



# Ukrainian World

*Український Світ*



Bread **XPIB** Brot



**FOJOT**  
Famine  
Hunger



## DEAR READER!

We are glad to meet you on the pages of our magazine. Since 1993, UKRAINIAN WORLD has been published in English and German as well as Ukrainian.

We are continuing with our initial idea to comprehend and bring to you the eternally effective knowledge, which many generations of our Ukrainian ancestors have acquired through their spiritual and domestic practice, to show the unity of Ukrainians in time and in space and in relations to other peoples. The moral power of this integral faith-knowledge has for millennia helped our people to bring their existence in harmony with Nature, and to solve their social problems. The force of the Ukrainian spiritual will to live is based on this faith and knowledge; it enlivens the consciousness of the people, provides integrity to individual and ethnic worlds, and shapes the ethnic state as a self-organized social structure.

Today Ukraine lives with the pressure of normalizing its spiritual and natural essence, recreating its own state order, and regaining its rightful and honorable place in the world. Thus, our magazine's purpose is to present a different view on all spheres of the Ukrainian world, as an ethno-cultural, spiritual-domestic, geopolitical reality, to reveal and spread the practical experience of our Ukrainian ancestors and our contemporaries from both our native land and from abroad, who support the unity of the Ukrainian world through their spiritual, intellectual, and creative efforts.

Information about Ukraine is organized into the following departments: Nature, People, Economy, Polity, Science, Education, History, Worldview, Spiritual Practices, Philosophy, Word, Music, Art, Family, Children's World, Heritage (outstanding figures, memorable dates), Reviews. Within this structure, our culture is expressed as the process of self-realization of an individual and ethnos in the World Unity.

We welcome you to join us in this process of understanding and creating the Ukrainian culture.

This special issue only pays our debt to you for 1993; the next issues will be dual ones.

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Olexander  
SHOKALO

# FARMER — THE BASIS OF UKRAINIAN SOCIETY



The ancient history of Ukraine is not fixed by the linear writing usual for today's people. Although our prehistory shows itself naturally — first of all, though the unique acquisitions of agriculture. The history of Ukrainian soil cultivation is read in the depths of, perhaps, the richest grain producing soil in the world — chernozem, that is, a natural-historical body, the fruit of a centuries-old interaction between the farmer and the land. Soil is an alive organism. A handful of chernozem contains millions of bacteria — a whole microworld. A centimeter of soil takes three hundred years to form<sup>1</sup>. And thickness of the Ukrainian chernozems, in particular on the Left Bank of the Dnipro River, reaches more than two meters. How many generations of people put their labor into this land to create such rich soils?

A great number of natural-cultural, in particular archeological facts, testify that more than seven thousand years ago the people of Ukraine passed from a society of primitive accumulation economy to a producing one, characterized by animal husbandry and crop cultivation. Since its origins Ukrainian agriculture was formed recurrently: plough-men used their land for only several decades (so as not to exhaust it completely), then they built new settlements and developed new lands, and herdsmen came to the newly-available, non-arable areas, and the land regained its productivity (humus grew under the grass and natural additional fertilizers). Thus, endlessly animal-breeders and farmers supported a centuries-old crop rotation of the Ukrainian field, growing a priceless treasury, the living body of our land: the grain-producing soil and field of our ethnic spirit.

Grain-producing people did not conquer alien lands, because they put all their energy into cherishing their native land. The life of farmers is inseparable from the land that feeds them. The land was an incarnation of the feminine origin and maternity for Ukrainians since ancient times, as well as of the Sun, of the male origin and fatherhood. The Ukrainian treated the land as a living being. In addition, he was in the holy, intimate unity with the land and loved it as his wife. Precisely with this moral principle Mykola Hohol' argued that the proletarianization of the peasant was ruinous for man and nature (precisely at that time, in the mid-nineteenth century, the specter of communism appeared over Europe): "... How is it possible to separate the peasant from the land?... You only think, that our peasant is crying from joy, having only seen his own land. Some fall to the ground and kiss it like a loved one. This has definite meaning!... This is exactly what we have to think over..."

Thus, on the basis of this outlook, a unique Ukrainian agriculture had been creating for centuries. According to the researches of Vasyl Dokuchayev, the great specialist in Ukrainian soils, seven-, nine-, eleven-, and even thirty two-field crop rotations existed in Ukraine since ancient times. And the notorious three-field crop rotation system, that caused terrible crop failures, became dominant already by the end of the last century. But all the same, Ukraine kept its ancient fame as granary of the world.

Ukrainian agriculture is the invaluable acquisition of agrarian experience of mankind. The fields of Ukraine have been cherished for thousand years of ethno-cultural selection over hundreds of generations of farmers and livestock-breeders as their common economic-spiritual heritage. Various strata of farmers, the power-productive basis of the Ukrainian world, were created

in this area through the process of free labor. Societies on the Ukrainian land had different names in different ages, but their essence remained the same — all of them cherished the peace-creating agrarian culture realizing their natural-spiritual being. Mastery of the grain-producing field was not an end in itself of the biological existence for our ancestors, but their way of spiritual existence. That is why, the work of the Ukrainian-farmer on his native land with a prayer to the Sun is holy from time immemorial — such is the spiritual typology of our ethnoses.

This is confirmed by religious rites and ritual oral tradition of our annual ritual cycle. Essentially, the Ukrainian ritual cycle is a natural-spiritual practice of revelation, a system of faith and knowledge of the Vedas' religion of professing light. The whole life of the Ukrainian is subordinated to the Unified System through the religious rites of the annual Sun cycle.

And since the Sun is an incarnation of the Unified Light, the farmers realized themselves as children of the Spirit of Light. Hence common to all agrarian peoples is the archetype of light — OR (other forms: OL, AR, AL, RA, LA), that at the same time is the name of the Spirit of Light. Hence a theonymic self-name of first farmers of Eurasia — *oriyi*, that is, those professing the Spirit of Light<sup>2</sup>. And hence its derivatives: synonym of the *khlaborob* (farmer) — *orach* (plough-man), name of his first implement — *ralo* (plough) and process of work itself — *orannya* (ploughing), during which a ploughman energetically seems to pour the light of the Sun into the land. But *zorana* (ploughed) land is a *lan* or *pole* (field). That is why the *oriyi* have one more name — *polyany*.

Arian peoples rendered habitable the space of their natural-spiritual existence — their bio-spiritual field — on the moral basis of professing the light.

The astral name, *Ukraina* (Ukraine), and heavenly prototype of the earthly Ukraine, *Vyrij*, both come from the archetype OR. The name of our land primarily sounded like *Kyrenia* or *Krania*. The archetype *Kyr* means *pole* (field), and *kran* — crane, a bird sent by the Light Spirit OR, and at the same time totem of the Ukrainians. That is why the name *Ukraina-Kyrenia* can be read as *Polyania*, and *Ukraina-Ukrania* — as *Land of sunny delight* or *Land of the ancestors' spirit* (archetype U means *predok* {ancestor}). The proper name of the people, *Ukrainians*, in which information about the genetic and spiritual type of the ethnoses is coded, comes from the theonymic name of the land.

All Arian peoples grew from one common spiritual environment, one tradition, as branches-generations of one tree. Tillage, as the peace-creating basis of human life, was honored in all Arian societies. "He who thinks about bread, is loved by God," thus the oral memory of the Ukrainians keeps the eternal truth. "He, who sows bread, sows justice", — more than three thousand years ago Zarathustra proclaimed the principle of his spiritual-economic reform, which was written in the Avesta. "The farmer, if he is what he ought to be, soon surpasses even the heavenly angels," testifies one more Iranian source, "The Book of Enlightenment." Independent farmers, stock breeders and crop growers, always were the main productive stratum of all Arian societies; being in accord with spiritual-military strata, they provided the integrity of the ethnic essence. The spiritual center of traditional Ukrainian society was a unified mytho-religious consciousness, coordinating the private life of man with nature, society, and the Unified World, supporting the ethnic essence in the process of its unified existence.

The first world-reknowned scientist-ecologist, Serhiy Podolynskyi, in his theory combined physical teaching about energy and economic teaching, based on the moral foundation

of the Arian outlook and spiritual-economic tradition. The essence of his theory is that the accumulation of solar energy is a function of the biosphere and everything alive on the Earth. According to Podolynskyi, the leading function in society should belong to the agrarians, because only they, with their vital activity, promote the natural process of the biosphere's accumulation of the cosmic-solar energy in the plants, thereby creating the basis of earthly human life; but not to those who in the process of techno-genetic activity consume, burn, or disperse energy, including that accumulated by previous biospheres.

Traditional spiritual-economic system of ancient Ukrainian society was governed by common law and "philosophy of nature" (Panteleimon Kulish) and was supported by a three-tiered social structure. And that ethnic state as a self-organized social structure had been created yet in the days of ancient Arian "sacred democracy" (when society had been led by the spiritual stratum) was supported in the Cimmerian, Scythian and Antic periods of Ukrainian history. And it first fell victim of the military monarchy of Russian invaders, who came to Polyanian land. And later the traditional social system of Ukraine was deformed by the Moscovite Mongol-Russian kingdom for three hundred years. And finally, our social structure was destroyed by that paratotal monster, the Bolshevik collective farm-empire, the great-power policy of which was copied from the imperial policy of Byzantium, the Kyivan-Rus' monarchy, the Golden Horde, and Moscovite tsardom.

The destruction of the traditional structure of Ukrainian society has already lasted for a thousand years. First, the spiritual stratum was eradicated through the forced implementation of the church-Christian ideology by the Russian military-monarchist power. Then, the military-administrative stratum was systematically destroyed, and finally, the Moscovite monarchy dealt the final blow to the protective Ukrainian force, having destroyed the Cossack knightly order — this old-Arian spiritual-military relic, that reborn democratic state system in the form of a Cossack republic in Ukraine. The destruction was completed by Bolshevik collectivization, industrialization, proletarianization, man-made famine, which did away with millions of the farmers of Ukraine, paralyzed the sense of ownership of the native land in those who were left alive. Having annihilated the strata of the Ukrainian society (its relics lived until the 1920s), the Bolshevik dictatorship introduced practically two social strata in the state: slaves and parasites.

And today, because of the natural indignation of the suppressed ethnic essence, the mimicry of politically arrogant figures are coming again to the surface, and mystifying the human mass, they slyly grieve for the people, land, and Motherland, while pursuing the old jesuitical policy behind new "democratic" windowdressing.

Ukraine will not be independent democratic state until the farmer-owner of the land and producer of social wealth becomes independent from demagogues, until the majority of the Ukrainian people reveals its eternal conscious will to live, until our ethnic essence structures itself on its traditional bases into a spiritual-natural integrity.

- 1 But today Ukrainian chernozem soils are perishing with disastrous speed — one centimeter per three years (the process of destruction is one hundred times faster than the process of creation).
- 2 The common ethnic name, *slavyany* (Slav), has the same meaning and comes from the spiritual root as *slovo* (word), which, in turn, contains the sunny Arian archetype, *Sol* (Sun).



# Valentyn KRYSAHENKO

## BREAD — THE CRITERION OF THE UKRAINIAN EXISTENCE

Bread is not just food, a source of carbohydrates, an everyday dish for the Ukrainian. Bread is both a part of his being and a sacred, almost supernatural thing. On the one hand, it is a completely earth-bound and understandable, life-creating and life-affirming product, but on the other hand, it is a mysterious essence, created by man himself that emanates virginity, purity, and spirituality. Thus, bread, created by the mind and hands of the human beings, returns to man as a messenger of absolute spirituality, as a criterion of human existence and human action. Such a perception of bread is also characteristic of other agricultural peoples.

Bread does not have direct analogues either in nature or culture. As something separate, qualitatively distinctive from other parts of Creation, bread unites the substantial world, from which man came, and mental-spiritual world, that man himself created. Thus, bread unites Nature and Man, humanizing the former and naturalizing the latter. As an ideological phenomenon, representative of the spiritual-practical mastering of the world by man, bread is an axis and center of the organization of man's life. Growing grain and making bread, man pours into himself the life-giving impulse of the Universe; doing justice to his creature, honoring and eating it, man returns to the eternal laws of all that exists, submitting to its wisdom and expediency.

