works revealed his creative personality in all its aspects and were highly appreciated and praised by the Ukrainian public. The first of these exhibitions was held in 1934 in Kharkiv, the second in 1936 in Kyiv. On

the occasion of the second exhibition, the outstanding Ukrainian painter, Vasyl Sedliar, the theoretician of Ukrainian so-called monumental painting (of the Boychuk school) and therefore an opponent, on principle, of impressionism as a trend in art, wrote as follows in the Ukrainian journal, "Painting and Sculpture" ("Maliarstvo i Skulptura"):

"Impressionism as a phenomenon in art was one of the last phenomena of that type of art which still contained certain elements of cognition. It is true that the creative power of impressionism was already directed exclusively to the revelation of qualities of Nature, of light, of air. The clear insight into social conditions of life, which is revealed in the works of the outstanding realists in French art, such as Courbet and Daumier, is missing in impressionist painting. And yet the impressionists, as a result of their artistic culture and their profound sensitivity, have reproduced Nature—the source of their enthusiasm—in a new way and have thus opened up new prospects for painting.

"M. Burachek's creative work fully brings this quality of impressionism to light. His pictures, by no means spacious—mainly landscapes—reveal a light and delicate, silvery colourscale, in which the sunlight and the air of Ukraine intermingle. . . . By making the surroundings stand out clearly and sharply, M. Burachek admirably reproduces the characteristic features of the Ukrainian landscape in his works.

"It would be completely wrong to call him an imitator. His is an interesting and individual artistic personality; some of his works can be compared to the works of Sisley, Pissarro and other outstanding impressionists, as being of equal merit."

It is precisely this opinion of Mykola Burachek's creative personality, as expressed by one of his contemporaries and ideological opponents, that entitles us all the more to regard this artist as a great master of Ukrainian art, whose name is now suppressed in Soviet Ukraine like everything else that distinguishes Ukraine from Russia and rejects Russian influence there.

Yuriy Tys

Victor Tsymbal

Victor Tsymbal who left Europe in 1928 was the first Ukrainian artist to settle in South America. His achievements in the field of graphic art are well-known to Ukrainian scholars in exile through countless reviews, articles and notices in the press. And in this connection the fact should be stressed that it is precisely in Argentina that competition between artists from all over the world—most of them world-famous—is very considerable. V. Tsymbal has not only taken part successfully in this conception in the field of graphic art, but has again and again been awarded new honours and prizes.

Although Ukrainian graphic art thus has every reason to be proud of Tsymbal, his works are little known amongst the average Ukrainian public in exile. The reason for this lies in the fact that under the conditions of emigrant life it is difficult to reproduce works of the graphic arts, and distances make it impossible for the average emigrant to become acquainted with the original work. In connection with his art Tsymbal devotes much time to philosophical and meditative studies, a fact which, above all, influences his method of creation and does not exactly make it easier for the average person to understand his works; these are not particularly numerous, but each of them reflects the serious and profound thought of the artist and represents a philosophical idea, reproduced by the master's brush.

Victor Tsymbal was born in Stupychna, in the district of Kyiv (Central Ukraine), in 1901. After completing his studies at a grammar school, he proceeded to study painting at the school of art in Kyiv, under Prof. Murashko and Prof. Kozyk. But his studies were interrupted by the events of the revolution and by his participation in the Ukrainian fight for freedom. In the ranks of the Ukrainian army Tsymbal, on numerous occasions in the course of the guerilla war waged behind the enemy's lines, carried out daring feats; he shared the victories and reverses of this army, and in the end, together with the rest of the Ukrainian ensigns, he was captured and taken to Poland. There he was interned, with his fellow-soldiers, in the concentration camps in Lancut and Kalisz, where he occupied himself with art and drew illustrations for various publications issued by the camp press.

After escaping from the camp, he went to Prague and began studying at the Ukrainian School of Plastic Arts there and also at

the College of Applied Art. At the former, he was a pupil of the professors, Mako, Karel and Mozalevsky, whilst at the College his teachers were the professors, Mashek, Schusser and Kisel. This period proved extremely important as regards the spiritual development of the artist. And even today, Tsybmal frequently recalls to mind the renaissance atmosphere of this centre of modern Ukrainian culture and remembers his student-colleagues of those days—Ukrainian artists who are now famous, as for instance the younger Kholodny, Liaturynska, Zarytska, Khmeliuk, Omelchenko, Vovk, and others. It was at that time that Tsybmal became especially interested in graphic art; he illustrated books and journals published in West Ukraine and also showed considerable interest in children's books, namely in the illustration of animal fables and fairy-tales. It was in Prague, incidentally, that he achieved his first artistic success; in a competition for the best portrait of the founder of the Czech liberation movement, Palacky, he was awarded the first prize.

In 1928 Tsybmal emigrated to Argentina, where, to begin with, he devoted himself to applied graphic art, namely to commercial art; he was obliged to occupy himself with this field of art in order to make a living, but at the same time he continued to devote his time and his talent to the artistic illustration of Ukrainian publications. At that time his drawings appeared in countless papers, journals and books both in West Ukraine and in those countries to which Ukrainians had emigrated; and in this connection we should like to mention in particular his cartoons in the journals, "Komar" (Lviv) and "Mitla" (Buenos Aires). In 1949, a Ukrainian satiric version of Pushkin's poem "U Lukomorya" was published in book-form in Buenos Aires, and Tsybmal's illustrations in this book were a satiric criticism and condemnation of Moscow's red imperialism.

"What I found here was not an artistic creative atmosphere, but only dismal everyday life"—this is how Tsybmal describes the first few years of his life in Argentina. And these words reflect the tragedy of a creative personality whose artist's soul only encountered an intellectual desert in this new place of domicile. But the artist refused to allow himself to be beaten by unfavourable conditions. Even in a field in which, in view of the living conditions in Argentina in those days, good artisans were needed more than artists, Tsybmal endowed his creative work with an outstanding artistic quality. He created his own special style, based on the woodcut process (white on black) and developed this style to a

high degree of perfection. In the course of the years, conditions in Argentina were modernised and the country became an arena of art in which world-famous artists tried to hold their own, but Tsybmal continued to remain in the foreground. At international exhibitions of graphic art he was always awarded prizes and the critics were full of praise for his style; indeed, certain artists sought to imitate his style and became known as the Tsybmal School, but none of them has ever attained his perfection of style.

All these successes undoubtedly prove the artistic perfection of Tsybmal's work. The artist himself, however, was not content with these successes alone. In the course of various private conversations he has again and again stressed that, as far as commercial graphic art is concerned, he would like to work under Ukrainian and not under foreign conditions, and has emphasized the fact that he would then not only be able to express himself in an independent style based on the Ukrainian mentality, but would also be able to improve the artistic and cultural level of his work still more.

"But in view of our living conditions these ideas are only castles in the air," he says regretfully, "and for this reason I am obliged to create works which are merely in conformity with the 'realistic' requirements of this type of applied art."

The Ukrainian art historian, Professor V. Sichynsky, in an appreciation of Tsybmal's work writes as follows:

"Each of V. Tsybmal's commercial drawings is a work of art which amazes one by the perfection of its technical execution. The suggestive power of these works is enormous... This is not an ordinary technique; a higher spiritual pathos, a creative genius predominate. The same synthesis, comprehensive figurativeness and psychological saturation also predominate in those drawings in which Victor Tsybmal achieves a complicated figure-composition. In his architectural figures, Victor Tsybmal, unlike many graphic artists, reveals a truly remarkable feeling for architectural forms, perspective foreshortening and for the harmony of light and shade. And above all—a precision of lines which is more exact than a machine and better than an artist's brush. The works produced by Victor Tsybmal for Ukrainian prints reveal Ukrainian features of style, but it is here, above all, that a synthesis and a precise form—as if cast in a mould—also predominate and reflect the creative pathos and the eternal conception of the Ukrainian spirit and mind. Nor are this spiritual quality and this artistic creativeness lost in a foreign country far distant from Ukraine."

And yet it is not the artistic activity which has brought Tsybmal fame, to which he is most devoted.

For many years he has been striving to find a form of artistic expression based on his personal conception of the world and his profound feelings. The fact that he misses the native atmosphere of art of his own country may perhaps make it more difficult for the artist to pursue his course towards the aim which he has set himself, but cannot deter him in his search. "No one who is guided by a star turns back"—as Leonardo Da Vinci said of true artists.

"Tradition is very important", says Tsybmal, "and we all possess this psychic heritage. He who forgets this, he who undervalues his archaic past is robbing his own soul."

For this reason and since we respect the artist's spiritual struggle, we shall refrain from a further discussion of his graphic works which have in their style and character been determined by the conditions under which he has been obliged to live, and shall now devote our attention to those problems which occupy his mind.

Tsybmal's artistic creed lies in mysticism and, in recent years, in religious mysticism. He seeks an expression of religious creativeness which would be in keeping with the times, but at the same time would also inspire the beholder to prayer. He is indignant at the trashiness and decadence of modern "chamber art". He rejects the Byzantine and Italian styles if they are merely a primitive imitation of the individual creative personality of an artist.

In answer to certain questions which I put to Victor Tsybmal, he replied, "Nowadays works of art are the means which might be able to convince persons of a certain intellectual level that there is such a thing as providence. Thus, in my opinion, religious art should in the first place try to make an impression on atheists and not on the pious." The artist then added, "A short time ago an exhibition of religious art was held in Buenos Aires. I did not take part in the exhibition, but I visited it and tried to find evidence of a more profound religious and artistic manifestation in the works exhibited. But what did I discover? The pictures exhibited were samples of a caricatured modernism, and simply a vulgarisation of and an insult to man's religious feelings! Religious art should be created by religious-minded persons. Of course, those artists who know how to carry on trade with their soul and their painting technique, were awarded prizes.—Nowadays, everything is bungled. Figures of religious art are distorted and churches resemble factories;

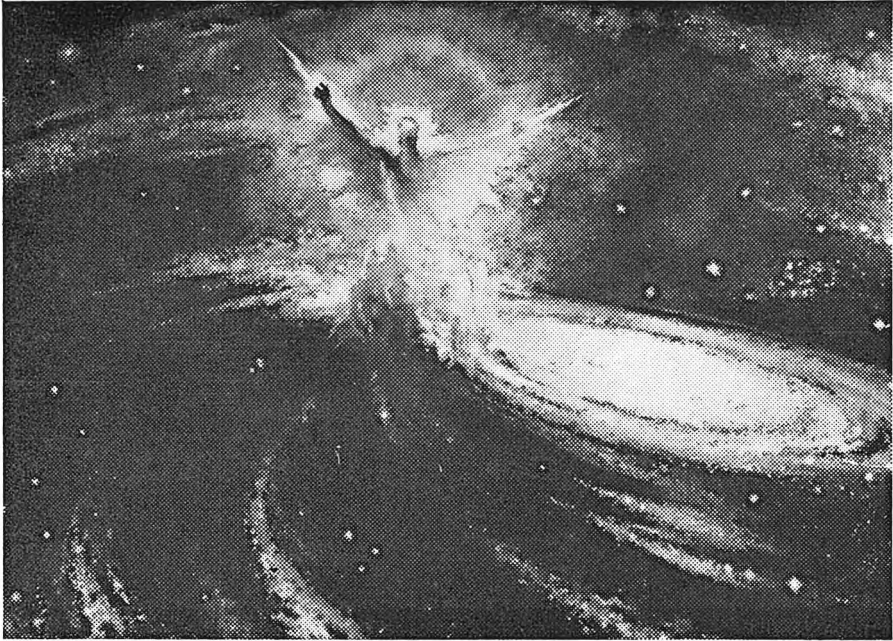
but all this is not inspiration for man's soul. And nowadays people do not look for a temple, but only for extravagance."

Victor Tsymbal regards it as his artistic task to assimilate his works to the high lights of human thought in science and philosophy. He has a very high opinion of the works of Petro Kholodny (the elder) and of Vrubel, whose paintings decorate the interior of the Church of St. Cyril in Kyiv (and whom the Russians as usual claim as their fellow-countryman). Tsymbal refuses to make any claim to have established any group, school or trend in art. In answer to my question in this respect, he replied somewhat impatiently that at the very most he could call himself a neo-symbolist.

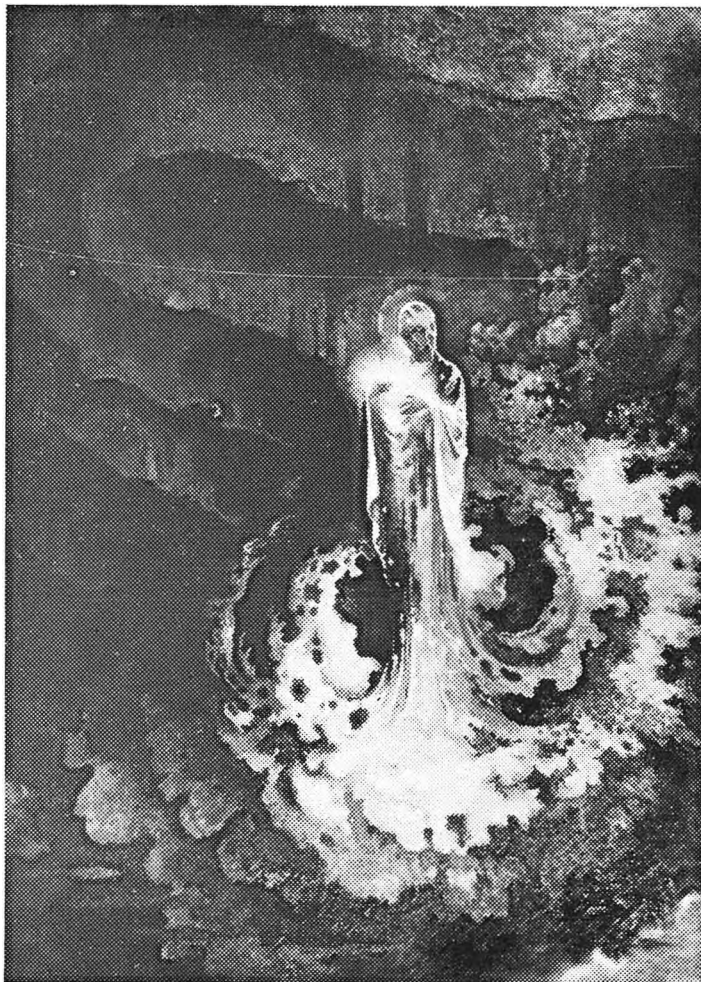
In 1956 Tsymbal for the first time publicly showed his works in the field of religious art at an exhibition in Buenos Aires. And no doubt every person who has visited this exhibition has been deeply stirred by the strange new quality of these works—something as yet not experienced at the usual type of annual exhibitions. The powerful conglomerate thought of the artist emanates from each of his pictures and has been transformed into powerful symbolical ideas by an outstanding and original technique. The exhibition is divided into two sections. The first room contains landscapes of Patagonia, a remote and barren region of Argentina. Here the bleak ruggedness of Nature predominates—the dismal atmosphere of bare crags and spare vegetation. Each of these pictures conveys to the beholder the impression of a longing for sunshine and life-giving warmth, the monumental quality of the crags cast out of the womb of the earth onto its surface by mighty forces.

The second room contains pictures which have as their motif religious and national themes. The famine in Ukraine is symbolized by the figure of a woman holding a dead child in her arms. The woman's face reflects all the tragedy of the human race; her body hovers in space and her unseeing eyes are turned towards the sky, towards God Almighty. Another work depicts a view of Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine; a bold sky with a double rainbow and beneath it, on the banks of the Dnieper, the glint of distant golden cupolas.

The picture which made the strongest impression on me was the "Figure in the Steppe" (which could actually be called "The Cairn"). It depicts a cairn on which stands the figure of a heathen god, roughly hewn in stone, with a mighty head bowed down to earth as if tragic sorrow; and in the background the steppe, the sky and dark clouds. The picture conveys to the beholder the



Victor Tsymbol : THE DIVINE CREATOR



Victor Tsymbol : VIRGIN MARY
WITH THE NORTHERN LIGHTS

impression of prehistoric times and the atmosphere of the vast, dismal steppes. We visualize man of the Stone Age, who was afraid of his surroundings, of Nature and of animals and who felt the Divine Spirit in Nature and in his own simple, half-chanted words—man whose soul had hardly awakened and who set up a stone image of his sinister god.

"The Creation" is one of Tsybmal's most powerful works. By virtue of God's omnipotent thought, primeval matter floats through majestic space. Another picture included in the exhibition is his impressive work, "The Devil". It depicts the Prince of Darkness warding off with his shoulder a powerful flash of lightning as it strikes him.

We cannot describe in detail, in this brief article, each one of these unusual works. Visitors to the exhibition usually gaze at Tsybmal's pictures in silence and are deeply moved by the artist's powerful imagination and the profundity of his philosophical thoughts. The impression made by his pictures is overwhelming. Whereas most artists seek new forms of expression or endeavour to perfect already existing forms, Tsybmal strives to find a spiritualised expression and the means to fix this expression. He does not depict the external form of the figures he creates; the object itself is only of secondary importance to him; transcendental qualities predominate in his work. Anatomy and other material things are, in Tsybmal's opinion, subordinate factors as compared to the infinite power of the soul and the boundlessness of religious themes, enriched by his artistic powers of imagination. This, then, is the foundation on which his symbolism is based.


I discussed with him the question of truth as the unity in the relationship between the divine and the human, and the divergence of these two poles which is so apparent in our day.

The artist replied, "It is characteristic of man that he has a feeling for totality. And he who rejects the idea of this totality, falls a victim to materialism and decadence."

"And whither does the path of art lead?", was my next question.

But Victor Tsybmal is not a pessimist. "Since Cézanne the world of art has been proceeding along various paths towards the comprehensive style of a majestic harmony which as yet is unknown to us."

And Victor Tsybmal's art undoubtedly represents one of these paths.



Prof. Ivan Vouchuk

Past and Present of Collectivised Agriculture

*"Russia! Wherever you turn your steps,
Deceit, robbery and woe come crawling after . . .
You crush the people and say, 'I bestow freedom!' —
You treat them like slaves and say, 'I further culture!'"*

Ivan Franko

The fight of Bolshevism against the peasants of the national republics "united" in the Red imperium has been going on for over a quarter of a century. Little mention of this fact is made in the rest of the world; and it is not touched on by the propaganda mechanism which determines anti-Communist opinion in the world. The Ukrainian national press (in exile) has likewise inadequately mentioned this war between Bolshevism and the peasantry; nor has it attempted to explain the ideological basis of this war, even though it has on numerous occasions bemoaned the unhappy lot of the peasants. And yet, this fight, or rather this war, is bound up with the quintessence of the traditional policy of Bolshevism, and if this fact is not revealed and recognised, then it is quite impossible to understand the past and present policy of the Bolsheviks in agriculture,—a policy which from the purely economic point of view is both senseless and foolhardy.

The war waged on the rural population in the national republics by the Bolsheviks, a war which has passed through various stages, is based on ideological principles which are hundreds of years older than Bolshevism. It is not Marxism which is at stake, but imperial traditions and the spiritual character of pre-revolutionary Russia, whose centralist policy the Bolsheviks consistently pursue. The kolkhoz was not invented by the Bolsheviks; they merely modernised the peculiar Russian peasant community, which the Russian Slavophiles and "Occidentalists", "Populists" and Socialist revolutionaries alike regarded as something that was nationally sacred. All the so-called progressive forces of the pre-revolutionary imperium looked upon the peasant community as a revelation of the

national superiority of the Russian soul. And the precursors of Bolshevism cherished hopes of being able to proceed from the peasant community directly to socialism, since "the Russian people at all times strove to realise big preparatory plans and thus to establish communal property as regards land and agricultural implements", as was stated in the declaration of the Russian section of the International of 1870. The "Occidentalists" Herzen regarded the community as a characteristic revelation of the Russian national mentality and saw in it the future of his people, and, in fact, a noble future. Chernyshevsky—whom Lenin took as his guide and pattern—was most enthusiastic about the community and saw in it the future happiness and prosperity of the Russian people. Rightists and leftists, Slavophiles and "Occidentalists" alike regarded the community as a remarkable example of Russian national genius, inasmuch as they were convinced that the light of socialism would emanate from the hut of the Russian moujik, who preserved the community as the foundation of the social order. In the opinion of Russian socio-political circles the peasant community was a unique and unparalleled form of the social order, and they regarded it as proof of the superiority of the Russian people as compared to the "rotten bourgeois" West.

In the Muscovite Tzarist empire the peasant community was the fundamental organisation of the social order in the rural areas. The government tried to force the peoples of the territories conquered by Moscow to adopt this form of social order. As early as the 17th century the Moscow government set up military settlements (as communities) on the southern frontiers of the state, and in the 19th century, after the war against Napoleon, the government, headed by Arakcheyev, tried to establish military communities of this kind in Ukraine and in the Novgorod district. Arakcheyev's notorious military settlements were not merely the whim of a deserving general of the Tzar, but a measure of Tzarist policy in its attempt to keep down the border territories which should have been equal in status; and herein lies the prototype of the present collectivization. As in the kolkhozes of today, everything in these settlements ("Poseleniye") was under state-control. The peasants settled on "state land" served the state and jointly cultivated the soil. Life and conditions in general in the settlements were standardized, reduced to one and the same level and determined in advance by regulations and instructions issued by the central authorities. Even the doors and window-sills of the buildings erected

at the state's expense were painted in one and the same colour. From the economic point of view these settlements were unprofitable, and the state was obliged to sacrifice considerable sums in order to keep them going. Untenable living conditions led to frequent revolts, which were ruthlessly crushed by the government. "Military settlements will continue to exist", said Tzar Alexander I, "even if the entire road from Petersburg to Chudnov (in the Novgorod district) should have to be strewn with corpses". Can it be that the present "proletarian" leaders are following the example set by the "blessed anointed one" in dealing with the national peasantry which opposes collectivization?

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At the Congress of the Mechanisation of Agriculture in March, 1956, Khrushchov admitted that the "appropriation" of the salty soil areas in Kazakstan had not led to any very satisfactory results. He then discussed the reasons for the decline of agriculture and the failure of the bold plans drawn up with regard to the clearing of new regions for cultivation, and said that in the "sovkhozes" (the state farms) there were often more supervisors than workers. This modern Arakcheyev who comes from the proletariat then quoted the case of two "sovkhozes"—one where there are 42 experts to 250 workers, and one where there are 255 workers and 51 experts, that is to say one supervisor to every five workers! The Americans who inspected a number of kolkhozes and sovkhozes last year—and, incidentally, they were only taken round the most exemplary ones—also noticed that there was a whole army of parasitical supervisors. Khrushchov merely failed to mention the fact that the present ration between the bosses (experts) and the workers in the sovkhozes and the kolkhozes is similar to what it was in Arakcheyev's settlements. In those days the ratio was 375,000 peasants (later on, up to 500,000 were settled) to 9,678 generals and officers and 15,361 soldiers (according to the data furnished by the "Big Soviet Encyclopedia").

After Arakcheyev's downfall, the government gradually liquidated the military settlements, but retained the peasant community as the basic form of the social order. By means of its centralist policy, the government tried to force a communal system of cultivation and all the features of the social order which accompanied this system on those subjugated peoples in whose countries agricultural conditions were quite different, and were nearer to the situation in Europe (Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries).

In its propaganda the government tried to make the community order appear most attractive. Under Nicholas I, the German lawyer, Baron von Haxthausen, visited the central regions of Russia at the government's expense and, for the benefit of Europe, described the happy life led by the peasants in their communities "under the firm hand of the Tzar".

The Tzarist Reform of 1861, by which the serfdom of the peasants was abolished, introduced no fundamental change in the community order, and not even when anti-government tension was at its height did those social forces which were opposed to the government protest against the community order; nor did the supporters of Marxism allude to this national form of communal life, since they were of the opinion that the Russian peasantry had always fought for the possession of land under the banner of the community. Actually, the peasants, who did not consider themselves as landowners, were not concerned with bringing about an improvement in the cultivation system and, in fact, could not have done so, since the entire system of cultivation and management was determined by the "mir", the community legislative council. Frequent re-distribution of land, in the course of which the individual peasant was shifted from one small holding to another, led to complete soil exhaustion and to the deterioration of agriculture.

After Russia's defeat in the war against Japan, when the entire country underwent an economic crisis, the government was faced by the question of how to find a way out of the difficulty. The Tzar's Prime Minister, Stolypin, who owned a number of estates in the Baltic countries and was acquainted with agricultural conditions in the West, tried to save the monarchy by attempting to liquidate the community order and partly divide up the land among individual peasants as private property.

His plan was received with considerable hostility by both the leftists and the rightists in the Russian parliament. Why? Because Stolypin, in his attempt to save the monarchy, had tried to meddle with the social foundations of the Russian imperium. His attempt ended with this maker of a law, which convulsed the national Russian order of soil cultivation, being shot in the Opera House in Kyiv, in the presence of the Tzar. His assassin, Bagrov, was a socialist revolutionary and, at the same time, a prominent agent of the Tzarist secret police. Monarchism and socialism thus met; and it was not the Tzar who was the assassin's target, but the maker of the law that shook the imperium in its very foundations. After

Stolypin's death, which occurred after he had suffered terrible agony for several days, "the Tzar knelt down"—so M. P. Bok states in his Memoirs—"before the corpse of his loyal servant and prayed for a long time, and those present heard him repeat the words 'forgive me' several times." What this loyal servant who was now dead might have had to forgive his ruler for, remains a mystery. But possibly, the mysterious assassination of this prominent Minister of State was not a mystery to the monarch.

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In the ideological sense the revolution did not create a new situation in Russia proper (ethnic Russia). But all that had been stored up in the soul of the Russian people for hundreds of years now broke out with a vengeance as a result of the revolution. For centuries the Russian people had lived a community life; the community was recognised and supported "by the ruling power", and those who sought to overthrow this "ruling power" likewise set their hopes on the community. It was therefore not surprising that the Bolsheviks, once they had pieced the imperium, which had been broken apart by national revolutions, together again, relied on the national Russian collectivist order of society and, on the strength of the "dictatorship of the proletariat", transformed the community into an agricultural workers' cooperative, that is into the "kolkhoz". They modernised Arakcheyev's settlements and established settlements of this kind throughout the entire imperium. And, incidentally, the Russian proletariat, on which Bolshevism relied in its fight against the non-Russian rural population, was also descended from the community peasantry. Lenin had begun his "construction of socialism" with the aid of the children and grandchildren of the Russian community peasantry, who came from a community, had been brought up there and were used to and believed in this form of social order. And this belief was furthered by imperialist circles as a basis for imperial power. It was therefore not surprising that socialism, too, was established in the form imagined and visualised by the Russian national elements, namely according to the pattern set by Moscow.

And for almost thirty years, the state mechanism, which has been expanded and perfected by the Bolsheviks and which continues the centralist policy of the imperium, has been "working on" the non-Russian peasantry of the national republics in the modernised, mechanised and yet traditionally Russian community which has been forced on them. The methods resorted to in this fight are

cruel and relentless. Day in, day out, in the past as in the present, the imperial bureaucratic machine of Bolshevism endeavours to destroy the nationally-minded individual who is closely bound up with his native soil and tries to turn him into a "Soviet" being with a national Russian soul. The government press assures the rest of the world that all obstacles have now been overcome, and that the mechanised kolkhoz has now been firmly established, and that the population is to be envied since it is now deriving so considerable a profit from the rich harvests. In reality, however, the situation is quite different.

* * *

Hardly had the notorious one-man dictator and collectivist been buried, than a crisis in cattle-breeding began to make itself felt, and it was thereupon discovered that there was a shortage of the most essential agricultural product, namely grain. For the past four years, since the death of the one-man dictator, the collective dictatorship has been trying to find a way out of the permanent crisis. Plenary sessions, conferences, decrees, mobilisations,—the imperial mechanism continues to function, but neither the grain harvest nor the products of cattle-breeding increase. Nor does the agricultural situation improve. Last year, the Party sent another 30,000 expert Party men into the rural areas, from the towns, in order to take charge of the kolkhozes, but this measure, too, proved futile. In his short story, "The Authority" (published in the Soviet journal, "Vitchyzna", No. 3, 1956), the Ukrainian writer, Ivan Le, describes how a new Party man who is to be in charge of the kolkhoz, since the man who was sent there a year previously has proved a failure, arrives in a rural area from the town. As usual, a meeting is convened at which this newly arrived Communist is to be elected president. During these "elections" a "brigadier" (foreman), who was decorated for bravery during the last war, tells all the "big men" of the district central organisation who are present that all the unsatisfactory conditions, omissions and faults and cases of negligence in the kolkhoz are due to the "imported managers". A most eloquent designation! In one word the author succeeds in describing the political nature of the present state of tension in the imperium and shows the attitude of the Ukrainian peasantry in this respect.

An interesting social factor is apparent in the present shilly-shallying and in this feverish imperialist attempt to overcome the

agricultural crisis. At last year's plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Khrushchov stated that "9 million peasants have moved from the country into the towns". That is what official statistics show, but, actually, the number is far greater, as can be seen from an analysis of the increase in the population of the towns. There can be no doubt about the fact that it is not the older, but the younger generation, that is to say more energetic persons, who are leaving the kolkhozes and migrating to the towns. The migration of the peasantry to the towns is in itself a separate and an interesting sociological question. It can be assumed that of the above-mentioned 9 or 10 millions, approximately one-third has migrated to Ukrainian towns, a fact which is likely to be extremely important in the near future. At last year's 20th Party Congress, the First Secretary of the Party, when referring to the housing situation, complained to the leading Party men that the influx of the rural population into the towns was making it impossible for the government to ensure that the socialist standard of dwelling space was maintained for the urban population. What a disobedient peasantry! They are deported to the sovkhoses in the deserts of Kazakstan and manage to land in the towns! At this same Congress a decision was reached regarding the measures to be adopted in dealing with the disobedient peasants who flee to the towns: "If we effectively put a stop to the influx of the rural population into the towns, we shall create the necessary preconditions to ensure that the urban population is supplied with dwellings as soon as possible." In other words, the compulsory permit system is to be tightened up in the towns.

And now a fragment from the sketch, "An Uncomfortable Village" (published in the "Literaturna Hazeta", the press organ of the Society of Soviet Writers of Ukraine, of March 2, 1956). In the course of "carrying out the orders he has received for creative work", a writer arrives in the village of Stepanivka in the district of Kirovohrad and notices that there are "a lot of deserters in the kolkhozes, particularly amongst the young people. Elderly and, in fact, old women are engaged in working in the forcing-beds, in the steppe and on the cattle-farms. Where are the boys and girls? — Flown, — replies Vinogradov (the supervisor of the kolkhoz, and apparently an "imported one". I. V.), indifferently. The girls have made off and have gone to Kryvvi Rih, where they are employed as servants and cooks—anything, rather than remain in the village! Why have they left the kolkhoz? Because it is a

poor one. Why? There is a scarcity of workers; the number of workers available is not sufficient. Why is it not sufficient? Because the people make off. And they make off because the kolkhoz is a poor one" . . . This dialogue between the author and the kolkhoz supervisor is quoted by the above-mentioned paper in order to illustrate the state of the kolkhozes in the Kirovohrad district. And as far as the entire system is concerned, his district is no exception.

* * *

The decisions reached in connection with the 6th Five Year Plan clearly indicate that the national (non-Russian) Soviet Republics have not fulfilled the agricultural plans and policy of the "imported managers"—as the above-mentioned brigadier so aptly described them. In the plans for the sixth Five Year period, which were passed by the notorious 20th Party Congress, there is no longer any mention of obtaining a yield of 22 hundredweights per hectare, as was formerly the case, but it is planned to obtain a yield of about 12 "biological" hundredweights per hectare in Ukraine and about 11 hundredweights per hectare in the remaining territories of the imperium. Actually, the crop—even according to this plan—will be considerably less. In short, the productivity of agriculture both in the entire imperium and also in Ukraine has been estimated for the 6th Five Year plan at practically the same level that it had fifty years ago. And it is with a production-index such as this, as far as agriculture is concerned, that the imperium is entering upon the sixth Five Year period. This index is the result of the resistance put up by the national rural population against the centralism of the traditional imperium policy. The 20th Party Congress was obliged to confirm the decisions reached in connection with the 6th Five Year Plan and to acknowledge the decrease in agricultural production. The collective leaders are endeavouring to make good this loss in productivity by clearing new regions in the east for the purpose of cultivation, and to this end are resettling young persons from the national republics in these regions. But the main point in this respect is not the economic system as such, but the imperialist policy, and the economic system merely acts as a function of the latter.

Amongst the conjectures formed after the 20th Party Congress with regard to its significance, one occasionally encounters certain assertions referring to a "braked descent". Is such a thing possible? This question is best answered by the decree of the Central

Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Ministerial Council, entitled "On the Statute of the Agricultural Worker's Community and on the Further Development of the Initiative of the Kolkhoz Farmers", dated March 10, 1956.

This decree is extremely long and to all outward appearance more liberal than former decrees of this kind. Instead of the phrases "it is ordered" or "decreed", the phrase "it is recommended" is now used. What does the government recommend? It recommends the "Mir"—the people's council of the kolkhoz—to restrain those persons who do not keep to the fixed course and try to flee from the kolkhoz: "Lazy kolkhoz farmers, who only complete a few units of work, or persons who have severed all their connections with the kolkhozes frequently possess large holdings and make use of the kolkhoz pastures without fulfilling the first obligations of kolkhoz members." And the State and the kolkhoz-Mir suffer in this case, so it is stressed in complicated bureaucratic language. After referring to the present state of affairs, the government in its decree proceeds to prove that "the satisfying of the personal needs of the kolkhoz can best be ensured by the general development of communal production", and in this connection public nutrition is mentioned. The government and the Party recommend a number of measures which will make it impossible for the peasants to exist without the kolkhoz, and will put them under the control of the state still more. Prior to the 19th Party Congress, Stalin in his "Economic Problems" recommended precisely this same course. The collective dictators, who claim to have finished with the Stalinist methods, issued a decree immediately after the sensational 20th Congress, which states that the principle of the responsibility of the whole family and of the whole farm for the work of every member of the family capable of working, is to be introduced.

The use and cultivation of a holding (the area of which varies between 0.15 and 0.25 hectares in the imperium) is to depend on whether all the members of a family who are capable of working fulfil the set quota of units of work. This quota is at present being worked out, and, according to the press, is to amount to about 300 units of work for men and 200 units of work for women (per year). If some member of a family fails to fulfil this quota, then the family in question, according to the recommendation of the government, is to be forbidden the use of the common pastures and its tiny holding is either to be reduced in size or it is to be deprived of it entirely. It is stressed in the above-mention-

ed decree that on no account may a holding be increased in size, but only reduced, for the kolkhoz farmers are actually only to cultivate flowers and trees in their holdings "as an ornament in the kolkhoz farmers' way of living". The recommendations made by the government after fighting the peasantry for 28 years already held good in Arakcheyev's day. But the most important feature of this decree is its ethnical significance. In introducing the principle of the responsibility of the family for the fulfilment of the state quota by every member of the family capable of working, the government is thus recommending that the complaints submitted to the district executive committees by the kolkhoz farmers, regarding the reduction in size or the deprivation of holdings and other matters, are in future to be decided at the meetings of either the brigades or the reliable Party agents. If that is not democracy! Not a court, but the kolkhoz-Mir composed of reliable Party agents is to settle and decide all such questions; the result: complete disregard of the peasants' rights, complete dependence of the individual on the mercy of the particular person in authority, and complete subordination of every farmer to the kolkhoz system, headed by an "imported" supervisor. All this is typical of the community order; it has now merely been perfected.

The kolkhoz-Mir is further advised by the government to check the number of cattle which a kolkhoz farmer is allowed to have for his own personal use, since "there is no necessity to continue to let the formerly fixed number of cattle, which a farmer is allowed to have, stand". The decree recommends that the number should be reduced, but that communal cattle-breeding should be increased and that flowers and trees should be cultivated round the peasants' huts as ornaments. One step further, and the government, which has the "prosperity" of the peasantry which it has proletarianised "at heart", will be obliged, in order to preserve the imperium, to recommend standardised food in another decree so that this food will be in keeping with the fulfilment of the set quota of work. The present collective dictatorship is not able to turn one step away from the traditional imperial path. In attempting to surmount the grave crisis in agriculture and in the entire Communist system, it is tightening the imperial screw in the national (non-Russian) village still more.

*) The original Ukrainian text of this article was published in the New York monthly, "Visnyk" ("The Herald").

Konstantin Kononenko

The Concept of Property and Russian Colonialism in Ukraine*

It seems that the time has now come when public opinion in the democratic world is not only beginning to comprehend rightly the problem of Russian colonialism, but is also casting aside its hitherto one-sided apperception. The criterion set up by Russian emigrant circles and their indiscriminating disciples, regarding the assessment of phenomena connected with Moscow, is losing its validity more and more. And it is being replaced by the usual process of understanding, which in logic is known as the proposition of sufficient reasons.

For motives which can be understood, Russian emigrant circles have tried their utmost to replace the conception of Russia, as that of a national state organism, by the *conception of international Communism*, that is to say by the conception of a social phenomenon. And they have not hesitated to resort to such a replacement even though the completely different character of these conceptions would have made a substitution of this kind logically impossible.

Although they are, for instance, not in a position to deny the obvious fact of Muscovite colonialism, they talk about Communist colonialism, as if this type of colonialism owed its origin to Communism as a social category and not to the state as a national political organism. It is an established fact that social ideas can easily cross state frontiers, but that has nothing to do with colonialism. The ideas of the French Revolution were to a considerable degree reflected and imitated in many countries of Europe, but no one would think of interpreting this fact as a form of imperialism,

*) The original Ukrainian text of this article, which has been slightly abridged here, was published in the Munich fortnightly journal "Suchasna Ukraina" (No. 5, 1957).

whereas, on the other hand, the campaigns of this same France under Napoleon—likewise not devoid of a certain saturation by social ideas—were a definite expression of French imperialism.

Similarly, the U.S.A. in setting up their social order imitated England in many respects, but this did not result in the colonial dependence of the U.S.A. on England; on the contrary, it was precisely on this social soil that the will to state independence grew and flourished.

It is therefore not surprising that public opinion in the free world, impressed as it has been by recent events, is easily getting rid of the distorted apperception of Russian imperialism which has been instilled into it and is now beginning to examine the actual situation more closely. Interest is now concentrated on all the factors which constitute the entire imperial character of Russia, and not solely on the picture of Russia in her relations with the satellite countries. The vague designation "U.S.S.R." is now interpreted more and more by the free world as meaning an imperium. And, accordingly, public opinion in the free world is beginning to take a keener interest in the imperial character of the relations which exist between Russia and the national organisms which constitute a part of Russia. And this interest naturally demands an answer to the following vital question: in what way and to what extent is the colonial position of the non-Russian peoples of the Russian imperium apparent? And it thus becomes imperative that the concept of the colony itself should be defined precisely, all the more so since the *problem of colonialism* is at present a burning question in the political life of the whole world.

The fact that a hundred-year old phenomenon, which on numerous occasions has already been the subject of profound scientific research, should need to be defined more precisely, may cause some surprise. And yet this is perfectly clear, for colonialism as a historical category changes its purport and its form in the course of history and nowadays is no longer what it was, for instance, in the 19th century.

And in this connection we should like to stress that of all the characteristic features by which the "colony" is nowadays defined, one feature is either missing or else not sufficiently emphasized—namely, a feature which is just as important as, e. g., the compulsory appropriation of part of the national income for the benefit of the mother country, a fact which is rightly regarded as indisputable proof of the colonial status of a country. And it is precisely this

missing feature which is perhaps of the greatest importance if one wishes to rightly assess the position and status of Ukraine. We are referring to the conception of property (we are here only considering the economic aspect of colonialism). The conception of property is to be found in all the historical stages of colonialism, but in the course of time it changes its form. In the early days of the development of the present colonial world, when the chief function of the colonies was to act as suppliers of agricultural products and as market areas for the industrial production of the mother country, the conception of property was limited exclusively to land and soil. The mother country appropriated part of the land in the conquered colony, and this land was then cultivated by plantation-owners, who were specially chosen for this purpose by the mother country, and by local native labour, the latter usually being forced to engage in such work by compulsory measures.

This Was Also the Case in Ukraine

Immediately after the Treaty of Pereyaslav (1654) and contrary to the terms of this Treaty, Tzar Alexius began to dispose of Ukrainian land and to give it to individual persons in his service, as a gift. To begin with, this was done secretly, since—as the then secretary-general of the Ukrainian Cossack state, Teteria, wrote —“should it become known in the army, all the persons concerned will immediately be killed”. But already in the year 1687 it was stated in the articles issued in connection with the election of the Hetman Mazeppa: “A person on whom the Tzar has conferred a deed of donation shall have possession, without reservation, of the mills and villages mentioned in the deed of donation, and the Hetman shall not deprive any such person of said deed nor shall he in any way violate the decree issued by the grace of the Tzar.”¹⁾ Tzar Peter I even went a step further. In his decree of 1709 he not only appropriated for himself the right of disposal as regards Ukrainian land, but, at the same time, deprived the Hetman of this right: “In future the Hetman shall not transfer the landed property of any owner or any landed estate whatever to another person without explicitly stating to whom and for what services such land is transferred, nor shall he deprive any person of land because of some offence, without explicitly stating the reason . . . The Supreme Ruler is to be notified in writing in all such cases.”

¹⁾ V. Miakotin: *Ocherki sotsialnoy istorii Ukrainy XVII-XVIII. stol.*, Prague, 1924.

It is well-known fact that under Hetman Skoropadsky (1708-1722), in accordance with this decree, hundreds of thousands of hectares of Ukrainian land together with the serfs of this land became the property of Russian dignitaries such as Menshikov, Golovkin, Shafirov, and Dolgorukov, etc. Under Catherine II this distribution of Ukrainian national soil amongst Russian landlords was carried out with excessive briskness. "In the year 1791, 882 thousand hectares between the River Boh and the River Dniester were distributed amongst (non-Ukrainian) landlords who for the most part were immigrants and hastily settled there."²) Accordingly, prior to the revolution about 70 per cent of the entire landed property in Ukraine was in ethnically alien, non-Ukrainian hands and came under the imperial claims of the Russian government.

In industry, too, the situation was no better. The three main branches of industry—the metallurgical, coal and sugar industries—were for the most part the property of foreign capital. Eighty per cent of the metallurgical industry and about 70 per cent of the coal industry belonged to a bloc formed by the French and Belgian banks with the Petersburg banks, in connection with which the Petersburg banks guaranteed the Western capital, which had no political claims to Ukraine, a political climate which would make exploitation possible. As far as the sugar industry was concerned, a large number of the factories, in the first place, belonged to the big landowners, whose national status has been mentioned above, and, in the second place, the actual master of the situation was none other than the bank of Azov-Don, which had bought up all the shares of the bank of Kyiv and had ruined the latter. The Minister of Finance (under the Tzar), Kokovtsev, described the position in the Ukrainian sugar industry clearly enough when he said, "On the strength of discussions regarding the share of the banks in the sugar industry, it has been proved... that these influences exceed the limits of crediting and that the share of the banks in stock and company enterprises is predominant."³)

Not one of the experts who have studied the economic situation in those days has been able to deny that all the parties concerned were obviously exponents of colonialism. Nor was there any need to deny this fact, since it is perfectly clear that, on the basis of the law of property, the removal of part of the national income

²) "Kiyevskaya Starina", No. 4, 1885.

³) P. Khromov: *Ekonomicheskoye razvitiye Rossii v XIX-XX v.*, 1950.

from Ukraine took place in the form of industrial profits. On the strength of the income derived from their Ukrainian estates, the would-be Potemkins built themselves palaces in Petersburg; on the strength of the income derived from Ukrainian factories and mines, the French and Petersburg banks paid enormous dividends. In 1907 the French journal, "Le Financier International", wrote as follows on the subject of investments in Ukraine: "France considered and still considers Russian securities to be a very profitable, secure and advantageous investment. One only needs think of Russia's vast natural resources (by which the Ukrainian territories are meant—K. K.), about whose profitableness as far as exploitation is concerned there can be no doubt."⁴) According to Gol'man's calculations, Western capital in the course of the last 25 years prior to the Great War not only provided the money, out of its profits, for all the investments made at that time, which amounted to 1 milliard 142 million roubles, but also took 1 milliard 25 million roubles out of Russia—a sum which was regarded as enormous in those days.⁵)

The Colonial Exploitation of a Country

The colonial exploitation of a country is effected not only by means of drawing on Budget funds, appropriation of the credit-balance in foreign trade, railway tariffs, etc., but also on the basis of a foreign right to property as regards the products and enterprises in the territory of the country in question. For this reason, foreign seizure of this kind must not only be regarded as a violation of the national sovereignty of the country concerned, but also as a vital factor in determining the colonial status of a country . . . Neither in defining colonialism itself nor in describing the status of a country as regards its colonial dependence, must one overlook the factor of foreign property or pass over it in silence, as is so often the case.

This factor is of especial importance when considering *the present position of Ukraine* and the question as to whether it is a colony of Russia; for the simple reason that never and nowhere in the world has the usurpation of the law of property assumed such proportions as in Ukraine and other national (non-Russian) Republics of the U.S.S.R. There have been numerous cases in history of a victorious state appropriating extensive property in the country which it

⁴) N. Vanag: *Finansovyi Kapital v Rossii nakanune mirovoy voyny*, 1930.

⁵) M. Gol'man: *Russkiy imperializm*, 1926.

had subjected; but the private property of the subjects of the subjugated country was at least partly respected on principle and thus was not completely deprived of its characteristic features as national property. But in Ukraine, as a national state community, the conception of national property is at present actually non-existent.

In this connection let us, in the first place, consider the national land and soil in the comprehensive sense, including tracts of water and forests, natural resources, etc. It is a well-known fact that the entire land and soil has been "nationalised", just as if it had become joint national property. The Ukrainian Soviet government, however, has never possessed those rights which constitute the tenor of the law of property itself. Jurisprudence defines property according to the following three conditions: to possess, that is to control and possess property; to use, that is to enjoy the use and advantages of property; and to dispose of, that is to determine what is to become of property. Though the first of these conditions may appear to hold good from the formal point of view as far as the property of Ukraine as a state structure is concerned, in so far as the law on the nationalisation of property was enacted in the name of a Ukrainian government, neither the second nor third of these conditions has ever been fulfilled. And national Ukrainian property was likewise deprived of its characteristic feature by the decree of the imperial or Union government, of April 7, 1940. On the strength of this decree all delivery quotas for natural products, i. e. grain, meat, milk, etc., were in future no longer to be calculated and fixed on the basis of previously drawn up plans, but per unit of the acreage fixed for a collective farm. In 1953 this method of calculating the delivery quotas for natural products was also introduced in the case of the individual small holdings of the kolkhoz farmers. This means that the former system of taxation has now been replaced by the ground rent system. This is not a tax, but is what, in technical terms, is designated as absolute ground rent, that is to say payment to the landowner for the use of his land. This payment is made to the Union, that is to the imperial government organs. The land is thus no longer national property, but Union, that is imperial property, and the farmers of Ukraine are obliged to pay the Russian imperium for the right to cultivate Ukrainian soil.

In industry the situation is no better, if anything, in fact, even worse. Let us consider for instance the formal and legal aspect of

the so-called nationalisation. On December 16, 1917, after the first formation of a Communist government in Ukraine (in opposition to the national Ukrainian government which at that time existed in Kyiv), the Council of the People's Commissars of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.) sent a message of greeting to the above-mentioned Communist "government" in which it was stated: "The Council of the People's Commissars promises to give the new government of its sister-republic wholehearted support in the fight for peace and also as regards the transfer of all landed property, factories, enterprises and banks to the *working people of Ukraine*." But the day before (on December 15th), a resolution had been passed by the Council of the People's Commissars "on the confiscation of the enterprises and entire property of the Russian-Belgian Metallurgical Company". The administration of this Company had its seat in Petersburg and its mines and enterprises were located in Ukraine. It was stated in this resolution that all the property and enterprises, etc., of the Company were to be declared the "property of the Russian Republic". Similarly, on January 4, 1918, that is to say after a Ukrainian Communist government had been formed in Kharkiv, the big agricultural machine factory of Helferich-Sadé in Kharkiv was likewise declared the "property of the Russian Republic" by the Council of the People's Commissars in Moscow. On January 27, 1918, Lenin declared the Shymansky factory in Kharkiv to be the "property of the Russian Republic", and on May 2nd, the same declaration was issued as regards the entire sugar industry, etc. And on June 28, 1918, the Council of the People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. issued a general decree regarding the nationalisation of the enterprises of the mining, iron and steel, metal, textile and other industries and of the municipal enterprises (tramways, electricity works, waterworks, etc.). In accordance with this decree, all enterprises (with the exception of the co-operatives)—with a capital of a million roubles or more in certain branches of industry, with a capital of half a million roubles or more in other branches, and independent of the amount of capital in still other branches—were declared the "property of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic". Nor was any legislative act passed later on which amended this decree and defined the proprietary right of the national Republics to the above-mentioned property and enterprises. It is true that the Manifesto of December 1, 1918, on the overthrow of the hetmanate contains one point which states: "All enterprises,

factories, banks and trading firms, as well as mines and collieries are to be declared the property of the Ukrainian working population. . .," but this point was not legally formulated. Indeed, there was only one occasion when this was the case, namely in an official ordinance of April 18, 1919—that is, not even in a government decree—on iron and manganese mines: "In accordance with an ordinance of the Ukrainian Economic Council, all enterprises which raise iron or manganese ore are declared the property of the Ukrainian Socialist Republic. . ."⁶⁾ This ordinance, however, had no practical significance whatever, since the aforesaid Ukrainian Economic Council was soon afterwards transformed into the "Industrial Bureau" ("Prombureau"), namely into a department of the Supreme Economic Council of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.). Thus, not even a formal proprietary right to national property and enterprises was stipulated, for the simple reason that there was to be no national state property, but only imperial or Union property.

Even the formal proprietary right to buildings in the towns under the Republic governments belongs to the imperium (with the exception of the insignificant part reserved for private owners); this can be seen from the fact that in cases of damage or loss caused by fire the insurance is paid to the Ministry of Finance of the U.S.S.R.

Seen in the light of the above-mentioned facts, the entire *present de-centralisation*—the setting up of new economic organs in the Soviet Republics and the transfer of industrial enterprises to their competence—cannot change the present state of affairs. Moscow continues to remain the owner of Ukrainian national property; the only thing that changes as far as Moscow's property is concerned is the form of administration.

In addition to the proprietary right, Moscow has also secured for itself the other two conditions which constitute the conception of property: the right of use and the right of disposal. The activity of industrial enterprises is carried out according to Moscow's plans and orders, and production is at Moscow's disposal.

Accordingly, all the profits and taxes do not constitute a national income, from which a Soviet Republic might be able to deduct a

⁶⁾ The documents on nationalisation are here quoted from the collection of documents and documentary data, "Natsionalizatsiya promyshlennosti v SSSR", 1954, whilst the law on taxation in kind in agriculture is quoted from "Vazhneyshiyе resheniya po sel'skomu khoziaystvu", 1940.

certain sum for the purpose of covering its share in the joint expenses, but, on the contrary, pass into the possession of the imperium, and the latter allows the Soviet Republics a certain percentage of them to cover expenses incurred in connection with the administration of the territory and the industrial enterprises which belong to the imperium (Ukraine, for instance, in 1954 was allowed 25 per cent of the earnings of the machine and tractor stations (MTS), 22.5 per cent of the turnover taxes, but only conditionally and not to the full extent and with no right to independent disposal, and 54 per cent of the industrial profits, etc.).

It is hardly necessary to stress the fact that all this is of considerable importance in determining the "state sovereignty" of Soviet Ukraine and the true character of the latter's economic relations with its Russian metropolis.

THE QUESTION OF THE RATE OF DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET ECONOMY

On March 2, 1957, the Ukrainian economist, V. Holubnychy, held a lecture, with the above title, at the Congress of the Economic Section of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in the U.S.A. (New York). The speaker examined both the factual index figures of economic expansion in the U.S.S.R. and the methods of calculating these statistics, by comparing the index figures of economic expansion in the U.S.S.R. with those in Western countries at various times.

In particular, V. Holubnychy concentrated his attention on the annual increase in production as compared to the increase in each preceding year, by taking as the subject of his research both big aggregates (the national income, the gross production of industry, the productivity of labour, etc.) and also various strategically important products (steel, electric power, oil, cement, machines, etc.). On the strength of his research with regard to the annual increase in production during the years 1929 to 1956, he drew the following conclusions:

- 1) The rate of economic development in the U.S.S.R. varies very considerably under the influence of various events of a non-economic nature;
- 2) In the course of long periods there is a marked downward trend.

Economic expansion in the U.S.S.R. slowed down prior to World War II and on three occasions even ceased completely: during the period of agricultural collectivization (1931-1933), during the period of political purges and mass terrorism (1936-1937), and during the years in which preparations for the war were speeded up (1939-1940). These events had a disastrous effect on the economic development of the U.S.S.R. After World War II, the war in Korea and world armament during the years 1949 to 1953 also made themselves felt to a very considerable degree, inasmuch as they caused the rate of the increase

in production to drop. The revolutions and insurrections in Eastern Europe in 1956 likewise slowed down the development of Soviet economy.

Fluctuation in the rate of development has therefore on several occasions been accompanied by a downward trend. A downward trend of this kind sometimes lasted for years and resulted in a decrease in production. One can thus draw the conclusion that Soviet economy, despite its centralised planning, is subjected to certain "growth crises" of a special type and to a certain cycle in the development of the rate of growth or expansion: namely, on the one hand, an acceleration of expansion; on the other hand, a retardation or even a cessation of expansion.

This research into the rate of expansion also elucidates the question as to what prospects there are of solving the "main economic task of the U.S.S.R.", a task which Stalin regarded solely as "catching up with and overtaking" the "leading capitalistic countries" and, in particular, America, as regards the production volume in proportion to the population figures. In his lecture, V. Holubnychy stressed that, in spite of the emphasis placed on this "main economic task" in the Soviet press, no attempts to work out in figures whether the U.S.S.R. would be able to catch up with the U.S.A. and, if so, then within what length of time, had been published in the said press. He added that in the Western world calculations of this type were set up and that, for the purpose of the extrapolation of the expansion in future, the annual average rate of increase within a certain length of time in the past was almost always used as the basis for such calculations.

On the strength of his research as regards the annual rate of increase, V. Holubnychy, however, now drew the conclusion that, from the point of view of methodology, the use of the average rate of increase as a basis for such calculations was by no means infallible. He pointed out that the rate of increase showed a tendency to drop and that this tendency must of necessity be further taken into account in connection with the extrapolation of the expansion. He suggested that for the purpose of extrapolation more complicated mathematical formulas should be used, which would take into account the tendency of the rate of increase to drop, instead of the usual formula with a constant annual average rate of increase, which was being used at present. If such complicated formulas were used, then, said V. Holubnychy, it would become evident that it was actually not so easy for the U.S.S.R. to realise its "main economic tasks" and that there was definitely the possibility of the U.S.S.R., at least within the next fifty years, not being able to catch up with the U.S.A.

Several well-known Ukrainian economists, namely O. Dibert, I. Zamsha, V. Znayenko, and V. Stets, took part in the discussion which followed the lecture. Questions which were discussed with considerable interest were the methodology of calculations and the so-called moral amortisation of the means of production (that is to say, the out-of-date construction of machines).

N. N.

The Problem of Russian Colonialism in Ukraine

**as discussed at the Conference of Ukrainian Economists
in New York*)**

On the initiative of the Economic Commission of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) an economic conference was held in New York, from January 26th to 27th, which had as its subject the "Problem of Colonialism in the National Economy of Ukraine". The programme of the Conference consisted of the following four lectures: "Ukrainian Agriculture and Colonial Policy" by Prof. M. Velychkivsky; "The Theory of Economic Colonialism and its Relation to Ukraine" by Dr. V. Holubnychy; "The Problem of Colonialism in Ukrainian Industry" by Dr. B. Vynar, and "Fragments of the History of Ukrainian Thought in Political Economy" by Prof. I. Vytanovych; this latter lecture was unfortunately not given, as the speaker for unforeseen reasons was unable to come to New York from Chicago.

Prof. Velychkivsky's lecture was based on statistical data, specially compiled for his subject and systematically divided up according to certain periods. The speaker showed in particular the pre-revolutionary status of Ukrainian agriculture and its further stages of development, namely during the period of the so-called "New Economic Policy" of the Soviet regime (1921-1927) and in the 1930's after the introduction of "total collectivization". The lecture dealt with the problems of landed property in Ukraine and in Russia, the production of grain, the share of Ukraine in agricultural export trade, agricultural credits, the wages of the workers in Ukraine and in other parts of the U.S.S.R., etc. Analysing the agrarian policy of the Soviet regime in Ukraine, the speaker took into account the question of the reliability of Soviet official sources in this respect and illustrated his systematically ordered reservations by data on the falsification of the harvest statistics in the U.S.S.R., a fact which is of considerable importance when determining the specific weight of Ukraine in the sector of the entire Soviet agricultural production.

V. Holubnychy's lecture dealt with two problems: the theoretical basis of the conception of economic colonialism as such and its application to the characteristic features of Ukrainian economy. According to the opinion of the speaker, economic colonialism exists when there is a constant net export of material resources on the part of a subjugate country to the mother country—in other words, when the mother country exploits its colony economically, that is to say develops and acquires wealth at the expense of the capital which has accumulated in the colony, and when the national economy of a subjugated country (in accordance with a decree issued by the mother country, which can be put into practice either with the aid of the state organisation or on the strength of a legal proprietary right) is forced to develop to the advantage of the mother country and the favourable prospects of the economic development of the sub-

*) The original Ukrainian text of this report, which has been slightly abridged here, was published in the Munich fortnightly journal, "Suchasna Ukraina" (No. 5, 1957).

jugated country itself are neglected. On the strength of the method of budget analysis (and, incidentally, he admitted that this was not entirely adequate), the speaker calculated Moscow's income and expenditure in Ukraine in the year 1940 and ascertained that in that year more than 2 milliard roubles of the earnings which had accumulated in Ukraine had not been repaid by Moscow—a fact which substantiates the assertion made by the well-known Ukrainian economist, Volobuyev, to the effect that Ukraine loses about 20 per cent of its national income as a result of the symbiosis of Ukraine with Russia within the framework of the U.S.S.R. For Ukraine also loses its money to Moscow independently of the system of the Union budget, namely in the following way:

- 1) By acquisition organs for sales and trade which are strictly centralised and actually controlled by Moscow;
- 2) by organs for foreign trade which are likewise strictly centralised;
- 3) by the main administrative departments and trust organisations of the various Ministries of the Union, which control all the so-called "enterprises of general significance" in Ukraine.

There is, however, no statistical data whatever available on these three types of Soviet Russian exploitation of Ukraine.

The main arguments propounded by Dr. B. Vynar in his lecture can be summed up as follows:

- 1) In the economic policy regarding the national economy of Ukraine it is Soviet Russia that plays the part of the subject.

- 2) The development of the entire industry of Ukraine and of its industrial branches reveals a very considerable onesidedness and the production of mass consumption goods for the Ukrainian population remains undeveloped. Despite the fact that the national economy of Ukraine has sufficient raw materials available, Ukraine is obliged to obtain a considerable quantity of mass consumption goods from Russia or other parts of the U.S.S.R.

- 3) Whilst Soviet economic policy in general results in an increase in the production of Ukrainian industry, as regards Ukraine's national economy it concentrates on the increase of productive forces in the absolute sense (an increase of the means of production, of the workers' cadres, etc.), which the Soviet large-scale territorial economy needs in order to realise the plans it has already made in advance, a fact, however, which is in no way in keeping with the needs of the national economy of Ukraine as a separate economic unit. Soviet economic plans in no way take into account the demands of Ukraine's national economic balance. The large-scale territorial economy of the U.S.S.R. clearly shows a tendency to co-ordinate individual economic regions according to their specialisation and exclusively from the point of view of the Union economy, that is to say exclusively on the scale of the entire U.S.S.R., even if this is contrary to the demands of Ukraine's national economy.

- 4) Consequently, there is no balance of economic development in the Ukrainian national economy, that is to say no balance between the extractive and the processing industries, between industry and agriculture, etc.; and a further consequence is that the geographical distribution of Ukrainian industry is extremely faulty, a fact which is evident from the orientation of transport in certain branches of the heavy industries.

A lively interest was taken in the discussions held after the above-mentioned lectures had been given, and the speakers included Prof. Kononenko, Prof. Olek-syshyn, Dr. Bohdansky, Dr. Trembitsky and several other Ukrainian economists who are at present living in the U.S.A. as political emigrants.

It would undoubtedly be an excellent idea to arrange conferences of this kind in other centres of Ukrainian emigrants, a fact which would lay the foundation for the publication of an extensive work on the colonial status of Ukraine's national economy. The need for a scientific work of this kind and its political value and significance at the present time are definitely indisputable.

V. B.

GREETINGS TO ASIAN ANTI-COMMUNISTS
TO THE PRESIDIUM OF THE THIRD CONFERENCE
OF THE ASIAN PEOPLES' ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE
IN SAIGON (VIETNAM)

The Ukrainian liberation movement wishes to convey to the Third Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League the sincere comradely greetings of Ukraine, which is fighting against Russian imperialism and Communism for the freedom of nations and individuals.

World Communism is an instrument of Russian Bolshevik imperialism, which aims to attain world dominion and, with the aid of lies, cunning, treachery and violence, seeks to disintegrate the peoples in order to subjugate them one after another. Thus the defensive fight of all peoples against the world enemy of freedom must be conducted in one front. In awareness of this fact, the Ukrainian anti-Bolshevist national liberation movement sends the Third Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League its friendliest greetings and sincere wishes for every success. We hope and trust that this Conference will successfully help to consolidate the anti-Communist fight of all the Asian peoples and all the peoples represented here and in this way will prove an important contribution towards strengthening the anti-Bolshevist world front in the cause of defending the freedom of the nations and of man.

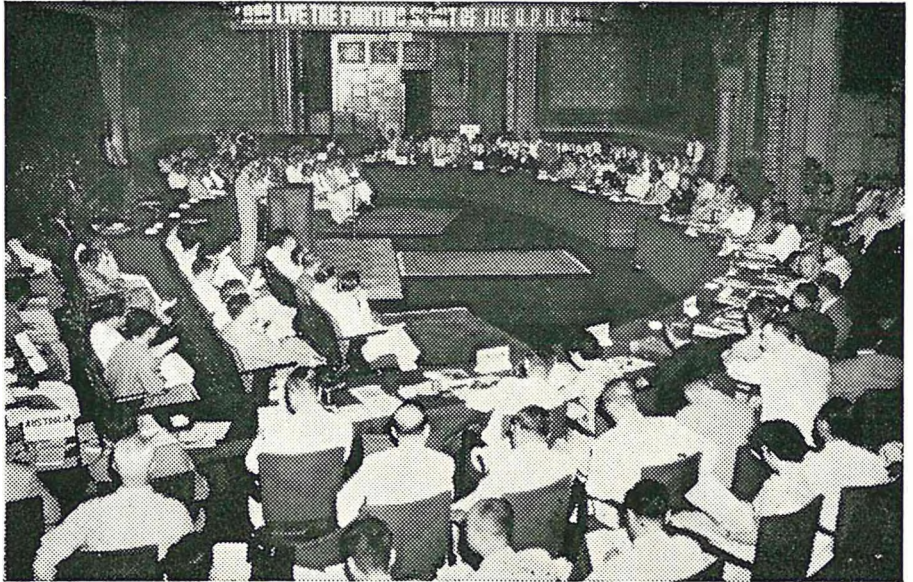
We wish the Third Conference of the APACL and all its members every possible success in this respect.

In the name of the Ukrainian liberation movement and the whole of fighting Ukraine,

The Presidium of the Units Abroad
of the Organisation of Ukrainian
Nationalists (O.U.N.)



