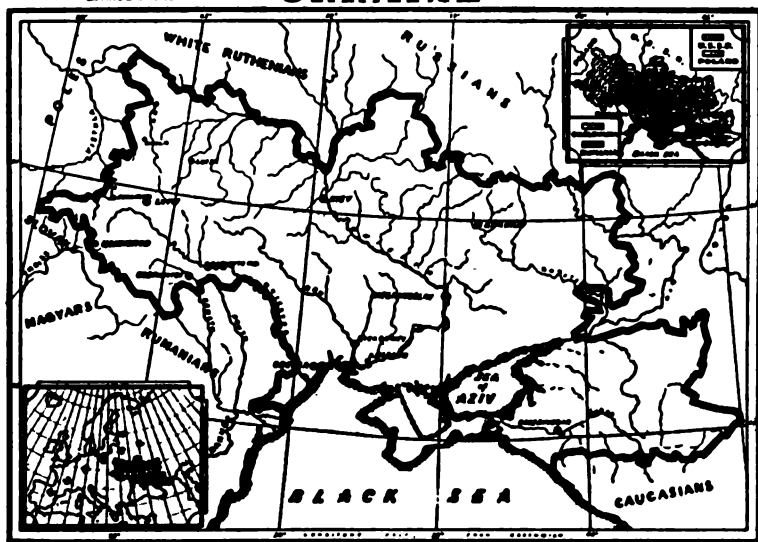

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LOWER LINE: PREWAR TERRITORY IN 1939 UPPER LINE: DEMARCATION OF UKRAINE AFTER THE WORLD WAR

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*Picture on the cover: Gen. Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych.
Clay by Serhiy Lytvynenko.*

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THE COMMANDER OF THE UPA HAS FALLEN IN THE BATTLE WITH THE BOLSHEVIKS

Towards the end of October, 1950 those Ukrainian revolutionary circles which are in contact with the Ukrainian Resistance within Ukraine, received the news of the death of General Chuprynka, the commander of the UPA, in a battle with detachments of the Bolshevik MVD in the village of Bilohorshcha near Lviv. His death took place on March 5, 1950, but direct communication between the Ukrainian Underground within Ukraine and their representatives in the west is so difficult that it took six months for news to reach America. At almost the same time there came to the United States the Appeal of the Ukrainian Underground to the Ukrainians outside their country, which we are publishing elsewhere in this number. The first signature on this is that of the Administrator of the Greek Catholic Underground Church and then that of Taras Chuprynka, the Commander of the UPA. It was perhaps the last important public document signed by the leader of the Ukrainian Resistance. It is easy to understand the sentiment and the respect with which the Ukrainians scattered throughout the entire world received this appeal and it shows the great authority which the already legendary leader of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army UPA enjoyed among his fellow-countrymen.

The death of General Chuprynka is a great loss to the Ukrainian Underground, for the late Commander was not only the real organizer of the UPA, but also a successful military and political leader for warring Ukraine. After seven years of his command he became not only the idol of the UPA but a deeply respected figure among all the Ukrainians abroad. Only those who have looked at the Soviet reality with their own eyes understand the military and political talent of the late Commander. To carry on this struggle he needed heroic courage, coolness and above all a blazing patriotism, an utter consecration, for the Soviet system stops at nothing and recognizes no principles of conduct.

His heroic achievements have proved to the world that a revolutionary struggle against the Soviet system is not impossible. Hitherto all conspiracies against Stalinism have been discovered and their authors savagely liquidated. If the arrested man resisted, he was usually broken by the torturing of his children and the arrest of his nearest and dearest. Stalin by his system has even succeeded in liquidating a conspiracy, in which his chief of the NKVD took part. Stalin's system has succeeded in

exposing and bringing to their knees before him even the old Bolsheviks, who had been hardened by long years of revolutionary work. He has not only liquidated them but he has compelled them to confess "voluntarily" and to accuse themselves of all kinds of evil deeds.

But the UPA for the first time under the leadership of General Taras Chuprynka has proved that it is possible to struggle against Stalinism. Two conditions are necessary: first, the anti-Soviet resistance must be composed of true idealists, ready at every moment to give up their lives and more than their lives, for the sake of the liberation of Ukraine; secondly, the population must give general support to the effort. Both conditions existed in the case of UPA and so it has been able to struggle for seven years against Stalinism and is still struggling.

It is only natural that the name Taras Chuprynka was a revolutionary pseudonym and very few among the Ukrainians in America knew who he really was. He was a friend of many Ukrainians in America. Only after his death was it made public that Commander Taras Chuprynka was the revolutionist Roman Shukhevych, aged 43, a member of a well-known and well regarded family in Ukrainian national life. His grandfather was a prominent Ukrainian ethnographer and an active member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. His uncle was a prominent lawyer in Lviv and was the regular defender of the Ukrainian revolutionists in their political trials before Polish judges.

Between the two World Wars, Roman Chuprynka-Shukhevych was outstanding among the Ukrainian revolutionary youth, who made it the object of their lives to free Western Ukraine from Polish domination. He was their leading representative. The youth of those times were inspired to meet an heroic death by the fate of many of their companions. They knew the village boys, Bilas and Danylyshyn, who had been hung by the Poles for their revolutionary activity and hundreds and thousands of them were ready to die with shouts of "Long live Ukraine!"

We, who are living among the abundance and advantages of happy America, find it hard to understand the spirit of these thousands of young revolutionary patriots, who regarded it as their ideal to die for Ukraine. Yet it was the spirit of the American Revolution and was well expressed in the words of the young schoolteacher, Nathan Hale, before his execution as a spy by the British, "I only regret I have but one life to give to my country."

Such was the spirit of the young scout and later revolutionist, Roman Chuprynka-Shukhevych.

When in 1939 World War II commenced and the Bolsheviks, relying on the Hitler-Stalin pact, occupied Western Ukraine, Roman Shukhevych showed great activity in organizing the Ukrainian underground. The young idealists welcomed the idea of a real war with arms in their hands. At the outbreak of the German-Bolshevik war, the group of Roman Shukhevych was so well prepared that eight days after the German army crossed the new German-Bolshevik boundaries, they proclaimed in Lviv on June 30, 1941 the government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic.

As soon as the Germans showed that they were interested not in creating an independent Ukraine but Ukraine within the German *Lebensraum*, Roman Shukhevych organized a partisan detachment for a struggle against the Nazis. They destroyed roads behind the German army, they liberated persons seized for compulsory labor in Germany, and they checked the German demands for contributions from the people.¹ Their base was in Carpathian mountains and here the staff of the UPA organized an officers school, hospitals, etc.

Even during the German occupation, the UPA not only fought them but opened battle with Bolshevik partisans who had infiltrated into the rear of the German army in the neighborhood of the Carpathians. There is no doubt that this activity of the Ukrainian Resistance severely undermined the German Eastern Front even along the Volga.

The breaking of the German front and the second advance of the Bolshevik army in 1944 brought the Soviet power back into Ukraine; led the UPA into a renewed struggle against the Russian Bolshevik rule over Ukraine. This required a new partisan struggle to be carried on under extraordinary difficult conditions.

The UPA became the idol of the population, the avenger of its wrongs, its defence against Soviet violence and exploitation. It was no unusual thing for a detachment of the UPA to liberate a party of de-



Gen. TARAS
CHUPRYNKA-SHUKHEVYCH

¹ See — The Ukrainian Underground; The UPA Fights Kremlin. *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. II., 2., Vol. III., 4.

portees on their way to compulsory labor camps in Siberia. The struggle of the Moscow regime against the Ukrainian Catholic Church gave to the UPA the character of defenders of their fathers' faith, the more so as the Commander Chuprynka-Shukhevych was a deeply religious man.

НАКАЗ МІНІСТРА ДЕРЖАВНОЇ БЕЗПЕКИ УРСР

Про запровадження до громадянської дисципліни учасників руху опору військовим урядовим уладом історичическим банд в західній області Української РСР, що добровільно з'явилися до органів радянської влади з метою

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28 грудня 1949 р.

н. Київ

Наказ Міністра державної безпеки Української РСР про запровадження до громадянської дисципліни учасників руху опору військовим урядовим уладом історичическим банд в західній області Української РСР, що добровільно з'явилися до органів радянської влади з метою

Важливою мірою боротьби з історичическими бандами в західній області Української РСР є запровадження до громадянської дисципліни учасників руху опору військовим урядовим уладом історичическим банд, що добровільно з'явилися до органів радянської влади з метою

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History Department Bureau, Department of the USSR Ministry of State Security

Order of Lieutenant General M. Kovalchuk, Soviet Ukrainian Security Min.

The Soviet government used both peaceful and brutal means to fight the UPA. Several times it promised amnesty in case of submission and guaranteed to forget the entire past. Even in December 1949 the Ministry of Internal Order of Soviet Ukraine issued an order that in case the UPA would lay down their arms, they would receive a full amnesty and their families would be returned from exile. The conclusions of this very important document are following:

1. Since the beginning of 1950 there exists a strong Ukrainian Resistance in Western Ukraine;
2. The Soviet Government makes responsible the families of the Ukrainian insurgents for their anti-soviet activities and exiles innocent families only because members of such families are in the Resistance Movement;
3. People sympathize and support the Ukrainian Resistance;
4. The youth even in the past left schools to join the UPA.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION — EXCERPTS

O R D E R

BY MINISTER OF PUBLIC SECURITY OF THE UKRAINIAN
SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

In the matter of pardon to be granted to those guilty of crime against the State as members of Ukrainian nationalist bands in the western regions of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic, who willingly surrender to the proper Soviet authorities. — — — — No. 312, December, 30, 1949., Kiev.

In the first section of its Order, the Soviet Ukrainian Security Ministry says that its department has received letters from shattered nationalist bands pleading for pardon for their crimes and for the restoration of their civil rights as a citizen of the Ukrainian Socialist Republic. It is this, he says, which has prompted him to issue the following order:

1. The chiefs of the MVD organs in Western Ukrainian districts, towns and regions shall discontinue criminal prosecution against all members of the bands, including illegal band chieftains who surrender to the Soviet authorities.

2. All those who surrender shall be permitted choice of place of residence. Local authorities shall give them aid in finding work within the old places of their residence or elsewhere upon surrender.

3. MVD chiefs of districts, towns and regional circuits shall explain to all who surrender that their families will be returned from exile to the places of their residence.

4. In view of the fact that some local inhabitants who know the bandits and sustain with them connections, such inhabitants will not be criminally prosecuted provided they immediately sever all connections with said Ukrainian Nationalist bandit underground and will indicate places where the mentioned bandits are absconded by declarations, anonymous letters or other means.

5. In view of the fact that many young persons deserting the Faculties of General Education and trade school, and terrorized by the bandits, now under an illegal status and still absconding although they have committed no crimes, shall be permitted to return to their parents.

6. Demand from organs of MVD as well as of militia to increase the fighting against those bandits who are unwilling to surrender and by means of terror and provocation hinder other illegals to cut their ties with the underground and return to honest work in the kolhosps, on own farms or in factories.

7. Persons, helpful in absconding of bandits, giving them materials or other help, and who illegally possess arms—shall be considered as active bandit supporters and criminally prosecuted.

The Ukrainian Soviet People will deal mercilessly with the resisting members of the defeated bands, unwilling to exploit this last chance. They will perish inevitably. This order is to be widespread among the population of Western Ukraine.

Minister of Public Security of Ukrainian SSR.
Lieutenant-General M. Kovalchuk.

At the same time the brutal hand of the Soviet government was laid upon the families of members of the UPA and especially upon that of its Commander Chuprynka-Shukhevych. The Bolsheviks liquidated his entire family, his parents and one brother. They deported his wife to Siberia and seized his two children to be brought up in a Soviet Communist institution for children. His family tragedy did not break him, although he was devoted to his family and children. Finally on Sunday March 5, 1950, he laid down his life in a battle with the Bolsheviks almost under the walls of Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine.

The death of Chuprynka-Shukhevych was mourned by the Ukrainians throughout the world with mass demonstrations. In America such meetings were held in New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Pittsburg and dozen of other places. There is no doubt that General Chuprynka-Shukhevych has become one of the most heroic and patriotic figures in Ukrainian history. We believe that when the world of Western civilization finally wins the victory over Russian Communist barbarism and begins to do justice to the participants in the struggle, it will certainly find a place of honor for the modest work of General Chuprynka-Shukhevych.

The UPA accepted the loss of their talented and beloved leader with the stoical, "The King is dead! Long live the King!" — His successor is his assistant Colonel Vasyl Koval. Many do not know yet his real identity but all who are at all familiar with the actions of the UPA are sure that the UPA is still existing actively on a reduced scale, but as a potentially powerful opponent of Moscovite rule over Ukraine.

We are well aware that the reports about the UPA and its Commander are so extraordinary that the Western democratic world must view them sceptically, even with unbelief. To appreciate and understand them, we must understand the dynamic power of the revolutionary national currents of the nations enslaved by the Kremlin. The Russian Communism can only be opposed by another idea, the idea of national liberation. When the world recognizes that this dynamic force can be turned against red Moscow, it will find in eastern Europe a great potential ally in its struggle for peace and a just and righteous world order.

DOSTOYEVSKY ON LENINISM

By ULACE SAMCHUK

"History has placed before us a momentous task, which, at the moment, is the most revolutionary of all the pressing problems of the proletariat of any other country. The realization of this task—the utter destruction of the powerful opposition not only of European, but (we can say it now) even Asiatic reaction—would place the Russian proletariat in the vanguard of all the international proletariats. And we have the right to believe that we shall achieve that honorable position, merited by our predecessors, those revolutionists of the 70's, only when we succeed in inspiring our thousandfold deeper and broader movement, with the same infinite determination and energy."

It may be assumed that the above quotation was made by some member of the Politburo of 1945-46. No. This prophetic inspiration is not of the present. It is an excerpt taken from one of Lenin's brochures edited in 1902 at Stuttgart. At the moment we are interested not only in the inclination of his words, but also in the fact that Lenin, time and again, lays particular emphasis upon those revolutionary factions of the 70's of the last century.

Why were the 70's so important? Because those were the years in which the future Russian Revolution was taking definite shape in the minds of many individuals in the intellectual circles of that period. It was the time when the ideas of the older radicals, the journalist Herzen, the anarchist Bakunin, the literary critic Belinsky and the author Chernyshevsky were being translated into action. What is more important, a large percentage of the student youth were drawn into these circles... Then began prodigious discussions and propaganda, with typical Russian fanaticism, projecting the new social-political structure of Russia. Discussions were endless upon lofty themes: God, religion, the universe and social problems were among the main topics of these uplifting conversations.

This period is also distinguished by the achievements of many of Russia's best authors, critics and political writers, among them, the outstanding figure of Russian literature, Feodor Dostoyevsky.

The basic theme of the classic literature of the day were social-political problems. The rebuilding of society on the new ideas of socialism

was the dream of almost all the outstanding literary minds not only in Russia, but throughout the world. Dickens, Zola, Turgenev and countless others, without being active participants in the revolutionary movement, were at heart propagators of the "New Ideas", the new social and political opinions of the time. All were inspired by the coming of "better times", when mankind, discouraged and tired of its disorganized state, realizes those dreams of a perfected and scientific basis of existence—along the path of revolution. The ideal of "eternal harmony" was one of the most appealing and almost possible dreams.

Feodor Dostoyevsky belonged wholly to this period, the period of so-called "naive socialism", but in his case, one can clearly detect a certain divergency from the generally accepted trends of his contemporaries. At the time when even his unrevolutionary colleagues, as Turgenev, saw in the coming revolution the sole and ultimate remedy for society's ills, Dostoyevsky could never visualize the situation with their enthusiasm. Even the fact that he had been an active member of one of the political groups of his day (that of Petrashevsky) failed to cloud his vision. For his participation, he was sentenced to death, which was later commuted to four years of Siberian slave labor. Dostoyevsky was never satisfied with the outer, the visible aspects of any situation; his mind had invariably to probe the very quintessence of each problem. He sought a solution not in ideals but in the people themselves. Imperfections in the state of existence do not stem from ideals, but from those who create those ideals and project them into existence.

"I swear that man is a far weaker and lower creature than you thought him to be" — he says through the lips of the Great Inquisitor in one of his novels, thereby making known his stand on the martyr's stage, with prophetic exhortations of things to come. His vision was never clouded by the rosy hues we find in other seekers of life's fundamentals.

SEEKERS OF "ETERNAL HARMONY"

All the cellars and nether regions of Moscow and Petrograd were filled with them. They even crowded the salons of worldly ladies of the period. Everlasting students of humanity, with long hair and matted beards, tubercular youth, with feverish eyes, riff-raff from the courts of nobles, these were the seekers of truth in this imperfected world. All were dissatisfied, all were offended by something, none had any concrete, constructive ideals. Nihilism—that was their life creed.

Dostoyevsky understood them to the depths of their souls. He lived with them, took part in the limitless discussions, bore with them the hard-

ships of existence. And discourses waxed mighty in Russia then; whole nights, whole years, a lifetime. And they knew all, to the smallest detail.

"If you please", the crippled one eulogizes, "talks and deliberations upon the future social re-organization, are of paramount importance to all contemporary thinkers. Herzen devoted his life to this. Belinsky, as I'm led to believe, spent whole nights among bosom friends, debating and perfecting, to the minutest item, the coming socialistic order", this from just such a hero of his novel "The Possessed".

Dostoyevsky does not endow these individuals with the traits of either heroes or saints. To him they are very, very petty people, outcasts, destitute, unwanted. They include all manner of perverts, cynics, pseudo-maniacs and epileptics, felons and mental dullards. They are not even victims of circumstances. "What a pity there are no proletarians; but they will be, they will be, it's coming to that!"—screams one of the enthusiasts,—"for the theory of revolution demands this and Russia is a country without trade, without industry, without a genuine proletariat class. That's no problem: they will be. In the meantime the proletarians can be replaced by our inspired womanhood!"

Dostoyevsky says of him: "Stefan Trofimovich was in dire need of a listener. He was overwhelmed by the feeling of executing a higher duty, of propagating ideas. It behooved one to drink a glass of champagne with a meet companion, who, in exchange for the wine, would partake in lofty discussions, reciprocate with mighty thoughts about Russia and the Russian spirit, about God in general and the "Russian god" in particular.

In summing up this phantom of the Russian revolutionary ferment and in seeking for a symbolic expression, Dostoyevsky finally comes to the well-known parable of the devils and the swine. The Apostle Luke says, "the herd ran violently down a steep place into the lake, and were choked." On this theme Dostoyevsky bases his frightfully prophetic novel, "The Possessed".

DOSTOYEVSKY CREATES A LENIN

"The Possessed" was written during these same 70's, 1872-73.

"Listen, we shall make an upheaval", he mumbled quickly, as though in a coma. "You do not believe that we can create it? We shall make such an upheaval, that will shake everything from its foundations!" This from Verkhovensky, the outstanding madman, out of whom the devils are to enter the swine and drown. He is a typical organizer and instigator of the coming revolution. He admits no conditions, no demands of the present...

No proletariat, no humane principles. He craves a revolution, he craves for a change... And in mighty proportions. Over the whole world. To that end he gathers about him all who are dissatisfied, all who are sick, fanatics and dreamers, the unbalanced and the hysterical. He forms them into groups and dispatches them throughout the empire.

"All I have is but ten such groups, which does not satisfy me at all!" he confides in Prince Stavrogin, who too, is enticed by a revolution.

"And yet they are only fools", unwillingly admits Stavrogin.

"Oh, be a little more foolish yourself, Stavrogin, be a little more foolish yourself. You know, you are not wise enough to wish differently; you are afraid, the very immensity frightens you". In these words he reveals both irony and derision for the prince. These were the same Stavrogins, who in the days to come, were thoroughly convinced of what these fools could do. As yet there was no reason to suspect them, so they were naively tolerated. But the time was coming...

The perceptions of Dostoyevsky grew keener. He could look deep into the soul of a person and read it, for all is written there. Very discernably is it written in the soul of a Russian subject and more clearly in the heart of an ailing individual. Everything is evident, as if in a glass aquarium. The lives of those people are uncomplicated, their line of reasoning is misunderstood only at first glance. In reality, theirs is a path exceptionally simple and commonplace. A psychiatrist can easily reveal their abnormal minds. For Dostoyevsky, with his penetrating keenness, it was no hard task to snare those souls and to impale them, like dried butterflies, upon the pin of his brilliant collection of works. These were the ones who were to bring the revolution to its realization, without taking into consideration their pathological state. To-day, we can trace in each detail, the accuracy with which every prophecy was fulfilled in life. You will find that his progenitors of the revolution all have a striking counterpart in actual life, even to their names. All those Verginskis, Stavrogins, all the Lyamshins, and Shatovs, all are embodiments of the later Trotskys, Dzherzhinskys and their ilk. All in their rightful sphere, up to and including the creator of the Russian Revolution himself—Vladimir Lenin.

The prototype of Lenin in "The Possessed" (it is evident from the start) is an individual "with long ears" inclined to despotic dictatorship, named Shigalev. In real life, he was a man called Ulyanov, who materialized into flesh and blood considerably later, for at the time when Dostoyevsky sweated over his creation, he could not have been more than three years old.

"I propose not the commonplace, but paradise, earthly paradise; none other can there be!" — declares Shigalev. His friends from "The Possessed" say of him: "Mr. Shigalev is fanatically inclined as a lover of humanity; but you must recall, that in "The Fury", according to Cabet and Prudon himself, you can find numerous instances of the most despotic and the most fantastic justifications regarding this question." — This was the question of "earthly paradise". The absolute base from which, by their convictions, must arise the new, the ideal system of the future social order.

Shigalev, naturally, has his own finely thought out and impressive theory of the future world-rebuilding. In general, "coming from a boundless freedom, I shall end with boundless despotism," declares this sole and ultimate reformer of the human race, adding, that for the present, there is no other solution for the problem, nor can any other be possible. This, in a nutshell, sums up the scope of the coming future revolution, with prophetic clarity. Also, the universally effective equality with the simultaneous division of society into two unequal groups, where the lesser has full executive power over the other. He describes the well-planned and fundamental terrorism, the general spy system, for all and by all; the abasement of the high standard attained by the thinkers and workers, "for slaves must be equal", because "without despotism there has never been either freedom or equality." Neither did he overlook "the general ruin, under the justification, that no matter how you doctor the world, it cannot be cured, so by cutting off, radically, a hundred million heads, we lighten our load and jump more easily over the ditch." This was the ideal accentuated in the novel in 1873 and realized in life forty-five years later in the revolution of "The Great October".

THE TOWER OF BABYLON

Naturally, what proper revolution has ever stopped in the middle of its progress for anything? Such an upheaval has never been known to mankind, neither does Dostoyevsky make it an exception in his prophecy. His revolution will sweep through every corner of the world, it will adopt the five continents as its symbol, it will endeavor to change human nature itself. It will undertake the revising of the affairs of Heaven and try to conceive itself, whether the Eternal Creator, whom the world calls God, really exists. It is not quite clear by what methods, but the revolutionists very quickly came to the conclusion that no such a being as God exists, neither in Heaven nor on earth; therefore it is useless to muddle one's

own or the other person's mind with this question. Religion was invented by the priests to fool common people. It is merely "the opium of the people."

Dostoyevsky had listened to such harangues countless of times from the mouths of both acquaintances and strangers. Consumptive, long-haired students discussed these subjects with the same aplomb as they did the weather. They knew all, the past and the present; nothing held any secrets from them. Dostoyevsky did not follow the mode of his day. Definitely not. On the contrary, he tried to diagnose the mental state of these all-knowing reformers, and having completed his observations, came to the conclusion that these people had become lost in the labyrinth of their own ignorance and primitiveness. They know nothing, but sincerely believe they do and out of that "knowledge" they have created a fetish—atheism—for themselves, that new religion of the sick and weak, with a fervent "belief in nought."