People lived on the territories of today's Ukraine a long time ago, at least for hundreds of thousands years. And just here, according to the authoritative testimonies of specialists, wild auroch and horse were domesticated, the wheel was invented, and this had great material-energetic and communicative after-effects<sup>1</sup>. This happened in the days of the Sursko-Dnieper culture, i.e. at least 7000 years ago. In the early-Trypillian period (5500 to 6000 years ago) peasants not only used the hoe, but also, according to the Ukrainian archeologist S.M.Bibikov, a wooden plough dragged by a pair of bullocks. Irrefutable proof of the use of cultivated crops on the territory of Ukraine 6000 to 7000 years ago, in particular, several kinds of wheat, barley, oats, rye, millet, peas and other crops, have been found. And, even if the origins of cultivation can be traced to areas outside Ukraine, then natural conditions, technological changes, demographic indices and other conditions appeared in



combination here and caused a rapid formation of the first agricultural state in Europe and Asia, the ancient Ukrainian Country of Ploughmen, Aratta-Oratania (now known to archeologists as the Trypillian culture).

But let us return to bread. In pre-agricultural, "before bread" times the demographic capaciousness of an area, i.e. number of people that can support themselves in a certain space, was very small. For instance, under severe conditions of the higher palaeolithic on the territory of Central Italy between 800 to 1600 people lived simultaneously; hardly 1500 people lived on the territory of Eastern Germany; even on such favorable territories as France or Dnipro Ukraine not more than 20,000 inhabitants lived at the same time. And this was in the countries where tens of millions of people currently live. Bread is the decisive cause of ancient demographic development.

One warning should be made here. The appearance of bread is connected with the beginnings of farming. But there is reason to assume that bread was known even before productive farming. Beginning with the times of later mesolithic, in the forest-steppe zone of Europe (and thus, on the territory of today's Ukraine as well), half-settled communities began to form and the preconditions for the technological breakthroughs were created. In the process of economic activity hunters and fishermen gathered wild growing crops, which made

highly-nourishing staples, like bread. This conclusion is confirmed by observations of the culture of the traditional peoples, for example, California Indians: not knowing agriculture, they shelled nuts, seeds, acorns, and wild peas, dried them, then pounded in the mortar and baked bread crusts, or cooked floury kasha (a dish of cooked grain or groats)<sup>2</sup>. However that may be, semi-settled farming in the Ukrainian forest-steppe zone — producing bread — caused a notable demographic increase on our lands: from one person per 20–500 sq.km. to one person per 0.1–10 sq.km.<sup>3</sup> Thus, bread, long before agriculture, gained respect as a multiplier of the human essence, and became a source of strength and health.

In the period of the Trypillian culture — Aratta-Oratania — with its developed agriculture and cattle-breeding, the life-giving potential of bread took shape. The proto-urban Ukrainian settlements of that time occupied from two to five hundred hectares. Even in later periods, not every European capital could boast such an expanse. Indeed, the Trypillian proto-towns were large agricultural settlements. That is, the concentration of people in one place did not cause their estrangement from the land and did not interrupt their traditionally harmonious relationship with nature. This type of civilization is called "unurbanized" by explorers (V.N.Mason).

It is worth considering one more principle circumstance, that in olden times, as well as today, bread was grown on the whole territory of Ukraine and not, as some think, only in the middle Dnipro region.

Thus, agriculture had developed in the northern Black Sea region and Crimea long ago. Farmers in those regions also cultivated the land with the plow, practiced a two-field system of agriculture, used fertilizers and irrigation, sowed soft-grain varieties of wheat, barley, and millet, and also grew both spring and winter wheat. The richness of the land made it possible to satisfy the domestic requirements for bread and to export a considerable amount of grain to other countries, which ancient authors emphasized more than once. For example, Demosthenes, in his "Speech Against Leptyn", addressing his compatriots, announced: "You know, certainly, that we import more bread than others. As much bread is imported from the Pontus by sea, as from all other markets together. It is clear, that

this is so not because the land produces such an enormous quantity of bread, but because its ruler Levkon has given the merchants incentives to ship bread to Athens..." Strabo wrote the same in his Geography: "What characterizes the town of Kheronesis, then, is that, excluding the mountainous coastal regions up to the town of Feodosia, all the surrounding area is a plain with very good soil and is extraordinarily rich in bread..." In the fifth century A.D. Arian noted about the Dnipro River: "This river Borysthene is the most useful; there are many large fish in it, and it gives forth many crops and much pasture for cattle". Similar testimonies can be cited.

Recently specialists, using modern methods of extrapolation, tried to calculate the agricultural output of the main economic zones of the Northern Pontus and their export capabilities. It was shown that the Bosphorus region alone could export from 40,000 to 65,000 tons of trade grain annually.<sup>4</sup> By the way, an average crop capacity on the lands of Bosphorus, Tyre, Olbia and Kheronesis in 400–300 B.C. was from eight to fourteen poods (1 pood = 16.38 kg) per hectare; in the Kievan Rus period in the forest-steppe zone – nearly 7.3 poods per hectare; and in the twentieth century (1930–37) in Crimea – 7.85. This stability of exportable output was remarkable.

It is also necessary to abandon the idea that the Scythians of the Lower Dnipro were only cattle-breeders and nomads. It is now coming to light that the cultural strata of the Scythian Low Dnipro settlements of the fourth century B.C. contain finds, which demonstrate the appearance and development of agriculture. Using a fallow method usual for the steppe, the Scythians grew barley, millet, wheat, rye and peas. We recall that by this fallow system of soil cultivation the land is cultivated for several years, and then, for nearly ten years, is left fallow. This makes it possible for a society to acclimatize itself to a sedentary life and to the stable settlement of an area. Thus, the Scythian nomads were not such rolling stones as they are usually portrayed, not to mention, certainly, the tsar's Scythians or Scythian farmers.

We shall not dwell in detail here on the evolution of agriculture in succeeding years, including the contemporary period. We shall note only that practically all foreigners, who visited these lands, were unanimous in noting the extraordinary industriousness and skill of the Ukrainian peasants and fertility of the land. To be certain of this it is sufficient to leaf through such books as *The Diary of the Embassy to the Great Lithuanian Prince Vitout* by Konrad Kieburg (1397), *Journeys with the Embassy* by Gilbert de Lanua (1412), *Memoirs* by Mykhailo Lytvyn (1550), *Description of the Polish Kingdom* by Blaise de Vigneur (1573), *Journey of the Imperial Embassy to Zaporizhya* by Erich Lasota (1594), *Memoirs About the Journey* by Jean de Luk (1625), *Description of Ukraine* by Guillaume Levassier de Beauplan (1650), *The Journey of Patriarch Macharios of Antioch* by Paul of Alepo (mid-seventeenth century), *Relation* by Maximilian Immanuel (1709), *History of Charles XII*

by Voltaire (1731), *Journey's Notes* by Vasylyi Zuyev (1781–82), *Journey from Volyn' to Kheronesis* by Johann Müller (1802) and many other documents which testify to the life of those who lived in this land. Analysis of the traditions, economic bases, and potential of Ukrainian agriculture can be found in the works of D.I. Yavornytskyi, M.S. Hrushevskiy, M.E. Slabchenko and other historians.

Academician V.I. Vernadskiy, based on the calculations of the well-known Ukrainian economist K. Vobly, noted the outstanding role of Ukraine in the world production of bread (data from 1907–1912), in particular: Ukraine produced 4.1% of the total world production of wheat, 3.9% of oats, 8.5% of rye, and 14.3% of barley. Moreover, this was only the bread from Ukraine proper, without areas like Volyn', Halychyna, Bukovyna, Transcarpathia, the Danube region, Crimea, Kuban' and other regions belonging at that time to other states.

Thus, a ruthless totalitarian system succeeded here in causing – in the world granary – the unprecedented famine-genocides of 1921–22, 1932–33, 1946–47. Totalitarianism also caused a drop in Ukraine's role in world grain production from 7.1 to 1.59% in a little over 70 years. And the reason for this is the annihilation of the Ukrainian grain-grower and a destructive attitude to land.

But let us remember that we, Ukrainians, have honored bread and respected the land for ages. Earth gives birth to bread, that is why we have such a reverential attitude to the earth. It was generally considered that it was a sin to plow the land and that is why its cultivation was to a certain extent a forced measure. Not to break its vitality, not to destroy what it creates, not to "provoke its wrath", the cultivation of land was accompanied by numerous rites and precautions. The land was honored as a sacred thing, and this attitude is that of farmers, and not of, say, hunters or fishermen.

The Annunciation, celebrated on April 7, was full of a special respect for the Ukrainian land. According to ancient religions, the Creator puts his head to the land to wake it up and to give it life; this is why it was not permitted to plow the land before the Annunciation. A pious man should preserve the land's chastity until the time when everything would begin to be reborn, that is, after the Lady Day. A similar careful attitude to land was characteristic of the Ukrainian peasant from the point of view of practical agricultural technology. As a rule, the three-field system of farming was used, according to which a field was divided into three parts: cattle were pastured on one, spring crops were sown on the second, and winter crops – on the third; thus, a part of land always rested, preserving its chastity and productivity.

The same way as land, bread followed a man his whole life, from birth to death, and that is why a number of calendar-ritual religious rites are formed around bread.

On Christmas, for example, the lady of the house covers the table with

a holiday table-cloth and puts a bread with a candle in the middle of it. Diduh, an unthreshed sheaf of wheat or rye, is tied up with a ribbon, stands in a corner of the room; the European Christmas-tree tries to supplant the Diduh, as a symbol of the Sacred Bread Spirit in our spirituality.

Since the earliest times the New Year has been celebrated with bread as the highest cultural-natural value. The custom of sowing early in the morning on the New Year is well-known even today: children go to the houses of relatives and neighbors and, sowing with wheat, rye and oats, to the masters health, happiness and wealth.

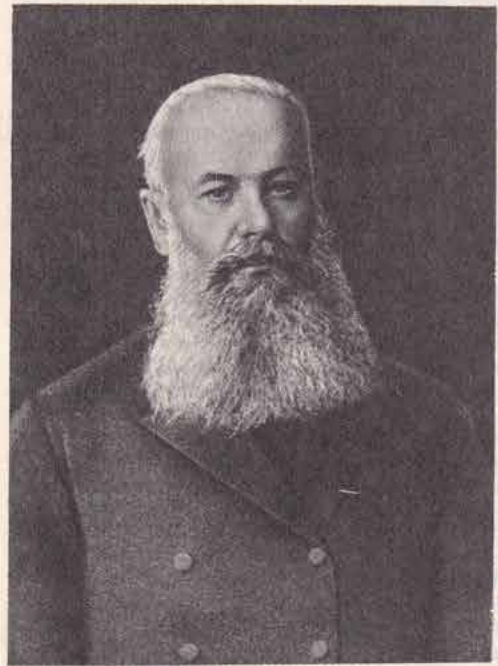
Bread has an exceptionally symbolic and spiritual-practical value also in the form of paska or Easter-bread (rich mixture of sweetened curds, butter and raisins eaten at Easter). To bake a fine, plump paska was not only an exercise of cookery, but also of a secure, harmonious view of life. Certainly, it was not a shame to sanctify such bread.

Bread covered with clean rushnik (embroidered towel) had to be in the Ukrainian house every day. Guests were met with bread, fiances were blessed also with bread; bread was taken to celebrate birthday, christening; and funerals were attend with bread as well. Bread really was a criterion of human existence and humanity. Unfortunately, because the totalitarian system trained people to treat bread only as a source of calories and no more, it destroyed human souls and the health of the Ukrainian nation. Obviously, a Renaissance is being attempted in Ukraine, and it must be directed to the rehabilitation of Bread as something sacred, as the criterion of the Ukrainian existence.

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# UNSURPASSED CONNOISSEUR OF UKRAINIAN CHERNOZEMS



VASYL VASYLYOVYCH DOKUCHAYEV was born February 17, 1846, in the Smolensk region. His father was a priest, and Dokuchayev himself also thought about an ecclesiastical career. But natural history won out and instead of a theological seminary, Dokuchayev entered the physics and mathematics department of St. Petersburg University, and in the autumn of 1872 became a curator of its geological cabinet. Having brilliantly started his scientific career as geologist, he gradually passed on to study the natural phenomenon that is the basis of everything, the soil. Since 1876, when the Free Economic Society invited him to take part in the Chernozem Commission to the end of his days (he died October 26, 1903, in St. Petersburg), soil was the Alpha and Omega of Dokuchayev's creative work.