A.B.N. DELEGATION WELCOMED IN FORMOSA



APACL CONFERENCE IN SAIGON

UKRAINE AND THE JOINT ANTI-COMMUNIST CAMPAIGN IN THE FAR EAST

From March 27th to April 2nd, 1957, the *Third Conference of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL)* was held in Saigon, the capital of Vietnam. Six Asian peoples in 1953 founded the APACL, but since then various other nations have joined this organisation. The first General Conference of the APACL was held in Korea and the second Conference in Manila, the capital of the Philippines. The amazing growth of the APACL during the past few years can be seen from the list of participators in the Third General Conference: Australia, Burma, Free China, Hongkong, Free Korea, Macao, Malaya, the Philippines, Ryukyu, Singapore, Thailand, Turkey and Vietnam took part in the Conference as members of the APACL, whilst Indonesia was represented as an observer; for the first time, observers from Europe who had been invited to attend the Conference were also present, namely the delegations of Greece and of three anti-Communist emigrant organisations—the so-called National Labour Union of the Russian Emigrants (NTS), the Czech-Sudeten-German Federal Committee, and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). The latter organisation was represented by its President, Mr. Jaroslav Stetzko, Mrs. Slawa Stetzko-Dankiw and the President of the Hungarian Liberation Movement, General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak. In 1955 the President of the Central Committee of the ABN, Mr. Stetzko, signed an agreement with the APACL, in accordance with which both organisations have since then cooperated in the fight against Communism and Russian imperialism; they also exchange information and ideas and coordinate all political steps of importance, etc.; and precisely the fact that the ABN took part to such a far-reaching extent in the Third General Conference of the APACL, in the modest role of an observer (with the advisory right to vote) is—as we shall show in the following—proof of the successful results of the cooperation which exists between the two organisations.

Among the guests of honour who were present at the opening ceremony of the Conference on March 27 were various foreign ambassadors accredited to Vietnam and most of the members of the government of Vietnam. In other respects, too, the government of Vietnam showed a lively interest in the Conference and on several occasions gave proof of its ideological solidarity with the anti-Communist campaign of the APACL. Under the guidance of Mr. Tran-Chanh-Thanh, Chairman of the Steering Committee of the Communist Subversive Activities Denunciation Campaign, the delegations to the Conference were received by the President of the Republic of Vietnam, Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem, at Dinh Doc Lap on March 29. The President delivered a short speech in which he emphasized the problem of international cooperation to defeat Communism.

He said in part :

"Facing the work of destruction of the communist system, we must proclaim that the laws governing the progress of mankind are not solely economic in nature, that such progress is also and above all conditioned by the laws of morality. Marxism has had a bitter experience in making a principle of the contempt, and even the destruction of religious beliefs, bases of morality. . . I think it is the duty of the League to reaffirm the primacy of the spiritual. Let the relations between nations, like those between individuals, rest on justice, loyalty, brotherly collaboration."

He then reminded his audience that "Communism preys on our slightest differences, weaknesses and hesitations, and exploits them mercilessly to its advantage"; after urging that Free World countries must set up a front of steel to defeat communist imperialism, he wound up in expressing his faith in the victorious outcome of the "struggle which we are all carrying on for a just and noble cause."

Furthermore, the delegates to the Conference, in addition to attending numerous more or less official receptions, on April 1st also took part in the opening session of the parliament of Vietnam, on which occasion they were cordially welcomed by the President of the parliament, who in his address in particular stressed the Hungarians' valiant fight for freedom against Soviet Russian imperialism.

As regards the procedure of the Conference itself, after Mr. Tran-Chanh-Thanh had delivered his opening speech, the various delegations each had an opportunity to speak for ten minutes; all the speeches, incidentally, had been duplicated and copies were handed to all those present. An exception was made in the case of the ABN delegation which was allowed to speak for twenty minutes, Mr. Stetzko and General Farkas each speaking for ten minutes of this allotted period. The reason for this favourable exception lay not so much in the sympathy felt for ABN as in the general interest in the Hungarian revolutionary fight for freedom; nevertheless it actually provided an extremely favourable opportunity for explaining and circulating the political principle of the entire ABN and also of the Ukrainian national fight for freedom.

The actual work of the ABN delegation, however,— apart from talks and discussion of a private nature—was mainly carried out in the six committees formed in connection with the Conference (for Policy, Information and Propaganda, Education, Agriculture, Economic Affairs, and Ideologies), in particular in the Committees for Policy and Ideologies. In the plenary session on April 1, each committee submitted a resolution which, with but slight amendments, was then adopted by the plenary session. The resolutions dealt with both the fundamental principle of the anti-Communist campaign of the APACL and also the election of the presidium of the APACL, as well as with the next conference, the exchange of material, and problems concerning members and observers, etc. Free China (Formosa) was elected as chairman of the League Council and Thailand as secretary-general. Saigon (Vietnam) was chosen as the permanent site of the League. The Fourth Annual Conference of the League is to take place on March 27, 1958, in Thailand; this evidence of the closer union of Thailand with the APACL is naturally to be greatly welcomed. The Conference once again unanimously confirmed the status of the ABN as a permanent observer with the advisory right to vote.

In the final declaration of the Conference the resolutions submitted by each of the committees were summarised in brief, and it was resolved to cooperate with the free world in the anti-Communist fight and to effect the setting up of a world broadcasting station.

On the other hand, however, the suggestion put forward by the Chief Delegate of Hongkong to hold a "World Peoples' Anti-Communist Conference for all the civil anti-communist leaders in Asia, Europe and America" in the near future, despite the logical reason given for this by the speaker ("as the communists aim at world domination"), did not meet with unanimous approval, since the situation in this respect does not as yet appear to be ripe for this purpose. And it must be admitted in this connection that precisely the ideological programme of the APACL in its present form reveals certain gaps and points which are not clear, and would have to be drawn up in a clearer and more *concrete* form before it could hope to achieve a success at a world conference. It is true that there is no lack of positive principles and determined will to make the realisation of this programme possible; on the contrary, the fact was stressed on several occasions during the Conference by various speakers that "the duty of the APACL is not only to resist Communism, but also to eradicate it", or, as the Chief Delegate of the Republic of Korea so aptly said, "this is a movement involving the struggle for free survival, and against the Communists; second best is never good enough. We must win totally or we shall lose totally. There is no middle way, no possible compromise." And in theory there appeared to be no doubts either as regards the necessity for a joint, coordinated anti-Communist campaign: as the Chief Delegate of Thailand said, "success in all this depends wholly upon our sincere cooperation and genuine unity, and united, we stand; divided, we fall." Unfortunately, however, the political practice of the APACL does not conform completely to this principle. Various members of the APACL still complain that "some remnants of European colonialism still prevail"*, and—as for instance Korea—categorically oppose the possible admission of the Japanese to the APACL, not only for the fairly controversial reason that Japan allegedly "shows signs of reawakening colonial ambitions in the Ryukyus", but also for the entirely negligible reason that "Japan has not yet made amends for the wrongs done to Korea". In our opinion, this unforgiving attitude towards a nation which is anti-Soviet and anti-Communist to such an extent as Japan, constitutes the fundamental political error of the APACL and undermines both its ideological position and its actual power very considerably; and, to draw a parallel—what would be the present position of the anti-Communist forces of the NATO, if West European-German or Greek-Turkish national resentment had been manifested as strongly as the Korean, Chinese and Philippine hatred of Japan!

Nor is the positive social and economic programme of the APACL by any means completely satisfactory. It is certainly true that—as was stated in the

*Most of the members of the APACL, however, share the opinion expressed by the Chief Chinese Delegate, that "the colonialism of the West has been wiped out by the march of time and its residual influence is out-moded; the greatest enemy of the national movement of all Asian peoples today is the new colonialism fostered by the Communists."

above-mentioned opening address by Mr. Tran-Chanh-Tranh—"our duty is . . . to devise counter-measures to defeat these dangerous plots (of the communists) and at the same time build a better society, based on justice, love, and respect for human dignity"; and the idea propounded in particular by the Pakistani delegate, that "only if we offer something healthy and attractive to the people, they shall refuse to fall a prey to the charms of much trumpeted and widely advertised Communism", undoubtedly contains a certain element of truth; but in the remark which followed immediately afterwards—"in this Conference we must, if we are anxious to make our countries better places to live in and safe from the treat of Communism, agree to change our negative approach and draw up positive programmes of healthy and creative activities, for these alone are the ways to meet the growing threat of Communism"—the word "alone" represents a serious exaggeration, which cannot in any way be justified by the actual success achieved by Communist propaganda in the free world since the war, and which can no doubt be traced back to the erroneous opinion of certain American circles, namely that Communism can be successfully defeated *solely* (or, in the first place) with the aid of plentiful dollar subsidies for countries that are economically underdeveloped.

And it was precisely because of this lack of discernment as regards the nature, the origin and consequently the actual forces of so-called "international Communism", that the presence of the ABN at this Conference was of such great importance, for it thus had an opportunity of discussing its problems with the other delegates present and of winning new friends and, above all, was able to assert its *national* attitude towards Communist world menace. It is true that in the above-mentioned opening address the Soviet Union was simply referred to as "Russia" and it was even alleged that there was a "strong reaction of the Russian people" against the Communist regime in the U.S.S.R., but during the further course of the Conference hardly any more errors of this kind were made, thanks to the clear and definite attitude of the ABN delegation and, above all, thanks to the emphatic manner of the head of this delegation, Mr. J. Stetzko, who, in his speech in the plenary session defined the "very important task" of the APACL as follows: "the exposure of world Communism as a camouflage for a new vicious colonialism, which intends to enslave mankind by the totalitarian system, in order to extend the Russian colonial empire over the whole world with the aid of its Red Chinese, Red Korean, Red Indonesian and other tools."

In its campaign of enlightenment the ABN delegation was to a very considerable extent supported by the Chief Chinese Delegate, namely by his uncompromising attitude towards the "treacherous puppet Peking regime which is but the instrument of Soviet imperialism."

As regards the success of the ABN attitude and conception, it is significant that no attempt was made on the part of the other delegations to oppose or contradict it, with the sole exception of the Russian anti-Communist NTS delegation, which, of course, endeavoured to maintain the idea of the "international Communist" character of Bolshevism and of the Soviet regime, but was foolhardy and unwise enough to appear at the Conference in the name of the anti-Communist Russians and also in the name of the Ukrainians and Armenians; this drew a sharp retort from the delegate of the ABN, which obviously met with the approval of the remaining members of the plenary session.

It goes without saying that, like this national political campaign of enlightenment on the part of the ABN, its information campaign was equally successful; and though the above-mentioned "opening address" contented itself with only mentioning the following incidents as recent examples of anti-Soviet resistance in the U.S.S.R., in Red China and the satellite countries—apart from the Hungarian national revolution and recent events in Poland—"the struggle of the Transylvanian workers in Rumania for higher wages in August 1956, the uprising for autonomy of the Tibetan people in March 1956, the unrest which, since the 14th of February, has been reigning in Wuchang on the Chinese mainland, and the bloody events which have occurred in North Vietnam", both Mr. Stetzko and General Farkas expressly stressed that "causes of unrest in Ukrainian university towns such as Kyiv and Kharkiv or amongst the academic youth of the Baltic peoples, as for instance in Riga, Kaunas and Tallin, clearly show a revolutionary tendency." The same speakers likewise rightly emphasized the significance of the revolts of Ukrainian and other peoples enslaved by Moscow in the concentration camps and the fact that the demands raised by the prisoners during the large-scale strikes in Norylsk in June, 1953, and in Vorkuta in July of the same year tallied with the fundamental principles of the ABN. "These same demands were raised during an insurrection on the part of the concentration camp prisoners in Kingiri (Turkestan), in July 1954—a fact which emphasizes the realisable character of a joint action in these territories." General Farkas also pointed out that "the numerous cases of desertion in Hungary are an interesting sign, the true significance of which can be seen from the fact that the deserters were for the most part Ukrainian and White Ruthenian (Byelorussian) units who went over to the side of the Hungarian fighters for freedom and joined forces with them in the fight against their common Russian subjugator"—a statement, which, coming as it does from the President of the Hungarian Liberation Movement, is particularly weighty.

It certainly cannot be denied that General Farkas both at the Conference and later on during his visit to Formosa (Taiwan) had, as the saying goes, an easy game; it was not necessary for him to prove or confirm anything, since revolutionary events in Hungary had already spoken for themselves plainly enough. As the Turkish delegate very rightly said: "what the Moscow trials, the concentration camps, the Jewish doctors' 'plot', the hanging of Rajk, the war in Korea could not do, Budapest has finally done. November 1956 has brought one of those lightning illuminations of the situation as are rare in the life of individuals and nations. I think it is very important for the future." General Farkas as a military expert drew the attention of the audience in particular to the military aspect of the Hungarian revolution and made the following important statement—a conclusion which has found little mention in the Western press: "The weakness of the Soviet system is particularly apparent in the military sector. The armies of the subjugated peoples are no longer trustworthy, a fact which has led to the disarming of Rumanian and Bulgarian troops and to the reinforcement of the Russian occupation contingents. As many as 80 tank and infantry divisions of the Red Army can now be regarded as written off."

In this connection General Farkas expressed the firm conviction that "had the Hungarian fight for freedom been given active support from without, a chain reaction would inevitably have ensued and all the other subjugated peoples would

have risen up in revolt. Had this been the case, the Soviet Russian sphere of influence would probably have collapsed without an atomic war, but this big historical opportunity was unfortunately missed."

In another respect, however, the ABN delegation was less successful—namely, as regards another burning question of Bolshevik colonialism, which should really have been of vital interest at a conference of the anti-Communist nations of Asia—the subjugation and exploitation of the Asiatic Moslem peoples of the Soviet Russian imperium. Indeed, this question was a complete failure: even the question of *Turkestan* was not discussed at the Third APACL Conference as much as it was at the notorious Conference of Bandung in 1955, where the majority of participators were actually Communists, pro-Communists and "pacifist neutralists". The ABN delegation could not deal with this question successfully for the simple reason that they met with no definite support in this respect on the part of the free Moslem peoples. The Moslem members of the APACL, who should in the first place, of course, have been interested in this question, revealed a strange indifference. It is obvious that they may well have had plausible tactical reasons for wanting to appear indifferent (Turkey, for instance, very probably wanted to avoid the least suspicion of an alleged "Pan-Turkism" being cast on her); and it certainly sounds abominable when the Pakistani delegation (the representatives of the "greatest Moslem state in the world"—as they themselves are fond of boasting), for instance, affirms that they "pitch the higher ideology of Islam against the godless and purely materialistic ideology of Communism", but, on the other hand, take good care not to mention their fellow-Moslems enslaved by Bolshevism, with so much as a word. The only laudable exception in this respect were the Indonesians, who, however, on the one hand, as "advisers" had no decisive right to vote, and, on the other hand, both in what they said at the Conference in this respect and also in a pamphlet of the "Turkistan Liberation Movement" founded in Djakarta at the end of March (entitled "Turkistan, the Forgotten Moslem Country", published in Djakarta, March 25, 1957), revealed more good will and genuine religious Moslem solidarity than a knowledge of Central Asian affairs. But nevertheless, this was a commendable beginning and an example which should put the other Moslem peoples of the free world to shame.

On the other hand, however, the suggestion put forward by the President of the ABN and the resolution submitted by the ABN delegation in the corresponding committee of the Conference, which demanded the proclamation of the *Great Charter of the Independence of Nations* as an ideological and comprehensive platform of the anti-Communist and anti-imperialist fight, including the demand for a partition of the Bolshevik imperium into sovereign national states according to their ethnical frontiers, can be assessed as a partial success (and possibly even more). After a fairly heated discussion both within and outside the competent committee (Turkey and Korea proposed that their own more moderately formulated resolutions should be adopted), the ABN delegation submitted the following definite resolution: "The APACL supports the aims of the fight of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain: to crush Communism, to annihilate Russian imperialism and to restore independent democratic states in ethnographical areas of the nations enslaved by Bolshevik imperialism in Europe and Asia". This resolution met with no objections, but for purely tactical reasons it was referred by the

plenary session to the League Council of the APACL for final formulation; the fact must, incidentally, be borne in mind that on the one hand a concrete formulation of the national question as such is at present bound to encounter serious obstacles, especially in the Far East, and that, on the other hand, the APACL has some members who have no national sovereignty and also some who cannot claim national sovereignty for themselves (as for instance Hongkong, Macao, the Ryukyus, Singapore). Nevertheless, the ABN in this way achieved an important *moral* success, since the suggestions it put forward in this respect—and for tactical reasons the ABN in its role of “observer” could not formally take the lead—were taken into consideration by the committee of the APACL and in principle were approved of.

On examining the reasons why the Third Conference of the APACL, in addition to achieving a big success in some respects, also failed in certain points as mentioned above, one is bound to come to the conclusion that the most fitting answer to this question is no doubt the statement made by the Pakistani delegation, which though formulated in very outspoken terms and too pointed and generalised, nevertheless applies to the majority of the members of the APACL:

“The independent movements in the various Asian countries were mainly led by our intellectuals, and they did extremely well, but unfortunately today they find themselves unable to tackle the new problems which are before their countries. However good intentioned and well-meant they may be, they are ill-equipped to bear the new responsibilities. The reason is that the education they received and the training they got were all very good for the negative task of driving out the foreign rulers, which they did splendidly well. But their education, their training and their experiences failed to keep them company in the programme in post-independence reconstruction works; and their inability to function creatively in their society is now driving them to frustration and confused thinking; and this has its natural repercussions on the masses of their areas.”

The fact must also be mentioned that the APACL Conference had a sequel which was particularly favourable for the Ukrainian campaign.

Through the kindness of the President of the APACL, China Chapter, Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, a personal invitation to visit Formosa (Taiwan) was issued to a number of delegates of the Conference, namely to the Turkish, Indonesian, Pakistan and Sudeten-German delegations and to the ABN delegates, General Farkas de Kisbarnak and Mrs. Slawa Stetzko. The visitors were given a most cordial welcome on their arrival at Taipei airport, and during their stay in Formosa took part in a number of tours of inspection, lectures, press conferences and excursions which had been specially arranged for their benefit. Two functions, in particular, which should be mentioned in this connection were an audience given by the President of Free China, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, and an audience given by Madame Chiang Kai-shek. In addition to the above functions, the visitors also received invitations from various high authorities and prominent political persons, and on these occasions they had a chance to discuss vital questions pertaining to the liberation of the world from the Bolshevik menace.

An excellent impression was gained of Free China's military institutions in the course of the various tours of inspection that were arranged. At present, Formosa possesses one of the strongest armies in the world. It is by no means

correct that this army is behind the times. It is commanded by young generals, and entire officers' corps consists of young men.

In addition to the army, the youth of the country also deserves especial praise. The Boy Scout and other youth organisations are admirably doing their share towards the realisation of the national aims and their training is in every respect exemplary. The cultural and educational level of the university and of the secondary and primary schools on Taiwan is excellent; and the youth of the country is inspired by patriotism and by the firm will to recapture the lost mainland again. All this proves that Formosa is a base, a fortress and an island of hope not only for China, but also for the whole of Asia, and therefore also the entire free world. Formosa is at present waging war on Red China and is conducting an uncompromising fight against Communism and Russian imperialism. The same thing is also happening in Vietnam and Korea, etc., and justifies one in hoping that the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League together with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the Latin-American Anti-Cominform will, by their joint world organisation, eventually help to destroy Bolshevism.

And in this respect the special importance of the Ukrainian sector of the ABN must be stressed in particular. And, incidentally, it was precisely the Ukrainian delegation of the ABN which in October 1955 already paved the way for a union of all the anti-Communist forces of the free world; as the President of the Central Committee of the ABN, Jaroslaw Stetzko, stressed in his speech at the Conference in Saigon, his previous visit to Formosa had enabled him to "gain an insight into the unique achievements of this admirable country in all spheres of life from the point of view of the anti-Bolshevist fight," and had brought about the realisation of the cooperation between the ABN and the APACLROC.

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In conjunction with the Conference an anti-Bolshevist exhibition was also held, at which the material furnished by the ABN ranked foremost. The exhibition, which was arranged by the ABN, Free China, Korea, the Philippines and Vietnam, involved considerable work. Two rooms, which it was allowed to chose itself, were placed at the disposal of the ABN. In addition to Ukraine and Hungary the following also supplied material for exhibition purposes: Slovakia, the Baltic States and the American Friends of ABN. On the general ABN table, on which several hundred documents and books were exhibited, Bulgarian, Georgian and Turkestanian material was also displayed; a number of valuable placards and photographs had also been supplied by the Hungarian groups in Mexico and Canada.

The exhibition will be on view for a month in Vietnam and will then proceed to Korea and Formosa, where it will likewise be open to the public. The exhibition as a whole was most impressive, and the Saigon press published detailed reports about it and in particular mentioned the excellent work of the ABN in this respect.

Thirty congratulatory messages and telegrams, including twenty from ABN organisations, were addressed to the Conference.

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After the termination of the Conference in Saigon, the President of the ABN, Jaroslaw Stetzko, left for Australia, for the purpose of intensifying the activity

of the Australian ABN organisations and expanding the national movement among the Ukrainians living in Australia. From Australia Mr. Stetzko is to fly to Formosa, where he will discuss the political repercussions of the Conference in Asia and Africa with the President of the APACL, China Chapter, Mr. Ku Cheng-kang, who after the termination of the Conference in Saigon flew to America.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF THE FREE UKRAINIAN UNIVERSITY AND THE WORK OF UKRAINIAN SCHOLARS IN EXILE

The Free Ukrainian University (F.U.U.), within whose framework the Psychological Institute has been active since 1950, was founded in Vienna in 1921 by scholars of the first emigration from the territories of Ukraine which were included in the U.S.S.R. after the First World War. After a few months of its work the University was transferred to Prague where it found better conditions for development thanks to the generous financial assistance from the Czech government. In Prague the University carried on its activities until 1945 when it was evacuated, owing to the approach of the Soviet army, to Munich. Already by the end of 1945 the University reorganised itself in the new setting and from that time onwards it has continued its teaching and research work in Munich. In 1950 the University was officially recognised by the Bavarian Ministry of Education. During the 2nd World War and after its termination the University received new members of the teaching staff from among the latest emigres as well as from among the younger generation of scholars some of whom were educated at the well-known Western universities. Today it consists of two faculties (the Faculty of Philosophy and the Faculty of Law and Economics) and its teaching staff includes 71 professors and lecturers.

Since 1948 many members of the academic staff have left for the U.S.A. and Canada in connection with the general resettlement of the political exiles and former "Displaced Persons" in the new countries. Many of them have found employment in local establishments of higher education and in research institutes. All of them, however, maintain a close contact with the Free Ukrainian University, as their intellectual centre.

In 1951 an organised group of members of the academic staff moved over to Sarcelles, near Paris, in connection with the transference of the Headquarters of the Shevchenko Scientific Society to France. A special Department of the Faculty of Philosophy of the Free Ukrainian University was founded there.

It took over the task of organising University Summer Courses of Ukrainian Studies for the Ukrainian students who receive their main education at the universities of Western Europe. Its other task was the organisation of "Ukrainian Studies Days" for non-Ukrainian students interested in East European questions. Members of the Department who remained active lecturers of the F.U.U. visit Munich usually once a term to deliver their lectures. The Scientific Society we mentioned above is organised on the pattern of academies. It was founded in 1873. Abolished in 1940 by the Soviet occupation authorities, the Society continued its work illegally during the 2nd World War and renewed its normal activity in exile in 1947. Nowadays in emigration it unites 126 members (including 12 non-Ukrainians) in its 3 scientific sections. Its system of organisation is based on the territorial principle, for it has been reorganised into several branches (in the U.S.A., Europe, Canada, Australia) which are united in one central institution. In spite of the difficult financial situation, the Society has published 21 volumes of its works in exile, including the 3-volume "Ukrainian Encyclopædia". The English edition of the latter work is to appear in the near future.

Taking into account the dispersion of Ukrainian students all over the world, the F.U.U. has called into existence the Institute of External Studies whose task it is to assist in completing the knowledge of Ukrainian students at foreign Universities in the domain of Ukrainian studies. So far 11 text-books in duplicated form have appeared due to the efforts of the Institute. The University, too, has paid particular attention during its Munich period of work to the publication of University text-books, lack of which was acutely felt in emigration. Due to the efforts of both Faculties 30 volumes of text-books have been published so far. The Free Ukrainian University continues also the publication of its "Proceedings" of which the last volume—the fifth—appeared in Munich recently. For the information of the Western scholarly world there was published a collective work in the English language, edited by the Rector of the University, Prof. Dr. I. Mirchuk—a handbook with maps, statistical tables and diagrams, entitled "Ukraine and Its People".

The Psychological Institute concentrates its attention on the research in the field of comparative ethnopsychology with special reference to the characterology of the Ukrainian people.

As a result of the present situation in Ukraine about 300 Ukrainian scholars and scientists have been compelled to live in exile. Besides the University with its Institutes and the already mentioned Shevchenko Scientific Society there exist in the Western World the Ukrainian Technical and Economical Institute (an establishment of higher education of the polytechnic type) and the Free Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

W. Janiw

UKRAINIAN LECTURERS IN HEIDELBERG

Together with the Zoological Institute of the University of Heidelberg, the Institute of Psychology of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich arranged a lecture evening on "Aspects of the Development of Psychical Life", at which lectures were delivered by a biologist, a veterinary psychologist and a psychologist. In his opening address Prof. Mirtschuk, the Pro-rector of the Ukrainian University, gave a survey of the history of this University which was founded thirty-five years ago and is the only emigrant university of its kind in the world. Prof. Mirtschuk said that similar attempts by other national groups to set up such centres of learning had proved unsuccessful after a short time, and added that the Ukrainian Free University was the only university of its kind which had succeeded in establishing its position and status.

This lecture evening in Heidelberg was only one of a series of extremely interesting lecture evenings which have been arranged. The subjects of the lectures held so far have not necessarily been confined to the same field, though they have, of course, to a certain extent been related to each other.

As host, Professor Ludwig of Heidelberg University opened the lecture evening with a comprehensive paper on "The Future Development of Man from the Biologist's Point of View". After an interesting survey of past millennia, of which the history of mankind only constitutes a minute fraction, Prof. Ludwig drew the attention of his audience to the points which are bound to strike a biologist most when considering the recent development of mankind, and then proceeded to give a careful prognosis of the future course of the development of mankind. He said that the electronic adding machine was one factor (biological, too) which was most apparent, whilst the other factor was the atomic bomb. The former could lead to "automation" with its diverse sociological consequences, the latter to the destruction of mankind or to—reason. If the latter triumphed, then, so Prof. Ludwig added, mankind might be able to continue to survive for at least another three millennia.

Dr. Kratochvil, the Czech lecturer in animal psychology at the Ukrainian Free University, then delivered a lecture which had as its subject the "Beginnings of Psychical Life". He drew some extremely interesting parallels between animal and human behaviour—both distinctive and characteristic—without, however, supporting the theory that animals possess human qualities.

Prof. O. Kultchitsky, social psychologist at the Ukrainian University in Munich, who is also engaged in social research in Paris, then read a paper on the "Individual and Collective Tendency in the Development of Mankind" in which he also referred to the work of various outstanding German scholars in this field. His excellent analysis formed a fitting close to the question touched on by Prof. Ludwig (conformists and non-conformists) and aptly summed up the most vital problem with the warning alternative: the protection of personal individuality or the standardization of the masses to one social and cultural level.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Edward Crankshaw: RUSSIA WITHOUT STALIN. The Emerging Pattern. London, Michael Joseph, 1956, 288 pp.

This is the fourth book about Russia by this well-known English writer and critic, who is rightly considered to be the best Western authority on Soviet Russia. Although he is extremely well informed as regards the Soviet press, the author this time relies mainly on his own personal experiences and observations during his second longer stay in the Soviet Union in the latter half of 1955 (on the first occasion he was there from 1941 to 1943 and was attached to the British Military Mission to Moscow): the preface to his book is dated June 1956, but the events of the 20th Party Congress and the beginning of the de-Stalinisation process are only occasionally touched on in the footnotes and in a brief concluding chapter. And since Soviet foreign policy (including the relations between Soviet Russia and her satellites), which precisely in the year 1956 was so important for the assessment of Soviet Russia, is definitely ignored in this book, its political aspects was already somewhat behind the times when the book was published and has become even more out-of-date in the course of time.

But it was not the author's aim or intention to draw conclusions regarding world politics or to make any prognostications (as he himself says, it is here rather a case of "offering an impression, not a judgment"); and whenever he nevertheless does so, he usually draws a justified, yet fairly vague conclusion that "the situation three years after Stalin is far more complicated and entirely fluid". The author's main aim was to give a brief account of the internal history of Bolshevism of the post-war years (up to the beginning of the de-Stalinisation process) and of that which, certain reservations, one might call its "cultural history". And in this—namely, as regards Muscovite (ethnic Russian) Bolshevism and the Muscovite people who are so strongly influenced by the latter—he has in many respects succeeded. The book contains many excellent (and, incidentally, brilliantly formulated) observations and logically connected remarks on the psychology and ideology of Bolshevism and of the ethnic Russian population of the Soviet Union, and *in this respect* it is a veritable source of information. And even when the author's ideas occasionally do not meet with our approval, they are nevertheless always very interesting and stimulating.

In this respect the author has made a particularly good job of Chapter 10, "The Material Base", with the plausible and well-reasoned statement that "with all its fabulous material resources, the Soviet Union is still desperately short of one thing: skilled manpower, or, in English, people," and of Chapter 5, entitled "Blat" ("a significant monosyllable which stands for something rather stronger than "pull" and rather less than "graft"), in which he writes: "the whole of the Soviet Union was one vast black-market. . . And when the whole population of a great country is forced for survival on to the Black Market, the habit of mind induced is going to take a great deal of getting rid of."

The author likewise deserves credit for constantly stressing the continuity of the Russian imperium and for the fact that he in no way tends to assume that there is any marked difference between the political colours adopted by one and the same system (namely, between "white" and "red"): "Ivan the Terrible with his Unification, Peter the Great with his Westernisation, Catherine the Great with her Enlightenment, Alexander II with his abolition of serfdom, Lenin with his total destruction of the old system, Stalin with his industrial revolution—it has been the same story for five hundred years: the story of absolute rulers forcing the masses forward, for good or ill, and through an infinity of tears . . . His (Stalin's) methods were the methods of the Russian autocratic tradition carried to their atrocious conclusion with the help of twentieth-century science."

And yet, what should have been dealt with in the first place in the book is missing, and the basic idea of the work is entirely false. The latter is expressed in the following words: "I think that (Soviet) society is settling down into a long spell of more or less steady evolution". And the reason that the author gives for his opinion in this respect is: "The Soviet Union is more literate, more healthy, more developed in every way than the old Tzarist Empire. Its industrial achievements are stupendous, its cultural achievements, in spite of the regimentation of the mind, very much to be admired (!) . . . It was the Soviet system, and no other, which released the immense potential, frozen for so long, of the Russian people."

This opinion, which is basically false, is due to various erroneous assumptions on the part of the author, which are fairly easy to explain, but which cannot, however, be excused:

In the first place, the author takes an unreservedly prejudiced view of Eastern (Orthodox) Christianity—not only of the Russian Orthodox Church in particular*)—and even rejects it quite definitely in favour of Bolshevist atheism, a fact which certainly does not do his Christian feelings much credit: "I find myself closer to those Soviet Communists who are trying the Soviet Union work than to leader-writers of the West who have come to equate Christianity, in spite of its origins, with what they like to call Western Values and thus exalt the mumbo-jumbo at Zagorsk**) and elsewhere to the role of a shining liberal or spiritual bulwark against the forces of darkness which deal in better drains."

In our opinion, such an attitude is quite out of the question.

In the second place, the author is very well-informed as regards ethnic (Muscovite) Soviet Russia, but his idea of Tzarist Russia is extremely confused and superficial, a fact which, incidentally, is corroborated by his peculiar "lapsus calami": the husband and victim of Catherine II was called Peter III and not Peter II (p. 135); that "Ivan the Terrible strangled (!) his son, the Tzarevitch, with his own hands" (p. 163), is probably the most unique assertion in the entire literature of the world; and as regards the author's statement that "in 1917 eighty per cent of the population of Russia were peasants, mainly illiterate, the children or grandchildren of serfs . . ." (p. 36), one does not need any ex-

*) What the author ventures to write about the Ukrainian orthodox shrine—the Pechersky Monastery at Kiev—we shall refrain from quoting.

**) The author is referring to the Russian Orthodox shrine of Troitsko-Sergievskaya Lavra (the Monastery of St. Sergius), near Moscow.

tensive chronological knowledge to work out that in 1917 the youngest children of the former serfs must have been at least fifty-five years old and therefore represented a far smaller percentage of the rural population than did the great-grandchildren.

In reality, nine-tenths of the so-called "cultural achievements" of Soviet Russia are nothing more than a piece of Bolshevik bluff. It is true that in the Tzarist empire there were far more illiterate persons (but not, as is so typical in the Soviet Union, "lapsed illiterates"), but also far more really cultured persons; there were plagues and famines, but no famines intentionally organised by the government, like big famine in Ukraine from 1932 to 1934; nor was the rural population subjected for decades to starvation and repressive measures, not to mention moral degradation! And a fact which should have impressed Mr. Crankshaw to a certain extent: in the Tzarist empire the peasants were on the whole *better off* than in the Red imperium; they had more to eat, they dressed better, they spent far more, and, accordingly, their achievements as regards work and production were considerably higher.

A subject which is completely missing in the book—and the fact that it is missing results in a falsification of the entire social and cultural aspect—is the *national problem* in the U.S.S.R. It is true that the author mentions "the mass of peasants, at any rate in Great Russia as distinct from the Ukraine. . ." and also "the tremendous majority of Russians, as distinct from members of the national minorities. . .", but he does not draw any conclusion from this, save that of "an overflow of nationalistic, anti-Russian feeling . . . made possible by the course of events in lands not wholly assimilated to the Soviet system"; and apparently he does not doubt that this assimilation is merely a question of time.

Mr. Crankshaw, who devotes the last chapter of his book ("Sunshine in Kiev") to a most enthusiastic description of the Ukrainian capital and is full of praise for its population, will no doubt be surprised to learn that his condescending good-will is more insulting to us Ukrainians than the hatred and animosity of the Russians and the Poles or even the cruel arrogance of the German Nazis*); for they persecute or persecuted us Ukrainians as one persecutes an enemy nation, but Mr. Crankshaw honours us with his good-will and favour solely because he does not regard us as a nation, but only as a more sympathetic or less antipathic ethnical type of Muscovites—of those "Soviet masses", who, according to his account, belong to the "200 millions" of the "Russian people". He is undoubtedly hopelessly taken in by the Bolshevik propaganda lies about the "Soviet Nation", which includes many politically insignificant "national groups".

V. D.

*) Where did the author get the peculiar idea from, that in Ukraine "at no time anywhere have Russians anything to compare with the concentration of calculated villainy practised by the Germans, who have forfeited the right to speak of Russian barbarism"? Is this due to his hatred of Germany or to Russian propaganda lies (both "Red" and "White")? In any case, his assertion is a flagrant contradiction of all historical facts. The atrocities committed by the Nazis in Ukraine during the years 1941-1944 are nothing compared to those perpetrated by the Bolsheviks.

Frederick C. Barghoorn: SOVIET RUSSIAN NATIONALISM. Oxford University Press, New York, 1956, pp. 330.

We are very indebted to the author for his interesting book dealing with Soviet Russian nationalism; such a publication should have appeared long ago.

Barghoorn writes in his preface that about thirty years ago in Soviet Russia patriotism and nationalism were defined as ideological weapons of the reactionary bourgeoisie because they elevated fatherland and state to the level of absolute values. He goes on to say that: "Today, although Soviet propaganda appeals to "proletarian internationalism", a unique and exceptionally intense form of nationalism is perhaps the central element of Soviet ideology. This new Soviet nationalism is an often bewildering combination of traditional Great Russian nationalism, elements of Western universalist Marxism, and, most important of all, a system of rationalisations of the political order which has taken shape in the Soviet Union since 1917" (p. VII).

And on page 9 we find the following statement: "Soviet patriotism" is the master symbol of Soviet Russian nationalism. It is the most abstract, general, and frequently repeated slogan of a system of demands for loyalty to the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It symbolizes the priority of these demands, and the values and indentifications associated with them, over all other social and political relations. In this system the Party leaders define the attitudes and values of the Soviet peoples, and, by extension, of all mankind."

Barghoorn is quite right when he emphasizes that a corollary of the Soviet doctrine is the obligation of foreign communists to support the Soviet Union, sometimes stated in terms of support of "Russia" (p. 10).

The author draws the attention of the reader to the fact that Soviet propaganda attacks efforts toward political or cultural co-operation in the non-Soviet world as "war-mongering" and "cosmopolitanism". At home, Soviet citizens suspected of interest in or sympathy for ideas not explicitly endorsed by the Party are accused of being "cosmopolitans". If they are non-Russians, they are more likely to be attacked as "bourgeois nationalists". That is why it is very dangerous to fall into either one of these categories, for since the great purges they have been tantamount to treason (pp. 23-24).

The most recent edition of the Soviet patriotic handbook "Our Great Motherland" is attractively bound, illustrated by patriotic photographs—with the unique purpose: to intensify the Great Russian national pride, as well as to evoke aversion toward the ideologically "alien". Barghoorn is convinced that the title of this book might well have been "Russland ueber alles" (p. 24). And in spite of that it claims insistently that "proletarian internationalism" is the dominant concept of Soviet ideology.

In accordance with the demands of Great Russian nationalism Ukrainians and Byelorussians, Latvians and Estonians, Kazakhs and Uzbeks, Georgians and Armenians, Tartars and Udmurts, Yakuts and Evenks, in fact all the great and small peoples of the U.S.S.R. must study with love the language of their elder brother, the Great Russian people, which marches in the vanguard of contemporary mankind. Because by mastery of this language, they will obtain access to the treasury of the most advanced culture and science of our age.

On page 37 one finds the following statement by Barghoorn with reference to Ukraine and the Ukrainian communists: "Statesmen such as education Commissar Shumski, economists like Volobuev, who in 1928 denounced Moscow's "colonialism", leaders like Petrovski, who as early as 1926 attacked the habitual use of the Russian language at Ukrainian Party meetings, were imprisoned or shot, committed suicide, or simply disappeared. . . In 1932-4, and again in 1937-8, thousands of Ukrainian and other non-Russian intellectuals and professionals were exiled or shot. The victims of these genocidal policies included not only "bourgeois" intellectuals and almost all of the original "national" communists but even men like Postyshev, Stalin's lieutenant in purging Ukraine in 1933. Thus Muscovite centralism triumphed over Ukrainian national communism, which had failed to provide itself with a local military force and the other weapons of power which alone might have assured some possibility of real autonomy, cultural or otherwise."

The Great Russian communists tried to misuse the celebration of the Ukrainian-Russian treaty concluded in the Ukrainian town of Pereyaslav in 1654 by the Muscovite (Russian) Tzar Aleksey Mikhailovich and the Ukrainian Hetman, Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The propaganda in connection with the "reunion" at Pereyaslav illustrates strikingly the importance of history in nationalist ideology. Barghoorn comments on this celebration as follows:

The significance of the Pereyaslav treaty of 1654 has long been disputed by Russian and Ukrainian historians. The extreme Russian view was that the Ukrainians agreed to annexation by Moscow. On the other hand, Ukrainian historians such as Michael Hrushevski considered that Ukraine had been recognized as an independent state. . ." (pp. 53-54). The author adds a little further: "It is ironic that Soviet interpretation of the Pereyaslav treaties has taken an extreme Russian imperialist position, which is forced on the Ukrainian people in the name of the "friendship of peoples" . . .

It must be pointed out here that in accordance with the Soviet historiography—before the glorification of the Great Russian nation became obligatory, Khmelnytsky was a "traitor" who betrayed the Ukrainians to the serf-holding Muscovite autocracy (see pp. 54-55).

It is not possible to comment on the whole book, since it contains much information material on Great Russian nationalism and chauvinism as well as on the present situation of the Ukrainian people behind the Iron Curtain. That is why we wish to close with a very interesting quotation of the author that reads (on p. 158) as follows:

" . . . Many passages in the writings of nineteenth-century Russian thinkers stressed the role of the military factor in awakening and forming Russian national consciousness and in debasing Russian civilization. Alexander Herzen wrote that the true history of Russia began only with the war of 1812. It is interesting that while stressing the military nature of Russian civilization Herzen unfavourably contrasted the Great Russians with the more liberty-loving Ukrainians, who, he said, have been submerged under the Russian "glacier" which brought with it the "enslavement of the ice age. . ."

The book is well worth reading because of its great originality.

Jaroslaw Stetzko: "TAIWAN, THE ISLE OF FREEDOM AND HOPE".
Ukrainian Information Service, Munich, 1956, pp. 72.

Although a pamphlet written in German is not likely to have a very large reading public in the English-speaking countries, we feel that this work should be reviewed here, since it deals with a subject which perhaps in no other country in the whole free world, has met with as little understanding as in England and which is no doubt of the greatest significance in the fight against Communism and Russian imperialism. This pamphlet, which has as its sub-title, "Impressions Gained During a Visit to the Far East", owes its existence to the Formosa visit (Taiwan is the Chinese name for Formosa), in October 1955, of the author, the President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and former Prime Minister of free Ukraine—a visit which culminated in the Agreement between the ABN and the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League which aims to establish the basis for a future anti-Bolshevik world bloc.

The main purpose of the pamphlet is to correct the erroneous impressions and doubts about Free China which continue to be widespread in the Western world (in particular in England), even though one should long since have realised that Mao's Communist despotism is not a harmless "Agrarian Socialism", but a fairly accurate copy of Russian Bolshevism which has merely been slightly adapted to the "local conditions" of the Far East and Asiatic racial hatred. The pamphlet gives the reader a thorough insight into the essential character of Chiang Kai-shek's government and into the ideological, political, social and economic reforms, above all as regards agrarian policy, accomplished by the latter. It also contains concisely formulated but extremely important information on the reasons for Chiang's defeat (or rather that of the entire Kuomintang) on the Chinese mainland—a defeat which, the author is convinced, is only a temporary one—and on the constantly increasing heroic fight for freedom of Free China.

Not only do the speeches, statistics and other precise data published in this work give the reader a profound insight into the anti-Communist fight of this "Isle of Freedom and Hope" (in connection with the fight conducted by the ABN), but the pamphlet also provides extremely valuable and interesting information on the mentality and way of living of the inhabitants of Formosa and of the Chinese people as such. In this connection, the author elucidates the doctrine of Confucius and the state principles of Sun Yat-sen as integral parts of Chinese thought and conduct in everyday life and as standards of social, cultural and artistic activity; Communism, on the other hand, is unmasked as a system imported from Soviet Russia, which is as alien to the individualistic national Chinese mentality as it is to that of the Ukrainian people, the Hungarian, Turkestanian, Baltic, Caucasian, Western Slav and Balkan peoples, and, in fact, to the national mentality of all the peoples subjugated by Moscow.

The greatest need of the hour—the co-ordination of the anti-Communist forces of all five continents, above all of Europe and Asia—cannot be realised if the free world refuses to comprehend the internal connection which exists between Communism in Asia and Muscovite Bolshevism. When the Chinese national

government was engaged in directing its armies against Japan's imperialist aggression and had no time to deal with special social problems (since the very existence of an independent Chinese state, which the Japanese military clique thought they could simply wipe out, was at stake), Moscow, as the author rightly points out, "committed sabotage with the aid of the Mao clique, undermined the morale of the people and drove them over to its own side". It is not Formosa which must be liberated from American tyranny, but the Chinese mainland which must be freed from Soviet Bolshevik despotism!

The Mao clique has promised the Chinese people land, freedom and social justice. Chiang Kai-shek, on the other hand, has already realised these factors in Formosa! And this holds good above all for the agrarian reform which he has introduced there and which is based on the following principles:

- 1) The founding of family farms by abolishing the tenancy system; the farmers no longer pay rent to the landowner, but only tax to the government;
- 2) Increase of agricultural production, improvement of living conditions for the farmers and the regeneration of the agricultural professions;
- 3) The transfer of the capital invested in land by the landowners to investments in industry in order to promote the development of industry;
- 4) The promotion of social stability and progress by protecting the economic interests of the majority of the population;
- 5) The gradual introduction of a land reform by means of the following peaceful measures: a) by the reduction of the rental rates for land; b) by the sale of community land to tenant-farmers; and c) by the transfer of excessively large private farms to various tenant-farmers.
- 6) Farmers who buy land are to be given a chance to pay off the purchase price in 10 years, namely in yearly instalments, and these instalments are not to exceed the rent which they originally paid as tenant-farmers.

But why was the entire Chinese territory, with the exception of the island of Formosa, so rapidly overrun by Communism, that is to say by Muscovite red imperialism and by Moscow's hirelings? For precisely the same reason for which the population of the states of Eastern Europe did not want to wage a life and death struggle against the Russian invasion in those fateful years, 1944 to 1948. The reforms demanded by the people were too slow in coming into effect and the better part of the population was not powerful enough to oppose Bolshevik demagogy. We, Europeans, must not forget that European countries in the East have likewise been overrun by Bolshevism for precisely the same reason; once the people recognise the treachery of Bolshevism and unanimously rise up in revolt against it, it is too late for a small individual state to assert itself, as we have seen recently in the case of Hungary, and, possibly, too early for intervention on the part of the entire anti-Communist front of the Western nations, or, maybe, likewise too late.

"Life on Formosa", so the author stresses, "is in every respect governed by the law of the fight for the recapture of the mainland". And this watchword should have been adopted by all Europeans; for, as a result of their own remissness and "liberality", they have likewise lost the major part of their continent to Bolshevik despotism, and it is hardly likely that they will be able to recapture it without a fierce struggle. May Formosa be a shining example to all of us in the fight for the most precious possessions of Christian culture!

REPORTS FROM THE UKRAINIAN S.S.R.

WRITERS' "ERRORS" CRITICISED

On May 3, 1957, a meeting of the presidium of the Writers' Union of Ukraine was held in Kyiv under the chairmanship of Mykola Bazhan. Ol. Poltoratsky, the chief editor of the literary journal "Vitchyzna", gave a report on the work of the editorial department during the year 1956-57.

The journal was severally censured for having committed various "grave errors" and on account of the "liberalism" manifested in its activity. An official communiqué states: "The journal does not pay sufficient attention to the leading current topics at the present time, in particular the subject of the working class and emphasis on the achievements of the workers, but devotes too much enthusiasm to the publication of works which have as their subject family and everyday life. Moreover, these subjects are dealt with by some authors from a too narrow point of view and regardless of the real problems of the present time. It is a mistake on the part of the journal to publish two concluding poems by M. Hirnyk, taken from his cycle "Koroidy" ("Crust-Eaters"), in which the poet seeks to ridicule the petty bourgeois, but sinks to the level of the petty bourgeois himself."

In addition, the columns of the journal devoted to literary criticism, which revealed "shortcomings" and "liberalism" were likewise sharply criticised. It is further stated in the communiqué that the Presidium of the Writers' Union of Ukraine has decided to take "concrete steps to improve the work of the journal." This fact seems to indicate the following points:

- 1) Unwillingness on the part of the Ukrainian writers to serve the Russian Bolshevik regime;
- 2) Direct interference by the Party in the work of the Ukrainian writers, inasmuch as the above-mentioned meeting of the Presidium was called at the instructions of the Party and representatives of the Party in literature, namely the Communists, appeared at this meeting in order to accuse the journal;
- 3) The inability of the Communist censorship to curb Ukrainian literature within the limits of the "Communist ideology".

Incidentally, the fact should be mentioned that the poems, "Koroidy", by M. Hirnyk, which were criticised expose the corruption of the Russian Communist order of society and of its leaders, the Red aristocracy, and the author actually calls them parasites.

FAULTS IN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

At the beginning of this year, a conference for authors of children's books in Ukraine was held in Kyiv. Its organisers were obliged to admit on this occasion that at present there are very few truly Ukrainian works in Ukrainian children's literature! The majority of books for children are not specifically Ukrainian in character, and the Ukrainian language is sullied either with foreign words or with unliturgical expressions. Since this conference was held under the supervision of the Russian occupants, the speakers could not venture to say that the Ukrainian language is sullied with Russian idioms. Under the Russian Bolshevik system a guidance conference has first to be held in order to pass a resolution to the effect that Ukrainian authors of children's books should deal with Ukrainian legends, national types and national characters in their works for Ukrainian children!

POLITICS IN SCIENCE

Bolshevist Russia has involved Ukrainian culture in its political machinations. Proof of this fact is the Conference of the Department of Social Science, of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S.S.R., which was held at the end of April this year. The following tasks on the part of social science were stressed at this conference (quoted from the *Radyanska Ukraina* of April 26, 1957): "The members of the Conference emphasized the necessity for intensifying the fight against the reactionary bourgeois ideology!"

The Vice-Director of the Institute of Philosophy, H. H. Emelianenko, the Director of the Institute of Social Science, I. P. Krypiakievych, and the Director of the Institute of Economy, O. O. Nestorenko, who were among those who took part in the conference, stressed the special significance of the social sciences in the ideological fight against "imperialistic reaction and revisionism"...

Those engaged in social science are to expose the bourgeois ideology and the various revisionist opinions in all their works, research and treatises, and are to fight untiringly for the purity of Marxist and Leninist doctrines and for the realisation of Leninist principles of party tendency in science. Scientific research work must be intensified politically, and works must be written in which, on the strength of a profound analysis of some reactionary theory or other, the ideologies of the imperialist bourgeois and in particular the ideologies of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism (?) are to be definitely and convincingly refuted.

And in the current year—the fortieth year of the Bolshevist revolution—thirty-five of such "scientific" works alone are to appear. In this way the Russian Communists seek to substitute clumsy political propaganda in science for true science. And even without Stalin, the methods resorted to in this respect are definitely Stalinist.

In 1957 three Ukrainian scientific journals are to appear in Ukraine: "The Ukrainian Historical Journal", "Soviet Literary Studies" and "National Crafts and Ethnography". In addition, the following books are to be published: "The History of the Philosophical and Social Political Thought in Ukraine", "The History of Kyiv" in two volumes, "The Ancient Monuments of the Northern Regions of the Right-bank Ukrainian S.S.R.", and "Outlines of the Ancient History of Ukraine". In the category of textbooks for students, dictionaries and "Textbook of the History of the Ukrainian Literary Language", etc., are to appear. It is a pity that all these "literary works", as was already mentioned above, will not be of a scientific character, but will represent all historical and contemporary events in the usual tendentious manner decreed by the Russian Bolshevist government and will thus distort the outlook on life of the youth of Ukraine.

VISIT OF POLISH JOURNALISTS

In May 1957, a group of Polish journalists visited Kyiv. They were received by the chief editor of the paper, *Radyanska Ukraina*, O. Sydorenko. He told his Polish "colleagues" all about the achievements of the Soviets in the field of the press. From Kyiv the Polish journalists travelled to Odessa.

ADMISSION TO PARTY SCHOOLS

Registration of students at the Soviet Party schools commenced at the headquarters of the district committees of the Communist Party of Ukraine on May 6, 1957. Only members of the Communist Party or of the Communist Youth Organisation (Komsomol) are admitted to these schools on the special recommendation of the local groups of the Party and the Komsomol. Students who are admitted to these schools are obliged to pass an examination in Russian and Ukrainian, in higher mathematics and in the constitution of the U.S.S.R. The candidates have to submit a curriculum vitae written by hand by themselves, a reference from the Party bureau and various other recommendations and testimonials. The regulations regarding admission to these Party schools show that only promising, politically screened and ideologically trustworthy Communists, who are active members of the Party, are to be admitted, since without such people it would be impossible to preserve Russian Communist colonial rule in Ukraine.

KOLKHOZ LIFE

A new book by the young writer, Mykola Shapoval, entitled "The Second Marriage", has been published by a Kyiv publishing firm. The book deals with the life in a kolkhoz village. The Soviet critics have severely censured this work since it depicts the poverty of the Ukrainian village under the Russian Bolsheviks, the excesses indulged in by the heads of the kolkhozes, and the unwillingness of the kolkhoz farmers to work, etc. This novel is proof of the fact that the Ukrainian writers, in spite of the strict control of the Bolshevik censorship, try to depict the grim truth as it really is.

AFFORESTATION

In the kolkhozes in Ukraine the so-called decades of afforestation and horticulture are in progress. This work is usually unpaid labour and carried out by means of slave labour on the part of young Ukrainians, whom the Soviets force to work on days that would normally be free, namely on Saturdays and Sundays. In this way the young people of the district of Zwenyhorod, in the province of Cherkassy, have planted an area of 112 hectares with trees and an area of 30 hectares with vines. The young persons of the province of Cherkassy have likewise this year been forced to carry out the task of planting an area of 2 thousand hectares with trees and an area of 1800 hectares with new orchards, and have also had to plant trees on the main roads: Cherkassy - Kyiv, Cherkassy - Uman, and Cherkassy - Zolotonosha. By the way, the fact must also be mentioned that the Soviets have recently destroyed large areas of forests in the Soviet Ukraine for the purpose of supplying timber for the industry and also in order to put a stop to Ukrainian partisan activity. The orchards have been neglected by the Ukrainian farmers, since they derive no benefit from them as all the fruit has to be handed over to the state.

NO SEEDS

In the spring of this year, the kolkhozes in the district of Odessa had no seed supplies for sowing, just as was the case in Ukraine on a previous occasion, namely in the years of the famine, 1932 and 1933. According to a report in the Ukrainian Soviet press, it was only in the kolkhozes of Bolhrad MTS (machine and tractor stations) in the district of Odessa that 2 thousand cwts of early wheat, 734 cwts of barley and 271 cwts of oats did not suffice for sowing purposes. The entire seed supplies of maize (4532 cwts) were damp and could not be used for sowing. In order to dry these supplies, the kolkhoz overseers distributed them amongst the kolkhoz farmers and the womenfolk then dried the seeds on their stoves or wherever else they could. This is truly a revealing picture of the entire system of Russian Bolshevik collectivism.

NEW CONSTRUCTION IN KYIV

In 1956, 352.3 million roubles were invested in construction work in Kyiv. Dwellings were erected covering an area of 202.7 thousand square metres; water-pipes and gas-pipes, extending several dozen kilometres were laid; tramway tracks were laid, connecting the town with the suburb of Darnytsia, and about 100 shops and restaurants were opened. This year, dwellings are to be erected covering an area of 211 thousand square metres. Dwellings covering an area of about 100 thousand square metres are to be erected by the workers and employees of the town themselves. In the course of the year, a bridge for pedestrians across the Dnipro is to be erected and completed in Kyiv, and in addition 7 schools, 5 medical clinics and 2 cinemas, etc., are also to be built. At the meeting of the municipal council, which was held on April 17, the budget of the city of Kyiv for 1957, which provides for a revenue of 991,630 million roubles and an expenditure of 973,493 million roubles, was passed. These huge figures as far as construction work in the capital of Ukraine under Russian Bolshevik occupation is concerned, mean little to the ordinary working classes, since all the newly erected dwellings are placed at the disposal of the ever-increasing Party bureaucratic caste. In his diary, "Dumy moyi, dumy" ("These my Thoughts!"), the Ukrainian writer and humorist, Ostap Vyshnia, writes that in Kyiv the writers started quarrelling, when newly erected dwellings were allotted to them, as to who had been given a better apartment and who an inferior one, and as to who had got a large family and who a small one!

UKRAINIANS SECOND AT THE OLYMPIC GAMES IN MELBOURNE

During the 16th Olympic Games in Melbourne the Soviet team as a whole won 37 gold medals and thus topped the list of competitors. A closer examination of the national composition of this team, however, reveals that of these 37 Soviet gold medals, 15 were won by Ukrainians individually and 2 were won by Ukrainian groups (the women's and men's gymnastic groups from Kyiv, which consisted exclusively of Ukrainian men and women).

The Russians won 14 gold medals individually and 2 gold medals were won by Russian groups (football and basket ball with nationally mixed teams), making

16 gold medals all together. The other 4 gold medals for the U.S.S.R. were won by non-Russians, namely by 1 Latvian woman-competitor, 2 Armenian competitors, and 1 Georgian competitor.

The gold medals won individually by Ukrainian men and women competitors were: Larysa Dyriy-Latynina 3, Volodymyr Kuts (the Olympic hero) 2, Viktor Chukaryn 2, Vitaliy Murativ 2, Tamara Tymkevych 1, Ihor Rybak 1, F. Bohdanovsky 1, V. Romanenko 1, V. Mykolayiv 1, B. Shakhlin 1. In addition, gold medals were won for certain groups by the following persons: L. Dyriy-Latynina, V. Chukaryn, V. Murativ and other Kyiv Soviet gymnasts (about 15 persons), and for the football teams by J. Neto (captain of the team), M. Tyshchenko and B. Rozynsky. The Ukrainians, therefore, won more than 30 gold medals.

Silver medals were won by L. Dyriy-Latynina, V. Chukaryn and J. Maniyiv, and also by Studenetsky and Torban of the basket ball team.

Bronze medals were won by the following Ukrainians: H. Koniayivna, J. Tsybulenko, V. Chukaryn, J. Yemchuk and J. Shelin.

The following Ukrainians were also placed: J. Cherniavsky, J. Bondarenko, L. Klepova, V. Chornobay and Yulin, J. Lityuiv, J. Kutenko, V. Vlasenko, J. Deriuzhyn, I. Zaseda and various other competitors.

There were 50 Ukrainians in the team of the U.S.S.R., and for this reason the list of medals won at the 16th Olympic Games should read as follows:

U.S.A.—32 gold medals, Ukraine—17 gold medals, Russia—16 gold medals, Australia—13 gold medals, and so on.

Ukraine asked to be allowed to send its own separate national team to the Olympic Games. But the president of the International Olympic Committee, the American, Brandiz, was opposed to this idea (since it would then have been necessary to admit all the other Soviet republics to the Olympic Games as separate national teams), and he thus was to some extent responsible for the defeat of the Americans at the Olympic Games. Let us hope that this will be a lesson for the future and that Ukraine will be represented by its own separate national team at the 17th Olympic Games in Rome.

The Committee of the Ukrainian Free Journalists in Melbourne has published two pamphlets in English, in one of which it protests against the non-admission of the Ukrainians as a separate team at the Olympic Games and gives a list of the gold medals which were won for the U.S.S.R. by Ukrainians. In the other pamphlet it protests against the non-admission of all the representatives of the Ukrainian Free Press at the Olympic Games (only four representatives were allowed to be present). About 4,000 leaflets were distributed amongst the journalists of all the countries of the world and amongst the members of the Olympic Committee. A Soviet representative demanded that the distribution of leaflets should cease and began to tear them up, thus attracting the attention of all the journalists to himself. It was the last day of the Olympic Games, and the Ukrainian leaflets caused a considerable stir. The Australian journalists, in particular, were very interested in the leaflets. These leaflets raised the "Iron Curtain" a little and showed up the falsehood and untruth which prevailed at the Olympic Games, as the Australian press was constantly describing the Soviet competitors as "Russians".

SHORTAGE OF HOUSING

The miners of the town of Kramatorsk in the Donbas region have no dwellings and are obliged to live in dug-outs and in sheds. In order to remedy this state of affairs, the government of the Ukrainian S.S.R. has assigned a piece of land to them on the outskirts of the town, where they are to build dwellings themselves. The organ of the Communist Party of Ukraine, *Radyanska Ukraina*, in its edition of May 12, 1957, states that "more than 600 workers are at present engaged in building dwellings for themselves after their normal day's work is over. A plan to build a settlement of 1000 family houses has been drawn up." The shortage of dwellings for workers is just as serious in other industrial towns of Ukraine.

WORK HARDER!

The machine works, "Energo Spare Parts", in order to outdo the steam-engine works "Zhdanov", has decided to mark the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the "Great October Revolution" by increasing its production quota to the value of another 1 million roubles and by 1.5 million roubles by the end of the year; "to increase the productivity of labour by 3.5 per cent and to cut down production costs by 1.5 per cent!"—as the *Radyanska Ukraina*, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, writes on January 14, 1957. And there are plenty of announcements to this effect. The workers are constantly exhorted to "undertake", to "increase", to "give" and to "work out", but there is hardly ever any mention of "giving" the workers anything, of "raising" their wages, or of "improving" their living and working conditions.

UKRAINE EXPORTS BUSES

According to the Soviet press, the omnibus works in Lviv are now engaged in turning out buses for export to Albania, Rumania, China, Eastern Germany and other satellite countries. By means of Ukrainian labour, Moscow is now trying to curry favour with its colonies.

PROBLEMS OF WATER SUPPLY

"There are no water-pipes at all in Kobelaky, in the district of Poltava. The inhabitants of the town are still obliged to fetch their supplies of drinking-water from 1½ to 2 kilometres away!" This brief notice appeared in the Soviet press. It proves that, despite Bolshevik propaganda about the "happy life" under the Soviets, the inhabitants of numerous towns in Ukraine still have no drinking-water supply.

WOMEN'S CHESS TOURNAMENT

The last tournament of the Ukrainian women's chess championship was held in April in Kyiv. A woman-doctor, an X-ray specialist, Olena Malynova, won the championship and gained 13 of the total possible 17 points.

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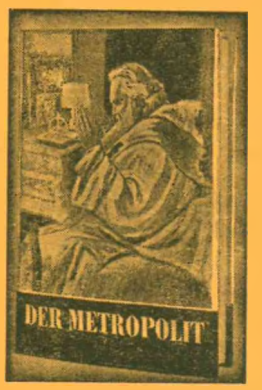
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Ivan Vovchuk

FORTY YEARS AGO*

If one considers the beginning of the liberation revolution in Ukraine in February, 1917, one is reminded again and again of Vladimir Solovyov's statement that "national consciousness is a great thing." As far as we, the Ukrainians in exile, are concerned this national consciousness is sometimes limited to external factors,—an intimate knowledge of Ukrainian history, observance of superficial customs (accepted as equal to national traditions), fluency in the Ukrainian language, etc. It is true that all these factors are important, but what really is decisive in the concept, national consciousness, is the idea of the fatherland, which determines the fundamental nature of the existence and development of a nation and lights up its historical path,

And this is precisely the reason why the so-called Russian democracy in exile so unreversedly fights against national consciousness—of course, where Ukrainians or other non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union are concerned,—inasmuch as it affirms that national consciousness is the starting-point of totalitarianism. The Bolsheviks have been doing the same thing for over thirty years and have been fighting all non-Russian national consciousness, in order to force the "national pride of the Great Russians" (Lenin), poorly disguised by the allegedly socialist interests of the proletariat, on the peoples reconquered by Russia after the October Revolution. When the Bolsheviks set about snatching the state power from the decadent czarist regime, they no doubt took the national problem into account more than any other problem; and after World War II, that is to say, thirty years after the October Revolution, the Soviet press stressed that this revolution deserved the greatest credit for having "saved Russia from national revolutions by declaring a ruthless war against bourgeois separatism and thus introducing a new epoch in the history of our fatherland," an epoch of the "assembling" of Soviet Russia ("Bolshevik", an organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Bolshevik Party of the All-Union, 1945, No. 21).

*) The original Ukrainian text of this article was published under the title, "Sorok rokiv tomu", in the New York monthly, "Visnyk" ("The Messenger"), No. 6, 1957.

In the pre-October propaganda of the year 1957 emphasis is placed on the well-known April theses of Lenin (of the year 1917), and the importance of these theses for the mobilization of the forces of "Russian democracy" is stressed. "Komunist Ukrainy" naturally does not ignore Ukrainian nationalism and not only attacks the Ukrainian Central Rada (the Ukrainian provisional parliament of 1917), but also Kerensky's provisional government of Russia; allegedly, these two governments formed "the united counter-revolutionary camp of the fight in Ukraine against the revolution." This Bolshevik propaganda is ridiculous, since it is an established fact that the said provisional government was prepared to grant at the most the "autonomy" of the five northern Ukrainian provinces, in order to ensure that Ukraine would not detach herself from the Russian Empire. But the Bolsheviks, forty years after their victory, are still trying to reduce the beginning of the national revolution in Ukraine to a Russian revolution, which in character was merely the relieving of the imperial guard.