Religion, especially Christianity, is to Dostoyevsky, the evolution of a Sublime Wisdom, designated in a given moment by the name of Christ, whom a great part of mankind has acknowledged, through the course of the ages, as the Son of God... For that reason, Dostoyevsky, through the lips of the Great Inquisitor, from the novel "The Brothers Karamazov" says: "Do you know that in the ages to come, mankind, with the tongues of their super-wisdom and learning will proclaim, "There is no crime, therefore no sin—only hungry people." That is, things of the stomach, things earthly, materialistic. He adds further: "Feed them, then demand of them goodness!"

"This is what they will write on their banners, which they shall raise against Thee and destroy Thy House. In place of Thy Temple will rise again the terrible Tower of Babylon; and though it will never be completed, like the first one, nevertheless, You can spare us this new Tower and shorten the suffering of Your people by a thousand years—for they will, inevitably, come to us, disheartened with the Tower through the thousand years. They will find us, even under the ground and we shall be tortured and hunted again; they will find us and call to us: "Feed us, for they who promised us fire from Heaven, did not give it to us." And then we shall complete the Tower, for only they can finish it, who can give the unfortunate sustenance and only we can feed them, in Thy name—and lie, that it was in Thy name!" At the end a shout: "Oh, never, never without us, will they feed themselves!"

What would be the answer to this, of him who demands "the destruction not only of European, but also Asiatic reaction"—Ulyanov-Le-

nin? Oh, he had an answer for this. It was given to Dostoyevsky by the "Great October" revolution in 1917 in Petrograd. "The honorable role of the Russian proletariat" they have thrust upon the world along with the New Order, dreamed of by its students then, which has continued its course through two generations without interruptions.

The banner, which "shall ruin Thy House" flies now, mutually, in Moscow, in Berlin, in Shanghai. Erection of the Tower of Babylon is in full force and the cry "Feed us!" resounds nowhere as loudly as it does there. "There is no crime—only the hungry people!"

All those alluring requisitions for the struggle they have, so long as a tooth brush, a gramophone record, a pound of sugar or bread continue to be the objects of the yearnings of the people of this Babylon-erecting day. A famine in Ukraine—the land of bread—during the years of the hottest phase of building the Tower in 1932-33 took almost ten million victims, truly, a magnificent testimony and proof of the Great Inquisitor's words, from Dostoyevsky's novel.

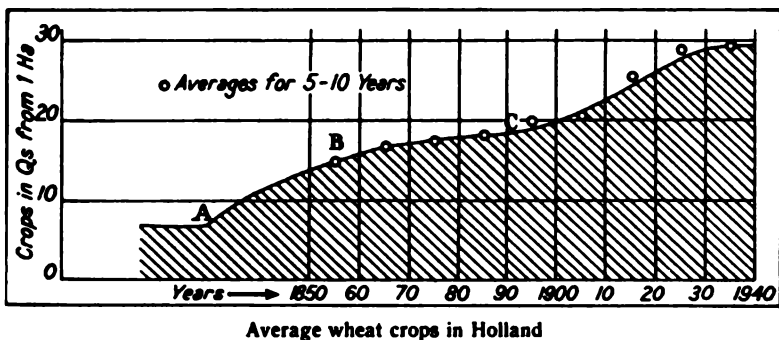
The question remains, how long are those thousand years to last? Will it embrace the whole world? No. Such a prophecy would be too cruel coming from the lips of a human. And yet, to a great degree it is true, when we judge the deeds of men by the incomprehensible laws of the Highest Justice, which very often gives the means of punishment into the hands of the wicked to chastise the pseudo-righteous. For that reason Christ Himself had said: "I have come into this world; that the blind might see... and they which see might be made blind."



SOIL FERTILITY AND CROP PRODUCTION IN UKRAINE

By HRVHORY MAKHIW

The high fertility of soils, with favorable climatic conditions, is the main prerequisite for large crop returns. By fertility is meant the ability of the soil to satisfy the requirements of the plants in the elements of nutrition, water, oxygen from the air and the amount of warmth, which is necessary for the germination of seeds and the development of the root system. There are three types of soil fertility: 1. natural fertility—the one that is inherent in a given soil;—2. potential fertility — which the soil could have but which it does not because of the negative influence of some factor, such as acidity of soil, and finally 3. effective fertility which is created by the addition to the soil of organic and mineral fertilizers, the application of proper methods of cultivation and crop rotation, and, in case of need, chemical improvement, such as liming of the soil, the addition of gypsum to black alkali etc. The main problem of agriculture in every country is an increase of productivity until the latter is brought to the maximal returns per ha¹ of land. We are interested in the potential productivity of the Ukrainian soils and the methods by means of which



we can attain it. For the better understanding of this question let us examine, however, what has been done in this respect in those countries

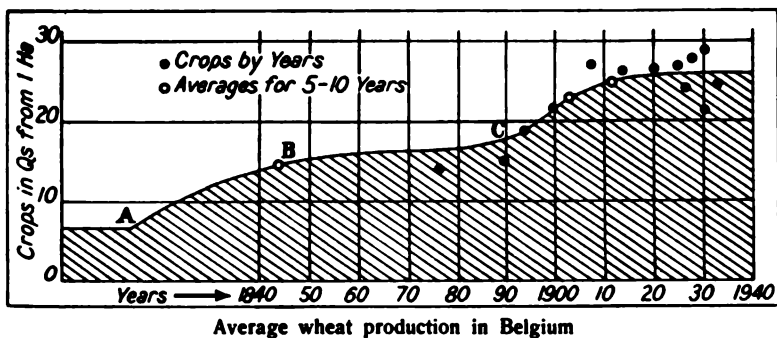
¹ ha=hectar=2.47 acres.

of Europe which early used the newest agricultural practices and which are known at present as the countries with the highest agricultural production. These are: Holland, Belgium, Denmark, England and Germany. During the last 100 years the greatest increase in the crop production occurred in Holland, Belgium and Germany. In such countries as France and Italy the increase in production was considerably slower.³

TABLE I.
AVERAGE WHEAT PRODUCTION IN QUINTALS PER HA
DURING 100 YEARS (1840—1938)

Country	Years					
	1840-1870	1891-1900	1900-1913	1926-1930	1936	1938
Holland	15.7	19.4	23.5	29.8	29.2	34.4
Belgium	15.0	21.0	25.3	25.5	25.6	31.5
England	15.5	21.6	21.2	21.3	22.6	25.6
Germany	13.0	17.4	22.7	19.9	21.2	27.4
France	10.5	12.5	13.1	13.9	14.8	18.6
Italy	8.5	9.2	10.6	12.4	11.9	16.1

Besides the application of fertilizers and manure, a great role in the increase of productivity is played by the introduction of legumes in the crop rotation. So far as the soil cultivation is concerned the establishment of a deep layer of soil and the systematic combat of weeds is of the greatest significance. In all the countries of Western Europe liming is considered to be the most important factor in the increase of the productivity of soils.

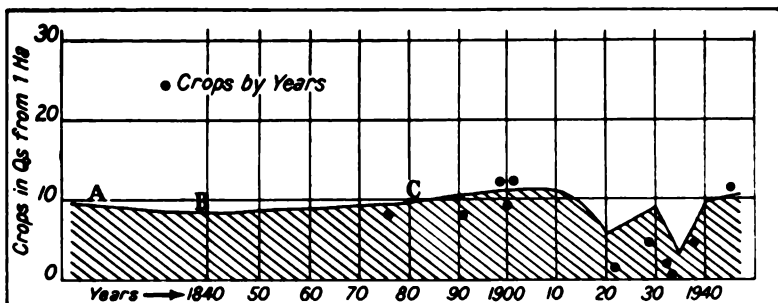


³ Diagrams show: A— Medieval average; B — Introduction of crop rotation; C —Introduction of mineral fertilizers.

In England and especially in Ireland and Scotland a great importance is attributed to the drainage because of the excessive water content of the soils there.

The soils of Holland, Belgium and England are acid by nature, the natural fertility of which is low. It is understandable that an increase in the wheat production during the last 100 years has been the result of the application of organic and mineral fertilizers, liming and deep plowing. Prof. Seelhorst, taking the increase in the crop production in Germany for the last 50 years as equal to 100%, is of the opinion that 50% of this increase is due to the application of fertilizers (especially minerals), 25% due to the better methods of cultivation, 15% because of selection of better varieties and 10% due to the introduction of an effective crop rotation.

The role of the crop rotation in the increase of production for the above mentioned period is not strikingly evident because the transition of agriculture from the primitive type to the crop rotation with the inclusion of clovers and "cultivated crops" occurred in W. Europe toward the end of the 18th century and has not change since. Holland, Belgium and Germany which have the highest production are also characterized by the largest application of fertilizers per ha. One has to mention, however, that mineral fertilizers began to be applied already after the soils were considerably enriched by organic fertilizers. It is known that the mineral fertilizers produce the best results on soils previously enriched by organic matter.



Average of wheat production in Ukraine

The high productivity of all agricultural crops in W. Europe is due to the state of the soils which is the result of the crop rotation, organic (especially green) fertilizers, introduction of legumes and cultivated

crops in the crop rotation. This consistency in the build-up of the state of cultivated soils and the increase in their productivity can be seen from the diagram which shows that in the Medieval ages in Holland the wheat production under primitive cultivation was equal only to 7 quintals per ha. The increase in productivity begins after 1880—with the introduction of crop rotation, cultivated crops and systematic application of organic fertilizers. The agricultural practices of this period in Holland were instrumental in improving the state of soils, so the subsequent application of mineral fertilizers resulted in a sharp increase of productivity—five times greater than in the Middle Ages.

The grain production in the Ukrainian regions under Russian occupation was on the level of the medieval production of Western Europe. As a matter of fact, the average wheat production in the former Russia was equal to 7 quintals per ha. It was not much more than that in the Ukrainian lands.

Dependence on the climatic conditions of the locality and the weather conditions was very obvious. On the *chornozem* of the transitional regions between the forests and steppes under the most favorable climatic conditions the productivity was 12 quintals of rye per ha. In the steppe regions the production did not exceed 10 quintals; in the southern steppe region it dropped to 6 quintals. During the first World War the productivity diminished. In the following period of reconstruction of the Soviet agriculture there were no changes in the state of the cultivated lands, because the introduction of "cultivated crops" in the crop rotation was insignificant (9%); grasses were not used because of the lack of seeds and their expensiveness; there was not enough manure due to the decrease in the number of cattle; the plowing was of the shallow type (12—16cm), which, at that time, was considered to be economically advantageous.

In the period of 1922—27 thirty five experimental stations of Ukraine repeated in their experiments the road travelled by the W. European agriculture. They, of course, took into account the specific conditions of the Ukrainian agriculture. The introduction of crop rotation, the systematic addition of 29-30 tons of manure per ha, the use of perennial grasses and deepening the cultivated layer of the soil gave a yearly grain production equal to 30—35 quintals and 30 quintals per ha in the transitional forest-steppe regions and in the steppe regions respectively.

The methods of achieving high productivity of soils, thoroughly tested by the experimental stations of Ukraine actually were not used in practice. During 1932-33 — the years of the forced collectivization and artificially induced famine in Ukraine—there was a further sharp drop

in the production of all agricultural crops. The following period of 1935-41, according to the official Soviet data, did not show any sharp increase in production, even in comparison with the pre-war years (1910-1914). The winter rye crop in the Polissia region of Ukraine remained at 6-7 quintals per ha level. In the Right Bank forest-steppe region under the most favorable climatic conditions the winter wheat produced, on an average, 12-15 quintals per ha; however in the more arid Left Bank forest-steppe region the grain production did not exceed 12.5 quintals per ha. The Northern steppe region with its fertile chernozem produced in the years 1935-1941 only 12 quintals of grain in comparison with 10 quintals per ha for the period 1900-1915. In the arid part of the eastern steppe region the grain production was almost at the level of the pre-war years, namely, 9-10 quintals per ha.

Only in the arid upper steppes in the region of the Black Sea during this period (1935-1941) the yield of grain was, on an average, equal to 13.3 quintals per ha as against 6 quintals per ha of the pre-war days. The introduction of a new "cultivated plant"—cotton, sown after winter wheat, which followed the manured black fallow—was the cause of this increased production. It is apparent that an introduction of only one link in the crop rotation resulted in the two-fold increase in grain production.

The fact that the proper methods which increase soil fertility, are not practiced in the Soviet agriculture explains the dependence of the latter on the natural fertility of soils and on the climatic conditions of the region. Even a partial application of modern methods gave a very striking improvement in production, as can be seen from the following example. In 1938-1941 various kinds of grains were tested on 193 experimental fields of 100 ha each. The soils on these fields were in a primitive state, because they were taken out from kolhosps (collective farms). In order to test the seeds under similar conditions all the fields were deeply plowed (22-23 cm), and simultaneously 20-30 tons manure per ha were added. The introduction of these two practices of a modern agriculture had striking results. In the years 1939-41 the production of winter rye in the Polissia region rose to 25 quintals per ha, and the yield of winter wheat in the forest-steppe region, in the northern and eastern steppe and in the forest-steppe region, was 35-40, 30-50, and 25-30 quintals of grain per ha respectively.

The natural fertility of the Ukrainian soils is considerable. The soils of Ukraine, on an average, contain 10,000 kg. of nitrogen, 6,000 kg of phosphoric acid and about 70,000 kg of potassium oxide per ha. Taking into consideration that a crop of 30 quintals per ha removes from the soil

112 kg of nitrogen, 40 kg of phosphoric acid and 77 kg of potassium oxide, then the natural supply of these elements would suffice for the production of 100 crops. However, this supply is present in the soil in a poorly available state and only gradually is released by the microflora of the soil. If the methods favoring this release (such as deep plowing, crop rotation, introduction of legumes etc.) are lacking, then it is difficult to obtain even a mediocre production, and therefore it is necessary to apply organic and inorganic fertilizers. The availability of the latter depends on the physical status of the soils, i. e. its water-air-balance, the depth of the plowed layer and its biological activity.

There is a tremendous discrepancy between the theory and practice in the agriculture of Soviet Ukraine. The experiment stations recommend a system of agriculture that mobilizes the fertility of the soil and suggest the amount of fertilizers to be added in order to obtain the productivity of 30-40 quintals of grain and 500-700 quintals of sugar beet per ha. In practice, however, the methods exhausting the fertility of the soil are used, without returning to the soil the nutritive materials taken from it with the crop.

TABLE II.

BALANCE OF NITROGEN, PHOSPHORUS AND POTASSIUM
IN 1936-1937 IN USSR AND GEMANY

	Nitrogen		Phosphorus		Potassium	
	USSR	Germany	USSR	Germany	USSR	Germany
Removed from the soil with the crop	100	100	100	100	100	100
Returned by:						
1. Manure and rubbish	22.5	42.2	25.5	56.6	30.2	36.3
2. Mineral fertilizers	4.1	22.5	22.3	52.8	4.2	36.4
3. Remains of legume roots	6.9	14.5	—	—	—	—
Total return	33.5	79.2	47.8	109.4	34.4	72.7
Deficit	66.5	20.8	52.2	9.4*)	65.6	27.3

From Table II it is evident that while in Germany 80% nitrogen, 73% potassium and 109% phosphates which are taken out with the crops are returned to the soil, in the Soviet practices maximum 33.5% nitrogen, 48% phosphorus and 34% potassium are returned. Even this amount is not

*) A surplus

always returned to the soil, because the legumes occupy insignificant areas and perennial grasses quite often do not develop well; so actually not more than 25% nitrogen, less than 40% phosphorus and not more than 30% potassium are returned. When one takes into account that the plants utilize only 25% of the nitrogen, 30-40% of the phosphorus and 60-70% of the potassium from manure, then the fact of soil exhaustion becomes still more obvious.

The productivity of the present agriculture in Ukraine is very low and does not correspond to the great natural resources of the land, its fertile soils and the favorable climatic conditions. The cause of such a state of affairs lies in the social-economic factors of which the most important is—the colonial status of Ukraine and the lack of interest of the USSR in the full development of the Ukrainian agriculture. The central government of the USSR is entirely satisfied with the role of Ukraine as the main producer of grain and sugar, though this production could be increased many fold.

The question of increasing the agricultural productivity of Ukraine is apparently the question of the future. With better conditions for land utilization, modern technique and improved methods of land cultivation and conservation together with an introduction of better selected crop varieties, in which Ukraine is so rich, the Ukrainian lands will produce crops considerably higher than those of Western Europe.



THE ATTITUDE OF THE UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE TOWARDS THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE

by O. HORNOVY

This article is reprinted from the periodical "Vpered", 1950/3, published by persons close to the Foreign Mission of the "Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council" acting in Ukraine. Originally the article was published in 1949 in one of the Ukrainian Underground Publications by O. Hornovy, prominent publicist and ideologist of Ukrainian Resistance, educated under Soviet educational system (*Editor*).

In a consideration of the attitude of the Ukrainian Resistance toward the Russian people, there are two distinct questions: 1. the attitude toward the Russian masses, and 2. the attitude toward the Russian imperialists. The Ukrainian Resistance separates these two problems.

The attitude toward the Russian people is the same as the attitude toward all other nations. It is summed up in the slogan, "Freedom to Nations! Freedom to the Individual!"

The Ukrainian revolutionary movement of liberation which sprang up because of the national enslavement and colonial oppression of the Ukrainian people and which is fighting for the liberation of the people excludes all conceptions of chauvinism and still more of imperialism, its own or foreign. In struggling for the liberation of our own people, we are fighting for the liberation and independence of all nations, for we hate all imperialism. We are convinced that the Ukrainian people, like every other people in the world, can develop fully and completely only as a member of the family of free and independent nations. We want to build our lives in our own independent country in close cooperation with all other nations. We believe that a just peace can be maintained only by a system of free independent governments of all peoples in their ethnographical boundaries.

The destruction of the colonial exploitation of the USSR, the destruction of the imperialistic class of Stalinist lords is dictated by the deepest interests of all peoples of the USSR. The reconstruction of the USSR into independent states is the most just and progressive solution of the national question, for it strikes at the root of Russian imperialism and gives the possibility for the well-rounded development of every people. It leads not to national narrowness and eccentricity but to the broadest

cooperation and friendship between nations, for it builds on the principles of lasting independence, equality, and good will. In liberating the peoples from the colonial yoke of the Russian Bolshevik imperialists, it offers to every nation the best prerequisites for the solution of the social question in the interests of the laboring masses. The rebuilding of the USSR as independent states of all its peoples is not a return to the old and the antiquated but it is certainly magnificent progress.

The separating of Ukraine from Russia is not a hostile act against the Russian people, as Russian propaganda paints it.

First, the struggle for the separation of Ukraine from Russia is a struggle for the universal and long recognized right of every people to live their own independent life on their own territory. Can any right-thinking person consider such a struggle as a hostile struggle against any other people? Besides this struggle is even from the point of view of Bolshevik law perfectly legal; the constitution of the USSR assures to each so-called allied republic the right to secede from the structure of the USSR.

Secondly, the Russian people does not need Ukraine. Only the Russian imperialists need it. Assertions that Russia cannot exist without Ukraine—and both Lenin and Stalin have made them—is a clearly imperialistic slogan, employed by all imperialists and manufactured to confuse the popular masses. (The German imperialists acted in the same way, when they shouted that the German people were hemmed in, that they were threatened with starvation, that they needed “living space”). More than that, such statements are not an argument and cannot give any people the right to enslave others. They are only the arguments of imperialists to justify imperialistic wars and the seizing of foreign territory.

The Russian lands are so rich and the Russian people so industrious that it can provide for itself. But the land, the wealth of the Russian land, its industry must be in the hands of the Russian people and not in the hands of a class of Bolshevik lords, so that the Russian people can work for themselves and not for the profit of Bolshevik exploiters and not for their imperialistic plans. Also if the Russian people need Ukrainian coal, iron and grain, it can secure them by exchanging with Ukraine its own economic products of its land (wood or industrial products) needed by Ukraine and not by seizing Ukraine and exploiting its wealth as if it were a colony.

The tsarist and now the Bolshevik imperialists have deliberately concentrated and are now concentrating the basic branches of industry not where the raw material is abundant but in the poorer districts (the non-black earth regions and Leningrad) to which they transport the stolen

raw material from the so-called Union republics. So it is obvious that the separation of Ukraine and the other "union republics" will create changes in the present Russian economic system. But this will be a blow not to the Russian economy but to its imperialistic structure, against all those branches of industry which are working for the imperialistic military needs of the Bolshevik conquerors. It will create only temporary difficulties in the Russian economy, which will have to overcome them as unavoidable in the process of recovery, in the process of transfer to a non-imperialistic national course. When rebuilt on national bases, the Russian economy will lay sound foundations for its successful development, will strengthen itself and will fundamentally begin to serve the Russian people and not the Bolshevik exploiters. What value is there to the Russian people (the whole people and not its corrupted portion) in the fact that it has a developed industry (built and rebuilt with such enormous wastes of human life, labor and property), when that industry works not for it but for war, for armaments, when the profits from this industry profit the class of Bolshevik lords in anti-national aims, when the overwhelming majority of the workers (with the exception of the Party-Stakhanov-official layer) find in it not pleasant work but hard prison labor, insufficient return, unendurable exploitation, when the workers do not have the slightest influence on the administration of industry. It is most assuredly in the interest of the Russian masses to destroy the imperialistic industrial structure of the USSR.

The destruction is required also by the true interests of the enslaved nations in the USSR who do not wish to be reconciled with their colonial status. We cannot consent that the treasures of the Ukrainian land should be carried away by the Russian-Bolshevik occupants entirely and without payment only because they are needed by a Russian industry, deliberately constructed in regions without raw material. We cannot be satisfied that the economic system of Ukraine should be constructed on only one side (village production and unfinished products), that Ukraine, having great supplies of all necessary raw materials, should not be allowed to develop all branches of industry. We cannot gloat over the fact that millions of the Ukrainian people die of hunger only because the robbers of the Kremlin steal their grain. We cannot allow Ukraine to remain a source of raw material and a feeder for Russian industry, a fountain of wealth for the Bolshevik lords. That is why we are fighting to separate Ukraine from Russia.

Thus the separation of Ukraine from Russia is directed not against the Russian people but exclusively against the Russian-Bolshevik imperial-

ists, the destruction of whom is also in the interests of the Russian people.

In working for the separation of Ukraine and the transformation of the USSR into independent states of all peoples of the USSR, we at the same time are striving for the closest cooperation in political, economic and cultural fields with the Russian people as with all other peoples. The Russian people is our immediate neighbor; it has many interests in common with us and our cooperation can develop successfully, if it is founded not on imperialistic subordination but on lasting friendship and equality.

To-day the Russian imperialists are shouting far and wide about the so-called assistance of the Russian people to the Ukrainian people. There is not a particle of truth in this. It is a shameful lie, so to speak, on two counts.

First, the policy of the tsarist regime, like the policy of the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists toward the Ukrainian people, never was and is not now a policy of "assistance" to Ukraine but a policy of national oppression and exploitation of Ukraine, a policy of annihilation of the Ukrainian people, of cruel dealing with its efforts for liberation. Unfortunately this and nothing else is the essence of Russian-Ukrainian relations in the past as in the present. For this policy we blame the tsarist and Bolshevik imperialists and not the Russian people as a whole, not the Russian national masses.