His main book *Russian Chernozem* (1883) and *Our Steppes Then and Now* (1892) is closely connected with this. In the Novo-Alexandriysky Institute of Agriculture and Forestry, organized and headed by Dokuchayev, he could apply his conclusions on the basis of genetic soil science, a science created by him, to the needs of agriculture in the Russia of that day.

Dokuchayev paid special attention to the soils of Ukraine. It was not by chance that our chernozems were considered models. He took his first trip here in 1877 and the second in 1878. Immediately after these trips Dokuchayev gave a classic characterization of normal chernozem and came to the fundamental conclusion of his theory, that the soil was like an independent body with its own special origin and proper features belonging only to it. For science, soil stopped being "the dust of the earth", a bedding, a collection of mineral elements or something else. Genetic soil science affirmed that it was a peculiar (bio-osseous, as Vernadsky would later say)

body of nature. Unfortunately, this theoretical conclusion only gradually came to govern the actions of practical agricultural workers.

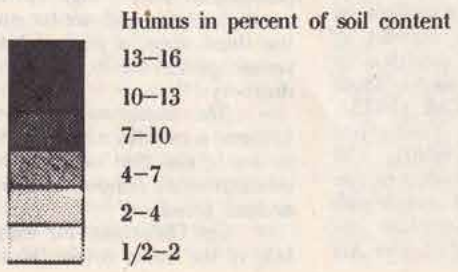
Dokuchayev's work is still valuable for Ukraine because the factual data in his works make it possible to evaluate impartially the terrible losses caused to that national treasure, by destructive mis-management under totalitarianism. It is sufficient to note that thirty to forty tons of humus are washed away from every hectare of sown slopes annually, and one to two hundred tons of the areas under crop. The sown area of Ukraine is unprecedented in the world, constituting 57% of the Ukrainian land area. So let us consider with what reservations are we to approach the beginning of the third millenium.

Dokuchayev, from the summit of his own genius, opened our eyes to what wealth we have. But do our eyes want to see it and do those who own the land want to do something?..

Valentyn Kryshchenko



Ukrainian Soils  
(Fragments of the map compiled by V. Dokuchayev)





# PECULIARITY OF UKRAINIAN SOILS

Excerpt from *Russian Chernozem*

Reducing to a common denominator all the most important soil peculiarities of the South-West Russia\*, they can be formulated in the following way:

1. The quantity of humus in the soils of South-West Russia does not exceed, at an average, 4.5% (in fact - 4.40%). And this very important statement can be considered today established once and for all; it is based on 67 analyses of soil samples, gathered by myself in various parts of this territory...
2. It is also a very characteristic fact that when the South-West Russia is divided in two parts a) on the left and b) on the right bank of the Dnipro River, then you see that on the Left Bank the soils contain 4.544% of humus (average of 35 samples), on the Right Bank - 4.242% (average of 32 samples). Beyond doubt, the fact, that on the Left Bank one finds all the specimens with the maximal content of humus, is due to the same reasons, which led to the distinction described above. Such soils are in the villages of Okhochivka (7.301%), Mariyine-Ploske (7.319%), Pischyn (8.786%), Lozova (8.519%) and Haivoron (7.585%). On the Right Bank chernozem with 7.196% of humus was encountered only once, near the Rozdilna station.
3. It is clear that in connection with the modest content of organic matter in the chernozem of South-West Russia their color cannot be so dark, as, for example, the color of the soils in the North-East chernozem Russia. However, I must caution that in many cases... - difference in color does not in the least correspond to differences in the content of organic matter. Although Professor Borysyak's statement that "chernozem in the Poltava province excelled the chernozem in the Oryol and Ryazan provinces in the richness of black color, apparently, this is true only concerning the northern districts of the latter two provinces.
4. A great number of both artificial and natural gashes, which I saw, as well as the figures given above, clearly testify that the average thickness of the chernozem in North-West Russia can be valued at 81-84 cm, and, as we will see below, considerably larger than of any other chernozems. A certain difference between the soils of the Left and Right Banks is also notable: the average thickness of the Left Bank soils is 79 cm, while the Right Bank soils average 86-89 cm. The comparatively large thickness of the South-West Russia soils pointed to the certain character of their bedrocks. This circumstance is important because it considerably reduces the difference in the humus content in the soils of South-West and North-East chernozem Russia. It is clear that in the chernozem examined by us

in these regions the quantity of humus is distributed in thicker deposits than in thinner soils.

5. One more peculiarity of the soils in the South-West Russia is directly connected with statements number 1 and 4. Here the difference in the quantity of humus according to the various levels of the same soil must be incomparably less than that of soils which are comparably thin and rich in humus. Reality, certainly, completely confirms this: aside from Professor's Schmidt given above data, analyses of Sheshukov is worth noting. We can conclude from them that the above-mentioned soil of the farmstead of Odai, in the Uman district, contained 5.962% of humus at a depth of 15 cm, 2.878% - at a depth of 53 cm, and at last 1.156% of humus at a depth of 96 cm. It is clear that the difference in color of the soils taken from various levels must have been small as well.
6. All statements about the specific gravity of soils gathered by myself, which Prof. Burmachevsky made in the agronomic department of St. Petersburg University, unambiguously establish the well-known fact that the chernozem and grey soils of the South-West Russia have a comparably high specific gravity..., the specific gravity of the South-West Russia soils can be measured at 2.62 on the average. And we cannot fail to take this circumstance into account in stating the value of comparable poverty in humus of the examined soils. The matter is that always approximately the same additional weight, nearly 5 grams, is taken for determination of the organic matters in all soils as a whole; since the specific gravity of sand is 2.6, and of clay - 2.2, it is clear that a larger volume of soil is taken for the analysis of clay soils; and less volume is taken for investigation of sandy soils. Thus, in the first case, more humus must fall on a given weight of soil, and in the second case less, because humus is distributed among soils more or less evenly at certain levels.

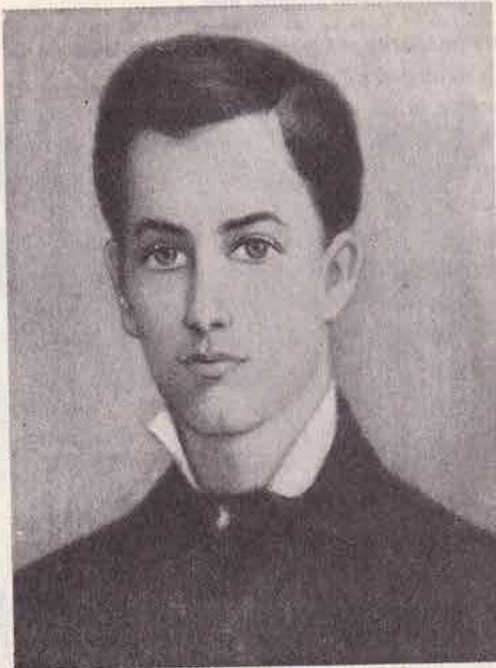
Therefore, this means

- a comparably small content of organic matters
- their gradual distribution among different soil levels;
- a considerable capacity;
- a comparably faint dark color and, finally,
- high specific gravity - these are main features of the soils of the South-West Russia; the soils themselves, as we shall see below, differ from the chernozem examined by us from similar soils of the Middle and North-East chernozem Russia.

\* Under the name of "South-West Russia" V. Dokuchayev describes Ukraine, which at that time was a part of the Russian Empire.



# RETURN FROM OBLIVION



*Serhiy Podolynskiy is one of those thinkers, to whom fate allots an extremely short period for creative work, but fills it beyond any limits. After their flame goes out they leave behind a legacy of ideas the assimilation of which require their contemporaries to journey long and arduously.*

*Serhiy Podolynskiy was born on November 19, 1850, on "Yaroslavka," his family estate on the border of the Kyiv and Kherson regions (today Shpola District, Cherkasy Region). It was there, in the Ukrainian Steppes, that he absorbed the spirit of freedom and folk wisdom and grew later — the son of a Russian poet belonging to the Pushkin circle — into a prominent figure in Ukrainian science and the Ukrainian national revival.*

*In 1871 Podolynskiy graduated from Kyiv University where he had been a close friend of Mykola Ziber, Volodymyr Antonovych and O. Rusov. Going abroad the same year, he altered drastically the general direction of his studies. He studied medicine, sociology, and economics in leading European universities, wishing to serve his people both in theory and practice. At the same time he collaborated with P.L. Lavrov's journal *Forward*, publishing in it a number of articles on social, medico-hygienic and national themes.*

*In general, Podolynskiy focused his studies on two problems. On the one hand, he attached special importance to strengthening the national liberation movement, promoting the creation of national-cultural organizations, journals, etc. Thus, jointly with Mykhailo Drahomanov and Mykola Pavlyk he established the Ukrainian journal *Hromada*, which was published in Geneva and called for a free Ukraine which would be a democratic state, guaranteeing civil rights to all its citizens, and placing all the resources of nature and society at the disposal of society as a whole. On the other hand, Podolynskiy laid the methodological foundations and created an original theory of the ecologico-economic development of mankind which he set forth in a number of works that appeared in the 1880s in English, French, German, Italian, and Russian, not to mention Ukrainian. He concentrated his attention on man's labor as the redistributor of energy on the Earth. Podolynskiy saw the world as a kind of unity, able to accumulate the Sun's energy and, due to man's labor, increase the energy budget on the surface of Planet Earth.*

*It is not difficult to notice that Podolynskiy's ideas presage the modern concepts of biosphere and gnosphere. It should also be noted that the scientific works of Podolynskiy were much more familiar to Europe than to his motherland, because of the scandalous political situation in Ukraine. That was why it was only recently that readers have come to know such works as *On Wealth and Poverty*, *How the Land Ceased to be Ours*, *Steam Engine, Life and Health of Ukraine's People*, *Handicrafts and Industry of Ukraine*, etc.*

*Having sapped his health and lost the ability to work, Podolynskiy died on June 30, 1881. It would be mistaken to believe that we have properly evaluated his legacy. Such modern sciences as biogenetics, social hygiene, sociobiology, and environmental ethics caught up with his ideas only in the second half of the twentieth century, and a number of his ideas still await rediscovery. In many ways these sciences define current intellectual discourse in the West, but modern scholars do not always mention what a brilliant predecessor they had from far-away Ukraine.*

Valentyn Kryshchenko

# MAN'S LABOR AND THE UNITY OF FORCE

(Excerpts)

## THE ACCUMULATION OF ENERGY

It is easy to prove that the quantity of the Sun's energy, which is transformed either into free chemical amalgamation or mechanical work is not always the same and that under definite conditions it comes under human influence.

In general it can be accepted beyond doubt that the life of the plants to a larger extent than that of animals has the ability to accumulate the Sun's energy on the surface of the Earth. Coal-mines provide good evidence of that fact. It is even possible to argue that despite new theories (that of K. Bernar and others), substantiating the unity of life in both kingdoms, animals expend much of their energy resources in movement and respiration, that is, they dissipate the Sun's energy into space. Naturally, it is quite difficult to determine the relative proportions of these two phenomena, but no doubt by his actions, dependent on his will, man can increase the quantity of energy accumulated by plants and reduce the quantity dissipated by animals.

...One should understand the word "labor" as a kind of "positive energy" of an organism, an inevitable consequence of which is the accumulation of energy. This is also the reason why passive action — that of the death in the struggle for survival — can never belong to the category of labor.

Setting out from this point of view, we must arrive at the conclusion that the various movements of animals, which are, at first sight, purposeless or have the purpose of looking for foodstuffs, etc., cannot be considered a kind of labor, for they do not produce any increase in the quantity of accumulated energy. Thus, for instance, the action of a spider, which so painstakingly makes its cobweb, as well as that of an ant, despite showing an engineer's intellect, are in no sense a species of productive labor.