Lenin and other Bolsheviks, as well as the entire Russian democracy, regarded the Russian revolution as a means to consolidate the Russian empire, namely as a means to an end to which everything else was to be subordinated. The provisional government, which in February 1917 took over executive power from the tsarist regime, was unable to restrict or curb national separatism. Indeed, it was at a loss as to how to cope with the latter, and its interference in this respect only irritated the Ukrainian Central Rada still more, whilst the Ukrainian national element in the meantime outgrew the authority of the Ukrainian political leaders and developed into a mighty force of Ukrainian separatism, with which the Bolsheviks today, too, are unable to cope and will never be able to cope. The Bolshevik "collectors" of the Russian imperium criticize the provisional government for not having been able to prevent the Ukrainian and other national revolutions within the imperium. Lenin knew only too well what the Russian tsarist Minister of State, S. Witte, meant when he wrote in the second volume of his memoirs, "The big mistake of our long-standing policy lies in the fact that we have not yet realized that there has been no Russia since Peter the Great, but a Russian imperium. If approximately 35% of the population is of foreign origin and the Russians themselves include "Greater" Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians, then it is impossible in the 19th and 20th centuries to pursue a policy which seeks to ignore this historic fact of paramount importance. Perhaps it might even be better for us Russians if Russia and we ourselves were only Russians and not the children of a Russian imperium in which all the subjects of the Tzar share . . ."

The Bolsheviks knew only too well that the tsarist policy pursued with regard to the peoples "of foreign origin" was one of the main causes of the downfall of the imperium after February, 1917. In endeavouring to save the imperium from national revolutions, which began to make themselves felt amongst the non-Russian peoples immediately after the downfall of tsarism, they took the national problem into account in their proclamations not less but actually more than the problem of social liberation. As the new leading forces of the imperium, Lenin and his associates realised that the entirety of the imperium could not be preserved if the national problems were not taken into consideration. For the benefit of

the peoples "of foreign origin" they placed the watchword of national self-determination in the foreground, and Lenin endeavoured to make it clear to the really Muscovite democracy, which had long since ceased to have any interest in the significance of the national problem and refused to acknowledge the existence of any Ukrainians, Byelorussians or Georgians, that "the interests (not comprehended in a childish way) of the national pride of the "Great" Russians tallied with the socialist interests of the "Great" Russian (and all other) proletarians."

The socialist interests for which the proletarians were exhorted to fight were thus in the eyes of the Bolsheviks inseparable from the national pride of the "Great" Russians; and when Lenin declared war on the Ukrainian proletarians, he glossed over this step with the idea of the right of self-determination. Nowadays, after forty years of Bolshevik imperial despotism, it is perfectly obvious to us in what way these socialist interests tallied with the subjugation of the non-Russian peoples—the peoples who, in 1917, by means of their national revolutions were about to break the imperium asunder. Nowadays, no one talks any longer about internationalism in the Soviet Union, not even jokingly. And it was not because he was in sympathy with the Bolsheviks that the Russian politician and historian, P. Miliukov, admitted that the February Revolution in 1917 "paved the way for the German-Soviet peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk and for the dismemberment of Russia, whereas the October Revolution became a true revolution in the real sense of the word and a destructive, creative and organic factor of Russian history." And N. Berdyayev and other Russian anti-Bolsheviks were of the same opinion. They were dissatisfied with Bolshevism and with its dictatorship, but they admitted that the October Revolution saved the Russian imperium which after the February Revolution had begun to fall to pieces.

* * *

From the very outset, after the downfall of tzarism, the revolution in Ukraine developed into a mighty eruption of national forces which for hundreds of years had been curbed by imperial subjugation. The nation once more resumed its fight for the realization of the idea of independence, an idea which is deeply rooted in the Ukrainian soil and inseparably connected with the vital interests of the Ukrainian people. In spite of grave catastrophes and reverses, this fight did not cease after Moscow's victory; on the contrary, it continues and is constantly expanding still further under the diabolical pressure of the Bolsheviks, for its force and significance exceed purely national limits and make it a precondition for human freedom and progress.

In the Ukrainian revolution of national liberation, which was a direct contrast to the revolution in Russia, the voices of the entire Ukrainian nation united in harmony to form a national symphony of the rebirth of the country; to begin with, it was a symphony which was not yet quite perfect, but, at least, it was sublime and natural, like the Ukrainian folk-song. The power of the national element was so great that, from the outset, it alarmed the "protectors" from Petrograd and surprised the immature Ukrainian intellectual leaders. After the first Ukrainian National Congress, which convened in April, the "elder brother" realized the danger which threatened and began to assert himself, a step

which meant the beginning of the active counter-action and fight of the Russian democracy against the Ukrainian national attitude. The Russians had good reason to be alarmed since the Ukrainian nation, which had previously seemed pliant, now clearly and definitely stated its demands, namely to exist as a separate state without being under the control of Petrograd. Thereupon, military, cooperative, farmers' and other congresses were held, at which the national element gathered new force and displayed still more power. And, simultaneously, with this political development, a mighty regeneration of the entire national life took place. The national creative forces which had cast off the fetters of the imperial peoples' prison formed various cultural societies and groups all over the country, whose numbers and creativeness exceeded all expectations. Ukrainian literature cast off the fetters of restricted "national" ethnographism, broke with Russian influence and, making up for the time wasted in the imperial prison, soon steered a modern European course. The national educational system and cooperation within a short time—and under the conditions of a revolutionary disorder and, occasionally, of an anarchy—did wonders, even though the entire spontaneous campaign lacked a leadership with a conscious aim. But despite this fact, this national creative activity on the part of all classes of the population—an activity which was supported by the activity of the Ukrainian peasantry and working classes (some of whom were still soldiers and had, from the beginning, demanded the Ukrainization of their units)—resuscitated Ukraine as an international factor. In December, 1917, Soviet Russia saw herself obliged to recognize the Ukrainian state.

Sceptics may say that all this happened forty years ago and that the world has still not recognized this factor. But one must not overlook the fact that in the history of a subjugated nation victories are usually paid for dearly. In the course of history it frequently happens that a victory becomes a defeat and that a defeat proves to be a victory. Even though Moscow conquered the Ukrainian revolution of national liberation, it still does not feel secure in Ukraine even after forty years, since the national consciousness which was aroused in those days can no longer be crushed. The Bolsheviks have not been able to destroy or to crush, by means of tortures, the national aspirations which formed at the beginning of the revolution of 1917. Under the Bolshevik occupation regime, forces are developing and expanding which at the right moment (according to the opinion expressed by the Russian monarchist, V. Shulgin) will stab the imperium in the back. Even a brief survey of the cultural creative forces, which, after being subjected to dreadful liquidations, are once more asserting themselves—not to mention other activities—would appear to indicate that Moscow is not in a position to crush the national spirit which was aroused during the revolution. It continues to remain alive and at the right moment will flare up with even greater force than was the case forty years ago. The Bolsheviks have not succeeded in changing the national character and spirit of the Ukrainian people, nor will they ever succeed in doing so. Bolshevism began the "collecting" of its imperium with a war against Ukraine; this imperium will come to an end in a victorious war conducted by Ukraine against Moscow.

If one considers events at that time and the mighty national regeneration of Ukraine, one is bound to ask the question, what was the reason for defeat and could this defeat have been avoided? This question has been discussed often,—both heatedly and from sentimental point of view. And in seeking to find those who were to blame, people have often overlooked the true nature of national and political thought at that time, which failed to understand the vital tasks and problems of those days. Those who, on the strength of circumstances at that time, played a leading part in the national revolution, are of the opinion that the reason for defeat and the subsequent catastrophe lay in the lack of national consciousness amongst the masses, who did not respect their own leaders. The former Prime Minister of the Ukrainian National Government, Isaak Mazepa, affirms that this alleged “lack of national consciousness” was also accompanied by a complete loss of historic traditions, which in his opinion are “for the most part represented” by the educated classes of the people (“Pidstavy nashoho vidrodzhennia”, Vol. II, p. 18). “During the long years of her rule,—the author writes,—Russia destroyed or assimilated the upper class in Ukraine, and with the latter’s passing, national traditions, too, died out.”

The Ukrainian people are thus reproached with not only a lack of national consciousness, but also with a lack of feeling for tradition. Let us pass over the above unfounded statement about the representatives of tradition, since this statement has obviously been thought out merely to cast the blame onto the blameless. The author, who took part in the events of those days, could not help but see how that same people, who in his opinion were “not nationally conscious”, from the very beginning of the revolution definitely stressed their detachment from the Russians and their national independence in all their social and political aims, just as they had always done in their entire mode of living.

The Ukrainian people—the “masses”, as they are called in the terminology of the Ukrainian socialist—in 1917 appeared in the political arena with an enormous national force. From the very beginning of the revolution onwards, the nation began to revolve round its own axis, inasmuch as it detached itself from Petrograd and Moscow. But the tragedy lay in the fact that this national action and work, and these national aims of the masses, who were allegedly “not nationally conscious”, surprised the political leaders at that time—“those who were nationally conscious”—to such an extent that they became alarmed at the pressure of this national force and lost their head and, instead of moulding and using this force for the good of the state, tried to curb it and to direct it into imperial channels. The nation regarded Ukraine as the centre of its world interests and aims; the political leaders, however, orientated their policy to conform with the views of the so-called international progressive forces and still more with the views of the Russian democracy, and, later on, partly with the views of Communism, too (as regards their social policy),—in fact, to conform with external factors, but not with Ukraine, since the latter as a political power—in the opinion of most of the leading personalities—was not politically mature. And it was precisely for this reason that up to the end of 1917 all the appeals issued by the Central Rada to the Ukrainian population contained the leitmotif of its first appeal: “From there (that is, from Petrograd—I. V.) your true voice

in all its force, your true will, first resounded for the whole world to hear." It was a fatal appeal! It led to all the subsequent defeats and, later, to catastrophe; it expresses the whole tragedy of the Ukrainian fight for freedom. And the authors or contemporaries and co-authors of these appeals try in vain to explain the political failure in this respect by reproaching the Ukrainian people with lack of national consciousness and tradition.

* * *

The Russians admit that from March to October, 1917, the state power in Petrograd lay on the streets, as it were, until the Bolsheviks collected their forces and took it over. By exhorting the Ukrainian people to obey the orders issued by Petrograd and to wait for the all-Russian Constituent Assembly, the leaders of the Ukrainian revolution delayed the inevitable and historically prepared war between Ukraine and Russia by precisely that space of time which the Bolsheviks needed in order to collect their forces and launch a general attack on Ukraine at the end of 1917 under the watchword of "self-determination." Neither Lenin nor his party ever seriously thought of national self-determination as far as Ukraine was concerned; they kept this watchword in store in their political armoury and, in doing so, tried to convince their own (Russian) democracy that its purport tallied with the socialist interests of the Russian proletariat. And the leaders of the Ukrainian revolution feasted their eyes on the Russian democracy to such an extent and trusted it so much that they completely failed to realize that the purport of this right of self-determination which had been recognized by Petrograd could only be of advantage to the Russians. In regarding the expression of Ukrainian national force merely as an outbreak of social embitterment against the capitalistic slave-drivers and in failing to recognize the national element in the Ukrainian revolution, the leaders of the Ukrainian revolution restrained the national forces and constantly stressed their alleged inseparability from the Russian democracy and the Russian proletariat. The former Prime Minister of the Ukrainian National Government, V. Vynnychenko, writes in his memoirs: "We Ukrainians, trustingly and unsuspectingly, felt that we were heirs enjoying the same rights as the Russians" ("Vidrodzhennia natsii", p. 51).

But the "masses who lacked all feeling for tradition"—as the "nationally conscious" fathers of the people called the Ukrainian people—meanwhile formed national regiments in Kyiv, which were called after the Ukrainian hetmans of the illustrious past,—Khmelnitsky, Polubotok, Doroshenko and Sahaydachny; and at the Ukrainian military congresses held in June and July, 1917, they fiercely demanded the setting up of Ukrainian divisions consisting of Ukrainian soldiers who were still in the Russian army and who were being incited to lay down their lives for a foreign "fatherland" by the Ukrainian leaders. The Russian commander-in-chief of the Kyiv district command, Colonel K. Oberuchev, points out with a certain satisfaction in his memoirs that two trends fought each other at the Ukrainian military congresses held at that time; the elementary force of "Ukrainian chauvinism" (chauvinism of the masses—he says) and the moderate leaders who tried to curb this elementary force and to make it comply with the orders issued by the Russian democracy in Petrograd. If one reads the account



MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKY,
*the most eminent Ukrainian historian,
President of the Ukrainian Central Rada in 1917-1918*



THE FIRST GENERAL SECRETARIAT (*executive organ*)
of the Ukrainian Central Rada in 1917. Sitting from the left:
I. Steshenko, Kh. Baranovsky, V. Vynnychenko, S. Yefremov, S. Petliura.
Standing: P. Khrystiuk, M. Stasiuk, B. Martos.

of how the delegates of the Central Rada, headed by Vynnychenko, were received in Petrograd, one finds it hard to believe that persons who occupied a leading position in the Ukrainian revolution could allow themselves to be insulted to such an extent; no one was prepared to give them a fair hearing, neither in the Provisional Government nor in the democratic Soviets (which at that time were by no means Bolshevik); they, however, waited their turn in ante-rooms and discussed the principles and extent of a national autonomy with Russian chauvinistically minded jurists, to whom they were finally sent. In Kyiv, however, they refused to allow the politician and historian, V. Lypynsky, to form a Ukrainian cavalry troop, simply because he was a landowner and because they were afraid that he might betray the interests of the proletariat or of the working classes. Instead of national interests, class interests were foisted on the Ukrainian people, social liberation was separated from national liberation, and the uniformity of the political aim was overlooked completely,—all of which, to a very considerable extent, helped the Russian “democracy” to reconquer Ukraine very easily. And when the “non-nationally conscious” workers and peasants, prompted by their national instinct, spontaneously and without any competent leadership, began to set up a “free Kozak Corps” in the provinces of Kyiv, Katerynoslav and Poltava, the political leaders of Kyiv were so alarmed at the ideas of such a “counter-revolution” that they set about “intensifying” the social revolution, according to the pattern of Russian Bolshevism. Neither the appearance of the national Polubotok regiment, which in July, 1917, refused to be sent to the Austrian front and demanded that the Central Rada should pursue a resolute policy which was in no way determined by Petrograd, nor the fact that, at precisely the same time, the military rabble of the Russian democracy fired on the national Khmelnytsky regiment when it was on its way to the front,—nothing could disillusion the Ukrainian political leaders. They waited to see whether the Russian democracy would not adopt a more kindly attitude, with the result that Muravyov’s Bolshevik regiments appeared before Kyiv at the beginning of 1918, even though life in Ukraine and the logical sequence of events should have made it plain to the Ukrainian political leaders that the only sensible thing to do was to rely on their own national forces, to organise the latter and, after detaching themselves from the hostile Russian democracy, to consolidate the state position and existence of the newly established Ukraine. But this would only have been possible, had the Ukrainian leaders themselves known what it was that they wanted to gain from the revolution; and this was not the case.

In Kyiv itself over 5,000 Ukrainians, who refused to fight for Russia, set up various military units. They could have been used as first-rate soldiers for the Ukrainian army (and their numbers would have sufficed for immediate needs); one only need have taken their national aims into account and to have organised them as military units, and things would no doubt have turned out quite differently later on. But the political leaders, who were the adherents of a socialism which was alien to the Ukrainian people, were not capable of taking such steps, since they trusted neither the strength of their nation nor their own strength and for this reason were panic-stricken at the prospect of a possible “counter-revolution”. But the fact that the Bolsheviks in Kyiv had begun to organise their forces, in order to drive out the leaders of the Ukrainian revolution when the time was

ripe, remained unnoticed by the said leaders. The apprehensive belief in the power of the Russian empire—a belief which had been cultivated for centuries—misled the leading intellectual classes, dulled their self-confidence and made them incapable of realising the obvious decay of the empire and, consequently, of directing the newly aroused Ukrainian national consciousness into creative state channels. Amidst the confusion of the national fight, the leading intellectual classes in Ukraine, who had been brought up on socialist, cosmopolitan theories, but were nevertheless patriotically minded, were like ships without sail and rudders. Those who were “nationally conscious” were outstripped by those who were “not nationally conscious”, and herein lay the tragedy of forty years ago.

* * *

In his memoirs, “A Year in Greater Ukraine” (“Rik na Velykiy Ukrayini”), O. Nazaruk mentions an interesting point: “V. Vynnychenko, the left-wing socialist, who even regarded the most loyal supporters of the hetmanate as enemies of Ukraine’s national regeneration, did not in the least trust the simple Central and East Ukrainian units and only felt safe when the Galician “Sich” riflemen*) acted as his body-guard.” This is only a small detail, but it is typical of the psychological attitude of the Ukrainian leaders at that time. Distrust of the forces (the ethical forces, too) of the Ukrainian people resulted in a tendency to monopolise the power and to regard oneself as politically conscious, predestined and irreplaceable. People who held such views or, rather, were only conscious of their own predestination, were incapable of recognising or discovering any qualified national forces among the Ukrainian people, even though it was precisely these forces that created or regenerated national life, led the co-operative movement, promoted culture, and organised the economic system and self-defence.

A former officer of the Ukrainian national army, who now lives in America, recently gave an account of the petty tyranny which he experienced at the hands of the “nationally conscious” Ukrainian leaders. As a staff captain of the Russian artillery, he reported at the military secretariat of the Central Rada, together with many other officers (likewise of Ukrainian nationality), after the collapse of the Russian front, in order to be assigned to some Ukrainian unit or other; he and the other officers were received very amicably by the socialist military secretary, but were then asked whether they could give the name of some well-known socialist or other who would be willing to vouch for their political trustworthiness. It took them weeks to find someone who would be willing to stand security in this respect and thus enable them to join the Ukrainian army. This incident, too, is typical of the attitude of the Ukrainian political leaders at that time. Lulled by the socialist class-philosophy of the Russian democracy and subservient to humanitarian cosmopolitanism, the leaders of the Ukrainian revolution were blind to the constructive and creative national forces, even though the ship of the nation could only be steered with the latter’s assistance; they repulsed these forces and isolated themselves in an infallible socialist ghetto. This type of leadership met with its just punishment, inasmuch as it later led to the anarchy of the “atamans”—low-ranking and lowest-ranking troop leaders.

*) A West Ukrainian elite unit.

Since the Ukrainian farming and working classes, thanks to their national consciousness, realised that the long-awaited opportunity had arrived and that the revolution would enable them to free themselves from alien "protection" and bring about a change in living conditions, in keeping with their own national interests, they now sought their political leaders; but the latter repulsed them and continued to orientate themselves to the north. The alien and much hated state had collapsed, and, in the opinion of the Ukrainian peasant, it was utterly nonsensical to try to revive this state. Once he had realised what a foreign state organisation costs, the average Ukrainian peasant came to the conclusion that it was absurd to accept a state structure which was hostile to him,—whether it was a Russian democratic, a Russian socialist or a German state structure in Ukrainian disguise. The leaders, however, could not see any reason for wanting to sever one's relations with Russia. "After taking all the steps necessary for the free national development of our people, autonomy will be guaranteed to us in the regenerated country" (V. Vynnychenko, "Vidrodzhennia natsii", p. 44).

But when the Ukrainian peasant and working classes realised that their leaders, whom they had trusted wholly and supported unreservedly at the beginning of the revolution, intended to promote the consolidation of the all-Russian organising forces, they withdrew their support and turned away from them. They abandoned those who had not been able to sever themselves from Moscow's umbilical cord and began to form their own regional troops who steadfastly waged war on the enemy. In Ukrainian politics this period is often referred to as "ataman rule" or "banditism". One fact, however, is overlooked,—namely, that Ukrainian political thought at that time was not only incapable of conceiving an all-embracing idea of the Ukrainian union, but was also incapable of discovering the existence of this idea in the national forces, which thus became the victims of anarchy and the "ataman rule". It was not banditism, but the expression of the chaotic national forces, which incapable leaders were not able to employ in the right way in order to create a state form. Had these national forces been used and directed in the right way, they would have proved invincible, for they were powerful enough to accomplish great things. As it was, however, their dreadful and unwavering fight against alien Russian Bolshevism taught future generations a lesson—as regards the refractoriness of the Ukrainian nation when subjugated by foreign power.

* * *

The Ukrainian revolution of the national liberation in 1917 presented the problem of leadership in a striking way,—the problem of a guiding and formative factor, without which even the greatest national forces cannot achieve what is necessary. And it was precisely this factor which the Ukrainians lacked in the year 1917. The leading intellectual classes, which occupied the commanding positions in the revolution, were unable to play their part, since—as the great historian and former President of the Central Rada, Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, admits—up to the terrible defeat of Kruty (January 29, 1918) "they had not cast off their intellectual servility, the servitude of a slave, who had been hit in the face so long that he had not only lost all feeling for human dignity, but had


himself also become an adherent of slavery and servility, a panegyrist and apologist of this slavery and servility. And this servility lay in the loyalty of these classes to the state, cultural and national interests of Russia and of the "great" Great Russian people" (M. Hrushevsky, "Na porozi Novoyi Ukrayiny", Kyiv, 1918).

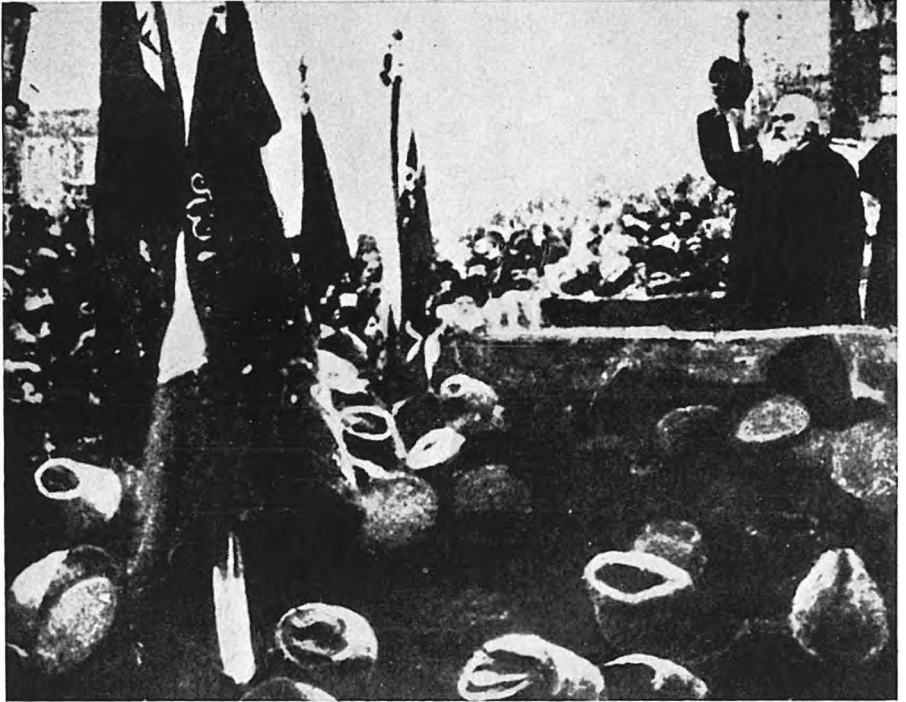
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It would be erroneous if, in discussing events of the past, one were to confine oneself to evaluating such events and praising or blaming those responsible for them. If one does this, then the past loses all meaning when we consider it in retrospect. But the past has a significance for both the past and the future. The Ukrainians lost the first war of liberation against Moscow in the 20th century, because they did not really know whether they ought to conduct a war or whether the question at issue could be solved in some other way. The nature, tasks and character of the Ukrainian revolution as a national revolution directed against the Russian empire and as a revolution which also expressed the social demands of the Ukrainian population, were not rightly comprehended.

Ukrainian political thought forty years ago fell into the trap of servility and cosmopolitanism and was thus not able to comprehend its own idea; it demobilised the nation and directed the latter's forces into alien channels. And even today, part of this sterile political thought still clings to the hope that it might be possible to acquire freedom under the joint banners of the national and "non-predetermination" principle.

New York





1917 REVOLUTION IN UKRAINE.

*M. Hrushevsky addressing the II Military Congress, held in Kyiv
in June 1917.*



1917 REVOLUTION IN UKRAINE.

A scene from the III Military Congress held in October 1917 in Kyiv.

It demanded that Central Rada make Ukraine independent.

In center: S. Petliura and M. Hrushevsky.

Volodymyr Derzhavyn

(1)

Post-War Ukrainian Literature in Exile

I. POETRY

Post-war Ukrainian literature in exile (1945-1956) is by no means a direct or unconditional continuation of the literature of Soviet Ukraine, nor is it a continuation of the literature of Western Ukraine, forcibly annexed by Poland, of the period between the two world wars, that is to say of the war era (1918-1944); and this applies to both the poetry and the prose (*belles-lettres*), although the latter, by reason of its closer affinity with concrete national, social and material conditions of life, shows a far greater resemblance to the Western Ukrainian prose of the pre-war era. This is not surprising, since the literary and general cultural national development of the Ukrainian people, though it was ignored, vilified and hampered by the alien Polish regime in Western Ukraine, was not as a rule suppressed or exterminated, as was the case to an ever-increasing degree from the middle of the 1920's onwards in Central and Eastern Ukraine, which were terrorized by Muscovite Bolshevism. In addition, emigration to the West during the latter part of the war was effected in a more systematic manner and under less tragic circumstances in the West Ukrainian territories than it was in the territories of East Ukraine, where it usually resembled a chaotic flight. Accordingly, Ukrainian literature in exile was able, to some extent, to maintain a certain traditional connection with the literature of Western Ukraine of the pre-war era, whereas in the East territories national traditions had already been fairly thoroughly destroyed in the 1930's by the Russian Communist terrorist regime.

The decisive feature, however, as far as the entire post-war Ukrainian literature in exile is concerned—and in particular as regards the poetry, which in any case is less “permanently domiciled” than the prose,—is that it is, in the first place, a continuation of the Ukrainian literature in exile which had already developed profusely and national-consciously during the period between the two world wars. The Ukrainian political emigration which took place after the Great War as a result of the unfortunate issue of the gallant national fight for freedom from 1917-1921 will, in the memory of the Ukrainian people, always be connected with a mighty revival in Ukrainian national literature: the 1920's—marked by the steady growth of poetic art and characterised by the names of such outstanding lyric poets as Yuriy Darahan, Yuriy Lypa and Yevhen Malaniuk; the 1930's, however,—the Golden Age of the so-called Prague school*) of poets (Oleh Olzhych, Olena Teliha, Oksana Laturynska, Andriy Harasevych, etc.), which by reciprocal influence formed a salutary union with the national self-determination and activity of Western Ukrainian poetry in Galicia (Bohdan Ihor Antonych, Sviatoslav Hordynsky, Bohdan Kravtsiv, etc.); this was not surprising, since the West Ukrainians, too, under Polish national subjugation felt to some extent like “expellees” or at least like persecuted victims in their own country, and well-known West Ukrainian writers, artists and scholars, etc. frequently preferred or were forced to spend years on end outside the sphere of influence of the Polish state, which was definitely hostile to all that was Ukrainian. By its idealistic verve and profound artistic feeling, the literary regeneration of the 1930's in a worthy manner revived the immortal tradition of the neo-classicism of the Kyivan school,—a neo-classicism which in Soviet Ukraine was exterminated by the Bolsheviks in the first half of the 1930's, but was preserved by the youngest member of the Kyivan “Quintet of Poets”—Yuriy Klen—and in 1931 brought to the West, where it exercised an extremely positive influence on the poetic style of the Galician and Prague poets. Thus, the

* Named after Prague, the capital of Czecho-Slovakia, since the Ukrainian emigrants there and in particular the Ukrainian students to a certain extent provided the background which nurtured this literary trend. It is also called the *Vistnyk* School after the title of the journal “*Vistnyk*” (“The Messenger”, 1922-1939), edited by Dr. Dmytro Donzov, though this journal, incidentally, was published in Lviv (Western Ukraine).

future fate of Ukrainian poetry in exile in the first place depended on the continuity and effectiveness of the literary tradition of pre-war Ukrainian literature in exile, which the Prague school of poets in particular had raised to a hitherto unparalleled artistic level.

In 1944, however, a significant and clearly outlined cultural epoch in the history of the Ukrainian people—the epoch of an all-Ukrainian literary activity on West Ukrainian (Galician) soil and in the adjoining Central European territories—came to an end, whilst the East Ukrainian territories under Soviet rule had since the middle of the 1930's fallen into a state of literary marasmus. The above-mentioned epoch was determined not so much by a solely ideal cooperation (as was the case prior to the February revolution of 1917), but by a real fusion of the Central and East Ukrainian political emigrants with the national life of the West Ukrainian territories which had been forcibly occupied by Poland. At the beginning of 1945 this epoch was superseded by a new era,—that of a universal, both East and West Ukrainian, genuine and entirely national emigration, which, as a result of the invasion of the Soviet Russian armies in Galicia, Bukovina and Carpatho-Ukraine (and, shortly afterwards, in Prague, too, which for a quarter of a century had sheltered the cultural elite of Ukrainian emigrant circles), spread to Western Germany and Austria. There might be some doubts as to whether Ukrainian national literature, which hitherto had only partly been an emigrant literature and partly a West Ukrainian literature, would be able to preserve its high ideal and artistic level, now that it had exclusively become an emigrant literature. But the literary achievements of the subsequent years refuted all such doubts and justified the optimistic attitude of the Ukrainians as regards the future existence of Ukrainian national literature in exile, despite the fact that between 1948 and 1952 it underwent an even greater territorial dispersion. The deciding factor was, above all, the mighty influx of new cultural forces from the Central and East Ukrainian territories, which during the years 1941-1943 brought numerous and, for the most part, outstanding writers to Western Europe (and later, to some extent to America, too), with the result that the feeling of national union of the Ukrainian cultural elite led to a direct fusion of older and more recent literary factors. In spite of considerable material difficulties, the present status of Ukrainian literature in exile can more or less be designated as normal, since, on the one hand, it has no

need to fear any kind of political reprisals on the part of an official censorship, and, on the other hand, publishing activity in this respect is for the most part a matter of private enterprise, a fact which more or less guarantees the freedom of artistic expression from the ideological pressure which might be exerted by various official and semi-official organisations.

On the other hand, however, the position is somewhat less favourable as regards the accessibility of the latest national Ukrainian poetry for the Western world by means of an artistic rendering into English and the other leading languages of the world. As far as the Ukrainian poetry of the 19th century (and of the beginning of the 20th century) is concerned, there is at least a selection of poems by Taras Shevchenko (translated by W. K. Matthews, etc.) and of works by Ivan Franko and Lesya Ukrainka (translated by Percival Cundy) available to the English-speaking reader; the later Ukrainian poetry in the Bolshevik sphere of influence is to some extent represented by the small anthology by Yar Slavutych, "The Muse in Prison" (Eleven sketches of Ukrainian poets killed by communists and twenty-two translations of their poems, "Svoboda, Jersey City, 1956); but the Ukrainian poetry in exile—with but very few exceptions—has as yet not been rendered into English (or German or French). It is to be hoped that the new and larger English anthology which Yar Slavutych plans to publish will do justice to this important branch of 20th century Ukrainian poetry.

II

As has already been indicated above, this poetry in exile concentrates mainly on preserving and regenerating the Kyivan neo-classical trend which was exterminated in Soviet Ukraine, but which has remained predominant in the post-war era, too. Credit in this latter respect is, in the first place, due to the two leading poets of neo-classicism in exile—the "old emigrant", Yuriy Klen, and the "new emigrant", Mykhaylo Orest, between whom, incidentally, there exists a close affinity not only from the formal and aesthetic point of view, but also as regards their themes and ideology. It is to the former that we owe a great debt of gratitude, for during the early post-war years he used his great literary authority and his outstanding talent of criticism to oppose certain destructive and—not infrequently—opportunist political tendencies, which in those turbulent times threatened to gain the upper hand in Ukrainian emigrant literature

(we shall refer to this unproductive period later on). Oswald Burghardt (1891-1947) was of German origin, being born in Podolia (Central Ukraine), and, as an Ukrainian writer, was known under the nom de plume of Yuriy Klen. He was engaged in literary work in Kiev until 1931 and was greatly devoted to the Kiev neo-classical school of poetry until the end of his life. As a poet, translator and philologist alike, he has performed very great achievements, and also left quite a number of novels and highly interesting literary memoirs ("Memoirs about the Neo-Classics", Munich, 1947). Since his migration to Germany in 1931, which was caused by Bolshevik terrorism, he has given unforgettable service to the Ukrainian literary world, especially on account of his role as a link between the Kiev neo-classicism of the twenties, and the marked national Ukrainian poetry (the so-called Prague, or *Vistnyk* Classicism) in the emigration. His published books of poetry: "The Damned Years" (Cracow, 1943); "Caravellas" (Prague, 1943). His chief work, the great historical epic about the events in Ukraine and Russia, and (partly) in Germany, too, in 1914-1945 — "The Ashes of Empires"—remained inachieved, and still remains mainly unpublished (because, after his death, Klen's manuscripts for some time fell into the hands of a socialist group which was hostile towards his national political trend); but numerous excerpts from it were printed in the Ukrainian emigrant press from 1946 to 1948, and there are few works in the Ukrainian literature in exile which have had so universal and lasting an influence on the national and political attitude of Ukrainian emigrant circles.

After the death of Yuriy Klen (in 1947), Mykhaylo Orest (born in 1901), living in Bavaria since 1945, as a political refugee, has remained the last survivor of the Kyiv neo-classical generation (with the exception of the great lyricist, Maksym Rylsky, who was forced in Soviet Ukraine to repudiate completely his poetical principles), and is generally acknowledged as the leader of that school of poetry which has been so afflicted by the Soviet terror. His poetical characteristics are primarily a pantheistic kind of spiritualism and a philosophical feeling for nature which are conditioned by his idealistic attitude towards mankind as an incomplete manifestation of a cosmic being, and which are marked by a strong emphasis on the purely ethical view-point in the valuation of social life. M. Orest is generally recognised as one of the most sensitive connoisseurs and utilizers of the Ukrainian literary and poetical language,

which he himself has greatly enriched. His published books of poetry: "Echoes of the Years" (Cracow-Lviv, 1944); "Soul and Destiny" (Augsburg, 1946); "The Realm of the World" (Philadelphia, 1952); "Guest and Homestead" (Philadelphia, 1952); and moreover five anthologies of his versified translations of French and German lyrics (published in Germany between 1952 and 1956). Recently, he has also translated English and Italian lyrics.

As regards M. Orest's life and poetry, we should, incidentally, like to draw the attention of our readers to the short but informative article by Yar Slavutych, "The Poetry of Mykhaylo Orest and Its Background", which was published in our quarterly journal (No. 2, 1956). The following poem (translated by M. C.) is an excellent example of the spiritualistic vision in his poetry:

*Today I thought again about the woods. . .
 At night, when all is sleep'd in peace and dark,
 I see them tranquil and magnificent,
 A darkness in the boundless depth of night;
 Half vigilant and half in slumber light,
 They stand on guard around the city.
 At midnight, full of gratitude and love
 I thought about the woods serene. . . My bed
 An old and mighty oak approached. I felt
 His silent calmness and his breathing deep,
 The murmur soft and sweet of his whole being
 Engulfed me: Grasp the secret, fathom it.
 I sensed the mystery of life profound
 Not only all about me, but within me.
 My spirit soared aloft in one sheer impulse.
 Without a trace, as foam, dissolved my flesh.
 My growth I poured into the splendid trunk,
 The singing sap of branches I became,
 I quivered in his myriad sighing leaves,
 Fulfilled with bliss sublime. The summer day
 Shed warmth on all. I was a part of it,
 I gleamed with gold in it. A year, or but
 A moment's flight this was, I do not know.
 The woods then left me, and once more returned
 Beyond the city walls into the night.*

A desolate and untold solitude
 Bore down upon me, and I pleaded mutely,
 And ardently I prayed: Come back to me.
 But still and far they stood, and motionless,
 A blackness in the boundless depth of night.
 Again did I repeat my supplication,
 A swish surrounded me, as if the dark
 Was filled with wings of mighty birds or spirits,
 The rigid walls fell back, my body was
 No more, and once again my soul benign
 In utter joy within the tree did dwell.
 The moment passed, once more I knew myself
 Imprisoned in my flesh. But in my palm
 Lay something cool. I saw it was an oakleaf,
 So fresh and firm, with edges sharply carved.
 The woods, with gracious confidence fulfilled,
 The key to their existence granted me.

O, gate unknown, where are you, where?

M. Orest, whom many competent literary critics consider to be the most outstanding of the present-day Ukrainian lyric poets, reveals his masterly skill in particular in his intimate one-stanza "Miniatures", of which we here quote three examples (unfortunately without reproducing the metre and rhyme), all of which were written in 1948.

Summer Eve

Angelic hour! Steep Heaven's glory
 Like marble wall of blue; and on it,
 Like veins of amber and of saffron,
 Majestic clouds aglow. O, tranquil peace.

Dusk

The day has struggled long and joylessly.
 'Tis dusk. And vespers in the town are o'er.
 My tower, a silent tower: the tongues of flame
 Of evening now only mirrored in a window.

October Anguish

*The nights are longer and the grey days shorter.
My earthly course now grey, grows ever shorter,
And my heart's dark leaf lies painfully a-tremble.
Thou distant one: dost thou still breathe, dost thou still live?*

The high repute of the neo-classical trend in poetry has been furthered very considerably by M. Orest, inasmuch as he has undertaken the task of collecting and publishing the scattered and, in many cases, hitherto unprinted lyric works of the leading neo-classical poets who were imprisoned by the Bolsheviks and murdered in 1939. The following works have appeared so far: Mykola Zerov: "Sonnetarium" (Berchtesgaden, 1948); Mykola Zerov: "Catalepton" (Philadelphia, 1951); Pavlo Fylypovych: "Poems" (Munich, 1957). It is precisely on the younger generation of the Ukrainian poets in exile, who previously had little chance to become acquainted with these works since they had long since been banned in Soviet Ukraine, that these posthumous publications have had a lasting and most productive influence.

Of these younger "Ukrainian neo-classicists" mention must, above all, be made of Leonid Lyman (born in 1920), whose lyrics—so far only published in journals and almanacs—reveal an extremely personal and subtle art, which, it is to be hoped, will be apparent to the reader in the following two poems (unfortunately without reproducing the metre and rhyme of the original):

*"Columbia" and doves and tremulous excitement.
And you set foot amidst the platform's noisy throng,
Where no rogue and no corsair awaits you,
But worthy citizens, constrained by laws.*

*Tree-stumps and grass—there was naught else to see;
Realm after realm passed on: the balance of the ruins.
And thinking of Poltava's distant meadows
Proudly you enter through the gateway of this land.*

(1946)

*My window shows me half of the heavens.
And earth cuts into the eternity of the heavens.
For provincial happiness
I need but little.
Like a dull book I laid aside
The wretched life of the blind alley,
Which is confined to notices
About bread, fuel and the lost uncle.*

*Every moment to wait for days to come,
To meet Phoebus triumphant,
And patiently to listen to the rumbling
Of the earth, as it cuts into the eternity of the heavens,
To note with scepticism the "course of events"
And once again to read Shakespeare...
And thus for each new triumph
One gives up some of one's chagrin.*

(1947)

We shall discuss the merits of L. Lyman as a writer of short stories, separately.

The poetry of the poet and man of letters, Yar Slavutych (born in 1918), whom we have already mentioned several times in this article, is extremely manifold and is distinguished by a masterly use of the poetic language, but a preference for historical themes, and by a sonorous pathos, which, however, not infrequently is not particularly original. Of his fairly numerous volumes of poetry, only one—"The Thirst" (Frankfort, 1950)—can be said to be purely classical, and it is precisely this volume which contains the most profound and most perfect of his lyrics. Below we quote two poems from this volume,—the first translated into English by Volodymyr Shayan, the latter unfortunately without reproducing the metre and rhyme of the original:

To thee my hails, oh Sun, let me unfurl,
 And swim in shine, and bathe my joyous thews!
 Thy mighty flood has ravished me in whirl,
 And twirls me to the top of billows blue.

I thee accept, oh God of Spring, oh Yar,
 In crown of camomiles, in blaze of Sooth!
 O, let me drink from thy inspiring jar
 The radiant purl of the Eternal Youth!

Oh, Source of Force! I bow to thee alone,
 Who bringest victoriously thy golden prow
 Through storms and clouds. Unto thy godly throne
 I bring my songs of passion as my vow!

For thou, alone, having dispersed the clouds,
 Unfurlest around the space thy banner—free,—
 The boundless blue of all-embracing shroud;
 And I and Earth dissolve in thee.

(1949)

The days are short, the nights are shorter still!
 Heaven's hemisphere: a narrow lake cross-cut!
 But will the space of all the universe suffice
 For my unfathomable troubled heart?

Path take their course, vast rivers flow,
 And mountains silently are shrouded in deep sleep;
 But man alone, the conjurer of time,
 Watches the tremulous twinkling of the stars.

(1948)

Of course, the other volumes of poems by Yar Slavutych to some extent also reveal classical traits, but these are usually combined with an exaggerated and baroque-like rhetoric; as an example we quote the first half of his long poem, "The Crusaders of Truth" (1947), which has been translated into English by Volodymyr Shayan:

Oh, human kind, behold the swarms of nomads
Who do besiege the fearful roads,
Displaced,—unwanted,—
The human animals by human hunters haunted,—
Some died on verges, others still in coma,
By human malice charged of treason;
(Oh, yes some only yesterday escaped from prison,)
They drag their loads
Of traitors' stains,
And drag their feet as if in chains,
And trudge along their hopeless roads
Of ignomy and of abuse,
Enthused
By whips of their nostalgic pains
Which they keep hidden from your eyes,...

Oh, human race, now hear their cries!

The roads are with our bones bestrewn,
Bewitched by cunning, hatred, sham,
Our life as sacrifice and stake,
The towns and cities to awake,
We bear our oriflamme,
The new
Tables of Truth in ages hewn.

Oh, human world, now be aware;
Of our defeat, destruction and despair,
—As fathomless as sea,—
Of doom of which we are the heirs
We see the glimpses of the quay,
The signs of hope and light, anew,
For you.

True in our hearts, and in our nature true,
Through all the horrors, murders, hues,
We boldly look into the depth,
Into the eyes of cruel death.

Ihor Kachurovsky (who, unlike L. Lyman and Y. Slavutych who emigrated to the U.S.A., lives in Argentina) must also be mentioned as belonging to the younger generation of neo-classical poets, above all because of the strong influence which Yuriy Klen's poetry has had on him, although his own prose (with which we shall deal separately) is quite different and even though his poems frequently tend towards a fairly superficial sentimentalism and towards moralisation. We here quote—unfortunately, without reproducing the metre and rhyme of the original—one of the best poems of his first volume of poems, "The Clear Spring" (Salzburg, 1948)*:

*There, where like traces of heavenly azure,
Slumbers the splendour of gardens,
Where the roses' white and red gleam
Surpasses the delicate scent of the jasmine,
Where in the dew the diamonds glisten and glitter
And the clouds are of rainbow hue—
Only the wood of my staff
Was colourless and dry, dry and rough.*

*And now I pass through deserted wastes,
Again and again through regions of silence,
Where the desert soil is hard and parched,
Not a blade of grass grows there,
Only sand and boulders wherever you gaze,
A vast expanse of yellow, dead and barren;
Only the wood of my staff has
Blossomed anew and is covered with flowers of blue.*

(To be continued)

*) His second volume of poems—"In Distant Harbour" (New York - Buenos Aires, 1956) contains comparatively little that is original.



YURIY KLEN (*Oswald Burghardt*)
(1891 - 1947)



YEVHEN MALANIUK

V. Derzhavyn

A POET OF HIS EPOCH

To mark the 60th birthday of Yevhen Malaniuk

(February 1, 1897)

*"Nothing remains,
Neither illusions nor visions . . .
Yet not in vain has the heart beaten
And the eye ever gazed its fill."*

(Y. Malaniuk: "The End")

Not every epoch possesses its poet. There have been outstanding and splendid epochs, indeed truly great epochs, which have not been reflected correspondingly in the contemporary literature, as for instance the first French Empire or the Khmelnytsky era in Ukraine. "Fuerunt reges ante Agamemnona"—Horace rightly said,—“There were kings before Agamemnon” (but there was no Homer to sing their praise). But even for the author of the “Iliad” the Trojan war was only a nebulous myth, a legend which he treated according to his own discretion and modernised according to his own taste,—just as H. Sienkiewicz and Y. Kosach did the Ukrainian Khmelnytsky era.

No literary reconstruction of the past and even if it is imbued with the greatest piety as, for instance, Paul Adam’s “Soleil d’Austerlitz”, Edmond Rostand’s “L’Aiglon”, or those great masterpieces of genius, Flaubert’s “Salambo” and Gabriele d’Annunzio’s “Francesca da Rimini”, can replace the poetic voice of a great contemporary, provided that such a voice has really resounded and has not passed into oblivion in subsequent generations. It is possible, indeed, highly probable that the famous “Soothsayer Boyan” was the poet of the most illustrious epoch in Ukrainian history,—the Golden Age of the Kievan kingdom of Rurik; But of what interest is that to us, if none of his works have been preserved except various vague references and quotations, which are not known for certain to have been part of the gifted work of the poet who sang of the downfall of the principality of Kyiv in his “Song of Ihor’s Campaign”.

In 1945 an important and clearly marked cultural epoch in the history of the Ukrainian nation came to an end,—an epoch of the intellectual all-Ukrainian climate existing on West Ukrainian soil (and in the neighbouring Central European territories), an epoch which was not determined merely by purely ideological cooperation—as had formerly been the case—but by the actual fusion of the East Ukrainian emigrant groups with the national life of the West Ukrainian territories. It was an era which came into being as a result of the setting up of the famous “Chinese Wall” along the Zbruch, and which came to a definite end when this wall, after various alterations, was shifted far towards the West, “seriously and permanently”. The agony of this epoch still prevails, an agony which was extremely painful, as is always the case when spiritual problems are solved by the sword, but certain facts cannot be denied: for the present the entire national elite of West Ukraine lives and moves and has its being in exile, just as the national elite of East Ukraine has done since 1921, and their world of ideas has stood the test of reality only partly and only imperfectly.

This past epoch was a heroic one, and, as such, it will live on for ever in the memory of the Ukrainian people, since it is the heroic poetry of Yevhen Malaniuk and his school which represents it and will continue to represent it for future generations. It was an epoch which was permeated with a great and noble aestheticism and for this reason it was such a productive period that its artistic achievements will survive for many decades and, by virtue of their artistic style alone, regardless of all the false constructions and “Utopian ghosts” of their sequence of ideas, already form a positive link between the national Ukrainian literature of yesterday and today. And it is, above all, Malaniuk and the poets of his school who deserve the credit for this fact; for the saying “style is the epoch” is correct if a writer or poet creates his own epoch.

And who, indeed, played a more important part in shaping the literary countenance of this past epoch than did the poet who himself has sworn to the “eternal fate” or destiny—the universal will of the voluntarists.

*“Make me Thy scourge—
Thy cudgel, gun and cartridge,
That, over an epoch which never will return,
At least black smoke will stand!”*

(“Prayer”)

Voluntarism is the main characteristic of this "epoch which never will return", and it is to be found in most of Malaniuk's poems and forms the corner-stone of all his themes:

*"Tension, integrity, heaviness, fulness —
Bronze and steel against pressure and cross-cut."
("The Harvest")*

We do not intend to deal with the concrete political and historiosophistical manifestations of this voluntarism in Malaniuk's poetry; a very apt summary analysis of these aspects is to be found in the article by Mrs. Maya Halaychuk, which is published in this issue. At the time they evoked many indignant—and, no doubt, some genuine protests against the poet, as well as insults and defamations. But by degrees his great artistic talent gained the upper hand; and attacks such as the one launched by Mr. Dolenga in the Warsaw quarterly, "My", ("We") in 1933, are nowadays regarded as being unworthy of serious notice. But what was it that made the glorious victory of the poet over the inert mentality of the masses of his day possible? He himself says of his times:

*"The one epoch which never will return rumbled and roared,
But the shallow mind of the masses heeded it not."*

Why was Malaniuk destined to set the seal of his style and influence on almost all that was significant and outstanding in the literary legacy of this past epoch?

We should like to point out from the start that Malaniuk's style is not the style of a poetic genius. His style lacks the subtle completeness and purposefulness or introversion, the perfection of expression, which, for instance, is so marked a characteristic of Paul Valéry or Stefan George, of Shakespeare or Edgar A. Poe, and of modern Ukrainian literature as represented by O. Olzhych and Yevhen Pluzhnyk. He belongs rather to the group of great poets who to a very considerable extent are representative of their own national literature, as for example poets like Emile Verhaeren (whose poetry is closely related to that of Malaniuk by reason of his fundamental voluntarism) or Alexander Blok (who more than any other poet influenced the forming of Malaniuk's poetic style), and, above all, Maksym Rylsky. This comparison of Malaniuk and Rylsky only applies, of course, to the diapason and range of vision of their respective poetic style, and not to any concrete quality in it. Rylsky (like Mykola Zerov) is regarded as the acknowledged representative of Kyivan neo-classicism, whereas

Malaniuk, even through his metrical forms are truly classic, as far as his poetic imagery and expression are concerned only partly belongs to the classic style, and on the whole fluctuates between symbolism and the baroque (in other words, romantic) style in his poems, the latter style, incidentally, predominating to a very considerable extent. It is however interesting to note that in Malaniuk's school of poets the pure classicism of O. Olzhych, Olena Teliha and other poets emerged from this semi-classicism. There is, however, no stylistic reciprocal effect between Malaniuk and Rylsky, and their affinity lies not in the stylistic sphere, but in the sphere of the typology of their literary work. Both of them are poets whose works reveal an extremely wide diapason; both in principle are lyric poets, whose themes, however, are comprehensive and universal and not necessarily purely lyrical, and both show a definite preference for a rich, metaphorical, ornamental and colourful manifestation of lyrical feelings, rather than for a "direct" manifestation. Both of them in their poems are very responsive to countless external stylistic—both Ukrainian and foreign—stimuli and impulses, but both of them have succeeded in making these external influences such an integral part of their complicated and exceedingly many-sided style that the latter in every way bears the stamp of a profound personal creativeness. Finally, both of them distinguish themselves by their great artistic productivity and, in spite of their highly developed sense of form and aestheticism of expression, are not disposed to give a final polish to every line and every poem; and this is precisely the reason why the literary legacy of these two poets (to say nothing at all of the continuous and politically necessitated propagandist writings of the past decades in Rylsky's publications) will contain much that is fragmentary, incomplete or even of poor quality, in particular as far as their longer poetic works are concerned, such as, for instance, Malaniuk's "Epistle" and Rylsky's lyric epics. Neither Malaniuk nor Rylsky belong to that class of poets who in every one of their poems aim to achieve a final and exemplary aesthetic perfection; both of them endeavour not only to achieve a certain immanent artistry, but also a certain intellectual level, which, though free from all vulgarisation, is accessible to a relatively wide circle of qualified readers. In short, they are not poets for the masses but for the elite, but it is an elite in the wider sense and not by any means a purely literary and academic elite (it is surely not redundant at this point to stress

that what has been said above refers to the aesthetic quality of poetry, too; for example, Yevhen Pluzhnyk's lyrics are lyrics for everyone, but O. Olzhych's poems, for the most part, are for the elite in the narrowest sense, and yet both these poets are poetic geniuses).

All these characteristics are no doubt a necessary precondition for a writer if he is to represent his entire epoch in a worthy manner by his creative work, but they are not of decisive importance. Rylsky, for instance (in spite of his outstanding superiority as regards his philological training) did not become a "poet of his epoch" in the higher sense in which we apply this term to Malaniuk, nor was he ever a "poet of his epoch" at the height of his poetic fame. The gist of the matter in this case lies not in the fact that the political and social conditions beyond and on this side of the Zbruch were entirely different (which is the argument which publicistic critics tend to put forward), but in the fundamental antagonism between the elegiac and idyllic undertone in Rylsky's poetry, based on timeless and enduring values of life, and the feelings and sentiments of those years which in the East Ukrainian territories began as a period of total provocation and became a period of total terrorism. On the contrary, the most sublime and noblest trait in Malaniuk's poetry—a boundless emotional tragic-ness—was in perfect harmony with the aesthetic ideals of that "interval between two world wars", which inspired the poet with the most subtle of his apocalyptic moods, as for instance in his poem, "Presentiment":

*"Silence stirs and falls like a wall, shaken from behind,
The mortar crumbles and the old rubble moves.
The babbling brook, the coolness of the drowsy garden
And the lone tent—will all be covered up by a layer of sand."*

And however much the poet himself may seek to weaken and conceal the fundamental tragic-ness of his verbal style by unsuitable concessions to a trivial "tragic optimism" and to other forms of naiveté in fashion at that time (some of which he himself no doubt really took seriously), however much he may seek to modify the artistic eloquence of his own verses by intentional and not very convincing abstractions—as for example when, after the following enthusiastic remarks, which from the point of view of philosophy are somewhat questionable (but even so, perfect in their unparalleled precision):

*"Things torn by a surgeon,
The naked mechanism of time —
All is clear, and it is not worth-while denying
Or condemning beauty in vain.*

*We already know what was and will be,
We sip the transparent poison of knowledge,
That man more he progresses more bestial will he become,
And life more plantlike",*

he brings the poem to an end with a forcible combination of prosaic expressions which contradict each other:

*"But the wise blindness of primitive force
Will find its way midst the thunder,
And the Divine Spirit of Entelechy
Will permeate chaos with a cosmos"*

—though he introduces these forms in defiance of the "human and all too human" element in his excessively rationalised creativeness, the fundamental tragicalness in the poetry of this great aesthete again and again breaks all the barriers of artificial and modish-sounding sophistry and appears in all its unparalleled artistic, monumental greatness:

*"No. It's not to be found. No one knows.
No one has heard your lamentations.
Round the world-Sinai,
As ever, there's gold and swords."*

(*"Under Foreign Skies"*)

Compared to the pathetic majesty of the sheer artistry of his poetry, the poet's countless, temporary extravaganzas nowadays seem petty and insignificant to us,—as, for instance, his youthful enthusiasm for a fantastic "constructivism" in his well-known "Ars poetica" ("The poet is an engine! The poet is a turbine!")—an idea which the poet himself, incidentally, some years later exhaustively refuted in his poem "Technocracy":

In order to give Nature a course created by the hands of man
*"We calculate, we interfere and destroy,
And man's mind sinks lower and lower,
And, as it was, so, too, in future it will remain a playground
Of blind elements — the incomprehensible earth.*

.

*So futile, so empty are our magic spells;
A formula should exorcize the eternal myth!"*

The adherents of mystification, bent on bluffing, may still feign awe before the foolish fable of "technical poetry",—the poet himself found other images to reveal his creative process as it really was,—a process which was divided by an imagined antagonism between intuition and intellect and, precisely for this very reason, is consistent with the recently ended epoch of Ukrainian national consciousness:

*"Thus do I construct the eternal picture
On the grey socle of our times,
And wisdom, like a cobra, penetrates
Beauty with its venomous gaze.
And it calculates and mutters
And measures every step,
And only the eyes electrically pierce
The entire delusive image.*

*I am becoming more and more deeply entangled
Under the diamond hypnosis
And I only see—stones and verses,
And I only hear—the roar of threats."
("Biography")*

But this antinomy of image and thought, which is peculiar to the baroque style and romanticism, more and more (in the poems written at the end of the 1930's and during the 1940's) comes to be replaced by a striving to attain a classical form harmony, which is based on the fixed laws of aestheticism:

*"It was youth, servile to magic charms,
That saw hate and revenge,
Where they truly manifest themselves: work and punishment,
The law of the blow and the aim in sight."
("Experience")*

Amidst the passing delusive images of the modern "creation of a style", the poem, "The Stone" (1941), most impressively proclaims the unchangeable majesty of classic art—as compared to the "nomadic hordes" of modern experimentation:

*"Regard the stone. It is silent
In a silence of wisdom and faith.*

.

*All things pass away. It alone, like truth,
The absolute, is rigid,
With an invisible expression of arrogance.
And its stony smile is unperceived
By nomadic hordes."*

This conversion of Malaniuk in his later years to an integral classicism is by no means a denial of his earlier highly artistic achievements in the sphere of other literary styles, but it is, as far as we are concerned, as it were, an ideological pledge and proof of the fact that his poetical legacy will not fall into oblivion and that all his artistically valuable components out of the past epoch of the national existence of Ukraine will pass on into a future epoch,—into an epoch which is interested not so much in Malaniuk's political or historiosophistical views, but in the poet himself as a master of lyricism, which manifests itself more strongly than ever in his poems of the past decades, as for example in his masterpiece, "March" (1943), which we quote here in the prose translation as a fitting conclusion to this article.

*"Stand there —
Whispering: go to sleep —
White day
Of the black sorrow of Spring.*

*Stare rigidly,
Withered wrist:
Silent sorrow,
Early Spring bitter, harsh.*

*Far and near
Trickle tears of dew.
Solitude,
Shelter the benumbed!*

*Without lament
Give to the cold ray,
To the white day
Of the black sorrow of Spring."*

Maya Halaychuk

The History of Ukraine—as seen by Yevhen Malaniuk*

I.

The poet Yevhen Malaniuk, to whom this literary evening is devoted, is an outstanding figure in Ukrainian literature who combines a great poetic talent with a profound intellectualism; in other words, Malaniuk has the gift of being able to present profound contents in an artistically subtle form. He is one of the best connoisseurs and judges of the Ukrainian poetic language, a writer who possesses great linguistic and stylistic tact and taste. There is nothing to equal his lyrical poem, "Autumn's Campaign", in the whole Ukrainian literature. The well-known Polish writer and literary critic, Jerzy Lobodowski, affirms (in the Spanish compilation "History of the Literature of the World", re-edited by Prof. Perez Bustamente, Madrid, 1946) that Malaniuk's volume of poems, "The Ring of Polycrates" (1939), is one of the greatest works in modern European poetry.

Without wishing to add to these opinions, we have here set ourselves the modest task of elucidating Malaniuk's views on Ukrainian history on the strength of an analysis of some of his works.

Dr. Dmytro Donzov calls Malaniuk a poet of the "apocalyptic years", a bard of the apocalyptic epoch. According to Prof. V. Derzhavyn's opinion, Malaniuk is the most striking personification of his own epoch, the 20's and 30's of this century, the poetic

*) The original Ukrainian text of this article was read by the authoress at a literary evening held in Buenos Aires to mark the occasion of Ye. Malaniuk's 60th birthday, and was published in the Ukrainian monthly "Ovyd" ("The Horizon"), 1957, February - March, Chicago - New York.

voice of that period which shared all its emotions and illusions. Thus, in order to understand Malaniuk, it is also necessary to understand his age and generation. We shall be better able to understand this generation if we take as our starting-point a comparison which is comprehensible to the younger generation trained in the Argentine school and thus thoroughly acquainted with the history of Spanish literature. Malaniuk's generation to some extent bears a resemblance to the well-known Spanish "generacion noventa y ocho"—the generation of the year 1898.

In the year 1898 Spain lost the war against the U.S.A. and her last valuable colonies. This was a serious loss and led to economic decay and moral depression. A group of young Spanish writers at that time, known as the "1898 generation", undertook to trace the reasons for Spain's loss and downfall by endeavouring to analyse the traits of the Spanish national character and interpret them from the historical point of view.

A similar blow was suffered by the Ukrainians in the year 1919—"the year nineteen, the year of trials and punishment", as Malaniuk wrote. It is true that they did not lose an empire and colonies in that year, but something even more important,—their newly gained national and political independence. Those hit by this catastrophe undertook to trace the reasons for this loss, just as the Spanish generation of 1898 had done. And it was in this connection that the self-determination of a group of writers and poets, who were supporters of the Ukrainian nationalist monthly "Vistnyk" ("The Messenger"), edited by Dr. Dmytro Donzov, —Olena Teliha, O. Olzhych, L. Mosendz, Y. Darahan and Y. Malaniuk—manifested itself.

They blamed the socialists who had been in power in the newly restored Ukrainian state for the national failure. They reproached the latter with anti-militarism, an attitude typical of the socialist party, and with having devoted all their attention to social reforms instead of having taken the organisation of state power and state defence into consideration. When others tried to explain the national failure as an unfortunate fate, the "Vistnyk" writers, quoting Malaniuk's words, retorted: "There is no such thing as a sublime, evil, fortunate or unfortunate fate; fate is just and unique." The national failure, in their opinion, was the punishment for having failed to stand the test.

II.

In pronouncing those to blame for the national failure guilty, Malaniuk, however, at the same time sought to discover the cause of their guilt and the cause of the mistakes they had made. He affirmed that there was no personal guilt on the part of the Ukrainian politicians of those days; Russian pressure had killed their instinct of political self-preservation and, to quote Taras Shevchenko's words, "they had woken up in the midst of fire and had discovered that they had been robbed", since, by reason of their lack of political understanding, they had not been prepared for the task which awaited them. In his "Psalms of the Steppes" Malaniuk writes about the "hangmen in love", who ardently loved their native country, but did not know how to serve it and allowed it to be ruined.

These views were common to the entire generation; but Malaniuk not only criticized the events of his day, he also tried to discover the causes of this evil and to find a way to salvation in Ukrainian history. An étatist school had already been previously formed by certain Ukrainian historians (headed by V. Lypynsky), and this school now began to examine and criticize the views on Ukrainian history which were held by the populist school. Malaniuk inclined to the étatist school; he wished Ukraine to appropriate the "bronze statue of the state" for itself and he wanted to see a capitol—the symbol of the Roman idea of the state—erected next to the Kievan shrine of Lavra. Malaniuk's most original idea, however, is his analysis of the role of the non-Slavic element in the forming of the Ukrainian people.

Like other Slavic peoples, the Ukrainian people is fairly uniform and the Slavic element predominates over all other elements. Nevertheless, Malaniuk affirms that two other elements—the Greek and the Germanic—have also played a part in forming the Ukrainian people, and, in addition, he also takes into account the Mongolian (actually the Turco-Tartar) element as an alien and hostile element.

It is an established fact that the Greek element spread to Ukraine in two powerful waves. In ancient times the Greeks colonised the entire Ukrainian coast, and part of the Scythians, who at that time inhabited Southern Ukraine, allowed themselves to be hellenised completely (just as the ancient Celts and Iberians later on allowed themselves to be latinised). Every Greek town on the Ukrainian

coast formed (as was likewise the case in Greece itself) a separate independent republic. Of these republics, that of Olbia, situated at the end of the landlocked bay of the River Hypanis (now called Boh), developed considerably. Later, these Greek colonies united to form the kingdom of the Bosphorus with Panticapaeum (now called Kerch) as the capital, which in the first century B.C. came under Roman rule. The second wave of Greek influence occurred in the early Middle Ages; Christianity and also certain elements of Byzantine culture spread to the principality of Kiev and to other East Slavic principalities, from Byzantium. Furthermore, the Crimean Peninsula, which had been colonised by the ancient Greeks, partly remained in the sphere of influence of Byzantium and thus formed a link between Ukraine and the Eastern Roman Empire.

The Ukrainians can be proud of the fact that their country was already dominated by Greek influence in ancient times, and the same also applies—with a few reservations—as far as the Byzantine era is concerned. It is true that some modern historians (for instance Dr. P. Isayiv) are of the opinion that Byzantine culture at that time was already dying out and that the Greek metropolitans and bishops in Ukraine pursued not Ukrainian, but Byzantine political aims. It is, of course, true that the East Slavic princes for the most part wanted East Slavs and not Greeks as their bishops, and had important reasons for wanting this; but it was not Byzantium alone that used religious and denominational matters for the purpose of gaining political influence. It may be correct that Byzantium at that time was no longer at its zenith, but was already decadent*); but that does not mean that the Ukrainians, disregarding the proximity of Byzantium, should have obtained their culture from distant Germania, which at that time was still extremely uncivilized. Compared to Byzantium, all the rest of Europe, devastated as it was as a result of the migration of peoples, was still very uncivilized in the early Middle Ages; Byzantium alone had been able to preserve the traditions of the Roman Empire and certain elements of ancient

*) The fact must, however, be borne in mind that the Byzantine Empire, particularly in the 10th and 11th centuries, not only developed a powerful expansion activity, but also underwent a remarkable cultural regeneration; the process of general decay did not begin until the end of the 11th century, when Byzantium lost most of its possessions in Asia Minor to the Turkish Seljuks (*The Editor*).