We must here affirm with sorrow that the Russian people has allowed (and is still allowing) itself to be made a tool for the policy of the oppression and exploitation of Ukraine in the hands of its imperialistic rulers. What did the Russian people do to check the tsarist imperialists in the betrayal of the Pereyaslav Treaty, the Wilno agreement with Poland in 1665 and of Andrusiv in 1667? In the destruction of the Kozak Republic, the ruination of the Zaporozhian Sich, the introduction of serfdom into Ukraine, the prohibition of the Ukrainian language? What did the Russian people do to prevent the Bolshevik imperialists from conquering Ukraine in 1917-20, what has it done to prevent the oppression of the Ukrainian people from 1920 to the present? What is it doing to-day to prevent the Moscow-Bolshevik oppressors from stifling our revolutionary campaign of liberation in Ukraine? About what "help" from the Russian people can we speak?

The favorable attitude of some advanced individuals among the Russian people toward the Ukrainian people cannot be generalized as the "assistance" of the Russian people toward the Ukrainian. They are only glimpses of a future cooperation of the two free and totally independent peoples the Russian and Ukrainian, only a proof of the possibility of such

peoples, the Russian and Ukrainian, only a proof of the possibility of such Russian Bolshevik imperialists who are also stifling the Russian laboring masses, cruelly exploiting them and driving them to death for interests alien to them.

In working for cooperation with the Russian people, we decisively take our stand against the ascription to the Russian people of the "leading role", the obligations of the "older brother", which arise from the noble, higher qualities of that people ("the Russian people is the most talented nation", which has a "clear mind, a fixed character and endurance"), for behind all these statements are hidden Russian imperialism, racism and chauvinism.

We take the position that there are in the world no superior and no inferior peoples, peoples who are more talented than others. There can be only developed and retarded peoples. But these peoples, emerging from their backwardness, not only are not inferior to the developed nations, but may surpass them. How often has there been "proved" the inferiority of the Slavs and how miserable do all those proofs seem to-day in reality? How shamefully the assertions of Hitler fell down that the German nation was the most capable and the one empire-building nation in the world, so that it deserved the right of being the lord of peoples? Every people has its national advantages and specialties, but this does not mean that they confer upon any nation the rank of the "most capable" nation in the world. The naming of one nation as the most capable is racism and as such it deserves only condemnation and suppression.

Therefore we do not grant to the Russian people any "higher qualities" which would give the Russian people the right to place itself in theory and in practice in a superior position to other non-Russian peoples ("the older brother", the "great", the "most capable people", etc.) We will never consent to the "theory" of the "leading role" of the Russians toward non-Russian peoples, that thanks to their "high" qualities the Russian people have to play on the stage of history and are now playing in the present Soviet Union, that superior part, about which the Bolshevik imperialists are now talking so loudly. These "theories" have been invented by the present Stalinist lords to justify their imperialism, to cover their colonial system of oppression and exploitation, for confusing and blinding with a racist fog the Russian people.

We Ukrainians cannot agree with these "theories", because they are based often on the policy of absorbing the brightest pages of our history (the entire period of Kievan Rus and the Halych-Volynian principality) and culture (especially the "Ruska Prawda", the "Slovo"), by

the deliberate minimizing of our own achievements (all that we have has been accomplished with the "assistance" of the Russian people), and the frightful falsification of historical truth (e. g. the Treaty of Pereyaslav, Mazepa, the attempts at liberation in 1917-20, etc.) for they have as their goal the implanting in the Ukrainian people of a sense of inferiority and of russifying it. We take out stand against the racist propaganda of the superiority of the Russian people, for it leads to the inflaming of Russian chauvinism in the masses and thereby creates difficulties for true cooperation between the Ukrainian and Russian peoples, for it allows the Bolshevik imperialists to make use of the Russian laboring masses in their anti-national ends.

As it is known, the Ukrainian Resistance is struggling not against the Russian people, but against the Russian imperialists, against all those who are enslaving Ukraine or are helping in it enslavement.

The moving spirit of Russian imperialism to-day is the Bolshevik party—the VKP(b), which has now been formed as the exploiting class of Bolshevik lords. This new exploiting class is headed by the Stalinist clique. Naturally a part of the members of the VKP(b) does not take the imperialist position but this does not change the imperialistic character of the whole class as a whole. The old nobility also produced a long series of fighters against tsarist autocracy (the Decembrists, Herzen, etc.) but these individuals did not change the exploiting essence of their class. The class of Bolshevik lords is a purely imperialistic class which is enslaving millions of non-Russian peoples, and which as a result of its triumph over its rival, Hitler Germany, has conquered the lands of Central and Southeastern Europe and is now preparing to seize the entire world. It has nothing in common with socialism and communism. It uses them as a covering for its robbing imperialism and as a means of planting its agents in all the countries of the world. The Bolshevik imperialists are the direct heirs and continuators of the bloody work of the tsarist imperialists. Therefore we are struggling not only against the supremacy of the Kremlin, against the Stalinist clique, but against the class of Bolshevik lords as a whole, as an imperialistic and an exploiting class.

Likewise the circumstance that there are Ukrainians, White Ruthenians, Georgians, and others in this class of Bolshevik lords does not change a particle its Russian imperialistic character. One part of these "foreign" members of the Stalinist lords, the Voroshilovs, Korotchenkos,

As regards the Russian people, the Bolshevik class is exploiting it socially as the landowners and capitalists formerly did. The class of Bolshevik lords has placed the Russian laboring masses in the position

of modern Slaves oppressed by the heavy yoke of Stalinist despotism and exploitation. It has deprived them of all political and social rights. The Russian people does not receive any part in the supreme administration and cannot even dream of democracy.

But it would be a crude mistake to think that this fact places the Russian people as a whole in the camp hostile to the class of Bolshevik exploiters or of Russian imperialism as a whole. It would be nice to think so but it is not true. The class of Bolshevik lords is fastening firmly to itself a significant part of the Russian people, by assigning to it the functions of imperialistic officials and hayduks (in the army, the MVD and the MGB, in the administration, economy, and also in the cultural-educational work and the professional associations), by sharing with it the profits of its imperialistic robbery. Again it is deceiving the inexperienced Russian masses (and not without success) by its false propaganda of racism, demoralizing it with chauvinism and bending it to its service. This is more easy, because at the same time it is mercilessly annihilating all who could and might have the courage to open the eyes of the masses and show them what is obvious and the goal of the propaganda about the "pre-dominant ability" and "the unequal role" of the Russian people.

In the case of the German people we see clearly the frightful devastation and the ruinous influence on the masses of this imperialistic propaganda. The German masses, befuddled by racism, ensnared by the alluring imperialistic plan for ruling other nations, strengthened by their initial military successes, followed Hitler and his bandit gang. We have an analogy in the case of the Russian people. (If it happens that the Russian people continue their present chauvinistic course and wholly support the present Bolshevik-chauvinistic policy, it will meet the same fate as the German people for their support of Hitler).

Therefore, although we do not identify the Russian people and Russian imperialism, we do not dare to overlook the fact that the class of Bolshevik lords is attacking us on a wider front. In this front beside the Bolshevik lords are also hundreds of thousands of Bolshevik hayduks and imperialistic officials (the majority of whom are Russians) and an important part of the Russian national masses, deceived by the Bolshevik chauvinist propaganda. If we do not reckon on this fact, we are dealing only with an illusion which would lead us to underestimate the power of the enemy against whom we have to fight. Besides we have to understand that the roots of imperialism are deep, that they are firmly planted not only in the imperialistic classes but that they go down into the national depths. We must remember that the Russian people have been learning

for centuries and are still learning to oppress other peoples, that they have been demoralized and are being demoralized on an ever greater scale, by their imperialistic cliques. This has its results and it makes the most favorable soil for the sowing of imperialism among the masses and for its taking root there.

It is impossible to underestimate the fact (the ally of imperialism) that the Russian people have never lived a free life during their entire history, that they do not know the charm of individual and political rights, that Russia, as Herzen wrote, "*has equally no passion for equality or room for freedom* (italics of Herzen). This goes back from the empire-ship of Arakcheyev to the empire-ship of Pugachov (A. I. Herzen, "*Izbrannyye filosofskyye sochineniya*", Ogiz, sotsekiz, 1940).

We can add that this led naturally to the empire-ship of Stalin. The struggle of the Russian people against autocracy, landowners and capitalists, for social liberation, its revolutionary surge in 1917 did not end with the winning of liberation and the shattering of the chains of despotism, social exploitation and slavery. From the exploitation of the landowners and capitalists it passed under the exploitation of the Bolshevik parasites. In place of the Tsar emperor, it has today the generalissimo emperor. If the Russian people had not lived for centuries under despotism, if it had had any democratic traditions of government life, it would not have fallen so easily into dependence upon its imperialistic classes, it would not have allowed them to harness it so quickly to their imperialistic cart. We must remember this, for even to-day it permits the Bolshevik imperialists to utilize easily the Russian masses for their imperialistic plans.

The influences of imperialism and of chauvinism are so strong, that often even the progressive individuals cannot free themselves from them. For example, Belinsky, who hated tsarism with his whole soul, to the end of his life never changed his hostile attitude toward the Ukrainian language and literature and in the most shameful manner attacked Hrebinka and Shevchenko for writing in the Ukrainian language. Then what can we say about ignorant people, demoralized by imperialism? How much harder it is to overcome the influence of imperialism upon them? And this influence appears in the most varied forms and penetrates all the sectors of the life of the people and individuals. That Russian is either an imperialist or its lackey, who opposes the transformation of the USSR into independent states of all peoples, who refuses the Ukrainian people the right to an independent national government, who is against the separation of Ukraine from Russia, who denies the colonial character of

the present Ukrainian SSR, who takes his stand against the revolutionary struggle of liberation of the Ukrainian people, fires on the Ukrainian revolutionists and revolvers, calls them bandits, tyrannizes over the Ukrainian population, terrorizes them, murders them for their part in the struggle for liberation. Every Russian is an imperialist or its lackey, who applauds and supports the Bolshevik colonial policy of exploitation in Ukraine, who steals the wealth of Ukraine, who profits by the work of the Ukrainian laboring masses, who goes to Ukraine to colonize it, to occupy at the expense of the Ukrainians the best posts, who behaves in Ukraine as a colonizer, as the "older brother", who treats the Ukrainian people as a conquered and subjected people. That Russian is an imperialist or its lackey who stands for the russification policy of Ukraine, who takes pleasure in the present racist-chauvinist course of Bolshevik policy, who shares the imperialist views about the inferiority of the Ukrainian people and strives to infect the Ukrainian popular masses with a feeling of their inferiority. Against these people we obviously have right to fight, since they are showing themselves either Russian imperialists or are in their service.

We have to remember this deep-rooted character of imperialism not only to-day, when we are fighting to destroy Russian imperialism, but also later when that imperialism is annihilated. For then there will be for a long time the danger of a return of imperialism among the Russian people.

Not only the Ukrainians and the other oppressed nations of the USSR must remember this, but also the Russian people. It must be conscious in its own mind that Russian imperialism is the cause of its difficult position throughout the whole of its history. In fact Russian imperialism has been and is the cause of the great poverty and retarded development of the Russian laboring masses, for it has turned and is turning all the national energy, work, and material wealth to wars of conquest and a luxurious life for the exploiting classes, and not to the full development of the material and spiritual life of the people. The Russian imperialists have driven and are driving the Russian national masses into countless raids for conquest, the stifling of other nations; they have shamed and are shaming the name of the Russian people. Until the Russian people destroy their imperialists and free themselves from their imperialistic influences, they will not begin to live as free people, they will be doomed to a slavish existence under the harshest exploitation, violence, and loss of rights, they will remain the one nation in the world, which does not enjoy in any degree a democratic mode of living.

One hundred years ago (1851), when Russia lived under the same despotism as to-day, but under other despots and in other forms, the great patriot of the Russian people, Herzen, wrote: "So long as Russia can reconcile itself to its existing order, it will not have the future, for which we hope. So long as it creeps along the Petersburg path or returns to the Moscow traditions, it will have no other purpose than to fall upon Europe as a half-barbarian, half-degenerate horde, ruining the civilized countries, and finally perishing amid the general devastation" (A. I. Herzen, *"Izbrannye filosofskye sochineniya"*, (*Selected Philosophical Works*), Ogiz, sotsekiz, 1949). (Italics ours).

How true and deep are these words of Herzen to-day! His fears are now near to realization. The Bolshevik imperialists are leading the Russian people further along the imperialistic Petersburg path, and returning it at the same time to the Moscow traditions. They will by this most certainly lead it to the situation foreseen by Herzen. Stalin is preparing for the Russian people a fate that is still worse than that prepared for the Germans by Hitler. This all Russian patriots, the whole Russian people must come to realize.



GOGOL AND UKRAINE

By Prof. CLARENCE A. MANNING

In 1828 a young Ukrainian gentleman arrived in St. Petersburg to make a career and a fortune like so many of his compatriots. Unlike many of them he had the further ideal of using his life so as to be a benefactor to humanity — to humanity as a whole and to the people of the Russian Empire in particular with little special thought for Ukraine. Eight years later at the age of twenty seven, he left St. Petersburg for Rome with all of his works already written or planned and when he died in Moscow in 1852 at the age of forty three, he had already lived through a decade of intellectual and spiritual sterility but he was one of the recognized masters of Russian literature. That name was Mykola Hohol, better known from the Russian pronunciation of his name, Nicholas Gogol.

It is instructive to compare the career of Gogol with that of another Ukrainian. In 1832, just four years later, Taras Shevchenko, the son of a peasant and a serf, was brought to St. Petersburg by his master and apprenticed for the financial benefit of his owner to a painter. In 1838 the influential people of St. Petersburg, the friends of Gogol, bought Shevchenko his liberty. For nine years he worked as a painter and a poet. Then for his defence of Ukraine, he was arrested and sent to a prison regiment in Central Asia, where he remained for eight years. When he was released, he returned to St. Petersburg for the last five years of his life. He died in 1861 at the age of forty seven, the great master of Ukrainian poetry and one of the great Slavic poets.

Neither man took root in the alien soil of the Russian capital. Shevchenko broke into an almost open revolt against the tsar and his regime. He hoped and dreamed for a free Ukraine as a full-fledged member of the Slavic brotherhood and he paid the political penalty. Gogol, more pliant externally, was swept into the general current of Russianism and to a premature silence and physical decay. It is easy to understand Shevchenko and his fate. Gogol offers a far more complex problem. He had a difficult character and the meaning of his works was completely veiled for nearly half a century from all but a few analysts as Shevchenko, who never met him, and Dostoyevsky.

Gogol's connections with Ukraine were deep and ancient. He was born in 1809 at Sorochyntsy, a little place not far from both Poltava

and Myrhorod. Both had been seats of Kozak regiments during the Hetman state and Gogol's grandfather had served as secretary of one of the regiments. Then times had changed. The old organizations were abolished and the officer class gradually had changed into Russian landowners and nobles. The Hohol family was one of these and accepted their position and responsibilities.

Yet all the while there was a lurking consciousness that the Ukrainians were not Great Russians. They were forced to call themselves Little Russians, but distinctively Russian influences were slow in permeating the life of the nobles and slower still in entering the peasantry. The old life or at least its inner content went on as before. The nobles spoke Ukrainian at home with their families and with their peasants. They mocked privately many of the Muscovite traditions, even while they apparently supported the regime.

It was in this period that the new Ukrainian literature was born. In Poltava in 1798, Ivan Kotlyarevsky, one of these apparently satisfied Russianized Ukrainians, published a burlesque translation of the Aeneid of Vergil in which he depicted the wandering Trojans as a group of Kozaks who had been expelled from the Zaporozhian Sich by the Russians. It is hard to know the precise motives which led Kotlyarevsky to this poem and to break with the traditional Ukrainian Church Slavonic artificial literature. He built more firmly and better than he even knew or suspected, for he showed the possibility of the literary use of the Ukrainian vernacular and he acquired a number of imitators, especially after he composed his operetta *Natalka Poltavka* in 1819.

Kotlyarevsky set a new fashion in this jesting satiric comedy in which the Ukrainian, honest to his own culture, takes precedence over the Muscovite or the Russianized Ukrainian trying to amuse the master race by mocking his own culture. Among his most ardent followers was Vasyl Hohol, who at once began to turn out similar light works. Like so many gentlemen of the day, Hohol wrote for his own amusement and that of his friends and most of his works have perished. Yet they certainly affected his talented son. Most of these writings were either satirical or light and it was not until the thirties that Kvitka undertook in *Marusya* to produce a serious work in the new Ukrainian literary language. Yet these developments were a new element in the region around Poltava and they only added to the confused state of mind of many of the gentry.

Thus when Nicholas Hohol or Gogol went up to St. Petersburg, he carried with him an extraordinarily complex emotional cargo and he had abundant time to meditate upon it. The high hopes with which the young

man went to the capital were soon shattered. From the carefree provincial life, he was plunged into the seamy side of the life of St. Petersburg. Without friends or connections, he failed to secure even an underpaid government post. He failed in his attempts to become an actor. He tried his hand at poetry and his narrative poem, *Hans Kuchelgarten*, was a glaring failure. It was modelled very definitely on an idyllic poem by the German Johann Heinrich Voss, but the young man was unable to transmute these alien themes into anything that was worth while.

To bear up under the cumulative weight of all these failures and an unsuccessful attempt to seek a new home either in Germany or America, Gogol tried to console himself by thinking of his Ukrainian heritage. He worked assiduously and in 1831 he published the first volume of his celebrated *Evenings on a Farm near Dikanka*. Their success was immediate. Almost at once the young man who had been a failure in everything that he tried, became the talk of St. Petersburg. He met all of the outstanding literary figures. He became the friend of the grand old man of Russian literature, Zhukovsky, and he was even taken up, somewhat patronizingly perhaps, by Pushkin and his circle.

There had been nothing like the *Evenings* previously published in Russian. It was a whimsical, lyrical and satirical glorification of Ukraine by a man who was apparently satisfied to be a resident of "Little Russia." While he was working upon them, he constantly in his letters to his mother at Sorochyntsy asked for details of Ukrainian life which might have escaped his attention. He prefixed to his stories as texts Ukrainian extracts from Kotlyarevsky, from Artemovskyy-Hulak, and from his own father's writings. He buried himself in his Petersburg seclusion in his Ukrainian memories and dreams.

Gogol treated his memories with that affectionate jesting that had appeared in many of the older Ukrainian comic interludes of the eighteenth century. He imitated at times the mannerisms of Kotlyarevsky in his treatment of the wandering Trojan Kozaks. He idealized the Ukrainian landscape and his lyrical outpourings of love and appreciation for nature have never been surpassed in Russian. He pictured various types of people as they appeared in the Ukrainian *Vertep* or puppet theatre. The old women are all shrews. The girls are paragons of beauty and of charm. The men are healthy active specimens of manhood. Each character possesses a marked individuality and yet his distinguishing traits are so overemphasized that each one seems a kind of caricature.

But these characters are not negative, in spite of their limitations.

With his use of folk motifs, with his knowledge of the superstitions and the habits of the Ukrainian peasants, with all of the manifold facets of Ukrainian life which Gogol displayed, he produced something decidedly new in Russian literature. It was equally far from the imported romanticism of Zhukovsky and the Gallic perfection of Pushkin. It won the heart and enthusiasm of all the critics and writers, and Gogol found himself famous.

The stories were ostensibly told by the bee-keeper Rudy Panko, one of the most striking figures whom Gogol ever drew. This shrewd and amusing man knew how to advertise himself and his home, how to glorify his friends and acquaintances. He is one of those imaginary authors who flourished so abundantly in the first quarter of the nineteenth century and is as typically Ukrainian as Washington Irving's Dietrich Knickerbocker is a whimsical representative of the Dutch inhabitants of New York. Yet there is a more kindly picture of him that Pushkin gave of his Belkin a year later.

So entangled were the memories and the reading of Gogol that it is hard to know exactly when he was using some Ukrainian village tale, when he was responsive to European literary models and when he was severely original. It is equally hard to decide from the text of these stories whether the author believed in the existence of all of these little devils who wander around making difficulties for humanity usually in a stupid way. Sophisticated St. Petersburg preferred to regard them as a mild aberration of the author and the city read these works and marvelled at the zest and the technique of the young writer.

He followed up his success in 1835 with the publication of *Mirgorod* (Myrhorod), another collection of Ukrainian tales which includes his *Taras Bulba*, undoubtedly the most picturesque description of the Sich and of the Kozaks that has ever been penned. Taras is the legendary Kozak, the legendary Zaporozhian, with all of his reckless tendencies raised to tenth power. He is the very incarnation of the spirit of the *dumy*, the tales of Kozak heroism.

Yet Gogol did not know history, even though for a while he had been professor of history at the University of St. Petersburg. His students recognized this at once but they attended his lectures to smile at the Russianized Ukrainian of the speaker and with less good will to condemn his obvious peculiarities.

There is something almost Homeric in the simple old Taras who is of the stuff of the born rebel in his fight against Poland for the Ukrainian Kozak liberties and no author in Ukrainian has written with more

vehemence that did Gogol of the Kozak-Polish wars. Yet we may well ask if the author knew anything real about them. He places Taras in the fifteenth century, almost one hundred years before the Sich was first established. He places it at a time when no Ukrainian of any school thought of uniting with the tsar, if there was a tsar in Moscow and yet he is really describing the convulsions of the seventeenth century. The reader, carried away by the vividness of the portrayal, will hardly think of the calendar or of any of Gogol's other mistakes. Here is the real essence of Kozak life handed down from the days when the officers were the duly elected representatives of the Kozaks and when the main body was fighting against any and all their neighbors.

Gogol paid adequate attention to the spirit of the Kozaks, if not their history. Like Kvitka in his *Talks to his dear Fellow-citizens*, and like many another Ukrainian writer of the day, Gogol supported to the full the imperial power as no Kozak had ever done, even the most extreme pro-Orthodox and Moscovophiles. At the very end when the old Hetman was being burned alive, he roars out his panegyric to Russia, to the Orthodox Church, to the tsar—for the author the three supreme loyalties. Gogol had indicated similar sentiments earlier in his portrayal of Catherine II and Potmkin in *Christmas Eve* in the *Evenings* but here the last threats of the dying Hetman ring out Gogol's faith in the power and prestige of the tsar.

Mirgorod was the end. Gogol had already begun to write stories based on his residence in St. Petersburg. They were equal successes but there was something lacking in them that was in his Ukrainian stories. In them he had poured out his heart, his memories and his emotions. He was rooted in the Ukrainian soil. He knew the virtues and the vices, the foibles and the whimsicalities, the superstitions and the beliefs of the Ukrainian peasant. Now in his St. Petersburg tales, his predominant qualities as a writer remain. He employs the same technique to achieve the same results but somehow or other he leaves an impression of the bleakness and the barrenness of St. Petersburg life.

Of course with his overwhelming genius, he succeeded in his goal. The *Cloak* became the text book for an entire generation of Russian writers and thinkers who mourned with Gogol over the sad fate of Akaki Akakyevich, the unhappy, underpaid, solitary clerk who pinned his entire life on the purchase of a new cloak only to have it stolen. He dies and as in the earlier tales his ghost appears. It is a gloomy picture of the Russian capital, a gogolesque description of human misery and of human limitations against a sordid background.

This and the other stories that followed added to Gogol's reputation. His fame grew steadily and the author received the adulation of those literary circles that had once scorned him. Pushkin and his circle, the intelligentsia like Belinsky, alike praised him. They explained to him the growing seriousness of his work; they quoted him as a promising Russian writer; they glorified him for his depiction of the meaner aspects of St. Petersburg life and they hailed him as an apostle of reform.

The climax came with his comedy, the *Inspector*. With matchless satire, universal in its appeal, Gogol pointed out the corruptions and the stupidities of the bureaucrats of a small provincial city. Even the impassive Nicholas I laughed at the picture and it broke the heart of the sensitive young man who had scaled the heights to which he had aspired and now felt that it was his task to lead the world to better things. He wrote an article explaining his comedy in religious terms and went abroad to write his masterpiece *Dead Souls* and only returned to St. Petersburg to publish it in 1842.