Strictly speaking, it is only man that fully corresponds to our definition of labor. For, in fact, one hectare of land in the wild steppes produces, without man's participation, only a limited quantity of foodstuffs, but, if applied, man's labor can increase this quantity ten- or twenty-fold. It goes without saying that man produces neither matter nor energy. Matter has already penetrated through the Earth, seeds, and atmosphere. Energy was supplied to man by the Sun. But, thanks to man's acting jointly with Nature, one hectare of land, due to the increase in the number of plants on it, could accumulate a greater quantity of energy, compared to what would have been accumulated without man's participation. This should not be understood in the sense that this energy was accumulated by the Earth and then dissipated by human labor to a greater extent. This would be an error, for it is only when it is organized in an irrational way — wastefully — that the land is rendered powerless. On the contrary, a skilled farm household produces the best harvests in countries where agriculture is most extensively carried out, as, for example, in England, France, Belgium, Lombardy, Egypt, China, Japan, etc. Therefore, we believe that it would be correct to state that scientifically applied agriculture may be considered one of the best examples of labor which is really useful, that is — labor which leads to an increase in the Sun's energy on the surface of the Earth.

## Labor of the Human Organism

Of course, at the beginning of the human civilization the dissipation of energy — in the form of the extermination of forests, unregulated hunting, etc. — was well above its accumulation through agriculture and animal husbandry. But in time these two influences were equalized and the accumulation of energy through agriculture began to exceed its dissipation. Indeed, out of 1.3–1.4 billion people scarcely 100 million fed themselves exclusively with the products of hunting, fishing, or animal husbandry, that is — with the products of human labor. The rest — 1.2–1.3 billion had to survive at the expense of agriculture, that is — at the expense of the energy, accumulated directly from man's labor. If modern culture, comprising more than 1 billion agriculturalists perished, the rest of mankind would face extreme difficulties in feeding itself with the products of nature. This part of mankind could not live on the natural products of the Earth. All this brings us to the conclusion that no less than 1 billion people must now devote themselves to the constant work of accumulating the Sun's energy on the Earth for the purpose of satisfying the needs of mankind as a whole.

The extent to which the accumulation of energy can satisfy our needs depends on a number of factors we shall attempt to consider. The most significant are as follows: the store of energy on the surface of the Earth; the number of people; the dimensions of their needs, and the productivity of their labor, that is — their ability to increase the quality of accumulated energy. The existence of a great store of energy in the plant kingdom was an important factor in the struggle of pre-man against the wild beasts, the strength and proficiency of the latter in hunting being superior to that of man. The use of fire, that is the accumulation of the Sun's energy by plants, became man's powerful ally in the period of his first and the most difficult victories.

When man, still at a very low stage of development, gained these victories, it was mainly thanks to the fact that the store of the energy he could make use of exceeded that of even the strongest beasts. The wild beasts can counter man with only one thing — the strength of their own bodies, while man, being much weaker by nature, meets them with a large arsenal of weaponry which only he could use both to attack and defend. Man is the only creature able to use such colossal stores of energy. It is natural that at the beginning man did not use his advantages in an economic way or consider how to renew the quantity of the dissipated energy. It is clear that such an uneconomic management of resources could bring him nothing but a very insignificant store of energy. We know the dependence of the level of population on the store of energy explains the fact that we rarely encounter dense populations in periods of hunting and primitive animal husbandry. Of course, it is only with the general spread of agriculture, virtually the only means of transforming mechanical labor into a means of accumulating energy, that a rapid increase in population becomes possible.

In order to adequately understand the effect of useful labor on the accumulation of energy, and, thereby, on the growth of population, we must focus more closely to this special character of labor as a means of satisfying our needs.

Of course, we must not forget that even outside human influence, the Earth has the ability to accumulate a certain quality of energy which man can use. Nonetheless, even the earliest economists knew that these stores were insufficient in comparison with what is provided by labor. Thus, for instance, James Stuart tells us: "The natural products of the Earth, received in an insufficient quantity irrespective of man's will can be compared to the small sum of money a young man gets in order to establish himself in life and start a business, by means of which he can independently govern his own destiny.

Thus, from all sides we have evidence that the natural products of the Earth cannot satisfy our needs. This impels us to step up artificially the productivity of nature. And useful labor is a means of doing this.

After the above-stated, it is possible to arrive at the following conclusions:

- The general quantity of energy we get on the surface of the Earth, from its interior and from the Sun, is decreasing little by little. But simultaneously, the energy accumulated on the surface of the Earth, is growing.
- The labor of people and animals effects this increase. We interpret labor to mean every usage of man's mechanical or physical strength as well as that of animals, leading to an increase in the budget of energy on the surface of the Earth.
- Man, taken as a thermal machine, has a definite economic coefficient, decreased by the increase of man's needs.
- But at the same time the productivity of labor increases to a greater extent compared to the decrease of the economic coefficient. Thus, needs are satisfied more easily and in greater quantity.
- While man is able to dispose of such a great number of chemical compounds and free mechanical labor, this quality is beyond his own strength as many times as the denominator of the economic coefficient is above the nominator. So long as this is so, the existence of mankind is materially secure.

#### The Unity of Force and the Economy

...Here we have approached the point where we are to give an answer to the second question we posed: what methods of applying man's labour are the best in bringing the greater part of nature's forces to the satisfaction of human demands?

In general we have already given an answer: "The best methods are those providing the greatest accumulation of energy on the Earth. The primitive culture that has not become a kind of culture yet, because it is not based on the useful labor (that is, on the accumulation of energy, let alone force, stored up over the course of previous life processes) - such a culture cannot be categorized according to this method. Primitive man, surviving on vegetables and roots, hunting and fishing, only

dissipates into space previously accumulated energy.

A certain step forward is made by the slave-holding economy, but it is also imperfect, because this form of society, based on incessant war, excludes a great number of workers from the participation in accumulating energy and from useful labor for the satisfaction of man's needs. Not to speak of the great number of casualties, we shall only mention that the standing army, owners of slaves, and cohorts of overseers demonstrate the useless and unproductive elements in a society based on slave labour.

Serfdom shows a greater number of progressive elements. The serf has at least a patch of land he ploughs without being watched by the master and without being beaten by the overseers whip.

But how modest this progress is! How small are the serfs' parcels in comparison with the endless estates of the landlords! The period of the serf's free labor is but a short respite from the long days of his working for his landlord. That is why it is no wonder that the productivity of labour in the period of serfdom did not amount to even mediocre modern standards.

We approach the capitalist form of economy. This form of production could make use of the division of labor, and when there was a shortage of it, capitalism began to widely use machines in industry and agriculture. It attained brilliant results that appeared to exceed its demands. But capitalism has also its dark aspects.

Instead of increasing the quantity of the accumulated energy on the Earth, machines frequently increase the dissipation of the ready-made workforce by alienating a greater part of the proletariat from the production process, which is a consequence of hyper-production. Meanwhile, it is necessary, on the other hand, that each improvement in mechanization should directly lead to the decrease of the time of all workers' labour and thus provide them with the opportunity to step up new kinds of production as well as to further develop spiritual and esthetic culture, etc.

The high level and rational distribution in both the quantity and quality of foodstuffs should inevitably lead to the increase of human muscular and nervous forces. From this would arise a new source for further production and greater accumulation of energy on the surface of the Earth.

Precise and sober statistics, which neither hides nor falsifies data, would naturally preserve much of the labor, now wasted under the current anarchy.

The general rational teaching of hygiene and the capability to meet the needs of science in private life would also lead to higher living standards and productivity of the human organism to such heights as we witness today only in exceptional cases.

This - in our view, self-evident and related in too short or perhaps too general survey - is how we see the relationship between the accumulation of the energy and various kinds of production. We hope to get an opportunity to return to this problem in a more detailed work.

## SOCIETY AND DARWIN'S THEORY

### (Excerpts)

#### Darwin's Law as Applied to Social Life

Responding one by one to the criticism of Shmidt we have to some extent already described what, in our opinion, the influence of Darwin's law on human society (built on the basis of solidarity) might be. We now consider it necessary to bring together that which we have earlier expressed on this theme.

When analyzing the animal kingdom, we saw that the highest development and the greatest success in the struggle for

survival are attained by those whose economic struggle among themselves came to an end and by those living with each other on terms of the greatest mutual cooperation.

One of the most important ways to achieve success in the struggle with nature by human beings is through the division of labor. This division is regulated in two different ways. At the lower stages of development labor is divided mainly into different types - sometimes of very different nature - for example, polyps, seaanettes, etc. At the higher stages different

functions are often implemented by the same individuals, only with the help of different organs — for instance, among the bees and insects. The different kinds of work are not as different as they are among the lower organisms. We have also seen that among the highly organized insects the division of labor is less significant. Only the level of complexity of the organs of each individual increases. Finally, the highest beasts and people have no distinctions, other than sexual.

It would not be difficult to compare the development of human labor and its development in animals. Animals that have more or less simple organization can be compared to the man in the stage of his development when each person works separately with the help of simple or not very complex tools.

The animal species which have some extent a personal division of labor, — for instance, polonia siphonophor, amounts to manufacturing, where every worker fulfills only a very simple kind of work that leads to a very one-sided and narrow progress of his intellect.

Finally, those species which have differentiated and very complicated organs, but whose clear-cut personal division of labor is weak — for instance, the highest types of the insects, may be compared to the modern form of human production, when large industries supplant handicraft production. Marx was not in error when pointing to the similar character of the development of greater natural complexity in the animal kingdom and the mechanical development of man's tools. Both things provide the possibility for man and animals to get out of the petty personal division of labor pernicious to the workers' development and, moreover, to establish a very useful diversity of labor for each individual.

But it is here that the cardinal difference between the most developed communities of animals and the modern human community manifests itself. The most complicated organs of the insect are a more reliable kind of ownership. Nobody is able either to deprive them of their work or to make use of it, let alone impose the very unhappy and still unproved serfdom among the insects; that is why the possession of those organs and instruments is not a source of discord among insects. People are quite a different case. Their machines and instruments get into the hands of the stronger and are used to attain two goals. The first one is the struggle with nature. This is an authentic goal of every labor process. But those

seizing the tools of labor pursue one more goal: to provide for an insignificant number of people a free and useful status to struggle not with the nature, but with people for a purpose, the consequence of which is neither development nor improvement, but the destruction and degeneration of whole communities of workers, needed by no one and deprived of labor, for the machines and other instruments are personally used by the small number of fortunate persons who have seized them.

As a result of this role of machines and instruments one may well ask: although the machines, possessed by a small number of people, will be, as before, instrumental in the destruction and degeneration of the greater part of mankind, whose body, intellect and sense will degrade so much, that they will have no chance to continue a successful struggle with nature; or the machines will again turn, like the complicated organs of the beasts, into the property of each man that could neither be taken away nor directed to ends unprofitable or harmful to mankind. In this case all machines and instruments will work for the sole purpose of carrying on the eternal struggle with nature, bringing benefit to the whole of human society, to mankind as a whole.

From this, we already see to what form of social life the laws of Darwin lead mankind. That is, the struggle for existence and the selection of the most gifted men (if the people's community is not to perish during this struggle) will take place, albeit gradually and with reversals on the difficult process of success...

The form of social life in which the laws of Darwin will find their expression can be briefly expressed as follows: the feeling of mutual respect will be enhanced among people; human efforts will be consolidated and applied to machines, bringing about a greater division of labor and the possibility for each person to fulfill different kinds of work... Collective labor and the ability of the people to fulfill publicly necessary work, more or less, will inevitably lead to equality in access to the fruits of labor, necessary for the satisfaction of all needs. And the equality, which will finally arise in the course of human development, will constitute a higher stage of development than the current one. The number of the degenerate and dying as well as of those below the normal level of health, development, and circumstances, will decrease.

## FROM THE PROGRAM OF THE UKRAINIAN JOURNAL

### *H R O M A D A*

...The term "Ukraine" is applied to define the whole territory from the Upper Tisza in the present Kingdom of Hungary as the sun sets, to the Don River in the East, as well as Kuban Territory in the present Russian Empire — from the upper Nareva River in the North till the Black Sea in the South — namely, the whole land, where the masses of people speak Ukrainian (see, for more detailed information, *Hromada*, vol.1, pp.6-8). In this land most toilers — that is farmers and workers — are Ukrainians. To the contrary, a great number of aliens — Poles, Jews, Germans, Hungarians, Moscovites (Russians) — belong to the so-called higher, or, to be more correct, unproductive classes, whose only occupation is to hire the true workforce. Generally speaking, these aliens who were sent to Ukraine by the states that had enslaved it in olden times, as well as the turncoats who joined them, are dominating Ukrainians, economically as the rich and politically as rulers. The lack of freedom and life under foreign rule are harmful to every nation. On the other hand, there should not be unproductive classes in society. The community should

consist only of producers. This is the reason why it is almost the same thing: to liberate Ukraine from foreign rule or to free the community of Ukrainian producers from unproductive classes; in both cases the gentlemen of various types must either become workers, or leave Ukraine. Quite another matter is the productive communities of Moldavians, Bulgarians, Serbians, Greeks, Russians, Mazurians, German traders, Polish, Jewish and other craftsmen, who are living in our country. They must have the same rights and freedoms as the Ukrainians. Their societies and communities will be free from any coercion as to the customs and language of the Ukrainian community, have a free hand in establishing their schools — lower, middle, higher — and in joining any community of nations, communities, and societies. These productive aliens will be the knots, tying the Ukrainians to all neighboring nations with whom the Ukrainians have to set to the creation of a great free union of all peoples (international federation).