Greek culture. And, incidentally, Western Europe is indebted to the Byzantines who fled from the Turks for certain elements of the Renaissance.

Malaniuk is aware of this fact. In his opinion Ukraine is an heiress of Greek culture, a "Hellas of the Steppes" (according to the famous saying of the German philosopher, Herder)—to distinguish it from the real and mountainous Hellas.

Malaniuk regards Ukraine with the eyes of a sailor, who, coming from the south, sails the Pontus Euxinus, that is to say the Black Sea, and on the horizon, namely on the Ukrainian coast, sights a Greek city with its shrines of gleaming white marble:

*"And rising up out of the foam of the Pontus,
Over the mirror of the surging billows,
Is the harmonious dream of the horizon—
The harmonious Hellas of the steppes."*

The Germanic element, too, reached Ukraine in two waves; in the first place, with the Goths, and later with the Varangians, that is to say the Norsemen from Sweden, who undoubtedly played an important part in the ancient history of Ukraine. There is, incidentally some controversy as regards the part they played in the founding of the Kievan state; whereas numerous outstanding historians support the so-called Norman theory in the firm belief that the Norsemen *founded* the Kievan state, the opponents of this theory affirm that this state was founded by the local East Slavic tribes and that the Norsemen originally merely *served* as mercenary troops in Kyiv. It is, of course, understandable that the opponents of the so-called Norman theory are in the majority amongst the Ukrainian historians, since their attitude is more in keeping with Ukrainian national feeling; and when the great Ukrainian national poet, Taras Shevchenko, wrote that the Black Sea "has loved unruly Slavs with their long forelocks", he was probably referring not only to the Zaporozhian Kozaks of the 16th-18th century, but also to the warriors of the Kievan Prince, Oleh (Helgi) the Soothsayer.

Malaniuk has different ideas on this subject. In his opinion, the original Ukrainians as such and the East Slaves are peace-loving and defenceless peoples. They are not capable of protecting Ukraine—a country which has hardly any natural frontiers and can only

be protected by a bold and warlike people who do not fear bloodshed—against its neighbour, Turkish Asia. He writes:

*“The name has become a curse, a curse,
The name of the light-coloured, silent “Polonians”*),
For the inhabitants of a land drowned in blood
And a land thirsting for blood...”*

In Malaniuk's opinion, it was not the gentle Polonians who founded the mighty kingdom of Kyiv, but the Norsemen,—those same Norsemen who set up their states in ancient Britain and Normandy and, later, in Sicily and Southern Italy, too. Malaniuk regards the founding of the kingdom of Kyiv as one of the heroic ancient Germanic deeds which form the subject of the Scandinavian sagas.

In the West the part played by the Norsemen was a different one to what it was in Ukraine. In the West they terrorised the population which inhabited the coasts and the banks of the large rivers. They were ruthless pirates. They founded new states, but they founded them on ruins and cemeteries. In Ukraine it was a Varangian prince who organised the judicature, codified the native laws, founded a school for three hundred pupils, built the Cathedral of St. Sophia and scores of churches. In the annals of history he is the outstanding example of a civilized and humane ruler. His name was Prince Yaroslav the Wise (1019-1054).

Why did the Norsemen give England William the Conqueror at almost the same time as they gave Ukraine Yaroslav the Wise? Why were the Varangians in Ukraine not pirates, but disciplined warriors and an orderly element which created a state? Malaniuk's answer to this question is that it was precisely in Ukraine that the “Varangian steel” met the “Byzantine bronze, Norse strength met Greek culture. Mighty, uncivilized Scandinavia gave Ukraine the best that it possessed,—its strength, its energy and its will-power. Civilized but weak-willed and decaying Greece had likewise given Ukraine its best quality, its culture. And thus, the synthesis of the highest values of the North and the South was realised in Ukraine and produced the Ukrainian “Hellas of the Steppes”.

*) The oldest Slavic population of the region of Kiev is supposed to have been known by this name.

But a difficult task fell to the people who had united the "Varangian steel" with the "Byzantine bronze", namely to protect Christian Europe against the onslaughts of heathen and, later, Moslem Asia,—a historical mission, similar to that which, at the other end of the continent, Spain had taken upon itself. Kyiv, with its gilded domes, was not only a centre of culture, but also a fortress, a bulwark far in the East, to protect Europe:

*"It is precisely that which was to be doomed to fall,
Which rears up its golden brow against the Asiatic winds,
To protect unflinching Hellas
Against the storm of passions and evil."*

Malaniuk did not repeat any old pathetic phrases about the brave Kozaks who protected Mother Ukraine against ruthless enemies. He regarded Ukrainian history critically,—and found no reason to be ashamed; he confirmed the fact that the history of Ukraine is a match for criticism and that it is a firm foundation for Ukrainian national dignity.

III.

Is Malaniuk's entire poetic achievement a philosophy of history with topical political conclusions and corrections? Or, even worse, is it what Prof. Derzhavyn is wont to call "versified publicism"?

An impression of this kind might indeed be created by the essay on Malaniuk which was published by Dr. Donzov, entitled "A Poet of the Apocalyptical Years", in the Paris weekly "Ukrayinets-Chas" ("The Ukrainian—The Time"), No. 433. Dr. Donzov's opinion enjoys considerable prestige, for he edited the "Vistnyk" and headed the entire "Vistnyk Group", of which Malaniuk was also a member. If we consider Malaniuk's poetry as a whole, however, we shall see that completely intimate themes, too,—which Dr. Donzov attempts to ridicule as typical of the pre-war poets—are by no mean foreign to him. On the contrary, Malaniuk is a very human person, to whom nothing that is human is foreign.

He lets his apocalyptical visions appear against an idyllically quiet background; striking effects are created by contrasts, as for instance when a son's anxiety for the life of his mother who is very ill is contrasted against the background of a glorious summer day, when the apocalyptical chord of death interrupts the line of tender feeling like a burst of thunder. The tender, human feelings

of a son, so foreign to the somewhat harsh Vistnyk style, and a deep religiousness are expressed in Malaniuk's "Voices of the Earth".

Malaniuk's religiousness is essentially a Ukrainian religiousness, a fundamental quality of the national traditions closely bound up with the nation, in fact one of the fundamental qualities of the unity which exists in the Ukrainian nation, even though it is divided into two religious denominations. Such is the Ukrainian attitude to religion, an attitude which is quite different, for instance, from the Spanish attitude which is characteristic of a country in which only one religious confession prevails. In Malaniuk's opinion, the Catholic St. George of Lviv (Lemberg) is a brother of the Greek Orthodox St. Sophia of Kyiv.

But religion is by no means for Malaniuk—as for some people—a subsidiary means of preserving national peculiarities and national traditions. He knows only too well in whose hands the fate of the nation rests when he writes in his poem, "History":

*"The parables of history buzz
And die out and pass away.
God Eternal determines all,
He commands all, He achieves all."*

As we see, Malaniuk succeeded in harmoniously uniting his nationalism with Christianity, an undertaking which has not always been successful. German National Socialism, for instance, in seeking its ideological roots in the religion of the ancient Germanic tribes, became a new heathenism. Malaniuk tries to find a personification of Christian ideas on earth; amidst the din of the city he longs for his womanly ideal and expresses this longing in his poem "Beatrice".

Even in his most intimate themes, which have nothing whatever to do with the Varangians or the Hellas of the Steppes, or with history and politics, Malaniuk is always true to his own self. And even here there is something which distinguishes him from the poets of the previous epoch. What is it?

It can best be seen by comparing two poems—one by Malaniuk and one by Charnetsky—which both deal with the same well-known theme and both have the same title, "Moonlight Sonata". Stepan Charnetsky (1881-1943) was not only a brilliant literary critic, but also a gifted poet. His "Moonlight Sonata" is a tranquil and cold nocturne; and after reading it, it seems as though the cold moonlight could not create any other impression at all. When the same cold

moonbeam falls on Malaniuk's pen, however, it is mirrored in entirely different reflections; Malaniuk's poem contains the horrors of a gruesome, ancient mythology, passion, primeval power, thunder. Bethoven's immortal work is interpreted quite differently by Charnetsky, the "modernist" of the previous generation, and by Malaniuk,—the one a poet formed by the thunder of the year 1919, the other a poet formed by the fire of the war for freedom. And these two generations have an entirely different attitude to the entire past and future of Ukraine, to Ukrainian national peculiarities, to national interests, to the ways of realising national independence. They are two exactly opposite temperaments, two diametrically opposed philosophies of life, two generations who in the twenties found it extremely difficult to find a common language.

Dr. Donzov calls Malaniuk a "poet of the apocalyptical years", a "bard of the apocalyptical epoch". In Prof. Derzhavyn's opinion, Malaniuk is a "poet of *his* epoch", which ended with World War II, and after his epoch passed away Malaniuk felt lonely and strange.

Whether this really is the case or not, is immaterial as far as we are concerned. What is more important, in our opinion, is that the epoch in question really was an apocalyptical one and that Malaniuk was its most outstanding and its mightiest bard, who soared above the commonplace pathos and cheap aggressiveness of those days—and also above the crude voluntarism which was the fashion at that time. Prof. Derzhavyn regards Malaniuk as a profound intellectualist. At any rate, his profound intellect enabled him to make a critical analysis of Ukrainian history and to elucidate the role of the Slavic and Germanic elements in it. This is, however, not a purely scientific or academic discovery, but the basis for an entire programme for national re-education. And this means a logical and persistent overcoming of the East Slavic "softness", which proved such a nourishing soil for the pacifist, cosmopolitan and collectivist ideas imported from abroad that these ideas proved decisive for the political atmosphere of the National Ukrainian Central Rada of 1917-1918, with all its tragic consequences. It also means the cultivation of Norse traits concealed in the dust of centuries, and the forging of the "Varangian steel", without which the soil of Ukraine, which is bathed in blood, cannot be liberated.

O. Ohloblyn

HETMAN ORLYK'S MANIFESTO

Even at the time of the national liberation revolution of the 17th century, Ukrainian political tradition regarded the defence of Ukrainian state independence as an international problem and, above all, as a question of general European importance. Bohdan Khmelnytsky regarded matters in this light, and so, too, did his successors, in particular Ivan Vyhovsky and Yuriy Khmelnytsky. The manifesto issued by the Ukrainian government in the year 1659, which had as its subject the severance of Ukraine from Russia and which was addressed to the rulers and governments of the European countries, is well-known. In 1677, Yuriy Khmelnytsky, at that time Prince of the Ukrainian Little Rus (Prince de la Petite Ruthenie de l'Ukraine) and Hetman of the Zaporozhian Kozaks (General des Cosaques Zaporoviens), after the conclusion of the treaty with Turkey informed the French King, Louis XIV, about this event. The aforesaid attitude is even more noticeable after Ivan Mazepa's break with Moscow. The old tradition, which asserted itself until the end of the 18th century and was embodied in the famous "Speech by Mazepa" in 1708 (quoted in the "Istoriya Rusiv"), mentions the international guarantee for the independence of the Ukrainian state.

The idea of the international character of the Ukrainian problem is, however, most strongly and most clearly expressed in the activity of the exile Hetman Pylyp Orlyk (1710-1742), in particular in his numerous writings, manifestos, memoirs, treatises and letters, etc. These documents, for the most part published during the last 35 years in the works of the Ukrainian historian, Prof. Ilya Borshtchak, and in the works of the late Prof. Borys Krupnytsky, are of considerable significance as regards the history of Ukrainian

politics and especially the political thought of the first half of the 18th century. P. Orlyk's treatise entitled "Arguments Regarding the Rights of Ukraine" was for the first time published by Prof. Borshtchak and printed in "Visnyk" ("The Herald", N.Y.). In this article Hetman P. Orlyk's manifesto of 1712 to the European governments, which is closely connected with the said treatise, is mentioned. This manifesto, dated April 4, 1712, was issued by Orlyk in connection with the Ukrainian and Turkish negotiations which at that time were being conducted in Constantinople.

In its fight against Moscow the Ukrainian exile government was obliged to seek the help and support of the other states which were hostile in their attitude towards Moscow, above all, Sweden, the Crimea and Turkey. With the first two of these countries Ukraine was already allied by treaties and alliances. But the country which at that time was best able to help Ukraine was Turkey, which had just inflicted a heavy defeat on Russia on the River Prut and, on the strength of the Prut Preliminary Treaty of July 12, 1711, demanded the evacuation of the entire territory of Ukraine by Russia and the latter's non-interference in the affairs of Ukraine. But as Russia (as usual!) failed to fulfil the terms of the Prut Treaty, especially with regard to Ukraine, the Turkish government began to make preparations for a new war against Russia and in this connection had entered into negotiations with Ukraine. In December 1717, the Ukrainian delegation came to Istanbul; It consisted of the following members: Dmytro Horlenko, colonel of Pryluky, Klym Dovhopolyi, judge, Ivan Maksymovych, secretary-general, Hryhor Herzyk, general-osaul, and Kost' Hordiyenko, the chief of the Zaporozhian Kozaks. In the course of the negotiations, the Ukrainian delegation demanded that Turkey should recognise Ukraine on both sides of the Dnipro, including the Zaporozhian Kozaks and the entire Ukrainian people, as an independent country in which there should be no foreign external intervention whatever. ("Ukraina ab utraque parte Borysthenis cum exercitui Zaporoviensi genteque Parvae Rossiae perpetuo sit ab omni extra dominatione libera".) Further points that were stressed in these negotiations were that no one was to claim the right to rule Ukraine as if it were a vassal country or to demand a yearly tribute from it. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church was to remain inviolable, under the administration of the Patriarch of Tzarhorod (Constantinople). Turkey was not to interfere in the internal affairs of Ukraine and was to recognise all

the freedoms, laws, privileges and frontiers of Ukraine. All the privileges of the Zaporozhian Kozaks were to be guaranteed. Ukrainian merchants were to be allowed to carry on free trade in the Ottoman (Turkish) empire. The Ukrainian people and the Zaporozhian Kozaks were to continue to remain under the protection of the King of Sweden and in the union of lasting friendship with the Khan of the Crimea.

These negotiations between Ukraine and Turkey had already made good progress when a change of government took place in Constantinople. The new government was anxious to reach an understanding with Russia, which meanwhile had begun to fulfil certain terms of the Prut Treaty. And this fact, of course, affected the Ukrainian-Turkish alliance. The Ukrainian delegation was forced to make certain concessions, and on March 5 (old calendar), 1712, the Sultan issued a decree, according to which the Hetman Orlyk was recognised only for that part of the Ukraine situated on the right bank of the Dnipro (excluding Kyiv and the surrounding districts) and for the Zaporozhian Sich. This part of Ukraine possessed state rights under the protectorate of the Ottoman empire. No one in the Ottoman empire was allowed to interfere with Ukrainian freedoms and laws. Ukraine was not obliged to pay a yearly tribute to the Sultan, but was solely to send an auxiliary army against the enemies of Turkey.

Orlyk tried in vain to persuade the Turkish government that that part of Ukraine situated on the left bank of the Dnipro and Kyiv should be liberated, inasmuch as he pointed out that Ukraine could not exist without Kyiv, nor Kyiv without Ukraine. On April 5, 1712, Turkey signed a peace treaty with Russia, according to which Turkey renounced all her claims to that part of Ukraine situated on the left bank of the Dnipro and to Kyiv. Even before he knew about this treaty, Orlyk sent his manifesto, dated April 4, 1712, to the European governments. Orlyk's purpose in issuing this manifesto was to prove to other states (and we know that in the first place the manifesto was sent to the governments of England, France and Holland) the historical rights of Ukraine to state independence, inasmuch as he based his arguments on the treaty which had just been concluded with Turkey. He stressed that the Ukrainian-Turkish alliance was in no way a threat to the interests of other states, in particular to the interests of Christian states.

The manifesto was written in Latin, of which Orlyk, as a former student of the Kyiv Academy, had a perfect knowledge. The contemporary French translation of the manifesto was discovered by Prof. Borschak in the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and he published the Ukrainian translation of it, together with a valuable commentary as supplement to the treatise "Orlikiana" ("Agricultural Ukraine", Volume IV, year 1922-23, Coll. VII and VIII, Vienna 1923, pp. 365-367). The manifesto itself was published earlier in the paper, "Ukrainian Affairs", 1922, No. 6, in an article by I. Borschak, dedicated to S. P. Shelukhin.

THE MANIFESTO TO THE GOVERNMENTS

In the Name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost!

The rulers, anxious for their fame and prestige and more than anyone else exposed to the opinion and judgment of the people, on the one hand consider themselves responsible for its deeds and political steps, even though, on the other hand, they are only called upon to account to God, the Lord and Master, for their deeds. For this reason we consider it right and imperative to inform the kings, princes, republics and other Christian states of the motives which have led me to the Ottoman Porte and have forced me to take up arms against the Russian Tzar; although I have no doubts that this political step will not be falsely construed by people, not even by those who are ignorant of the justice of our cause (*la Justice de notre cause*) or by those who by our enemies' artificial (*invention*) have been prejudiced beforehand.

Above all, we can say that we have considered it imperative to follow in the steps and example of the late Hetman of the Kozaks, Ivan Mazepa, whose virtue and piety are famed throughout the entire Christian world.

And therefore we know that it is a natural law to liberate oneself from subjugation and to strive to attain that of which injustice and violence have deprived us; everyone knows how we have been treated by the Muscovite state.

It is known to all that His Majesty, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, of illustrious fame, of his own free will and not forced by anyone, subordinated the Ukrainian people and the Kozak nation to the Russian Tzar (*a soumis Ruthènes et la Nation Cosaque au Czar Moscovite*).

And that in a solemn pact, Tzar Alexis Mikhailovitch, in eternity, vowed by oath to protect the Kozak nation and the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) people under his protection. It is known to all that after the death of His Majesty Bohdan Khmelnytsky,—blessed be his memory,—the Muscovite state in various ways violated the laws and freedom of the Kozak nation; the Muscovite Tzar wanted to force the free Ruthenian (Ukrainian) people to become slaves.

It is known to all that the Muscovite Tzar Peter wanted to transform the free Kozaks into a regular army, wanted to violate our laws and freedoms, and even wanted to exterminate the Zaporozhian Army for good. At that time, His Majesty Hetman Ivan Mazepa—blessed be his memory,—in order to protect the rights of his country and in order to preserve the Zaporozhian Army, placed himself under the protection of His Majesty the King of Sweden. In this respect he followed in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who formed a union with His Majesty the King of Sweden, Charles X, by mutual agreement and military alliance (*par une entente et une alliance d'armes*), for the purpose of liberating his country from the Polish yoke under which the Ruthenian people were at that time languishing. Since the tragic battle of Poltava the Kozak nation has suffered under the tyrannical yoke of Moscow and longs to attain its freedom.

After the death of Hetman Mazepa in Bendery,—blessed be his memory,—the Kozak Army, by God's grace and under the protection of His Majesty the King of Sweden, in accordance with the ancient law elected me to be the new Hetman. Even though the situation today is very difficult, serious and, indeed, dangerous, I have, by God's grace, accepted this huge task, namely to rule in the common interests of our beloved country, the Zaporozhian Army and all Ukraine.

I have also accepted this honourable office on the condition that His Majesty the King of Sweden will guarantee the Kozak nation that he will demand their rights from the Muscovites, and to this purpose His Majesty the King of Sweden proclaimed in a solemn declaration that he would neither lay down arms nor enter into negotiations with Moscow without taking the interests of the Kozak nation into consideration.

Neither the aspiration nor the sincere feelings which we cherish for our beloved country could force us to do something which

would be odious to a Christian nation. The Sultan has assured us by the solemn treaty which he made with us, namely an honourable treaty for a Christian nation, that the Ministers of the Porte had affirmed that never before had they found such an example in their history and in their annals.

The Sultan has assured us that he has no intention of either conquering Ukraine or of incorporating it in his empire; but that he intends to set up in this state (*cet État*) its former constitution and its own government, so as, in this way, to erect a barrier between the Ottoman empire and the realm of the Russian Tzar, since their proximity has been the cause of big and fierce wars; thus, when we fight side by side with the Ottoman army, it must not be assumed that we have joined forces with the Turks in order to help them to defeat the Christians, but only in order to wait for the opportunity to command the entire Kozak army and, with God's help, to strive to bring about the liberation of our beloved country and to release it from the yoke under which it has been languishing for so many years. We cannot look cold-bloodedly on the misery and misfortune to which our beloved nation has been reduced, nor on the violation of our rights in so many cases; it is not a feeling of revenge which prompts our actions; we are guided solely by the motives of justice and right which permit each individual to defend his own cause and his own aims (*Selon le droit qui permet à chacun de défendre sa propre cause et son propre but*).

We declare to everyone that we are not to blame for any human blood which may be shed,—and, in order to show that we are not hostile to the good services of Christian rulers, it is stipulated in a special clause of our treaty with the King of Sweden that, as soon as the Kozak nation with God's help regains its rights, it will not refuse to accept the intermediation of neutral states in questions pertaining to the demarcation of frontiers or in settling other difficulties which might ensue. Whatever may be the result of our action, whatever our arms, which we are justified in taking up, may achieve, we shall be glad to have worked for the fame and prestige of our country, even at danger to our life, and for this reason we wish to inform all just persons of the pureness of our intentions and the justice of our motives.

In Demotika, April 4, 1712.

ORLYK,
Hetman of the Zaporozhian Army.

Vasyl Oreletsky

The Leading Feature of Ukrainian Law

The fact that Ukraine is very often called the northern Slavonic Greece compels us to look for the similarities between these two nations. Just as ancient Greece, after its conquest by the Romans had a very significant cultural influence on ancient Rome, so Ukraine that was dominated, it is true, by Muscovy (later called Russia) conquered the old Muscovy culturally by sending to Moscow Ukrainian scholars, priests and teachers to fill the cultural vacuum in Muscovy; this applies especially to the second half of the XVIIth and the first half of the XVIIIth century. Just as Greece was a centre of learning in southern Europe, so Ukraine as a centre of learning radiated its influence throughout eastern, and even throughout the Slavonic southern Europe (including the two Rumanian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia).

Many Ukrainian research workers looked for the reasons why such a great and highly cultured nation had for centuries to fight for its freedom and independence.

Many Ukrainian jurists looked for these reasons in the field of Ukrainian law throughout the last millenary. The oldest Ukrainian chronicle, that of Nestor, emphasizes the fact that "among the Poliany (a central Ukrainian tribe) the manners of their forefathers were gentle." It should not be forgotten that it was the very time when the Poliany had lost struggle against the dangerous Asiatic hordes of the Polovtsi. While the Polovtsi used to shed blood, the ancient Ukrainians (Poliany and other tribes) were mild; and this mildness was characteristic throughout the past centuries up to the present time. Because the neighbours of Ukraine were not so mild, this mildness did much harm to the Ukrainians.

The Ukrainian attitude to life has found its expression in the old Ukrainian law, above all in the penal law, in the epoch of the old Ukrainian state of Kyiv, called also the Kyivan Rus' (Ruthenia). At a time when vendettas and arbitrary administration of justice were preponderant, a certain humanity may be observed in old Ukraine. Vengeance was in old Ukraine (Ruthenia) to a certain extent controlled and limited. A ransom might be accepted instead. Vengeance by killing was permitted only for murders, while less severe measures were allowed for less serious crimes. As one Ukrainian research worker states, such a limited system of vengeance did not survive long since it was forbidden after the death of the Ukrainian prince, Yaroslav the Wise (1054). Shortly after the introduction of Christianity in Ukraine (988) the vendetta was replaced by a system of compensation. This is all the more striking since the vendetta in the neighbouring western countries lasted till the 16th century, as the above-mentioned research worker comments in his study.

Capital punishment was unknown in old Ukraine. It is true, it was introduced in Ukraine during the reign of Prince Volodymyr the Great (or Holy), but only for a very short time and under the influence of the Byzantine (Greek) bishops. This punishment was soon done away with by Volodymyr the Great himself. When capital punishment in Ukraine slowly took root later on, this was only due to the victory of the powerful Tartar invaders.

After the coming of the Tartars corporal punishment was introduced in Ukraine by outside force. In view of the great cruelty of the penal law in the western states, this mildness of the Ukrainian penal law may be a "proof of a great humanity and also of a high general level of culture in old Rus-Ukraine", so a well-known research worker affirms.

As another Ukrainian lawyer has stated, the humanity of the old Ukrainian system is evident in the legal treatment of slaves who had forfeited their freedom because of their debts; the penal law treated them as if they were free men. The slaves were not, it is true, subject to law, that is they did not belong to the society, but were only an object of the private law. But in spite of this, we wish to point out here how mild and human was the old Ukrainian law protecting even the slaves. The oldest Ukrainian legal document "Rus'ka Pravda" (many legal collections from the XIth and XIIth centuries) does not always approve the principle of

the Roman law, to the effect that the slave is a thing and not a person. This is due to the leniency of the old Ukrainian law. Hence the state protected the slaves from the abuse of their dependence by free men.

But the most evident proof of humanity and mildness is afforded by the old Ukrainian law with reference to foreigners residing in Ukrainian towns and in the province. In Ukraine there was no discrimination of foreigners before the law as was practised in other states. On the contrary, foreigners (above all, merchants and diplomatic representatives) enjoyed many privileges. Ukrainian law did not allow rulers to make slaves of aliens in their territories. Foreign merchants while collecting their revenues enjoyed priority over the prince, as one research worker states. The foreign merchant was legally protected in the same manner as the native population. There were no such legal protections of foreigners in Western Europe at that time. Further, there did not exist any law in Ukraine that would allow a foreigner to be enslaved nor the provisions of the French law in accordance to which the property of a foreigner was ceded to the state after his death. Under the provisions of a Ukrainian-Greek treaty, the property of a deceased foreigner passed to his family. In old Ukraine there was a general moral conviction that the guest (or a foreigner) is a holy person. In accordance with "Rus'ka Pravda", the debts must be first returned to the foreigners and then to the natives. Foreigners were not obliged to have seven witnesses, as was the law where the natives were concerned, because they had no intimate persons (friends) who could be their witnesses. That is why the foreigner was obliged to have only two witnesses.

Foreigners could file a suit in Ukraine according to their law. This exceptional attitude towards foreigners is due to the humanity that was peculiar to the Ukrainian state and people. "The all-embracing quality of the Ukrainian soul and character was not willing to make any difference between the Ukrainians and foreigners while applying different legal standards to them" states one of the above-mentioned research workers.

Throughout centuries of Ukrainian history there were repeated two commandments of the Ukrainian prince Volodymyr Monomakh (12th century), bequeathed to his children in his will: "Do not permit the strong to annihilate the weak"; "do not kill and do not order another to be killed, even if he deserves death".

The principle of democratic equality was applied to all, even to those who were only half-free, and partly also to slaves. There was no trace of paternal despotism as in ancient Rome.

One of the Ukrainian research workers goes so far as to write as follows:

"The democratic equality of citizens in the eyes of the law, an ideal of modern law which is far from being realised, was one of the most valuable characteristics of old Ukrainian law and old Ukrainian philosophy. This characteristic was all the more valuable and all the more dangerous for those who owned it because it was lacking in the philosophy (and the equal system) of the neighbouring peoples."

The title of the oldest Ukrainian legal document is "Rus'ka Pravda". "Pravda" is in Ukrainian "truth" or "justice" but also "law". Hence it is that the Ukrainian word "Pravda" means "law", "truth" and "justice" at the same time; because law must be truth and justice alike. Such is the conception of the word "Pravda" in the eyes of the Ukrainian people. "Rus'ka Pravda" is a legal document of the Ukrainian central tribe Poliany containing the old Ukrainian legal system. From this important legal document it is evident that the penal law in old Ukraine was very mild and human as compared with the legal codes of other nations of that time.

The political constitution of the Ukrainian State of Kyiv was democratic although this state was a monarchy. There was a certain dualism of the government. The Ukrainian princes were sovereign only in exceptional cases, because the assembly of the people was by law the supreme organ of government. Classes did not possess any legally determined privileges; no citizens of Ukraine-Rus were prevented from entering them freely.

The fact that the great Ukrainian philosopher, Hryhoriy Skovoroda (1722-1794)—this modern Ukrainian Socrates—was rather a philosopher of moral than of law may prove what importance was laid on the moral questions. But law and morality are very near to each other. Skovoroda emphasized the priority of heart over brute force, and preached humanity and justice in the mutual relations of mankind. It may be the more understandable since he witnessed the liquidation of the last remnants of the Ukrainian national independence by the Russian Tzars. Skovoroda was against

brutality and preached morality in all human actions. This is characteristic of the Ukrainian philosopher of that time who could not but preach that law is truth and justice; because the Ukrainian "Pravda" (law and truth alike) would be victorious at last. It would be interesting to state here that also other Ukrainian philosophers, above all V. Zolotnytskyi (1714-1774) and Ivan Khmelnytskyi (1724-1794) were worthy pupils of Skovoroda in this respect.

The fundamental feature of the Ukrainian attitude to life is the Christian love that found its expression especially in Ukrainian law, above all, however, in the penal law. This attitude to life has not changed throughout the centuries and still remains to the present day.

When, after World War I, an independent Ukrainian National Republic was established, all inhabitants of the new Ukrainian state enjoyed equal rights before the law, regardless of their national or social origin. There existed several special ministries for the national minorities, e. g. for Russians, Poles and Jews. But Ukrainian humanity and mildness was suppressed by the brutal force of the White and Red Russian armies. It is to be regretted that the Polish and Rumanian armies also joined the Russian brutal forces, by occupying the western and south western Ukrainian territories. The Ukrainian national state ceased to exist, but let us hope only temporarily.

We hope that the time is not very far when the Ukrainian people will be free and independent and that the spirit of the Ukrainian law with its humanity and moral standards will prevail at last in liberated Ukraine.

Luka Lysenko

The Russian Subjugation of Ukraine as Reflected in Soviet Economic Policy and Statistics

I. Ukraine under Russian Occupation on the Eve of the First World War

The fight of the Ukrainian people against the national and social subjugation which Russian tzarism had tried since the 17th century to impose on them increased considerably during the Russian revolution of 1905-1907. The Ukrainian peasantry, which at that time constituted about 80 per cent of the entire population of Ukraine and was actively supported by the nationally conscious elements of the Ukrainian educated classes, in addition to its demands for agrarian reforms also strove to obtain a partial national and cultural autonomy, above all free elementary instruction in the primary schools in its native language, Ukrainian, and recognition of Ukrainian as the official language, side by side with Russian, in the courts of law and other state departments¹).

The abolition of press censorship made it possible for the Ukrainian political, literary and scientific press to be expanded not merely in West Ukraine alone (where under Austrian rule at that time there was no direct persecution of the Ukrainian language), but also throughout the whole of Ukraine. But this favourable situation only lasted for a few years, whereupon the tzarist government began to surpress the national freedom movement in Ukraine again just as ruthlessly as it had done before the revolution. And, incidentally, the anti-Ukrainian policy of the tzarist government was supported by practically all the Russian political parties which

existed at that time. Ukrainian papers and journals were prohibited under some administrative pretext or other; subscribers to these publications were threatened with imprisonment; and Ukrainian cultural and educational institutions were also liquidated by administrative measures. The Russian Duma (the new Russian parliament) rejected the bill submitted by the group of Ukrainian deputies which was to make the introduction of Ukrainian as the language of instruction in the primary schools possible. And, what was more, —the singing of Ukrainian songs in the primary and central schools was forbidden, as was the reciting of Ukrainian poems and the playing of Ukrainian tunes on musical instruments. In addition, the government prohibited all celebrations to commemorate the famous Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko.²⁾

From the economic point of view, Ukraine under czarist rule was merely a raw materials base of the Russian metropolis, which it supplied above all with coal, ores and sugar. About 80 per cent of the coal raised in Ukraine, about 90 per cent of the metals mined there and over 40 per cent of the valuable grain grown there were exported.³⁾ At the end of the 19th century about 46 per cent of the revenue received in Ukraine was expended for other parts of the Russian empire. If one adds up the state revenue received at that time from each hectare of land, then it will be seen that an inhabitant of Ukraine paid the state 2.5 times as much as an inhabitant of the Muscovite territories of Russia. In Ukraine the tax payable on 1 square verst (which is equal to 1.14 square kilometres) of land was 1,023.19 roubles, whereas in the Muscovite territories it was only 451.63 roubles. 16.97 roubles state revenue and 8.65 roubles state expenditure per year on an average fell to each inhabitant of Ukraine, whereas in the Muscovite territories the figures in this respect per head were 13.90 roubles state revenue and 13.99 roubles state expenditure.⁴⁾

This state of affairs continued for the most part unchanged in the 20th century, too, until the downfall of czarism. Ukraine was thus already an object of exploitation on the part of its Russian "elder brother" under the czarist regime and not only after its Soviet Bolshevik occupation, and Ukrainian property and products were used by the Russian government for the purpose of expanding the metropolis and improving the living conditions of the ruling Muscovite nation.

II. The Exploitation of Ukraine by Bolshevik Moscow

On the eve of World War II the economic position was as follows: Ukraine supplied 50 per cent of the total amount of coal raised in the entire Union, 60 per cent of the cast iron, about 50 per cent of the steel and machines for the heavy industries, 75 per cent of the total production of the coke chemical industry and 25 per cent of the electrical power. In addition, Ukraine produced about 20 per cent of the total wheat harvest in the entire U.S.S.R., about 30 per cent of the barley harvest, about 50 per cent of the maize harvest, and about 75 per cent of the sugar crop.⁵⁾ Ukraine possessed 20 per cent of the total stock of horned cattle in the entire U.S.S.R. and over 30 per cent of the total stock of pigs.⁶⁾ It is true that as a result of World War II the share of Ukraine in the total production of the U.S.S.R. decreased considerably, due to the fact that many branches of industry were destroyed in Ukraine and their expansion speeded up in other parts of the Soviet Union; nevertheless, by the end of the fifth Soviet Five Year Plan period (1955) Ukraine was supplying 32 per cent of the total amount of coal raised in the entire Soviet Union, almost 50 per cent of the cast iron, 37 per cent of the steel and rolled iron, about 60 per cent of the iron ore and over 25 per cent of all the machinery produced in the entire Union.

In the same year — 1955 — Ukrainian agriculture supplied 25 per cent of the total grain harvest of the entire Union, 71 per cent of the total sugar crop, over 20 per cent of the meat, 25 per cent of the milk and about 40 per cent of the total fruit crop.

At the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, O. Kyrychenko, in order to curry favour with his masters in the Kremlin, boasted that in the year 1955 “Ukraine supplied more than 160 million pood (1 pood equals 16.4 kilograms) of grain in excess of the quotas set. 396 million pood of wheat alone were delivered to the State. The quotas for the deliveries to the State of sunflower oil, flax, hemp, fruit, vegetables, ether oil and other plants cultivated for special purposes were likewise surpassed to a very considerable extent. In 1955 the collective and Soviet farms surpassed the supply and delivery quotas for milk, meat, wool and eggs”.⁹⁾

The extent to which the Soviet state robs Ukrainian agriculture of its produce, however, can clearly be seen from the following table, which has been compiled on the strength of data published in the Soviet press:

Table I.
Deliveries to State of Grain and other Agricultural Produce in Ukraine¹⁰

| Produce | 1955 | 1956 | 1956 in per- cent. to 1955 |
|--|-------|-------|-------------------------------|
| grain, milk and meat total (milk and meat in cor- responding equivalents to grain) in mil. metric centners (1 metric centner=100 kilogr. | | | |
| Itemized: | | | |
| grain | 211.8 | 185.5 | 88.0 |
| milk | 147.3 | 100.0 | 68.0 |
| meat | 31.0 | 43.0 | 138.7 |
| | 6.16 | 8.5 | 138.0 |

So as not to anger the Ukrainian peasants whom it robs, the Soviet government refrains from stating exactly how much grain, etc., was handed over to the Bolshevist imperium by Ukraine and contents itself with mysterious equivalents which are only comprehensible to experts who know how to decipher such machinations. For our calculations we have assumed the following equivalents: 1 unit of measure for grain=1 unit of measure for milk, and 1 unit of measure for meat=5 units of measure for grain.

After the quotas of the State plans for the deliveries of agricultural produce had been fulfilled and over fulfilled this way, there was hardly 15 to 20 per cent of the harvested grain left in the Ukrainian kolkhozes for the purpose of distribution amongst the collective farmers, according to the "working days" they had achieved, and actually 0.5 kilograms (and less) to 2 kilograms per working day were distributed. In order to prove that all our arguments are well-founded, we should like to quote as an example the results of the productive and economic output of two collective farms in different geographical zones of Ukraine,—farms which were organised at different times during the Russian Bolshevist occupation of Ukraine. The collective farm, "Chervony Prapor", in the district

of Bashtan, region of Mykolayiv, in 1954 had 1,612 hectares of tilled land, of which 867 hectares were used for the cultivation of grain. The harvest in this same year amounted to 12.4 centners of grain and 18 centners of maize per hectare, that is to say considerably more than the average harvest-yield of grain in Ukraine in the years 1954 and 1956. Of the 10,750 centners gross yield of grain, the collective farm handed over to the State (in the form of deliveries of various kinds) 6,287 centners (58.5 per cent), allotted 1,431 centners (13.3 per cent) to the seed-crop reserves and 1,460 centners (13.6 per cent) to the fodder reserves, and distributed, according to the system of working days, 1,532 centners (14.2 per cent), of which 1.1 kilograms of grain and 2.8 roubles in cash were handed out to the collective farmers for each working day.¹¹⁾

The other example: in the Zhdanov collective farm, in the district of Kulykiv, region of Lviv (Lemberg), where the area of tilled land amounted to 2,100 hectares and the working members numbered 1,100, the results of the productive output in the year 1955 were as follows: the grain harvest amounted to 5.5 centners per hectare, the potato crop to 27 centners per hectare, the vegetable crop to 67 centners per hectare, and the amount of milk obtained during the year was 1,500 kilograms per cow; 0.5 kilograms of grain and 1.5 roubles in cash were distributed amongst the collective farmers for each working day.¹²⁾ And, incidentally, there are many collective farms like the Zhdanov kolkhoz in Ukraine. "Suffice it to say that in 1955, when the harvest-yield in Ukraine as a whole was comparatively high, 1,820 collective farms (11.8 per cent of all the collective farms in Ukraine) had a harvest-yield of grain of up to 6 centners per hectare; 1,488 collective farms—14.6 per cent of the farms which specialise in the cultivation of sunflowers—had a harvest-yield of sunflower-seeds of up to 5 centners per hectare; 926 collective farms (10.8 per cent of all the collective farms in Ukraine) had a harvest-yield of sugar-beet of up to 100 centners per hectare; 6,610 collective farms (43.0 per cent) had a harvest-yield of potatoes of up to 50 centners per hectare; 3,734 collective farms (24.4 per cent) had a harvest-yield of vegetables of up to 50 centners per hectare, and 2,440 collective farms (15.9 per cent) produced 1,000 kilograms of milk per cow".¹³⁾

According to the Soviet press, the grain harvest in Ukraine in 1956 was poor. In this connection the Statistical Central Administration of the U.S.S.R. reported as follows: "In 1956, as a result of unfavourable winter weather conditions, which led to a considerable loss in winter wheat, the gross yield of grain in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was less than in 1955, which was one of the best harvest years in Ukraine".¹⁴ This statement on the part of the Statistical Central Administration of the U.S.S.R. does not, however, correspond to the truth, since, according to the data of the Statistical Administration of Ukraine, here was in 1956 not only a loss in winter wheat, but also a decrease in the summer grain crop in the southeastern regions of Ukraine as a result of drought.¹⁵ Moreover, the President of the Ministerial Council of Soviet Ukraine, Kalchenko, in the speech he held at the fourth meeting of the 3rd session of the Supreme Council of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic stated as follows: "On the strength of the plans adopted by the collective and Soviet farms, it is planned to obtain a gross yield of grain amounting to 1.7 milliard pood in 1957,—that is to say, 27 per cent more than the actual yield last year";¹⁶) from this one can conclude that the gross yield of grain in Ukraine in 1956 amounted to about 216 million centners and, compared to the fertile year 1955, was not only a poor yield, but, in fact, the poorest yield in the past ten years.

The poor grain harvest in Ukraine in 1956 did not, however, prevent the Russian Bolshevist occupation regime from ruthlessly exploiting Ukrainian agriculture in the same year and seizing the following produce: 100 million centners of grain, 43 million centners of milk, 8.5 million centners of meat and several million centners of other agricultural produce; all that remained to the Ukrainian farmers who were forced to work on the collective farms was an extremely meagre ration, whilst grain, sugar, milk, meat and other foodstuffs, as well as the industrial raw materials raised in Ukraine (coal, iron ore, etc.), natural gas and many of Ukraine's industrial products were exported and continue to be exported, en masse and without any compensation, from the country to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic,—the R.S.F.S.R., a republic with a predominantly Russian population, which forms the pillar and support of the Muscovite Bolshevist imperium and thus of world Communism, too. That national inequality, cultural subjugation of the non-Russian peoples and mass genocide prevail

in the U.S.S.R. is a well-known fact and a disgrace to the 20th century. But the fact that the population of the R.S.F.S.R. for the most part lives on the goods produced by the peoples subjugated by Moscow and, above all, on the goods produced by the Ukrainian people, can be deduced from the Soviet statistics on freight sent by railway in certain Soviet republics and from the statistics on the turnover in the retail trade and the latter's structure in the state and cooperative trade of the U.S.S.R.

Table II.

Forwarding and Arrival of Freight on Railways of Soviet Ukraine and R.S.F.S.R. (in million metric tons)¹⁷⁾

| Republic | | 1913 (in former frontiers) | 1940 | 1950 | 1955 | 1956 |
|----------|-----------|----------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Ukraine | forwarded | 61.7 | 200.0 | 228.5 | 347.5 | 376.4 |
| Ukraine | arrived | 54.8 | 166.6 | 200.5 | 311.9 | 340.6 |
| RSFSR | forwarded | 73.6 | 333.9 | 498.2 | 761.7 | 819.9 |
| RSFSR | arrived | 79.3 | 359.3 | 525.4 | 773.9 | 832.6 |

Unfortunately, we have no statistics on the forwarding and arrival of freight (in the individual Soviet republics) conveyed by other means of transport (sea, river and motor transport), nor on the kinds of freight conveyed by the railways of Ukraine and the R.S.F.S.R. But even the above statistics alone suffice to confirm the fact that, as under the tzarist regime, so, too, under the Russian Bolshevik occupation, far more products were exported from Ukraine than were imported into that country. And this implies that the favourable balance of trade of Ukraine within the unified economic bloc, which was formed by tzarist Russia and is now formed by the U.S.S.R., was and still is appropriated by Muscovite Russia and that the number of goods arriving has always exceeded by far the number of goods forwarded from the metropolis.

And even more striking illustration of the dominating position of the Muscovite nation in the U.S.S.R., which it has expanded, and of the subordinate position and economic inequality of the Ukrainian nation is provided by statistics, published in the compilation of Soviet statistics, "Sovetskaya Torgov'la" ("Soviet Trade") (Moscow, 1956, Statistical State Publishing Department), on the supplying of the population of certain Soviet republics with consumption and non-consumption goods. The following table appears on page 31 of the said compilation of Soviet statistics:

Table III.
Goods Turnover in State and Cooperative Retail Trade
including Nutrition Section
 (in million roubles according to prices at time in question)

| Republic | 1928 | 1940 | 1950 | 1955 |
|----------------|--------|---------|---------|---------|
| entire USSR | 11,774 | 175,080 | 359,582 | 501,937 |
| Itemized: | | | | |
| RSFSR | 7,927 | 116,701 | 236,608 | 323,765 |
| Soviet Ukraine | 2,500 | 32,028 | 57,312 | 80,647 |

In percentage to the U.S.S.R.

| entire USSR | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
|----------------|------|------|------|------|
| Itemized: | | | | |
| RSFSR | 67.3 | 66.6 | 65.8 | 64.5 |
| Soviet Ukraine | 21.2 | 18.3 | 15.9 | 16.1 |

NOTE: The specific weight of the state and cooperative retail trade in the U.S.S.R. in 1955 amounted to 91 per cent of the entire retail trade in the Soviet Union.¹⁹⁾

It can be seen from the statistics given in the above table that the proportion of the quantity of goods sold in Soviet Ukraine to the quantity of goods sold in the R.S.F.S.R. constantly shifts in favour of the latter; whereas in 1928, 3.2 times as many goods were sold in the R.S.F.S.R. in the state and cooperative retail trade (including the nutrition section) as in Soviet Ukraine, during the years 1950 to 1955 the quantity of goods sold in Muscovite Russia was already more than 4 times as much as the quantity of goods sold in Ukraine (the percentage of the population in the towns in both countries was approximately equal). And, incidentally, in 1955 the population of the R.S.F.S.R. (111.8 millions) was only 2.8 times as large as the population of Ukraine (40.2 millions).²⁰⁾

These statistics suffice completely to give one an idea of the extent to which Bolshevik Moscow has exploited and continues to exploit occupied Ukraine and of the latter's economic "equality" in the U.S.S.R. bloc. The following statistics, likewise taken from the above-mentioned compilation, "Sovetskaya Torgov'la", confirm these facts still more. On page 32 of the said work we find statistics on the quantity of goods sold in the Soviet republics, calculated per head of the population. We are, however, only quoting the statistics for the Soviet republics with a large population or for those republics which border on Ukraine.

Table IV.
Retail Goods Turnover of State and Cooperative Trade
(including nutrition section) in the Soviet Republics
in 1955 per head of population²¹)

| Republic | Population on 1. 4. 56 (000,000) | Total Goods Turnover | Itemized as: | |
|---------------------------------------|--|----------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| | | | Consumption Goods | Non- Consumption Goods |
| In Roubles according to actual prices | | | | |
| entire USSR | 200.2 | 2,541 | 1,394 | 1,147 |
| RSFSR | 112.6 | 2,895 | 1,658 | 1,237 |
| Ukrainian SSR | 40.6 | 2,005 | 1,027 | 978 |
| Byelorussian SSR | 8.0 | 1,598 | 810 | 788 |
| Uzbek SSR | 7.3 | 1,958 | 972 | 986 |
| Kazakh SSR | 8.5 | 2,333 | 1,151 | 1,182 |
| Georgian SSR | 4.0 | 2,098 | 1,008 | 1,090 |
| Azerbaijan SSR | 3.4 | 2,053 | 1,101 | 952 |
| Lithuanian SSR | 2.7 | 1,710 | 863 | 847 |
| Moldavian SSR | 2.7 | 1,467 | 654 | 813 |

It is obvious from the above figures that in 1955 (and, of course, not only in that year) far more goods were sold in the retail trade (calculated per head of the population) in the R.S.F.S.R. than in any other of the above-mentioned Soviet republics; namely, to the value of 354 roubles (14 per cent) more than in the entire U.S.S.R., to the value of 890 roubles (44 per cent) more than in Ukraine, and to the value of 1,287 roubles (80 per cent) more than in Byelorussia. The position is similar as regards the sale of certain groups of goods, namely consumption and non-consumption goods; whereas in Ukraine in 1955 consumption goods were sold to the value of 1,027 roubles per head of the population, the value of the consumption goods sold in the R.S.F.S.R. amounted to 1,658 roubles per head, i.e. 631 roubles (61 per cent) more than in Ukraine; non-consumption goods were sold in the R.S.F.S.R. to the value of 259 roubles (26 per cent) more than in Ukraine.

All these figures corroborate the fact that Muscovite Russia enjoys a privileged position as compared to Ukraine and other national republics, as regards their being supplied with goods, and this fact, on the other hand, is also confirmed by the structure of the goods turnover in the state and cooperative retail trade in the R.S.F.S.R. and in Ukraine (especially as regards the consumption goods group).

| Type of Goods | Goods Turnover in Retail Trade including Nutrition Section | | | | Goods in Reserve in Retail Trade at end of year 1955 | | | |
|---|--|---------|------------|-------|--|--------|---------------------------|-------|
| | in roubles 000,000 | | percentage | | in roubles 000,000 | | in days of goods turnover | |
| | Ukr. | RSFSR | Ukr. | RSFSR | Ukr. | RSFSR | Ukr. | RSFSR |
| all types of goods consumption | 80,647 | 323,765 | 100 | 100 | 14,658 | 63,786 | 70 | 77 |
| goods | 41,302 | 185,455 | 51.2 | 57.3 | 2,323 | 16,149 | 25 | 37 |
| meat and sausages | 3,516 | 16,126 | 4.4 | 5.0 | 28 | 550 | 4 | 13 |
| fish (including herrings) | 1,420 | 6,862 | 1.7 | 2.2 | 62 | 686 | 18 | 40 |
| tinned food | 756 | 4,675 | 1.0 | 1.4 | 162 | 1,549 | 130 | 156 |
| Itemized as: | | | | | | | | |
| tinned meat | 82 | 1,041 | 0.1 | 0.3 | 5 | 380 | 100 | 257 |
| tinned fish | 459 | 1,677 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 84 | 485 | 109 | 128 |
| tinned fruit & vegetables | 215 | 1,957 | 0.3 | 0.6 | 73 | 684 | 172 | 147 |
| fats | 2,708 | 13,653 | 3.4 | 4.2 | 119 | 1,203 | 16 | 34 |
| Itemized as: | | | | | | | | |
| butter | 1,256 | 6,577 | 1.6 | 2.0 | 27 | 405 | 7 | 23 |
| oil | 725 | 3,284 | 0.9 | 1.0 | 49 | 406 | 25 | 46 |
| other fats | 727 | 3,812 | 0.9 | 1.2 | 43 | 392 | 26 | 44 |
| milk & dairy products | 1,158 | 5,780 | 1.5 | 1.8 | 28 | 360 | 7 | 26 |
| eggs | 183 | 1,371 | 0.2 | 0.4 | 1 | 34 | 7 | 13 |
| sugar | 3,092 | 14,547 | 3.8 | 4.5 | 162 | 1,154 | 14 | 27 |
| confectionery | 2,917 | 14,503 | 3.6 | 4.5 | 219 | 1,420 | 33 | 42 |
| bread and bakeries | 6,950 | 27,097 | 8.6 | 8.4 | 15 | 54 | 1 | 0.8 |
| flour, barley-groats & macaroni foods | 2,694 | 11,594 | 3.3 | 3.6 | 124 | 2,237 | 20 | 82 |
| potatoes | 480 | 1,365 | 0.6 | 0.4 | 167 | 391 | 88 | 100 |
| vegetables | 705 | 2,208 | 0.9 | 0.7 | 179 | 288 | 88 | 49 |
| fruit, berries, etc. | 746 | 3,850 | 0.9 | 1.2 | 51 | 254 | 22 | 25 |
| alcoholic & non-alcoholic beverages & other consumption goods | 12,563 | 55,409 | 15.5 | 17.1 | 884 | 5,259 | 38 | 44 |
| extra amount of nutrition section | 1,236 | 4,695 | 1.5 | 1.4 | — | — | — | — |

Table V. (See page opposite)
 Structure of Goods Turnover in State and Cooperative
 Retail Trade in Ukraine and the R.S.F.S.R. in 1955²²)

| Type of Goods | Goods Turnover in Retail Trade including Nutrition Section | | | | Goods in Reserve in Retail Trade at end of year 1955 | | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|---------|------------|--------|--|--------|------------------------------|--------|
| | in roubles 000,000 | | percentage | | in roubles 000,000 | | in days of goods turnover | |
| | Ukr. | RSFSR. | Ukr. | RSFSR. | Ukr. | RSFSR. | Ukr. | RSFSR. |
| non- consumption goods | 39,345 | 138,310 | 48.8 | 42.7 | 12,335 | 47,637 | 107 | 124 |
| materials | 7,918 | 26,337 | 9.8 | 8.1 | 1,800 | 7,888 | 80 | 113 |
| Itemized as: | | | | | | | | |
| cottons | 4,633 | 13,879 | 5.7 | 4.3 | 878 | 4,106 | 67 | 113 |
| woollens | 1,273 | 4,997 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 189 | 743 | 40 | 48 |
| silks | 1,824 | 6,726 | 2.3 | 2.1 | 703 | 2,864 | 170 | 178 |
| linens | 188 | 735 | 0.2 | 0.2 | 30 | 175 | 55 | 78 |
| tailored goods | 7,029 | 25,762 | 8.7 | 8.0 | 1,814 | 6,647 | 82 | 89 |
| woven goods | 2,192 | 9,154 | 2.7 | 2.8 | 809 | 2,889 | 124 | 109 |
| footwear | 4,103 | 15,098 | 5.0 | 4.7 | 824 | 3,978 | 70 | 96 |
| Itemized as: | | | | | | | | |
| leather | | | | | | | | |
| footwear | 2,828 | 9,357 | 3.5 | 2.9 | 472 | 2,357 | 63 | 101 |
| soap | 478 | 1,573 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 118 | 420 | 84 | 100 |
| furniture | | | | | | | | |
| (also metal | | | | | | | | |
| furniture) | 1,213 | 4,189 | 1.5 | 1.3 | 128 | 503 | 33 | 39 |
| cultural goods | 3,063 | 11,569 | 3.8 | 3.5 | 1,610 | 5,375 | 172 | 160 |

Even a cursory glance at this table of the structure of the goods turnover in the retail trade suffices to indicate the huge difference which exists in the U.S.S.R. between the supplying of the ruling Russian nation with goods and the supplying of the subjugated Ukrainian nation. A closer study of these figures reveals that not only are on the whole far more goods sold in the R.S.F.S.R. per head of the population, but also that the turnover according to types of goods and extent of consumption is likewise considerably higher than in Ukraine, despite the fact that Ukraine in its present territory produces more staple consumption goods per head of the population than the R.S.F.S.R. does.

Table VI.

Comparison of Quantity of Consumption and Non-consumption Goods sold in State and Cooperative Retail Trade in Ukraine and R.S.F.S.R. in 1955, per head of population

| Type of goods | Quantity Sold, per head of population (in roubles) | | Surplus Quantity Sold in RSFSR compared to Ukraine, per head of population | |
|---|--|-------|--|------------|
| | Ukraine | RSFSR | Roubles | Percentage |
| all types of goods (incl. nutrition section) | 2,005 | 2,895 | 890 | 44.4 |
| consumption goods | 1,027 | 1,658 | 631 | 61.4 |
| meat and sausages | 85.3 | 144.2 | 58.9 | 69.0 |
| fish (includ. herrings) | 35.4 | 61.0 | 25.6 | 72.3 |
| tinned foods | 18.8 | 41.8 | 23.0 | 122.3 |
| Itemized as: | | | | |
| tinned meat | 2.0 | 4.9 | 2.9 | 145.0 |
| tinned fish | 11.4 | 15.0 | 3.6 | 31.7 |
| tinned fruit and vegetables | 5.3 | 17.6 | 12.3 | 232.1 |
| fats | 67.3 | 121.9 | 54.6 | 81.1 |
| Itemized as: | | | | |
| butter | 31.2 | 58.6 | 27.4 | 87.8 |
| oil | 17.6 | 29.3 | 11.7 | 66.5 |
| other fats | 18.1 | 34.1 | 16.0 | 88.4 |
| milk & dairy products | 28.7 | 51.7 | 23.0 | 80.0 |
| eggs | 4.5 | 12.3 | 7.8 | 173.3 |
| sugar | 76.9 | 130.0 | 53.1 | 69.0 |
| confectionery | 71.5 | 130.0 | 57.5 | 79.3 |
| bread and bakeries | 171.6 | 242.4 | 70.8 | 41.3 |
| flour, barley-groats and macaroni foods | 67.0 | 103.7 | 36.7 | 53.3 |
| potatoes | 11.9 | 12.2 | 0.3 | 2.5 |
| vegetables | 17.5 | 19.7 | 2.2 | 12.6 |
| fruit, berries, etc. | 18.5 | 34.4 | 15.9 | 85.9 |
| alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages and other consumption goods | 312.5 | 495.6 | 183.1 | 58.6 |
| extra amount of nutrition section | 30.7 | 42.0 | 11.3 | 36.8 |

Thus, whereas the percentage of the turnover of meat, sausage, fish, tinned meat and tinned fish, fats, milk and dairy products, eggs and sugar, in the structure of the state and cooperative retail trade of Ukraine, amounts to 15.7 per cent, in the R.S.F.S.R., on the other hand, it amounts to 18.9 per cent for the same goods.

And if one takes into consideration the fact that in the R.S.F.S.R. far more consumption goods are sold per head of the population, then this difference is all the more noticeable. It is, incidentally, confirmed by an analysis of the retail trade with non-consumption goods and by an analysis of the consumption and non-consumption goods in reserve in Ukraine and in the R.S.F.S.R. at the end of 1955.

And this difference is even more obvious still if, on the basis of these statistics, one calculates the corresponding figures per person (on the strength of the data supplied in the above-mentioned statistical work, "Sovetskaya Torgov'la", the population of Ukraine is taken to be 40.2 millions and that of the R.S.F.S.R. 111.8 millions).²³⁾

Table VI. (Continued)

| | Quantity Sold, per head of population (in roubles) | | Surplus Quantity Sold in RSFSR compared to Ukraine, per head of population | |
|----------------------------------|--|-------|--|------------|
| | Ukraine | RSFSR | Roubles | Percentage |
| non-consumption goods | 978 | 1,237 | 259 | 26.5 |
| materials | 171.9 | 235.6 | 53.7 | 31.2 |
| Itemized as: | | | | |
| cottons | 115.2 | 124.1 | 8.9 | 7.7 |
| woollens | 31.7 | 44.7 | 13.0 | 41.0 |
| silks | 45.4 | 60.2 | 14.8 | 32.6 |
| linens | 4.7 | 6.6 | 1.9 | 40.4 |
| tailored goods | 174.8 | 230.0 | 55.2 | 31.6 |
| woven goods | 54.5 | 82.1 | 27.6 | 50.6 |
| footwear | 102.1 | 135.0 | 32.9 | 32.2 |
| Itemized as: | | | | |
| leather footwear | 70.0 | 84.6 | 14.6 | 20.9 |
| soap | 11.9 | 14.1 | 2.2 | 18.5 |
| furniture (also metal furniture) | 30.2 | 37.5 | 7.3 | 24.2 |
| cultural goods | 76.2 | 103.5 | 27.3 | 35.8 |

As can be seen from the above figures, there is in the U.S.S.R. a huge difference between the supplying of the ruling Russian nation with essential goods and the supplying of the subjugated Ukrainian nation.

And in this connection it is interesting to compare the production of the main agricultural products and their sale in Ukraine and in the R.S.F.S.R. in the year 1955.

Table VII.

Production of Main Agricultural Products and their Sale in State and Cooperative Retail Trade in Ukraine and R.S.F.S.R. in 1955²⁴

| Type of Products | Production of Products in Percentage to their Production in USSR | | Sale of Products in Trade (excl. nutrition section) in Percentage to their Sale in USSR | |
|---|--|-------|---|-------|
| | Ukraine | RSFSR | Ukraine | RSFSR |
| grain, bread and bakeries, flour, barley-groats, macaroni foods and confectionery | 25 | 56 | 15.2 | 64.5 |
| sugar | 71 | 19 | 14.8 | 69.6 |
| meat and sausages, tinned meat | 20 | 54 | 14.7 | 70.3 |
| milk, dairy products and butter | 25 | 57 | 14.1 | 72.2 |
| eggs | 30 approx. | 58 | 10.5 | 79.2 |

These statistics give a clear picture of the ruthless exploitation of occupied Ukraine by Bolshevist Moscow, — a fact which only the open or secret enemies of the subjugated Ukrainian people will refuse to admit. The Ukrainian people, however, who have fought their oppressors so valiantly for so long, will continue to fight them, and appeal to the free world to help them in this unequal struggle.

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- 2) *Ibid.*, p. 628-629.
- 3) T. Onishchenko: *Rastsvet khoz'aystva i kultury USSR*—"Planovoye khoz'aystvo" (Moscow), 1954, No. 1, p. 36-37.
- 4) M. Slabchenko: *Materiyaly do ekonomichno-sotsiyal'noyi istoriyi Ukrayiny XIX. stolitt'a*. Vol. II, State's Edition of Ukraine, 1927, p. 203-204.
- 5) T. Cherdantsev: *Ekonomicheskaya geografiya SSSR*. Moscow, 1954, p. 33-34.
- 6) *Narodnoye khoz'aystvo SSSR. Statisticheskii sbornik*. Moscow, 1956, pp. 119-127.
- 7) From the speech of O. Kyrychenko at the XXth Congress of the CPSU—"Rad'ans'ka Ukrayina", 1956, February 17.
- 8) "Visnyk Akademiyi Nauk URSS", 1956, No. 5, p. 11; "Rad'ans'ka Ukrayina", 1956, February 17; "Pravda", 1956, February 15.
- 9) "Rad'ans'ka Ukrayina", 1956, February 17.
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- 11) M. Spivak: *Perspektivnyye plany kolkhozov Ukrainy v deystvii*—"Sotsialisticheskoye Sel'skoye Khoz'aystvo" (Moscow), 1956, No. 1, p. 15.
- 12) "Rad'ans'ka Ukrayina", 1957, January 17.
- 13) M. Markin: *Iz opyta raboty Statisticheskogo Upravleniya Ukrainy SSR*—"Vestnik Statistiki (Organ TsSU SSSR)", 1957, No. 2, p. 69-70.
- 14) "Rad'ans'ka Ukrayina", 1957, January 31.
- 15) *Povidomlenn'a Statystychnoho Upravlinn'a URSS pro pidsumky vykonann'a derzhavnogo planu rozvytku narodnoho hospodarstva Ukrayins'koyi RSR u 1956 r.*—"Rad'ans'ka Ukrayina", 1957, February 17.
- 16) "Rad'ans'ka Ukrayina", 1957, March 13.
- 17) "Vestnik Statistiki (Organ TsSU SSSR)", 1957, No. 2, p. 86.
- 18) *Sovetskaya torgovl'a. Statisticheskii sbornik*. State's Statistical Edition, Moscow, 1956, p. 31.
- 19) *Ibid.*, p. 19.
- 20) *Narodnoye Khoz'aystvo SSSR* (see above): on page 18 the quantity of the population on April 1, 1956: 112.6 millions in the R.S.F.S.R. and 40.6 millions in Ukraine.
- 21) *Sovetskaya torgovl'a* (see above), p. 32: the quantity of the population according to "Narodnoye khoz'aystvo SSSR" (see above), p. 18.
- 22) "Sovetskaya torgovl'a" (see above), pp. 228-235.
- 23) *Ibid.*, p. 31-32.
- 24) *Ibid.*, p. 40-41; *Narodnoye khoz'aystvo SSSR* (see above), p. 126; see also the periodicals cited in Note 8.

Bohdan Vynar

New Economic Regions in Ukraine

The Kyiv newspaper, "Radyanska Ukrayina", on June 1, 1957, published the decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic regarding the setting up of eleven new economic



The map of the economic regions of Ukraine as published by "Radyanska Ukraina"
Oblast borders are shown in dotted lines.

regions in Ukraine and the general directives pertaining to the administration and legal position of these new administrative economic units. This factual material is also supplemented by certain data given in the speech made in this connection by N. Kalchenko

*) The original Ukrainian text of this article, which in the English translation has been slightly abbreviated, was published under the title "11 ekonomichnykh rayoniv Ukrayiny" in the Munich fortnightly journal, "Suchasna Ukrayina" (1957, No. 16).