He had not thought of returning to his home. He was now a part of the great world and he wanted to be part of a still greater. Here he parted company with Shevchenko. Once the latter had become free, his talent lifted him higher and higher, he made more and more distinguished friends and was a welcome visitor everywhere. It only made him more homesick. Belinsky and the other progressives who had praised Gogol for his scourging of the meaner sides of the life of the capital turned furiously ten years later on Shevchenko for daring to maintain his old position toward his homeland, for writing in Ukrainian, for pleading the Ukrainian cause instead of molding himself into the Russian pattern. He was destined to live most of his life in St. Petersburg but he escaped to Ukraine at every opportunity and dreamed of acquiring a home near his relatives.

Gogol had broken with his past but he retained that same curious affection for the tsar that Kvitka had showed in his *Letters to my Dear Fellow Citizens*. In Rome he worked on *Dead Souls* and with his inimitable genius, he pictured the eternal swindler Chichikov and the purely negative characters whom he meets. Where is the scene of the story? Somewhere between Moscow and Kazan. It is an imaginary city filled with warped and stupid and mean characters. Pushkin read it and remarked, "What a sad land Russia is". Again the critics of the regime glorified Gogol, although they found it hard to reconcile the negative figures with the overwhelming praise and glorification of Russia implied in the story of the troika dashing along and setting the pace for the entire world. It was a brilliant and oft quoted ending but Gogol was still unsatisfied.

His entire creed demanded that he produce positive, if whimsical, Russian types. He could not do it. He begged his friends for material, for incidents of human goodness, and each time he used them, they turned out in the same negative way. The one positive and flat character, the only intelligent and most honest man in the story, Konstanzhogo, was perhaps a resident of Ukraine but he hardly can prove as appealing as the continued series of warped and one-sided people. Gogol felt it and again and again he burned the second part of *Dead Souls*, at first out of dissatisfaction and finally under the instigation of that man-sized demon who had figured so whimsically in the *Evenings*.

What Rome failed to do, religion might and with steadily increasing religious anxiety, Gogol started for Jerusalem. The trip brought him no relief but it increased his doubts that he was fitting himself for heaven. He had already angered his friends in all parties by his preaching in *Select Correspondence with Friends*, where he had set himself up as a preacher of moral ideals. Shevchenko realized the essential value of this work and of Gogol's character but both the Slavophiles and the Westerners, the leaders of the two movements in Russia, could not find a word of praise for them. The trip to Jerusalem was as fruitless as every other part of his life. He returned to his village in Ukraine for a few weeks, convinced that though he had returned to his earthly home, he was still far from the heavenly and that was all that now appealed to Gogol. He resumed his wanderings but his mental condition grew steadily worse, his asceticism increased and by 1852 he could not stand the struggle and passed away.

Gogol had never found himself. He had received the plaudits of the great. He had accepted the Great Russian theory of everything. He had everything and nothing. He was broken mentally more by his success than was Shevchenko physically by his confinement in Central Asia.

It would be rash to explain the entire tragedy of Gogol in terms of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict. Yet no Russian critic can pass over in silence his Ukrainian origin or his use in his early works of Ukrainian motifs and devices. No one can fail to notice the difference between his exuberant idealization of Ukraine and the drab but penetrating picture which he gives of Russian reality, as he sought to become a spiritual guide for the whole of the Russian people.

At the same time his Ukrainian feelings were undoubted throughout his life. He corresponded with the Polish Ukrainian writer, Bohdan Zaleski, in Ukrainian. Yet at the same time, the other side of his nature led him to look askance at all attempts to create an independent Ukrain-

ian literature. He turned aside from the efforts of his father to do this and accepted the ideals of Belinsky that only Russian should be developed, but he found that the critic was only too willing to turn against him in his efforts to preach an ideal based on the fulfillment of human duties and of allegiance to the imperial Russian Tsar. He accepted the Muscovite theory of the relations between Russia and Ukraine, while at the same time he could not bring himself to accept the Russian contempt for the Ukrainians.

When we look at the Russian literature of the nineteenth century, we are struck by the fact that Gogol was the only Ukrainian writing in Russian who achieved success. It was a tribute to his personal genius and it stands in sharp contrast to the failure of most of his compatriots, even those who at the beginning of the century sought to work along the same lines. His career was of brief duration, no longer than the creative period of Korolenko who reintroduced into Russian literature a somewhat similar point of view.

If any writer of the past or present was qualified to create a synthesis of the Ukrainian and Russian spirit, it was Nicholas Gogol or Mykola Hohol. In this he failed, even though he was scarcely conscious of his problem. He yielded to personal ambition, to his satisfaction in receiving that recognition in the capital which he had desired as a young man but he found that he could not take root in its society. It is significant that as the tragedy progressed, he could find the binding link only in Orthodoxy, as he understood it. That had been the one force that had driven Ukraine toward Moscow two centuries earlier. Gogol's problem and confusion, whatever his personal defects, were those that had inspired the Treaty of Pereyaslav when for the first time the Hetman of the Zaporozhian Host had made a treaty with Moscow. His spiritual path was that of all Ukraine throughout the eighteenth century and to-day he can stand as a warning to the Ukrainian people of the impossibility of compromise.

His fate has been repeated again and again, is being repeated and it emphasizes the wide response that the movement for Ukrainian liberation has been receiving since the end of World War II. Russian social patronage broke Gogol as Russian political oppression shortened the life of Shevchenko. Both were distinguished sons of the Ukrainian spirit and both failed of the full measure of success. Both are living proofs that Russia was indeed a prison of nations and that the full message and contribution of the Ukrainian people to the world can only be delivered in a free Ukraine.

PERMANENT NATIONALITIES CRISIS IN THE USSR

By **NICHOLAS PRYCHODKO**

In their analysis of the factors which are causing to-day's crisis in the totalitarian regime in the USSR, American writers usually avoid any mention of one of the most important symptoms of this crisis. I have in mind the deep national antagonisms in the USSR which under certain conditions will have the strongest bearing on the disintegration of the Colossus which to-day is aspiring to world domination. This factor is not even mentioned by Elsworth Raymond in his interesting article "Russia's Triple Crisis" in the Saturday Evening Post, Nov. 5, 1949.

We also often come across such misconceptions as the one expressed by Walter Wagoner in the New York Times, March 12, 1950, that in the opinion of the "Council of Experts on European Politics" the Russian people (obviously he must mean the Russian population) identify themselves with Communism.

A large percentage of people on the American continent believe that the USSR and Russia are identical; that it is a country whose population is exclusively Russian. Others are under the impression that it is a mutual union of states similar to the U. S. A. This mistaken concept is the one vigorously propagated throughout the world by Communist agents. Only a small minority, familiar with the facts, does not subscribe to either belief.

Foreign correspondents, and even diplomats who usually stay in Moscow, which is both the capital of the USSR and of the Russian Republic, find it difficult to perceive the true state of affairs. During their visits to the lesser republics where national unrest flourishes, they are always surrounded by people whose principal aim is to prevent them from learning the truth.

The USSR is a conglomeration of 200 million people of 100 ethnic groups or tongues. It was fused in the days of the Tsars into one imperialist unit by the might of Moscow's military power. It is held even more tightly, and is being extended by the Red Tsar, Stalin. Actually there are some 70 million Great Russians, on Russian ethnographic territory.

Back in 1853, Karl Marx, the father of Communism, wrote in the New York Tribune, basing his facts upon the territorial gains of Russia after the reign of Peter the Great, that the Russian boundaries had

been advanced towards Berlin, Dresden and Vienna by 700 miles; towards Stockholm by 630 miles; towards Constantinople by 500 miles; towards Teheran by 1,000 miles. These new acquisitions doubled the territory that she formerly held in Europe.

In another article Karl Marx added that, as inexorably as the fact that victory follows victory and annexation follows annexation, so it was certain that the victory of Russia over Turkey would be a prelude to the annexation of Hungary, Prussia, the Western Ukraine, and the inevitable realization of a Slavic Empire, the dream of many fanatical Pan-Slavic philosophers. It was a matter of the utmost importance to check this Russian plan of annexation.

What would Karl Marx write to-day when he saw, that about 700 million people and almost one-third of the earth's surface are already under the control of Moscow? It is interesting to note that for the past 800 years the once modest Russian Tsardom has increased on the average of 47 sq. kilometers daily.

The present expansion of the USSR, which calls itself "the happy family of nations", is carried on through the old methods of armed dictatorship, coupled with newly-improved tactics. Moscow professes to be the "fatherland of all peoples enslaved by capitalism" and proceeds to "liberate" them. The Communist ideal is only a handy weapon to secure universal appeal.

These "liberations" result in deep national antagonisms and these in turn create the troublesome permanent crisis in the USSR. This crisis is Russia's most vulnerable spot and in the event of war this weakness would be clearly revealed and could be utilized to advantage.

At the beginning of the Nazi-Soviet War, the Kremlin had concentrated in Western Ukraine and Poland over one hundred divisions, prepared for a surprise attack on Germany. Germany itself anticipated the Soviet attack perhaps by only a few days.

These front-line Soviet divisions were no more than 25 per cent Russian for they were supplemented with soldiers of various nationalities, mostly Cossacks, Byelorussians, Central Asians and Ukrainians. Russian divisions were in the second line near Moscow, and during the first seven months of the war — as was shown in the records of the Nuremberg Trial, 3,900,000 soldiers and officers were taken prisoner by the Germans.

The large majority of these were not of Russian racial origin. They had no desire to defend Moscow's imperialism, as it was defended later

by the Russian troops at the gates of Moscow and Leningrad. Obviously, this is a highly significant revelation of the feeling of other nationalities towards Moscow.

After the war, Moscow immediately issued an official order to liquidate the Crimean-Tartar Republic, the Chechen-Ingush Republic, and the autonomous region of Karachiv. After suffering mass executions of many thousands, the remaining population of those countries was almost wholly moved to Siberia and Kazakhstan, in 1944-45. This mass liquidation was committed in a very savage manner.

Mass repressions were also directed against the people of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Kuban, the Don and the Northern Caucasus.

On the other hand the ruling Russian nation was lauded and eulogized. At the victory banquet in the Kremlin, May 24, 1945, Stalin proposed the following toast:

"I drink to the Russian people who are the most remarkable nation of all the USSR nations. The faith of the Russian people in the Soviet Government was the decisive force which assured our victory. I thank the Russian people for their trust."

Stalin could not say the same about any of the enslaved nations who form 60 per cent of the whole population of the vast territories of the USSR. Thus during wartime the slogan "friendly family of nations of the USSR" was proven to be only fictitious propaganda.

To-day, while talking about peace and at the same time preparing a war for world domination, Moscow is conducting mass deportations near the Curzon Line, in Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic States, along the Black Sea, in the North Caucasus and along the Iranian border. These emptied spaces are being repopulated with Russian stock. Is not this an indication of a current nationalist crisis in the USSR?

In the satellite countries, where Moscow has not yet dared to effect such a shift of population, she nevertheless liquidates or deports the most active supporters of national independence and fills key positions with her own faithful, obedient servants who blindly carry out all orders or with local stooges who are true to Russia's cause.

Not long ago, Marshal Rokossovsky was appointed to the leading position in the Polish Army. In 1938, while I was in prison in Kiev, I met a commander of the Byela Tserkva Division in the Red Army who told me that Rokossovsky, a close acquaintance of his, had been given a death sentence in 1937 by the Army Tribunal, as being untrustworthy.

After some time his sentence was changed to a twenty-five-year prison term. With the lifting of the "Yezhov Terror", Rokossovsky was

pardoned and, as a capable military man, made a marshal. These transformations are quite possible in the Soviet Union, and were especially common during that critical period when the commanding material in the Red Army had been dangerously depleted by one of the worst waves of terror in Soviet history. (1937-1938).

Now, out of consideration for his Polish birth and loyalty to Moscow, Rokossovsky is made Minister of Defense of Poland. The reason is obvious: the Polish Army has shown increasing symptoms of restlessness under Russian domination, and Rokossovsky has been given the task of restraining this.

Moscow fears a repetition of the experience she had with Tito more than any economic or moral crisis at home. Following the Tito episode, she immediately instituted drastic measures in the satellite countries and in all likelihood Dimitrov's "hospitalization in Moscow" was not entirely due to his illness. Such "hospitalizations" may be expected for other foreign Communist leaders.

In view of Moscow's vigilance it is not likely that Tito's rebellion, which is clear proof of a nationalist crisis behind the Iron Curtain, can be repeated elsewhere during peace time.

This crisis is not a new occurrence. Even before the war it was manifest in different national republics. It was especially evident in Ukraine, which has a large population and highly important economic resources, almost 50 per cent of the whole potential of the USSR. It is not by chance that the supreme power in the Ukraine, the Ukrainian Politburo, has always been filled by Moscow's emissaries, (Rakovsky, Manuilsky, Kaganovich, Postyshev, Khrushchev, and others) and not by Ukrainians.

In the *Little Soviet Encyclopaedia*, 1940 edition, one finds the Ukrainian population given at 32 millions in 1924 and only 28 millions in 1930. A census taken in Ukraine in 1937 disclosed a still larger decrease in population. The results were never published and Prof. Ptukha, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, who conducted the census, was arrested for "sabotage" and given a twenty-five-year prison sentence.

Later, in 1939, new falsified data were published showing an increase. I know of this from an assistant of Prof. Ptukha, since I was imprisoned with him in the same jail. In 1939 Prof. Ptukha was declared "re-educated" and freed.

What had become of the missing four millions and the natural increase of about six million Ukrainians. These 10 million had been liquidated through deportation to Siberia and an organized artificial

famine, created to suppress Ukrainian resistance to collectivization and other Moscow policies.

In 1941, under the German occupation, statistical documents were found in the basement of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, which proved that in the year of the famine, 1932-33, when around 7,000,000 Ukrainians died, the harvest yield was above normal, and therefore sufficient to feed the population for two years and four months. The grain was hauled away for the sole purpose of suppressing Ukrainian nationalist opposition.

In May, 1933, one of the most famous of Ukrainian writers, Mykola Khvylovy, ended his life by committing suicide. He had dedicated his youth to the Communist Revolution in Ukraine. Two months later a member of the Ukrainian Politburo, People's Commissar of Education in the Ukraine, Mykola Skrypnyk, shot himself.

Both had become convinced that their struggle for Communism had only led Ukraine to disaster. On November 28, 1933, a shot rang through the Soviet Consulate in Lviv. With these words, "For those millions of fellow-Ukrainians who died in the famine or were otherwise brutally murdered," — Mykola Lemyk shot and killed the Counselor of the Russian Embassy, Mayorov. "The case of the three Mykola's" is further evidence of the Russian nationality crisis.

The whole program of Soviet rule in Ukraine, and the other national republics consists of repression of nationalist movements. These measures are always kept in the strictest secrecy from the outside world so that they are not easily noticed by foreign journalists. The trials of "The Association for the Liberation of Ukraine," "The Ukrainian Youth Association," "Association for the Liberation of Kuban", "The Byelorussian Nationalists", "The Georgian Mensheviks", "Dashnaks", and others which ended in the physical extermination of hundreds of thousands of the most active anti-Soviet element, passed with hardly any mention in the world press.

In the current Soviet newspapers one readily finds harangues against the so-called "bourgeois nationalists" active in most of the national republics, who aspire for a final break with their "elder brother"—Soviet Moscow. More recently Moscow has taken to branding these peoples as "cosmopolitans" or "agents of Anglo-American imperialism."

In 1947, following the assassination of the Polish general Swierczewski, an agreement was reached between the USSR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia regarding the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Its strength and combativeness have grown to great proportions to make a three-way action necessary. However, UPA still fights on, as confirmed by A. E.

Talbert, New York Herald Tribune, Nov. 13, 1949. The ranks of the UPA which comprise tens of thousands of soldiers also have in them, according to periodic information in the European press, Byelorussians, Kubanese and Caucasians.

The whole span of the existence of the USSR has been filled with antagonisms, especially antagonisms of a nationalist character, which are creating a permanent multiple crisis, which in turn may give rise to a great potential might that could be instrumental in causing its downfall. At present this strength is paralyzed by the terror that reigns there. It can rise only if that system becomes partially disorganized, that is, during an armed conflict outside of her territory.

Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith stressed in one of his statements that a strong nationalist feeling in Ukraine is one of the greatest threats to Soviet imperialism. Similar opinions have been given by other authorities. The nationalist crisis is indeed a problem and a menace to Russia. Realizing this it reacts very strongly at the slightest sign of it.

Conclusive proof of Gen. Smith's statement is the quick disintegration of the Russian front at the beginning of the Second World War. It was only Germany's duplication of Stalin's policies towards these nationalist problems and its intolerance of them that brought Hitler's defeat in the East.

Already in the second year of the war strong partisan groups became active behind the German lines. They disarranged German communication lines and engaged in battles with parts of the German army, while simultaneously fighting Communist partisans which were sent out by Moscow. For instance, in 1943, in the town of Stanislaviv, Ukrainian partisans annihilated a division commanded by Gen. Kolpak, who at present is People's Commissar of War in the Ukrainian Republic.

Today these partisans who are in practically impossible circumstances, and getting only moral support from their people are continuing the struggle against Soviet imperialism. Their forces, in the event of war, can quickly multiply a thousandfold, as can all other forces of the nationalist crisis in the USSR suppressed at present; that is if the nations enslaved by Moscow have the assurance of full support in their struggle for national independence.

The dismemberment of the Russian empire into independent nations is vital and indispensable to a lasting world peace. It is thus that we can bring peace to Eastern Europe and lay the basis for a true cooperation within the United Nations for its high ideals.

TRENDS IN MODERN UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

By BORYS KRUPNYTSKY

Ukrainian historiography reflects the ideological and methodological trends found generally throughout Europe. The psychological processes are in essence identical, although in some respects Ukrainian historians have adopted these European trends somewhat tardily. The historiography of the Kozak period, from the fifteenth to the end of the eighteenth century, as expressed in the writings of such men as Hrabianka and Velychko, reflects the Baroque cultural period. The *Istorya Rusov*, which probably appeared at the very end of the eighteenth century, shows in a marked manner the influence of the rationalism then spreading throughout Europe. The Ukrainian historians of the latter half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also were children of their times. The romantic ethnographism of Mykola Kostomariv, the positivism of Volodymyr Antonovych, the Proudhonism and socialism of Mykhailo Drahomanov, the sociological approach of Mykhailo Hrushevsky—all coincide with intellectual currents which were at some time prominent in the cultural life of Europe.

In the nineteenth century historiography abandoned the European cosmopolitan approach in favor of a segmented national view centered on a given territory or nation. The historical interpretation underwent the same development of Ukraine, the so-called „national-popular” school of history, heavily mixed with ethnography, prevailing in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century a frankly political approach to Ukrainian history, nation-centered, and directed toward the creation of a state, characterized in Ukrainian as *derzhavnytska* or state-centered history, arose. Both of these approaches were Ukrainian versions of a broad European process.

Ethnographic nationalism of the “popular” variety was represented in the nineteenth century by such names as Kostomariv, Kulish, and Hrushevsky, who even referred to himself as the “Last of the *narodnytstvo* Mohicans.” The movement „to the people” was a general trend in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the slogan appealed to historians in all countries. Cultural leaders sought support and direction in the broad masses, who were held to preserve the traditions and history of

the nation. Among the Ukrainians this point of view was exceptionally valid, since the peasantry alone had preserved continuity with the past, while higher classes were numerically insignificant and the intelligentsia was in an embryonic stage.

The national-popular school of thought distinguished between the peasantry and the elite groups. Historians defended the people and condemned their leaders. Adherents of this school saw good in the simple Kozaks and the common mass; they had little respect for the Kozak officers or the wealthier elements among the Kozaks. Social antagonisms were emphasized. Documentation and adherence to scientific method, especially strong in Antonovych, also characterized the historians of this school. Their scientific method, however, was borrowed by Vyachyslav Lypynsky who used the methods of the national-popular historians and arrived at an opposite conclusion. Lypynsky contrasted the forest with the steppe, the settled town Kozaks with the semi-nomadic brethren and drew conclusions directly opposed to those of the national-popular historians. Lypynsky's interpretation was a sort of protest against the dominant "national-popular" school in which he saw grievous shortcomings and which he believed had outlived its usefulness.

The national-popular historians idolized the nation at a time when regeneration and national awakening were crucial necessity. With the aid of a small group of intellectuals, who based their own ideology on the people because the upper classes in Ukraine were either Russified or Polonized, these historians idealized the common people, whereas the statesmen-historians of later date emphasized the necessity of creating a Ukrainian state. National-popular historians sought out and praised those who aided the interests of the people, whereas the newer school magnified those who contributed to the building of a state, thereby emphasizing the individual rather than the mass, and appreciating the exploits of a heroic ruler rather than the amorphous mediocrity of the peasantry.

The state-minded historians were represented by such names as Vyachyslav Lypynsky, who elaborated a theory of a "workers' monarchy," Stepan Tomashivsky, and Dmytro Doroshenko. Along with the emergence of this conservative school, a democratic school with a socialist coloring developed. This democratic-socialist school combined elements of national-popular and state-centered ideas into a new synthesis, advocating both social reform and the establishment of a state. In a sense Ukrainian historical thought has traveled a full circle—from exclusive attachment to

the people (national-popular school) through the opposite extreme of the state-minded historians to the amalgamation of both trends in a national-social synthesis.

In the Soviet Union, where the Marxist-Leninist line is obligatory, this approach was but a formality adopted by Ukrainian historians from necessity. For the most part Ukrainian historiography in the USSR continued to adhere to the national-popular position. Hrushevsky refused to surrender and vigorously propounded his national-popular viewpoint. The works of Okinshevych, Ohloblyn and others, however, lay the emphasis upon the state-building moments in Ukrainian history. In that part of Ukraine under Polish Rule the state-centered school of thought prevailed, such historians as Tomashivsky, Krypyakevych, Korduba, Chubaty and Kryvetsky attaining a high level of scholarship.

At this point a brief discussion of leading representatives of the different trends in Ukrainian historiography will be presented.

MYKOLA KOSTOMARIV (1817—1885)

A historian of established reputation, Kostomariv was of a restless and discordant disposition. His world consisted entirely of thought and speculation and real life was but an addendum to his ideas. In his youth Kostomariv showed marks of deep religiosity, as Chyzevsky pointed out in *Outlines of the History of Philosophy in Ukraine*, and was influenced by *The Following of Christ* of Thomas A'Kempis, the mysticism of Swedenborg, and the romanticism of E. T. A. Hoffmann. One of the leaders of the *Brotherhood of St. Cyril and Methodius* organized in Kiev in the 1840's, and author of the messianistic *Knyha Bytiya Ukrainskoho Naroda* (*Genesis Book of the Ukrainian Nation*), Kostomariv exhibited the qualities of romancist and religious thinker, characteristics shared by all the members of the Kiev brotherhood.

Kostomariv's writings show the imprint of his personality, and he excelled in the description of historical events. His studies of various Ukrainian hetmans appear today to be dramatized dialogues or historical novels. He is considered, quite properly, the outstanding representative of the ethnographic school in Ukrainian historiography. His first lengthy monograph on Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1857) was based as much on national songs and *dumy* as on archival material and manuscripts, and in later years he revised this work to make it more scientifically accurate.

This indicates that in addition to being a romanticist Kostomariv appreciated the necessity of painstaking research. For many years the editor of the St. Petersburg *Akty Iuzhnoy i Zapadnoy Rossii* (*Acts of*

South and West Russia), in which he printed numerous documents relating to Ukrainian history, Kostomariv provided future historians with a mine of materials for investigation.