*Translated by Volodymyr Horak*



# Hryhoriy VASYLENKO

## FROM EARLY AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITIES TO THE STATE

### THE PREHISTORY OF THE UKRAINIANS-SLAVS

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We find the first mention of state in first century B.C. in Scandinavian folklore. The saga anthology "Earth Circle" tells about the journey of the Slavic prince Odin from the Naddnipyrianshchyna to Scandinavia at the time of Julius Caesar. Prince Odin and his brothers inherited power. This means that the period of the popular election of the prince had already ended.

The fifth century historian Stephan of Byzantium mentions that the Helons had a state in the Sarmatian epoch, that is, not later than the second century. And a Greek geographer of the second century Claudius Ptolemy, called the Slavic lands European Sarmatia. According to his descriptions the capital of the state is named Metropolis, and is situated near the confluence of the Desna River to the Dnipro River. There is no doubt that Ptolemy meant the capital of the same state that was known to Stephan of Byzantium.

The author of this article already wrote (*Literaturna Ukraina*, № 44, 1987) that the ancient capital of the Ukrainians-Slavs (Busovhrad) was known in the first century to Pliny the Elder and in the third century - to Julius Solin. It was situated on the territory of a modern Kyiv. The reports of both Roman authors about Busovhrad have certain features in common with the account of Ptolemy about Metropolis. In addition to the capital, Pliny the Elder knew the towns of Lyubech and Chernihiv.

When did the Slavonic state appear on the historical arena? The answer is unequivocal: in the fourth century after a successful war with the Goths in 376. From the first to the third century it mustered strength step by step. A renewal of trade with the Danubian provinces of the Roman Empire strengthened its economy. A money system appeared, based on the Roman. An internal market began to develop, to which the intensive building of towns testifies.

Marcian Heraclitus, who lived in the third century, wrote the following about Sarmatia: "There are 56 nations (tribes) there, 53 considerable towns, and 3 docks..." Those towns, certainly, were grouped in coastal and forest-steppe regions, where the agricultural population lived, mostly on the Dnipro, Buh, and Dnister. Towns of the forest-steppe region fulfilled, first of all, a defensive function as fortresses. They were really large villages. But with time they developed into centers of trade and handicrafts.

Appearance of the original writing of the cuniform type around the time of Christ became an important achievement for Slavic society. This writing serviced the needs of an internal

market (a discovery of archeologist V.M.Danylenko). The division of handicrafts from farming took place. All these achievements in the development of society witnessed the end of a transitional period.

In the second century Gothic tribes settled in the Lower Dnipro region. They pushed the Sarmatians to the Don steppes and became the Slavs' neighbors. The Goths lived in a clan society. They supported themselves with livestock breeding, hunting, and fishing. They were effective warriors, but they lived peacefully with the Slavs. They often went on joint campaigns with the Slavs on the Danube against the Romans. They went on the boats across the sea to the coasts of cholchis (Armenia), Anatolia, Cyprus, and Greece. But such good relations ended when King Hermanarich assumed power among the Goths.

In 332 the Gothic troops unexpectedly attacked the Polyanians. The Polyanians were defeated in battle and had to agree to unfavorable peace terms. Tense relations with the Goths lasted till 375. At that time the Gothic tribal union weakened considerably due to conflicts among pretenders to the throne. The Polyanian Prince Velemyr destroyed the Goths and forced them to acknowledge their vassal dependence on the Slavs. Thus, our ancestors announced their existence to Europe. From this point begins the rapid strengthening of the Slavic state, which the Greeks and the Romans officially referred to in documents as Scythia.

Since the Goths referred to the Slavs as Huns, later historians attributed this victory to the Bulgars, who also were known under that name as the inhabitants of Hunagard. The Pontian steppes from the Don to the Danube delta were named in the Gothic language Hunagard, that is the country of Amazons, and for this reason all tribes living there were called Huns, including the Slavs and Bulgars.

After subduing the Goths, the Slavic state grew quickly in strength. This flowed, on the one hand from the unification of Slavic tribes from the Siverskiy Donets to the Vistula, and on the other hand, from treaties with the German tribes that had settled on the Danube after the so-called Scythian War of 240-270. The Gepids, Geruls, Tyurinhs, Skirts and Ostgoths were such allies.

Regular forays by the Slavs into the border provinces of Byzantium began from the turn of the IV-V centuries. The most frequent *causis belli* was Scythian demands for the return of fugitives who fled to Byzantine territory and received refuge. Those who had military schooling or organizing ability often

gained high military or administrative posts. They served the empire's interests, making harm to their former Motherland. The other cause there was a discriminatory trade policy of the empire toward the Slavs, designed to give the Greeks an ever-growing trade surplus at the Scythians' expense.

During first campaigns of 408, led by military governor Uldis and in 412, led by Donatian, they suffered defeat. But the campaign of 424 led by Prince Ruhilas was successful. The war lasted three years, resulting in the defeat of the Byzantines and the empire's signing a peace treaty in 427, obliging them to return fugitives demanded by the Scythians and to eliminate trade disparities. In addition, Byzantium agreed to pay annually 350 pounds of gold to Scythia as a guarantee of the treaty's observance. This was the first official treaty in the history of the Eastern Slavs.

The Slavic state reached its apogee under Prince Kiy (433-453), known under the name of Attila. According to the account of Prisk Paniyskyi who visited Kiy's state twice, it was clearly a feudal monarchy. As the land belonged to the peasant community, and since there was no other state land fund, the political system had to be a form of state feudalism. This was the dominant feature of society.

Scythia, as a great European state, had constant diplomatic ties with the Byzantine and Roman empires. There was permanent friction over questions of trade and fugitives between Scythia and Byzantium, which waged a long war from 442 to 447 with short truces. After the defeat of the Byzantine troops near Kherones the empire paid 6000 pounds of gold as tribute to Scythia and promised to pay 2100 pounds of annual tribute.

Friendly relations between Scythia and the Roman Empire were established during the reign of Prince Munderich, Attila's father. To strengthen his influence on the Danube, Attila removed the Ostrogoths, his ally, in 439 from the Lower Dnipro to Pannonia, which he had received from Rome for his help in the empire's war against the Burgundians. This migration served as one source of the legend about the Hun's state on the Danube.

From 439 to 448 Scythia was a military ally of the Roman Empire. The Roman general Aecius was a personal friend of Attila's until 448. Conflict between Rome and Scythia began in 448 and ended in 451 with the battle of the Catalaun fields in Gall. The Slavs and their German allies won the victory. After the Catalaun battle the Roman Empire could not recover. It ceased to exist in 476 under the blows of the Germans and Slavs.

After Attila's death power passed to his eldest son Ellak. But he did not inherit his father's talent as a diplomat and politician. He was a short-sighted and boastful ruler. By insulting the Gepid leader Ardarich, he caused a war. In 456 the German's military forces defeated the Slavic troops on the river Nedao in the Danube region, and Ellak perished in the battle.

Having lost its prince and allies, Scythia could not remain united. Two of Attila's younger sons divided the land between them. Irnak got the Post-Dnipro area, and Denzerich got the western lands. We may consider that those were the principalities, known later in the Arabian sources under names of Volinana and Kuyaba (the Volyn and the Kyiv lands).

From that time the political activity of the dismembered state weakened visibly. The failure of the Slavic embassy, sent by Irnak and Denzerich to Constantinopol with a proposal to renew the trade relations, bears witness to this. The Emperor Leo I did not agree, and Denzerich decided to use arms and asked his brother's help. But Irnak refused him, pleading that he had to stop quarrels in his own state.

Nestor noticed that after Kiy's death his descendants governed in the fields, that is in the lands of the Middle Dnipro area. Dynastic inheritance continued in Irnak's family. Thoughts

of a chronicler that there were no changes of princely dynasty until the coming of a Novgorod retinue to Kyiv are also confirmed by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Evaluating the dynasty on the Kievan throne, the latter admitted that Prince Volodymyr was the first remarkable leader in the Slavic land for many centuries. It is clear from this that the Byzantine emperor was aware of the Slavic state even earlier.

With all respect to the learned emperor of Byzantium, it should be admitted that during its period of stagnation (VI-VIII centuries) Slavic society was not static. The active struggle between the Slavs and the Avars at the first half of seventh century, when the united forces of the Danubian and Carpathian Ukrainian-Slavs decisively defeated in 635 the Avar Kaganate and liberated themselves from its domination, testify to this.

The economic stagnation in VI-VII centuries on the lands of the Dnipro area was largely a result of population removal to the Danubian provinces of the Byzantine empire. Growth of the Slavic population exceeded the increase of arable land. That is why surplus inhabitants migrated periodically into free or little-inhabited lands of the northern and north-eastern Europe. But from the middle of the sixth century a considerable part of the migrants moved along the Danube. The Slavs as hereditary farmers were attracted by fertile lands and favorable climate.

During the reign of Emperor Justinian they started down the Danube by thousands. Later, mixed with a local Thracian population, the migrants created the ethnic base, on which the Bulgarian state appeared late seventh century.

In the seventh century the political and economic circumstances of the Slavs grew much more complex. State structures that had appeared on the remains of the Roman Empire were economically weak and could not be serious trading partners of the Slavs. In 568 the Avars appeared in the steppe. Byzantium tried to use them against the Slavic Ukrainians. In 602 the Avars made an unexpected attack at the behest of Emperor Photius on Galicia and Volyn. They succeeded in the conquest of the Slavic Dulibes tribe that for some time had been living along the Western Bug. In 695 the Danubian and Carpathian Slavs destroyed the Avar Kaganate under the leadership of Moravian Prince Samo and freed themselves from its domination.

In the seventh century the Khazars took the place of the Avars in the steppe. Having conquered the Bulgars in the Kuban and Crimea, they went on to the lower Dnipro and closed the entrance to Black Sea to the Dnipro Slavs. At the same time a Bulgar state appeared on the Balkans and became an artificial barrier between Scythia and Byzantium. The Byzantine Empire became involved for a long time in wars with the Persians and the Arabs. Under these conditions the lands of the Middle Dnipro area fell into isolation from the external world. The Slavs lost the opportunity to trade with the states of the Southern seas.

But the Slavonic state found the strength at that difficult period to end its stagnation. The Slavs rebuffed encroachments of the Khazars on their lands. Nestor in his Chronicle of Bygone Years confirms this. To escape their land-locked isolation the Slavs entered into trade relations with the states of Trans-Volga, Caucasus, Middle East, and even with the Arabs. Discoveries of coins of that epoch, and also the Arabian written sources testify to this.

The written sources kept alive the memory of the princes Davryt, Musony, Ardagast, and Kolegast who had led the struggle of the Slavic population against the Avar invasion in the sixth century.

It should be mentioned that Prince Bravlin in 760 broke the Khazar blockade and led a Slavic flotilla from the Dnipro to the Black Sea. It should also be noted that a title of "khakan," which the most outstanding rulers of Rus' bore -

Volodymyr Svyatoslavovych and Yaroslav the Wise, is mentioned in two written sources of the epoch of the decay of Slavic life. The first mention in The Pertyn Annals of a Slavic prince bearing the title of khakan is of a commander whose troops took part in the siege of Constantinople in 626. The second mention refers to the Rus' embassy of 839 to the Byzantine Emperor Theophil in a friendly visit.

Can we infer from the given examples that the leader of a tribe where the clan system reigned was called khakan? One need not be a historian to answer this question. The title "khakan" is equated in rank to that of tsar or emperor. It goes without saying that only the ruler of a state could claim such a title.