(on the same occasion, May 31, 1957) and by data published in the journal, "Komunist Ukrayiny" (1956, No. 5, p. 4-5). Below, we give a table showing the area of the various economic regions, the population figures, the number of industrial enterprises handed over to the economic councils and the gross industrial production (in milliards of roubles):

| Economic Region | Administrative Districts (oblasts) | Area (in thousands sq. km.) | Population (mill.) | Enterprises | Industrial Production (milliard roubles) |
|--------------------|---|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------|--|
| 1. Dnipropetrovsk | Dnipropetrovsk, | 32 | 2.5 | 146 | 17 |
| 2. Kharkiv | Kharkiv, Poltava, Sumy | 84.7 | 5.6 | 316 | 20.5 |
| 3. Kherson | Kherson, Mykolaiv, Krym | 77.7 | 3 | 192 | 7.7 |
| 4. Kyiv | Kyiv, Zhytomyr, Kirovohrad, Chernihiv, Cherkasy | 135.1 | 8.5 | 438 | 17.7 |
| 5. Lviv | Lviv, Volyn', Rivne, Ternopil | 66.3 | 4.1 | 201 | 5.3 |
| 6. Odessa | Odessa | 33.1 | 2 | 154 | 6.8 |
| 7. Stalino | Stalino | 26.5 | 4 | 513 | 32 |
| 8. Stanyslaviv | Stanyslaviv, Drohobych, Zakarpatska, Chernivtsi | 44.3 | 3.6 | 226 | 5.5 |
| 9. Vinnytsia | Vinnytsia, Khmelnytsky | 47.7 | 3.8 | 164 | 5 |
| 10. Voroshylovhrad | Voroshylovhrad | 26.7 | 2.2 | 325 | 13.4 |
| 11. Zaporizhia | Zaporizhia | 27 | 1.4 | 77 | 9.2 |

As can be seen from the above table, 2,752 industrial enterprises, with a total gross industrial production to the value of 129.9 milliard roubles, which equals about 75 to 80 per cent of the total value of Ukraine's industrial gross production, have been handed over to the economic councils. The above economic regions can be divided into the following three groups, according to their economic potential:

a) Stalino, Kyiv, Kharkiv and Dnipropetrovsk, each with an industrial gross production to the value of 17 to 32 milliard roubles and 720,000 to 1.5 million industrial workers.

b) Voroshylovhrad, Zaporizhia, Kherson and Odessa, each with an industrial gross production to the value of 10 to 14 milliard roubles and 400,000 to 800,000 industrial workers.

c) Lviv, Stanyslaviv and Vinnytsia, each with an industrial gross production to the value of 7 to 9 milliard roubles and 500,000 to 600,000 industrial workers. This group has the weakest economic potential.

Disregarding the truism with which the Soviet press seeks to motivate this "radical change in the administration of industry", we should like to consider the actual question at issue: namely, what significance will this reform have for the economic system of Ukraine and, in particular, for the latter's economic relations with her neighbours, above all, with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.)? It is as yet, of course, impossible to answer this question exhaustively, since there is not enough data available to show the practical realisation of the new directives. For this reason, our conclusions or, rather, our conjectures in this respect are bound to be fragmentary and schematic.

Although the general reorganisation of the industrial administration which has already been carried out in the entire Soviet Union actually only replaces the purely vertical centralisation by a more horizontal one, its very directives are already leading to a greater autonomy of the local administrative bodies. And in this respect the liquidation of most of the federal economic ministries of the U.S.S.R. is particularly significant. Thus, more favourable preconditions are created for the effective control of the economic activity of the majority of industrial enterprises by the organs of the individual Soviet Republics, with all the ensuing consequences. Paragraph 4 of the decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R. formulates this point perfectly clearly: "The economic council are under the direct control of the Ministerial Council of the Republic." And the same point is also taken into consideration in Paragraph 18 of the decree, which provides for the setting up of a republican state planning committee (Gosplan). But this idea clashes with the ever-increasing part played by the All-Union Gosplan as a coordinating and controlling planning organ of the entire Soviet Union; and just recently, the Soviet Russian press has, in a significant manner, been stressing the centralising tasks of the Union Gosplan. One of the leading Soviet Russian economists, Ostrovitianov, writes as follows, for instance, in the Moscow official Party organ, "Pravda" (April 26, 1957): "In connection with the transfer of the direct control of industry and the building sector to the local bodies in the economic regions, the Committee for Planning of the U.S.S.R. is gaining a

more and more important role—namely in its fight against selfish local tendencies which may possibly make themselves felt in the individual Soviet Republics and economic administrative regions.”

On the other hand, however, the discussion by the Soviet Ukrainian press (above all, the journal “Komunist Ukrayiny”) of the prospects for the activity of the newly formed economic regions shows that government circles in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic are placing a number of practical problems in the foreground,—problems which must be solved first of all and which, so one may rightly assume, so far remained unsolved because of the extreme centralisation of the administrative system or, to be more correct, because of the non-participation of the Republic organs in the administration of industry, which developed on the strength of the directives issued by the Moscow Union organs, directives which only superficially took local interests into account. For instance, the work achieved so far by the geological prospecting expeditions is sharply criticised, since this work in Ukraine was undertaken by no less than 48 Union and Republic ministries and, as a result, was of course not very productive and extremely expensive (“Komunist Ukrayiny”, No. 5, 1957).

In using the reorganisation of the industrial administration for the purpose of centralising the more important economic sectors according to the standards of their own Republic and not according to those of the Soviet Union (that is to say, to restore the status of the 1920's in this respect), the government circles of the Republic are also concentrating their attention on certain branches of industrial production which have hitherto been neglected, and are stressing the importance of a geographical distribution of such industries which would be in keeping with the interests of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. Such motives can, for instance, be seen from the demand that more attention should be paid to the coal basin of Lviv-Volyn', since, as we have now learnt from official sources, the subsidies provided so far for this West Ukrainian coal basin were entirely inadequate; the efforts of the Union factors were hitherto directed towards the Donetsk coal basin. . . In discussing the problems of the Ukrainian coal industry one other very interesting point is mentioned: “In our Republic (and not only in this Republic) a wrong process has been applied for some time now and only 20 per cent of the fuel raised (coal) has been processed thermochemically, whilst the remainder has been burnt in the

crude state. And, incidentally, the average coefficient of the use of coal in industry does not even exceed 15 to 20 per cent." ("Komunist Ukrayiny", No. 5, 1957.)

This indicates quite obviously that, regardless of the limited nature of the reserves of the Donets Basin, Ukrainian coke is exported from the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and to a very considerable extent is not used productively.

Various serious omissions and faults in the electric power industry are also criticised. The same edition of the "Komunist Ukrayiny" writes as follows: "The large number of different ministries and authorities which so far have occupied themselves with questions concerning electric power, the non-existence (in the Ukrainian Republic) of a single coordination centre—have led to a splitting up of the financial, labour, material and technical resources in this important branch of industry, and have produced a huge number of small and unprofitable power stations. It is an established fact that there are in Ukraine, as a result of the "official" method of dealing with the question of power supplies, in addition to large power stations, more than 14,000 small power stations with a fuel consumption which is 3 to 4 times larger and production costs which are 10 to 15 times higher than is the case in modernised regional power stations. These facts prove that the present form of administration as regards the electric power industry is outmoded and must be improved considerably, in keeping with conditions in the economic regions, and that the centralised planning factor must play a more important part in accordance with the standards of the Republic."

As can be seen, the organs of the Soviet Republic are also striving to bring about the centralisation of the power industry in accordance with the standards of the Soviet Republic. These endeavours are all the more interesting since it is precisely this economic sector which was to remain under the control of a centralised Union ministry, with its seat in Moscow. The sorest point as far as Ukrainian industry is concerned is, no doubt, the problem of the cooperation of production, which, in connection with the direct interference of the Union organs so far, displayed artificial and, as regards the Ukrainian economic system, unhealthy proportions, and, in fact, even "harmful tendencies", too, as far as the political aspect of this question is concerned. The above-mentioned "Komunist Ukrayiny" expresses the following opinion on this question: "The problem of the cooperation of production is of consider-

able importance, and the state departments for planning and the economic councils must occupy themselves with this problem and, in doing so, must take into account new conditions. The bureaucratic attitude prevented the development of a cooperation of production to include several enterprises. So far, there have been many faults and omissions in this sector. It is an established fact, for instance, that in Ukraine countless industrial enterprises, as a result of the inter-enterprise cooperation, obtain machine parts from Moscow, Leningrad, from Caucasia and even from the Far East. From the point of view of state interests, it is essential that stricter rules should be enforced as to which business connection and which inter-enterprise cooperation are to be regarded as most rational. Apparently, countless problems pertaining to inter-enterprise cooperation can be solved on the spot, in the Republic itself, in certain economic administrative regions."

The above examples—even though they are fragmentary—serve to illustrate fully the present status of Ukrainian economy and prove that the latter, in the event of a rational realisation of the new reorganisation, *can* improve its former position as regards Soviet Russian exploitation, to a certain extent, both as far as the purely economic and also the theoretical and political aspect is concerned. Whether this will really be the case depends, in the first place, on the internal political importance of the administrative system of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic and on whether this administration will really be able to oppose Russian imperial interests, which in the U.S.S.R. are systematically regarded as identical with the interests of the "Union organs".

Ukrainians in the Soviet Concentration-Camps during the Years 1945-1954

At the beginning of the Soviet Occupation of Hungary, in 1945, I, like many of my fellow-countrymen, was deported to a Russian concentration camp by the Occupation forces. We foreigners were interned there together with Russian convicts. In each camp the prisoners consisted of at least twenty-eight to thirty different nationalities. As far as I was able to judge, 25 to 40 per cent of the prisoners were Ukrainians, who shared the unhappy lot of Soviet slaves. The majority of them came from the Western regions of Ukraine. The Ukrainians of the Eastern regions, who had been languishing under Soviet rule since 1917, had already been subjected to a "re-education" by 1940.

It is an interesting fact that the Ukrainians held themselves aloof from the other prisoners and, in defiance of the camp regulations, quite openly conversed only in their mother-tongue. The Russians called them "banderovtsy". All the Ukrainians were supporters of the Ukrainian independence movement.

Practically all the Ukrainian prisoners had been sentenced and convicted according to Paragraph 58, that is to say on account of political crimes. Only a very small percentage were criminals. The Ukrainians were sentenced to slave labour on account of "collaboration" with the Germans. The following example illustrates the Soviet conception of "collaboration": a kolkhoz worker was employed as a driver for some special official during the German Occupa-

tion. When the Communist hordes later occupied the country again, this peasant was sentenced to 15 years hard labour. He had eight children and since he did not want to let them die of starvation, he was forced to take on the job of driver under the German Occupation authorities. All he thought of, was to save his children from starvation. But such "crimes" were regarded as "collaboration" by the Soviets.

A large percentage of the Ukrainian prisoners were soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the UPA. They were arrested in 1947, after units of this army had succeeded in getting through to the West, via the territory of Czecho-Slovakia which was occupied by Communist armies. We learnt of this heroic deed from the Ukrainian prisoners in 1950. There was even a Czech film, "Operation B", which dealt with this subject, produced and shown. It was during the advance that many of the soldiers in the rear were captured by the Soviets. The second big contingent of Ukrainian prisoners was sent to the Siberian concentration camps in 1953. This, incidentally, was the big purge which the Communists carried out in Ukraine in order to mark the anniversary of the "Union" of Ukraine with Russia.

In keeping with the plan, according to which the MVD must see to it that Siberia's industry is kept supplied with cheap labour, many of the Ukrainians were sentenced to 10 to 25 years slave labour.

I had many friends amongst the Ukrainians, but I dare not mention their names as they are behind the Iron Curtain and would be made to suffer even more, if I did so.

One of my friends was a leading member of the Ukrainian independence movement and a professor of humanistic studies at Lemberg University. He had been arrested in 1948, and I made his acquaintance in 1953 in the concentration camp, "Ozer", in Taishet. We became acquainted in the main hospital there. He was suffering from double pulmonary tuberculosis. According to the camp regulations, prisoners suffering from tuberculosis were to be given injections of streptomycin, but, actually, this was never done. It was only in special cases that such injections were given, but even then the doses were so small that the patient felt no benefit at all. In such cases, of course, the camp authorities could then

always maintain that the patient had died despite treatment with streptomycin. My friend's family used to send him this valuable drug, and it was thanks to this fact, that he was discharged from the hospital and assigned to the labour brigade again. I had many long talks with this professor. Once he realised that he could trust me, he told me a lot about the Ukrainian liberation fight and the UPA. He also told me that it was a provocation which had led to the arrest of the Ukrainian students at the University of Lemberg in the spring of 1948. Of the staff, another lecturer and himself were arrested on this occasion.

Hungarians also fought in the ranks of the UPA against Bolshevism. These men were prisoners-of-war who had escaped and could not get back to Hungary. They joined forces with the UPA in the forests and fought against their mutual enemy together. Ten years later, during the national Hungarian revolution in 1956, Ukrainians who belonged to the Soviet Army likewise went over to the side of the Hungarian revolution and joined forces with the Hungarian freedom fighters in fighting against Communist tyranny. The fact that there were Hungarians in the UPA was also corroborated to me by another Ukrainian, who came from Carpathians and could speak Hungarian fluently. He had been a liaison man between a UPA unit and Hungarian partisans.

Another of my friends, who had formerly been a famous doctor in Ukraine, was seventy-five years old when I made his acquaintance in the concentration camp in 1945. He had been sentenced to death as a "collaborator", but, later on, his sentence was altered to 25 years in a concentration camp. Actually, he had been sentenced because he had been the legal expert in the commission which investigated the case of the mass graves of Russian terrorism in Vinnytsia (Ukraine). The commission drew up a protocol in which the Soviet government was accused of mass murder. Despite his age, he worked in the camp hospital and dissected three or four corpses, every day, of prisoners who had died.

In 1946 I made the acquaintance of the Ukrainian writer, Nikolai, in Molotov. Later on, he was sent to a camp in the Urals with a special brigade. In 1948, I too was sent to this camp and we remained inseparable friends until my release. Like myself, he was employed as a medical orderly.

Nikolai was extremely gifted. He told me that during the German Occupation he had even been invited to go to Germany for study purposes. He had, however, not accepted this offer. He was arrested by the Bolsheviks in 1944, but not on account of collaboration. During a Communist meeting on November 7th someone saw him throw a Communist propaganda leaflet on to the floor and tread on it. For this "crime" he was sentenced to 10 years in a concentration camp. He wrote some very fine poems, not only in Ukrainian, but also in German, French and even in Russian. In addition, he was learning English and Japanese. In his poems he criticised the Communist system very sharply and, as a result, paid heavily. In 1947, when on one occasion the prisoners and their belongings were being searched by the camp administration, some forbidden poems were found in his possession, and accordingly his sentence was increased by an additional five years on account of his anti-Communist propaganda.

In 1949 Nikolai was accused of having taken part in the "Mulikayev" affair. The facts of this affair were the following: Mulikayev, a doctor and Krim-Tartar, wrote an account of life in the Soviet concentration camps and with the aid of various connections managed to send this report abroad. The Ukrainians, incidentally, had also helped to compile this report. It ended with a poem by Nikolai, signed with the pseudonym of "Report". In this poem the soul of a prisoner who has died in a camp complains to God about the inhuman tortures to which the prisoners in Communist concentration camps are subjected. The MVD heard of this, and though there was no definite proof, Mulikayev was tried before a court and his sentence was increased to 25 years. Nikolai received an additional sentence of 10 years, despite the fact that he had already been sentenced to 25 years. It was assumed that he had helped to compile the report, as he had already been punished on a previous occasion on account of this kind of thing.

In 1952, a revolt against the unbearable regime broke out in "Karltag", in Camp No. 10. The majority of the rioters were Ukrainians, all of them young persons and former anti-Communist partisans, and, as it so happened, several hundreds of them were interned in the same camp. The punitive police of the MVD crushed the riot and carried out a dreadful massacre. All the

leaders of the riot were shot and the rest of the rioters were sent to a penal camp in Norilsk. These men, incidentally, formed the main body of the riot which later took place in Norilsk.

On the whole one can say that the Ukrainian groups in the Soviet concentration camps are better organised than the other national groups. There are no traitors amongst the Ukrainians, and if there should ever be one, then he is promptly liquidated by the rest.

During the big riots and strikes in the camps in Norilsk, Vorkuta, Cheskasgan, etc., after Stalin's death, other nationalities joined the side of the Ukrainians and also took an active part in the risings. In all these insurrections the slaves of Soviet imperialism proved not only to the slave "citizens" of the Soviet empire, but also to the whole world that Soviet terrorism is powerless to destroy the urge for freedom in man's soul.

A NEW BOOK ABOUT UKRAINE IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE

The academic group of the ZP UHVR (Foreign Delegation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council), has published a book by Professor K. Kononenko, entitled "*Ukraine and Russia from 1654-1917, Social and Economic Basis of the Ukrainian National Idea*". This work by Prof. Kononenko gives readers a thorough analysis of Ukrainian and Russian economic relations; by means of documents it shows the exploitation of Ukraine by imperialistic Russia, and furnishes the arguments concerning the economic potential of Ukraine as a precondition for its state independence. The positive book reviews on this work have been written by Professor von Marketzky (Bahr University), Professors M. Vassyliv, L. Dobriansky, O. Ohloblyn and R. Smal-Stocki.

MR. HNZIDOVSKY'S PICTURE FILMED

The art exhibition which was on view at the Raymond Duncan Gallery in Paris during July and August was showing pictures by well-known Ukrainian painters. One picture by Hnizdovsky has already been filmed by the French film-producer Noël Noël. It depicts the underground station, "Montparnasse", that is to say part of the tunnel with the bend and the lights in a dark vault, with a wall of white tiles. This picture has made a deep impression on Noël Noël.

Farewell, Hetmanych Danylo Skoropadsky!

The hearts of all Ukrainians were filled with great sorrow on hearing the sad news of the sudden death of His Highness Hetmanych Danylo of the House of Skoropadsky, who passed away on the morning of February 23rd, after suffering a cerebral haemorrhage. In these times which will prove decisive for the future fate of the Ukrainian people, Hetmanych Danylo can be said to have been the only man in whose person all the most ardent, sincere and intimate national aims, aspirations and hopes of our people were united to such an extent.

All his life he was a kind and sincere friend to all our people, no matter what their professions or social class. On numerous occasions he spoke at meetings held by the Ukrainians in Great Britain, Germany, U.S.A. and Canada, and during his travels in the years 1937 and 1938 and in 1953, he personally and the noble conception of the Hetmanych, which he so worthily personified, were acclaimed again and again enthusiastically and reverently by our Ukrainian fellow-countrymen everywhere. Even in the remotest corners of the world where there are Ukrainian settlements, there is not a Ukrainian who, though he may never have seen Hetmanych Danylo, does not mention his name without a feeling of deep gratitude and respect,—a name which to all Ukrainians was a symbol of unswerving loyalty and unwavering steadfastness in the fight for the freedom and state independence of the Ukrainian people. In the house of his father, the late Hetman Paul, of illustrious memory, and under the spiritual guidance of the latter and of Vyatcheslav Lypynsky, the Hetmanych was brought up in the national Ukrainian spirit. On May 16, 1933, his sixtieth birth-

day, Hetman Paul issued a solemn declaration: "After my death the leadership of our movement and all the rights and duties of the eldest member of our family are to pass on to my son, Danylo."

After the tragic death of Hetman Paul in April 1945, Her Highness Alexandra, his widow, in accordance with the last will and testament of the Hetman, assumed the regency of the Hetman movement, and on November 5, 1948, on the strength of the records which had meanwhile been published, His Highness Hetmanych Danylo assumed the supreme leadership of the movement.

In a proclamation to the Ukrainians abroad, which he issued in the same year, Hetmanych Danylo said, "I herewith solemnly vow to fulfil the legacy and continue the work of the Hetman movement entrusted to me by my father,—Paul, Hetman of all Ukraine. And, as he did,—always and to the end of my life, I shall serve the highest national and state wishes and aims of the Ukrainian people and the cause of their liberation.

I shall bear this cross in honour and in the firm belief that only the Hetman idea, hallowed by our history, can give our people strength and guide it on the unwavering and happy path to its existence as a state. I pray to God to give me the physical and spiritual strength to continue and complete the task which will ensure the prosperity and greatness of Ukraine.

I pray to God to give all Ukrainians sincere faith, unity and strength, to bless the fight of the Ukrainian people for their lawful rights and to grant them victory in the end."

Our noble Hetmanych, who departed this life so suddenly, truly bore this cross with dignity and honour. Forgoing all personal comforts and a private life of his own, he worked untiringly to the utmost of his physical and mental powers; his was a life of great responsibilities,—professionally as the director of a factory, as the honorary president of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain for eight years, and for many years as the chairman of the KODUS (Relief Committee for Ukrainian Students), and he devoted much time and energy to the Ukrainian community work. What time remained to him he spent in devoting himself wholeheartedly, as the supreme leader of the Hetman Movement, to important and responsible Ukrainian political tasks.

The many-sided activity of Hetmanych Danylo, who was deeply religious, was permeated with the spirit of unity, of Christian tolerance and the wish for an all-national Ukrainian union.

Never once in all his life did he depart from the path which he had chosen in striving to achieve one aim,—the setting up of a free and independent, united Ukrainian State. Never once did he spare his strength and his health, but he taxed them too heavily and burned himself up. And Nature, which had given him robust health, finally took a cruel revenge for the violation of its laws.

The sad loss of our noble Hetmanych has touched us profoundly, all the more so since the news of his death in the midst of a life of activity and faith in the victory of his country, has come so suddenly.

His family and we, the members of the Hetman Movement, and the entire Ukrainian nation have by his death been deprived of a noble son, brother and servant.

In our deepest sorrow and mourning we give thanks to the Almighty that these noble-minded persons—Hetman Paul, his wife, Alexandra, Vyacheslav Lypynsky, and Hetmanych Danylo—whose life and character was without blemish, and who were endowed with prudent foresight, lived amongst us, belonged to and faithfully served our sorely tried nation, and have left a deep and lasting impression on our national and political thought.

Fate did not allow them to see the realisation of the noble idea which they served, represented and personified. But the idea which they regenerated has not passed into oblivion with their deaths; on the contrary, it is deeply rooted in the consciousness of the Ukrainian people, and it will live on and will find new ways and means to attain its realisation; and we are convinced that it will be victorious and in this way will perpetuate the eternal memory and illustrious fame of those who regenerated it.

Farewell, noble Hetmanych! May the foreign soil which now covers your body rest lightly on it, until the day when you are laid to rest in the Pantheon in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, where the Ukrainian people preserve the ashes of their noblest sons.

Prof. Dr. I. Martchenko

Derby, U.K.

OBITUARY

Professor Mykola Hlobenko

It is with the deepest regret that the Scientific Shevchenko Society announces the death of its member in ordinary, one of the most outstanding scholars of Ukrainian literature,

PROFESSOR MYKOLA HLOBENKO

The deceased, who was born on November 19, 1902, died in Mougins near Cannes (South France), on May 29, 1957, after a long and painful illness. His scientific interests centred on the problem of the old Kyivan traditions in the Ukrainian literature of the baroque era ("The Paterikon of S. Kosov", "The Teraturgema of A. Kalnofoysky"), on the history of modern literature (numerous articles, in particular on Kotliarevsky, Netchuy-Levytsky, Khvylovy, and Liaturynska), as well as on the present state of the Soviet Ukrainian literary criticism ("Shevchenko in the Soviet Literary Criticism", "35 Years of Ukrainian Literature in the U.S.S.R.", also published in an English translation). From 1949 onwards, the deceased lectured on the history of Ukrainian literature as an assistant professor at the Ukrainian Free University. During the latter period of his life and his literary work, Professor M. Hlobenko was closely connected with the entire activity of the Scientific Shevchenko Society; as a member in ordinary of its philological department from November 14, 1950, onwards, he took an active interest in the Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies, namely as a member of the editorial staff, as the literary editor of the first series of volumes of the Encyclopedia and as the acting chief editor and editor of the literary section of the second series of volumes of the Encyclopedia. In this capacity he wrote scores of articles and essays for this work. In addition, he also edited various other publications of the Shevchenko Society (including the famous work by P. Zaytsiv, "The Life of Taras Shevchenko") and numerous treatises of his own, which were presented at the scientific conferences and sessions of the Shevchenko Society. From 1950 to 1954, Professor Hlobenko was an active member of the chief executive committee of the Shevchenko Society, and from 1952 onwards, he was an active member of the executive committee of this society for Europe. The Ukrainian national community has been deprived of a loyal patriot, who was untiring in his creative work; Ukrainian science and learning has lost a brilliant scholar, and the Shevchenko Society one of its most outstanding co-workers, whose death is felt most grievously of all by the editorial department of the Encyclopedia of Ukrainian Studies.

May his memory live on for ever!



PROFESSOR MYKOLA HLOBENKO

BOOK REVIEWS

Borschak Elie: HRYHOR ORLYK, FRANCE'S COSSACK GENERAL. Toronto-Canada, Burns & MacEachern, 1956; 124 p. Bibliography included.

Dr. Birschak Elie, Professor at the l'Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris and on history at the Sorbonne, Paris, a great authority and scholar on the East European problems, especially on Ukraine, recently published in Canada a biography of one of the most prominent figures in the struggle for the Ukrainian independence abroad, the France's Cossack General Hryhor ORLYK. He was a son of the famous Ukrainian Hetman, Pylyp ORLYK, Chief of the Ukrainian State at the beginning of the 18th century. After the tragic defeat of the Swedish King Charles XII and his Ukrainian ally, illustrious Hetman Ivan MAZEPA, by the Russians in the battle of Poltava in 1709, he went as a boy into exile. After the death of the Ukrainian Hetman Mazepa, his father PYLYP ORLYK was elected the latter's successor. The newly elected Ukrainian Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, continued the political program of the Hetman Mazepa for the liberation of Ukraine from the Russian occupation. His son, Hryhor Orlyk, was educated abroad in the spirit of fighting for freedom and Cossack rights and also for a free and independent Ukraine. He took part in different diplomatic missions in Europe, and also took part in various secret journeys. His efforts were directed at destroying the Russian menace in Europe and in the Ukraine. He took part in armed combat against the Russians in various European battlefields. For his services to France Hryhor Orlyk received the noble title of count, and was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant General. He died in France and his wife, Helene, Countess of Dienteville, collected all his memoirs at the castle of Dienteville, where they were discovered by the Ukrainian scholar, Dr. Elie Borschak, who wrote this excellent biography.

His father, the Hetman of the Ukraine PYLYP ORLYK, is well known in the political struggle for Ukrainian independence. He wrote the famous "DEDUCTION OF THE RIGHTS OF UKRAINE" and made the first draft of the modern Ukrainian democratic Constitution, in 1710, which might be considered as the first modern constitution in Europe in 18th century.

New York

Dr. A. Sokolovych

Bertram D. Wolfe: SIX KEYS TO THE SOVIET SYSTEM. With an Introduction by Leslie C. Stevens. The Beacon Press, Boston, 1956, pp. 258.

The author is a historian and political scientist; he was in the Soviet Union, met prominent Soviet leaders (Stalin, Molotov and others) and has done research as a Senior Fellow in Slavic Studies both at the Hoover Library (Stanford) and the Russian Institute (Columbia). Later he became Chief of the Ideological Advisory Staff of the Voice of America.

Bertram Wolfe offers "keys" and wishes to have them tested to see if they work; the name of the master key is totalitarianism. The book seeks to provide "some of the elements of a general totalitarianism, with specific applications and tests of various aspects of the Soviet life". These six keys are: 1) The Struggle for Power (The struggle for the succession and a new look at that Soviet "New Look"); 2) The Coordination of Culture; 3) The Worker in the Workers State; 4) The Two Types of Soviet Election; 5) The Kremlin as Ally and Neighbour; 6) The Nature of Totalitarianism; Epilogue: The Weapons Are in Our Hands.

Wolfe is convinced that "Stalinism" persists after Stalin. The "new" men are manifestly continuing the war on their own people—"the revolution from above"—and the war for the control of the world.

In Key 2, Wolfe stresses the falsification and rewriting of history in the Soviet Union. Even in the Soviet dictionaries there are lies and falsifications. In the sub-chapter "Some Wonders of the Russian Tongue", the author found for example the following characteristic passages (on page 109):

He stumbled across the word "pyad, span or inch", and that was how he first began to note the unexpected qualities of this usually so laconic book. For after the word "inch" he found, "Ni odnoi pyadi chuzhoi zemli ne khotim; no i svoei zemli ne otdadim nikomu (Stalin)" and after that, in English: "We do not want a single foot of foreign territory; but we will not surrender a single inch of our territory to any one (Stalin)". Thus not only was foreign territory inexplicably measured in feet and home territory in inches, but the tiny, single-seeming word "inch" occupied not one line but eight in this tightly abridged dictionary.

Wolfe anxiously glanced at the date of publication (1942) and wondered how, after the annexation of half of Poland, part of Finland, and all of Bessarabia, Lithuania, Latvia, and Esthonia, a dictionary published in Moscow could still be renouncing every foot of foreign territory. We should like to add here that this "half of Poland" occupied by the Red Russians are West Ukrainian and White Ruthenian territories occupied again by Poland in 1918-1920, in spite of the struggle of the populations concerned and protests of foreign diplomatic representatives of Western Europe.

Wolfe goes on to comment on the English-Russian dictionary. Under the heading "Words that make you think" he writes as follows (pp. 109-110):

"After that, I could never resist the temptation to stray from the word I was seeking, usually so coldly and briefly defined, to any other of the page that happened to have a lot of type after it. My habit of straying from the straight and narrow path was surprisingly rewarded, for this proved to be a dictionary in which some select words gave you not only definitions but something to think about". And the author found other "definitions" in the dictionary. Let us cite only a few of them:

Under "nezavisimo", independently, on page 140, there is a lengthy aid to proper use: "the equality of the rights of the citizens of the USSR, independently or irrespective of their nationality or race, is an indefeasible law", which mouthful gives *nezavisimo* ten lines instead of one."

And on page 111 Wolfe comments as follows:

"But not every word: for on the self-same page, as if the alphabet itself or the paging were the work of a diversionist or wrecker, is the word which "droppeth as the gentle ruin from heaven", "poshchada, mercy" with the truly startling exemplification by the sentence "no mercy for the enemies of the people!" (exclamation mark in the original). And when it began to seem to me in my simplicity that that was a poor exemplification of the word "mercy" I found my answer under the simple word "tot", meaning "that", which was followed by the disconcerting "tem samym vy priznaete svoyu oshibku", "by that you confess your mistake". Lest I demur further, the dictionary added severely "tem khuzhe, so much the worse for you".

The fifth Key (The Kremlin as Ally and Neighbour) reveals the Red Russian policy towards the Soviet allies and neighbours.

We do not agree with the author that Russia-Poland-Germany is a triangle of relationships that constitutes the heart of Europe, because between Poland and Russia lies a vast Ukrainian territory. And Ukraine is a part of this "heart of Europe", too.

On page 168 Wolfe emphasizes that Russia wished to occupy the Ukrainian territories under Poland because "that area was of prime importance containing a multi-national population, mostly of the Ukrainians, originally part of the Polish Kingdom. And only with all the Ukrainians in one state would it be easy to keep in check tendencies for an independent, united Ukraine". That is why the Red Russians concluded an alliance with the Germans for the purpose of dismembering Poland.

The author adds (on page 177) as follows: "The Ruthenians (Galician Ukrainians) have never been altogether happy under Polish rule; however, what the Ukrainian National Democratic Union of Eastern Poland has always wanted is not to be joined to Russia but to become an independent Ukrainian country. The rather cruel attempt at Polonization of Eastern Galicia by the Poles in 1930 might have made these Ukrainians more pro-Russian, had it not been for the forced collectivization and man-made famine in Soviet Ukraine in 1932. These Ukrainians of Galicia were even more anti-Russian than anti-Polish'... It is well known that the Ukrainian united armies fought (in 1917-1920) against the Polish and Russian armed forces for the purpose of establishing an independent Ukrainian state comprising all Ukrainian ethnographic territories; hence the Ukrainians can never be pro-Russian nor pro-Polish.

The publication "Six Keys to the Soviet System" is interesting and worth reading in spite of some errors and statements which are questionable.

W. Oreletsky

Munich

HOW THE SOVIET SYSTEM WORKS, Harvard University Press, 1956, 274 p.

"How the Soviet System Works" is a final report of the Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System, published by Harvard University Press in Cambridge, USA, in 1956. It contains cultural themes based upon information collected from emigrants in Europe. I should like to summarize in brief the 274 pages of this book, particularly the presentation of the Ukrainian question, what is the intention of that presentation, does the book recognize the right of the Ukrainian people to its own independent and free statehood, etc. The index contains four headings dealing with the Ukraine, its nationalism on pages 204-206, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church on page 205, the Ukrainian Communist Party on page 201, and the UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY on page 201, which terminology is applied to the well-known heroic Ukrainian Insurgent Army-UPA which continues its struggle inside U.S.S.R. even today. The book has a short bibliography, which unfortunately does not include the most authoritative sources on Ukraine. No book can be written on the Soviet Union without mentioning the Ukrainian resistance which has been active for the past forty years. It was natural that the Harvard project included the Ukrainian question in general, but it is interesting to find out how that Ukrainian problem is presented. I do not wish to analyse the question of the Ukrainian Communist Party, because it never was a Ukrainian national product; it was introduced in the Ukraine by Russian force, and today it is Moscow's puppet in the Ukraine and United Nations. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the book states, is most nationalistic. It is true, but we need to add, that it was the Ukrainian National Church, created after the Soviet Revolution and occupation of the Ukraine, with an independent patriotic feeling, which intended to build a national Patriarchy. The project recognizes that the Ukrainians consider themselves as a people oppressed by the Russians, with a strong separatistic feeling as regards Russia. It states on page 205, that the Ukrainian emigrants are NINE-TENTHS PRO-UKRAINIAN AND ANTI-RUSSIAN RATHER THAN ANTI-SOVIET. My explanation is, that the Russians are the favoured people in the Soviet Union and the rulers in the entire colonial Soviet Russian Empire. The Ukrainians are nationally conscious, which the book states correctly.

The book suggests caution because certain individuals reported things "not as they were", but "as they ought to be." It is necessary to mention, that we have lots of material printed in the English language today, which can support the statements of the questioned individuals.

The world has realised that Ukraine today is still conducting an active and passive resistance with the help of its underground organizations, OUN, UPA, UHVR, a fact which is stated by the book. It is also stated in the book that in 1947 "the Ukrainian Insurgent Army fought Soviet and Polish troops in the Carpathian Mountains of Western Ukraine," but no mention is made of the UPA raids in Western Europe, which took place in the same year.

On the whole the book contains some good, we can say positive information on Ukraine. For Americans a new and added revised edition would be desirable in a short time.

New York

Dr. A. Sokolovych

Victor Alexandrov: KHRUSHCHEV OF THE UKRAINE. Translated from the French by Paul Selver. London, Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1957, pp. 176.

Although Mr. Alexandrov was born in St. Petersburg he left Russia when in his teens. He is a Russian, but he lived abroad in Europe (mostly in Germany and in France) and in the United States; later on Mr. Alexandrov became an American citizen. As such he was behind the Iron Curtain in 1946, working for a group of Swiss publications.

He seems to be an ardent Russian patriot who does not like Ukraine and the Ukrainian people. Despite public sources cited in the book and the fact that much of the information was derived from a former Soviet diplomat who was "brought up" with Khrushchov (this fact is stated on the cover of the book), we may find an inclination to distortions in this book. For Mr. Alexandrov the Ukrainian statehood (The Ukrainian National Republic) did not exist in 1917-1920; for him the German Marshal von Eichhorn was a governor general at Kiev (Kyiv) and not a foreign representative in the liberated Ukraine (p. 41). Mr. Alexandrov is wrong in stating that only the Polish army marched towards the Ukrainian capital Kyiv in 1920: there were two united armies who marched eastwards to liberate the Ukrainian capital from the Russian communists: the Polish army under the command of the Polish Marshal Pilsudski and the Ukrainian national army under the command of the Ukrainian patriot and hero, Symon Petliura. Mr. Alexandrov exaggerates many deeds of the red partisans who used to join the Russian red army occupying Ukraine and shoot in masses the Ukrainian officers, soldiers, the Ukrainian intelligentsia and the patriotic people of Ukraine. These and many other similar distortions we find in the book force us to declare that not all that has been written about Khrushchov and the Ukrainian people in this book is true.

Mr. Alexandrov tries to picture Khrushchov as a genuine descendant of the Ukrainian Zaporozhian Cossacks who were exiled by the Russian Tzars. The little village Kalynivka (or Kalinovka in Russian as it is called in the book) in the province of Kursk forms part of Ukraine, but not everyone who was born in Kalynivka is necessarily a conscious Ukrainian. Khrushchov was never in any Ukrainian movement, nor was he ever a member of a Ukrainian organisation. On the contrary, he opposed bitterly all attempts of the Ukrainian people aimed at the liberation of Ukraine from the Russian occupation. Thanks to Khrushchov who obeyed servilely all orders from Moscow, thousands and thousands of Ukrainian patriots were shot or exiled to northern Russia and Siberia. Even many members of the so-called Ukrainian Communist government in Kyiv were liquidated by the orders of this same Khrushchov.

While in Ukraine Khrushchov spoke only in Russian, a fact which did not please the Ukrainian Communist Lyubchenko. May I quote here the respective passage from the book by Alexandrov (p. 56): "Although Khrushchev was the propagandist of the central committee, he could not speak Ukrainian. One day he made a speech before a group of commissars for foreign affairs, whose per-

manent secretary, Nikolas Lyubchenko, was a well-known Ukrainian author. Khrushchev had, of course, spoken in Russian, and after his speech Lyubchenko rose and said:

"Before discussing the question dealt with by Comrade Khrushchev, I will give you a Ukrainian translation of his speech."

Skrypnyk, the well-known Ukrainian communist and friend of Lenin was obliged to censure Khrushchov for his speech in Russian. But let us quote here Mr. Alexandrov himself. On page 57 we read as follows:

"Khrushchev had learnt to speak correct Russian, but in spite of all his efforts he had failed to speak correct Ukrainian . . . This was a serious shortcoming for a man who was head of the propaganda section, since propaganda included the policy of Ukrainisation. Skrypnyk promptly mentioned the matter to the politbureau. On one occasion he had paid a personal call at the propaganda office and made a long statement to Nikita in Ukrainian. When Nikita began his reply, Skrypnyk at once interrupted him. He exclaimed:

"It is a disgrace for the head of the propaganda section to speak Ukrainian so badly, . . . Don't you want to learn our language? Why, you are nothing but a Russianiser." Khrushchev, however, has a long memory. Later on he settled his accounts with Skrypnyk, the "national deviationist": Skrypnyk committed suicide in his apartment at the National Hotel.

The fact that Khrushchov used to "taste the Ukrainian liqueur "spotykatch" and to play on the Ukrainian flute "sopilka" (pp. 11-13) does not prove that he was a genuine Ukrainian nor the fact that he used (and he does it even at present) to sing Ukrainian national songs. There are many foreigners (not Ukrainians) such as Russians, Poles, White-Ruthenians (Byelorussians) and many other nationals who like to sing the marvellous Ukrainian national songs, to eat the famous Ukrainian borshch and to drink the Ukrainian liqueurs; but in spite of all this they have not become Ukrainians.

The task of Mr. Alexandrov is to prove that not only Russians are responsible for communism in Russia but also other nationals living within the borders of the vast Soviet Russian empire. That is why it is stressed in the book that Khrushchov is a Ukrainian and that he sang for instance on the occasion of his recent visit in Yugoslavia—to Jovanka Broz (Marshal Tito's wife) "an old Ukrainian serenade, a love-lorn ditty in which the moon looms large".

The publication "Khrushchev of the Ukraine" by Alexandrov tries to picture Khrushchov as "the Taras Bulba of the Soviet Union" and to reduce the Ukrainians to the role of the pretorians of Moscow. That is why we cannot but term this endeavour of this patriotic Russian as a mystification of the world—of course, *ad maiorem Russiae gloriam*.

BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

The inauguration of a new maritime passenger line to the Near East took place in Odessa. The steamer of this line, the "Krym" ("The Crimea") from Odessa will call at the following ports: Constantza (Rumania), Varna (Bulgaria), Istambul (Turkey), Piraeus (Greece), Beirut (Lebanon) and Alexandria (Egypt). The return journey will take 18 days. On its first trip the steamer "Krym" took 150 Soviet tourists, who are, in fact, Bolshevik propagandists and spies, to various countries of the Near East.

* * *

In the town of Kryvyi Rih—the center of the iron ore basin of Ukraine—a new metallurgical combine is being erected which will produce almost the same quantity of steel and pig iron as a similar combine in Magnitogorsk. The capacity of the blast furnaces of the new combine of Kryvyi Rih will amount to 500 tons.

* * *

The Russian communists have invented a new way of exploiting the physical forces of the Ukrainian population. They have introduced the so-called decades for the afforestation of vast areas. The population of the Ukrainian villages and towns especially Ukrainian youth, are obliged "voluntarily" to afforest various areas of Ukraine in their free time.

* * *

In the plenary session of Ukrainian surgeons and orthopaedic surgeons held this year in Vinnytsia the demand was raised that the medical clinics in Ukraine should be better supplied with the albuminous blood (Blut ersatz) substitute, BW-8 namely in such quantities that the needs of all hospitals be satisfied. BW-8 is a preparation invented by Ukrainian scientists and is being used with great success in cases of anaemia, before an operation, haemorrhage etc.

* * *

In the collective farms of the Ternopil and other Ukrainian regions advances for the first seven months only of the so-called working days have been paid. Hence, it is necessary to work half a year or even more in the collective farms where in order to get only a few kilograms of bread in advance.

* * *

The organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, "*Kommunist Ukrainy*" ("The Communist of Ukraine"), has published a series of articles on literary activity in Ukraine. In these articles the Ukrainian writers are blamed and criticized because they do not write works that would be worthy of the epoch of Communism.

It was stressed that such writers as M. Shapoval, M. Hirniak, I. Plakhtin and many others have written works that do not conform to the methods of socialist realism and the spirit of the Bolshevik system.

* * *

In July this year, the first session of the Ukrainian Academy of Agricultural Sciences took place in Kyiv. More than 900 men of learning, managers of scientific research institutes and test stations took part in this session. Questions discussed included the problem of increasing the production of meat, milk and other animal products in Soviet Ukraine.

* * *

According to the Communist press published in Soviet Ukraine there have been found many defects in the construction of houses in the town of Cherkassy. The transportation services in this Ukrainian town are very poor.

The trade with fruit, milk, meat etc. is not regulated. The dining rooms, cinemas, clubs, medical establishments etc. have so far been neglected.

* * *

The O. Dovzhenko Studio of Artistic Films in Kyiv has this year produced its first cinemascope film, "The Song of the Dnipro", which is more of a documentary than an artistic film. As everyone knows, films for wide-screen showing have been produced in even the most backward countries of the West for a considerable time now. The "prosperous socialist" Soviet Ukraine, however, has only succeeded in producing this type of film in 1957.

THE MOSCOW FESTIVAL

The organisers of the Moscow Youth Festival, which Muscovite propaganda publicised so extensively had not expected all the difficulties they had to cope with.

All sorts of misunderstandings and differences of opinion were evident amongst the various youth groups which accepted Moscow's invitation to attend the Festival. Some of the groups from the Western countries used the opportunity of their visit to Moscow to spread the idea of Western democracy there. On various occasions they stood about in the streets in order to start discussions with the inhabitants. On the other hand Moscow spared no pains to use this World Youth Festival to advantage for its propaganda aims. Parallely many different events took place, including international art events, sports events, cinema shows, discussion meetings, and collective rallies, etc. The Russians also organised various excursions to a number of churches in Moscow for the young people from the West, in order to convince them of the "freedom" of religion in the U.S.S.R. The entire programme was arranged in such a way that those taking part in the Festival had no time to form their own impressions of Moscow and of the life of the population under the Soviet regime.

Moscow has squandered milliards of roubles on this Festival, but in return it has received thousands of dollars from the Communist parties in the West. The Communists in England, for example, were to contribute 10,000 dollars and the Communists in Italy 13,000 dollars, etc., since it was necessary to provide the 35,000 young people who attended the Festival with good accommodation and with meals, to pay for their trip to Moscow and to give them 25 roubles per person as pocket-money. But the differences of opinion which prevailed amongst the youth groups from the various countries have proved that Moscow has failed to achieve the propagandist aims which it set itself when it arranged this Festival.

UKRAINIANS IN THE FREE WORLD

THE UKRAINIAN RALLY IN TORONTO

On June 30, 1957, a big Ukrainian rally commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Ukrainian National Revolution took place in Toronto, the well-known centre of Ukrainians living in Canada. More than 10,000 Ukrainians from Canada and the United States of America participated in this splendid gathering of Ukrainian old veterans, youth organisations, clergy, representatives of numerous Ukrainian organisations of Canada and the United States of America. The rally was honoured by the presence of members of the Canadian Federal Parliament, representatives of the city of Toronto and many other foreign guests (Consul-General of Lithuania, Dr. W. Guilis, the representatives of the A.B.N. organisation and others). The Committee of the Rally received, in addition to telegrams and letters from Europe, also a message from the leader of the OUN, Stepan Bandera.

The programme included divine services, numerous speeches, concerts, dances by youth groups, etc.

Mr. Malashchuk spoke on behalf of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine. He asked the Ukrainians present not to forget that the initiated Ukrainian national revolution must be completed in the near future because the innumerable sacrifices of the Ukrainian fighters for liberation urge us to work for the final establishing of Ukrainian independence and the liberation of the Ukrainian people from foreign oppression.

Mr. Vovchuk, the President of the Organisation for the Defense of the Four Freedoms of Ukraine, stressed the fact that in 1917 there were two revolutions: the revolution of the nationalities headed by Ukraine and the Russian imperial revolution. Since 1917, up to the present time, the national revolutionary and the Russian imperial ideas have been struggling against each other. Mr. Vovchuk is convinced that the national idea will be victorious in the end and that the oppressed peoples of the Red Russian Empire will succeed in establishing their own national independence on the ruins of the Russian prison of peoples.

The Lithuanian Consul-General and Mrs. Edith Hyder welcomed the great Ukrainian annual rally and expressed their hope that Ukraine will finally be free thus guaranteeing a lasting peace in Eastern Europe.

CONGRESS OF THE DOCUMENTATION AND INFORMATION CENTRE IN MADRID

The theme of the Congress was: "The Crisis of the Atlantic World". The international gathering lasted from 17th to 19th June. The subjugated peoples were represented by the Ukrainian, Hungarian and Slovak delegations. The Ukrainian delegates, Mrs. Slava Stetzko and Mr. Wolodymyr Pastushchuk, the latter residing in Madrid, took part in the discussions of the plenary sessions and at the meetings of various sections. The documents presented by the Ukrainian delegation were appreciated by many delegations.

A THOUSAND YEARS OF CHRISTIANITY IN UKRAINE

On July 20th, the "Osservatore Romano" published an article with the above title, together with a picture of the shrine of St. Olga. The article contains information on our Church and our nation and a short introduction on the origin of the Ukrainian state, the foundation of which, it is affirmed, was partly the work of the Normans, whose role in Ukraine was similar to the part they played in France and Italy. Mention is also made of the cause of the misunderstandings between Kyiv and Byzantium which endeavoured to subordinate the Kyivan Church to its administration. The article, which cites various historical sources, including the Nestorian Chronicles, is entirely academic in character. In conclusion, it quotes the Pope's message to the Ukrainian bishops on the occasion of the thousandth anniversary of the existence of Christianity in Ukraine.

5TH ASSEMBLY OF THE UKRAINIAN SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY IN TORONTO

In May this year, the 5th assembly of the Ukrainian Scientific Shevchenko Society—Canadian branch—took place in Toronto. Reports were read on the activity of the Society. Professor Vertyporokh was re-elected president of the scientific society.

THE UKRAINIAN SCIENTIFIC SHEVCHENKO SOCIETY IN U.S.A.

COMMEMORATED THE LATE PRESIDENT OF THE U.S.A.,

WOODROW WILSON

The Ukrainian Scientific Shevchenko Society in the USA dedicated its June 2nd, 1957, special session to the 100th anniversary of the birth of the late President Woodrow Wilson. The session was opened by Prof. Dr. Roman Smal-Stocki, President of the Society. Prof. Dr. Matviy Stakhiv delivered a lecture on: "Woodrow Wilson and the Ukrainian question at the Peace Conference in Paris". Dr. Tsiutsiura spoke on "The new liberty—Wilson's political conception of the new world order."

ERECTION OF A MONUMENT IN MEMORY OF THE UKRAINIAN

POET AND WRITER, IVAN FRANKO, IN THE U.S.A.

A monument in memory of the great Ukrainian poet and writer, Ivan Franko, was consecrated in Glane Spa (U.S.A.) on June 22nd, 1957. This important Ukrainian celebration lasted for two days, in the course of which lectures on the value of Franko for the Ukrainian people were delivered. The celebration was combined with a concert in which prominent Ukrainian artists living in USA took part.

CONSECRATION OF A MONUMENT IN MEMORY OF TARAS SHEVCHENKO IN THE UKRAINIAN SUMMER RESORT "SOYUZIVKA" NEAR NEW YORK

On June 16, 1957, a monument in memory of the greatest Ukrainian poet and spiritual leader of all Ukrainians was consecrated by the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox priest, Veselovskyi, in the presence of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Metropolitan, Ioan Teodorovych in the well-known Ukrainian summer resort near New York. Afterwards concerts were given by the combined Ukrainian choirs "Dumka" and "Metropolitan", in which the most prominent Ukrainian

artists in the USA took part. Many wreaths and flowers were placed on the monument.

COURSES OF UKRAINIAN LITERATURE IN WINNIPEG

On May 29, 1957, the third Ukrainian literature course for the Ukrainian scouts in Winnipeg, which lasted 3 months, was terminated. The works of the Ukrainian writers, Panteleimon Kulish, Marko Vovtchok and Bohdan Ihor Antonych were among those studied at the course.

The participants had an opportunity to inspect a manuscript of Marko Vovchok of 1851 which is preserved in the literary department of the University of Manitoba.

3RD CONGRESS OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF CHRISTIAN WORKERS REFUGEES AND EMIGRES IN BELGIUM

This international organization includes workers' organizations of 13 countries of Central and Eastern Europe, among others also the Federation of Free Ukrainian Workers' Organizations. The Congress took place between July 6-7, 1957.

On the agenda of the Congress was the actual situation of workers after the workers' uprisings in Siberia, Ukraine, Poland and Hungary. The representatives of the Ukrainian workers' organizations in Eastern France and Belgium attended the Congress.

CONGRESS OF UKRAINIANS IN ARGENTINA

The 4th Congress of Ukrainians living in Argentina was held in Buenos Aires on July 20, 1957. On the agenda of the Congress were vital problems of the Ukrainian emigration in Argentina. A new programme of activity for the next few years was agreed upon and a new Presidium elected for the purpose of managing the work of the Ukrainian Central Delegation in Argentina. Prof. E. Onatsky, former Ukrainian diplomatic representative in Rome, was elected president of the new management of the Ukrainian Central Delegation in Argentina.

8TH ASSEMBLY OF THE UNION OF UKRAINIANS IN HOLLAND

On May 19, 1957, a general assembly of the Union of Ukrainians living in Holland took place in Utrecht. The activity of the Union was very significant during the past year. Many concerts were arranged in Amsterdam, Utrecht and other Dutch towns. In addition, the Ukrainians and Dutch organized a common Dutch-Ukrainian concert to commemorate the victims of the Hungarian revolution of October 1956. A special evening performance was dedicated to the memory of the greatest Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko. The Greek-Orthodox Ukrainians in Holland have their own parish since a few months ago.

UKRAINIANS IN NEW YORK COMMEMORATE HEROES

As every year, the Ukrainians in New York commemorated the Ukrainian heroes, Symon Petliura, Colonel Konovalets, General Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka and others. Many local prominent Ukrainians took part in this great Ukrainian celebration. The celebration was held in the Ukrainian National

House of New York. The commemoration closed by the singing of the Ukrainian national anthem.

NEW UKRAINIAN SCHOOL IN NEW YORK

A huge building, to be used as a Ukrainian school, will be erected in New York in the near future. The costs of the building will amount to \$2,000,000.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE FORMER UKRAINIAN SOLDIERS IN GREAT BRITAIN

On June 1st, 1957, former Ukrainian soldiers living in Great Britain gathered in London for the purpose of discussing the current problems of their organization and electing new governing bodies.

A NEW GREEK-CATHOLIC CHURCH IN SASKATOON

A new Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church in Saskatoon (Canada) was consecrated by the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan, Maksym Hermaniuk, Bishop Roboretzkyi and the Roman-Catholic Bishop of Saskatoon, F. Klein, on June 16, 1957. In the evening of the same day a concert was arranged in the hall of the local Ukrainian society "Prosvita".

THE UKRAINIAN BANDURA-PLAYER, VOLODYMYR LUTSIV, IN LONDON

Mr. Volodymyr Lutsiv who plays the Ukrainian national instrument "Bandura" and is a well-known Ukrainian singer, gave a concert on July 21, 1957, in the "Twentieth Century Theatre" Hall in London for the Ukrainians in Great Britain. He visited also many other Towns in Great Britain in which Ukrainian communities reside.

NEWS IN BRIEF

The Ukrainian scientist, VSEVOLOD KORYTNYK, has been appointed to a post at the laboratory of an Australian university.

The well-known Ukrainian sculptor, H. KRUK, exhibited some of his works at the exhibition of exiled painters, sculptors and graphic artists which was held in Rome in July this year. The exhibition was arranged by the Association of Intellectuals from behind the Iron Curtain, in Italy.

The Ukrainian painter, TYMOFIY MESSAK, held an art exhibition in Melbourne at which 53 of his pictures were on view.

The woman-barrister, ANNA TCHOPYK, has been given permission to practice as a barrister in the highest courts of justice in the U.S.A.

The Ukrainian cellist, YURIY YASTREMSKY, who, together with 40 other refugees from the U.S.S.R., spent a long time in China, has arrived in Argentina.

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BRITISH PRESS ON UKRAINIANS

"*The Evening Telegraph*" Huddersfield, published in the issue of June 5, 1957, a long report entitled: "The Ukrainians express their thanks to the Mayor by presenting a sculpture", in which we are informed that on the occasion of the 77th birthday of the Mayor of Huddersfield the Ukrainians presented him with a sculpture of himself as an expression of their gratitude for the kindness shown by the inhabitants of this town to the Ukrainians.

"*The Evening Telegraph*" also published an article entitled: "Andriy from Ukraine likes his school work" in which teachers and reporters describe their impression of the behaviour of young Andriy Kramar at school and at home. When the reporter entered Andriy's room he was praying in Ukrainian. The teacher said that Andriy has learnt how to write very well, he likes to read and is a very intelligent youth.

"*The Manchester Evening News*" of June 14, 1957, devoted a full page to the Catholic religious procession in Manchester during Whitsuntide. Among the many pictures published there was one representing two little Ukrainian girls in national dress.

"*The Evening Chronicle*" of Manchester of June 14, 1957, published a picture representing Mr. Peter Rybak in the dress of the Ukrainian mountaineers, the Hutsuls. The newspaper stressed the fact that the most colourful group in the procession of 20,000 persons was the Ukrainian group of 200 persons in national dress.

"*The Bristol Evening World*" of May 23, 1957, published an article by its correspondent describing the impressions he gained during his journey to the Soviet Union. One passage pertaining to the Ukrainian capital Kyiv reads as follows: "Kyiv, the capital of the wheat producing country is situated on seven hills like Rome. A few days of my sojourn in Kyiv made it possible for me to notice how the Soviets have tried to destroy all religious life there. Kyiv has been a place of pilgrimage since the 19th century. I myself felt like an early Christian in the Roman catacombs. Religion is strongly rooted in the souls of the Slavs. Communist atheism has not been able to destroy it".

"*The Express and Star*" of May 7, 1957, published a long article entitled: "The Role of Great Britain in the Formation of New Nations", in which the author considering the formation of the new state of Ghana writes as follows:

"Red Russian propaganda is never tired of accusing constantly the imperialistic forces of the Western world and stirring the hatred of colonial peoples against the British rulers. The Soviet Union is, however, a large empire composed of various peoples, including Ukrainians, Georgians, Mongols, Tartars and many others who must obey orders from Moscow. In addition, Moscow has occupied Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia".

"*Belfast Telegraph*" of June 10, 1957, praises the Greek Orthodox Ukrainians who have built their church in Frankfurt on Main (Germany) by using old American scrap material for this purpose.

"*The Evening Chronicle*" (Manchester), "*Herald and Express*", "*Evening Times*" (Glasgow) and the "*Northern Daily Mail*" of June 19, published similar articles on this small Ukrainian community which only numbers 180 souls.

The "Evening Standard" of June 21, 1957, published a picture of Nina Pavlenko who is an artiste from a theatre in Moscow and commented on the fact that she has brought with her the Ukrainian musical instrument, the "Bandura". Three other Glasgow newspapers published the same picture and added that pretty Ukrainian girls have come to Scotland.

"*The Contemporary Review*" of June, 1957, published a long article by one of its reporters who visited the camps for displaced persons in Western Germany and Austria. He emphasizes that the lot of the Ukrainian refugees in the camps between Wels and Linz (Austria) and in the region of Munich is very sad.

"*The Times*" of March 2, 1957, published a short comment on the tragic death of the Hetman pretender Danylo Skoropadsky. The respective notice reads as follows: "The Hetman pretender Danylo Skoropadsky died in a hospital in London at the age of 52. He was the son of the last Hetman (Chief of State) of Ukraine. After the death of his father he became the leader of the Hetman movement".

"*The Eastern Daily Press*" of February 2, 1957, published a long article on the death of Skoropadsky under the title "Prince Danylo". The article reads: "30,000 Ukrainians in Great Britain and 500,000 of their countrymen in Canada felt the death of Skoropadsky as their personal loss. Danylo Skoropadsky was the son of the last Hetman who was Chief of independent Ukraine towards the end of World War I." After mentioning the most important data of the life of the late Hetman pretender, the newspaper continues as follows: "Perhaps the most tragic period of his life, spent mostly in exile, came immediately after the end of World War II. In virtue of the mutual agreements between the allies, the Ukrainian refugees, being Soviet citizens, were repatriated by force. That is why many of them committed suicide. Skoropadsky and a group of his friends tried to induce the Government of Great Britain to give the priority of humanity to the contracted documents. Although they had a certain success the facts remain nevertheless obscure".

"*The Daily Telegraph*" of March 1st, 1957, commemorated (with some errors) the death of Skoropadsky in a few lines. However, in the issue of the next day, another author praises the late Skoropadsky junior as a wise and sympathetic gentleman whom he knew personally. The throne of the Hetman of Ukraine enjoyed considerable authority in 1918.

"*The Express and Star*" of April 24, 1957, published a letter from a Ukrainian. The letter reads as follows: "The world ignores the existence of even such great nations as the Ukrainian people, numbering 40 millions. Thousands of Ukrainians behind the Iron Curtain scattered all over the world deplore the fact that the civilised world continues to ignore their native country.

"*The Church Times*" of April 4, 1957, published a short notice on the Greek Orthodox Ukrainians in Coventry and their procession on Good Friday.

"*The Hereford Times*" of April 19, 1957, in the article "Women may expect a longer life than men" writes that the World Organization of Health for combating infectious diseases includes all countries of Europe, except White Ruthenia (Byelo-russia), Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Poland, Ukraine and Russia.

"*The Leicester Mercury*" of March 4, 1957, published a picture of one act of the drama "The Shining Stars" and beneath a long comment that reads as follows: "The Dramatic Circle of Leicester visited also Bradford. This circle arranged the performance "The Shining Stars" in the house of the YMCA". After mentioning the most characteristic moments on the stage the newspaper continues as follows: "The enthusiasm of the young Ukrainians—mothers and factory workers—who devote their free time to amuse thousands of others is indeed admirable". "*The Leicester Evening Mail*" and "*The Illustrated Chronicle*" of March 9, 1957, also published similar reports on the performance.

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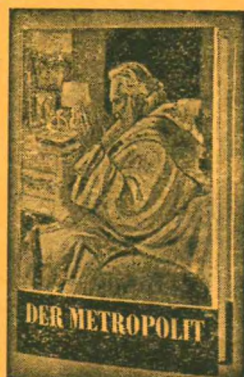
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COMMENTARY***BALANCE SHEET OF THE BOLSHEVIK
REVOLUTION***

In 1917 the tzarist prison of peoples collapsed under the blows of the national liberation revolutions, even though tzarist Russia had belonged to the Entente victor powers in the war against the Central Powers. Thus, it is obvious that the fact that Russia belonged to the victor powers could not save her from defeat when the peoples incarcerated in the tzarist Russian imperium started their national wars of liberation against the continuation of their subjugation by Russia. Nor was the Kerensky government able to bring about the restoration of the imperium. The Bolshevist party, under Lenin's leadership, appeared on the scene as the saviour of the Russian prison of peoples in the fight against the non-Russian nations. By means of violence, deception, treachery and owing to the misplaced Western support for the White Russian tzarist generals, who, at the same time, set up a second front against the non-Russian fight for independence, the new saviours of the Russian imperium, the Russian Bolsheviks, crushed the non-Russian fight for freedom in bloodshed and ruthless terrorism.

Lenin proclaimed the right of self-determination, which included the right of separation from Russia, for Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan and all the other nations forming states of their own, so that he might in this way camouflage the conquest aims of Russia and watch out for an opportunity to subjugate these nations anew. His government at first recognised the independence of our states unconditionally and then later obliterated them one by one. But the fact is overlooked that the second part of Lenin's watchword said: in order to win the confidence of the peoples who are to be conquered, the Russians must talk about the latter's right of separation from Russia, but the Communist parties themselves of the peoples who are to be conquered may only talk about the latter's state unity with Russia.

After their victorious national liberation revolutions and wars, Finland, Esthonia, Lithuania, Poland, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan and other nations re-established their state independence. In the course of

time, the new Red Russian imperialists not only violated the rights of the peoples formerly incarcerated in the tsarist imperium, but, unfortunately, with the acquiescence of the Western powers, also subjugated Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Slovakia, Bohemia and other countries in Europe and Asia.

In order to hold all these peoples together, the most ruthless measures of collectivisation were resorted to, so as to rule the individual completely. Religion was destroyed in order to exterminate the freedom of the spirit; so, too, was national independence, in order to prevent all the forces of the peoples from developing; and so, too, was the freedom of personality, in order to turn the people into willing slaves. And all this was effected by methods hitherto unheard of in the history of the world.

The balance-sheet of the forty years of Russian Bolshevist rule, over our countries shows the following facts: there are several million slaves, most of them from our countries, languishing in the concentration camps. During these forty years of Russian Bolshevist rule, according to some calculations about one third of the population have experienced arrest at some point in their lives. During these forty years, many million persons in the Soviet Union have died an unnatural death. One can deduce these figures from the Soviet statistics of population growth.

The Communist system was not introduced in our countries by our peoples, but was forced on them by the Russian army with its bayonets.

In the course of these forty years, numerous revolts have broken out in our countries against Russian rule, but they were all crushed most brutally. In one year alone, namely in 1932/33, 8 million persons were intentionally and systematically starved to death in Ukraine and other non-Russian countries in order to extinguish the urge to freedom of the peoples of these countries. The insurrections of the non-Russian internees in the concentration camps (Vorkuta, Norylsk, Kingiri, Mordovia) in 1953, 1954 and 1955, however, prove that the idea of freedom is stronger than the Russian knout. The two-front war waged by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) from 1942 onwards, in the course of which various Russian commanders such as Marshal Vatutin and the Polish Vice-Minister of War, Swierczewski, were obliged to pay with their lives, proves the invincibility of the spirit of freedom of the subjugated peoples even in the face of the technical and material superiority of the enemy. The revolts in the East Zone of Germany, in Berlin and Poznan, and the demonstrations held in Kyiv, Odessa, Tiflis and elsewhere, and, finally, the great October revolution in Hungary have once again shown the whole world the strength of the subjugated peoples' will to freedom, which one day will be victorious. It is time the conscience of the entire free world were stirred by the crimes of the Moscow tyrants. It is time one ceased to pursue a coexistence and an appeasement policy. It is time

one put a stop to mass murders and satanic crimes, irrespective of whether the perpetrators are called Khrushchov, Molotov or Zhukov, Malinovsky or Suslov! It is time economic, diplomatic, cultural and other relations with the murderers of the subjugated peoples were broken off. It is time the Communist parties all over the world were disbanded for good and their leaders, who serve Russian imperialism, brought before a court and tried for high treason.