Throughout his life Kostomariv remained faithful to the ideals of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. Romantic nationalism of the populist variety was a deep conviction in him. Although in fact he associated little with the common people and did not know them first-hand, nevertheless he assigned to them an aura of wisdom and infallibility. He ferreted out populist movements and elevated them to a pedestal of sanctity, never failing to express sympathy for the national masses and antipathy toward aristocratic personages and the higher military caste. For him the decisive forces in Ukrainian history were the nationally conscious masses; the more active the masses, he felt, the sooner would they find their proper place in the scheme of things. In regard to the role of Ukraine as a part of a federalized Slavic world, a basic tenet of the program of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, Kostomariv later displayed ambivalent tendencies. In the London *Kolokol* in 1860 he advocated selfgovernment for Ukraine, but the St. Petersburg *Osnova*, the organ of Ukrainian intellectuals which he helped to edit, limited its activities to the furthering of Ukrainian literature and the education of children.

Political realities in tsarist Russia caused Kostomariv to submerge his ideological preference and to compromise with the regime. His famous study of Mazepa, which appeared in 1882-84, was written in an effort to convince the Russian government that the Ukrainian movement was not dangerous and had no political aspirations. He attempted to show that Ukrainian demands were restricted to the institution of Ukrainian-language schools and the fostering of Ukrainian literature. In this study in which Mazepa and the national masses are opposing forces, the masses are pictured as free of separatist desires and faithful to Moscow. Mazepa's joining with the Swedes is shown as an individual act, a step by an honorable man who found himself with no support among the Ukrainian people. Twenty years earlier, in 1860, Kostomariv had written in the journal *Sovremennik* that "Mazepa sincerely cared for the welfare of Ukraine and desired independence and freedom for his fatherland".

Kostomariv consistently advocated federation and autonomy as a solution of the Ukrainian problem. He saw seeds of federalism in ancient *Rus'*, where, in the words of Drahomanov, federalism was not very apparent. The autonomous republics of Novgorod and Pskov were objects of Kostomariv's investigations. His studies of the Eastern Slavic nations

relate to the same problem. In *Dve Ruski Narodnosti* he pointed to bases for autonomy in the Ukrainian past and accused the Russians of a tendency toward absolutism and centralism.

VOLODYMYR ANTONOVYCH (1834—1908)

Antonovych was both an historian and an important figure in Ukrainian cultural and political life. Simple and unpretentious, correct and calm in his personal relations, of a refined and delicate nature, he was a man of great culture and education. Drahomanov characterized him as the most genuine European among the Kiev Ukrainians of his days. An enthusiastic follower of the French philosophers of the Enlightenment from his youth, and later a positivist in the spirit of Auguste Comte, non-religious in his approach to life Antonovych was a convinced believer in evolution.

He was not a revolutionist but rather a cultured progressive, a democrat of the national-populist mold devoted to ideals of equality and political freedom. His national-populist views were akin to Kostomarov's, but the latter's romanticism was replaced by a strong realism. Reared in a Polish environment in right-bank Ukraine, and influenced by the dreams of Polish patriots, Antonovych applied the same ideals to the Ukrainian people.

A definitive break with the Polish nobility among whom he lived was the most decisive step in Antonovych's life. National-populist in his sympathies, and firmly convinced that in the struggle between the Polish aristocracy and the Ukrainian peasants justice was on the side of the latter, Antonovych embraced the Ukrainian cause, and he said in his famous *Confession*, he hoped that "through work and love I shall one day merit that the Ukrainians will recognize me a son of their nation".

Faithful to this decision, Antonovych served the Ukrainian people to the end of his days. For decades he was one of the moving spirits in the Kiev *Hromada* and exercised through that organization great influence over the Ukrainian movement in the Russian empire. Cooperating closely with the Galician national-populists in Austria-Hungary, he acted as an adviser to them as is illustrated in his activities in support of the Polish-Ukrainian rapprochement in Galicia in the 1890's. A tireless worker with connections among all Ukrainian groups, Antonovych was frequently under police suspicion, and his home, in the words of Dmytro Doroshenko, was looked upon "as the nest and root of the entire Ukrainian movement".

Antonovych was an expert in history, archeology, numismatics, geography, and ethnography, and made significant contributions in each field. *The Historical Songs of the Little Russian People*, published in

1874-75 through the cooperative efforts of Drahomanov and Antonovych, was received as a genuine contribution to scholarship by European authorities, the French historian Alfred Rambaud remarking that the publications of the Kiev group had organized the *membra dissecta* of the Ukrainian nation. With the exception of the *Outline of the History of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania* (1877-78), Antonovych concerned himself largely with the modern era. As editor of the *Archives of South-West Russia* he did much work on the history of right-bank Ukraine during the period of Polish hegemony. His exploration of all sides of Ukrainian life during the Polish ascendancy remains a basic contribution to historical scholarship. The origin of the Kozaks, the Polish *szlachta*, the *Haidamak* uprisings, the towns and the peasantry, the Church and clergy—all these received extensive treatment in his writings. His approach to Ukrainian history was more cultural than political, and along with Kostomarov he expressed preference for federalism in Eastern Europe, although he frequently stressed the evil visited upon Ukraine by Russian subversion of the real meaning of federalism. In a letter to Drahomanov in 1885, Antonovych wrote that Ukraine must be included within a federalist scheme, and he placed greater hope upon federation with the Southern and Western Slavs than with the Russians.

MYKHAYLO HRUSHEVSKY (1866—1934)

In the person of Mykhaylo Hrushevsky Ukraine honors its greatest historian. However, he was more than a historian, for he contributed mightily to Ukrainian cultural life through his work with the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv and the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev. Along with Ivan Franko, Hrushevsky edited the *Literaturno-Naukovy Vistnyk* (*Literary-Scientific Messenger*), one of the most important Ukrainian journals ever to exist. In addition, Hrushevsky dominated the Ukrainian national movement in the decade preceding the First World War, and after the 1917 revolution served as head of the Ukrainian government in Kiev.

Hrushevsky's writings are remarkable for their breadth of interest. He prepared a history of Ukrainian literature, which runs into several volumes, an introductory course in sociology, and an outline of world history. He was without peer, however, in his investigation of Ukrainian history. He combined the qualities of a tireless organizer and a thorough research specialist. In both Kiev and Lviv he trained a school of able younger historians, and under his direction historical science in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences blossomed in all directions, sections and

sub-sections devoted to the investigation of specific problems coming to life under his guidance. His writings on Ukrainian history are extremely productive and are difficult to gather together. Two works deserve special attention: *The usual scheme of Russian history and the problem of a rational arrangement of the history of the Eastern Slavs* (1904) and his monumental ten-volume *History of Ukraine-Rus'*.

The first of the two works mentioned above elaborated an interpretation of Ukrainian history which drew together the history of the Ukrainian people on all the territory it inhabits throughout all periods of its historical existence. This integrated Ukrainian history about the Kiev state, from which state he excluded modern Russia. The second work is a grandiose, systematically and critically constructed survey of Ukrainian history from its beginnings to the *hetmanate* of Ivan Vyhovsky.

Hrushevsky was the last of the great Ukrainian minds deeply rooted in the *narodnytstvo* philosophy stemming from the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. A man of strong intellect imbued with national-popular and democratic ideals, he had no use for individual leaders of history, the princes and *hetmans* that pass endlessly through Ukrainian history.

Ukrainian history is heroic, according to Hrushevsky, only when the national masses rise to active purpose. For him *nation* was synonymous with *masses*. The masses historically lived through a continuous process with national, political, economic, cultural and social content. He placed great but not exclusive emphasis on social and economic factors in history. His approach was more analytical than synthetic. A pupil of Antonovych he acquired from his teacher a deep respect for fact and documentary evidence. His comments upon source materials show him to be a master at evaluation, and one is amazed at his ability to extract pertinent facts from an incoherent mass of disjointed writings.

Although of a religious tendency, Hrushevsky was a rationalist in science. His style was somewhat dry, ironical, and satirical, but logical and clear. He liked to quote striking passages from primary sources and vitalized his works by such inclusions. His many-sided activities and world-view prompted him to prepare a popular outline of Ukrainian history which was translated into foreign languages (Russian, French, German and English).

VYACHYSLAV LYPYNSKY (1882—1931)

Influenced by the French syndicalists Georges Sorel, — Vyachyslav Lypynsky gained fame both as a historian and a sociologist. Like Antonovych, he grew up in an aristocratic Polish milieu and broke away from his

environment in order to identify himself with the Ukrainian people. Lypynsky understood the Ukrainian nation not as a monolithic lower class but a variegated national group, the ultimate objective of which was statehood. He rejected the national-popular ideas dominant among the intelligentsia of his youth and elaborated in their place a theory of harmonious cooperation among all classes within a nation. Not the *narod*, the people, but the nation-state was his ideal, for he believed that without statehood a true Ukrainian nation could not evolve. The future of the Ukrainians, Lypynsky felt, could be assured only if they created an independent state.

The task of creating a state, according to Lypynsky, developed upon the elite, which he defined according to the ideas of Sorel. Lypynsky also had ideas similar to those of the Italian thinker Vilfredo Pareto in that he considered history to be in essence the "circulation of the elites."

Progress is dependent upon the creative power of the elite, whether democratic, aristocratic, or of a class nature, the *élite* undergoing a progress of constant change. Leadership represented by the most capable representative of the *élite* and produced by organic conditions in life is best provided, according to Lypynsky, by the independent farmer attached firmly to the soil. The independent farmer provides the basis for the harmonious and organic development of a nation and a state.

Applied to Ukrainian history, this theory cherishes certain outstanding figures in the Ukrainian past, rather than the amorphous masses. Lypynsky judged historical personalities in Ukraine from the point of view of their contribution to the establishment of a state. Popular heroes, such as Sirko or Paliy, deserve only condemnation because of their ruinous rabble-rousing activities. Lypynsky defends other leaders who tried to tame popular fury and to discipline the masses in order to make them governable. History is a conflict between negative state-subverting and positive state-building forces. *The Turning-Point in Ukrainian History*, Lypynsky's basic work, portrays Bohdan Khmelnytsky as a heroic builder of a Kozak state, elevating the hetmanate to an unprecedented monarchical dignity.

Lypynsky gave great significance to the role of the aristocracy in Ukraine, and he took upon himself the task of rehabilitating that part of the Ukrainian aristocracy which during the time of Khmelnytsky took part in the anti-Polish struggle and returned to their Ukrainian antecedents. This was a permanent contribution to historical scholarship, for to-day it is generally recognized that the nobility shared actively in the anti-Polish revolution.

The close cooperation of the Ukrainian gentry with the Kozak leadership symbolizes for Lypynsky one of the fundamental lessons that history provides the Ukrainian people: a nationally conscious and patriotic Ukrainian aristocracy which represents the real creative power of the ancient in order to cooperate with new creative elements arising from the general population (similar to the Kozak leadership) if a Ukrainian state is to be formed. Himself a descendant of the aristocracy, Lypynsky defended its positive qualities as exemplified in tradition, respect for authority, and religion. He did not, however, advocate that the ruling group use force in order to control the general population. Authority and responsibility at the top and the freedom for the common people was the formula of his "workers' monarchy" (*trudova monarkhya*). The élite had to earn, deserve and preserve moral authority recognized by the people.

Lypynsky cannot be considered an objective historian with a penchant for documentation, as Antonovych and Hrushevsky were. His historical writings are part of a universal political and social philosophy. Religiously inclined, of hot and brittle temperament, deeply disturbed by contemporary problems, Lypynsky was a theoretician with a journalist's gift of writing. He remains today the most respected and authoritative proponent among Ukrainians of the philosophy of conservatism, in the best meaning of that word.



NAME OF UKRAINE IN FOREIGN LANGUAGES

By P. KOVALIV

The name of a nation and the territory it occupies frequently undergoes changes. The Hellenes of a bygone age are now the Greeks, while the Germans were at one time referred to as Teutons. Centuries ago the Russians were called Muscovites. To the ancient Romans France was Gaul, and at one time the term *France* was restricted territorially to the environs of Paris. A similar change was experienced by Ukraine and the Ukrainians, who occupy the territory north of the Black Sea. Accordingly, the name *Ukraine* has been variously interpreted in non-Ukrainian languages in different periods of history.

The territory of present-day Ukraine was inhabited at the time of the ancient Greeks by the Scythians, and was known to the Greeks as *Scythia*. Following the movement of nomadic peoples from Asia, new groups settled in Ukraine and its new inhabitants were called *Sarmatians* and *Roxolani*. Hence *Sarmatia* and *Roxolania* as names of the territory. The name *Sarmatia* is known on at least two maps printed in Western Europe. One was put out in 1529, with the Ukrainian territory bearing the legend *Sarmatia*. Another map, representing Europe, Asia, and Africa, and printed in 1532, carries the designation *Moscovia* for present-day Russia and *Sarmatia* for Ukraine. However, the name *Roxolania* was more widespread, and historians consider that this is the second oldest term applied to the Ukrainian territory, being antedated only by *Scythia*.¹ *Roxolania* or *Roxolana* was long considered a traditional name and occurs in Ukrainian literature as late as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During his negotiations with the Swedish representative Oliveberg Bohdan Khmelnytsky stated that he was struggling for the rights "of all ancient Ukraine and *Roxolania*." And in 1657 Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky asked the Swedes to aid him establish the rights of *totius Ukrainae antiquae seu Roxolaniae*.²

During the Kozak period the name *Roxolania* was in common use. It is an interesting historical fact that when the beautiful Nastasia Lisovska was captured by the Tatars in 1520, and became the wife of the

¹ V. Sichynsky, *Nazva Ukrainy*, Praha: Ukrainake Krayeznavstvo, 1944.

² M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriya Ukrainy-Rusi*, Vol. IX.

Turkish sultan Suliman the Great, she took the name *Roxolana*. Boyardus' book contains an engraved portrait of Nastasia Lisovska with the legend "*Rossa Solymanni uxor*"³ A portrait of the same lady in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence carries the designation *Roxolana uxor Sulymanni*. An edition of the map of Ptolemy published in Western Europe in 1552 refers to *Russa sive Ruthenia, quae et Podolia olim vero Roxalana*. A map by Ortelius dated 1590 lists the following tribes: Antae, Amadokians, and Roxolani.⁴

The Slavic tribes inhabiting Ukraine and adjacent territories lost their original names and assumed new names of territorial or geographical origin. The ancient Chronicle of Nestor contains such early names as *Polyane, Derevlyany, and Severyany*. The *Polyane* first inhabited a small area near Kiev, and the name is older than Rus', which appeared in the eighth century. The Chronicle refers to the "Polyane, now called Rus'." Rus' was originally a collective name for military men and the ancient Chronicle, describing the campaign of Prince Ihor in 944, makes separate mention of the *Polyane and Rus'*. Rus' figures as a purely political term.⁵ Later its meaning was broadened to include the basic territory inhabited by the *Polyane* and controlled by the *Rus'* warriors.⁶ From this stems the well-known designation of the ancient Ukrainian state, *Kievskia Rus'*.

The name *Rus'* spread outside of the Kiev state. The Latin *Rutheni* was based on it, and was used in Western Europe as early as the twelfth century. At the same time the same word was used in Hungarian documents to denote Hungary's northern neighbors and the Carpathian mountains—the *Alpes Ruthenorum*. The term *Ruthenia* was in England in the thirteenth century as the work of Matthew Paris and the chronicle of Burton (1245) indicate. In the fifteenth century *Rutheni* figured as the common name of the Ukrainians and White Ruthenians. After the Union of the Churches in 1595—6 the Vatican began to use the term when referring to Catholics in Ukraine and White Ruthenia (*Ecclesia Ruthena*). After the partition of Poland in 1772 the Ukrainians living in Galicia fell under Austrian rule, and the old national name *Rutheni* was preserved,

³ *Leben und Contrafacten der tuerkischen und persischen Sultans*, — Frankfurt 1569.

⁴ Sichynsky, *op. cit.*, Augsburg, pp. 5—10.

⁵ Several theories regarding the origin of *Rus'* exist. One of the latest discussions is that of Roman Smal-Stocki, *The Origin of the Word Rus'*, VUAN, Winnipeg, 1949.

⁶ Shetukhyn, *Ukraine*, Praha, 1937.

the German form being *Ruthenen*. The Ukrainian territory on some maps of the sixteenth century was also termed *Russia*—not the Russia of today, for the latter on the same maps was referred to as *Moskovia*.

The Ukrainians situated on both sides of the Dnieper, having fallen under Muscovite rule in the seventeenth century, began to be called *Malorosy* (*Little Russians*), an artificial name imposed upon them by the Muscovites or Great-Russians (*Velikorosy*). In like manner, Ukrainian territory was referred to as "Little Russia," while the Muscovites called their territory "Great Russia". The names *Malorossiiia* (*Mala Rus'*) and *Velikorossiiia* (*Velika Rus'*) were used for the first time at a synod at Constantinople in 1303 in connection with the establishment of a Galician-Volhynian metropolitanate, which was officially termed in Greek "The Metropolitanate of Mikra Rosia"⁷ (*Small Rus'*).

Thus it appears that originally *Mala Rus'* was of ecclesiastical character, the name of a religious administrative unit. In the seventeenth century Peter Mohyla bore the title "Metropolitan of all *Mala Rus'*." Later the Russian tsars, having become the rulers of the Church, took this religious title and applied the phrase "of Great and Little *Rus'*." In this manner was formed the general word *Russia* (*Rossiiia*), which covered both lands in questions—Great and Little *Rus'*. In 1713 Peter the Great decreed a new title for the Muscovite tsars, and forbade the use of the older "Muscovite State" (*Moskovskoe Gosudarstvo*). In accordance with that decree the artificial name *Malorossiiia* was made official in regard to Ukraine, and the Ukrainians were officially designated *Malorosy*. This *ersatz* designation of nationality received a measure of currency only in the nineteenth century.

Inasmuch as *Malorossiiia* was an artificial term by which the Russian state designated the Ukrainian territory it controlled, that term is not found on Western European or other maps. This corroborates the view that *Malorossiiia* and *Malorosy* never were either the true national name of the Ukrainian people or the territory it inhabits.

The name *Ukraine* (*Ukraina*) is first met in history in the twelfth century, although it is probable that it existed in oral tradition much earlier. It has come to be accepted as the basic name of the Ukrainian territory and people. Its semantic development included several modifications of meaning, from *kraiaty* ("to cut" the land) through *krai*, *kraina*, or *ukraina* (section of land or region) to the proper noun *Ukraina* (the present national name). For a long period *Rus'* served

⁷ Shelukhyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 163—4.

as the national name of the Ukrainian people, but that word later lost this significance and survived only as a relic of the past among the Carpatho-Ukrainians, who used the noun *Rusyn*, the adjective *Rus'kyi*, and referred to their territory as *Karpatska Rus'*. As the use of *Rus'* dwindled, *Ukraina* increased in popularity, and from the sixteenth century it has enjoyed general acceptance. Today it is the only national name that can be applied to the land inhabited by the modern Ukrainians.

Ukraine was a very popular name in Western Europe in the seventeenth century. Indicative of this is a satirical engraving printed in Delft, Holland, in 1650 titled *Foreign European and French-Dutch State Groups*. Along with figures personifying Spain, England, Sweden, Germany, France, Poland, and Russia, the work includes Ukraine, represented by a picture of a Kozak, number nine in the series. Above this figure, in Dutch, appears the legend: "The Kozak is much annoyed, his heart seeks to break through his breast. With great hatred of Turkey he again sharpens his sword . . . Ukraine shakes and thunders." That *Ukraine* was understood in the sixteenth century as a national rather than a regional name is evident from a study of various maps published in many countries at that time. Thus the archives of the French Foreign Ministry contain a map of Ukraine dated 1572 and made by order of Charles IX for his brother Henri, Prince of Anjou. This map designates the territory on both banks of the Dnieper as *Ukraine*. In the opinion of Shelukhyn, this is the oldest map extant bearing that legend.

The seventeenth century produced a much larger number of maps bearing the designation *Ukraine*. The work of Beauplan in 1650 deserves particular attention.⁸

The National Library in Paris possesses a map of the Italian geographer Sanson, dated 1641. Ukraine is identified on it as *Ukraina o Paese de Cosaechi*. The Polish division of the same library possesses a map of a unknown author dated 1646, and on it Ukraine appears also under the name *Ukraine*. The same section has a map by Duval, dated 1669 and printed in Paris, which bears the designation *Ukraine*; it also possesses another map of the Englishman Morden, dated 1700, on which the territory on both sides of the Dnieper is referred to as *Ukraine*.⁹ Many other maps with the same inscription were released in the seventeenth century.

⁸ Sichynski, *A French Description of Ukraine 300 years ago*, The Ukrainian Quarterly, Vol. VI. 1.

⁹ Shelukhyn, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

During the eighteenth century, several maps containing references to Ukraine continued to appear in France and in Germany.

The name *Ukraine* was used not only by foreign geographers, but also by diplomats and church dignitaries. The letters of Chancellor and Crown Hetman Stanislaw Zolkiewski and those of King Sigismund III of Poland, in the years 1594—1620, make constant use of the name *Ukraine*. The Polish Hetman Jan Radziwill seeking aid in 1653 against Khmelnytsky wrote to the *hospodar* of Wallachia: "This will be the last battle: either the Poles or *Rus'* will perish. If the Poles are victorious, the Ruthenian race and religion will perish completely and all Ukraine to the great sorrow of the human heart will be ravaged."¹⁰ Wereszczynski, the Polish bishop of Kiev, addressed a letter to the Polish nobility in 1594, wherein he suggested that "Golden Ukraine, which is longer and wider than Great and Little Poland put together," be given protection "along with the Polish Crownland." In a letter to Hetman Orlyk in 1728, the Papal Secretary Albani referred to the Ukrainian people as *Gens Ukrainae*.

In eighteenth and nineteenth century France the name *Ukraine* was in general use.¹¹

In a letter to Talleyrand Napoleon in 1811 wrote: "We order Lesur to prepare a report *sur les Cosaques d'Ukraine*." *La Geographie*, a work by Jean Brunhes and Camille Vallaux published 1921 chided several Russian politicians who had tried to convince the French Foreign Office that: "*l'Ukraine n'existait pas*," that "*il n'existait pas ni des Ukrainiens, ni des Georgiens*."¹² In his *History of Charles XII*, written in 1731, Voltaire wrote that "*l'Ukraine a toujours aspire a la liberte*."

Western European publications in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made frequent reference to Ukraine. Among those consistently doing so were such periodicals as *Gazette de France*, *The Moderate Intelligencer*, *Theatrum Europaeum* (Germany), *Hollantske Mercurius*, *Le Clef de Cabinet* (Paris), and *The London Chronicle*.¹³ Newspapers of the upon Tartary, Muscovy and Poland. European universities produced many dissertations on Ukraine and the Kozaks.

¹⁰ I. Borschak, *Ideia Sobornoj Ukrainy v Europi v Mynulomu* (*The Idea of a United Ukraine in European History*), Paris, 1923.

same period treated Ukraine as a separate country, with borders touching

¹¹ *Akty Iugo-zapadnoi Rossii*, (Acts of South-West Russia), 1861, III. 337.

¹² N. Chubaty, *Mazepa's champion in the "Secret du Roi" of Louis XV.* — *The Ukr. Quarterly*, Vol. V. 1.

¹³ Jean Brunhes et Camille Vallaux, *La Geographie*, Paris 1921, p. 610.

Russia, however for political reasons avoided the use of the name *Ukraine*, and employed officially *Malorossiiia*. Unofficially Russian writers frequently broke the rule and used *Ukraina*, which in Russian is shortened to a three-syllable word with the accent on the penult (the native Ukrainian has four syllables). In *Poltava* Pushkin wrote: "Oh, if she knew what all Ukraine already knows", and "the time has come for Ukraine to be an independent nation," Count Alexey Tolstoi wrote, "You remember the night over slumbering Ukraine." The scholar Sreznevsky consistently used *Ukraina*. He believed that the Ukrainian songs and *dumy*, as special epic folk poetry, were so peculiarly Ukrainian that within "the Slavic world, they belong exclusively to Ukraine."