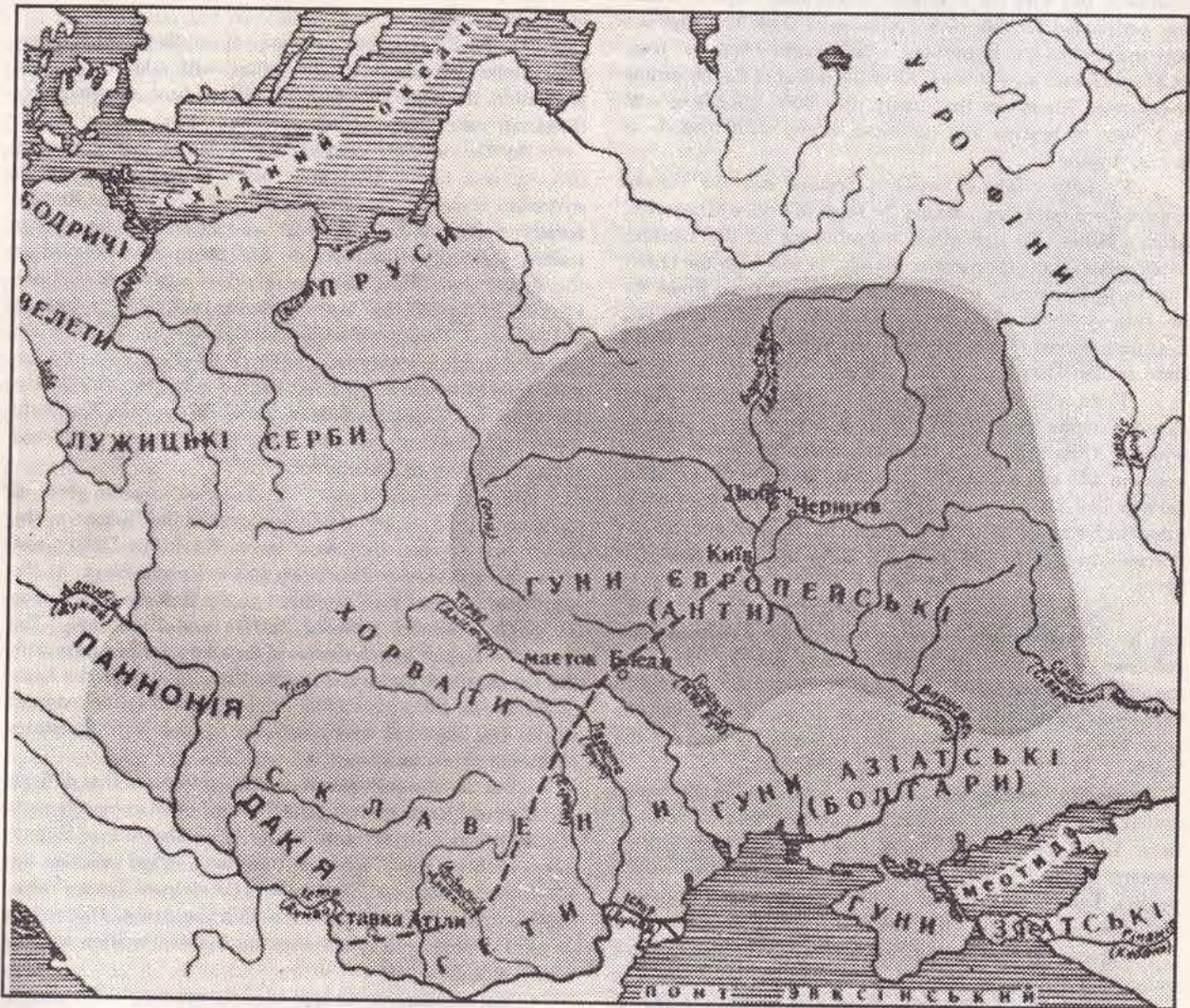
Of course, the partition of Kiy's inheritance and economic stagnation caused by land-locked isolation significantly hindered the development of Slavic statehood. But the society, overcoming the above-mentioned difficulties could mobilize its internal forces to lead the state into a new level of development. Arabian sources testify to this. Thus, the geographic treatise Khudul-al-Alem states: "Kyiv is the nearest Rus' town to the countries of Islam, it is a blessed town where

there are tsars. Various furs and expensive swords are taken out of it." It states that around the eighth century, Kyiv, the capital, boasted a successfully developing economy. And the Arabian geographer Ibn-Masudi writes of the Slavic state of the beginning of the ninth century, during the reign of Prince Dir: "Prince Dir is the first among the Slavic princes, great towns and great population belong him; the Moslem merchants come to his capital with various goods."

Thus, an Arabian geographer informs us that a powerful state functioned in the Dniπρο area long before arrival of the Novgorod retinue to Kyiv, and that it was the site of considerable trade. The state was governed by a grand prince — khakan. Princes, accountable to the great prince, governed provincial principalities. Three campaigns of the Slavic troops on Constantinople, 852, 860, 866, under the leadership of prince Askold testify to the power of this state.

Such a difficult and heroic way of development that state of the Ukrainians—Slavs has passed. Nestor the Chronicler named this state the Great Scythia.

*Translated by Oleksandra Bairakovska*



Map of Great Scythia according to Jordan and Prisk Paniyskyi (III-V centuries)

- Metropolitan of Great Scythia
- Territory of united tribes





Valentyna ANTONYUK

WORD —

## A FARMER'S TALISMAN

"...I shall bow to the clear Sun..."

VALENTYNA HENIYVNA ANTONYUK was born in the Donetsk region, grew up in the Cherkassy region (Korsun'-Shevchenkivsky district). She graduated from the vocal faculty of the Kyiv Conservatory. She is an Honored actress of Ukraine; teacher of vocal arts in the Kyiv Institute of Culture; she studies musical ethnography, folklore and folk medicine.

We, Ukrainians, are called the singing, nightingale people of the world. Like a song, our very language, with its wealth of intonation, range, and emotion reflection of the Ukrainian temperament, is rightly placed alongside Persian, Italian and French. This is called forth by a number of natural, ethnographic, psycho-physical, historical and other factors.

The agrarian character of the Ukrainian culture, its organic relationship with nature, its eternal tradition of creating magic talismans for every circumstance, the struggle of powerful forces in our national history, and continuous battles against invaders — all these factors promoted the formation of a particular Ukrainian world view in magical colors. Hence, the whole system of ritual-everyday actions with exorcisms and verbal talismans. Hence, a special manner of language, characteristic of sorcerers: colloquial intonation changes over into that of melodious recitation, then fades into a dry rhythmic speech with dynamic shadows. Here we see the combining of colloquial and song rhythms. It is meaningfully said:

"Sing as you speak".

Folk-singing and verbal magic are organically connected as elements of the folk speech's musical intonation. Singing language acquires strength according to the laws of verbal magic. In this way a certain manner of singing is formed for each person. Intonation colors Ukrainian folk-songs, especially in their recitative forms, and have peculiarities of exorcism.

There is an organic relation of seven sounds of the musical scale and of the seven colors of the spectrum with seven "resonant windows", known to the adept. Here are some examples of ancient protective incantations from the evil eye:

*"Mother was seeing her son off, girded by the Moon, and fastened with the Star...":*

*"I go out of the house, stand on the threshold with two legs, the Sun is in my eyes, the Moon is on my shoulders, I fasten with the Stars, I shall seem golden to my enemies".*

Those seven "stars-windows" with the middle as fastening according to the beliefs of our ancestors, had a corresponding sequence of colors: red, orange, yellow, green, blue, dark blue, violet; and of the C major scale, convenient for modulating the human voice close to the spoken range. Situated along the spine, "windows" have to harmonize the human organism with the world. It is a manifestation of the law of the integrity of macrocosm and microcosm and of the striving for perfection. Eastern teachings about "resonant windows" — chacras — corresponding to certain colors of the spectrum and sounds, also testify to this striving for harmony. Psycho-physical human culture is based on the ability to balance, to integrate "Ego" with "Harmony" (let us remember eastern "Ego" and "Absolute"), that is, in the final analysis, the ultimate aim of life and pledge of the Eternity.

It is impossible to perceive the specificity of the Ukrainian mentality without studying verbal magical protective talismans and incantations, the roots of which go back to pantheism, where the outlook of Ukrainian farmers was first revealed. They are an echo of the days when man worshipped nature, addressing its elements for help, as they were able to resist misfortunes and cure diseases. Sayings, where sound addresses natural phenomena, plants, and trees, as living beings, are inspired by the spirit of primitive animism. One of the most ancient types of exorcisms is a direct addressing of the object, at which action is directed simultaneously with the personification of the object:

*Good evening, Well, The beautiful girl!  
Water-daughter, Uhjana, Earth-mother, Tetyana,  
Stone-brother, Petro, I greet you with Monday,  
Take bread and salt, Give us water  
For Good!*

Such an incantation was accompanied by a certain ritual: a piece of bread was lowered into the well and kept there from sunset till sunrise. It was believed that the bread protected the master and his livestock from various troubles.

The mystical surroundings, in which the sorcerer acted, his special intonation like a whisper, the rules which followed — all these constituted a special magic ritual, promoting recovery or protection. Not so much the texts

of incantations (although they were of great importance) as the manner of their modulation and rhythmic organization assumed special meaning. Verbal protective incantations are themselves worthy of study as spiritual works.

Verbal magic protective talismans, connected with a mother and her baby, occupy an honorable place in folk life. Taboos, concerning the behavior of a pregnant woman, are commonly known: she has no right to steal, utter malicious gossip, watch something ugly, sew, knit, or embroider, and on the contrary she must sing, watch everything beautiful, and imagine her baby pretty. The baby listens to his first lullaby while still in the mother's womb. There is no mother who would not remember the words of the simplest lullaby. Voice intonation, certainly, will be more tender, sweeter; dynamic amplitude — softly. As a rule, professionally speaking, the lullaby is sung in a low voice.

Once the baby is born, the mother sings him lullabies, breast-feeds him, and enters a magic circle of the national poetic universe, populated by ancient images about what one should and should not do. This system of restrictions was worked out during centuries of folk wisdom about babies, and it had to serve to keep the baby healthy and calm.

Thus, going with the baby out of the yard, a young mother said:

*"My village, my people will do no harm to my baby".*

Meeting any river or stream on her way, when crossing it, she said: *"You, water, are to flow and be noisy, and my baby is to grow, sleep, walk, live like a lord and not be ill".*

If somebody put the evil eye on the baby, and he was crying, yawning, or writhing with pain, mother put the baby on the threshold, stepped over him three times, licked and wiped his forehead and said:

*The mother that gave birth has also nursed this baby.*

Getting up early in the morning and going somewhere, a woman had to know herself and to teach her child how to compose imaginary protective verbal incantations against the evil eye:

*I am like a Star, nobody will put an evil eye on me,  
neither uncle nor aunt, neither man nor woman,  
neither boy nor girl,  
I shall fasten with the Star,  
belt with the Moon,  
and seem golden to my enemies.*

The cosmological figurativeness of this highly poetic example of Ukrainian verbal folk art has a protective, psycho-physical, bio-energetic significance. How wise our people were in olden times, when they created the unsurpassed image of swaddling the physical human body with the gold and radiance of the heavenly bodies. The ancient cosmology and practicality of our thinking are revealed in the saying: man creates armor from an imaginary gold-radiating star and protects himself from trouble-makers. According to scientific data, gold radiance is a symbol of the developed spirit, and fastening with the stars means enriching physic energy and shutting special windows on the middle line of human body, the so-called psycho-energetic centers — chacras.

And in conclusion — one more of the most ancient cosmological protective verbal incantation (dating from the very beginning of Ukrainian agriculture):

*Mother was seeing her son off,  
belled with the Moon,  
fastened with the Star,  
swaddled with Fate.  
Meet, God, my child  
on the High Threshold,  
on the Large Road.*

*...I always ask my listeners not to say bad words, not to send bad thoughts, because everything is integral, just as the continuous circle of the past, present and future is integral; because the Beginning comes from the End, and the Law of Eternity and Great Cosmic Harmony are tirelessly observed by the Creator and by nature...*

Translated by Oksana Petrusyk



Lidia ARTYUKH

# "BREAD AND WATER — SUCH IS COSSACK FOOD"

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Since olden times Ukrainians have observed a custom: if you go to a house-warming party — bring a loaf of bread so that the new tenants will always have bread and well-being will never leave their house. They bring a loaf of bread when visiting a woman recently confined, to a couple at their wedding, and even attend to the last rites with bread.