It is urgently necessary that, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the criminals' revolution when one must set up a balance-sheet for these past forty years, the free world should bestir itself and take steps to remedy the present situation. It is time an active policy of liberation as regards all the peoples subjugated by Russia and by Communism were introduced. The disintegration of the Russian imperium into the independent states of all the subjugated peoples within their ethnographical areas should be proclaimed as the chief aim of this liberation. The White Russian imperialists and the former collaborators of Communism are not the standard-bearers of the fight for freedom of our peoples, but the grave-diggers of freedom and the hirelings of Red Russian imperialism.

The free world is most dangerously threatened by the Moscow criminals. The present sufferings of the non-Russian peoples are in store for the Western world. How can the free world believe the word of such a criminal as Khrushchov, after witnessing the spectacle which he recently staged as regards his accomplice in his mass murders, Zhukov! The world had nothing to hope for from a change within the Party clique in the Kremlin. Zhukov and Co. are rogues who are devoid of all feeling of honour and dignity and who spit into each other's faces. The free world, however, need not fear any "sputniks" if it makes the idea of freedom and independence for all the peoples subjugated by Russia its watchword, and wholeheartedly supports the revolutionary national fight for freedom of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations. Atomic bombs are not dropped on revolutions. The idea of freedom, which calls for support against the common enemy of the world, is more powerful than any nuclear weapon.

Slava Stetzko

FOR A POLICY OF LIBERATION

THE VIEW OF THE CANADIAN LEAGUE FOR THE LIBERATION OF UKRAINE ON THE TASKS OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF CANADA

I. CANADA AND THE POLICY OF LIBERATION

Outlining its political programme the Progressive Conservative Party adopted a certain attitude towards the question of support of the liberation struggle of the European nations enslaved by Russia.

The programme concentrates primarily on the satellite countries and the Baltic states but is silent as to the liberation of the nations occupied by Russia in an earlier period; in particular, it does not raise the question of liberation of Ukraine, the Caucasian states of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaidjan, and of Byelorussia.

Canadians of Ukrainian descent studied this part of the programme of the Progressive Conservative Party with particular care because it touches upon an important section of their activities. They feel that they have an obligation to help those Ukrainians who are under Russian oppression behind the Iron Curtain. A similar interest in the programme was shown by Canadians belonging to other ethnic groups.

We realise that the so-called Policy of Liberation constitutes an important factor in the strategy of the Western World in its fight with Russian aggression; we must admit, however, that the liberation issue has not always been properly stated, as can be illustrated by the recent Hungarian example. The result is a serious blow to the enslaved nations and consequently a considerable loss to the entire free world.

Canada has gained the status of a first class power in international affairs and has all the prerequisites for continuing growth. This position enables Canada to exercise an important influence on both, the formulation and the actual application of the Policy of Liberation by the nations of the free world. The attitude of the Canadian Government in the practical application of this policy is of the utmost importance and this has prompted us to indicate our views concerning certain propositions of the Policy of Liberation, as expressed in the political programme of the Progressive Conservative Party and during the election campaign offered for consideration to the whole Canadian nation.

Today Canada is one of the leading nations in the Commonwealth. Together with other members of the Commonwealth and the United States, Canada is the vanguard of the free world, protecting it from Russian aggression. She is

also a great hope of the enslaved nations which struggle to throw off Russian oppression and to regain their freedom.

Canada occupies a special position due to the fact that a third of her population is composed of ethnic groups whose countries of origin are under Russian occupation. Ukrainians, Germans, Poles, Byelorussians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Czechs, Slovaks, all are perturbed by the fate of their former countries, or the countries of their parents and would like to see them enjoy the same freedom and happiness which they enjoy in their new homeland. Many Canadian citizens have blood ties with the nations now enslaved by Russia. They cannot sit back and watch the extermination of their kin by Russia; they would like the Canadian Government to help lessen the misery of those enslaved people and to hasten the day of their liberation.

Canada should support the Policy of Liberation in the international arena aiming at the full liberation of the nations subjugated by Russia; nations, which by active resistance and continuous struggle in various forms have indicated clearly their desire for freedom.

II. IMPORTANCE OF THE POLICY OF LIBERATION

Canada's interests demand adoption of the Policy of Liberation. Canada, together with other nations in the free world is exposed to continuous pressure from the Russian menace. In the international situation that has developed after the Second World War only a policy of liberation of the nations enslaved by Russia in Central and Eastern Europe can serve as an instrument to weaken decisively the Russian threat which in turn will prevent an atomic war with all its devastating consequences. Only the Policy of Liberation can arrest the consolidation and the dangerous growth of the Soviet Russian empire, which now controls almost half of the world's population and has at its disposal immense resources.

A second crucial factor is the need for synchronising the activity of the free world with centrifugal national forces in the Soviet Bloc. It presents the best prospects for bringing about the internal collapse of the Russian imperialistic system. Every move of the West impeding such a synchronising of activity is undoubtedly in the interest of the "brain centre" of Soviet Russia because its effect is to strengthen the position of the "centre" and its control over the entire area within the Soviet Bloc and to deprive the masses of the subjugated nations of hope and the will to fight. There is no need to close our eyes to the fact that the policy of liberation as pursued by the West has not been properly formulated; on the contrary, it has been used as a tactical means and in practice was replaced by a policy of maintaining the designed "spheres of interest" in spite of the fact that this arrangement has never been honoured by the Soviet Union. The best illustration at this is provided by the developments in Greece, the Far East, South East Asia, in the Near East and in Germany. The almost complete inactivity of the West when faced with definite attempts by individual subjugated nations to free themselves from Russian slavery can evoke but a negative response among those nations. This can hardly be considered an asset of the West.

III. TWO ASPECTS OF THE POLICY OF LIBERATION

The Policy of Liberation should be considered on two levels :

1. Political liberation of the national states in Central and Eastern Europe and in Asia occupied by Russia;
2. Liquidation of the Russian Soviet empire which exists today under the name of U.S.S.R.

Both aspects of the Policy of Liberation are closely connected; it is impossible to imagine the liberation of the subjugated nations without the destruction of the conqueror—the Russian empire. Whoever speaks of the enslaved nations and at the same time accepts the existence of U.S.S.R., in fact rejects the Policy of Liberation or does not consider it seriously.

Analysing the foreign policy of the Western nations in the last decade it is difficult to resist the impression that it represents a clear denial of the Policy of Liberation although such a policy is constantly spoken of by the statesmen of the West and in recent times was included in the programmes of various political parties. There exists no doubt today that the Western World realises the threat represented by Russian imperialism. Much has been done to counteract successfully this danger, such as: the creation of NATO and of military bases; strong military forces maintained throughout the world; modern atomic weapons being developed. Nevertheless, in organising its own defence the Western World deliberately ignores and refuses to utilize the most important weapon it has available, a weapon which is most dangerous to the Russian empire: the nations now enslaved by Russia.

We are actually witnessing a most curious fact: Moscow has assumed the role of the active and determined "champion of the enslaved people all over the world" and pretends to defend them against alleged British and American imperialism. Today Moscow purports to act as protector of various Arab states and peoples in Asia and organises resistance among various tribes in Africa although at the same time dozens of nations and millions of people in the U.S.S.R. are persecuted by the police regime, millions starve in concentration camps and entire national groups are being deported from their homelands.

It is very strange that the Western World in counteracting the Russian policy of aggression has been unable to make use of the fact that Russia is the most reactionary colonial power in the world and that the first task should be to liberate the nations enslaved by Russia. Still fresh in our memory are the developments in Hungary where Russia's military force brutally crushed the uprising of the Hungarian people while the Western states in spite of their declarations supposedly in favour of policy of liberation remained completely passive and limited themselves to rather weak protests.

Meanwhile Russia systematically realises her political aims designed to establish Russian hegemony in the whole world. In spite of various types of counter-action by the West Russia was able to:

1. Consolidate her control in the most recently acquired areas (e.g. satellite states and China);
2. Restore her war-shattered economy;

3. Create new economic centres to serve as a basis for heavy industry, closely connected with her military needs.
4. Master production of atomic energy, atomic weapons, intercontinental ballistic missile and launch the "Sputnik";
5. Establish areas of constant fermentation and friction in Asia (e.g. Korea, Viet-Nam), Europe (Germany) and in the Middle East (Egypt).

Russian gains would certainly have been considerably greater had Russia succeeded in breaking down the resistance offered in one form or another by the enslaved nations. As a result Russia is forced to sacrifice a large amount of her energy for internal consolidation and to overcome the constant resistance in Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Caucasian and the Baltic states, and the satellites.

What will happen when Russia finally wins out on the internal front and weakens or perhaps crushes completely the resistance movements in the non-Russian areas?

What will happen when Russia completes her internal consolidation and throws all her potential against the West?

This is not an academic question; it is a question of practical politics and should not be passed over lightly. Nobody acquainted with Russian policy will be able to deny the utmost seriousness and importance of such a future development.

IV. WHY THE CONCEPT OF COEXISTENCE IS DANGEROUS?

The Western World wishes to convince Russia of the expediency of the maxim "live and let live". For tactical reasons Moscow's propaganda supports this maxim although Russian leaders never fail to add that in the final result the victory of the system they represent is inevitable. A loudly advertised concept of coexistence is supported in the West solely from motives of opportunism; Moscow supports it because it coincides with her interests of the day.

It is obvious that the concept of coexistence and the Policy of Liberation are irreconcilable. Western Powers adopting in practice the policy of coexistence in fact reject the Policy of Liberation which proves that this policy is viewed as a tactical means for exercising pressure against U.S.S.R. In other words, the value of the Policy of Liberation is determined by the policy adopted by Moscow at any given time: if such a policy is acceptable to the West, even in its most general outline, the Policy of Liberation is shelved; the moment Russian aggression looms larger, the Policy of Liberation is brought back into the limelight; it then becomes useful to raise the question of the liberation of the nations under Russian domination.

Such treatment of the Policy of Liberation as a tactical means rather than as a basic policy is a serious weakness in the attitude of the West in general. Not only does it render the policy of the West ineffective, it also, which is more serious, hastens the process of internal consolidation of the Soviet Bloc. By depriving the enslaved nations of all prospects and hope of success in their fight for freedom the West may force them in such a desperate situation to seek some "modus vivendi" with Moscow which in turn might make some concessions. The immediate consequence of such a development would be cessation of resistance to Moscow and the possibility of co-operation with Russia in its objective to dominate the whole world.

V. MAIN PRINCIPLES OF THE POLICY OF LIBERATION

We start with the premise based on long and bitter experience that Moscow's aim to dominate the world is unalterable. Today as in the past Moscow will do everything it can to speed the day of the final victory and her political activity will develop along that line regardless of who will be at the helm of the Russian empire at any given time. Having no other alternative, the Western World, if it wishes to maintain its freedom, must accordingly formulate its own policy. We are convinced that with the passage of time the West will reappraise its relations with Moscow; a degree of such revaluation has already taken place during the last 12 years. The vital issue is the need for the West to realise as soon as possible the futility of all hopes for coexistence and that a policy of appeasement will in fact result in Russia's victory.

The West will not be able to preserve its freedom by the methods adopted at present. Considering the pace of advance and the methods adopted within the Soviet Union we can assume that some day the potential of the Soviet Bloc might surpass that of the West. The only certain way of defending the West is by destroying the Russian empire and liquidating the Soviet Union—the present form of that empire.

All the space controlled today by Moscow must be politically reorganised; political independence of the states occupied by Russia must be restored. It serves no purpose to speak only of the liberation of the states subjugated by Russia in the last decade and to permit the existence of the Russian empire, say within its 1939 borders.

At the present stage of the struggle with the Soviet Bloc the only realistic position that should be adopted must contemplate:

1. Indivisibility of freedom the world over;
2. The destruction of all totalitarian systems;
3. The proclamation without any qualification of the necessity of liberation of all nations subjugated by Russia;
4. The active support of liberation movements of the nations enslaved by Russia;
5. Abandoning the division of the subjugated nations into those that should be liberated (such as the satellite countries) and those that may continue to remain under Russian control (nations subjugated earlier, e.g. Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic and the Caucasian states).

Nations behind the Iron Curtain must know that:

1. They are not alone in their struggle with Russian imperialism;
2. The Western World wants to help them in their struggle;
3. In case of a decisive internal clash and revolution in U.S.S.R. the West is prepared to offer effective military assistance to the revolting nations;
4. In no case will the West support forces attempting to restore the Russian empire in another form upon the destruction of the Russian empire, as was the case after the First World War.

VI. WHAT WE EXPECT FROM CANADA

At the beginning we pointed out the role and the position of Canada in the international field. Summing up on analysis of the relations between the Soviet Bloc and the Western World and the conclusions arrived at, we wish to underline that Canada due to her special position in the Commonwealth and her relation with the United States has all the prerequisites for becoming the promoter of a true policy of liberation and can set in motion an effective international action along such lines. The UN forum offers a particularly favourable ground for so doing.

If the West adopts a constructive and realistic policy of liberation it will counteract the Russian menace. If Canada were to accept the responsible function of advocating the policy of liberation she would strengthen her position as a world power.

Canada's role during the Suez crisis as well as in the formation of the international armed forces indicates the wide field open to her. Similarly, the introduction of the Policy of Liberation and the creation of a favourable atmosphere for such a policy would represent a great moral achievement for Canada and would further increase her prestige in the world.

Closer to home, Canada can promote a more intensive activity of enlightenment and information through "The Voice of Canada" along the lines of the basic premises of the Policy of Liberation. Until now this important instrument in the struggle with the Soviet-Russian aggression had not been sufficiently utilised; broadcasts sent behind the Iron Curtain lack the contents expected by those whom these broadcasts are designed to reach.

We have no doubt that the whole Canadian nation would welcome the initiative of its Government in this vital matter and would give the necessary support, since this would amount not only to the hastening of the liberation of the nations enslaved by Russia, but would also mean the final removal of the threat to the free world.

Dr. Lev V. Mydlowsky

Bolshevik Persecution of Religion and Church in Ukraine

1917-1957

Introduction

Communism such as it is practised in the U.S.S.R. is not merely a synthesis of distorted Marxism and the tyranny which prevails in Russia ever since the time of the Tzar Ivan the Terrible. Nor is Communism merely a modern form of the colonialism and imperialistic expansion of Russia. Communism is all these things and, at the same time, it is also a pseudo-religion which excludes the existence of the true faith in God in its sphere of influence.

Communism destroys every religious or idealistic philosophy of life and moral principles, in order to overthrow tradition and civilisation which are based on unchangeable ethical principles that are binding for man's conscience. Communism negates the freedom of the human will in order to transform man into a being that has no will of its own and to make man conform to the living conditions of the totalitarian order of society.

Communism exterminates every form of culture which is not connected with it as regards ideology.

Christianity spread to Ukraine over a thousand years ago, and it was on the basis of Christianity that the Ukrainian Church and the entire Ukrainian Christian culture and civilization, which ensured the general development and independence of the Ukrainian people, developed.

For this reason the Communist leadership decided to destroy Ukrainian religious, ecclesiastical, and national cultural life, in order to force a Communist "religion of atheism" on Ukraine and in this way to subjugate Ukraine spiritually. In this way, too, the Communists are trying to extinguish the hope of Divine Justice in the hearts of the Ukrainian people and to paralyse the spirit of their fight for freedom; they are trying to transform the pious Ukrainian people into formless mass of Soviet slaves.

I. Central and East Ukrainian Territories¹⁾

1) *The first repressive measures*

The first aggression on the part of Soviet Russia against Ukraine began on December 27, 1917, when the Bolshevik troops launched a general offensive against the Central and East Ukrainian territories. And the beginning of Communist persecution of religion and the Church in Ukraine goes back to this date.

One of the first victims of Communist anti-religious terrorism in Ukraine was the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Kyiv, Volodymyr Bohoyavlensky, who was murdered there by Bolshevik partisans on January 25, 1918.²⁾

On the strength of the decrees issued by the Soviet Russian state power on December 4, 1917, and January 23, 1918, the Communists began to confiscate the property of the Church, both the buildings of churches and monasteries and also things of value belonging to the churches (icons, chalices, valuable vestments, etc.).

The Communists based their anti-religious policy on Point 13 of their Party programme (confirmed at the 8th Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1919), which proclaimed "scientific materialism and atheism" as the ideological foundation in setting up a Communist order of society. It is true that the decree of January 23, 1918, conceded the Church the formal right to exist, but repressive police measures on the part of the Communist administration restricted its activity to an ever-increasing degree. It was, for instance, impossible to publish ecclesiastical writings, or hold religious instruction in the schools. The Communist administration dissolved theological academies and seminaries in order to put an end to the training and studies of candidates for the priesthood.

From the very outset, Bolshevik terrorism was directed against the clergy, and, in particular, against the monks. When Bolshevik troops seized in January, 1918, the monastery in Lubni (in the district of Poltava), their commander made the twenty-five monks who were still there and their abbot, Ambrosius, line up and

¹⁾ In the following footnotes the number of the bibliographical note will be given *in parenthesis* after the name of the author and abbreviated title of the work in question.

²⁾ F. Heyer: *Die orthodoxe Kirche* (2), p. 45-46.

arrested them; the commissar, Bakay, then gave orders that they were all to be shot. In January, 1918, the Communists drove most of the monks out of the monastery in Sviatohorsk (in the district of Kharkiv) and then proceeded to ransack the church of the monastery. In the monastery itself they set up a "convalescent home", and transformed the church into an "anti-religious museum". In June, 1918, the Communists carried out a raid on the Holy Cross monastery near Poltava and on July 4th of the same year, they shot Father Nilus, a monk who had remained behind in the monastery.³⁾

We have only quoted a few examples which illustrate the extent to which the monks were persecuted and the monasteries raided by the Communists; but the same also applies, in slightly different variations to almost all the monasteries and churches of monasteries in Central and East Ukraine. This campaign reached its culmination with the fate that befell the Pechersky monastery (the cave-monastery) in Kyiv, which was the centre of monastic life in the whole of Central and East Ukraine. In the year 1926 there were still about 500 monks in this monastery. Their abbot, Hermogenes Holubynsky was arrested by the Communists. Only seven monks were left behind in the monastery and they, too, were deported in 1928, when the monastery was closed down and transformed into an "anti-religious museum". It was only after World War II that some of the monastery buildings were handed over to the monks of the Russian Orthodox Church.⁴⁾

2) *The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and Soviet experiments in the Church questions*

The decree issued by the Russian Soviet government on January 23, 1918, fundamentally "regulated" the affairs of the Church inasmuch as it deprived the latter of its public legal character and status. From now onwards, communities of the Church were only to be allowed to continue to exist as private societies. This decree was extended to apply to Ukraine, too, by the Communists in 1919. The Church was also deprived of its right of ownership to property. Only if they paid rent for the future "state property" were church

³⁾ Ibid., p. 76.

⁴⁾ Ibid., p. 76.

communities to be allowed by the administration to use church buildings for the purpose of worship. In addition, the Church was likewise strictly forbidden to engage in any form of charitable activity.

In spite of this constant persecution of the Church, of the bishops, priests and the faithful, most of the people of Central and East Ukraine unwaveringly retained their Christian faith and did their utmost to preserve the organised forms of Church life, at least within the very limited rights which the Soviet decree at that time conceded to church communities as private societies. In 1921 the Greek Orthodox Ukrainians detached themselves from the supremacy of the Moscow Patriarchate which had been forced on them, and established the revived Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which under the spiritual leadership of its Metropolitan, Basil (Vasyl) Lypkivsky, included the whole of Central and East Ukraine and in 1927 numbered about 3,000 parishes, more than 3,000 priests and 34 bishops.

That this was possible under the Communist regime is explained by the fact that though the Soviet state power, in keeping with the Communist ideology of a militant atheism (based on Karl Marx's theory about religion as "opium for the people"), fought the Church again and again all the time, and continues to fight it even today, this fight, however, assumes various forms according to time and circumstances. And, incidentally, the same thing to some extent also applies to Soviet economic policy. When the Communists were threatened by an economic catastrophe as a result of their economic experiments at the time of the so-called "military Communism" Lenin, at the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party in 1921, proclaimed the so-called "New Economic Policy" (NEP), which partly—but only to a very limited extent—restored private property in industry and trade, exclusively in order to be able to exploit private initiative for the economic consolidation of the Communist state.

In their fight against the Church the Communists resorted to various methods in turn, ranging from comparative tolerance—whenever the situation demanded that the people should for the time being be pacified—to ruthless terrorism. During the transition period up to 1926 the Communist state power endeavoured to destroy the organisation of the Church from within, by making

use of the so-called "Living Church", founded in 1923, which in a similar way to the "New Economic Policy" was to become the instrument of the Communists for the purpose of consolidating their regime. The Communists also took part in the founding of the so-called "Active Church" so that, with the help of the latter's functionaries, they might be able to compromise religion and the Church in the eyes of the population. Thus, one of these functionaries, for instance, who posed as an orthodox priest, at the end of divine service—obviously at the instructions of the Communist elements—publicly declared in the church that he had so far been telling the people "lies" and would now, therefore, relinquish his office as a priest. In order to make this atheistic demonstration more striking, he tore off his priest's vestments and threw his priest's cross on the floor and trampled on it. Some time later, he was appointed leader of a "circle of atheists" and devoted himself to a lively anti-religious activity.⁵⁾

3) *Atheistic propaganda and increased terrorism*

The Communist Party continued to intensify its atheistic propaganda to an ever-increasing degree. For this reason a "Union of Atheists" was officially founded (with its seat in the central headquarters in Moscow), which was run by the Communist Party and was most generously supplied with all the necessary propagandist means (press, radio station, the right to hold public meetings, mobile propaganda vans and ships, anti-religious museums, so-called Communist training centres, etc.); the journals, "Bezbozhnik" ("The Godless") and "Antireligioznik" ("The Anti-Religious"), published by this "Union of Atheists" at the state's expense, were circulated in huge numbers by the Soviet authorities.

The Communist authorities exerted considerable pressure in order to make the population take part in the anti-religious campaign which they themselves organised, and readily resorted to threats and punitive measures against all those who openly refused to take part in this campaign. The Communists arranged public anti-religious rallies, usually at Christmas and Easter, which were for the most part attended by members of the "Union of Atheists" and of the Komsomoltsi (Young Communists) and by countless semi-criminal elements of the rabble. They donned priests' vestments and, holding a crucifix in their hand, held wild masquerades in the streets

⁵⁾ Prof. H. Vashchenko: Vidnovlennia U.A.P.Ts. (5), p. 8.

and ridiculed God, religious faith, the Church and the priesthood. They tried to provoke the faithful who had assembled in the churches for divine service, by screaming, shouting and whistling; sometimes they even forced their way into churches where they then started maltreating and beating the priests and the members of the congregation and demolishing pictures of saints and sacred vessels. All this was done either at public instigation or with the tacit permission of the Communist authorities.

These sacrilegious demonstrations were a prelude to a large-scale campaign which was intended to destroy completely religious and Church life in Central and East Ukraine. According to an official decree issued by the Soviet government on April 8, 1929, the Church ceased to exist legally as a hierarchic organisation. From now onwards, the Communist administration systematically began to close the churches and to use church buildings for other purposes or else to demolish them. Such measures were carried out in accordance with the government and Party directives, as can be seen, for instance, from the following order which was issued to a Party functionary in the village of Petrovo (in the district of Pyatykhatka):

"In accordance with the directives of the District Executive Committee, the church in your village is to be converted into a granary for storing state grain. This order must be carried out within 48 hours and the competent authorities must be notified to the effect that it has been carried out".⁶⁾

Similar orders were issued to most of the towns and villages throughout Central and East Ukraine and they were all carried out in the same way. In Kyiv, where prior to the Bolshevik occupation there had been 140 churches, only two churches were later allowed to remain open, and that was chiefly in order to be able to demonstrate Soviet "tolerance" to foreigners. In many other towns not a single church was allowed to remain open. Moreover, both in Kyiv and elsewhere countless churches were demolished, which, as monuments of the Ukrainian architecture of the 12th to 17th century, were of great artistic and historic value; in Poltava fourteen such churches were demolished. In Odessa nineteen churches were demolished on one single occasion in 1937.⁷⁾

⁶⁾ V. Kravchenko: *I Chose Freedom* (3), p. 120.

⁷⁾ F. Heyer, loc. cit. (2), p. 112-113; B. Mikorskiy: *Razrushenie* (11), *passim*.

4) *The systematic offensive against the Church*

The Communist Party and government not only made it impossible for the priests to administer their sacred office legally and for the faithful to fulfil their religious duties legally, but they also tried to force the priests by terrorist measures to publicly renounce their office. The priests were officially designated as the "non-working element" and for this reason were denied certain elementary civil rights. The authorities frequently refused to give bishops and priests permission to remain in the place where they held office and had them deported to far-off districts; the priests were likewise officially forbidden to carry out the religious duties of their office, including religious instruction, outside the church building. Those who violated this order were punished with five years imprisonment in a concentration camp (with penal servitude). Because of their "social origin", the children of the clergy were excluded from instruction at school and were not entitled to receive a normal wage if they had not publicly severed all connections with their parents.

The Communist administration imposed such exorbitant taxes on the priests and the parishes that, as a rule, they were not in a position to pay them; and this fact, of course, provided the authorities with the desired "legal" reason for dissolving the church parishes. In the town of Proskuriv, for instance, the Provost of the cathedral, Father Okolovsky, was to pay a yearly tax of 5,000 roubles, whilst his colleague in Zhytomyr was to pay as much as 35,000-40,000 roubles.⁸⁾ As a result of these exorbitant taxes a number of parishes in Poltava collapsed in 1931. And most of the communities of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church were liquidated by this "cold" method.

The Communist authorities likewise confiscated and destroyed religious and liturgical writings. Employees and foremen were in effect forbidden to attend divine service and to take part in church rites, such as baptism, weddings, and funerals, etc. The Soviet government not only abolished all the Church feast-days, but also Sunday as a holiday, by introducing a "five-day week" (later, a six-day week") so that the faithful amongst the "workers" would not be able to attend divine service on Sundays.

The next stage in the extermination of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church consisted in mass arrests of bishops, priests, professors of theology, secular advisers of the Church,

⁸⁾ F. Heyer: *Die orthodoxe Kirche* (2), p. 112.

vergers and other servants of the Church, as well as prominent persons amongst the faithful.

One of the first victims of this period of systematic persecution was Archbishop Alexander Yareshchenko of Kharkiv, who was arrested by the Secret State police (GPU) in April, 1926. At the same time, the cathedral in Kharkiv was also closed down. The Archbishop was, first of all, taken to Moscow and then deported to Tashkent (in Central Asia). Soon afterwards, the Proto-Deacon Potiyenko and several other ecclesiastical heads were also arrested and put into concentration camps. The head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Vasyl (Basil) Lypkivsky, was arrested by the GPU the first time in 1927 and the second (and last) time in 1929; nothing definite is known as regards his further fate, but it is highly probable that he was tortured to death by the Bolsheviks. Soon afterwards, his successor, Metropolitan Mykola (Nicholas) Boretsky, was also arrested and sent to the penitentiary in Solovki (on the White Sea), where he became insane as a result of the tortures he was forced to endure. He died in a mental institution in 1935.

The following heads of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church were likewise arrested and imprisoned during this same period:

The Archbishop Nestor Sharayivsky, Yuriy (George) Mikhnovsky, Stepan (Stephan) Orlyk, Yosyp (Joseph) Oksiyuk, Ivan (John) Pavlovsky, Constantine Maliushkevych, Constantine Krotevych, Mykola (Nicholas) Pyvovarov; the Bishops Hryhoriy (Gregory) Storozhenko, Pylyp (Philip) Buchylo, Alexander Chervinsky, Peter Romodanov, Yukhym (Euthymius) Kalishevsky, Mykola (Nicholas) Shyray, Peter Tarnavsky, Volodymyr Bzhoznovsky, Yuriy (George) Zhevchenko, Mykola (Nicholas) Karabinevych, Mark Hrushevsky, Anthony Hrynevych, Maxim Nadvirniak, Hryhoriy (Gregory) Mozalevsky, Yuriy (George) Teslenko, Mykhaylo (Michael) Maliarevsky, Volodymyr Samborsky, Volodymyr Dakhivnyk-Dakhivsky, Yakiv (Jacob) Chulayivsky, Konon Bey, Theodosius Serhiv, Yuriy (George) Prokopovych.⁹⁾

All these ecclesiastical dignitaries of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church were sent to concentration camps, most of them to Siberia, as for instance Bishop Yuriy (George) Teslenko, who developed tuberculosis whilst interned and died of this disease after

⁹⁾ Protoyerey M.: Ternystym Shliakhom (4), p. 6.

he had eventually been released from the concentration camp. Other bishops and archbishops died under dreadful conditions whilst interned in concentration camps, and a number of them were probably shot. Actually, there was not a single bishop of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church left in the whole of Soviet Ukraine after 1932.

During this same period the Soviet government imprisoned over 3,000 priests of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church; they were forced to endure dreadful tortures, some of them were shot or murdered, and the rest were put into concentration camps. The same fate befell the secular adviser of the Church, too, Professor Volodymyr Chekhivsky, who was arrested in 1929 and sentenced to death; the death sentence was, however, revised and, instead, he was sentenced to ten years imprisonment in the penitentiary in Solovki, but was later sentenced to another 20 years imprisonment and was taken to a secret camp in East Siberia. Several hundred secular advisers of the Church and thousands of prominent persons amongst the faithful suffered the same fate in the course of this anti-religious terrorism.

5) *The destruction of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church*

At the end of January, 1930, the Communist Party and the Soviet police forced the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, by repressive measures, to disband, that is to say, to declare that it had ceased to exist; and in this connection mock trials were held in which the accused were the heads of this Church. The Communists endeavoured to motivate the repressive measures which they took against the Church by legally and factually unfounded arguments, arguments which from the political point of view were demagogic, as for instance, that the Ukrainian Church was "an anti-Soviet, counter-revolutionary and nationalist organisation", that the entire administrative and ideological leadership of this Church was only concerned with "training the masses in an anti-Soviet spirit", and that the leaders of this Church were acting "in the interests of the international counter-revolution", etc.

In reality, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church had existed on an entirely legal basis and had carried on its activity by legal means, inasmuch as it respected the Soviet state constitution and obeyed the orders issued by the government. It even

complied with certain requests of the Soviet state power which, under normal conditions, no church in the world would be obliged to fulfil; for instance, at the request of the GPU, Metropolitan Vasyl (Basil) Lypkivsky resigned from office in 1927.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church looked after the spiritual welfare of its faithful and trained them in a religious spirit; it did not concern itself with political affairs, but, for understandable reasons, of course objected to the Communist Party and the Soviet state power trying to enforce their policy on the life of the Church.

That the Communists were in this case intent upon completely exterminating religion, can be seen from the fact that they demolished about 90 per cent of all the churches in Soviet Ukraine or else converted them into storage depots, garages, stables, clubs, cinemas and anti-religious museums, etc.¹⁰⁾ Even Christian cemeteries were frequently demolished and the gravestones used for paving streets; church-bells were melted down and used for various industrial purposes.

In 1936, the last parish, which had previously declared its adherence to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, was officially dissolved¹¹⁾, and thus the last vestige of the existence of this Church as an organised community on Soviet Ukrainian soil was now obliterated. Those priests and monks who had still engaged in their profession were now obliged to do so illegally. They went from place to place, preaching the Divine Word to the population and hiding from the police. Those who were caught, were shot, as for instance the monk Pylyp (Philip) in 1937 and the abbot Arsenius, some time before 1941. The police system of informers made it practically impossible for the priests to continue their religious activity even in secret, as is proved by the words of the priest Volodymyr B. of Poltava: "With the aid of all their satanic organisations—the Party, the Komsomol (Communist Youth organisation) and the Soviet trade unions—the Bolsheviks are even making it impossible for us to worship Christ in caves and catacombs, in forests and deserts. Fear of losing their last piece of bread, that is, their jobs, has forced the people to surrender their souls in despair to spiritual slavery."¹²⁾

¹⁰⁾ Eight Interim Hearings (7), p. 249.

¹¹⁾ Protoyerey M. Ternystym Shliakhom (4), p. 7.

¹²⁾ F. Heyer: Die orthodoxe Kirche (2), p. 129.

The destruction of monuments of Ukrainian Christian civilization and culture, as for instance the Church of the Holy Trinity in Kyiv, which dated back to the 12th century and on the site of which there now stands the building of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, was likewise a demonic feature of the extermination of religious life in Soviet Ukraine at that time.

II. The West Ukrainian Territories including Carpatho-Ukraine

1) *The bloodshed of the first Soviet occupation*

The Soviet Union occupied West Ukraine for the first time in September, 1939, on the strength of a treaty with Nazi Germany; the second Soviet occupation of West Ukraine—this time including Carpatho-Ukraine—took place in 1944. The Church which existed in these Ukrainian territories was the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (that is, a Catholic Church with an Eastern ritual).

At the time of the first occupation, the Metropolitan of Galicia, Count Andreas Sheptytsky, did his utmost to prevent anything from happening which might give the Communists cause to persecute the Church. In his pastoral messages to the priests (December, 1939) he admonished them to comply with all the orders issued by the Soviet state power provided that these were not contrary to the Divine Law.

But the Communist rulers were not in the least interested in the good intentions of the heads of the Church and in their willingness to exist legally side by side with the administration. They promptly liquidated the Catholic press, all Catholic publishing firms and schools, religious societies and monastic and nuns' orders. At the same time, the Soviet state power ordered the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, that is to say all bishops, priests and faithful, to sever all connections with the Vatican, even though the Church was authorised to uphold such relations on the strength of the Concordat of 1925, Article 1, the Concordat of 1929, Article 4, and the "Modus Vivendi" of 1928, Article 1, and regardless of the fact that these agreements, from the point of view of international law, were to continue to be valid.

The priests were designated by the administration as "cult servants" and were obliged to pay such exorbitant taxes (from 5,000 roubles a year upwards) that it was practically impossible for them

to make regular payments. If they were in arrears, the church in question was closed down, for the churches, too, were taxed. The administration forbade the priests to visit members of their church who were in hospital, and to give religious instruction in the schools; it closed down theological seminaries and began to confiscate the property of the Church.

Even in those days the Soviets were already intent upon liquidating the Ukrainian Catholic Church; above all, they were anxious to sever the latter's connections with the Vatican. They planned to consecrate Father Dr. H. Kostelnyk as bishop and he was then to proclaim the severance of the Ukrainian Catholic Church from the Vatican. When he refused to do so, the police put his seventeen-year old son into prison.

The outbreak of the war between Germany and the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, prevented the Soviets from carrying out all their plans in this respect. But even so, the Soviet police had time enough to arrest a large number of priests immediately after the outbreak of the war, who were then either deported to the East or else murdered in a most dreadful way. Many of them were crucified; others had their stomachs slit open by the Bolsheviks, who then placed murdered babies in the stomachs of their victims. The twenty-seven priests who were bestially murdered in June and July, 1941, during the Soviet retreat from West Ukraine, included the following: Father Prof. Dr. Mykola Kondrad of Stradche (near Lviv), who was murdered on June 26, 1941, Father Dr. Ishchak of Sykhiv (near Lviv), Father Roman Bodnian of Borshchiv (near Peremyshliany), Father Petro Dutko of Kniazhpil, Father Kebuz of Makova, Father Rychakivsky of Uhryn', Father Y. Chemerynsky of Lviv, Father Y. Sterniuk, Father Boyarsky, and Father Kletsan.

2) *The illegality of the Soviet administration of justice*

During the second Soviet occupation of West Ukraine, which began in the early summer of 1944, the policy pursued by the Soviets as regards the Church was, at first, to all outward appearance moderate, but in essence treacherous; in view of the fact that the country was at war, the Soviets did not want to turn the pious Ukrainian people against themselves by adopting repressive measures right from the outset.

There are certain reasons to assume that Metropolitan Andreas Sheptytsky, who died on November 1, 1944, was poisoned by the

Bolsheviks¹³⁾, who later voiced a completely unfounded suspicion that this was done by the Metropolitan's successor, the then Archbishop, Joseph Slipy. Metropolitan Andreas Sheptytsky happened to be an obstacle to the plans of the Bolsheviks since he enjoyed the greatest esteem amongst the population of West Ukraine.

His successor, Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, conducted the affairs of the Church in such a manner that the Soviet state power could not reproach him. He even donated 100,000 roubles in the name of the Ukrainian Catholic Church for the welfare of the Soviet soldiers who had been wounded in the war.¹⁴⁾

But already during the winter of 1944/45, the Bolsheviks began to harass the priests, namely by demanding that they should attend meetings at which Communist agitators criticized and ridiculed the Catholic Church; in this way the Bolsheviks aimed not only to undermine the morale of the population and bring discredit on the priesthood, but also to provoke individual priests to make unwise remarks.

In spring 1945, the Bolsheviks intensified their propaganda against the Church very considerably, thus paving the way for more concrete repressive measures.

On April 11, 1945, the Bolsheviks arrested five West Ukrainian Catholic bishops: the Archbishop-Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, the Bishops Nykyta (Nicetas) Budka and Mykola (Nicholas) Charnetsky in Lviv, and the Bishops Hryhoriy (Gregory) Khomyshyn and Ivan (John) Liatyshevsky in Stanislaviv. At the same time, other members of the priesthood were also arrested, namely the Fathers M. Galiant, Kovalsky, Kunytsky, Gorchynsky, Beley, Sampara, Trush, Bilyk, Hodun'ko, and various others; Father Hodun'ko died a few days later as a result of the dreadful tortures inflicted on him during the police "interrogations". At the same time, the Apostolic Visitant for Catholic Ukrainians in Germany, Father Dr. P. Verhun, was arrested in Berlin¹⁵⁾. He died in exile on February 7, 1957, in Angarsky Poselok, district of Krasnoyarsk (Central Siberia).

It was not until eleven months later, in March 1946, that the indictment against the incarcerated bishops was formulated by the Soviet Prosecutor in Kyiv. He accused them (on the strength of Article 54, sub-sections 1a and 2, of the Criminal Code of the U.S.S.R.) of "high treason", of "collaboration with the enemy" and

¹³⁾ Communist Takeover and Occupation of Ukraine (6), p. 32.

¹⁴⁾ Ibid., p. 32-33.

¹⁵⁾ Fate of Ukrainian Catholics (8).

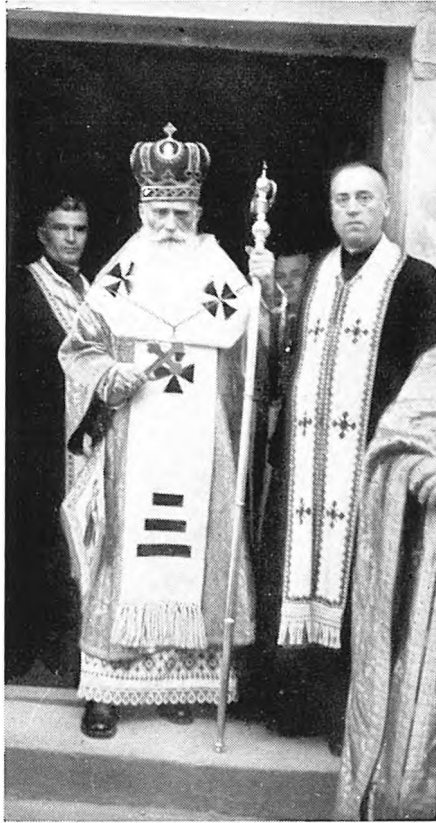


BASIL LYPKIVSKY,

*Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox
Church. Imprisoned in 1929. Fate unknown.*



*Archbishop JOSEPH SLIPY,
Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.
Sentenced to 8 and then to 25 years of imprisonment.
Exiled to Siberia.*



Bishop JOSAPHAT KOTSYLOVSKY.

Died in a Soviet prison in 1947.



*Bishop GREGORY KHOMYSHYN.
Died in a Soviet prison in 1947.*

*Bishop NYKYTA BUDKA.
Died in Central Asian exile in 1949.*



of "hostile, criminal offences against the fatherland"; all these "crimes" had allegedly been committed by the bishops in question during the German occupation of West Ukraine between 1941-1943.

The West Ukrainian Catholic bishops never collaborated with the German occupation forces at all. Naturally, it was unavoidable that they should be obliged to have formal contact with the German administration (just as had previously been the case with the Soviet administration) in the course of carrying out their ecclesiastical duties, as for instance when it was a case of appointing a priest for the Ukrainian workers who had been forcibly abducted and taken to Germany, or of appointing priests as army chaplains in the Ukrainian Division. How unfounded and ridiculous the accusation of "high treason" on the grounds of collaboration with the German occupation forces was, can be clearly seen from the following facts:

During the German occupation Archbishop Joseph Slipy was placed under police surveillance and was interrogated on several occasions by the Gestapo. The Gestapo detained Bishop Mykola Charnetsky in Lviv and refused to give him permission to go to his diocese Kholm-Pidliashshia-Volhynia. All the other bishops, too, were harassed by the Gestapo, which searched their dwellings and threatened them with imprisonment and actually imprisoned many of the co-workers of the bishops.

The West Ukrainian Catholic bishops committed no offenses whatever against the U.S.S.R., and the Soviet court had no concrete evidence at all which might have incriminated them. For this reason they were imprisoned for eleven months so that an indictment could be prepared against them in the meantime. In the end, the Soviet military tribunal in Kyiv—although it was not competent in this case—conducted the trial in secret (the public were excluded) and sentenced the Metropolitan of Lviv, Archbishop Joseph Slipy, the Canadian subject, Bishop Nykyta Budka, and Bishop Ivan Liatyshvsky to 8 years hard labour in a penitentiary, Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn to 10 years, and Bishop Mykola Charnetsky to 5 years.

Quite apart from all this, the Polish Communist police arrested the Bishops Josaphat Kotsylovsky and Hryhoriy (Gregory) Lakota in Peremyshl (Przemysl), in September 1944, the first time, and the second time in June 1946, and finally handed them both over to the Soviets. Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovsky died in a Soviet prison on August 21, 1947, as a result of the dreadful tortures which

were inflicted on him Bishop Hryhoriy Lakota was taken to a concentration camp near Vorkuta where he later died, according to accounts given by the monks, Father Jean Nicholas of Paris (a member of the order of Assumptionists) and Father Petrus Leoni, S.J., who returned from Siberia.

Bishop Hryhoriy (Gregory) Khomyshyn, who was eighty, died in prison on January 17, 1947. Bishop Nykyta (Niketas) Budka, who had formerly worked in Canada (from 1912 to 1926), was deported to Karaganda and died there on October 6, 1949.

The sentence imposed on Metropolitan Yosyp (Joseph) Slipy ended in 1954, but the Soviets then sentenced him—without any legal reason whatever—to another 25 years imprisonment. A complete invalid as a result of the hard labour he was forced to do, he is now in Maklakovo, district of Yenisei, Krasnoyarsk region.

Bishop Mykola (Nicholas) Charnetsky was imprisoned in the notorious concentration camp in Vorkuta (West Siberia), in camp No. 5110/33/1·7 for hard labour; despite the fact that his sentence ended in 1950, he was not released until 1956, when it was ascertained that he was suffering from an incurable disease at the age of 72.

It has not been possible to verify the rumour that the Soviets in 1956—probably for propagandist reasons—released Bishop Ivan (John) Liatyshevsky; he is said to be in Stanyslaviv (Galicia) at present, but has been forbidden to resume his profession. The Soviets, incidentally, have now released a number of priests, but have forbidden them to resume their duties as priests and have, moreover, made it impossible for them to get regular employment, so that most of them on their release from concentration camps are faced by poverty and starvation. In 1957 the Soviets have once more started arresting priests—including a number who were released only recently—and deporting them to concentration camps.

3) *The forcible liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the three West Ukrainian dioceses*

The actual reason for the incarceration of the seven West Ukrainian Catholic bishops was that they refused to break with the Vatican, and to be subordinated to the administration of the Moscow Patriarchate, that is to say, of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Bolshevik regime had only allowed the Russian Orthodox Church, which was under its control, to continue to exist, in order to spread Soviet influence with the aid of this Church and pave the way for

the political expansion of Bolshevism. The Ukrainian Catholic Church, too, by being subordinated to the administration of the Moscow orthodox Patriarchate, was likewise to come under the control of the Bolshevik regime and become the instrument of the latter's policy. When the above-mentioned bishops, however, refused to comply with this unfair request they were put into prison for no legal reason at all and were sentenced without legal evidence. At the same time, the Communist administration, with the aid of its police system, began to make preparations to unite the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church forcibly. High ecclesiastical dignitaries and priests were arrested and, at the same time, a large-scale propaganda campaign was conducted against the Pope and against the bishops who were loyal to the Vatican. Eventually, a kind of meeting was held in Lviv (Lemberg) from March 8 to 10th 1946, in the course of which 216 members proclaimed the union of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church. This meeting, though designated as a "church synod" could not lay claim to any authority, since the participants included renegades and even agents of the secret state police, some of whom were disguised as priests; but since the meeting had the police power of the Soviet administration on its side, its illegal decrees were regarded as valid.

On the other hand, however, the protest made by the 300 authorised representatives of the Ukrainian Catholic priesthood, who held a conference in Lviv, was ignored by the Soviet state power in Moscow.¹⁶⁾ In this protest, which was addressed to the then deputy Premier, Vyacheslav Molotov, the Soviet anti-religious policy was exposed and the request was made that the bishops who had been arrested should be released and the freedom of religion restored. The only result of this protest was that still more persons were arrested.

After this forcible subordination of the Ukrainian Catholic Church to the Moscow Patriarchate, the Ministry for Internal Affairs (MVD) began to exert pressure on the priests to make them sign statements to the effect that they had "voluntarily united" with the Russian Orthodox Church. Those who refused to be intimidated by threats, were arrested, tortured and deported to concentration camps. In 1946, about 800 priests were arrested and

¹⁶⁾ First Victims (1), p. 39.

many of them were tortured to death.¹⁷⁾ The following priests are known to have been murdered for certain: T. Chanyzh, V. Mykytiuk, Telep, M. Koltuniuk, I. Sredovych, M. Holovach, D. Nimelovych (his body was found quartered), H. Syvak, Ya. Kneychuk, T. Kaminsky, S. Salash, Ya. Shchyrba, M. Matsiuk, V. Radosha, V. Bolinsky, M. Kachorovsky, I. Demyanchuk, O. Konkoliovsky, I. Sorokevych, A. Sembratovych, M. Dobriansky, P. Voytovych, P. Volianovych, L. Sogar, O. Bilyk, M. Plakhta, S. Koroliuk, Huchko (and all his family), and Archpresbyter M. Galiant.

The Soviets even set up special concentration camps, exclusively for priests, in West Ukraine (as for instance in Horodok, Lavriv, Krekhiv, Sambir and near Lviv), where they were to be "re-educated", that is to say subjected to physical and spiritual tortures. Those who continued to adhere to their faith unwaveringly were deported en masse to Siberia, Karaganda, Vorkuta, etc., where most of those who survived are still interned today; in Mine No. 8 alone, in Vorkuta, there were 32 priests and scores of monks from Lviv. Naturally, very many of the priests who were deported at that time have in the meantime died as a result of the dreadful conditions in the prisons and concentration camps, the heavy work which they were forced to do and the physical tortures which they had to endure. Clementius Sheptytsky, the abbot of the Studite order and brother of Metropolitan Andreas Sheptytsky, who died in 1944 under mysterious circumstances, was imprisoned by the Soviets in Vladimir on the Kliazma (district of Moscow) and died as a result of the tortures inflicted on him.

In parishes whose priests had been arrested, the Soviet administration frequently closed down the church at once or else converted it into a storage depot. In Zarvanytsia, for instance, the church was converted into a granary and the monastery into stables. In Hoshiv the monastery was ransacked and subsequently the Soviet police was billeted there. In Luzhany and in Zastavnia (both in Bukovyna) all the churches were converted into granaries or so-called "houses of culture". In many other towns and villages, too, churches were profaned or else handed over to the Russian Orthodox priests. It was in this way, that is to say with the help of the organs of the MVD, that the Russian Orthodox Bishop, Macarius, seized possession of the Cathedral of St. George in Lviv.

¹⁷⁾ Ibid., p. 42.

The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (that is to say, a Catholic Church with Oriental ritual) had enjoyed a legal status in Ukraine, namely on the strength of the Concordat of August 3, 1925, between the Vatican and Poland, which was never revoked and thus is still legally valid today. The Soviet government thus arbitrarily violated an agreement which is internationally valid.

It was not until some time later that the Moscow press agency, TASS, announced in an official communiqué that the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church had ceased to exist in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as from January 1, 1948, and had no longer any rights; this official confirmation was thus published almost two years after the actual application of measures of violence. In reality, the Ukrainian Catholic Church continues to exist in West Ukraine secretly, in the catacombs of the 20th century. The Soviets persecute its priests and its faithful mercilessly. In Zoloty Potik (district of Rohatyn), for instance, the MVD shot the priest, Telishchuk, and thirty farmers solely because they refused to go over to the Russian Orthodox Church.

4) *The crimes of the Soviet regime in Carpatho-Ukraine*

The Soviet Army occupied Carpatho-Ukraine at the end of 1944. From the very outset, the Soviets began to ransack churches and burn the holy books used for divine service (as for instance in Uzhhorod-Tseholnia, Ploskiv, Radvanets, etc.). Soon afterwards, the Soviet administration began to confiscate churches and to arrest Ukrainian Catholic priests, including P. Demyanovych (who was later shot), E. Pasulka, I. Egreshiy, D. Popovych, I. Popovych, M. Rusynok, E. Ortutay, K. Yelesh, I. Min, Durnevych, I. Daniyevych, T. Skyba, O. Mondiy.¹⁸⁾ Quite apart from these measures, Father Dr. Augustin Voloshyn, the former President of the Republic of Carpatho-Ukraine (1938), was arrested in Prague; he died in prison in Kyiv, in 1945, allegedly "during interrogations"¹⁹⁾.

The faithful were forced to go over to the Russian Orthodox Church and many were arrested because they refused to do so. The priests were forbidden to give religious instruction (even in church, too). Catholic publishing firms were closed down and Catholic printing businesses were confiscated. In addition, the

¹⁸⁾ R. N.: *Holhota Uniyi* (9), p. 330.

¹⁹⁾ Father M. Buchko: *Mene vykynuly* (8), p. 4.

theological seminary in Uzhhorod was also closed down by the Soviet administration.

In order to compromise the priesthood in the eyes of the population, the Communists arranged "show trials" in which priests were accused of various fictitious "crimes"; but this measure did not prove successful, since the population was not sufficiently convinced by Communist propaganda in the court.

On October 22, 1945, the Bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church, Nestor, arrived in Carpatho-Ukraine. The Communists placed an elegant car at his disposal so as to enable him to travel all over the country and disseminate propaganda for Russian orthodoxy. But since he was not particularly successful in this undertaking, the Soviet administration in 1946 began to bring pressure to bear on the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Theodore Romzha, in the capital, Uzhhorod, in order to force him, his priests and the faithful to join the Russian Orthodox Church. This pressure was intensified to an ever-increasing degree. A representative of the Soviet government, who travelled from Kyiv to Uzhhorod specially for this purpose, explicitly told Bishop Romzha that "there can be no Catholic Church in the Soviet Union".

On March 22, 1947, the MVD closed the largest monastery in Carpatho-Ukraine, that of the Basilian Order in Chernecha Hora near Mukachiv; all the monks were arrested as they refused to go over to Russian Orthodoxy. Like other monasteries, this monastery was later handed over to Russian Orthodox monks.

But since the majority of the population continued to adhere unwaveringly to their Catholic faith in spite of all persecutions and loyally supported their courageous Bishop Romzha, the Communists decided to get rid of him, but in a different way to what was customary in Galicia, where the arresting of the bishops evoked considerable indignation on the part of the population. The Communists now, therefore, arranged a traffic accident. On October 27, 1947, as Bishop Romzha was driving along in a horse-drawn carriage—and, incidentally, he was on the right side of the road—on his way to consecrate a church in the village of Lokhovo (near Mukachiv), his carriage was intentionally rammed by an army truck and he himself was seriously injured. Soviet soldiers, who jumped down from the truck, then beat him with the butts of their rifles and left him lying unconscious in the road, in the firm conviction that he

was dead; he was later found by civilian passers-by, who took him to the hospital in Mukachiv, where, after an operation, he began to recover. On October 31st, however, the hospital staff was unexpectedly replaced by new staff, and during the night from October 31 to November 1, Bishop Romzha died,—after obviously having been poisoned by the new staff, as is corroborated by the fact that about an hour before his death a telephone inquiry came through to the hospital from Uzhhorod, as to whether the Bishop was still alive or whether he had already died.²⁰⁾

After the murder of Bishop Theodore Romzha and after a still more intensified Communist propaganda campaign on behalf of Russian Orthodoxy, the Soviets on August 28, 1949, actually carried out the forcible union of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Carpatho-Ukraine with the Russian Orthodox Church; all the Ukrainian Catholic priests who refused to go over to the Russian Orthodox Church were arrested and deported to concentration camps. Here, too, the Ukrainian Catholic Church was deprived of all its rights and was declared illegal, regardless of its legally guaranteed status under the Czecho-Slovak administration (1919-1937).

On the Western border of Carpatho-Ukraine, in the district of Priashiv (Preshov), which after World War II continued to remain in the possession of the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia, the Communist administration on March 28, 1950, arrested the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop, Pavlo (Paul) Goydych, of Priashiv and completely demolished his residence; soon afterwards, his deputy, Bishop Vasyl (Basil) Hopko, was likewise arrested in Priashiv. In January 1951, a mock trial was staged against Bishop Goydych in Bratislava (Pressburg), but from the point of view of propaganda it was not a success. Bishop Goydych, who had no reason whatever to feel guilty, gave his evidence so courageously that the Communist court stopped the broadcast report of the trial and thus it had no propagandist effect whatever. For no legal reason at all and in spite of the fact that there was no incriminating evidence against him, Bishop Goydych was sentenced to imprisonment for life. Thereupon, Bishop Hopko was not brought to trial before a court at all, but was simply left in a concentration camp.

On April 28, 1950, it was declared at a meeting held by Communists in Priashiv that Greek Catholic Church had ceased to exist

²⁰⁾ R. N.: Holhota Uniyi (9), p. 345-346.

in the diocese of Priashiv. Chronologically, this was the last of the Ukrainian Catholic dioceses to be forcibly liquidated by the Communists under the pretext of the "will of the people". With the consent of the Communist administration, the Russian Orthodox Church appropriated the entire Church property of this diocese,—churches, monasteries, schools, printing businesses, etc. The population, however, continues to adhere unwaveringly and secretly to its religious faith which is persecuted by the Communists.

5) *The balance-sheet of violence*

As a result of the Communist persecution of religion and the Church in West Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine, the life of the Catholic Church there was completely disorganised. This is obvious from the following comparison of the status of the Ukrainian Catholic Church there in 1939 and its status at present²¹):

| STATUS IN 1939 | | STATUS AT PRESENT |
|--|-------|---|
| Dioceses | 5 | All liquidated. |
| Circuits of Apostolic Administrators or Visitators ... | 2 | } All liquidated. |
| Bishops | 10 | |
| Secular priests | 2,950 | } All deprived of their rank and office and arrested or deported (1 murdered, 4 died in prison). |
| Priests in orders | 520 | |
| Nuns | 1,090 | |
| Parishes | 3,040 | } About 50 per cent imprisoned (or murdered), about 20 per cent fled or hid, about 30 per cent forced to give up their religious faith. |
| Churches and chapels ... | 4,440 | |
| Monasteries | 195 | |
| Ukrainian Catholic primary schools | 9,900 | } The majority handed over to the Russian Orthodox Church; church buildings partly used for profane purposes. |
| Ukr.-Cath. secondary schools | 380 | |
| Ukr.-Cath. colleges | 56 | |
| Ukr.-Cath. publishers | 35 | } All communised or closed down. |
| Ukr.-Cath. journals | 38 | |
| Other Ukrainian Catholic institutions | 41 | |

²¹) First Victims (1), p. 64-68.

Although the official Constitution of the Soviet Union ensures freedom of religion to all Soviet citizens (Article 123), the Soviet state power has actually deprived the population of West Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine of the right to follow their religious faith within the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and the latter has been liquidated by terrorist measures. In addition, a considerable part of the population, starting with the primary schools, has been forced to take part in the anti-religious atheist movement.

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Dr. Mychajlo Hocij

Ukrainian Folk Art

Weaving and Embroidery

Five thousand years ago, the people of Ukraine used to make beautiful hand-painted vessels and, when engaged in this task, would sometimes place the jars and vases of damp, unbaked clay on a piece of material. A whole variety of pattern imprinted on the bottom of vessels which, during recent years, have been found when excavating on the site of ancient settlements, give us some idea of the art of weaving and plaited work in those days. And the art of weaving in Ukraine has been preserved right up to the present time. In the Middle Ages Ukrainian weaving was famed for its quality in the southern countries and in Western Europe, too. Until quite recently, particularly fine samples of weaving of a national character were to be found in the northern regions of Ukraine and in the Carpathians. In addition to a large variety of cross-striped woven materials for table-cloths, bed-covers, aprons, head-shawls and towels, etc., there is a particularly beautiful kind of weaving to be found in the Poltava region and in the districts round Chernihiv, which is used in making materials for the old, traditional, seamless skirts worn by women, the so-called "Plakhta". Divided into regular squares like a chess-board, these materials are distinguished by their colourfulness and their fine geometrical patterns. In former times, the symmetrically arranged squares in blue, red, green, black and white were frequently embroidered, too, and golden and silver threads drawn through them. And, incidentally, embroidery in every form imaginable is characteristic of national art in Ukraine. Indeed, both according to the kind of ornament preferred and also as regards the techniques used, it is possible to define the boundaries of large regions. Actually, every village and, in fact, almost every family has its own special type of pattern for embroidering materials. The cross-stitch pattern, so

much in evidence recently, is to be found in particular in the West and Central Ukrainian districts. And the cross-stitch is used to create both geometrical and leaf and flower ornaments. The preponderance of this type of embroidery has in many districts, especially in the district of Poltava, since the middle of the last century superseded the old technique of plain-stitching, that is of white embroidery on a white background. The so-called plain-stitch "hlad" and "nastyluvannia" no doubt to some extent occupies a place of honour in Ukrainian embroidery. This type of embroidery consists of parallel threads, and the actual process of sewing the stitches is adapted to the type of weaving and to the texture of the linen so closely that the embroidery itself appears to be a type of weaving. Another variation of this kind of embroidery is the so-called "depth embroidery",—"nyz", "nyzynka" or "zanyzhuvannia". The name is possibly derived from the fact that this embroidery is worked from the underneath, that is from the wrong side. The resulting, usual, black basic pattern on the right side of the material is then embroidered on the right side with coloured threads. This type of embroidery is found above all in Podolia and among the Hutsuls in the Carpathians. The basic pattern of this embroidery consists of ornamental lines winding in and out in certain intricate combinations. Only a very small space is left free within the ornament for coloured threads. But when these spaces are filled in with the coloured threads, the embroidery as a whole has a pleasing, colourful effect. Up to seven different colours, including various shades of yellow and orange, are used. In Polissia, in North Ukraine, similar types of embroidery are to be found, but here the threads are placed in a transversal direction (as compared to the above-mentioned type of lengthwise embroidery). Here the patterns are spread out and the colours are most artistically limited in keeping with the type of pattern. "Yavorivka", a type of embroidery which takes its name from the place where it first originated, Yavoriv, for instance, shows a preference for orange, coral shades and rich green. In this type of embroidery the needle picks up two threads of the material. The stitches are placed diagonally against each other, thus resulting in peculiar lines which constitute the basic scheme of the pattern. Recently, this type of embroidery has also been combined with plain-stitching. In the districts of Poltava and Podolia and also in Pokuttia very effective drawn-thread embroidery is used, which is based on the symmetrical

combination of a number of cut-out squares. The open spaces of this type of pattern are often embroidered with light-coloured threads which are almost the same in colour as the basic colour of the material.

In the Bukovyna and in the neighbouring districts of Borshchiv and Zalishchyky the type of embroidery which predominates is carried out in thick wool in dark colours and by means of a "back needle stitch" (pozaihlennyi"). Of the rich colours used, purple is a favourite. Various other types of embroidery are characteristic of the different regions of the country, as for instance "merzhka" (simple border-patterns, garlands), "lyshtva" (stripes with white plain-stitch), "Vykolyuvannia" (patterns with through-stitches) and the normal flat stitch embroidery, in which, as compared to the so-called hlad' type, not all the threads need necessarily be placed in the same direction.

Embroidery is used to a very considerable extent in Ukraine on the so-called towels. The name "Rushnyk" (towel) is no doubt misleading. These towels are, above all, used in connection with national customs at weddings, christenings, funerals, etc., and, in particular, as a decorative mural background for icons and pictures. The embroidered pattern frequently covers the entire surface of the towel. As a rule, however, the motifs are embroidered in a broad band at both ends and the remaining centre of the towel is often surrounded by an embroidered border. Some of these towels are five metres in length. A peculiar type of Poltava embroidery is used in Central Ukraine for towels of this kind. Plant-like ornaments with a lavish variety of motifs are usually arranged in vases and surrounded, as it were, by a framework of contour threads. The resulting spaces are then filled in with different types of broken parallel lines, that is, so that the whole space seems to be filled with patterns like different segments of sieves. There are about two hundred variations of this type of hatching embroidery. And, incidentally, these parallel lines, are often placed at different angles in the separate parts of the embroidery. All the other types of embroidery are also used on towels. An entirely different kind of towel is to be found in Krolevets in North Ukraine and has become famous beyond the borders of Ukraine. This is not an embroidery but a woven towel with peculiar ornamental motifs. Table-cloths, too, of the same type are also made in Krolevets.

The geometrical patterns embroidered on the towels in horizontal stripes are of old, traditional origin and are used, above all, in Volhynia, Podolia and in the Carpathians. In the central regions of Ukraine, along the river Dnipro, horizontal stripes of this kind are less predominant in embroidery on towels. Large ornamental motifs in the form of blossoming trees are used in this part of the country, whilst broad plant-like geometrical motifs with star-shaped sections are characteristic of the towels found in the Kyiv (Kiev) region. Some of these types of embroidery have, incidentally, been influenced by the ornamental motifs used on the Ukrainian carpets.

Since time immemorial, the monasteries in Ukraine have produced lavish embroidery for sacred purposes. As early as the 11th century there was a leading centre of this kind in Kyiv (Kiev). In the 17th and 18th centuries this type of embroidery was organised as a trade in almost all the towns of the Ukrainian territories. In old files for the years from 1640 to 1743, and in particular in lists of property, one frequently finds records which mention embroidery in silver, gold and silk. This type of embroidery is referred to as "hafty" or "hapy". In the 17th century gold and silver threads were used for this type of brocade-like embroidery as a kind of fastening or strengthening, which is visible on the outside and forms a frame for the ornamentation, through which the coloured silk material usually shimmers. In the 18th century linear parts of the ornaments, as for instance, the stems of plants, become more even and thicker. The broad treatment of flowers and leaves loses all trace of geometrical tendencies. The fastening of the metal threads is invisible and the basic material is now velvet instead of silk. Only two colours are in evidence,—gold and silver, and gold predominates over silver. The latter is usually used for less important vestments. As regards this type of embroidery, too, there is a close connection with the plant-like motifs used on the Ukrainian carpets. And this similarity is also to be seen in the fact that the plant motifs are not usually repeated on one and the same part of a vestment, but that various motifs are usually grouped under a higher unit. This category also includes the rich silk embroidery of the same century, which likewise shows a preference for plantlike motifs. At the beginning of the present century, after having been revived in Central Ukraine, this type of embroidery is frequently used for cushions, covers and curtains.