In 1917 Russia officially recognized the term *Ukraine*. The name was used in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, as well as in the agreement among Poland, Russia and Ukraine in 1920 in Riga. It was also officially used in the treaty between Ukraine and Poland signed at Warsaw in 1920. States adjacent to Ukraine use the correct name as a matter of course in the twentieth century, and *Ukraine* is the official term employed in the USSR. Ukraine 1944 became an original member of the United Nations.

The evidence cited in the present study seems sufficient to conclude that in the sixteenth century *Ukraine* became the generally accepted national name of the territory inhabited by the modern Ukrainian people. Although some maps used the term *Rus'*, (which is not to be confused with modern Russia, since the latter did not exist at that time), numerous other maps use the word *Ukraina*. *Ukraina* in turn was translated variously, in accordance with phonetic and morphological demands, into foreign languages as *Ukraina*, *Uckrania*, *Ukraine*, and others.



THE ECONOMIC RELATIONS OF UKRAINE AND THE ANCIENT WORLD

By ALEXANDER DOMBROVSKY

The geopolitical situation and the wealth of the lands of Ukraine gave it the possibility, even in the early prehistorical period, of entering the orbit of the economic influences of the then major trade routes. Certain episodes from Greek mythology seem to contain the oldest traces of these economic developments. Thus the myth of the Argonauts, which antedates the time of Homer, is often regarded as the oldest echo of the efforts of the Greeks to secure the gold of Colchis. Likewise the story of Herodotus (4, 13) about the fantastic gryphons who guarded the gold treasures, is regarded by some scholars as the oldest literary reference to the gold deposits in the Urals. Following the ideas of Rostovtseff, Glotz¹ believes that these stories were spread by Carian sailors. These men had secretly learned, as early as the 10th century B. C., about the iron and gold mines in the Urals and Colchis and to safeguard their monopoly of this wealth, they tried to frighten off all rivals by circulating fantastic and fearful tales. Preller² also believes that Ural gold was known at that period to the ancient world. If we add to this, the fact that Dacia was also rich in gold (and Parvan³ emphasizes the economic importance of this for ancient south-eastern Europe), we see that the lands of Ukraine were surrounded by gold deposits. These could not fail to have economic significance, especially as the trade routes led along the north shore of the Black Sea.

The great Central Asian trade route went from the north shore of the Black Sea in a north-easterly direction to central Asia, that is Tibet and Mongolia, as Ebert⁴ and Speck⁵ believe among others. It is by this road that the Greek cities on the north shore of the Black Sea carried on their

¹ Glotz, Gustave. *Histoire grecque*, Vol. I., Paris, 1925, p. 164.

² Preller, Ludwig. *Ueber die Bedeutung des schwarzen Meeres fuer den Handel und Verkehr der alten Welt*. Dorpat, 1842, p. 25. The same idea is expressed by Dimitrie Ion Ghica, M. A. *Istoriile lui Erodot*, Vol. IV., Bucuresti, 1902, p. 37., and he regards the gryphons as distant echoes of Ural gold.

³ Parvan Vasile. *Getica*, Bucuresti, 1926, p. 762.

⁴ Ebert, Max. *Suedrusland in Altertum*, Bonn und Leipzig, 1921, p. 190.

⁵ Speck, E. *Handelsgeschichte des Altertums*, Band II, Leipzig, 1901, p. 454, 457.

connections with India. The description by Herodotus of the road from the lands of Ukraine to the Issedones has been the basis of the hypothesis, advanced by Hennig⁶ and others, that this account by the father of history is a literary reminiscence of the Central Asian trade route. The existence of this commercial route is well supported by the numerous archaeological finds of Scythian origin made on the territory of China.⁷

Another trade route led from ancient Ukraine to Asia Minor, that is from the northern shore of the Black Sea through Kubanshchyna to Transcaucasia, Armenia and Iran, obviously through the Caucasian Gates, as Przeworski⁸ indicates. He believes that from the third millennium B. C. there existed contacts between ancient Ukraine and Asia Minor and even admits that on the northern shore of the Black Sea there were trading stations and ports long before the arrival of the Greek colonists.

The same author⁹ asserts on the basis of discovered archaeological material that the relations between Transcaucasia and Asia Minor as a whole across the lands of Ukraine with the Baltic area came into being at least by 1200 B. C. and that the contacts of the Ural lands and those of the northern Baltic also across ancient Ukraine by means of the water route, Dnieper-Pripyat-Buh must have taken its rise in neolithic times. He points out that a statuette in Hittite style found near Klaipeda, was in all probability made in Asia Minor and reached the Baltic sea across the land of Ukraine. He dates it in the last centuries of the 2nd millennium B. C. If the objects imported from the Caucasus and Asia Minor are not actual imitations skilfully made in ancient Ukraine, the Kruhovitska find is extraordinarily valuable for the history of the relations between Asia Minor and the Baltic across Ukraine. The later connections of the Black

⁶ Hennig, R. *Herodots Handelsweg zu den sibirischen Issedonen*, *Klio*, Band 28, 1935; Tomaschek, V. *Kritik der aeltesten Nachrichten ueber den skytischen Norden*, II. *Die Nachrichten Herodots ueber den skytischen Karawanenweg nach Innerasien*, *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Band II., Wien, 1889.

⁷ Tolmacheff, V. *Les antiquites scythes en Chine*. *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, t. IX. (1934).

⁸ Przeworski, Stefan. *Vorderasien und Osteuropa in ihren vorgeschichtlichen Handelsbeziehungen*, *Klio*. Band 25. (1932).

⁹ Przeworski, Stefan. — *Znalezisko Kruhowickie. Najstarsze slady handlu wschodniego na ziemiach polskich*, *Swiatowid*, tom XIII (1929). — *Bronzowe naczynie hetyckie z Ukrainy* (rekonstrukcja), *Wiadomosci Archeologiczne*, tom. X., Warszawa, 1929, pp. 27-35.

Sea area, i. e. ancient Ukraine, with the Baltic from the middle of the first millenium B. C. on are evident from archaeological material.¹⁰

Yet the most important event in the prehistory of Ukraine was the Greek colonization and trade with the northern shore of the Black Sea. In the beginning the Greeks called this the inhospitable sea (Pontos Axeinos) because of the narrow and often difficult passage of the Propontis, the straits between the Aegean and the Black Sea, and because of the primitive character of the natives who sacrificed captured strangers to their gods. But during the Greek colonization the cultural aspect of south-eastern Europe changed and especially the seacoast. Then the name was changed to Euxeinos—Hospitable, the more so as the sea became a highroad to a land flowing with milk and honey. Ancient Ukraine became preeminently the granary of the Greek world. The trade of Miletus with its Black Sea colonies fell in the period of isolated and rarely large trading settlements.

In the middle of the 6th century B. C. the influence of Miletus on its Black Sea colonies was paralyzed by Athens, whose trading interests were beginning to grow. The chief object of export from ancient Ukraine to Athens was grain. Attica could not support its population on its own grain and its commercial relations with Ukraine were according to Hintze¹¹ a question of life and death. Greece and especially Athens, imported grain from Egypt and Sicily, the neighboring location of which assured ease in delivery. These lands did not always have grain for export and when they did not, there was hunger in Athens. The Athenians therefore had to provide themselves with a sure source of supply and they found it in the kingdom of Bosphorus. The rulers of Bosphorus and especially Leukon I. (4th cent. B. C.) paid special attention to this branch of their trade, for they understood the advantages to their country from this continued export of the grain produced in ancient Ukraine. Herodotus, according to Witkowski¹², paid especial attention to the Ukrainian black earth, even

¹⁰ Korduba, Miron. *Die ostgermanischen Handelswege durch die Ukraine am die Mitte des ersten Jahrtausends vor Chr. Geb.* Swiatowid, tom XV., (1932-33); Sadowski, Jan. *Drogi handlowe greckie i rzymskie przez porzeczka Odry, Wisly, Dniepru i Niemna do wybrzezy morza Balttyckiego.* Pamietnik Akademii Umiejtnosci w Krakowie, tom. III., 1876.—Kostrzewski, Josef. *Rola Wisly w czasach przed-historycznych Polski.* Przegląd Archeologiczny, t. V. zesz. I. (1933). — points out that the population of the Pomorye and East Prussia furnished amber to the lands of Ukraine by means of the Vistula, San and Dniester.

¹¹ Hintze, K. *Geographie und Geschichte der Ernaehrung*, Leipzig, 1934. p. 26; Hasebrock, J. *Staat und Handel im alten Griechenland*, Tuebingen, 1928, p. 114.

¹² Witkowski, St. *Historiografia grecka.* t. I., Krakow, 1925, p. 134.

apart from his remark that "the ploughing Scythians sow grain not for their own living but for sale" (4, 17). Taking advantage of a famine prevailing in Athens, the Bosporian ruler sent the Athenians a gift of 200,000 medimni of wheat, and gave them plans for export. The Athenians were so overjoyed that they accepted his proposals and gave him in gratitude the right of citizenship.

This export of grain reached its height in the reign of Leukon I. At that time there were on the average 400,000 medimni of grain exported to Athens yearly from the ports of Panticapaeum and Theodosia, and in some years many times more than that. The Athenian merchants highly valued the friendship of the rulers of Bosphorus, gave them the rights of citizenship, crowned them with golden crowns, and placed their statues on the Acropolis.¹⁸ Thus ancient Ukraine was to Athens what Sicily was to Rome. The coins of Bosphorus show the tremendous influence of the grain trade for they bear an ear of wheat.

The steppes, extending to the Maeotis, also furnished good pasturage for cattle. In describing the Borysthenes (Dnieper), Herodotus says that it offers the best and largest area for pasturing cattle" (4, 53). The value of this trade in cattle is shown again by the coins which are often stamped with a bull, a horse and a ram.

Grain and cattle were not the only products exported from ancient Ukraine. It furnished also honey, wax and salt fish. This last product was especially sought after in Greece and Rome. The trade in salt fish on the banks of the Black Sea reached such proportions that Panticapaeum received the nickname of the "city of salt fish".

One of the chief products exported from the Kingdom of Bosphorus was gold. The profits from this metal which was secured in the Altai and Ural Mountains flowed chiefly to Panticapaeum and were enormous because of the scarcity of gold in Greece and also in Asia. The Athenians had their own silver mines but their need for gold was as great as that of the Black Sea Greeks for silver. The flow of Siberian gold to Panticapaeum lowered its price to the point that the value of gold to silver was 1:7, while in the whole of Greece it was 1:10. It is therefore easy to understand that the export of silver coins from Greece and the exchange of "auriote owls" for the Panticapaeum stater at the rate of 7:1 and the resale of it in Greece for 10 drachmas was a very profitable speculation. The Athenians did not let it pass out of their hands until the Pello-

¹⁸ Panachowny. *Starodavni gretski kolonii bosporski u mezakh teperishnoi Kubanskoj oblasti ta sumistnykh z neyu mist*, Zapyaky N. T. im. Sh., tom. II.

ponnesian War destroyed the maritime hegemony of Athens and gave the monopoly of the trade in Panticapaeum gold to Cyzicus.

Finally, slaves formed an important item in the trade of Bosphorus. These were secured for the most part from the regions north of Maeotis. Scythian slaves formed the local police force of Athens and bore the name of Scythian archers (toxotai Skythai). The chief markets for slaves were in Theodosia, Panticapaeum and Phanagoria.

In return for these products of ancient Ukraine, the Athenians exported articles of their own manufacture with vases as the leading item. Between 350 and 300 B. C., the Athenian vase trade found in the Kingdom of Bosphorus one of its finest markets. The cities on the Black Sea were at that time living a purely Greek life and articles of artistic value found purchasers among the local rich who did not hesitate to spend their money for them. Besides vases there were imported into the lands of Ukraine from the Greek world various weavings with gold thread, feminine adornments, terracotta statues, oil and wine. The latter was among the most important imports into Bosphorus, for it was consumed in large quantities by the Scythians. The export of large quantities of wine especially from the islands of Chios, Rhodes and Thasos can be proved not only by the testimony of ancient writers but also by the discovery of large numbers of broken amphorae with stamps on their handles showing the place of origin. This demand for wine among the Scythians allowed the Greeks of the islands who controlled the wine trade to secure all products in exchange. The Athenians, who on the basis of a law of Solon were not allowed to exchange for foreign goods any product of their own land except oil, bought wine for delivery to the Kingdom of Bosphorus in the other Greek regions and even on the shores of Thrace. The economic contacts between Ukraine and Greece were so extensive that they have left unmistakable traces in both ancient literature and in archaeological remains.

But the trade routes from pre-Ukrainian territory led not only to the east and the centres of the Greek world. They went also to the West. On the basis of archaeological finds, we know that the lands of ancient Ukraine had commercial relations, if not with Italy, at least with the Eastern Alpine regions in the period 1000-850 B.C.¹⁴ In the opinion of Adama Szlankowna, this was by the route across the Hungarian plain and the Carpathians. Most scholars believe that the so-called Etruscan-

¹⁴ Szlankowna, Adama: *Kilka importow staroitalskich i zachodnio-europejskich z poludniowo-wschodniej Polski i Ukrainy*, Swiatowid, tom XVII. (1936-37).

Roman trade route from archaeological evidence must have led from Italy through the Alpine valleys to Noricum in the direction of Halstadt, near Salzburg, across the Danube in the neighborhood of Linz, to the Oder, Warta, Notits, and Vistula and from there by the previously mentioned river network to pre-Ukrainian territory. Later traces of Roman commercial relations with ancient Ukraine are clear from the archaeological material. One of the trade routes used by Roman merchants went from the south, i. e. Dacia and the Black Sea cities along the Dniester, then crossed it near Zalishchyki and went to the north and west as is shown by the numismatic studies of Gumowski.¹⁵ The first commercial and also cultural relations between the eastern pre-Ukrainian territory and Rome are believed to be somewhere in the 2nd century B. C., as is shown by amphorae with Roman marks found in the Crimea.¹⁶ From the later periods of Roman influence on the lands of Ukraine have been left rich deposits of Roman coins, proofs of the lively commercial relations between the Roman world and ancient Ukraine. We find similar hoards of Roman coins also in the Western Ukrainian lands.¹⁷

Thus at the dawn of ancient history the lands of Ukraine acquired broad commercial and cultural relations with the east, west, and especially the Greco-Roman world. The meeting with the Greeks brought the pre-Ukrainian population under Greek influence; they accepted Greek customs and material and spiritual culture. Under Greek influence the settled life of the autochthonous pre-Ukrainian population flowered and with it agriculture. Greek costumes and adornments appeared first at the courts of the Scythian princes and lords and then spread to the broader masses of the population. The aversion of the Scythians to foreign and especially to Greek customs, mentioned by Herodotus, disappeared and instead there grew up a consciousness of their separatism. In place of blind primitivism there came cultural progress and gleams of political intelligence. The rulers of Bosphorus married their daughters often to princes and lords of the pre-Ukrainian population. A scarcity of women compelled the Greek colonists to take wives from the autochthonous population and as a result there developed an assimilation of both blood and

¹⁵ Gumowski, M. *Handel rzymski na ziemiach polskich w I, II, i III wieku.* — Charisteria Casimiro de Morawski septuagenario oblata ab amicis, collegis, discipulis, Cracoviae, 1922.

¹⁶ Hrushevsky, M. *Istoriya Ukrainy-Rusy*, tom 1-3, Kyiv, 1913, p. 87; Niederle, Lubor, expresses the same idea in his *Slavyanski Starozitnosti*.

¹⁷ See Zograf, A. N. *Rimskiye monety v Olvii*, Izv. G. A. I. M. K., tom VI, vyp. 4, Leningrad, 1930.

spirit, for along with their mixing of blood there came a mixing of culture —of Hellenism and pre-Ukrainianism. As an example of this we may cite the case of the celebrated Greek orator Demosthenes, for his father was married to a Scythian women from Bosphorus.¹⁸

The kingdom of Bosphorus was able to bring together not only the Greek colonies but the native, agricultural population of the northern shore of the Black Sea in voluntary economic and cultural cooperation.

After the Greek influences came the Roman. From the time of Pompey the Roman Empire definitely dominated the Black Sea basin. As a result of this Greece of the steppes came face to face with the culture of the eternal city on the Tiber. At the end of the 4th century of our era there was no longer any rich Roman home in which Goths and Scythians were not servants and guards. They began to enter the rich Roman palaces to serve the Roman lords and became directly acquainted with Roman culture. As previously in the Greek cities, so now in the Roman they maintained order.¹⁹

Professor Zielinski of Warsaw University²⁰ has emphasized the economic influences on the cultural structure of ancient Ukraine. He says definitely: "Thus the shores of the Black Sea entered in the 7th century B. C. their Greek stage. Thanks to this the seeds of humanity and culture passed to their inhabitants in those ancient times, when the ancestral lands of the present Germans, French, English and Spaniards were sunk in hopeless barbarism. Then on the plains of the Dnieper there waved the first fields of grain, but the Germans, British and Gauls lived on acorns and meat".

From that time in the pre-historic era Ukraine has continued to be the supplier of grain and won the name of the granary of Europe. The rich Ukrainian land not only because of its highly productive black earth, but also of its countless products from the raising of cattle, fishing, bee culture, and also partially from the timber industry in the wooded regions of ancient Ukraine, not counting lesser products as salt and wax, has occupied one of the most important positions in the economic structure of the ancient world and has served as one of the chief sources of food for the ancient civilization.

¹⁸ Pasternak, Yaroslav. *Korotka Arkheologiya zakhidno-ukrainskykh zemel*. Lviv, 1932, p. 45. ff.

¹⁹ Dopach, Alfons. *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Grundlagen der europaischen Kulturentwicklung*, Band I., Wien, 1923, p. 103.

²⁰ Zielinski, Tadeusz. *Historia kultury antycznej*, I., Warszawa-Krakow, 1922, pp. 75 and 77.

APPEAL OF WARRING UKRAINE TO THE UKRAINIANS ABROAD

*Freedom for nations and the individual!
For Ukrainian Independent United State!*

Our brothers, scattered far and wide abroad!

Four years have passed, since war ended in Europe. But it has not yet ended in Ukraine. For four years you have been able to see how the nations of Western Europe and America are living their lives in normal surroundings. There is no peace in Ukraine! In Ukraine there is still going on a savage struggle, the guns are not silent, the fires are not extinguished. In the factories and plants, in the collective farms and the individual holdings, schools and institutions, in the forests and the mountains, in Ukraine, in distant Siberia and Kazakhstan, everywhere the Ukrainian people are standing on the barricades of liberty. They stand bloody but unbowed, unconquered, unmastered.

Filled with hate for oppression and slavery, violence and lack of rights, they have declared a merciless war against Russian-Bolshevik imperialism. Conscious of the justice of their cause, they are rising to-day to the heights of consecration and heroism.

They have taken their fate into their own hands and have decided to forge it to the end, and they are forging it without interruption, forging it tirelessly, without fear.

Taking their position in the advance guard of the holy struggle of the nations for the overthrow of totalitarianism, despotism and terror—the USSR of Stalin, they are manfully and worthily carrying out this great and responsible duty. To-day they have raised on high the banner on which are written those words dear to all nations and people: *Freedom to nations, Freedom for the individual!*

In this savage struggle, such as history has never known, no Ukrainian man or woman dares to remain on the sidelines. Every Ukrainian must take part in it, without regard to where he may happen to be. Our brothers, scattered abroad! Embattled Ukraine looks at you as a member of the one front of our great struggle, which has universal significance. Embattled Ukraine looks at you as warriors in the great cause of liberation, who have opened a front in Western Europe, the lands of America

and Australia, everywhere where a single Ukrainian lives. Embattled Ukraine sends its martial brotherly greetings to you at your posts.

Your native country listens attentively to everything that is done among the Ukrainian emigration, be it old or new. The Ukrainian people are eagerly watching to see whether the Ukrainian kinsmen abroad are marching forward in step with the front in the homeland, whether their front is lagging behind, is unbroken. The people have the right to expect that the Ukrainians abroad should not withdraw from the high demands that their history has laid upon them.

Embattled Ukraine first of all expects that the Ukrainians abroad will worthily and responsibly represent their people and their struggle for liberation before the outside world.

Ukraine is only now appearing in the international arena. The world still knows little about it and much of that which it does know is confused and twisted. It is in the first place your duty, Ukrainians abroad, to change that condition, to convey the truth about Ukraine and its struggle to all nations and peoples beyond the borders of the USSR. The country in this direction has done and is continuing to do all that lies in its power. By its struggle the country has amassed a great capital and you, Ukrainian emigration, must use it to advantage in the interests of the cause of liberation in the international sector.

Fate has scattered and is scattering you into all the countries of the world, to the most distant bounds of the earth. It is not the time to murmur at your hard fate! You must turn it to the good of the entire Ukrainian people; the fact that you have been scattered among all the people of the world, you must utilize, so that the peoples may know Ukraine as well as possible,—Ukraine, the Ukrainian people, their achievements in the past, their heroic struggle in the present.

Remember that to-day every Ukrainian abroad is a representative of embattled Ukraine.

Remember that foreigners, in looking at each of you, are looking at the entire Ukrainian people and in evaluating you, are evaluating all our people.

Let each one so conduct himself as not to stain his people and act so as to increase its glory. Ask yourself each day: what you have done for the good and profit of Ukraine?

You must be bound in spirit as closely as possible with Ukraine, you must live by it, by its efforts and its struggle. You must not dare to allow the entrance into your souls of doubt in the success of our great cause. You must not dare to nourish doubts as to the justice of our struggle

in the homeland. Otherwise you will never inspire your neighbors with faith in the justice of our endeavors, you will not inspire in them confidence in the success of our struggle, you will not gain their noble support for your people.

Embattled Ukraine expects that the Ukrainians abroad will be the ardent exponents of those ideas, for the realization of which the Ukrainian people are fighting.

Enlighten foreigners as to the necessity for the dismemberment of the USSR into free national states of all its peoples. Show to them that the oppressed nations of the USSR are thirsting for their own independent governments and have struggled and are struggling resolutely and manfully to secure them. Explain to them that by the dismemberment of the USSR they are serving the interests of all the nations of the world, for this is the only way of destroying once and for all the danger of the resurrection of Russian imperialism, which to-day in the form of Bolshevism is menacing the entire world.

Spread everywhere the conception of the building of an international order founded on a system of free, independent states of all peoples. Only such a system will create the best conditions for successful political, economic and cultural cooperation and unity among nations, for it will give the possibility of building it on the basis of true equality of rights, good will, mutual respect and confidence. Only such a system is able to exclude bloody wars and to safeguard a lasting peace in the world.

Explain to your neighbors that the Ukrainian people are struggling for the realization of the progressive ideas of humanity, for freedom for nations and the individual, for true democracy, for a just social order, in which there will be neither exploiters nor exploited.

Embattled Ukraine expects the Ukrainians abroad to spread tirelessly the truth about Stalin's USSR to all the peoples of the world and to mobilize them actively for the struggle against Russian-Bolshevik imperialism, the greatest foe of all humanity.

The world is still woefully ignorant of the truth about the USSR. It still does not reckon fully with the fact that it is itself threatened by Russian-Bolshevik imperialism. It is your great obligation, Ukrainians in foreign countries, to reveal before all peoples the true face of Bolshevism, to tear from it the mask of democracy and of socialism and to show it in its hideous reality!

Strive to enlighten the millions of foreigners who sincerely believe in the socialism of the USSR. Show to them the horrible oppression of the peoples in the USSR, the colonial robbery of their wealth, the un-

precedented exploitation and the slave position of the workman, the new serfdom on the collective farm, the stifling of the intelligentsia.