Building a new house, they strove to choose a clean place for it, so that life in it would be cosy and peaceful in the family, so that there would be well-being, peace and harmony in the family hearth. During the selection of the site for a house bread was the most important ritual element. They put a loaf of bread or a slice of bread in the four corners of the future house, sometimes adding some small change. And in the morning they checked up: if during the night bread had been untouched, at this place a house could be built — the place seemed safe. Sometimes they poured grain instead of bread. If birds, moles or ants had destroyed a small heap of grain, the house was moved without fail to another, better place. Before determining the site of the future house they set up the table and put a loaf of bread on it. In this case the table was not covered by table-cloth, it was considered that after this a daughter can "cover herself" (bear a normal infant). Under the foundation where there had been a corner with icons, they put a slice of bread with a pinch of salt as a sacrifice to the spirits — protectors of the family.

Bread was always treasured and valued by the people, not only because of peasant thrift but also as a sacred symbol of well-being. Over the centuries many superstitions, prohibitions and customs were formed, many of which have a practical and ritual magic meaning.

In Podillya, when a child took his first step, the people rolled an uncooked egg three times from the table on which bread laid to the threshold and back, saying: "You, egg, give to Andriyko health and happiness", so that a boy should grow up healthy. Then they took bread and salt from the table and placed them on the bench in the middle of the house and called: "Go-go, Andriyko, to bread and salt! Here, take bread and salt and happiness and health!"

In Ukraine it was believed that bread should never be allowed to fall on the ground. If somebody accidentally dropped a slice of bread, it was necessary to pick it up immediately, apologize to it, shake it off, and eat it. They believed that bread left on the ground could cause losses in the household. If somebody found a slice of lost bread he would never allow himself to step over it. It was picked up and put in a visible place for birds. It was considered a sin to take a bite and not eat the whole piece: the leftovers would chase a person everywhere and could strangle him at night.

Wedding breads — the korovai, shyshky and kalach — had to be eaten very quickly for they not to be allowed to get stale, because it was believed that the life of the newly-wed couple could dry up. And young girls were given a crust to eat so the boys would kiss them and a hunk of bread with a wax for the boys to stick to them. Magic properties were ascribed to a small loaf which was left in a stove — a "lost" bread. The people would not eat it because they could lose their memory.

Even bread stuffing and stove took on magical properties.

In Ukraine this method to cure a child from consumption was wide-spread: a child was tied to the shovel for bread and three times pushed into a stove still hot after baking for a moment, repeating each time: "Consumption to the stove, the child from the stove." There are many accounts that after such a seance the child got better.

A tub for bread was a respected object in the Ukrainian peasant household. It was kept clean, in a place of honor, a wedding korovai would be placed on its lid and served as a wedding wreath to a bride. Those who baked a korovai, put the bread into the oven, shook the dough and flour off their hands over the tub and with that water washed themselves and washed those who were present during the rite of baking the korovai. Then they all kissed one another, took hold of the tub, lifted it up high, beat it three times against the tie-beam, eulogizing it and the oven. Then they solemnly poured the water out under a fruit-tree (mainly cherry-tree) believing that by this they would bestow longevity upon the conjugal union and happy love on the married couple.

The bread in Ukrainian cooking is that product which is the root of the whole system of the traditional folk diet. Ukrainian national cookery in general has a preference for farinaceous and cereal dishes with considerable fruit and vegetable additions. But bread was and even now is the most expressive, the most popular, the most significant among these dishes, according to the folk-sayings: "Bread and water are Cossack food", "Where there is bread and water, there is no hunger", "Bread and kasha are our food", "Without bread a conversation would be cold", "Fish is disgusting without bread", "During a journey bread would not be unnecessary", "Fatback is not delicious without bread", "Put bread on the table before the people and you will be at the head of these people".

People in Ukraine began to eat bread since the earliest times. At first there were only primitive unleavened flat cakes. For the Ukrainians the most favoured kind of bread, covered with legends, glorified in the songs, is leavened bread, prepared with yeast. When and how did the method of sour dough

appear? Who invented this great creation? What other people could boast of this innovation?

Sour dough — what is it? Is it the consequence of the case or creation of the intuition? The Czech ethnographer Lyubor Niderle thought that sour soup suggested to people the idea of how to prepare the bread with yeast. The ancient method of preparing it differed from that of today. They prepared a thin dough from different kinds of the flour, for example the oat flour which then they put to fermentation. They boiled the fermented dough, sometimes flavoured by adding berries and fruits, in others sunflowerseed oil or other fats and garlic, horse-radish or onion. This kysil could certainly be a forefather of leavened bread.

The population of ancient Ukraine also ate chiefly this bread, about what the chronicler Nestor bears witness. The mixture was made from hops, which were well-known in Ukraine at that time.

Such was our traditional method of preparing the bread in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Housewives made themselves leaven from hops. In Europe the first yeast factory appeared only in the 1860s in Vienna. And in Ukraine they began to use yeast in peasant households at the beginning of the twentieth century and only for white bread on holidays. The flour was winnowed over the wast-tub; a half of it was leavened, another half was left for kneading. The dough was kneaded in the evening or early in the morning. On the bottom of the dough-through which a second piece of dough had been kept from the previous baking, salt was poured, then hot water, some dried crust of the bread baked in the hops-water (crumbs). Mixing all these carefully with flour, they had leaven. The dough-trough was covered with a lid and put in a warm place. The dough would then ferment and rise. When it was prepared and began to settle, the housewife poured the rest of the flour and kneaded it. After this they waited for it to rise once more and then began to bake the bread, put the loaves on dried cabbage leaves and on the wooden shovel, and finally placed them in the well-heated and cleanly swept oven. Metal household implements appeared in peasant life only in the 1920s, but even at that time they preferred round bread.

The process of baking bread was connected with several superstitions concerning folk customs: "impure" and pregnant women could not knead the dough; it was impossible to have the door of the house open, when they opened the oven-door, for the bread would "fall". It was forbidden to put back into the oven the bread which was taken out for checking if it was ready to eat. They preferred to leave that loaf underbaked. They believed that bread returned to the oven could bring distress or losses: a child could "go back" during childbirth in the expectant mother (they waited for such childbirth) and if there was a girl of marriage age in the family she would become a spinster because the matchmakers would "turn", that is, would pass by her house.

The readiness of the bread was determined in this way: when the upper crust was browned and the inimitable smell of the bread was coming out of the oven, the housewife took out one of the loaves, set it edgewise with her left hand and knocked lightly with her palm against the lower crust. Well-cooked bread was supposed to ring like a "tambourine".

Usually the loaves were baked once a week, most often on Saturday, so many that there would be enough to last until the next baking: 7–15 loaves (2–2.5 kg each of them), depending on the number of the family members. If the bread was not enough, they could borrow from neighbours or bake cookies, flat cakes — hurriedly prepared small loaves, baked on frying-pans before the fire in the oven. Friday and Sunday were the forbidden days for baking bread and this is illustrated by numerous superstitions and legends. Bread was kept on the upper shelves over the shelf for the dishes and on the front wall carefully covered with the towel.

In Ukraine (with the exception of the extreme southern regions) there is a traditional and even today preference for rye bread. The peoples of Central and North Europe ate it as long ago as the late Bronze Age, when in connection with the fall of temperature the zone of the wheat cultivation was moved far to the South. In Ukraine around 1900 rye occupied 50–60 % of the sowing areas, grown mainly for household needs, while wheat was mainly for export. In ancient Ukraine rye had a great significance in the dietary system, the word "rye" was very often used to signify food and bread in general. In the chroniclers we meet: "There was not a good rye crop that summer and it cost dearly"; "The same autumn Prince Alexandr of Pskov, which was near Novgorod, collected all the rye". In all Old Rus' sources which enumerate the agricultural crops, foods or their prices, rye was always put first.

Paul of Aleppo, who in the mid-seventeenth century accompanied Patriarch Makarios of Antioch to Ukraine and Russia, left a very interesting account. "These crops are very similar to wheat; we call it darnel — that usually throw off the wheat. That is not wheat, for the bread from it is always brown, people like it more than white: it would happen that one Voyevoda sent to our Patriarch a present, and they presented the brown bread first because they valued it more, and only then the white bread. In the land of the Cassacks the sown areas of it are very numerous."

The Ukrainian traveller Vasyl Hryhorovych Barskyj, visiting Italy in the first half of the eighteenth century, was surprised by the Italians' daily diet of white bread. "They use wheat for many things, pound it into flour, cook kasha and bake bread with leaven. The difference is in that it is sweet as honey. They gave it to us."

Rye bread very often was a delicacy in years of famine for the peasant family. Then they added to the rye either oat or wheat flour, sowings, dried and grated leaves of goose-foot, linden tree, grated potatoes, beets and acorns.

According to Ukrainian custom, women baked bread for the needs of their own families. When in the Middle Ages bakeries began to appear, the men got that privilege too. A lot of customs, ideas, and prohibitions were moved from the peasant life to the urban environment and many new ones appeared. A number of related prohibitions, connected with the customs, entered into the bakery. Men, who beat dogs, and even their children, beggars, former executioners and their children, those who slaughtered pigs and other lowly groups of the population were considered not to be worthy of the rank of the baker.

The thin borshch, thick kasha were eaten with bread, they had a breakfast with bread too, irrespective of its quality. Bread was the basis of lunch. In the summer when the work day was longer, in the middle of the day it was allowed to have a snack — bread with water melon or canteloupe, with fresh fruits or berries.

Such extensive eating of the bread as a daily staple did not lower its value as a symbol of well-being, generosity, prosperity and hospitality. In every peasant house there was always bread on the table covered with a towel awaiting guests.

Staying in Ukraine the famous French writer Balzac wrote in a letter to his family, dated the year 1850: "Perhaps you should come to Ukraine, to this earthly paradise, where I already noticed 77 methods of baking bread, and that gives a good idea about the inventiveness of the population in even the simplest things."

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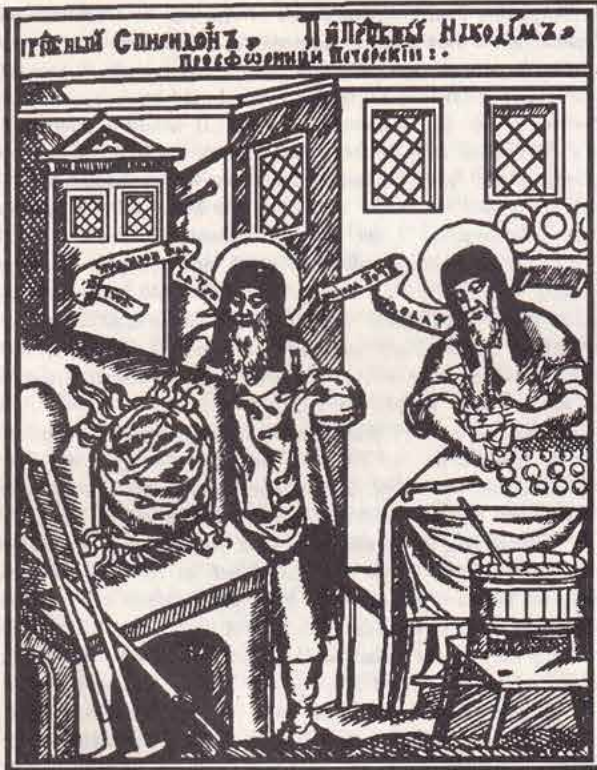
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Oleh KRYZHANIVSKYI

# THE MONASTIC ECONOMY IN RIGHT-BANK UKRAINE

(1700–1861)



Baking bread in a monastery bakery.

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In the eighteenth century the territory of Right-Bank Ukraine abounded in monasteries, mainly Roman-Catholic and Greek-Catholic (Orthodox cloisters were preserved almost exclusively in the Dnipro River region). It is difficult today to determine the exact number of the monasteries, because at that time church leaders<sup>1</sup> did not know it, but there were nearly 200 monasteries, that is, three times more than in Left-Bank Ukraine, and 55% of them were in the Volyn' region.