Carpets

From the 10th century onwards, carpets are mentioned in the chronicles of Ukraine, but of what type these carpets were is not known. As far as the style of the Ukrainian carpets is concerned, it links up with motifs found in Persia and also in Asia Minor and Central Asia. But as regards design and colour, the Ukrainian carpets reveal features which are entirely individual. Incidentally, there is a certain connection with Scandinavian motifs, a fact which to some extent may be due to the active historical relations of Ukraine with the Nordic countries during the Middle Ages, but can no doubt also be traced back to earlier times. Data contained in historical records with regards to the import of carpets from the East into Ukraine refer to the beginning of the 15th century. In the 16th century, large consignments of Oriental carpets were sent to Western Europe via Ukraine. And from this time onwards, carpets became the usual means of embellishing homes in Ukraine. Historical records of the 16th century also mention the fact that women in various parts of the country were occupied with weaving of carpets. A system of annual fairs which were held consecutively in the towns of Ukraine enabled dealers in Oriental goods to find a big market. And a constant stream of trade caravans proceeded from the central regions of Ukraine to the southern markets under Turkish sovereignty. On the occasion of a visit of a Turkish delegation to the court of the Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky in Chyhyryn in 1654, a caravan consisting of a hundred carts containing Oriental goods arrived there from Turkey. In the customs list the following items are mentioned: Turkish silk, carpets, Oriental carpets, shawls, belts, muslin and "kindiaky", that is a kind of other fine Turkish materials.

In the 18th century new production centres for Ukrainian carpets were opened up in Korsun', Baturyn, Makhnivka, Nemyriv, Tulchyn, Yanushpil, Sokhachiv, Zalistsi, Lviv, and Baybusivka, etc. In the 19th century attempts were made to revive and organise the manufacture of carpets in Ukraine on a large scale, and carpet-weaving mills were opened in Dikhtyari near Pryluky, in Olenivka in the district of Kyiv, in Vikno in West Ukraine, in Yuziv and Harabanivka, in the district of Poltava and elsewhere. A special enterprise of this kind was established by the Hutsuls in Kosiv, which soon became a leading centre for the production of carpets.

The Ukrainian "kylyms", i.e. carpets which were made here and which were ornamented with geometrical motifs found a big sale in countries all over the world. Enterprises of this kind were also supplied with freer designs by Ukrainian artists.

As far as the ornamental designs of the Ukrainian carpets are concerned, there are two distinct groups. Geometrical designs are still used even today in that part of Ukraine which lies on the right (western) bank of the Dnipro and in Galicia, whilst plant motifs are preferred in that part of Ukraine which lies on the left bank of the Dnipro. In spite of the frontier partition before the first World War, the carpets made in Galicia and in Podolia beyond the Zbruch have retained similar geometrical motifs and designs, which distinguish them from the carpets of the Poltava district in which plant motifs predominate. The geometrical forms include rhombi, stars, scalariform lines, zigzag lines, indentations and designs which merge into one another. This type of ornamentation is technically necessitated by the type of weaving. In Central Ukraine we also find carpets with geometrical designs, in particular with star motifs. But the most lavishly designed carpets in these districts are the "kylyms" ornamented with plant motifs, in which the entire central field is filled in with flowers and branches in rythmical arrangement. The style of the design is determined by flower motifs with or without a vase, magnolia trees and lotus flowers. Here we find flowers that we know and also flowers created by imagination, as well as various kinds of strange branches which unfold their splendour against yellow, blue, pale gold, white, sand-coloured, brown and black backgrounds (in the course of time red and green backgrounds also came to be used). The designs cover surface of these carpets and run lengthwise, and several rows of blossoms or branches are placed next to each other, that is in consecutive order one above the other. There is such a profusion of peculiar designs that names had first of all to be invented for many of these carpets before they could be classified and defined correctly. These carpets usually have a broad border, consisting of one or more strips which are filled in with special motifs. Sometimes we find whole strips which depict horsemen or other figures arranged in rows. And very often, birds and winged angels' heads are scattered here and there among the branches and blossoms.

Inventories and descriptions of the property belonging to monasteries also contain some information as regards older types of carpets. In the 18th century, for instance, there were clipped carpets with a pattern on both sides, yellow "kylyms", carpets bound in gold thread, "apply-carpets" (nakladni), small, medium and large in size. In the year 1776, according to an old inventory, the monastery of Lavra in Kyiv possessed 42 carpets. The newspaper "Severnaya Pochta" of the year 1812 mentions Ukrainian carpets from Kharkiv which depict portraits and historical scenes. And according to other sources of information, the older types of Ukrainian carpets (kovry) have a pattern on one side or on both sides, are ornate, made of silk, interwoven with gold threads, plain, or resemble tapestries, and may be broad or narrow.

Ceramics

Let us now turn to Ukrainian ceramics. A particularly interesting feature of Ukrainian ceramics are the glazed tiles made in olden days. Where circumstances did not permit the laying of a mosaic floor in marble in the Byzantine style, coloured slabs were used to cover the floor. And it was no doubt to some extent the influence of the Persian art of pottery which made the people of Ukraine acquainted with the bright reds, yellows, purples and other vivid colours of Persian ceramics, colours which now came to be used for ceramic slabs in Kyiv and other Ukrainian towns. Slabs of this kind, which date back to the period from the 10th to the 13th century, were discovered during excavations on the site of the Desiatynna and of the Church of St. Irene, as well as in the foundations of St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kyiv, in the West Ukrainian districts, in Halych, in Zvenyhorodka in Volhynia and in various other towns. Some particularly fine samples of this type of pottery were unearthed in Bilhorodka near Kyiv. During excavations in Kyiv in 1908, remains of workshops and tools used for making slabs and glazed pottery of this kind were found. In addition to square tiles, round tiles, too, were discovered, as for instance in the church at Berestia near Kyiv. In more recent times it was the custom in Podolia to cover the loam floor in farm-houses with semi-circular, round or octagonal tiles. Tile production was of a high standard in the 17th and 18th centuries, especially in Northern Ukraine. And here one finds, in addition to the Chinese motifs which were the fashion in Western Europe at that time,

motifs depicting musicians, huntsmen, Cossacks, hetmans, combats with Tartars and other scenes of the life of the people in the region in question. The fine kaolin clay found in Northern Ukraine, in particular in the district round Hlukhiv, made it possible for many rich families to start their own porcelain and majolica manufacture, and the products of these enterprises frequently assumed considerable proportions. For instance, high stoves were made of porcelain and entire walls of icons—the ikonostases—which had a considerable height, were produced and served as architectural and mural decorations for churches. In the region of Chernihiv collections of old porcelain of this type were preserved right up to the revolution, but then most of them were looted. During World War II some of this valuable porcelain was found buried in the ground by soldiers as, for instance, in Volokytno in the district of Hlukhiv, on the former site of the famous Myklashevsky porcelain factory. In the 18th century and during the first half of the 19th century, these wares were exported to Petersburg, Riga and Moscow. Two of the most famous ceramics factories were located in Mezhyhiria near Kyiv and Korets in Volhynia. Two different methods of painting designs were used on the Chernihiv pottery,—the so-called “rustic” method and the “aristocratic” (pans’ka) method. The “rustic” method consisted in developing the design out of a drop of coloured glaze, by fixing the contours of the design with flowing lines. This type of painting is of old origin. In the Middle Ages designs were also painted on pottery by applying the colours freely through holes in the vessel containing the colour in question. The “aristocratic” method of painting designs on pottery was carried out by using fine brushes. The shape, colour and other features of the designs on both the above-mentioned types of pottery are entirely different. A lively production of national ceramics ware began to develop in those places where there had formerly been a large manufacture of porcelain and faience ware, which after the middle of the last century ceased to exist. Various kinds of clay, including poor quality clay, in these districts provided good material for such products, and not only articles for everyday use but also various kinds of toys were now manufactured there.

Ceramic ware has the advantage of retaining its characteristic features and beauty even when it remains buried in the ground for a long time. As early as 3000 to 1000 B.C. there already existed in Ukraine a very considerable art of pottery, samples of which

were discovered for the first time at the beginning of the 20th century by Khvoyka in the vicinity of Kyiv, in Trypillia. The products of this era have sometimes been designated as "Trypillian culture", and there are numerous catalogues of the many ornamental designs of this neolithic art which continued to exist in the Iron Age, too. Undulating lines, intertwining spirals, circles, latticed motifs, meandering patterns and hundreds of striking and, for the most part, colourful designs are characteristic of the pottery of this epoch, which as a whole can be divided into a considerable number of separate specialised genres. Various other products of Ukrainian national art still remind one of certain characteristic features of this ancient art of pottery. There is a very definite connection between the folk art of those early times and the ceramic art of the classical and Scythian eras and even of the Golden Age of Ukraine in the Middle Ages, when ceramic art reached a high standard of perfection. Even during the troubled times of the nomadic invasions, ceramic art continued to exist in Ukraine. From the end of the 15th century onwards, new production centres began to spring up in Lviv, Peremyshl, Potelych, Terebovla, Kaminka Strumyl'ova, Kolomyia, Kamianets, Bar and Napolokivtsi in Bukovyna. In the 17th century beautiful glazed pottery was made in Yaroslav, Potelych, Stryi and Sianok, to mention only a few places in West Ukraine. Ukrainian pottery of more recent times bears not only geometrical designs, which represent an older tradition (in Podolia, Volhynia and the Carpathian regions), but also plant designs, as for instance vine leaves, sunflower motifs, ears of corn, berries, evergreens, etc., especially in the districts of Kyiv and Poltava. The ceramic products of Podolia are outstanding both from the artistic and from the technical point of view. In those districts where in prehistoric times ceramic art had flourished, new production centres developed, which exported their goods via Odessa to foreign countries, too. And in this connection the following places are famous,—Sinkivtsi, Adamivka, Kalynivka, Stanyslavivka, Bubnivka and Zherdelivka, etc. The thin pottery ware produced in Sinkivtsi is decorated with plant motifs, animals and occasionally with human figures, painted in a reddish colour on a pinkish yellow, unglazed background. The pottery of Bubnivka is characterised by large and gorgeous lyre-shaped flower motifs. The most well-known examples of this type of pottery are the dishes and plates with flowers and grapes designed against a brown glazed

background and covering the bottom of the vessel and broad strips of the border. The pottery ware of Zherdelivka is characterised by plant motifs in green on a white glazed background, by the richness of the other colours that are used and also by the production of exquisite circular tiles. Beautiful plant motifs in red, green and yellow shades are a characteristic feature of the pottery ware produced in Bar, Smotrych and Brailiv. We should also like to mention the district of Kharkiv, which produces extremely beautiful pottery, namely at Opishnia and Khomutky. As a typical example of the extent of this production we should like to quote Nova Vodolaha in the district of Kharkiv, where, in normal times, 10,000 persons were engaged in the manufacture of pottery ware. In the regions of West Ukraine the lavishly decorated vessels and tiles of Kosiv and Pistyn', with their colourful harmony of yellow, green and brown, were extremely popular. Carpatho-Ukraine, too, (Khust, for instance) possesses much beautiful pottery which is decorated with geometrical designs. In former times, Potelych, for example, not only possessed a well-developed pottery trade, but was also famous for its painted chests which were decorated with peculiar designs consisting of large concentric circles, each containing a profusion of small motifs in various shades of yellow. Vessels of a simpler type found in Polissia, Pidlyashia (roughly the region of Brest Litovsk) and in districts situated between these two places and extending as far as the former North Galicia, reveal some very ancient features, as do the pitchers of Central Ukraine and Podolia which in many ways resemble the Greek designs of the classical age.

Unfortunately, almost nothing remains of the Ukrainian national art of wood-carving of the Middle Ages and of earlier epochs. On the other hand, however, many exquisite carvings have come down to us from the Renaissance and baroque periods. Most of this work was used as interior decoration for churches, as ikonostases (a kind of reredoses) and ornamental screens for icons. These carvings are decorated with plant motifs which are frequently combined with other folk motifs. Grapes, sunflowers, mallows and roses are favourite motifs. Carvings of this type are to be found not only as mural decorations, but also on doors and frames of doors and windows. In more recent times these baroque designs were often imitated, but in spite of this imitation special attention was still paid to the characteristic features of classicism. Up to the middle of the 19th

century wood-carving was much used as a form of external decoration for houses and also as a form of decoration for household articles, especially in the region of Poltava, namely in the districts of Myrhorod, Khorol, Pyriatyn, Smila and Sumy. Here the designs used to consist for the most part of squares which are divided up into smaller sections, border ornamentations, undulating lines, rosettes, and strange plant and animal motifs. In some districts the beams and supports of houses, as for instance the rafters of the roof, door-posts, pillars in the entrance-halls, veranda supports, balustrades, windmill supports and even the barns were often adorned with artistic carvings. And the utensils, receptacles and implements of wood used in agriculture and in the household, as for instance carts, sledges, chests, distaffs, wool-combs, dishes, scrubbing-boards, coat hangers, spoons, beakers etc., were likewise decorated with carving. Horsemen are a favourite motif in wood carving and were often used to decorate the supports of the small glass cabinets on the wall. Carving in relief is also frequently found on articles used in everyday life in the towns in the 17th to 19th centuries. This type of carving is baroque in style, but, at the same time, is characterised by genuinely national features. Of the many anonymous craftsmen who specialised in wood-carving, I. Khalabutskyj, V. Lopatyn and V. Holub became known for their exquisite work, especially in the district of Poltava.

Artistic Metal-work

As regards its artistic and valuable metal products, Ukraine in early times already ranked as one of the foremost countries of the world. Numerous finds of gold and silver ware, which frequently weighed pounds and pounds, have been made in the course of time. Ancient motifs depicting Asiatic, classical and, above all, national events were superseded in the centuries after the birth of Christ by a parallel trend towards the products of later antiquity and by the art of the period of the migrations of peoples. In the Kievan state epoch we find a profusion of jewellery in silver, gold and enamel. The baroque and rococo period, during which Ukraine enjoyed its big political regeneration, produced an abundance of exquisite artistic metal ware. Above all, native artists did their share in making metal-work extremely popular as ornamentation for prayer-book bindings, icons, pictures, crosses, chalices and other sacred articles. From the 14th and 15th centuries onwards, goldsmiths' workshops existed not only in the old towns in which the

princes resided, but also under different conditions, namely in the towns of Lviv, Peremyshl, Kamyianets, Yaroslav, Belz and Sianok. In the following centuries the goldsmith's trade flourished in Kyiv, Lutsk, Kremianets, Volodymyr, Kovel and Rohatyn. And it also prospered amongst the Zaporozhian Kozaks. In those days the folk art was not yet so much a thing apart from the general trend of art. In our century, however, metal work as a typically national art only continues to exist amongst the Hutsuls in the Carpathians. Here they still make old-fashioned crosses, women's jewellery, ornamental axes and, recently, other types of jewellery and in particular various small articles used in the household, including nutcrackers which are moulded according to a special process on the mountain pastures, are embossed, engraved, inlaid with other metals and sometimes ornamented with corals or similar materials of various colours.

Glass-ware

Glass-ware plays an important part in the national art of Ukraine. We do not intend to deal with the glass-ware produced in earliest times and in days when Ukraine was ruled by princes. The modern glass industry in Ukraine can be traced back to the 16th century, and to some extent it is possible to ascertain features of style which range from the Romanic age to the rococo period. Ukrainian glass ware in former times was produced in a great variety of colours,—shades of white, yellow, brown, green, purple and blue are frequently to be found. It is a characteristic feature of this national art that the various types of glass ware used for ceremonious and ritual purposes have certain shapes, namely bears, rams, small horses and hares. This kind of glass ware was often used to drink out of at weddings. Other types of early glass ware are straight and convex bottles, small vats, goblets, measuring utensils, jar-like receptacles, small baskets of glass, horns, plates and dishes. In their spare time the villagers also engaged in making glass ware of the national type. In this connection we should also like to mention the art of painting glass on the reverse side, an art which was widely practised in the 17th and 18th centuries in Pokutia and amongst the Hutsuls and in recent times has aroused considerable interest amongst amateur collectors in Western Europe. This kind of painting, which was used above all for pictures of saints, was not much determined by the Ukrainian Byzantine traditions of monumental and tabular

painting, but influenced rather by the national pictorial decoration of the interior of churches in the 17th and 18th centuries. It is stated in a chronicle of the year 1646 that the Metropolitan of Kyiv, Petro Mohyla, sent the Tzar Aleksey vessels of crystal glass and exquisite artistic glass objects as a present. In those days there was a wide selection of glass ware to choose from. In the Chernihiv district alone there were as many as 110 glass-works in the 17th and 18th centuries. For ornamental purposes corals were also made of glass. Corals were not only worn as necklaces, but the smaller kinds were also used right up to modern times for making the woven-like "gerdany" or round chains which are worn with the national costumes.

Ornamental objects

Plaiting of pressed straw in artistic loops, for making hats, was from time immemorial an art which was wide-spread throughout Ukraine. In Uhniv and in many other places in Volhynia and in the district of Lviv beautifully made crosses of plaited straw, in a great variety of designs, were used as window-decorations at the Feast of Epiphany (The Manifestation of Christ to the world corresponds to the Feast of the Three Kings). In some parts of the country artistically made "spiders" of straw were fastened to the ceiling. Until recently it was the custom to decorate articles of daily use in the life of the people with tarsia-work in straw. This type of tarsia-work in straw is to be found on small boxes, plates, albums and picture-frames. It is carried out in straw stained in various colours and resembles embroidery. In some districts of Podolia it was the custom to decorate the walls of living-rooms with beautifully cut-out designs and ornaments of coloured paper, so that the room in question looked as though it had been wall-papered. To mark the Feast of Whitsuntide so-called "doves" were made of paper and eggs. Sometimes wood-shavings were used instead of paper for this process. In addition, numerous kinds of floral ornaments were also made for decorative purposes for churches and houses and also to mark special feast-days.

National art in Ukraine, as applied to objects used in the observance of national customs and feast-days, is temporary and seasonal in character. And to this category belong the many different kinds of shaped loaves which play an important part as table-decorations at weddings, at Easter and at Christmas and on

other festive occasions. Not only the different kinds of shapes (circular, ring-shaped, oval or cornered-shaped), but, above all, the ornamentations on these loaves are remarkable. They include simple and intricate plaited designs, simple and double spirals, designs which symbolise the sun, rosettes, birds, cones (Shyshky = pine cones) and twigs wrapped in three layers of dough, etc., which may either be used as separate table-decorations or may be arranged on huge loaves according to some special pattern which has an ancient symbolical meaning.

Motifs

When characterising Ukrainian national art as a whole, one must take into consideration two definitely opposite tendencies in the execution of this art, namely the genre which can be described as geometrical art and the other genre in which plant motifs predominate. Of these two genres, the first-mentioned is the older. It is to be found, above all, in the Carpathians, in the lower mountainous regions, in Podolia and in Northern Ukraine. In the southern regions the River Boh (Southern Bug) is the approximate demarcation line of this style of art. The origin of this geometrical art has not been discovered. Obvious connections with the art of the Bronze Age and of the Hallstadt period have led to various deductions. In our opinion an extremely important point to be taken into consideration is the fact that certain ornamental motifs, which are to be found in the Mediterranean countries and also in Asia Minor in prehistoric times, are, for instance, also to be found on the metal ware produced by the Hutsuls in the Carpathians, on Ukrainian Easter eggs and on various other products of Ukrainian national art. And it likewise seems significant that the motifs and designs used in the more northerly national art of Ukraine are also found on some of the coloured pottery ware produced in ancient Cappadocia. It has been proved by research that Asia Minor is a region to which in pre-Christian times either various peoples from Ukraine migrated or where the tribes lived who also inhabited the Balkan and Ukrainian territories. Ukrainian embroidery, for instance, makes one think, above all, of the possibility of some connection with the ancient Thracians. And the nearest people akin to the Thracians were the Phrygians of Asia Minor. The ancient Greeks and Romans, incidentally, called embroidery "Phrygian stuff". And it certainly is an established fact that a great deal for which

the Scythians are popularly blamed in Ukraine, was the work of the Thracians. Wood-carving as a national art in Ukraine also reveals an affinity with the ancient arts of the south as regards the choice of motifs. Another interesting point to be mentioned in this connection and one which is undoubtedly important as far as Ukrainian culture is concerned, is the fact that the Phrygian mode in the form of Phrygian tetrachords (in the meaning of the designations used by the Greeks) predominates in the ancient and, in particular, in the ritual folk-songs of Ukraine. Thus, a definite connection can be ascertained between various types of Ukrainian national art (metal-work, pottery, embroidery, folk-songs, etc.) and the actual national phenomena of the Old World. And countless archaeological finds in Ukraine indicate similar connections.

Bearing these facts in mind, let us now consider the reasons why such a profuse ornamentation with plant motifs was able to assert itself in Ukraine. It would seem that the legacy of antiquity in the Black Sea countries had a very strong influence on Ukraine and that the plant motifs of the Byzantine mosaics and frescos which adorned the walls of the cathedrals in the chief towns of Ukraine were so impressive that they captivated the hearts of the people and to a very considerably extent furthered the latter's readiness to accept Renaissance art with all its offshoots and the subsequent consequences of the resulting baroque style. Other reasons were the Oriental motifs and the European trends of art, both of which to a very considerable extent had their origin in one and the same world, namely in that of classical antiquity.

We do not, however, wish to reduce the manifold phenomena of Ukrainian culture to two basic tendencies. In the course of the centuries Ukraine thanks to its favourable soil and climate enjoyed a Golden Age in its culture on several occasions. And the indigenous farming population of Ukraine, particularly in the southern border regions of the steppes, was touched by a main stream of peoples moving from East Asia to the Iberian peninsula. Some of these peoples brought motifs of their own national art to Ukraine and others took national Ukrainian motifs into other regions and countries. Other secondary factors of convergence must likewise be taken into account when attempting to define the fundamental phenomena of these various types of national culture. A few decades ago, a large number of cave-paintings were discovered in Central Asia which depict the inhabitants of this region, whose dress

resembles the mediaeval attire of the knights of Western Europe. Traces of hitherto unknown languages were also discovered there, and in the course of research it was proved that these languages belong to the Indo-European family of languages. Incidentally, the national costumes of Ukraine in some respect bear a certain resemblance to the mediaeval attire of the knights of Western Europe. Since we do not, however, intend to deal with the subject of national costumes here, suffice it to say that the national costumes of various regions and social classes in Ukraine show a certain connection with the national costumes of peoples of various continents.

Traditional Easter Eggs

One of the most interesting fields of national art in Ukraine, in which we frequently find the use of ancient, traditional symbols, is that of the Ukrainian "decorated" Easter eggs,—“pysanky”. Before the war the museum in Kyiv possessed 10,000 of such exhibits, and large numbers of this type of Easter egg were also to be found in other museums in the country. Just as certain folk-songs connected with certain rites resound again and again every year, so, too, the same traditional designs are created anew every year for the Easter eggs, which immediately after the Feast of Easter, in accordance with a beautiful national custom, are then sent along the rivers to the transfigured relatives of each family, the so-called “Rachmanes” in the world beyond. The designs on these eggs are produced by means of a wax-melting process which is undoubtedly very old indeed. In some parts of the country incantations are still recited during the process of decorating the eggs. And it is an old belief that the place where the Easter eggs are decorated with these mystical symbols should be surrounded by a heap of glass, a fence of palisades and a circle of water, in order to prevent evil and hostile spirits from entering. The designs are applied by using wax and the eggs are placed in vessels containing dyes. This process is repeated several times, and it is carried out as follows: the eggs are first of all placed in a yellow dye. The design is now drawn on the yellow background with the wax. The eggs are then placed in a red dye, which completely covers the yellow colour. The design is now continued with the wax on the red background and the eggs are then placed in a black dye. If, for instance, part of the design is to be green, then the green must be applied to that part

of the design with a green pencil or with green paint and the part in question must be covered immediately with small blobs of wax so that it will not be spoilt by colours which may be added later on. There are also other methods of applying the colours. When the design and the dyeing process have been completed, the "decorated" eggs are warmed, the wax melts and a beautiful design consisting of white, yellow and red lines appears on a shiny black background. The wax, incidentally, prevents the colours from running.

The designs on the Easter eggs in Volhynia and in former Northern Galicia reveal very early and ancient, traditional features of ornamentation. Various districts have their own special designs and ancient customs. The Easter eggs of the mountainous districts are characterised by a profusion of intricate design. The most artistically designed Easter eggs are to be found in Kosmach in the country of the Hutsuls. In some districts Easter eggs are decorated with beautiful plant designs of more recent times. In the districts in which the decoration of Easter eggs first began there is a preference for symbols in the form of circles, designs representing the sun, triquetrae, spirals, swastikas with lines ending in a kind of spiral, undulating lines, "unending ways" (*bezkonечnyk*, a kind of maze) and forty different kinds of triangular motifs. In Bukovyna an eye is painted on the eggs in order to ward off evil spirits, a custom which was also observed in ancient Greece when decorating dishes. The variety of ways in which the oval sections are divided up by means of thin lines is considerable; whilst the number of different ways of filling in these spaces with designs are so numerous that they cannot be counted, though the same designs are used in a fairly unchanging form in the individual districts for a long time. In the mountainous regions some of the intricate designs are an amazing and highly ingenious arrangement of dense network of lines. The preference for colours varies from district to district. Easter eggs with a black background are found above all in the districts north of Lviv, in the Kholm region, in Volhynia and in some of the southern regions, as well as in the regions of Kyiv and Chernihiv. Here, too, we also find "pysanky" with a red background. In the mountainous regions red, yellow, white and green are the colours used for decorating Easter eggs. In the Poltava district there is a preference for white, yellow and green shades.

Easter eggs decorated according to this process are also to be found amongst the peoples of the Balkan peninsula and in Central Europe. The national custom of painting Easter eggs is not known in Russia.

Architecture and Interior Decoration

We have not been able to deal with various other branches of Ukrainian folk art in this brief survey, such as the building of houses or the making of printed materials, leather ornaments, belts, tin, copper and wrought iron ware, etc., but we should in conclusion like to say a few words about the interior decoration and painting of rooms.

The widespread custom of painting the walls of rooms, especially in the southern districts of Ukraine, often goes hand in hand with the use of carpets as mural decorations and of similar ornamental motifs. A profusion of designs, consisting of strange bouquets, flowers in vases, trees, branches, twigs, ribbons, etc., has been created in keeping with the purpose and type of this kind of painting. As a rule, geometrical designs are only used as a complement for plant motifs. Sometimes hens, cocks, peacocks, owls, lions, foxes, horses and dogs are depicted. We also find a number of ancient, traditional motifs. These paintings are executed by girls and young women and are renovated at least once a year. Certain places, as for instance Petrykivka in the district of Zaporozhe, have become famous for this type of national art. The interior walls, ovens, stoves and beams, but rarely the outer walls, are decorated in this way. Less intricate designs are usually used when painting the interior walls of buildings which merely form an annexe to the main building. The leading centres of this kind of mural painting in former days were located in the towns and villages in the district of Zaporozhe, Poltava, Kyiv and Vinnytsia, and in Podolia. An interesting kind of strictly graphical painting is used in the districts round Uman', Kherson and Odessa.

Finally, we should like to mention the unusual wooden churches, which represent an important and special group of the art of wood-carving in the world. Until recently, wooden churches with one cupola, with three cupolas in a row, with five cupolas arranged in the form of a cross, and with nine cupolas, were to be seen in every part of Ukraine. The graduated superstructure of the towers, especially in the mountainous regions inhabited by the Boyky tribe,

remind one of Indian architecture. Unfortunately, most of these edifices have been destroyed under foreign rule and as a result of atheistic fanaticism. It is estimated that at least 20,000 churches have been destroyed in Ukraine. Many other products of national art in Ukraine have likewise been destroyed. But whenever persecution abates a little, industrious hands once more set about creating works which are the expression of spiritual and moral values. And such an activity is part of life itself.

Ukrainian Folk Art in Exile

Since 1945, artistic activity and creativeness has flourished in the camps and settlements in Germany which are inhabited by Ukrainians, in an attempt to preserve the national art of Ukraine. And to a very considerable extent this activity is based on the national art of the Hutsuls. The new type of artistic activity, based on the old national art and called into being since the latter half of the 19th century by the Shkrybliak family, by the brothers Karpaniuk, by M. Mehedeniuk and P. Hondurak, has produced such a profusion of articles both in wood, ceramics and in other materials, that this wealth of design and form is also repeated in hundreds of different variations in the work created by the Ukrainian emigrants. Wood, for instance, is still used today to make platters, ornamental boxes, crosses, candlesticks, three-armed chandeliers, letter-racks, writing utensils, writing-tablets, albums, and many other articles. During the past twelve years, a number of excellent exhibitions of Ukrainian national art have been arranged. Not only were new products on display at these exhibitions, but also many articles which various Ukrainian emigrants brought with them from their native districts. On the basis of these articles—embroidery, national costumes and other articles used in daily life—a new national art was started by the Ukrainians in exile abroad, and this art has benefited many persons from the economic point of view. There are a huge number of these beautiful, national, old and new artistic products, created by Ukrainians, to be found all over the world. Many of these articles have gone to America, since this country by reason of its wealth buys more goods of this type than any other country in the world. Ukrainian museums, which, in addition to other kinds of souvenirs, also display this type of national artistic product, have already been started in America and Canada. These products are a new expression of national art, either

changed or conservative, but no less a very important factor of the living and creative forces of the Ukrainian people in their new surroundings all over the world. Though a beginning has to some extent been made, it still remains to sort out and adapt the entire scope of the Ukrainian national art of Ukraine and of the neighbouring territories with Ukrainian inhabitants, including the Ukrainian settlements in Turkistan, Siberia and the Amur region.

Research in Ukrainian Folk Art

Interest in Ukrainian national art was first aroused in connection with general trends which began to manifest themselves from the latter half of the 19th century onwards. From the 1870s' onwards, numerous collectors and writers began to take a lively interest in national embroidery. In 1879 P. Litvinova published a book on Ukrainian ornamental embroidery. In 1897 a work by O. Kosach on Ukrainian designs was published in Kyiv. And at about the same time Wierzbicki (Verbytsky) and Rebczynski (Rebchynsky), published a number of articles on Ukrainian carpets and "kylyms". In 1899 a book on Ukrainian Easter eggs by N. Sumtsov was published in the "Kiyevskaya Starina". In 1882 a book was published on Ukrainian national pottery in Kosiv and Lviv by L. Wierzbicki, and similar book on the pottery of Kosiv and Sokal by Rebczynski was published in Lviv in 1889. A compilation of illustrations depicting Easter eggs in Ukraine was published by S. Kulzhynsky in Lubni in 1899. In the work "Materiyaly do ukraïnskoyi etnolohiyi", a detailed work containing coloured illustrations of Easter eggs in Galician Volhynia was published by M. Koruba in Lviv in 1899. Another important work was the catalogue of Ukrainian national antiquities published by V. Tarnavsky in Kyiv in 1898. At the beginning of the 20th century, a great deal of research began to be undertaken in the field of Ukrainian national life. The various treatises written by Th. Vovk (F. Volkov) provided a basis for further research on Ukrainian folklore. The works of V. Shukhevych dealt with the social life and the folk art of the Hutsuls. And it is in this period that research on Ukrainian national art begins to be a chapter of general ethnographical and ethnological interest. Unfortunately, however, the research work which had begun at the beginning of the century was interrupted by the first world war. By that time various other interesting works on national art had already been published, including articles by N. Samokysh

and S. Vasylykivsky on embroidery in the "Motifs of Ukrainian Designs" (Kharkiv, 1902), a work by E. Kolbenheyer on "Embroidery as a Home-Industry in Bukovyna" (Vienna, 1913), and a long article by Biliashkevsky on Ukrainian national art, published in "The Studio", London, 1912. An excellent work by V. Shcherbakivsky on Ukrainian wood-carving was published in the series "Ukrainian Art", No. 1, in Lviv in 1913.

In the 1920's a number of essays on embroidery appeared: V. Biletska wrote an essay which was published in the series "Materials on Ethnology", in Kyiv in 1929, and Y. A. Ryzhenko published an article entitled "Ukrainian Embroidery" in Kharkiv in 1929. Important works on weaving and carpets were published by the following: A. Ohloblyn, "The History of Ukrainian Centres of Manufacture" (Kyiv, 1925); V. Peshchansky, "Old Ukrainian Kylyms" (Lviv, 1925); A. Zaremsky, "History and Technique of Ukrainian Weaving and Kylym Manufacture" (published in "Materialy po Etnografii", III—1926); D. Shcherbakivsky, "Ukrainian Kylyms" (published in "Ukrainskyi Muzey", I, in Kyiv, 1927); and various other articles by S. Kolos, O. Popov, Ryzhenko, S. Shuman, and V. Sichynsky, published in various periodicals. M. Friche dealt with ceramics in his treatise on pottery in the district of Chernihiv, which was published in "Materialy po Etnografii, III." At the same time, an article by E. Spaska on tiles of Chernihiv was also published in the same number of this periodical. L. Shulhyna dealt with pottery in Podolia in his work which was published in Kyiv in 1929. A book on majolica ware in Pokuttia was published by T. Severyn in Cracow in 1929. During the following years, further articles on the same subject were published by V. Sichynsky, "Ukrainian National Pottery" (published in "Nova Khata", Lviv, 1936-37), and by Yu. Mykhayliv in Kyiv in 1926. In 1926 a work was published by M. Shchepotyeva in Kyiv, on the subject of mural painting in houses in Podolia. During these years, a number of works were also published on Easter eggs: V. Shcherbakivsky, "Basic Features of Designs on Easter Eggs and Their Connection with Southern Culture" (Prague, 1925); S. Sydorowicz, "Ukrainian Easter Eggs" (Warsaw, 1927); S. Taranushenko, "Ukrainian Easter Eggs as Works of Art" (Kharkiv, 1928; I. Gurgula, "Easter Eggs of Galicia and Bukovyna" (published in the series, "Material on Ukrainian Ethnology", XXI-XXII, Lviv, 1929); D. Horniatkevych, an article on the part played

by women in Ukrainian national art, published in "Nova Khata", Lviv, 1930; and M. Skoryk, "Easter Eggs in the Carpathian Region of the Boyky" (Sambir, 1934).

Research work on the glass ware produced in Ukraine begins with the excellent publications of collections by Khanenko in Kyiv at the turn of the century. These were followed by articles by M. Biliashivsky on old Ukrainian glass ware, published in "Siayvo", Nos. 5-6, Kyiv, 1913, and by M. Modzalevsky on glass works in the district of Chernihiv, published in Kyiv in 1926. The technique of painting on the reverse side of the glass is dealt with by T. Severyn in his book on this subject which was published in Lviv in 1932. During the last three decades V. Sichynsky has published a large number of works dealing with various branches of national art and also with the building of churches of wood.

Of the older general works which deal with our subject, we should like to mention the "History of Ukrainian Designs" by H. Pavlutsky, published in Kyiv in 1927. The following more recent general works on Ukrainian national art also reserve mention: M. Babenchikov, "Decorative National Art in Ukraine" (Moscow, 1945); D. Antonovych, "Ukrayins'ka Kultura" (Regensburg, UTHI, 1947); "Entsyklopediya Ukrayinosnavstva" (Encyclopedia of Ukrainistics"), Vol. I, Munich—New York, 1949, pp. 282-316, which contains articles by Sichynsky, Povstenko and Horniatkevych, etc., and a manual published in English by the Ukrainian-American Youth Association in 1953. Lectures have been delivered to the Ukrainians in exile on the subject of Ukrainian folklore and Ukrainian national art by Z. Kuzelia and P. Kurinny, the archaeologist and editor of the "Ukrayins'kyi Muzey" in Kyiv 1927. The above-mentioned Encyclopedia (p. 315-316) also contains an excellent bibliography on Ukrainian national art.

Volodymyr Derzhavyn

(2)

Post-war Ukrainian Literature in Exile

(Continuation)

What holds the neo-classical school of poetry together, even now, is not only the highly aesthetical feeling for form and consequent European attitude towards Ukrainian politics and culture-politics (i.e. with the elimination of any Slavophile or Pan-Slavistic tendencies), but also their markedly all-Ukrainian feeling, which acknowledges no kind of varieties, dialectal or regional, in Ukrainian literature, and thus is forming within itself a cultural stronghold of Ukrainian and political ideals. Theoretically the same should really also apply to the other trend of Ukrainian classicism—the above-mentioned so-called Prague or Vistnyk school; but here the historical preconditions were different, and, incidentally, it was precisely this group more than any other which, partly on account of its markedly national political activity, was decimated during and soon after World War II. Of the five most outstanding poets of the Vistnyk school, Olena Teliha (1907-1942), by far the most outstanding Ukrainian poetess of the period between the two World Wars, and the extremely gifted Oleh Olzhych (1908-1944) were murdered by the Nazi Gestapo, whilst Yuriy Lypa (1901-1944) was murdered by the Soviet Russian Bolsheviks; by the end of the war Leonid Mosendz (1897-1948) was a very sick man and three years later he died of pulmonary tuberculosis in Switzerland, without having achieved any poetical works of significance during the last years of his life; and the young poet, Andriy Harasevych

(1917-1947), whose early works were extremely promising, died as the result of an accident whilst on a mountaineering expedition in the Bavarian Alps.

Of the truly great poets the only one who was left was Yevhen Malaniuk (born in 1897) who, since the end of the war, in Germany and later on in the U.S.A. has developed and continues a very productive and manifold literary activity. As can be seen from his post-war volume of poems, "Power" (published in Philadelphia in 1951), he has, however, in the field of poetry followed his own trends, which we shall not deal with in detail at this point since they are to be the subject of another essay, to be published in this journal in the near future. And the rest of the Vistnyk school was completely scattered by the end of the 1940's. Nor was this state of affairs remedied*) by the posthumous publication of O. Olzhych's last volume of poems, "The Lower Town" (Berchtesgaden, 1946), despite the fact that this volume of poems is undoubtedly one of the most profound and artistically perfect works to be found in Ukrainian poetry as a whole. We quote the following poem (translated by Volodymyr Shayan) as an example:

*The golden rains fall on your heart in showers,
Your gray today becomes a solemn feast,
Your house—a palace, and your weakness—towers
Of strength, your deeds the torrents of the bliss.*

*Gray ashes then . . . The foaming dusts of road,
The dusky disk of sun, your forehead grey . . .*

*The earth is wide, and wise in heavens God,
And the man's heart is valiant, too, and great.*

Surprisingly, O. Olzhych, who was most definitely a voluntarist and man of action, in this his last poetic work reveals himself to be an extremely sensitive and profound aesthete and beholder of art, as can be seen from the following poem (quoted here without, unfortunately, reproducing the metre and rhyme of the original):

*) Unfortunately, neither Olzhych's poems nor those of Olena Teliha have so far been collected, but only republished in part (and that in a very amateurish way).

Sleeping Venus

*In a broad frame (plain and modern
 And massive like the ceiling, windows, doors)
 She rests amidst the verdant grass,
 Her hands are bedded in the flowers.
 The magic pipes of fauns resound among the bushes
 As butterflies in swarms flit to and fro;
 The sun-drenched air is filled with music
 Of birds and leaves, of breezes and of clouds;
 But her sleeping gold-tinted body
 Radiates so strange a coolness,
 That the feeling that secretly stirs in your breast
 Can never be named as a feeling.*

It is, however, clear that Olzhych has found no successor and his poetry has practically no noticeable literary influence on the post-war era, not even on the surviving former members of the Vistnyk school. This is to be regretted particularly in the case of Oksana Laturynska (born in 1902), who has become spiritually estranged from her former heroic themes and has devoted herself exclusively to a stylised imitation of West Ukrainian folklore poetry, as the latest collection of her poems ("The Princely Enamel", New York-Toronto, 1955) clearly proves. The same also applies to Rostyslav Yendyk (born in 1908), whose better poems, however, deserve special recognition inasmuch as the poet—who, incidentally, is more outstanding as a writer of short stories—endeavours to revive in them the ancient and now practically extinct Hutsulian Carpathian dialect. Oleksa Stefanovych (born in 1900) in his earlier works occasionally revealed a remarkable sensitiveness, as can be seen from the following poem which we here quote without, however, reproducing the metre and rhyme of the original:

*To your beholding gaze
 A grove of trees on the horizon
 Is azure-hued splendour
 Nodding in the breeze.
 But as you draw near, you see
 That as soon as colours merge:
 The distance is azure blue,
 Because it is so far away . . .*

Since the war this same poet has devoted himself exclusively to a kind of religious and ethical poetry, which, though it does credit to the Christian attitude of the writer, is, however, as regards the creative aspect, not exactly productive, but too monotonous and by no means original. Finally, we should like to mention the most outstanding of the present Galician poets, Sviatoslav Hordynsky (born in 1906), who, though in no way practically with the Vistnyk school, had much in common with it, ideologically and artistically, and in his post-war poetry (the volume of poems, entitled "With Fire and Breeze", Munich, 1947) consequently went over to the poetic style of the Kyivan neo-classicism; and his example in this respect has also been followed by his fellow-countryman—less famous, but, nevertheless, extremely prolific in the field of literature—Bohdan Kravtsiv (born in 1904), in his post-war lyrics ("The Ships", Bayreuth, 1948, and "Winter-Green", Philadelphia, 1951).

Apart from external circumstances, this final decay of the Vistnyk school was in the first place caused by the fact that its members, including Ye. Malaniuk, too, lost that feeling for heroic pathos which had formerly been the ideological characteristic of the entire school and had more or less determined its monumental aestheticism,—the heroic idea of self-conquest, which was perhaps most characteristically expressed by O. Olzhych, who, unfortunately, died at so early an age, but during his lifetime also gave the entire poetic trend its essential quality and features. As an example we quote a poem by Olzhych of the year 1935 (unfortunately, without reproducing the metre and rhyme of the original):

*Some day we shall march towards wrath,
Which the mists and the dusk conceal.
There are no meadows, no paths,
Nothing but stones in this world.
There is no sun and no moon:
Day there is sinister and grey.
(He who is bold proves in stone
The triumph of his name).*

*Paths wind and coil like huge snakes...
Indomitably marches the unit...
A hundredfold obstacles assail,
And death is the ultimate goal.*

The remaining trends to be found in post-war Ukrainian poetry in exile can be described far more briefly since they are not really literary groups, but rather individual phenomena and achievements, which can only be brought to the common denominator of some poetic style or other with certain reservations. The most appropriate epithet one can apply in this case is no doubt that of a neo-symbolist trend, which—linked up with the West European symbolism of R. M. Rilke, St. George and T. S. Eliot—has, to a most unusual degree, revived the Ukrainian symbolism*) which was previously steeped in song-poetry and folklore. This applies in the first place to the profound lyrics of the West Ukrainian poet, Vadym Lesych (born in 1909): “The Lyric Sketchbook”, New York, 1953; “Poems”, New York 1954; and perhaps to an even greater degree to the young East Ukrainian lyric poet, Oleh Zuyevsky (born in 1920), whose poems, which are sometimes extremely complicated as regards syntax, have opened up artistic prospects to refined feeling. We quote two of his poems here; the first is taken from his early collection, “The Golden Gate” (Munich, 1947), the second was written in 1949 (both of them translated here without reproducing the metre and rhyme of the original):

*Who knows whence, suddenly unawares—
Subtle as air and light, as breeze from land and town,
Comes memory, brushes against one's face
With harmful warmth, destroying peace of mind.*

*And so it happens, the seasons to defy,
Long after leaves have fallen, on cool autumnal morn,
The river's waters rise and sweep away
The stores so safely stored away in barn and granary.*

* * *

*You longed for peace. But imperceptibly
And unknown—from time to time
An enemy appears (first fate
Of passion to distort your
Living hate with treacherous cunning)—
The peace and melody is broken,*

*) Its main representative was Pavlo Tychyna (born in 1891), a highly original poet, who, however, since the middle of the 1920's has produced nothing but Bolshevik propaganda poems.

*You renounce your love and think to
Cast out ecstasy and feelings which
You lived through in happy days,—pearls
In a bottomless sea,
And now ungrateful and superfluous
The echo's message seems to you,
Unless 'tis clear that all your love
Was only like the glitter of the grass
In the last rainbow's wreath,
Since you were waiting for the future pain.*

After several less successful attempts, the West Ukrainian poet and story-writer, Bohdan Nyzhankivsky, has likewise revealed his talent as an outstanding representative of symbolist lyric poetry, namely in his last volume of poems, "The Burden" (Detroit, 1953).

As regards the more traditional trends of a more or less "realistic" impressionism and of more or less impressionistic realism, trends which were already cultivated in Ukrainian poetry at the beginning of this century, one could mention many well-known names, but only a few of these poets really reveal a talent which surpasses the level of rhymed publicism. In this respect one can name as a pleasing exception—with certain reservations—the poets Olha Lubska, whose volume of poems "The Corn Rustles" (Munich, 1955) at least contains some praiseworthy attempts to rejuvenate traditional impressionism with a new breath.

Immediately after the war, so-called expressionism caused somewhat of a stir in the Ukrainian literature in exile, but no outstanding poetic works of this genre were created; and neither the West Ukrainian poet, Yuriy Kosach (born in 1909), who is known in the Ukrainian literary world mainly for his political fickleness, nor his like-minded East Ukrainian contemporaries, Vasyl Barka (born in 1908) and Teodosiy Osmachka (born in 1895), wrote anything remarkable in the way of lyric poetry, although the last-mentioned of these poets published a number of poems in the 1920's and also during the war which are characterised by an unlimited profusion of peculiar poetic pictures, but very often strike one as grotesque. The same qualities and faults are likewise to be found in his epic poem in 23 cantos (in octaves), which was not published until after the war,—"The Poet" (Munich, 1947)—which is partly an autobiographical account of Bolshevist terrorism and tyranny in

Soviet Ukraine and, as such, is an outstanding poetic work and comparatively free of the peculiar scurrilous tricks to which the poet usually resorts. We here quote two octaves from the 17th canto (unfortunately, without reproducing the metre and rhyme of the original):

*The editorial department reared up its buildings
Like a hyena's head out of a cave,
The broad streets cast into its yawning jaws
Men and wheels and smoke of chimneys,
The fumes of engines and the clang of trams,
The speechless Communist choir,
Which, rotting in the hyena's belly,
As blacking for military flares up in the paper.
The editorial department under the medley of stone
Occupies the entire fifth floor;
There are a sofa, chairs, a red table,
A bookcase and high above it is a bird
With outstretched wings, stuffed with poor copy,
Caught in flight, and its small glassy eye
Seems to convey that noble spirit
Of free flight has died out long ago.*

It is, incidentally, by no means a coincidence that all the above-mentioned leading men of Ukrainian expressionism (and the short story-writer and playwright, Ihor Kostetsky, must also be counted in their ranks) have devoted themselves not so much to poetry, but rather to prose; indeed, this is the field in which Ukrainian expressionism has achieved if not perfect yet at least outstanding works.

Newer trends, which one usually designates by the fairly vague term of "surrealism", did not find their way into Ukrainian poetry in exile until after 1950. This literary trend—above all, during the last two years—also has a number of representatives in the field of poetry, but only three of them have produced works which, even at this early stage, can be acclaimed as being of outstanding poetic value. Two of them are women-poets (incidentally, both of them have produced excellent prose works, too): Vira Vovk (born in 1926) and Emma Andiyevska (born in 1913). The chief poetic work of the former, "Elegies" (Munich, 1956),—and in all fairness to the poetess we do not wish to criticise her earlier attempts—is characterised by a rich South American exotic quality

(since the end of the war the poetess lives in Brazil most of the time); it is written in strongly rhymed prose (which one can, of course, also designate as "vers libre"); the themes of the "Elegies" are mainly patriotic, religious and ethical. We here quote the "Dedication" (without reproducing the rhyme, unfortunately):

*You melt away into sounds
like the darkness of the valves to the morn,
my flute!
I am submerged with you,
a boat in a bottomless sea,
in an ardent kiss.
Our mouth bears fruits,
which ripen in the sun
in dignity and grandeur.*

E. Andiyevska's poetry ("Poems", Neu-Ulm, 1951), as far as its language is concerned, is far more esoteric; the pictures she creates are highly suggestive, but by no means easy to understand, and her metres and rhymes are very peculiar. Sometimes, her complicated manner of expression seems to be unrestrained and capricious, and sometimes it remains a mystery, but, in any case, it is in keeping with the profoundly philosophical attitude to life of the poetess. Her better verses reveal a great lyrical fire, which enables even the less poetically minded reader to understand most of the complexities of her metaphorical expression. We quote two of her poems,—one more meditative in type, the other purely lyrical (unfortunately, without reproducing the metre and rhyme of the original):

*I lost my face in stone
In days gone by. Yet sometimes stone becomes alive
In days to come. And night summons with its call—
To harvest.*

*May they tremble in aged hands,
The stars. They know no pain.
And space falls on shoulders
slowly,
As if spell-bound by falling.*

Song

*Song is buried in snow
Day in ravens
The bridge offended
Splashes in steps*

*The elbow of the street
The wild candle
Bends towards the stick
The dead touch.*

*Smoke from the ice
Drunken hands
The years betray
The shadow of the path*

*Perhaps in the wind
Perhaps in the clouds
Perhaps I shall be born
Not as sinister.*

Whatever opinion one holds as regards the aesthetic quality of surrealism and similar trends of modern art, there is, however, no denying the fact that Emma Andiyevska's works are poetry in the truest sense and as such possess a quality and a value that is permanent. It is hardly surprising that the older generation usually regards such a transformation of poetic expression as most inappropriate, and is definitely opposed to such a change; this has always been the case whenever a new trend in art came into being, but the new trend in question has always been legitimated later on,—naturally, to the exclusion of its possible infringements, which would be incompatible with the essential character of art itself (that is to say, apart from its respective traditional forms), as for instance the abuse, tricks and mystifications which are inevitably part of every new trend. But E. Andiyevska's poems reveal none of these faults.

The third promising representative of the newer trends, the young poet and literary critic, Bohdan Rubchak, who actually only made his debut in the field of poetry two or three years ago (his first volume of poems, "Orchard of Stone", New York, 1956), uses a less esoteric language, though he, too, occasionally revels in

colourful pictures, as for instance in his "Nocturne II", of which we here quote the beginning (unfortunately, without reproducing the metre and rhyme):

*And a thousand fingers touch the keys of my soul,
And a thousand hands of Night have embraced by body.
The dove left a black feather on the red ivy.
A blue drinking-glass broke on the table-corner.*

Sometimes the poet also expresses himself with a polished simplicity, as for instance in the following poem, which is one of his "Nocturnal Miniatures" (there is no definite metre and rhyme in the original):

*I opened the book
Of poems ever new:
I read the stars.*

One might even suspect that the poet solely resorts to extravagant pictures—and there is certainly no shortage of these in his poems, especially when he expresses his horror of death and loneliness—for stylistic purposes, that is to say, not because he really feels a spiritual need to do so. But such a surmised is entirely false and, moreover, is refuted by the profound seriousness of his poems which deal with his own verse ("Ars Poetica", "To the Poet", "To Orpheus")—a poetic art which strives "to seek only the quintessence, only naked existence—to feel the quintessence of existence, the space: to feel the flight of black birds in the distance, to feel time: to recognise black drawings in black caves and days as absolute wind",—just as the profoundness of his mystical perception of time makes his allegorical pictures true symbols:

*Here were the graves of my great-grandchildren,
Where we lie with you, oh Love,
And I am your young lover.*

*In the blue twilight of the Middle Ages
I showed my beloved the grass:
It springs from the children of my children.*

Unlike V. Vovk and E. Andiyevska, B. Rubchak appears to be strongly influenced by modern Anglo-Saxon poets, even by such opposites as T. S. Eliot and Walt Whitman. And this is a characteristic of those qualities in his poetry which are not harmoniously balanced one against the other and which may possibly hamper rather than promote the future development of his poetic art.

In conclusion, we should like to stress that all three of the above-mentioned representatives of modern poetry enjoy a noticeable literary popularity amongst the elite of Ukrainian readers (V. Vovk also enjoys considerable popularity amongst the somewhat less highbrow). The significance of this fact must by no means be underrated, since it proves that Ukrainian literature has no intention of isolating itself from the latest trends in Europe and America, and, indeed, should not and cannot isolate itself. And even the alleged "backwardness" of Ukrainian literature (which in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century was solely due to the extremely unfavourable national, social and political conditions of the development of Ukrainian culture) has at least in the field of poetry proved an entirely unfounded discrimination. In the field of prose, including the drama, matters in this respect are still far from satisfactory. But one must bear in mind that in Ukrainian literature it was always poetry which played the leading part and that prose always followed the example set by poetry, as regards the creation of new forms, hesitatingly and only after a considerable interval had elapsed. As far as surrealism in Ukrainian prose is concerned, certain facts and events in the history of literature have delayed its development to a considerable extent, but we shall deal with these factors later on when discussing the general position of Ukrainian prose in exile.

Dmytro Shaldiy

New Reorganisation of the Soviet "Militia"

Of the countless organs which realise Moscow's red terrorist regime and inflict it on the Soviet population, not only the Ministry for Internal Affairs (M.V.D.) and the Committee for State Security (K.G.B.), but also the "Red Militia", that is to say really the police as such, which has taken over the tasks of the former tsarist gendarmerie, deserve a special place of honour. The designation "Militia" was already adopted after the February Revolution of 1917, when the extremely unpopular tsarist police was replaced by an entirely new (voluntary and more or less paramilitary) police corps, which under Kerensky's regime, however, did not prove to be much good. The Bolsheviks intentionally retained this misleading name, but reorganised the said corps according to the pattern of the tsarist gendarmerie. The decree of the Council of the People's Commissars of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R.S.F.S.R.) of November 12, 1917, signed personally by Lenin himself, stipulated that all workers' and peasants' Soviets as well as the so-called Revolutionary Committees (which represented the former in the "newly liberated" districts) were to organise, without delay, a "Workers' Militia", in which it was permissible to include former tsarist gendarmes and police as "trained experts". Thus, when the "Red Militia" was first organised, it consisted for the most part of former officers of the tsarist gendarmerie and of officials and agents of the tsarist secret police (the so-called "Okhranka", which means security service); these persons, incidentally, also placed all the gendarmerie records at the disposal of the newly formed "Extraordinary Commission", called the "Cheka" for short. For the purpose of Party political control, this militia was subordinated to Bolshevik commissars, under whose supervision the entire system of the police organs in the Soviet Union was thus built up

and expanded. In October 1918, the People's Commissariat of the Interior and the People's Commissariat of Justice issued a joint decree for the militia, according to which the latter was henceforth vested with executive powers for the purpose of executing the orders issued by the local authorities. The Soviet militia was thus placed at the disposal of the local authorities; and the centralised control of the militia was entrusted to the People's Commissariat of the Interior of the R.S.F.S.R.; in the provinces and districts the corresponding militia administrations were installed, which were under the supervision of the provincial or district executive committees of the councils (Soviets) in question.

During the the years 1918 to 1924, militia battalions (infantry and cavalry), under the command of officers appointed by Moscow, who in many cases had formerly belonged to the tzarist gendarmerie, were stationed in every village in Ukraine. Their task was to crush the anti-Moscow risings of the Ukrainian population which at that time used break out in practically every district of Ukraine. The militia battalions acted in cooperation with the so-called special detachments of the above-mentioned Extraordinary Commission (Cheka).

On June 10, 1920, the Supreme Central Executive Committee of the Bolshevik Party and the Council of the People's Commissars of the R.S.F.S.R. put into operation the first official regulation of the militia, which—in order to emphasize the difference, at least externally, between it and the former police and gendarmerie of the tzarist era—from now onwards was called the "Red Workers' and Peasants' Militia". It was now organised on military lines and one of the main tasks assigned to it was "to help and assist the Red Army". In accordance with the new statutes, this militia was controlled by the People's Commissar of the Interior, who, by the instrumentality of the so-called Revolutionary War Council of the R.S.F.S.R., had to see to it that the militia was armed, trained and supplied with cadres, so that it could be used as a disciplinary corps in the non-Russian countries of the Soviet state to deal with the population who refused to obey orders from Moscow.

During the period of the so-called "New Economic Policy" (the NEP), that is to say from 1921-1927, the militia had various functions to fulfil,—collecting taxes and imposts from the population, controlling businessmen of various classes in order to make sure that

they registered with the revenue offices, enforcing the passport regulations in operation in the U.S.S.R., checking up on administrators of property and caretakers, ensuring that law and order were kept, taking waifs and strays into custody, combatting speculation (in particular by checking up on travellers and by examining their personal identity papers), tracking down and arresting criminal and political offenders, and crushing "counter-revolutionary" action directed against the Soviet regime, by armed force.

Thus, in accordance with the statutes of June 10, 1920, the Soviet militia was subjected to a twofold subordination. It was under the control of both the Executive Committees of the local Soviets and the People's Commissariat of the Interior, which worked hand in hand with the Cheka—later renamed the "State Political Administration" (GPU). And, incidentally, the local commanding officers of the militia were appointed by the executive committees in question (that is to say, actually by the local Party committees) only the strength of a co-ordination with the local detachments of the GPU, and their appointment was then confirmed by the People's Commissariat of the Interior.

On May 25, 1931, the Council of the People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. substituted a new regulation for the official regulation of the year 1920; this new regulation, which officially is still valid today, for the most part, however, only contains phraseological amendments. It is interesting to note that it was not until 1957 that the Chief of the Head Militia Administration in the Ministry of the Interior, Barsukov, raised the question, in the journal, "Soviet State and Law" ("Sovetskoye Gosudarstvo i Pravo"), No. 2, of whether the militia should not at last be officially released from the task of controlling lawful private enterprise, since there was no longer any such thing in the Soviet Union!

Of far greater significance than the above-mentioned new regulation was the direct incorporation, in 1935, of the militia in the reorganised People's Commissariat—later Ministry—of the Interior (NKVD, or MVD), which had assumed the role of the former GPU. This step meant a further centralisation of the militia mechanism in the hands of the Head Militia Administration of the NKVD (or MVD) of the U.S.S.R. and brought with it the final extermination of the last traces of a temporary "independence" of the militia administrations of the People's Commissariats of the Interior in the individual Soviet Republics.

Nowadays, however, in connection with the extension of the administrative rights of the Soviet Republics (a fact which was boastfully emphasized during the 6th Session of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. in February, 1957), a reorganisation of the administration of the Soviet police—which is what the so-called militia was and continues to be—is provided for, but, of course, only as regards a somewhat freer administration of the executive power in carrying out the general instructions and directives of the Moscow Ministry of the Interior; from now onwards, the militia administrations are being reorganised accordingly by the Ministries of the Interior of the Soviet Republics, but the Head Militia Administration in the Ministry of the Interior of the U.S.S.R. will continue to retain its function of an all-Soviet control centre the entire “extension” of the administrative rights consists almost exclusively in the fact that the Chief of the Militia Administration of a Soviet Republic will in future not be appointed by the Moscow Ministry of the Interior, but by the Ministerial Council of the Republic in question and will also receive the position of an Acting Minister of the Interior of this Republic,—which in actual practice means very little. In the so-called Autonomous Republics of the U.S.S.R. this purely superficial extension of rights is not even going to be introduced, and the militia administrations there will continue to be under the immediate control of both the Ministerial Council of the Republic in question and the Ministry of the Interior of the U.S.S.R.

In addition, the provincial and regional administrations of the militia are to be liquidated completely, inasmuch as their functions are to be taken over by the competent provincial and regional authorities of the Soviet Republic in question. In this way the entire militia mechanism will, of course, ultimately be placed at the disposal of the MVD and will be qualified to carry out the duties of not only the regular police, but also of the secret police; which means an additional “extension of the rights” of the Soviet secret state police!

In towns and districts, on the other hand, the local militia administrations are to be transformed into militia departments of the respective executive committees of the local Soviets, while plenums will also have “to elect” the local militia chief. Apparently the prestige of the local Soviets and their executive committees is to be raised by this measure; in reality, however, it is a case of in-

cluding the local Soviet administration in the system of the Ministry of the Interior and thus increasing the actual control exercised by the police over the local Soviet authorities to a very considerable extent.

And it is precisely this idea which is confirmed by the Chief of the Head Militia Administration, Barsukov, in the above-mentioned article: "The reorganisation of the militia, the purpose of which is to realise its close affinity with the local Soviets, will increase the latter's responsibility for preserving law and order and combatting criminality... By means of permanent commissions and other types of Soviet organs, the militia will be included more and more in all spheres of Soviet (that is to say, administrative, —D. S.) and economic life."—It is thus a case of subordinating the executive committees of the local Soviets to the control of the Ministry of the Interior by the instrumentality of the local militia administrations.

In connection with the structural reorganisation of the Soviet police, considerable importance is also attached to the so-called "brigades to assist the militia". In accordance with the new statutes, brigades of this type (shock-brigades) are to be formed "voluntarily" in all collective farms and factories. The "voluntariness" is, of course, entirely fictitious; by order of the chief of the local MVD department, the local administrative and economic authorities appoint "trustworthy and experienced Party members" as members of these brigades, by entrusting them, above all, with the task of spying on "discontented" and "counter-revolutionary minded" persons and, to a certain extent, keeping an eye on criminal elements and watching out for violations of public law and order. They are thus in principle semi-secret agents of the regular police.

In addition to these "auxiliary brigades", special administrative and legal commissions, which have been in existence in the R.S.S.R. for some time now and whose practices are now to be extended to the countries subjugated by Moscow, are also to be formed in the executive committees of all the municipal, district and village Soviets. These commissions, consisting of "deputies of the workers", have to examine and confirm all decisions reached by the superintendents, inspectors and magistrates of the militia, which refer to the punishment of individual Soviet citizens for violating administrative regulation and also include "administrative sentences" to deportation or imprisonment (from 3 to 5 years in cases of "ele-

ments which are a social danger"); it is typical of the entire system, however, that these commissions have no right to set aside such "administrative sentences",—the most they can do is to lodge an appeal with the local MVD department. The Soviet "police rights" have thus not been prejudiced to any noticeable extent.

Finally, the Soviet police, called the "militia", in addition to the duties which have always been incumbent on it, will in future also have to carry out the following tasks: to examine and confirm railway building projects, and to check motors in the widest sense, that is to say, not only to examine and supervise road building as regards motor transport, but also examine and check all new types of motors from the technical point of view. Furthermore, the rights of the Soviet militia are to be extended very considerably as far as the following sectors are concerned: the issuing of passports, checking of passports and other identity papers in industrial enterprises and official departments, supervising property administration, etc. In addition to the present district inspectors in the towns and rural areas, two or three militiamen and an "auxiliary brigade" are to be provided for each collective farm, as well as an authorised representative of the military district headquarters,—allegedly for the purpose of registering persons liable to be called up for military service—who in practice, however, will at the same time officially work hand in hand with the MVD in the same way as the superintendents of the "special departments" in the factories do. "This kind of reorganisation of the militia", so Barsukov writes in the article which we have already mentioned above, "will lead to an improvement in the ideological Communist education of the collective farmers and, in particular, of the youth of the collective farms, and will help to increase the political vigilance of the average person, namely as regards being on their guard against hostile elements and reactionary imperialistic attempts to undermine the socialist state from within." There is no need to stress the connection between these measures and the new campaign of the espionage mania introduced by the Kremlin long ago; suffice it to say that the actual purpose of this "reorganisation" is to thrust the collective responsibility for all manifestations of the revolutionary liberation movement amongst the non-Russian peoples subjugated by Moscow on to the entire population, namely by means of a systematic fusion of the authoritative powers of the regular and the secret police, which so far, at least to all appearance, were two separate authorities.