Point out everywhere the *nature of this "most democratic" country*, where people are driven in terror to the polls, where the people are compelled to vote for their executioners and oppressors, where the courts are organs of violence and denial of rights, where individuals not only have their mouths shut but their thoughts fettered, where a man is changed into a rightless slave, where millions are deported to prisons and concentration camps.

Reveal before all peoples this land, in which *religion is stifled*, the church is dishonored, freedom of thought is stifled, not only Christian but general human morality is tramped under foot and to the mockery and shame of all humanity there are noisily acclaimed the freedoms of paradise and there is maintained a church, which is in reality only an appendage of the Ministry of State Order and the MVD. Explain about the annihilation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous and Greek Catholic Churches, about the murdered and deported Ukrainian bishops, priests and faithful. Explain to foreigners that the present Russian Orthodox Church has nothing in common with a free church and is the agent of the MVD. Call all believing Christians and men of other religions to the decisive struggle for the annihilation of the mortal enemy of humanity — Bolshevism.

Embattled Ukraine expects the Ukrainians abroad to be active collaborators in the *formation of one front of all nations, enslaved and threatened by Russian-Bolshevik imperialism*.

The Russian-Bolshevik imperialists have already enslaved many peoples and they are preparing to throw their yoke to-morrow over all other peoples. All Bolshevist declarations about the possibility of the peaceful co-existence of the two systems are only misleading propaganda. In fact all the efforts of the Kremlin leaders are directed to the preparation of a new war for the acquisition of the entire world. The entire life of the USSR is regimented with this one goal. The hopes of the Western world that it will be possible to avoid war are vain hopes, built on sand. The world cannot escape war by any device.

This truth, Ukrainians abroad, you must emphasize at every moment among the nations of the West. It must be the starting point for you in your practical political work among these peoples. *Tell them clearly that to-day before the entire world there stands one question, not how to avoid a new war — it is unavoidable — but how to save liberty, independence and culture, how to avoid the enslavement of humanity and its ruin—and that is not unavoidable*. You must show them clearly that the

one means of saving the world is the full and speedy destruction of the Russian-Bolshevik imperialism on its present springboards of conquest. This can only be achieved by the organized efforts of a single front of all nations enslaved and threatened by the Russian-Bolshevik imperialism.

You, Ukrainians abroad, must not only preach the need of such a front and convince the world of its necessity. You must do everything possible so that *the anti-Bolshevik front* will assume concrete forms. Therefore you must arm yourselves not only with beliefs in the justice of this cause but you must manifest the greatest organizing capacities, toleration and endurance, for you must unite those peoples who are thirsting for freedom, without difference of race, nationality and religion, without a difference of their political achievements in the past.

You must henceforth put forward all your efforts to unite in one anti-Bolshevik front the emigration of all nations of Europe and Asia under Bolshevik rule and of the recently enslaved new nations of Central and Southern Europe.

Your Country welcomes with the highest gratitude your previous successes in this field. Build and deepen these successes, Ukrainians abroad! Wearilessly and stubbornly overcome all difficulties and differences which stand in the way of the full unification of the emigrations of the peoples of the USSR. Strengthen this unification in organizing attempts and among the masses of the emigrations and before the outside world.

At the same time with this work of unifying the emigration of the enslaved peoples of the USSR, you, Ukrainians abroad, must carry on the most active work among the nations of the West to form an anti-Bolshevik front of all the freedom-loving peoples of the world. Enter into associations and join them with national and international organizations which fight for the rights of man and for freedom. Work for the formation of an international organization which will have as its purpose the struggle against imperialism and totalitarianism in the interest of the rights of nations and of individuals.

Remember, brothers in the emigration, that the problem of organizing one anti-Bolshevik front of all nations is not only the task of the leaders of political parties. It is the duty of every one of you. Remember that the problem of the anti-Bolshevik front just as the representation of the Ukrainian people must be handled not only among political and governmental circles of other nations and on diplomatic paths. This problem can be handled among the broadest masses of all the nations of the West in factories, mines, farms, schools and institu-

tions. Only when the broad national masses are included in the anti-Bolshevik front, when this movement acquires such a broad base, will it be able to annihilate its opponent.

Remember that the spreading of the truth about the USSR, the mobilizing and organizing of nations for the struggle against Bolshevism is a mission of universal and all-human significance. Be worthy of this great mission which history has committed to you. Fulfill it with apostolic devotion and zeal, fulfill it with that manliness and consecration which the revolutionists are to-day fighting. If you fulfill it, the coming generations, of all nations will remember you with gratitude.

To fulfill all these responsible tasks, brothers abroad, you must be united, and not separated. You must ask together and not separately. Embattled Ukraine decidedly expects from the Ukrainians abroad full unity, unity in action and not on paper, unity on the basis of the revolutionary struggle for the liberation of the people in the Ukrainian homelands.

At the responsible moment, in the serious situation, in which the Ukrainian people are to-day, the Ukrainian emigration cannot allow itself any splits and party feuding. To-day all partisan disputes must be subordinated to one goal, one task—the task of liberating the Ukrainian people. Division to-day must go along the lines not of one or another party but between patriots and traitors to the Ukrainian people.

Brothers in Foreign Countries! The country to-day has sworn full unity, the emigration must go along with the country. All, who truly grieve at the sorrow of their nation, who truly thirst for its liberation, who are filled with sincere desires to devote themselves to the people, who treasure the idea of a Ukrainian Nation will unite in the joint effort for the achievement of our Great Goal. Create a powerful single front and act before the foreign world resolutely and in union. Let the political division of the Ukrainians abroad be founded on the formation and growth of political thought and not on party feuding. Show that you understand the historical value of the present moment and rise to the height of your problem. Be an example of unity and of organization for other peoples, for unity and organizing ability are needed by all peoples, to end victoriously the struggle with Bolshevism.

Exiled brothers, who are doing manual labor! Without the possibility of returning to your native land, you have found yourselves in the factories and mines and on the farms of almost all countries beyond the borders of the USSR. You are to-day working side-by-side with workmen of all nationalities. You are working to-day in the same environment as most of those people who have fallen victims to the

Bolshevik lying propaganda. Help the millions of these workmen to overcome the Bolshevik delusion. Prove to them by the strength of your long knowledge that in the USSR there is no socialism, that the USSR is a land of the most reactionary totalitarianism. Enkindle them with the flame of your hate for the Russian-Bolshevik imperialism, for in their souls they hate all slavery, violence and deprivation of rights as you do. Become friends with them in your places of work, lay the bases for close friendship between their nations and the Ukrainian nation.

Take part in the activities of the labor organizations of the Western nations and be an example of friendliness and solidarity. Cooperate with existing labor organizations and stand up for your rights. Broaden your cultural and intellectual life.

Take part in the work of the international anti-Bolshevik professional associations and represent there the millions of Ukrainian workmen who have no opportunity to speak freely in their own name. Struggle together with all workers against imperialism and totalitarianism for true democracy and social justice.

Ukrainian poets, writers, artists, scholars, journalists in Foreign Countries! In the Ukrainian lands Ukrainian free science and culture are completely stifled. The free word has been driven into the deepest underground. Under such conditions you have the great task of building Ukrainian culture and science and enriching its treasury with new values and achievements. The country notices with joy the present creative achievements of the Ukrainian emigration in the field of science and culture and calls upon you for still greater efforts in this direction.

Build and strengthen the new centres of Ukrainian culture and science, concentrate in them all the creative forces that are in the emigration. Aid all efforts for the finest development of knowledge of Ukraine, for this at home is subjected to sad corruption and falsifications on the part of Russian-Bolshevik occupants. Develop a young scientific reserve.

Take advantage of every opportunity to represent worthily Ukrainian science and culture before the foreign world. Tirelessly popularize its achievements. Carry everywhere Ukrainian music, your singing, your theatre. Establish and strengthen your connections with cultural and scientific organizations and individual representatives of the science of other nations! Do not pass by a single opportunity to make your contribution to the work of international scientific and cultural organizations! Let the world see in all its fullness Ukrainian culture and the creative capacities of the Ukrainian people.

Ukrainian women abroad! — The country greets with joy your activity and organizing ability and the successes that you have won by it. Increase the strength of your organizations, develop your activity on a still broader scale, within the emigration and outside, carefully guard in the emigration in your society and private and family life the bright traditions of Ukrainian womanhood. Take advantage of every opportunity to work among the women of the West. Enlighten them about the terrible danger from Bolshevism. Arouse the conscience of all the women and mothers of the world by showing the slavish conditions of the women of the USSR, the destruction of the family, the fate of millions of children, dead of hunger, incarcerated in prisons and in exile, violently torn away from their mothers and by the fate of the homeless children. Let the women of all nations take their place in the general human struggle against Bolshevism.

Ukrainian youth! You in the emigration must enter the advance guard of the struggle for liberation, as the youth in the homeland is doing. You must devote yourselves entirely to the interests of Embattled Ukraine and be ready for every call to stand beside your friends, who are struggling with arms in their hands for the liberation of the nation, for the happiness, joy and creative work of the Ukrainian youth in a Ukrainian state. You must be highly organized and active, you must constantly harden your idealism and unceasingly raise your level of general and practical knowledge and political skill. Profit widely by your residence among other peoples to learn everything that is good and useful among them, to acquire for yourselves their knowledge of work in all fields of life and of state construction. But zealously guard against disruptive influences, which would sap your idealism and destroy your moral stability.

Before you, the Ukrainian youth, as before our entire Ukrainian emigration, stands the task of acquainting foreigners with the struggle of the Ukrainian people for liberation. Work on it at every moment and in every way. Take advantage for this purpose of your own individual acquaintances and your connections with the youth organizations of other peoples and international organizations of youth. Arouse the youth of all nations for the struggle against Bolshevism. They will soon understand you, for all young people are very quickly aroused against injustice and violence and are always ready to fight against them.

Fighters and commanders of the raiding units of the UPA! You have manfully fulfilled the task imposed upon you by the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council. The country with bated breath followed your

raid and its successful termination called out great joy in the country. The whole nation rejoices that you reached beyond the second wall of the Bolshevik prison of nations so as to make there before the entire world a protest against the oppression of the Ukrainian people by the Russian Bolshevik robbers and to tell the truth about the struggle in the country for liberation.

Your arrival in Western Europe as direct participants and living witnesses of the struggle for liberation in the homeland, has definitely influenced the change in the views of foreigners about our struggle for liberation and has put an end to the falsifying of the truth about this struggle. In that lies your great service for the whole liberation movement. History will correctly value you.

Although you have travelled far from your own country, the struggle for you is not ended. The enemy, who oppresses your fatherland, is acting there also, and you must struggle against him there as you have so recently struggled in Ukraine with arms in your hands. Continue abroad to guard and care for the heroic traditions of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and raise high the banner of its glory.

Brothers, Refugees! Soon you will be scattered even more widely, you will be even further from your fatherland. But know well that this is but temporary, that an end will inevitably come to your residence abroad, to your longing for your country.

When the bells of resurrection ring out and Ukraine arises in the mighty peal of glory, you will once and for all return to your country. Then "in a new, free family", all the children of Ukraine, now scattered around the world will gather again to build together in happiness and joy their own glorious, free life and they will bring to reality the words of our great Prophet:

*Ukraine will arise,
Break the dark of slavery,
The light of truth will shine
And the enslaved children will pray in freedom!*

Believe this strongly and struggle heroically, so that this great day may come as soon as possible.

Without heeding all the incredible difficulties, Embattled Ukraine will struggle as resolutely as it has struggled hitherto, without sparing sweat and blood.

Embattled Ukraine will do all that is in its power that the Ukrainian people may as quickly as possible and once and for all build their great Temple of Freedom, so that you can return to Ukraine not as hirelings but as free men.

In the name of Embattled Ukraine:

Rev. Prof. M. LAVRIVSKY, Member of the UHVR, head of the underground Greek Catholic Church;

General Commander R. LOZOVSKY-CHUPRYNKA, Chief of the General Secretariat of the UHVR and Chief Commander of the UPA.

W. KOVAL, Representative of the Chief of the General Secretariat of the UHVR, member of the UHVR.

Prof. H. ZELENY, member of the UHVR.

Captain-pvkh. P. POLTAVA, Chief of Political Education Division of the Head of the Staff of the UPA.

D. SOKIL, Major of the UPA, Member of the General Staff of the UPA.

M. DUBOVY, Major of the UPA, Commander of UPA-North.

P. MAKSYMOWYCH, Member of the Board of directors of the OUN in Ukrainian lands.

Journalist O. HORNOVY, Member of the Board of directors of the OUN in Ukrainian lands.

V. KHMEL, Captain, UPA, Member of the Staff of UPA-West.

V. HRIM, Major, UPA, Commander of the Military District of the UPA-West, "Hoverla".

Z. SAVCHENKO, Leader of the OUN in the Northwest Ukrainian lands.

I. VASYLENKO, Leader of the OUN in the Central-Western Ukrainian lands.

R. ILNYTSKY, Captain, UPA, Leader of underground organizations of the Kozaks of the OUN.

A. SHYBALYNSKA, Leader of the Ukrainian Underground Red Cross.

Engineer K. VLADAN, Leader of the District of the OUN in the Western Ukrainian lands.

I. BUDKO, Leader of the district of the OUN in the Eastern Ukrainian lands.

T. ILIYAN, Leader of the District of the OUN in the Northwestern Ukrainian lands.

S. STAL, Leader of the OUN in Bukovina.

Prof. S. Kuzmenko, Editor of underground publications.

D. BEY, artist.

I. FESENKO, Physician of the UPA.



BOOK REVIEWS

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA of UKRAINE. Editor Wolodymyr Kubijowycz.
Publ. by Shevchenko Scientific Society, Munich—New York, Vol. I.
1-400 Pages.

It would be presumptuous for any scholar or even a group of scholars to criticize this ambitious undertaking of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. It is a true monument to the knowledge and the industry of Ukrainian scholarship which has been able to bring together under the harsh conditions of the life of the displaced persons such a distinguished group of men, able and willing to compile this work and to prepare it for publication. Yet it is but one sign of the vitality of Ukrainian cultural life, once it is liberated from the destructive influence of alien bureaucracy and tyranny.

This is really the first time that it has been possible to bring together scholarly treatments of all aspects of Ukrainian life, history, culture, and natural resources without the necessity of altering the truth to satisfy the demands and the whims of at least one of those nations which were oppressing the Ukrainian people. The work is therefore the more valuable, because it is conducted in a purely scientific and objective spirit.

The Encyclopaedia offers in a brief and readable form practically all the material which an educated Ukrainian needs to know for an appreciation of his own country, its natural characteristics, its population, history and development. It should have a wide circulation among the Ukrainian emigration, both old and new, and it is a volume that belongs on the shelves of every library that pretends to have the fundamental works on Slavic life and thought.

For educated non-Ukrainians, the volume contains a mine of information and it would be greatly to be desired, if this could be made available for wider circles by the appearance of the work in English. It would be an enormous task for it would not be a simple piece of translation but it would require a considerable degree of adaptation and explanation to make clear to a non-Ukrainian audience the full significance of many of the terms which are crystal clear to persons who have been brought up in the Ukrainian tradition. Yet this is no isolated phenomenon, no fault of the editors of the work. Any handbook or encyclopaedia, in its search for brevity, must assume a considerable degree of knowledge on the part of its readers. This is the barrier that con-

fronts every would-be translator of a handbook or an encyclopaedia and the higher and more exhaustive its contents, the more it must be pitched to the understanding of the reader and the more work it will be to publish it abroad.

The encyclopaedia is of more than academic interest. At the present time, when Ukrainian culture is being crushed in its homeland and the menace of Russian Soviet imperialism and aggression is confronting all the free nations of the world, this work of the Ukrainian scholars in exile will offer rich material for the world to study and will surely aid it in realizing the key position that an independent Ukraine can play in the establishment of a peaceful and democratic world.

CLARENCE A. MANNING

LEAVES FROM A RUSSIAN DIARY AND THIRTY YEARS AFTER,

by Pitirim A. Sorokin, Boston, The Beacon Press, 1950.

Professor Pitirim A. Sorokin was born in Veliky Ustyug, Russia, educated in Petrograd and became a professor of the University in that city. During the revolution of 1917 Prof. Sorokin held three posts under the Provisional Government, that of Assistant Minister of the Interior, Secretary to Prime Minister Kerensky, and Director of the Russian Telephone Service. He was a politically well-known member of the Russian Socialist Revolutionist Party.

This volume "Leaves from a Russian Diary," gives us interesting material for an understanding of the political situation in Russia at the beginning of the Revolution.

Sorokin states that the Provisional Government was "weak and impotent," and that while Kerensky made eloquent speeches, no one issued orders to the country and the government did nothing to stop the growing anarchy.

The Soviets at the beginning of the revolution were not a representative organization. Their membership consisted of persons who had joined accidentally and their chief concern was to find out the counter-revolutionists.

In April, 1917, Lenin and his Bolshevik comrades arrived in Petrograd. "Lenin and his group were now very rich men, and as a consequence the number of Bolshevist newspapers, pamphlets, and proclamations, have greatly increased. Trotzky had taken a very expensive apartment. Where did this money come from? That is the question!" (Sorokin, p. 44).

In July, 1917, the Bolsheviks inflamed by their propaganda the masses against the Soviets and the Provisional Government; the armed mob led by Lunacharsky, Trotzky, Kamkoff, and Gimmer, demanded the dismissal of the Provisional Government, the abolition of the capitalistic system, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the immediate starting of the World Revolution.

This first uprising of the Bolsheviks was unsuccessful, for it was checked by the officers and soldiers who had just arrived from the front. Lenin and Zinovieff escaped into Finland. But the Bolsheviks continued to stir up the people against the Provisional Government, and prepared the mob to overthrow the government by force. In October, 1917, military trucks full of soldiers and sailors armed to "the teeth", arrived at the buildings occupied by the Provisional Government and by the Soviets, arrested the ministers of the Provisional Government, and placed them in the Petropavlovskaya Fortress, where there were imprisoned the previously arrested ministers of the Tsar.

Sorokin in his book concentrates his attention on the revolution in Russia, and on the Russian reaction to the revolution. He disregards the revolutionary movements of the numerous nationalities which craved for independence. Evidently, as Russian, he did not sympathize with the efforts of the subjugated nations to liberate themselves from the Russian yoke. He mentioned only this: "The disintegration of Russia is in earnest. Finland, Ukraine, and the Caucasus declared their independence. My poor country is breaking to pieces." (p. 58).

These few words about the proclamation of the independence of the different nations do not explain the complicated problems of the nationalities living in Russia.

Russia was never an integrated country even before the revolution of 1917. The different nationalities subjugated by the Russians tried always for the preservation of their own culture, which in many cases was superior to that of the rulers. The Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Armenians, Georgians, and the other nationalities of the Caucasus and of Siberia, lived on their own territories, and fought for their independence (Ukrainians, Poles) and for selfgovernment during the monarchy. They were kept united only mechanically by the strict administration of the monarchy. Naturally, after the abdication of the tsars, they found themselves free to organize their own governments for their better political, economic and cultural life; and also to save themselves from the anarchy which started to dominate everywhere.

When I was reading the "Leaves from a Russian Diary", I involuntarily recalled the pictures of the activity of the Ukrainians in Petrograd and in Tsarskoye Selo which I had witnessed.

Many Ukrainians took an active political part from the very beginning of the revolution. The "Ukrainian Hromada", a Ukrainian national cultural organization in Petrograd made connections with the soldiers of the guard regiments of Petrograd, and influenced them to support the revolution, which should bring the resurrection of all nationalities of Russia. The Volhynian regiment, which was the first to manifest its support of the revolution, was dominated by Ukrainians.

In March, 1917, thousands of Ukrainian soldiers, officers and civilians of Petrograd on the Nevsky Prospect manifested their feelings that Ukraine now is free. Tsar Nicholas II, after his abdication, was interned together with his family, in his palace in Tsarskoye Selo, and was kept as a prisoner. Russian soldiers were assigned to guard the prisoners.

Meanwhile, the Ukrainian soldiers and officers of the Guard Rifle Regiments in Tsarskoye Selo, separated themselves into a Ukrainian group under the Ukrainian flag. This newly formed Ukrainian military unit was almost the only one to remain under military discipline among the Russian soldiers who fell into anarchy.

The Ukrainian company was sent to guard the Tsar and his family. When the Ukrainians took up their duty in the palace, they learned that the Russian soldiers were behaving themselves in a most brutal way; they were not only seated in the Tsar's rooms, but they smoked and spit on the floor, which was dirty and strewn with their cigarettes. After the Ukrainian soldiers cleaned up the rooms and the yards and served the imprisoned family, the Tsar was surprised, and asked Sergeant Dumenko of what military group they were, and what was the meaning of the blue and yellow ribbons on the soldier's sleeves. Dumenko explained to the Tsar that they were soldiers from the Ukrainian unit which had organized itself there in Tsarskoye Selo and that the ribbons were the colors of the Ukrainian national flag. The Tsar asked also whether the Ukrainians were not satisfied under the old government. Dumenko explained to the Tsar that the chief grievances of the Ukrainians were that they had been deprived of their political and economic rights, and that they were not allowed to use Ukrainian language for instruction in their schools.

When the Ukrainian guards ended their service at the Palace, the Tsar shook the hand of Ensign Isayko, who was the officer in charge

and said: "Thank you for your service. That is the only revolutionary military group which has performed its duty very well".

Later on, the Ukrainians from Tsarskoye Selo were united with the Ukrainian Officers of the Krasnoye Selo, and formed an artillery division of three batteries, which they named the division of Taras Shevchenko. In July 1917 this organization left for Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, and placed itself at the disposal of the Ukrainian government.

The present writer took an active part in these actions of the Ukrainians in Petrograd and in Tsarskoye Selo. Yet no reference to these or other actions of the various national movements is made in Sorokin's book which concerns itself only with the activities of the Russians.

P. ZUBKO

"SOVIET GOLD", *My life as a Slave Laborer in the Siberian Mines*, by Vladimir Petrow: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1949, pp. 462.

Life in the Soviet concentration camps, particularly in the far north, has always awakened deep interest if only for the reason that very few slave laborers had the good fortune to escape from these "transmission points" of the USSR to this side of the Iron Curtain, and reveal their secrets to the civilized world. The young Leningrad student Petrow, who was arrested at the beginning of 1935 for "counter-revolution", achieved this almost impossible task.

It is very interesting to note in Petrow's book how the current news from the USSR seeps into the hermetically isolated camps of the NKVD and how the prisoners accept it. The news is brought in by new prisoners; there is never a lack of these in the camps, and their members always increase in times of particular repressions in the USSR. For instance after the Tukhachevsky affair in 1937-38 (the so called "Yezhov" period) or before the outbreak of the war and in its first months. At that time new prisoners from the recently "liberated" regions of West Ukraine and White Ruthenia arrived in Kolyma and Siberia.

Another valuable side of Petrow's book is, that from the conversations and stories of the prisoners the reader learns not only about their life in the concentration camps, but about life in general under the Soviet regime, about the hardships of the prisoners before they were arrested and deported.

Among the shortcomings of the book is the fact that the author regards the USSR as a unity, as one state, whereas in reality it is a conglomerate of various countries and nations.

S. PROTSIUK.

UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"GEOPOLITICAL TRENDS IN CENTRAL-EASTERN EUROPE," — by Joseph S. Roucek, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. September, 1950.

Prof. Roucek calls attention to the new geopolitical arrangement of Central Europe by Moscow as the centre of the Communist world. The territories of the Soviet Union are regarded as the most reliable support for the power of Moscow. The territories of the satellite states are of secondary importance. A curious example of this is the fact that it requires more than an hour longer than before to go from Moscow to Prague, for the express trains now pass only through the territories of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia by the route Kiev, Lviv, Uzhorod, Zhilina in Slovakia, Prague.