And this is also one of the reasons why a far-reaching extension of the judicial rights and duties of the Soviet militia is planned. According to the hitherto valid law of criminal procedure in the U.S.S.R., the militia was only authorised to conduct the preliminary trial in criminal cases of minor importance (pickpocketing and similar cases of theft, minor brawls, gross misdemeanours, violations of the civil code, etc.), but not in cases concerning the so-called "elements which are a social danger"; as regards all more serious cases, the competent authority was the Soviet Public Prosecutor (Procurator), who, incidentally, in the case of minor offences, too, conducted the actual trial after the militia had conducted the preliminary trial. The official reason given for this jurisdiction was that the magistrates of the militia had not sufficient legal qualifications. Now, however, the objection has been raised (namely in the above-mentioned journal, "Soviet State and Law") that this division of labour is out of date; it is pointed out that the extensive network of schools of law for the militia in the system of the Ministry of the Interior of the U.S.S.R. has, during the years from 1945 to 1955, already turned out a large number of fully qualified lawyers, magistrates and legal functionaries. Accordingly the new project of legal procedure, so it is stressed, provides that the entire trial from beginning to end shall be conducted by the organs of the militia,—at least in all criminal cases, whereas political cases shall, as was the case hitherto, be dealt with by the "special" organs of the Ministry of the Interior. Trials are thus to be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Public Prosecutors, a fact which, according to the opinion expressed in the above-mentioned journal, will instil "more objectivity and firmness" (!) into the latter; the Public Prosecutors, incidentally, are severely censured for always obstinately abiding by the decisions reached in the trials conducted by themselves, for obvious reasons, even when the "evidence" in this respect is shown to be not sound in the actual judicial proceedings.

But this is, of course, only a pretext. In reality, it is simply a case of extending the legal powers of the militia, that is to say of the Ministry of the Interior, at the expense of the Ministry of Justice. And merely another Soviet example of the slogan which has been proclaimed so solemnly by the Kremlin,—"complete restoration of socialist legalism"!

Michael Pochtár

Kremlin's Policy in the IUS

We publish below an article sent to us by an Ukrainian student in the U.S.A. which clearly illustrates the Red Russian policy in the "International Union of Students" (IUS), which was formed in Prague, in 1946, to serve the interests of Red Russia,—a Communist policy in evidence in other similar international organisations.

(The Editor)

"The challenge of our time is to work wholeheartedly toward the achievement of a peaceful world in which real freedom is secured to all peoples".

(Richard M. Nixon. Greeting to the 7th USNSA's Congress)

The international euphoria and exceedingly cordial feelings between Western Democracy and Muscovite Communism during and immediately following World War II, and coinciding with a definite disappearance of one sovereign nation after another in Eastern and Central Europe and Asia under the pretence of preservation of the so-called "Eternal Peace" and mutual co-existence, to a great extent caught in its spirit also students, who, after the war's interruption, began to develop a framework of international student cooperation. The representatives of the "West", almost naïve in its appeasement and more than fascinated by euphonic Soviet slogans, and of the mendacious and unsatiable Communist "East" met at the international student forum in Prague, in 1946, to form still another institution of the United Nations—the "International Union of Students" (IUS).

The Russian Communist students, represented at this forum by the Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth, cleverly took the utmost advantage of this favourable situation and occupied key-position in the ISU, thus misleading and curtailing the further growth of the newly formed organisation.

That the formation of the IUS under such circumstances was ill-fated became more than evident in a very short span of time. It was not long before the National Unions of Students came to realise that the formation of IUS with the executive empowered to speak for all the members, and with the Soviets in key-positions of the organisation, served as an inviting signal toward a complete domination of the IUS by the Soviets.

Thus the first attempt at student "co-existence" and cooperation with the Communists was disillusioning and proved a complete failure. In fact, it demonstrated that coexistence is Russia's idea of making everyone conform and surrender to its will. It also served as a conclusive warning that for non-Communists to lose, for they would merely represent the bait in the Communist trap.

Being dominated by the Communists, and thus controlled by forces outside the student movement, and exposing a partisan political ideology, the IUS became the instrument of Cominform and of the "Fifth Column", and as such ceased in reality to serve its purpose as an instrument promoting international student cooperation and understanding.

And even though the Western Student Unions one after another began to limit their participation in the activities sponsored by the IUS and through student meetings outside the IUS sought to change the existing policies of the IUS, still the latter remained for a few years, a truly numerous, single, and worldwide Communist-dominated organisation of students. Even though through conferences at Stockholm, Edinburgh, and Copenhagen, the Western Student Unions achieved a state of co-operation outside of the IUS, based on mutual respect and equality, by means of the International Student Conferences, and even though a permanent Co-ordinating Secretariat (COSEC) came into being, and as such marked the beginning of the decline of the IUS influence, nevertheless, the appeasement through the complete surrender at Prague in 1946 gave the Soviet students exceptionally convenient and useful starting positions at the global student scale. By means of the IUS, the Soviet students entered as a leading, opinion-forming body upon the international youth's arena. By means of the IUS, the Communist students achieved a representative status in the United Nations on behalf of the entire student movement. By means of the IUS, the Communist students, whose biased activities forced the majority of students to leave this organisation, could still pose as defenders of student unity and integrity. By means of the IUS, the Soviet students hindered for a time the normal course of student co-operation, distracting their attention from vital student problems. By means of the IUS, Moscow obtained a means to influence youth's opinions in matters not only pertaining to students, but matters of a general and political nature. By means of the IUS, Moscow found a most favourable and valuable channel for the flow of Communist propaganda and infiltration into the intellectual and academic institutions of the free world.

That the representatives of the Soviet students in the IUS for the entire period of duration of this organisation are leading a well-planned, destructive, and harmful action, from the point of view of the common student interests and ideals, is more than evident from the analysis and review of the activities of the IUS, which serve as a mirror of the prevailing Soviet foreign policy.

Not the well-being of the constituent members, but the Soviet interests underlie and form the leitmotif of the entire activity of the IUS.

Before considering in a more detailed way the activities of the IUS, let us briefly consider the forces that are influential upon the Soviet students:

It is probably a common secret that in the U.S.S.R., which is in reality the present-day prison of nations, but according to Soviet propaganda "a country of the highest form of liberty, happiness, and welfare", free and independent student unions as such do not exist, just as there is no single organisation in existence which is not totally controlled by the CPSU and which does not serve as an instrument of the ruling clique for the exploitation and serfdom of the masses. (University News, "Student Life in Soviet Union", German National Union of Students, June 1953). Dictatorship can tolerate no real student, academic nor any other form of freedom. Any such freedom would be a direct violation of the fundamental principles of the Communist dictatorship, principles which are based on complete obedience of everyone to those in power and on a complete control of the minds and thoughts of the subjugated people.

Officially, Soviet students form a section of the Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth, which in its turn is an offspring of the Komsomol (League of

Communist Youth). Both the AFCSY and the Komsomol are in reality organisations where the future party-men are trained. Both these organisations are the "testing ground" for the party leaders. As such they are under a strict party control and observation.

The CPSU does not fit the definition of a political party as this term is normally used, for it rather resembles a well disciplined military organisation, united in its hatred of all that is divergent and non-Communist, as well as in its eagerness for destruction and annihilation of alien ideals and of all forces opposing Communist triumph (Evron M. Kirkpatrick, *Target: the World; Communist Propaganda Activities in 1955*, The Macmillan Co., N.Y., 1956, pp. 15-16). And hence the driving principle of the party and the Komsomol is, according to Lenin, the usefulness of a deed for a proletariat, or, more strictly speaking, for a Communist party. Putting it bluntly, all that is in favour of the Communist cause and serves the interests of the ruling Kremlin clique is moral. Killing, frauds, breach of promise or countless other shameful ways at home or on the international scene are considered ethically correct by the confirmed Communist (Kirkpatrick, *Target the world*, pp. 7-8; and Huszar and Associates, *Soviet Power and Policy*, N.Y., 1955, chs. 7, 8).

On the nature of the Komsomol and the scope of its activities "Radyanska Ukraina", the Soviet newspaper, had this to say on the eve of the 17th Congress of the Komsomol in Ukraine, in December 1955: "The policy of the party, its decisions, and directives form an active and dynamic program of the activities of the Komsomol. In its party leadership lies its strength".

It could not be expressed more clearly, no double meaning can be attached to this statement. In a Communist system youth is a blind tool, a blind performer, a zombi in the hands of the party.

What can be said about the rest of the youth and the students if even the candidates of the future of the all-powerful ruling class (CPSU) lack an elementary personal liberty and freedom?

In the light of the above statement it is more than evident, who represents the Soviet students in the IUS. Still more so does the same apply to the Soviet representatives in numerous International Front-Groups, organised by Communists and their fellow-travellers, of which the IUS is but one distinctive cell.

Analysing the Soviet-directed activities on the international youth scene, one finds ample evidence to the effect that the Communists are making a desperately earnest effort to gain the allegiance of university students the world over.

"In some areas of the world, the Communists are giving students the highest priority in their propaganda work, higher than labour, and higher than professional men" (Student War Against Red "Des Moines Tribune", Aug. 27, 1954).

According to the same article, the Communists are spending 50 million dollars a year in propaganda and other activities designed to catch the minds of students the world over. And yet, when at the IUS' Council Meeting in August, 1954, in Moscow the delegation of the British National Union of Students attempted to inquire into the sources of finances of the IUS that attempt led to nowhere. It was quite clear to the representatives of the BNUS that details of the enormous sums received and spent by the IUS were not for general information (Report of the NUS Observer to the Council Meeting of the IUS, Moscow, 1954, by Frank Copplestone).

Having practically unlimited finances and a numerous and well equipped staff of full-time workers in its two imposing eight-storey buildings in Prague, which form the Headquarters of the Communist world student organisation, the IUS is able to conduct an intensive and extensive activity in the direction of youth for the Communist cause. Every possible channel of communication as well as every means is used to reach the widest possible area of the world. Broadcasting, television, films, periodicals and magazines, books and "ad hoc" publications, including pamphlets, leaflets, and similar items of a non-periodical and non-permanent nature are intensively used to herald with great fanfares every meeting of the IUS, its policies, every event in its activities, as well as to create an impression that the IUS is the world student representative body.

That the IUS is a blind tool in the hands of the Kremlin is not only evident from such deeds as its complete silence during the victimisation of students in Czecho-Slovakia at the coup d'état in 1948, and by the expulsion of the Yugoslav Union of Students in 1950, the Second Congress at Prague in 1950, pro-Stalin demonstrations en masse, condemnation of the U.S.A. "intervention" in Korea and alleged use of bacteriological weapons by U.S. forces, attacks in its publications against American "imperialism", its turning of a blind eye to examples of infringements of human rights in Eastern Europe, whereas examples in the West are exploited to the full, but also in its forming an image of the Kremlin policies on the student scale. Even such cultural and, at first glance, non-political events as Olympic Games, various professional gatherings, and youth festivals are saturated to the utmost with familiar Communist catch-words and slogans for unity on a national and international scale, for lasting peace and democracy, disarmament, prohibition of atomic weapons, etc. An abundance of evidence to this effect may be found in the IUS publications on the events, as well as in the reports of individual participants.

The most frequently used catch-word by the IUS is that for lasting peace. This word resounds from all the tribunes and publications; it serves as a motto for almost every international gathering and youth festival. And at the same time the IUS is totally blind to the very fact that the only disturber of international harmony and peace is the U.S.S.R.

A strong and powerful asset in the hands of the IUS, particularly in its relations with the students in underdeveloped and colonial countries, is its pretense of posing as a champion of national freedom and independence. This theme is constantly repeated, and not even minor events escape the proper attention for its usage in the IUS propaganda. Joining the students in colonial areas in their pleas for national independence, the IUS cherishes hopes or winning their sympathy and a favourable response to various one-sided policies of the IUS.

Moreover, no one from the IUS seems to notice that in the U.S.S.R. the subjugated nations do not possess any possibility for their national development and cultural growth (A Symposium of a Conference on "Academic Freedom Under the Soviet Regime", New York, April 3-4, 1954, pp. 77-113).

Complete silence on the part of the IUS shrouds the heroic, gallant, and everlasting struggle for national liberation of the Ukrainian, Baltic, Georgian, and other peoples. Thus IUS is also silent on recent student demonstrations and unrests in Riga (Latvia), Kyiv (Ukraine), Tiflis (Georgia), Prague (Czecho-Slovakia). We do not hear of the actions of the IUS in protest against forcible

mass deportation of youth and students from Ukraine and Byelorussia to Kazakhstan and other remote regions of Siberia for the development of the virgin lands, despite the fact that more often than not such campaigns are conducted in the middle of the academic year and hence many students have to interrupt their studies. (In the U.S.S.R. nothing has changed except the means: Stalin built up socialism by means of deportation of the "kulaks" and political prisoners, Khrushchov does the same with youth and students.)

We do not hear of any protests of the IUS against enforced juvenile labour in Ukraine, which indirectly is evident in the decree of the Kremlin to the effect that every high school student is required to work regularly on state-farms ("Rad-yanska Ukraina", September 26, 1956).

Is it not a paradoxical fact that whilst searching for members even among the splinter groups outside of the Soviet orbit of influence Moscow's representatives in the IUS are oblivious of students from countries such as Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Georgia, Armenia as well as representatives of the students from numerous nations subjugated by Moscow?

Prior to the Poznan riots, the Polish (Communist) Union of Students rejecting the USNSA's belief that colonialism does exist in Eastern Europe (Letter Sent by the United States National Student Association to Organisations Participating in the International Preparatory Committee for the IUS Seminar on the Problems of Students in Colonial Countries), emphasized the enjoyment of prosperity and freedom by the Polish people (USNSA's 9th Congress Publications, containing the copies of both letters). The Poznan riots with their demands of "Bread", "Liberty", and "Russians Go Home!" disproved the validity of the statements of the Polish students dictated by the IUS.

It is futile to search for sympathy on the part of the IUS for the freedom fighters of Poznan, for the IUS does not perceive or sense any ill-doings within the U.S.S.R. prior to obtaining directives to do so from the Kremlin.

The Hungarian Revolution shows even more that the IUS is nothing but a mere tool of the Kremlin leaders. In times when freedom-loving students all over the world have condemned Moscow's butchery of Hungarian youth and freedom, the IUS as well as the Anti-Fascist Committee of Soviet Youth constantly repeat after the Kremlin that it was brought about as an aid of the "brotherly" Russians to defend Hungarian freedom against the forces of "international reactionaries" and "fascist elements" (Information Bulletin, "Letter from the U.S.S.R.", COSEC, April 1957, pp. 14-17). The Communist understanding of moral values has once more been baptized in the innocent blood of Hungarian victims. The case of Hungary shows to the fullest extent the true nature of the IUS attitude toward national independence and its role as defender of colonial students. For this reason alone it would be most improper for the Western Unions of Students to cooperate with the IUS even on the basis of the so-called practical student projects, even if it were not questionable that such projects are within the scope of the activities of the IUS and in the plans of the Kremlin.

Due credit must be given to the observers of the National Union of Norwegian Students, who, as early as 1954, reporting on IUS Council Meeting, made this warning statement on the subject of cooperation with the IUS: "All the time one must bear in mind the political nature of the IUS, and that every form

of cooperation, be it as non-political as it may, involves a certain acceptance of the organisation, and thereby a concession to the system" (Report on the Council Meeting of the IUS, Moscow, Aug. 1954, from the Observers of the National Union of Norwegian Students).

Stating it more clearly, the road to a cooperation with the broad masses of students in Eastern and Central Europe does not lead through the IUS, which being the tool of the Kremlin serves as a hindering barrier of such relations on the student to student basis. How much the IUS has in common with the students it pretends to represent may be seen from the latest development behind the Iron Curtain. That the youth and students of nations subjugated by Moscow clearly disassociate themselves from the belying slogans, policies, and practices of the Kremlin is without doubt being demonstrated by the present unceasing struggle for national independence of Ukraine, the Baltic Countries, and Georgia; it is evident from the student riots and demonstration at various universities, prisoners' strikes in the slave labour camps at Karaganda and Vorkuta (mostly composed of students and youth); it is proved by the recent developments in Poland as well as by the gallant Hungarian freedom-fighters, as also by the fact that the students and youth formed the driving force of the Revolution.

Recent events behind the Iron Curtain manifested the paramount importance of the fact that despite the unceasing efforts of the Kremlin, the youth and students remained faithful in their just devotion to truth and freedom, and their aspirations to national independence.

Therefore, a desire for a cooperation and student unity in a global aspect must be clearly manifested by the Western students with equal devotion to the truth and principle of freedom for all people. Thus, to emphasize once more, the desire of many students to find the link with the students in Eastern Europe could be most successfully fulfilled not by co-operation with the IUS, but by ignoring it. The condemnation of the practices of the Kremlin under the form of the IUS would serve as a forceful memento and as a moral support to the students subjugated by the Kremlin, and would clearly manifest itself in a unity of interests of all the students, creating a most constructive and stable bond of co-operation, based on the devotion of students to the principles of equality, fraternity, and freedom. The spiritual cooperation based on the common beliefs in the integrity and final triumph of freedom shall not be hindered by artificially constructed Iron or Bamboo Curtains, or by any other deeds of the Kremlin, for spiritual and moral values are beyond the reach of the destructive forces of men.

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**THE SECOND ACADEMIC CONGRESS
ON EUROPEAN CULTURE
held in Bolzano from August 24-31, 1957**

Whilst the process of both the political and economic integration of Europe on this side of the Iron Curtain continues to go on, the question of the cultural relations of the European peoples and the working out of a common basis for their future tasks was on the whole left unsolved. The initiative as regards the psychological elimination of all tension in this sphere was taken up by a group of young Italian scholars of the International Institute at Bolzano. They formed a study group, to which they gave the name of the Italian philosopher of the first half of the 19th century, Count Antonio Rosmini-Serbati, for the purpose of holding annual congresses there in order to elucidate these questions. In an endeavour to discuss even the most controversial and acute problems pertaining to European consciousness as a whole, the theme chosen for this year's International Congress was "The Values and Problems of European Culture in its Present Relation to East and West". We should like to point out from the start that in the sessions, which lasted for a whole week, the East and its problems, which are of so great importance at the present time, were to some extent neglected, whereupon the members of the Congress put the suggestion to the head of the Institute that at next year's Congress a few days should be devoted to discussing these problems.

It is hardly possible in this short report to discuss even in brief the fundamental ideas expressed in the lectures held during the Congress. For this reason we shall confine ourselves to mentioning the most outstanding personalities present, who to a certain degree determined the nature of the discussions. The opening lecture on the first day of the Congress was held by Professor Gabriel Marcel of Paris, who is a member of the Institut de France. It was entitled "Loyalty or Disloyalty to Europe". Marcel regards Europe only as Christian Europe, an idea which was clearly repeated in the final lecture, given by his fellow-countryman, Professor Jean Wahl of the Sorbonne, Paris. Europe is the continent which experiences Christianity most intensively. But to return to Marcel; he is one of the four leading existentialists: Sartre, who because of his scepticism is to be regarded as an atheist existentialist; Heidegger, who leaves the question of God open; Jaspers, who bases the meaning of existence on the metaphysical; and Marcel, who is undoubtedly the representative of Christian existentialism. He, too, expresses the idea that human life contains much that is unknown and mysterious, but he sets the Christian idea of God as a counter-balance to these phenomena. In the course of his lecture he sought the reason for the huge catastrophes in Europe in the betrayal of love and justice, a fact which is bound to lead to the degradation of man.

The lecture by Prof. Jean Wahl was devoted to the subject "Culture, Existence and Europe". The definition of culture caused considerable difficulty, for this word can be interpreted in various ways, as for instance, culture as a unit of social and material conditions, or culture as a form. Culture cannot be planned,—it is not "planifiable". Between the big American and the big Russian unit lies the chaotic cosmos of the old, unfortunately—or fortunately not unified Europe.

Europe is today to be found all over the world, but the world would perhaps be easier to unify than Europe. The pseudo-conception of Europe played a part in the plans of Napoleon; and it was vulgarised by Hitler. Of the philosophic systems some are specifically European: rationalism and existentialism. By intensifying the two ideas *ratio* and *existentia*, we get at the definition of this large body,—Europe. But why is it that reasoning and learning have developed precisely on this continent where the Christian ideas were sown? Is there not a profound bond between existence (*existentia*) and Christianity? Was not St. Augustine the first philosopher of existentialism? The lecture by Prof. Jean Wahl contained many original ideas, which provided much food for thought.

The only lecture which dealt with a subject concerning the problems of the East was the lecture given by Prof. Gustav Andreas Watter, S. J., of the Papal Institute for Oriental Studies in Rome, which was entitled "The Latest Trends in Soviet Philosophy". The speaker discussed the new orientation of Soviet philosophy since the death of Stalin, and in order to round off his account also referred to beginnings in this respect in former years. We do not intend to discuss in detail the ideas expressed by the speaker, but merely wish to mention those questions to which he devoted his attention. After examining the methods of dialectic and historic materialism, he dealt with the attitude of party circles towards the achievements of the West, and then went on to discuss the theory of relativity and quantitative physics. The question of philosophical indeterminism and determinism was discussed in relation to the achievements of atomic physics. Oparin's theory on the origin of life, which still enjoys the greatest prestige in the U.S.S.R., has recently been criticized by a number of Soviet biologists and philosophers. Lysenko's theory of the formation of races has likewise been severely criticised since 1953. Even so, however, it does not look as though the Mitchurin-Lysenko theory is likely to be abandoned completely, for in April this year, Khrushchov held three speeches one after the other in which he was full of praise for Lysenko. Recently, psychology, too, has been subjected to a very interesting discussion. After dealing with natural philosophy, Prof. Wetter in conclusion discussed the new orientation in the cognition theory. After examining all the problems concerned very thoroughly, he came to the conclusion that the ideological atmosphere of the Soviet Union has changed very noticeably since Stalin's death. The Soviet philosophers have grown more courageous and, accordingly, discussions have become more interesting and livelier; a more positive attitude is adopted towards Western philosophy and learning; certain extreme attitudes in rejecting so-called "bourgeois" learning have been dropped. But in spite of this, the fact must be stressed above all that *fundamentally* nothing has changed. The ideas expressed by Prof. Wetter undoubtedly made his lecture one of the most interesting and topical of the whole Congress.

The Romanic element was most strongly represented among the members of the Congress, and the French and Italian languages predominated in the discussions. The Ukrainian delegation consisted of the Pro-rector of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, Professor I. Mirtschuk, and Mr. J. Stetzko. The speeches held by the two Ukrainian participants, who took part in the discussion, will be published in the compilation of the Congress.

I. Mirtschuk

EXHIBITION OF A UKRAINIAN PAINTER IN MUNICH

Severyn Boratchok held an exhibition of his paintings in the "Meeting House" in Munich, from November 2nd to December 31, 1957. Many pictures were exhibited, two of which we publish here.

Severyn Boratchok was born in Terebovlia in Ukraine, in 1898. From 1921 to 1924 he studied at the Art Academy in Cracow under Professor Pankiewicz, a friend of Pierre Bonnard. After completing his studies in Cracow, Boratschok went to Paris in order to perfect his style.

He remained in Paris until 1937. In 1933 he exhibited at the Zak Gallery in Paris, and other exhibitions of his works were also held: in 1934 in Geneva, in 1935 in the "Salon d'Automne" in Paris, and in Lviv, Cracow and Warsaw. After the end of World War II he held exhibitions of his paintings in Regensburg in 1948, in Munich in 1952, and in Paris and New York in 1954.

H. de Gourland of Paris writes about him as follows:

"To make light the fundamental substance of painting today, is in keeping with the most up-to-date scientific theories", says André Derain.

S. Buratchok belongs to the class of artists who have succeeded in imbuing their pictures with light from within.

Without breaking with the past, he transfers his fundamental features to his own world of creativeness; thus, he attains perfection and purity of style, which captivate the soul and the gaze of the beholder.

Whether he is inspired by a rural atmosphere, as for instance in his pictures of washerwomen and market-women, farmers at work and horsemen, or whether he is lovingly absorbed in the individual characteristics of his fellow-countrymen, his imagination is irresistibly attracted by the all-embracing.

Though his pictures, as regards the idea they portray, may at a first glance appear to be primarily decorative, they reveal a true profoundness, however, without ever losing any of the living, forceful, sound and happy qualities of real life which pulsate in them.

Who would not be stirred to admiration on beholding the works of Severyn Boratchok? The harmony of his colours is extremely effective and his clearly defined style is expressed in the incomparable sureness with which he produces this artistic harmony."



SEVERTN BORATCHOK



S. Boratchok

HORSES

BOOK REVIEWS

Ivan Mirtschuk: *GESCHICHTE DER UKRAINISCHEN KULTUR* (History of Ukrainian Civilization). Publications of the East Europe Institute, Munich, Vol. XII. Isar Verlag, Munich, 1957. 288 pp.

This latest book by the leading authority on Ukrainian studies in Germany, Professor Dr. Ivan Mirtschuk, who for several years has been the Rector and Pro-rector of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich and is a corresponding member of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, is not a newly revised edition of previously published encyclopedical reference works with similar titles¹⁾, but an entirely new work, in which the subjects of Ukrainian studies—which have already been dealt with by the author on various occasions, but are here treated in a more complete and chronological way—are elucidated from the synthetic point of view, for the purpose of leading up to extensive generalisations regarding the history of civilization and social psychology, and in this task the author has to a considerable extent succeeded.

This does not, however, mean that the contents of the book have forfeited their concrete character. It is true that the material culture of the Ukrainian people is only mentioned in so far as the data in this respect allow one to draw conclusions as regards the corresponding features of the spiritual culture of the Ukrainian people; but this spiritual culture is characterised all the more thoroughly and precisely. The following summary of the contents of the book will serve to give readers a survey of the subjects dealt with:

- I. The development of the Ukrainian people: 1) General Preconditions; 2) Prehistoric Times; 3) Early History; 4) Antiquity; 5) Middle Ages; 6) Modern Times.
- II. The Spiritual Characteristics of the Ukrainian People.
- III. Ukrainian Culture, its Fundamental Traits and Characteristics.
- IV. Language.
- V. Folklore.
- VI. The Church.
- VII. Philosophical Thought in Ukraine.
- VIII. Achievements in the Sphere of Science.
- IX. Literature.
- X. Music.
- XI. The Theatre.
- XII. Graphic Arts: 1) Architecture; 2) Sculpture; 3) Painting; 4) Drawing.
- XIII. The Educational System in the Past and Present.
- XIV. Museums, Archives and Libraries.
- XV. Sources of Reference and Bibliography.

¹⁾ I. Mirtschuk (editor-in-chief): *Handbücher der Ukraine*. Leipzig, 1941; I. Mirtschuk: *Die ukrainische Kultur in ihrem geschichtlichen Werden*. Berlin, 1944; I. Mirtschuk: *Ukraine and its People*. Munich, 1949.

As can be seen from the above, the author deals with a vast amount of material in his task of determining the fundamental traits and characteristics of Ukrainian spiritual culture; to begin with, he proceeds, inductively, namely by abstracting these traits from the prehistoric and historic "development of the Ukrainian people", but then tends to use the deductive manner, inasmuch as he shows and stresses the significance of these same traits in various separate spheres of Ukrainian spiritual culture. The arrangement of the subject-matter in the book is, of course, not entirely perfect, since, on the one hand, there are cultural spheres in which a cultural and psychological synthesis is extremely difficult and, indeed, at present still somewhat premature (this applies in particular to the contents of chapters IV, XIII and XIV), and on the other hand, it would hardly be possible to set up a perfectly clear distinction between the "spiritual characteristics" of a people and the "fundamental traits and characteristics" of its spiritual culture without getting lost in scholastic sophistry,—and, fortunately, the author does not show the least tendency to this; though, of course, it is precisely for this reason that the dividing-line between chapters II and III as regards contents is somewhat vague and there is often too much repetition.

In a synthetic work of this type, however, much more importance should be attached to the objective and careful application of certain general postulates to the concrete cultural and historical subject-matter, than to a perfectly methodical arrangement, and it is precisely in this respect that this book is a masterpiece of scholarly open-mindedness and exactness. Apart from drawing attention to the "fundamental traits" of the Ukrainian national mentality which are of the highest political significance—they can be summed up in brief as the following three: 1) the deep roots of Ukrainian culture in its national soil, 2) the definite predominance of the emotional element over the rational, and 3) the partly subconscious and partly conscious social and psychological orientation to *Western* idealism and individualism,—the author is a master in treating abstract generalisations elastically and tactfully when comparing them with cultural and historical facts, in letting facts speak for themselves as far as possible and in drawing attention to the dangerous and in part definitely negative consequences of those national and psychological traits of the Ukrainians which are positive in quality; only seldom does one find in the book passages where the formulation is not moderate.²⁾

An entirely equal treatment of the widely differing, individual spheres of Ukrainian spiritual culture dealt with in the book would, in view of the synthetic task which the author has set himself, hardly be desirable, and their "proportional" treatment (that is to say, in relation to their general cultural and historical significance) would, it is true, be very desirable, but in practice extremely difficult to carry out; we are prepared to admit all this, and yet we cannot help remarking that chapter VII, "Philosophical Thought in Ukraine", though it belongs to the

²⁾ This applies above all to the author's critical attitude towards the work of the famous Ukrainian sculptor, Alexander Arkhipenko, of whom he says: "The work of this master is, however, not the product of the Ukrainian spirit; there is something eccentric and forced in his creation which is not in the least in harmony with the common sense of this peasant people who are closely bound to their native soil" (p. 207).—One could quote the same reason to condemn the best and profoundest ideas in the works of O. Olzhych or B. I. Antonych or even E. Andiyevska!

more specialised province of the author, is treated disproportionately broadly (although the author is by no means disposed to assess Ukrainian philosophy very highly) compared to chapter IV on "Language", which is only dealt with in a very general way. Furthermore, the chapters on the theatre (XI) and on architecture (XIII, 1), though well-written, reveal some unfortunate gaps; in the first of these two chapters no mention whatever is made of the theatre in Soviet Ukraine since the end of World War II, even though there is plenty of informative material available on this subject and even though the Russian Bolshevik standardisation of the Ukrainian theatre—namely for reasons of representation—was never carried out to such an extent as, for example, was and is the case in the sphere of literature; in the second of the two above-mentioned chapters the classical architecture of the 19th century (including the beginning of the 20th century) is dealt with very meagrely, and no mention at all is made of the specifically Kyivan genre of classicism; for although it was originally transplanted directly from Petersburg (the building of Kyiv University is a typical example in this respect), classicism later on, particularly in the Kyivan *secular* architecture developed very marked characteristics of its own, as can be seen, for instance, from the building of the University Library and, above all, from the so-called Pedagogic Museum (the seat of the Central Rada, or the Ukrainian national parliament from 1917 to 1918). And similarly, the successful revival of the Ukrainian baroque style in the 1920's in Soviet Ukraine is only mentioned very briefly in one single sentence by the author³), whilst such outstanding works of architecture as the building of the Academy of Agriculture (near Kyiv) and the Zemstvo House in Poltava, of which modern Ukrainian architecture has every reason to be proud⁴), are not mentioned at all.

We do not of course wish to attach too much importance to these omissions, nor do we intend to discuss occasional slips to be found in the book (namely, when the author mentions prehistoric times and also the Soviet Ukrainian literature of the 1920's), since they are of relatively slight importance. The main thing is that the work as a whole represents an outstanding scholarly achievement, which not only does credit to the author himself, but also to all Ukrainian science and learning pursued in exile; this book is a standard work about Ukrainian national culture and civilization and has been written objectively and unbiasedly, with the calm authority and dignity which is unfortunately so often lacking in Ukrainian patriotic propaganda. And in this respect we should, in conclusion, like to mention the fact that in 1922 the famous Viennese authority on Slav studies, Vatroslav Jagic (1838-1923), who was a sincere friend of Ukraine, in discussing this question with a Ukrainian scholar, stressed that the Ukrainians unfortunately underestimate "scientific propaganda" and neglect it, although it is "often more effective than the actual political propaganda".

V. D.

³) "Whenever a new revival of Ukrainian art takes place, its champions are particularly fond of resorting to the traditions of this style which has become permanently domiciled in Ukraine" (p. 200).

⁴) Or at least had, if reports about the complete destruction of these buildings during the war (in the autumn of 1943) are correct.

Nicholas L. Fr. Chirovsky : *THE ECONOMIC FACTORS IN THE GROWTH OF RUSSIA*, An Economic-Historical Analysis. Philosophical Library, New York 1957, 178 pp.

Nicholas Chirovsky, Associate Professor of Economics at the Seton Hall University, has produced a very valuable book on the unusual growth of Russia explaining the reasons for this apocalyptic phenomenon. In writing this work it has been necessary for him to utilize Russian, Ukrainian, Polish and German literature and sources, as well as those in other languages, for the purpose, as he himself states, of "building up an objective base of analysis".

The author approaches the problem from the historical-economic point of view, beginning with the twelfth century, after the foundation of Vladimir on Klazma in 1108. He is quite well aware of the fact that, although behind the political scene of the growth of Russia,—economic factors did not play a predominant role, nevertheless they greatly influenced Russian psychology and politics. But economic factors were of prime importance for Russian pressure upon the Baltic littorals, Ukraine and Siberia. The Red Russian Communists, as worthy successors of the Russian Tzars, stressed the great significance of the economic doctrine, as a major tool in preserving the Muscovite Russian political interests.

Chirovsky underlines the fact that the ethnical composition of the Russian people can be traced partly to the Slavonic population, and to a great extent also to the Finnic-Mongolian ethnical elements; these elements formed to a great extent the Russian national psychological characteristics. The aggressive and imperialistic psychology of Temujin's and Tamerlane's Mongols was largely inherited by the medieval Muscovites, the forefathers of the present-day Russians.

Moreover, the Russian Orthodox Church contributed greatly to the political growth of Russia by assuming a mythical right and mission of Moscow to protect and to save the Balkan Slav Christians. Likewise, it was also, in certain periods, the political and military weakness of the neighbouring countries that enabled the Russians to expand their political domination, owing to the fact that Russian expansion required a comparatively insignificant military and political effort. There were, of course, many more non-economic factors that played a considerable role in the steadily continuing rise of the vast Russian empire.

Nevertheless, the economic factor was for centuries a very important driving force in the imperial growth of Russia. The author does not agree with the majority of historians who overstress nationalist and religious factors as having been primarily responsible for the policy of Russian conquest, and tend to regard the economic factor as secondary and minor. Such an interpretation of the Russian past seems to the author to be not fully correct, because economic aspects were often predominant in Russian policy, or, at least, closely and inseparably interrelated with nationalist and religious elements, either in the policy of Moscow or in the policy of St. Petersburg.

Chapter Six deals with the economic aspects of Russian aggression in Ukraine. Russian pressure on Ukraine goes back a long way. In the twelfth century the medieval Suzdal-Vladimir dukes, the predecessors of old Muscovy and modern Russia, had already initiated plans for a conquest of the Ukrainian lands in order to dominate the Southeastern European commercial routes. The wealth and the culture of the Ukrainian Kyivan Empire and the splendour of its capital,

the city of Kyiv (Kiev), gave rise to and activated the jealousy of the economically primitive and culturally backward Suzdal and Vladimir; but the Northern principalities of that time were too weak to be able to conquer the Kyiv State (old Ukraine), and to acquire its material and cultural wealth. The dukes of these principalities were, however strong enough to stir up wars for the purpose of weakening the old Ukrainian state. They wanted to ruin the Kyivan state, and, above all, its capital—the commercial centre of Eastern Europe—and to transfer the centre of trading activities to the North for the purpose of enabling the northern principalities to reap the material gains to be derived from the advantageous trade with Scandinavia, Byzantium, the Near East, and Central Asia. The author continues as follows: "Furthermore, the wars against Kyiv alone, accompanied by pillaging of the relatively wealthy areas, resulted in big booties which were a welcome addition to the economy of the Northern forests of the Klazma, Volga, and Oka regions" (p. 59).

A new phase of Russian pressure on Ukraine—after a relatively long period of Mongolian invasion and "the Times of Troubles" in Muscovy—began with the Ukrainian-Muscovite Treaty of Pereyaslav of 1654, arranged between the sovereign, democratic Ukrainian Cossack state, on the one hand, and the Tzar of Muscovy, on the other. The Pereyaslav Treaty was intended by the Ukrainians to be only a loose political arrangement, mutually beneficial to both parties, Ukraine and Muscovy. But the Tzar and the Muscovite (Russian) leading circles at once used the agreement as a confirmation of the supposedly traditional rights of the Tzars of Russia to rule Ukraine. Chirovsky stresses the fact that the alliance was further applied by Russia as an act that fully legalised her imperialist plans in Ukraine and the Black Sea regions. Later on, an official interpretation of the Pereyaslav Treaty was formulated by Russian imperial historiography as an act of complete submission on the part of Ukraine, justifying her full incorporation into the Russian Empire and the complete abrogation of any autonomous rights.

The author is quite right when he stresses the resemblance of the Pereyaslav and Yalta agreements. To quote his words,—"It is somewhat astonishing how much the treaty of 1654 resembles in its entire scope the modern Yalta Agreement. Quite different things were expected from Pereyaslav by the Ukrainians of the seventeenth century, as were different things expected from Yalta by the Western allies. However, in both cases the Russians entered the respective international arrangements with a great deal of mental reservations, and with political and economic designs for the distant future." The author goes on to say on the same page (55): "The national economic system of Ukraine of the seventeenth century was efficient. The crafts were developed and organised. Agriculture produced a surplus. Thus, having once been a source of wealth for Poland, the Ukrainian economy, with its fertile steppes and well-colonised black soil areas, seemed to be a valuable acquisition for the emerging Empire, which was handicapped by the primitivism and poor efficiency of its forest economy."

The First World War and the revolution of 1917 enabled the Ukrainians to detach themselves from Russia, and to proclaim their national independence. The free political life of Ukraine, however, did not last long. Russia's economic interests in Ukraine were too important for the growth of the new Red Russian Empire.

The author states finally that an objective analysis of the economic aspects of Russian history leads to one basic conclusion, and that is a complete refutation of one of the leading subjective tendencies of Russian historiography. This tries to negate the existence of any kind of Russian imperialism, and attempts to explain all Russian political moves in terms of a historical mission of the Russian people, conditioned and predetermined by natural, geopolitical, and organically spontaneous factors.

V. O.

Dr. A. Sokolyshyn

THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION IN THE RECORD OF THE 84TH UNITED STATES CONGRESS, 2d Session, from January 3 to July 27, 1956.

One of the interesting sources for studying the Ukrainian question is the United States Congressional Record. The volume No. 102 which is divided into 12 parts contains fascinating material. Here is a list of the most important references: Communist Atrocities are dealt with in the address by Charles J. Kersten, A3829; Conditions Behind Iron Curtain—in that by Jaroslav Prokop, A2735; Cultural Contribution—by Walter V. Chopyk, A4925; Independence for Ukraine—by Roy E. Furman, A3155; Thirty-eighth Anniversary of Independence—by Rep. Feigham, 349; Russian Persecution and Genocide of Church—by Lev E. Dobriansky, A4606. (See N. B.)

Among the Articles and Editorials—we find the following material: Russian Orthodox Guests, A5052; Weak Point of U.S.S.R., A575.

Among the Bills and Resolutions we have: Concerning Anti-Christian terror: express disapproval of, H.Res.482;

Under the letters we note: Christianity in Ukraine—by Cardinal Spellman and others, 4263, 4264; Communist colonial domination—by Lev E. Dobriansky, A1467; Conditions in Soviet slave-labour camps—by Ukrainian women political prisoners, A6328; One thousand years of Christianity—by Catholic leaders, A5052; Ten centuries of Christianity—by Anthony Zukowsky, A393, A3069, A3142, A3143; Ukrainian prisoners in Communist camps, A5782, A5783, A5800.

Under Memoranda we find: Persecution of church, A1819; Protesting persecution of church—by Church of the Ukraine in the United States, A180;.

On occasion of the Ukrainian independence Day, January 22, commemorating the years 1918 and 1919 in the U.S. House of Representatives and U.S. Senate the following references are found:

In U.S. House of Representatives: 348, 720, 926, 940, 947, 1065, 1196, 1202, 1207, 1211, 1313, 1419 and 1438.

In the U.S. Senate: 1022, 1115, 1219, 1559, 1742 and 1858, and also about the Communist persecution on pages 1742 and 1858. In the U.S. Senate was also one significant remark about "One thousand years of Christianity" on page 4262.

We have also following resolutions: by Americans of Ukrainian descent, Minneapolis, Minn., on page 2828; Concerning the mass murder of 500 women slave labourers—a resolution by Ukrainian women of Detroit, A2683;

Note: The numbers indicate the pages of the U.S. Congressional Record set which contains, as mentioned, 12 parts for the vol. 102 of January-July 1956.

Minneapolis—St. Paul citizens, 12247; Concerning Russian oppression—by *Organisation for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc.*, A2673;.

The following statements are included as well: Anniversary of Independence, A1110; Can New Look in Moscow Tolerate Truth of 1000 years of Christianity?—by Lev E. Dobriansky, A3068; Christianity in Ukraine—by Lev. E. Dobriansky, 4262; From Unity In Captivity to Unity for Liberation and Freedom—by Lev. E. Dobriansky, A1275; Gallant Struggle For Freedom—by Sen. Butler, A4907; Independence Day—by Ukrainian Congress Committee, A749; One Thousand Years of Christianity—by Lev E. Dobriansky, A5051; Religious Persecutions—by Citizens of Boston, A1305.

The Congressional Record contains under the heading "Communism" also material dealing with Soviet Russian aggression in Ukraine on the following pages: 926, 940, 941, and 947.

Wolfgang Meckelein: ORTSUMBENENNUNGEN UND NEUGRUENDUNGEN IM EUROPÄISCHEN TEIL DER SOWJET-UNION.
Ost-Europa Institut at the Free University of Berlin. Economic Science Publications edited by Karl C. Thalheim. Band 2. Berlin, 1955. 134 pp., with a map.

The change of place names on a larger scale seems to be one of the characteristics of totalitarian way of life. In the Soviet Union, the change of geographical names has been practiced since 1917. Not only the names of big cities were substituted by new ones, e.g. *St. Petersburg—Leningrad*, *Tsaritsyn—Stalingrad*, *Königsberg—Kaliningrad*, but also the small settlements or newly founded ones received "patriotic" names, e.g. *Svisloch—Oktyabr'* (BSSR), *Kuřarka—Sovetsk* (Kirov oblast'), *Bozhedarovka—Shchors* (USSR) a.o. To date, there was no reference work in any western language where all such changes could be found and elucidated. The book under review fills up a gap in this field. Meckelein lists 1363 names of the European part of the Soviet Union according to their original form in 1910 and changes as recorded in 1938, 1951 and 1953. His work is based on official Soviet publications, maps and other sources. All names have been presented in an international Slavistic transliteration of the Russian alphabet. A map illustrating the location and the historical data of the respective name has been added. A valuable bibliography supplements the book.

Meckelein did not publish his work for the onomatologist but for the general user. It is merely practical in purpose. The reviewer has checked its contents with his materials regarding the changes of place names in Ukraine. The number of names not included in Meckelein's book is considerable, e.g. *Zhoukva* (*—Nesterov*), *Drohovyzhe*, *Jezupol*, a.o. Some very important works have been omitted in the bibliography, e.g. *Ortsnamenverzeichnis der Ukraine*, Berlin 1943. The transliteration of Ukrainian names has been used improperly, e.g. p. 38: *Atlas Ukraini i sumeznich kraiv* should be: *Atlas Ukraïny i sumeznych kraïiv*. Crimea and the Transcarpathian territory (Carpatho-Ukraine) has not been treated in the book.

Despite of these shortcomings *Ortsumbenennungen* will serve as a point of departure of all future studies of the subject so far as the European part of U.S.S.R. is concerned.

BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN**THE TRAGEDY OF UKRAINIAN WRITERS**

During the years from 1930 to 1933 when Moscow carried out its big attack on Ukrainian culture, many Ukrainian writers were either murdered or sent to concentration camps in Siberia.

In an article entitled "The Fighting Era of Soviet Ukrainian Prose", which appeared in the journal "Zhovten" (October), published in Lviv (Lemberg), M. Levchenko, the author of the article, states that many of the Ukrainian writers were rehabilitated, as for instance B. Antonenko-Davydovych, Sava Bozhko, Vasyl Vrazhlyvy, Dmytro Hordiyenko, Volodymyr Gzhytsky, Oles Dosvitniy, Hryhoriy Epik, Myroslav Irchan, Ivan Kyrylenko, Petro Lisovy, Ivan Mykytenko, Valerian Pidmohylny, and Hnat Khotkevych.

These writers were only sentenced to exile. Those who are still alive are, however, not mentioned by the Soviet press and the Soviet politicians. We can thus only assume that V. Gzhytsky and B. Antonenko-Davydovych are still alive and have probably returned to Ukraine.

On the other hand, we are well aware of the fact that those of these writers who are still alive are already spiritually dead and no longer a danger to the regime. As regards those who were shot, one can but think of the old Soviet maxim which says "shoot and then analyse".

**THE STANDARD OF LIVING IN SOVIET UKRAINE AS COMPARED TO THAT
OF OTHER COUNTRIES**

(From the "Ukrainske Slovo", Buenos Aires, of September 15, 1957.)

The following table shows how many hours a worker in Soviet Ukraine, as compared to a worker in France, Germany and the U.S.A., has to slave in order to be able to buy the most everyday things of life:

| | Soviet Ukraine | France | Germany | U.S.A. |
|-------------------|----------------|--------|---------|--------|
| Man's suit | 239 | 110 | 103 | 30 |
| Man's shoes | 61 | 22 | 17 | 4 |
| Woman's dress | 48 | 21 | 17 | 6 |
| Wrist-watch | 101 | 37 | 29 | 21 |
| Radio set | 178 | 90 | 71 | 18 |
| Camera | 187 | 80 | 32 | 15 |
| 1 kilogr. butter | 7 | 5 | 4 | 1 |
| 10 kilogrs. sugar | 22 | 5 | 4 | 1 |
| 10 kilogrs. bread | 4 | 6 | 5 | 3 |

SLAVE LABOUR IN ARTIC REGIONS

A Soviet agency in Argentina publishes a monthly journal, "Rodina" ("Home and Fatherland") in Russian, Ukrainian and Spanish. It is assumed that this journal is edited by the Soviet embassy. One of the articles published recently in "Rodina" deals with the life of the Ukrainians in the tundra, in the Yakut A.S.S.R. in the Far North, where the temperature drops to 70 degrees below freezing point. According to this article, there are over 700 Yakuts and 300 Ukrainians working in the "Oymyakon" settlement. Last year 500 young Ukrainians of both sexes were deported to this region.

Thus, people from a country with a mild climate are forced to work in Arctic regions where they are neither used to nor able to stand the severe climate.

TWELVE-YEAR OLD SENTENCED TO DEATH

Soviet justice knows no limits! Every offence is punished with the highest form of punishment, and this is what the state calls the "widest democracy". We could quote countless examples to illustrate this fact. A writer, V. L., for instance, writes as follows in the YMCA Bulletin for October about a typical case of Soviet justice:

"Sergej Gusev, aged 12, a cadet of the Suvorov Institute in Kyiv, was found guilty of betraying military and state secrets and was sentenced to death."

Whatever the reasons for this sentence may have been, all comments are superfluous.

ESPIONAGE DEPARTMENT AT SOVIET COLLEGE

The "Danube Courier" of October 6, 1957, published an article by Karl Romberger on the Soviet college for espionage in the Ukrainian town of Vinnytsia. The spies trained there are to be sent to the West, in particular to the U.S.A. Courses at the college are attended by the most gifted students from the universities of the U.S.S.R., who have to possess a good knowledge of the English languages and of the chief dialects of the U.S.A. According to the Western secret service, there are between 1,000 and 1,300 espionage students at this college.

A UKRAINIAN THE CHIEF INVENTOR OF "SPUTNIK"

In its edition of October 7, 1957, the *Daily Mail* published an article on the Soviet atomic research scientist, Petro Kapitsa, who from 1921 onwards lived in England and was a professor at Cambridge University. In 1935 he was called to Russia in order to take part at an international scientific congress and nothing more was then heard of him, except that in 1941 he received a premium of 100,000 roubles from the Soviet government. His acquaintances affirm that his parents lived in Kyiv. He himself is alleged to be a Ukrainian and to be suffering from tuberculosis. The *Daily Mail* describes him as the chief inventor of the "artificial moon".

EXPELLEES RETURN HOME

The Polish Communist government in Warsaw has given 5,000 deported Ukrainian families permission to return home to their native villages in the Carpathian mountains. It is a well-known fact that after World War II this same government expelled hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians from their native districts and destroyed their homes and villages by fire. Owing to pressure on the part of the Ukrainian population, a small proportion of these expellees are now to be allowed to return home to the devastated areas of the district of Gorlice, namely to the villages of Blichnarka, Wolowec, Wysoke, Regetiw, Zdina, Bortne and Rozdillia. But what this resettlement campaign will actually be like in practice, is another matter.

FLAX EXPORT

In its edition of October 13, 1957, the Ukrainian Paris weekly "Ukrayinske Slovo" publishes a report on the Congress of the Flax Federation which was held in Cannes, France. It is stated in this report that one of the chief questions discussed at the Congress was the great increase in the export of Ukrainian flax fibre via the port of Odessa.

UKRAINIANS IN THE FREE WORLD

UKRAINIANS IN LEADING FEDERAL AND STATE POSITIONS IN CANADA

Within a short time the Ukrainians in Canada have achieved considerable success. They now have six representatives in the Dominion Parliament and thirteen representatives in the Provincial Parliaments. Two of them are Ministers in the Dominion Parliament, namely Michael Hryhortschak, Minister of Justice in Manitoba, and Olexa Kusiak, Minister of Natural Produce in Saskatchewan. In Alberta the Ukrainians took part in the elections of the Social Credit Party in 1954. Mykola Batchynsky, brother of the former leader of the Radical Party in Galicia, is the present Speaker of the Legislative Assembly in Manitoba. Wasyl Wall (Wolochatiuk) is so far the only Ukrainian senator. There are Ukrainian judges in three of the provinces. In Alberta the well known lawyer, Peter Grechtchuk, is a member of the Supreme Court. Wasyl Havryliak is mayor of the provincial capital, Edmonton, and Stefan Dziuba is mayor of Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba. In addition, scores of Ukrainians hold leading positions in the provincial and federal departments, whilst hundreds of others are employed in less important positions in these departments.

The highest success achieved by the Ukrainians in Canada as far as politics are concerned is undoubtedly the office held by Michael Star (Starchevsky), Minister of Labour in the newly-formed Cabinet of Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, who is a great friend of the Ukrainian fight for freedom and of the Ukrainian minority in Canada.

CANADIAN PRIME MINISTER VISITS THE UKRAINIAN METROPOLITAN IN WINNIPEG

The Canadian Prime Minister, Louis St. Laurent, accompanied by the Canadian Minister of Justice, visited the first Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan in Canada, Maxim, in his residence in Winnipeg. They discussed matters pertaining to the life and activity of the Ukrainian ethnic group in Canada.

PRESIDENT OF ARGENTINA RECEIVES A UKRAINIAN EDITOR

The representative of the Ukrainian American Catholic Relief Committee and member of the Political Council of the Ukrainian Conference in the U.S.A., the editor of the English-language Bulletin of the latter organisation, Mr. Volodymyr Dushnyk, was received by the President of Argentina, General Aramburu. After this visit to Buenos Aires, Mr. Dushnyk continued his journey to Chile and Uruguay.

AUSTRALIAN SENATOR SUPPORTS UKRAINIAN ASPIRATIONS

Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), during his visit to Australia, had talks with Mr. MacManus, Secretary-General of the Labour Party of Australia. Mr. MacManus suggested in his address to the Australian Senate that the Ukrainian Liberation movement against the Russian imperialism should be supported. The declaration by Senator MacManus was broadcast throughout Australia.

SPANISH INTEREST IN UKRAINE

The Madrid "Centre for Oriental Studies" has devoted the April-July number of the journal "Oriente Europeo" to Ukraine. General information on Ukraine is supplied on 134 pages by nine Ukrainian writers and the following subjects are dealt with: "The Formation of the Ukrainian Nation", "Ukraine and the Problem of the Union in the Past, Present and Future", "The Ukrainian State in Various Eras of History", "The Economic Potential of Ukraine", "Baroque Trends in Ukrainian Literature", "Ukraine under the U.S.S.R.", "Trends in Ukrainian Literature under Soviet Rule", and "Ukraine and the Community of the Peoples of the Mediterranean Countries".

The last two pages of the journal contain a bibliography of the most important works on Ukraine in Spanish, French, Italian, German, English, Dutch and Swedish, a map of Ukraine and a list of the Ukrainian journals which are published in European languages.

ARCHBISHOP GODFREY—EXARCH FOR UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS

In an article entitled "An Exarchate for the Ukrainians", the journal "Tablet" of July 6, 1957, points out that the nomination of Archbishop Godfrey as the Apostolic Exarch for the Catholics of the Eastern Church, who are living in England, means that he will be responsible for the pastoral care of the Ukrainian Catholics in this country, who constitute the largest group of Catholics of the Eastern Church.

DUTCH NEWSPAPER ON UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Dutch Catholic newspaper, "De Tijd", which appears in Amsterdam, in its edition of August 9, published an article entitled "A Thousand Years of Christianity in Ukraine", which had as its subject the pilgrimage of the Ukrainians to twelve places of pilgrimage in West Europe, to mark the 1000th anniversary of the conversion of Ukraine to Christianity. Whereas the Communist regime has persecuted and suppressed the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine, the Pope has established a new Ukrainian Catholic province in Canada.

UKRAINIAN PARTICIPATION IN WORLD JAMBOREE

This year the Ukrainian Scout Organisation took part in two international rallies in Europe,—the Scouts' International Rally in Switzerland, in July, and the Jubilee Jamboree held in England.

The fact that the Ukrainians took part in the World Jamboree has a double significance: firstly, it was the first time that they attended this occasion, and, secondly, they had the opportunity to make friends amongst the youth of the various nations of the world.

Like the other nations represented on these occasions, the Ukrainians also held an exhibition of their national art and such things, for instance, as wood-carvings, embroidery and painted Easter eggs were on display. The exhibition was visited by thousands of persons every day.

UKRAINIAN BOOKS IN BRITISH LIBRARIES

In the article on Ukrainian books to be found in England and Ireland, which has been published in the London weekly "Ukrayinska Dumka", Professor Dr. Jaroslaw Rudnyckyj writes that during the years from 1955 to 1957 he has visited thirty libraries in England and Ireland and has ascertained that the largest collection of Ukrainian publications is to be found in London, namely at the British Museum, in the Library of the School of Slavonic Studies and in the City of London Library. These libraries contain numerous Ukrainian books of the 19th and 20th century, as well as some older editions and manuscripts (the latter are mainly to be found at the British Museum). Here also are to be found two copies (one from the library of Ivan the Terrible) of the "Ostroh Bible" of the year 1581, the "Lavra Bible", printed in Kyiv in 1779 and 1788, P. Berynda's Ruthenian-Slavic dictionary, the Gospels, printed in 1653, a grammar book by Meletiy Smotrytsky of the year 1648, and also a number of works on and by Shevchenko, the greatest Ukrainian poet, one of them being the "Kobzar", published in 1840. The collection of Ukrainian works in the British Museum is one of the best in the Western world.

A number of rare editions are also to be found in the City of London Library (in the section for Russian works) and in the library of the School of Slavonic Studies.

Various valuable Ukrainian editions are to be found in Oxford, including the collection of Prof. Morfill, the first Oxford Slavist, who was greatly interested in Ukrainian culture and was in touch with various Ukrainian scholars and literary men. Cambridge ranks third in importance as a centre for Ukrainian works.

The National Library of Wales also contains a number of valuable Ukrainian books, including some which appeared during the period in Ukraine known as the "Ukrainisation".

The two National Libraries in Edinburgh and Dublin do not possess many Ukrainian works; in fact, they have less than the Public Library in Birmingham or the University Library in Glasgow.

All the other libraries have, as yet, not been inspected.

UKRAINIAN NEWSWRITER LECTURES ON "COMMUNISM AFTER STALIN"
AT THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE IN DETROIT

The Ukrainian newswriter Dr. Stepan Horak gave a lecture on "Communism after Stalin" at the International Institute in Detroit (U.S.A.), illustrating the connection between Bolshevik Marxism and Russian Chauvinism. Dr. Horak was asked to lecture on the same subject at the local university.

A NEW ENGLISH BOOK ON MAZEPPA IN THE U.S.A.

Clarence A. Manning, Professor at the Columbia University in New York, has published a book on the famous Ukrainian Hetman (Chief of State), Ivan Mazepa, who suffered defeat, together with the Swedish King Charles XII, at Poltava in 1709, at the hands of the Muscovite Tzar, Peter I.

A NEW BOOK ON UKRAINE PUBLISHED IN THE U.S.A.

A book in the English language, "Ukraine and Russia in 1914-1917" has been published in the U.S.A. The author of this book is K. Kononenko.

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE SUBJUGATION OF UKRAINE

An article by the Ukrainian professor, N. Chubaty, entitled "The Subjugation of Ukraine", is published in the periodical "The European East" (No. 10).

The article is divided into the following subsections: "Liberation to Outward Appearance, but Enslavement Within", "The De-nationalisation of Ukraine", "Moscow Invents an Original Russian People", "Orthodoxy Assists Russification, and "Russification Will Not Be Successful".

Like the tzarist government in the past, the Kremlin now maintains that Russia is a single integral country, that "there is one Russian people and all the others do not exist, or, if they do exist, they must be russified in the interests of the greatness of the one and undivided Russian people".

The new Soviet nationalities policy resorts to the following methods: the demoralisation of the Ukrainian people, the decentralisation of economic and political life, and the Russification of Ukraine. Professor Chubaty points out that Moscow is inventing a Soviet people and is writing a "Soviet Historiography" which is as nonsensical as if one were to talk about a Commonwealth historiography of the British Commonwealth.

The Orthodox Russian Church is assisting the regime to carry out its Russification process. But the opposition of the Ukrainian people is stronger and, like other nations, it is fighting for its right to a free and independent national life.

AN ACADEMIC COURSE ON UKRAINIAN PROBLEMS IN PARIS

Last September Academic Course on Ukrainian Problems was held in Paris with the participation of the Professors of the Free Ukrainian University in Munich, as well as those living in the Ukrainian Scientific Centre in Sarcelles, near Paris. The general theme of the Course was: "The Struggle of Ukraine for her place in the spiritual life of Europe in the 19th and the 20th centuries". It was organised by the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (CESUS).

A NEW UKRAINIAN STUDENT ASSOCIATION IN CANADA

A new organisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Students in Winnipeg, "Obnova", was founded in May this year. On this occasion, the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan in Canada, Maksym, spoke to the students on their duties and tasks in the community.

A SUMMER COURSE ON SLAVIC AND UKRAINIAN PROBLEMS IN MONTREAL

A summer course on Slavic and Ukrainian subjects was organised by the university of Montreal and was held between August 2-14. Dr. I. Nazarko, Rector of St. Josaphat's College in Rome, lectured on the history of the Ukrainian Church. His lecture was based on documents which had newly come to light and had been placed at his disposal by the library of the Vatican.

UKRAINIAN WRITER DIES IN AUSTRALIA

A talented Ukrainian writer, I. Havelko (his pseudonym: Volodymyr Rusal'skyi), died in Australia on May 5, 1957. His best known tales are: "The Moon Nights", "The Revolt of the Earth" and others.

SUMMER CAMPS FOR UKRAINIAN YOUTH AND CHILDREN

In Great Britain, France, Germany and Belgium summer vacation camps for the Ukrainian youth and children have been organised.

3RD CONGRESS OF THE UNION OF UKRAINIAN STUDENT
ASSOCIATIONS IN AMERICA (SUSTA) AT CLEVELAND, JUNE 13-16, 1957

During the first two days of the Congress a summer conference was organised. Its programme included a series of lectures on various subjects concerning Ukraine and the Ukrainian people. The general theme of the lectures was "Ukraine in the struggle for her statehood in World War II" and included the following talks: "The Ukrainian problem in the international field", "The German drive to the East and the problem of Ukrainian independence", "Ukraine under the German occupation", "Ukrainian military formations", "The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Ukrainian underground" and, finally, "The Soviet policy towards Ukraine in World War II."

On the following two days the student congress proper took place. 53 delegates of the Ukrainian student youth attended the Congress. The programme included two lectures. Professor Radzykevych gave an extensive talk on the "Mission of the Ukrainian student in the free world". He emphasized that the student has, before all, to finish his studies as soon as possible in order to be able to become a worthy member of the community in which he must live and continue his professional work. The second task of the Ukrainian student is to try to be useful in the struggle for the final liberation of Ukraine. A student, Stephen Khemych, then gave a talk on the organisational structure of the Ukrainian students in the U.S.A. and their central organisation, SUSTA.

Reports of the management of SUSTA on their activity in the past year were then submitted to the assembly: on the activity of the President and Vice-President, on finances, information service, external relations etc. It was decided to publish the organ of the SUSTA also in English.

The National Union of Ukrainian Students (CESUS) founded in 1921, will have its headquarters in Europe as formerly, but the financial management of the CESUS will remain in the U.S.A.

After the adoption of the respective resolutions a new management of the SUSTA was elected.

A NEW UKRAINIAN CHURCH AT FRANKFURT ON MAIN (GERMANY)

The Greek-Orthodox Ukrainians living in the German town Frankfurt on Main and in the neighbourhood have erected a new church.

UKRAINIAN HOUSE IN MUNICH

Ukrainian organisations of the Bavarian capital have acquired recently a building in Munich which is to be the centre of the activity of most Ukrainian organisations, primarily cultural institutions and the school.

A CENOTAPH TO THE UKRAINIANS KILLED IN ACTION AND TO THOSE
WHO HAVE DIED IN EXILE

It is stated in the YMCA Bulletin No. 10 for October that a cenotaph has now been erected in Lübeck in memory of the Ukrainians killed in action and of those who have died in exile. The cenotaph, which took four years to complete, was designed by the Ukrainian sculptor, H. Kruk. The inscription is in Ukrainian and German.

The money needed to erect the cenotaph was donated by Ukrainians in Western Europe, U.S.A. and Canada and by YMCA/YWCA members in West Germany.

CONFERENCE OF UKRAINIAN PHYSICIANS IN NEW YORK

A conference of Ukrainian physicians living in the U.S.A. took place in New York at the beginning of June, this year. A series of problems connected with the activity of Ukrainian physicians in the U.S.A. was discussed.

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A Ukrainian delegation was present at the 5th World Congress of the Catholic Press, which was attended by delegates from many countries, including Canada, France and Switzerland, and also by the Ukrainian Metropolitan of Canada.

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A Ukrainian, Julia Sysak, of St. Wital near Winnipeg, has become a television star in Canada. She appears on television programmes as a singer and is known by the name of "Juliette".

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

M. Hocij, who was born on December 21, 1902, in Uhniv, Ukraine, from 1922 onwards studied natural sciences and mathematics, history, philology and art in Lviv, Berlin and Munich. He graduated in the Faculty of Philosophy of the German University of Munich. He was then employed as a member of the academic staff at the Institute for South-East European Studies of this University and at the German Academy in Munich. After the war he was a lecturer at the UNRRA University in Munich and for a short time also held lectures at the Ukrainian University in Munich. He was also Professor of the History of Art at the Art College for Ukrainian emigrants in Berchtesgaden. He has started an extensive collection of documents, photographs and sound-tape recordings on the subject of Ukrainian national art and folklore. He has also painted a number of pictures which on various occasions have been exhibited in Germany, Holland and the U.S.A.

Michael Pochtár, B.Sc., of Newark, N.J., graduated in 1956 at the Newark College of Engineering. Since 1953 he has been Member of the Executive Board of the Federation of Ukrainian Student Organisations of America (SUSTA). As the Vice-President for the International affairs and cultural Relations of SUSTA, Mr. M. Pochtár is representing the most active leading group of the young Ukrainian generation in the United States.