The lower Danube is regarded by the Soviets as a Slav Suez, which they are carefully keeping in their own hands. The line from the mouth of the Oder to the Adriatic is the second boundary of the expansion of Moscow. Albania and Macedonia are only southern continuations of this line. All the arrangements have been made from strategic considerations.

"POPULATION CHANGES BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN", — by Eugene M. Kulischer. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1950.

Eugene Kulischer, demographer of the Library of Congress, has written an unusually interesting article on the movement of the population behind the Iron Curtain. He asserts that history has never known such a mass movement of peoples. The changes in the population have been produced by the political plans of the participants in the last war, deaths of the field of battle, and the increase in the death rate of the population.

In this change of population we can see a direct reversal of the general tendencies for the movement of the population of Europe. Where formerly the Germans pushed from the west to the east in the *Drang nach Osten*, there is now the movement of the Slav masses from the east to the west.

The author shows how thanks to Soviet policy, the mixed territories have been given a homogenous character by the resettling of the population. The Polish-Ukrainian boundary is an example. Even before the war

the population of Western Ukraine was overwhelmingly Ukrainian. The author properly asserts that the Polish statistics of 1930 and 1939 greatly exaggerated the number of Poles in the provinces torn from Poland and annexed to the Soviets. Impartial studies show that in these territories there were actually not more than two or three million Poles and that about 1,500,000 of these returned to Poland. On the other hand more than a half million Ukrainians were moved from the territory of present Poland to Eastern Ukraine. In this territory of Western Ukraine which had been stripped of its population the Soviets for political reasons of Russification settled a large number of Russians and uncivilized Asiatics.

The author handles separately the tragedy of the Jews on the territories of Ukraine, Poland and Byelorussia. Before the war this was the largest concentration of Jews in the world. Of the 4,300,000 Jews in Ukraine, Poland and Byelorussia there have been left not more than 650,000 or 15%. The rest were exterminated by Hitler. Now the Soviets are transporting these survivors to Asia and have removed from the one city of Lviv 35,000. The article is unusually interesting and its thoroughly scientific character should make it first class material for many American authors who deal with Poland and Ukraine.

"RELIGION WITHIN THE IRON CURTAIN," — by Clarence A. Manning. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. September 1950.

The author points out that the atheistic government of the Soviet Union by its phrase "freedom for the service of religious cults" means "freedom for the holding of religious services" and nothing more. Counting on the willing subservience of the Patriarch of Moscow, it has backed him to put pressure on all the other Orthodox Churches behind the Iron Curtain in an effort to fulfill the old Russian idea that the Patriarch of Moscow should be the head of Orthodoxy. With this in mind it has banned all autonomy for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and following the Tsarist Russian tradition, it has wiped out the Greek Catholic Church in Ukraine and Rumania and annihilated the episcopate and the religious leaders. With the exception of the Lutherans in Latvia and Estonia, the bulk of the Protestant minorities have shown a tendency to accept the new religious order in the satellite states which strips the church organizations of all power and compels the individual clergymen to obey all the orders of the state without reference to any central authority. The Roman Catholic Church has resisted this attempt and hence its leaders as Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty and others have been the chief victims of the Com-

munist policy. The same process has been applied to the Jews and the Mohammedans. In a word it is Communist policy to strip religion of all meaning except for some formal services and to place atheistic Communism as the essence of life and thought.

"AN INTERPRETATION OF EASTERN EUROPEAN MENTALITY,"
by Endre Ivanka. *The Review of Religion*, May, 1950.

The author points out that the boundary between the Eastern and Western Churches runs along the eastern boundary of Lithuania, Poland, Hungary and Croatia. The regions to the east are the lands of the Eastern Church with its own spirituality. The author regards this as the world of mystical Christianity, based on Platonism, and in agreement with the Byzantine mentality and finally with Russian mysticism.

He emphasizes the great role of Athos in the development of this mentality after the fall of Byzantium. It produced the religious outlook of Russian mysticism; he contrasts the rationalism of the Western Christian world with the mysticism of the Eastern. He connects this mysticism with the existence of the spiritual church in Russia as opposed to the official church and this produced the atmosphere for the growth of the Ras-kolniks.

The author has given a good analysis of Russian spirituality, but throughout he makes the fundamental mistake of regarding Eastern Europe as one cultural and spiritual entity, which it is not. The Christianity of Ukraine is an absolutely special type *distinct* from Russian mystical Christianity and is intermediate between Russian mysticism and Western rationalism. The Special Ukrainian type might be called a form of ethical Christianity and can be seen throughout the entire history of the Ukrainian people from the foundation of the Pecherska Lavra to the philosopher Skovoroda.

The type of Greek-Athos Christianity has had its Ukrainian representatives in the seventeenth century. One of them was Ivan Vyshensky who returned from the Athos to his own country during the struggle between Orthodoxy and the Union. Seeing the fall of the Orthodox hierarchy, he preached a Christian Church without a hierarchy. But he was understood by neither the Orthodox nor the Catholic Ukrainians. He had no influence on the Church life of his time and had to return to Mount Athos.

The author has oversimplified his analysis of the eastern European mentality and has forgotten the special transitional types between East and West, of which that of Ukraine is a good example.

"THE INFLUENCE OF EARLY MILITARY DECISIONS UPON THE NATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE SOVIET UNION," — by Bertram D. Wolfe. *The American Slavic and East European Review*, October, 1950.

Bertram Wolfe, the author of the well-known book, *"Three who Made the Revolution"* makes clear the character of the so-called component Soviet Republics, of which Ukraine is the largest. Behind the curtain of formally existing national republics, there is going on in fact in the Soviet Union a centralization under the command of Moscow. Economic planning practically renders impossible the existence of separate republics, but the author in this article points out that this centralization in fact being introduced in the first years of the Bolshevik revolution at the very time when the Bolsheviks were proclaiming to the entire world the self-determination of peoples.

As a proof of this centralization he cites military orders from 1919 and the following years, which negated the existence of any separate Soviet Ukrainian Republic. He quotes several military orders of Leon Trotsky, Commissar for Military Affairs, and instructions about the Ukrainian red detachments of his Russian commanders to the effect that the Ukrainian Republic was not then a separate state. The author asserts that these levelling and centralizing orders of Moscow aroused opposition among the Ukrainian Communists, especially the so-called Borotbisty, which was one of the causes of the liquidation of this type of Ukrainian national Communists, the predecessors of Tito.

"THE PROBLEM OF RUSSIA," — by Wacław Grzybowski. *The Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 4.

The author, a Polish diplomat, analyzes the nature of the Soviet Union and asserts that it is a more brutal form of old Russia, which, in the words of Milyukov, considered itself a world apart from Europe. In the present Soviet system it is impossible to separate Communism from Sovietism, — that is, the new form of the Russian state. This system can be destroyed only by the destruction of the Russian state, which has never possessed any unity, for it is composed of enslaved peoples.

He divides the peoples enslaved by Russia into three groups: — 1). those which had in 1939 their own states and were drawn into the Soviet orbit; 2). those which after the Revolution of 1917 formed their own developing states, as Ukraine, Kozakia and the Caucasian peoples; and 3). the Mohammedan peoples of South Western Asia who are the natural allies of Europe, although they do not count as part of it.

The liberation of the enslaved nations can only be achieved from outside, for the Soviet system is so brutal that there can be no thought of a revolutionary explosion. The author admits that the Russian people would like to be freed of the Soviet overlordship but, that the Western world cannot count on its collaboration.

"WE CAN WIN THE COLD WAR," — by C. W. Boldyreff, *Reader's Digest*, November, 1950.

Constantine Boldyreff, an advocate of Russian solidarism, a nationalist group among the new Russian emigrés from the Soviets, gives advice on how to win the cold war in Russia, at a time when a shooting war has already commenced in the Far East and at any moment the flames can spread to Western Europe.

How can we win cold war in red Russia? Boldyreff promises that Stalin and his clique of the Politbureau can be overthrown with the help of the opposition among the Russian people. Such a promise would be attractive, if it did not seem so fantastic. No signs in heaven or earth have indicated the existence of a Russian underground working against the Kremlin. On the contrary all information from the Soviets indicate that the Russian people are standing back of Stalin who has raised the power of Russia to a height which it has never reached in its entire history. We know that the Soviet government is now carrying on the policy of a purely Russian nationalism and is denationalizing the non-Russian peoples. It is the policy of a single, indivisible Russia, — that is the same policy for which Boldyreff and his unifying National Union of Russian Solidarists are standing. It is with that policy that he is going to overthrow Stalin.

Yet Boldyreff is right that there does exist in the Soviet a certain underground, which is recognized among its members by the sign of the Trident. We know that the Trident was the symbol of St. Volodymyr, the Christianizer of Ukraine, it is coat of arms of Ukrainian Republic and the symbol of those who are fighting for the independence of Ukraine from the domination of Russia. That Ukrainian underground is the underground of which he is talking. Boldyreff really means to say that there exists in Russia and there is operating in Russia the Ukrainian Resistance but it has nothing to do with the Union of Russian Solidarists, for it has a precisely opposite ideology and it is struggling against their ideology—the conception of One Russia with a strongly chauvinistic national policy. The world already knows about this underground which uses the Trident as its symbol, — it is the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

"THE POLISH-SOVIET EXCHANGE OF POPULATION," — Joseph B. Schechtman, *Journal of Central European Affairs*, Vol. 3, 1949.

The author touches on the profound changes that have taken place on the Ukrainian-Polish border due to the exchange of population between Poland and the Soviets or, to be exact, between Poland and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The author reminds us of the historical fact that the Polish pressure toward the East has at the present time totally collapsed. This exchange of population between Communist Poland and Communist Ukraine almost nullifies Poland's eastern designs.

The author primarily makes use of the official reports issued by Communist Poland and Communist Ukraine. From these official reports it can be deduced that by the end of May, 1947, when the exchange ended, 483,000 Ukrainians and 30,000 White Russians moved out of Poland into Soviet territory. In the meantime, by the end of 1947, 1,495,938 Poles and Jews, according to official reports, moved out of Soviet Ukraine and White Russia. These Poles and Jews were allowed to move into Poland. Above and beyond the given figures about a half million of population returned by other than official channels during the war and immediately after war. All in all about two million Poles and Jews departed from Ukraine and White Russia (there were about 250,000 Jews).

As a result of the exchange, the author states that a Ukrainian minority at present does not exist in Poland. But, on the other hand, there remains very small Polish minority in Soviet Ukraine and in White Ruthenia. As a result of the small size of the Polish minority, the city of Lviv lost its Polish character.

Mr. Schechtman's article, does not, however, describe the real conditions that have resulted from the exchange of population on the Polish-Ukrainian and Polish-White-Ruthenian boundary. Besides the peaceful exchange which is mentioned in the official reports, the author fails to mention the forceful removal of the Ukrainian populace from the prewar territories into the Soviet zone. The author fails to mention, also, anything about the compulsory removal of Ukrainians from eastern Poland to western areas which were taken away from Germany near the Oder river as well as to Eastern Prussia. If this number of Ukrainians were taken into consideration, then the total number of Ukrainians removed from the eastern Polish territory would reach about three quarters of a million. Information on this subject is given in the comprehensive book written by Walter Dushnyck, "Death and Devastation on the Curzon Line".

CURRENT UKRAINIAN CHRONICLE

THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COM- MITTEE OF AMERICA

On October 1, a manifestation in honor of the tenth anniversary of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America was held in Carnegie Hall, New York. Ukrainian speakers and such prominent United States officials as Senators Herbert H. Lehman and Irving M. Lves participated in the manifestation, and declared their support of the Ukrainian national liberation movement. Professor James Burnham's speech was enthusiastically applauded. He demanded that America declare herself on the side of the enslaved nations that fight for their freedom, not in a diplomatic whisper but in a voice that could be heard around the world.

Congratulatory messages were received from Governor Thomas E. Dewey, Senator Brien McMahon, Senator H. Alexander Smith, Senator Francis J. Myers, Senator Theo. Francis Green, Senator Homer Ferguson and Senator C. Hendrickson.

It is characteristic that almost at the same time the Soviet "Literary Gazette" in Moscow and the paper of Mr. Krensky in New York attacked Prof. Burnham.

MANIFESTATION IN MEMORY OF GENERAL TARAS CHUPRYNKA

On Nov. 26, in the Manhattan Center in New York, Ukrainians and their friends held a meeting in memory of General Taras Chuprynka (Roman Shukhevych) who fell in action against the Russian occupants of Ukraine. Beside Ukrainians Mr. Christopher Em-

met, chairman of the Council of the Common Cause, and the Representative of the White Ruthenians also made speeches. The Manhattan Center was filled to capacity (over five thousand) and many people could not gain entrance because of the lack of room.

UKRAINIANS IN SOVIET CON- CENTRATION CAMPS IN GERMANY

Although a great majority of the Ukrainians, who were not removed to the Soviets immediately after the war, saved themselves by migrating farther west, still quite a number of them were forced by various circumstances to remain in the Soviet Zone of Germany. The Berlin correspondent of the *Ukrainian News*, printed in Ulm, Germany, has given some information as to the fate of those who were discovered by the Soviets. (The information was obtained from some who escaped from the concentration camps). In barrack No. 53 of the former Sachsenhausen Nazi concentration camp over 200 Ukrainians were held; one third of them died of starvation. In March 1950 the last known transport of prisoners was removed to the USSR. Among them were many Ukrainian intellectuals who lived before the war in Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Austria and other countries, and were never Soviet citizens.

In a separate isolation camp called Steinhaus Soviet soldiers suspected of desertion are imprisoned. They are treated very severely. Among these prisoners a large number (approximately half) are Ukrainians; the rest are White Ruthenians and Caucasians and a very few Russians.

UKRAINIAN ANTI-SOVIET LEAFLETS IN BERLIN

The Sued-Deutsche Zeitung reports that in the Karlshof area, the Soviet sector of Berlin, a great quantity of Ukrainian anti-Soviet leaflets signed by the Ukrainian National Guard, were found. The Karlshof area is the seat of the headquarters of the Russian General Chuikov. The leaflets called upon Soviet soldiers to fight against Russian totalitarianism and resist the Soviet regime.

"UKRAINIANS" AT LAKE SUCCESS

A delegation of the puppet government of Soviet Ukraine under the leadership of Mr. Baranovsky appeared at Lake Success. All the endeavors of American Ukrainians to gain an interview with them failed. The frightened delegates avoid all talks, and answer in Russian to all questions put to them in the Ukrainian language... It is very significant that the delegates are always surrounded by "agents", who take part in any conversation, though uninvited, or simply interfere with any conversation.

GEN. ANDERS AND LVIV

At the parade on Pulaski Day in New York Gen. W. Anders demanded a new Polish occupation of Lviv. This caused a number of protests from the Ukrainians. Dmytro Halychyn, the Vice-President of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, protested against this demand of Gen. Anders in an open letter to the American press, declaring that it is highly improper for the Polish general to abuse the hospitality of a democratic country by voicing undemocratic ideas.

UKRAINIAN-RUMANIAN COOPERATION AGAINST THE OCCUPANT

The British press writes of armed action of the Rumanian underground against the Russians. Ammunition magazines in Fochany and Kimpolung were blown up and the oil pipeline between Ploesti and Odesa was broken in many places. Airplanes are used against the partisans. The Rumanian partisans maintain a close contact with the headquarters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

NO ATOMIC BOMBS FOR KIEV OR ODESA

Mr. John F. Stewart, head of the Scottish League for European Freedom, writes in a letter to "The Scotchman":

"I never believe in the effectiveness of the atomic bomb against Russia, and I would protest against the indiscriminate use of it. I want to point out that Kiev is the capital of Ukraine and Odesa is the largest Ukrainian port. I have no doubt that when Ukraine regains its independence, the people would like to have their cities undestroyed. Now the Ukrainians are ready to cooperate with the West in order to challenge the Russian menace. If we would atomize their beloved cities, they will be embittered, and without their help we would never overcome the Russian terror over the World. The same may be applied to other peoples enslaved by Soviet Russia."

EXPLOITATION OF UKRAINE

The entire USSR was ordered to celebrate the "Railroad Day". Ukraine was not excluded. As usual in such cases all railroad-men were ordered to make a "spontaneous pledge" to the norm of loading and transporting Ukrainian natural wealth to Russia.

Thus the Ukrainian railway men were compelled to promise to transport to Russia: 1) by way of the north-west railroad 7,000 freight cars of timber and 1,000 cars of grain; 2) by way of the Vinnytsya line a thousand car-loads of grain; 3) by way of the Kovel line 3,000 car-loads of timber and 2,000 cars of coal; 4) by way of the Lviv line — 10,000 cars of coal and 3,000 cars of timber; 5) by the Odesa line 11,000 cars of coal, 10,000 barrels of petroleum and 2,000 cars of grain; 6) by the Kishyniv line 7,000 barrels of petroleum, 1,500 cars of timber and 1,000 cars of grain.

This is the amount of raw materials which are to be exported *above the norm*. The normal amount of export is not given here. For example the normal export plan allows Ukraine to retain for her own use only one-eightieth of the total amount of coal mined on Ukrainian territory. There is no word of any compensation for the exported materials by Moscow.

"THE WHISPER OF AMERICA"

That is how Z. Poray of the "Ukrainian Independent" (Munich) dubbed the Voice of America. He pointed out that neither the number of millions spent in maintaining the "Voice of America" nor yet the number of broadcasting stations will be the deciding element in the ideological war, which is now being fought. The Bolsheviks have a central universal idea — it is Communism, and for the Asiatic nations it is national liberation and social reforms. One can despise and fight communism, but nevertheless it fascinates millions, and the Russians use it as a means of gaining their imperialistic ambitions. America may oppose this with her own ideas of democracy and welfare, but the masses of Europe and Asia will not believe her. The reason for this is that the nations of these continents do not desire only personal

freedom, but national freedom as well — something that American democracy does not understand. For example 100 million people enslaved by Russia want national liberation, but the American propaganda has not a single reassuring word for them. One of the paradoxes of the American propaganda is that it assigns Russians as leaders of that propaganda, which is directed against the power of Russia. Mr. Poray ends his article with the opinion that as long as America will not declare herself clearly and firmly on the side of the enslaved nations, so long those nations will not believe in democracy.

HOW THEY COUNT

After the World War John Fisher was in Ukraine, as a representative of the UNRRA, and is now considered an expert in Soviet affairs. Not long ago in his article "Discontent of People Held Brake on Stalin", reprinted in many newspapers, he wrote about the "Ukrainian underground, the biggest and most dangerous of all *Russian rebel bands...*" In this same article he mentions "200 million Russians"...

Life magazine is more modest in its calculations; it counted only 190 million Russians and another time still less — 170 million. As to the opinion of the Russians themselves on that subject it is sufficient to look into the Soviet Encyclopaedia — they claim only 100 million Russians.

It seems that many thousands of American boys will still have to die with their hands tied behind them and a bullet in the back of their heads before these who form American public opinion, begin to get an inkling of the East European situation. Today they do not seem to want to see and to recognise the truth — and this is the gravest reproach that can be made to a journalist.

"THE PRISON CAINS IN TRUMAN'S AMERICA"

Recently the Voice of America broadcast a short item on the activities of DOBRUS — a relief organization for the former Ukrainian victims of Soviet repressions now in the United States. The success of this broadcast may be judged by the reaction of the Council of Ministers of Soviet Ukraine. Their organ, "Soviet Ukraine", criticized the broadcast in a highly irritated tone. It labeled the members of the DOBRUS as „cosmopolitan spies, murderers, deviators, who serve the American imperialists for a scrap of rotten boloney"; they are "a pack of malodorous dogs"... — "a parade of prison Cains, possible only in Truman's America"... — Printing this selection from Soviet culture, the "Ukrainian Thought" in London adds: "This is the reaction to one broadcast in the Ukrainian language, which differed from the usual broadcasts of the Voice of America," since it was not translated from Russian.

LIFE IN ODESA

A correspondent of the Moscow "Izvestia", stationed in Odesa, gives a realistic picture of the conditions in the largest Ukrainian sea port, which is under the administration of the Naval Department. Here are some excerpts from this article:

"Thousands of passengers go through Odesa, but the city has no sea terminal. The building used as a terminal reminds one of pig-sty. The travelers prefer to wait for their ships in the street."

"There is not a single sailor's hotel in the city, not a single sanatorium or rest house for the sailors."

"Practically the same may be said of the port, which has no mechanization. Ships and trains are loaded and unloaded by hand."

"There are not enough storage-houses in the port. Such goods as fruit, tobacco, tea — are kept under the open sky."

"Not long ago a conference of the maritime establishments was held in Odesa. A delegation of as many as four vice-ministers arrived from Moscow (why not from Kiev? — U. Q.). They made notes of numerous petitions and demands, and promised to help. This, however, brought no results whatever."

CHURCH IN THE CATACOMBS

Under this title an art exhibit was organized in the Vatican, to show the martyrdom of the Catholic Church under the Soviet regime. This exhibit has a Ukrainian section, with the portraits of ten Ukrainian Catholic bishops liquidated by the Russians. The Ukrainian Church outside the Iron Curtain is represented in a separate section of the exhibiton.

COUNCIL OF THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE USA.

On October 15, 1950 a Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the United States took place in New York City. Its aim was to regulate the church affairs of the Ukrainian Orthodox. The Archbishop Yoan Teodorovych was nominated the Metropolitan of the Orthodox Church in USA, with Archbishop Mstyslav Skrypnyk as his deputy and chancellor. The Church Committee consists of well known Ukrainian Orthodox laymen.

THE STATE OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OUTSIDE UKRAINE

According to the estimate of the Vatican there are 7 Dioceses and Apostolic Visitatures outside Ukraine with 8 bishops, 754 priests, 153 seminarians,

960 members of religious orders, 1,080 churches, 118 monastery homes, 50 schools and academies, 45 Catholic organizations, 35 organs of the Catholic press and 1,286,000 faithful.

UKRAINIAN UNIVERSITY IN GERMANY

The Ukrainian Free University in Germany has been officially recognized and granted full rights by the West German authorities.

The Free Ukrainian University in Munich carries on the tradition of the Ukrainian University in Prague, which existed there between the two World Wars, as the Polish administration would not allow the opening of a Ukrainian university in the Ukrainian territories occupied by Poland.

UKRAINIAN SCIENTISTS IN ARGENTINA

According to the Ukrainian press in Argentina Professor Bandura (geologist, hydrologist and agronomist) is employed by the Argentine government to conduct scientific research in the northern territories of Argentina. Professor E. Onatsky has completed a two volume scientific work "The Encyclopaedia of Ukrainian Symbols, Customs and Beliefs". Professor Yury Polansky (geologist and geographer) was appointed the head of scientific expeditions in Mendoza by the Argentinian Department of Commerce and Industry. He is also an instructor of the young Argentine geologists.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF AMERICA

The twenty-fifth anniversary convention of the UNWLA was held in Philadelphia on the 11 and 12 of November. This Ukrainian organization, has now 60 sections and publishes its own paper "New Life". In 1948 the League organized the first world congress of Ukrainian women in Philadelphia, and is also known for its extensive relief work, especially for refugees. Mrs. Olena Lototska was again elected president of the League.

LECTURES IN THE SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY IN NEW YORK

The following is a list of the new scientific lectures held by members of the Society in New York:

Prof. K. Kysilevsky: "New Materials for the Classification of the Ukrainian dialects" and "Ivan Verkhratsky, the Noted Ukrainian Philologist."

Prof. V. Lev: "The Letters G and H in the Ukrainian Literary Language".

Dr. O. Andrushkiv, of Seton Hall University: "New Criteria for the Plan Position of Polynoma."

Prof. I. Rozhin: "Postgraduate Education and the Condition of Ukrainian Universities."

Prof. V. Sichynsky: "The Dictionary of Ukrainian Artists."