The richest monasteries on Right-Bank Ukraine belonged

to such Roman-Catholic orders as the Jesuits, Dominicans, Bernardines, Capuchins, Reformators, Trinitarians, Augustinians, Carmelites, Marians and others because it was to these orders that the Polish crown and wealthy gentry demonstrated their generosity. The Greek-Catholic monasteries were considerably poorer and submitted to the Basilian order in the middle of the eighteenth century. As to the monasteries of the Orthodox confession, they, as a rule, hardly made both ends meet and sometimes survived thanks only to charitable donations.

The main wealth of the Right-Bank monasteries was land, combined with the monastic serfs who worked it. Only Orthodox monasteries and certain Greek-Catholic cloisters did not have estates with peasants. And what mattered was not the type of land: some monastic farms were in agricultural districts, or in Polissya, where it was possible to be successfully occupied mainly with forestry. The form of land ownership played a very important role. The largest monasteries with the status of archimandries (Univska, Zhydychynska, Maletska, Dubenska, Dermanska, Dorohobuzka, Zaruchaivska, and others)<sup>2</sup> received land from the Polish crown, because they were considered to be a kind of royal property. The Polish kings themselves appointed the archimandrites, often secular persons, to these monasteries. The archimandrites served only as a reliable source of profits for royal favorites. The archimandrites tried to squeeze from the archimandries every last drop of wealth and drove them to such a condition that, according to the figurative expression of a contemporary, "neither strand of wool, nor speck of dust, nor plumlet" were left,<sup>3</sup> that is, neither livestock, nor grain, nor poultry. Even the monastic staff was not well treated, for they received no share of the profits.<sup>4</sup> The fathers-superior of petty monasteries, especially of those which did not possess any populated estates, were more diligent proprietors. They had to carry on a struggle for survival under conditions of growing economic competition, which induced them to show economic initiative. The fact that profit from the land was not the only source of their enrichment influenced the character of the economic activity of the Right-Bank monks as well. Unlike secular landlords, monks received monetary donations from laymen in order to pray for the dead, pay for conducting occasional religious rites (marriage, christening, anointing, communion, confession, funeral, funeral service and others), and thus enjoyed a significant profit from religious services. This made it possible for them to avoid working in the monastic fields to their full capacity. As the

documents testify, monks frequently bought on the market the same agricultural and industrial products, which they could easily and in large quantity manufacture on their farms. Finally, the generally low productivity of the monastic farms could be largely explained by the unefficiency of the serf labour of the monastic peasants.

Right-Bank monasteries cultivated grain to be sold commercially. They had a good market for grain outside Right-Bank Ukraine despite all the difficulties transporting grain at a time of few roads and customs robbery. Monks grew cereals like barley, wheat, rye, millet, oats, buckwheat, peas, and industrial crops like hemp and flax. For example, the Zhydychanska archimandry grew such vegetable crops as cabbages, onions, garlic, poppy-seeds, cucumbers, parsnip, carrots, beets, haricot beans, and anise<sup>5</sup>. Potatoes were already mentioned in economic records of some monasteries by the end of the eighteenth century, and in the middle of the nineteenth century it was already the most widespread and the cheapest agricultural crop in the Fastiv estate of the Roman Catholic bishop of Kyiv.<sup>6</sup>

Agricultural technology on the monastic farms during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was, so to speak, antediluvian and crop yields low. The economist Beneke ascertained that in the middle of the 19th century, Right-Bank landlords "considered... superfluous any expenses and measures for amelioration of fields and only tried to sow as much as possible".<sup>7</sup> They mainly used the primitive three-field system of agriculture (fields were divided in "three hands" - winter, spring-sown and fallow areas), and in some parts of the Polissya region the land was not even allowed to lay fallow and the slash-burn system was practiced. Land not allowed to lie fallow became exhausted very rapidly given the chronic lack of fertilizers, and that is why the sowing of poorer soils was halted for several years or such areas were rented out or sold off.<sup>8</sup>

The low level of agricultural technology was characterized, first of all, by the archaic character of farming implements. Monastic fields were ploughed by heavy "Ukrainian" ploughs, that needed teams of 6 bullocks or more, it only scratched the soil; and the primitive wooden plough was in general use in the Polissya region. Given the chronic shortage of cheap iron implements, the land had to be harrowed with light wooden harrows that did not break the soil. For example, the majority of harrows in the Lysyansky monastery were wooden even in the 1830s.<sup>9</sup> Cereals were cut with a sickle or mowed by hand and the sheaves were threshed with flails on threshing-floors.

Bullocks were the main draught force in the monastic economy even in Polissya, where slightly more attention was paid to horse-breeding than in other grain-producing districts. The owners of church states also kept many cattle, goats, poultry; fattened pigs with bread and home-brewed beer; and beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, industrial sheep-breeding began to win more and more interest.

Monastic farms, as a rule, were diversified. Alongside the traditional cereals and vegetable crops, vegetables and fruits were also produced for the market in significant quantities. Interest in this latter productive branch of agriculture was

already widespread in the first half of the nineteenth century, as the careful calculation of monastic gardens testifies, a feature absent in the eighteenth century. A number of monasteries had gardens with hundreds or even thousands of fruit trees and berry bushes. Thus, the monastic garden in the small town of Yarmolyntsi boasted almost 1,200 pear, apple, Hungarian plum, Spanish cherry, and walnut trees, along with almost 200 bushes of goose-berries and black currants. The garden of the Satanivsky monastery boasted over 1,000 apple, pear, Hungarian plum, and walnut trees.<sup>10</sup>

The monks attached no less importance to fish-breeding in ponds and rivers. Practically every monastery had one or more fish-ponds and a so-called "sadzhavka" a small artificial reservoir to keep fish while draining the ponds. The clergy zealously protected their fish stocks against peasant fish-traps, and this also testifies to the importance of fish-breeding in the monastic economy.

The monastic community was also quite occupied with bee-keeping, the products of which, wax and honey, were used in religious observances as elsewhere. One or even several apiaries could be found on any given monastic farm, and these often numbered 200-300 beehives. Interest in bee-keeping was growing. If in 1736 the Basilians of the Pochayiv monastery had 200 hives, then in 1831 their 5 apiaries had already grown to almost 800 hives.<sup>11</sup> In Polissya monks did not eschew even primitive wild-hive beekeeping. But the depredation of forests in Right-Bank Ukraine forced the monasteries to pass from wild-hive beekeeping to more productive and labor-intensive domestic apiculture.

Processing agricultural products was carried out mainly on the spot, on the monastic farm itself. A great quantity of grain, for example, was used for needs of local alcohol distillation, bringing significant and stable profits thanks to introduction of the gentry estate monopoly in the distillation of alcoholic beverages by the Polish Seim in 1766-1768. Malt, used in brewing both regular beer and small beer, was also made from grain. Berries and fruits from the monastic gardens were used for making wines and nalivka (a kind of fruit liqueur), the surplus of which monks sold at the market. Practically every monastic farm had comb-honey. The production of dairy products (butter, cottage cheese etc.) and of salted foods was well developed in the monasteries. It was clearly pointed out in the instructions to the stewards of estates that he should personally look after the careful and exact making of dairy products and pickles by the mistresses and milkmaids. Grain was ground in small monastic mills, primarily water-mills which were also used to pound millet and felt broadcloth. Since such mills were low-powered, having only one or two wheels, each monastery had several mills. Thus, in the 1770s Medvedivsky monastery had 6 mills on its two ponds and on the Medvedivka, Novoselivka, Tyasmyn, and Yanych rivers.<sup>12</sup> Flax and hemp, which produced thick and thin linen, were processed mainly on the monastic farm. This business had a partially commercial character, although in the eighteenth century it was not fully differentiated from agricultural production. Monastic weavers worked at joiners' benches only in the interval between the main agricultural tasks. In the Synosky estate of the Greek-Catholic metropolitan, every weaver manufactured 50 arshins (1 arshin=0.71 m) of linen

yearly, and those who worked on a manorial loom received a quarter of korets of rye for making a sizing (paste from rye flour steamed with boiling water with which the yarn was smeared), and those who worked at their own looms received money for sizing.<sup>13</sup>

In the monastic economy of Polissya, agricultural production yielded much of its importance to various trades, mainly those connected with exploiting forest areas (manufacturing of iron from marsh ores, potash, resin and tar; boards and beams, shingles and staves, and so on).<sup>14</sup> The development of these trades led to the gradual destruction of forests and shallowing of the rivers.

In order to comprehend more fully the economic function of the monastic estates in the Right-Bank regions, let us describe the buildings of one of such estates in the small town of Radomyshl', where in the second half of the eighteenth century the Greek-Catholic metropolitan had a residence. This estate consisted of large house for servants, a refectory with attached kitchen, a cattle-shed for 15 cattle, two stables, a building for carts, a manger for hogs, pigsties, a building where wax and oil were made (under one roof), three stone cellars to keep milk products and wines, four warehouses (vodka barrels were kept in one of them), tavern, an inn, and a prison.<sup>15</sup>

Monasteries sold off the surplus agricultural and industrial products made on the estates and traded their goods at the markets and fairs, which were regularly held on church holidays in almost every small town, as well as in special monastic shops. Grain and goods from the forest trades were taken out of Right-Bank Ukraine; monastic farms in Volyn' and Polissya took their goods mainly to the regions near the Carpathians (to the towns of Ustyluha, Byndyuha, Lviv); and the monasteries of the Right-Bank Dnipro region — to Left-Bank Ukraine and the Sich. It is significant that the monks of the poorest cloisters sold their products personally, while more wealthy monasteries used for this purpose peasant transport. We can find a rather vivid description of such commercial monastic journeys in the expense book of the Moshnohirsky monastery for 1756. As the book relates, the monks made their first journey to the Sich in March. There they bought fish, fruit juice, wine, mats, figs, and several loaves of bread all for 50 rubles. In May they were at the Sich for the second time, and in June they visited a fair in the town of Zolotonosha, where they bought two heads of sugar, a stack of iron, a pound of pepper, two pounds of steels, one hundred window-panes, scythes, and on the return journey, in the town of Lebedyn — twenty lime boards. In July the monks were at the markets in Myrhorod, Bohuslav and Bilozirya, where they bought four quarts of white wine, two flasks, ten batches of paper, two buckets of berries. 11 spuks (one spuk = about 3 buckets) of vodka, and other goods. In August the Moshnohirsky monks could be found again in Zolotonosha, where they sold fish, and returning through Myrhorod, traded fish and bought 16.5 okos (oko = about 3 lbs.) of wine. September came — and again they journeyed to Zolotonosha. This time the monks bought an axle for a cart, six nails for shoeing horses, 200 window-panes, iron, one and a half quarts of vodka. In November the main two-month journey to the Zaporizhska Sich took place. There they bought a cart of salt, 4 barrels of salted fish, 10 fishes, 2 heads of dried fish, a large bottle for oil, 24 okos of wine, 5 okos of fruit juice, 3 bast

mats, a breast-band, 2 sacks of oats, and a bucket of tar. Unfortunately, the book does not point out what products the monks took there to sell and only records the expenses of 5 kopecks at the honey celebration for a horse — which gives reason to suppose that the monks returned home without that horse.<sup>16</sup> Beginning at the end of the eighteenth century the Black Sea market began to take on greater importance in the export trade of the Right-Bank monasteries.

Although the monastic economy in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries clearly did not play a progressive role in the agricultural, industrial, and trade sectors of the economy of Right-Bank Ukraine, at least it tried not to lag behind it. But in this it was not always successful, because of the traditional conservatism of church of that day, as the following bears witness. At the end of the 1840s the Volyn' seminary administration decided to organize in the ecclesiastical schools practical classes on progressive agrotechnique; but the Synod, while it permitted such classes, made the important reservation that "only the usual garden implements may be proposed to use for various crops..."<sup>17</sup> Thus, the Synod made it impossible for the priesthood to use agricultural machinery at a time when they had already come into use in many landlords' estates. Opening necessary and profitable inns and taverns, where the gentry dined, was an example of how the Right-Bank monasteries adapted themselves to the new economic conditions, connected with the development of the capitalist relations. Unfortunately, in the course of time the monks abandoned this practice.

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Translated by Oksana Petrusyk

# HOW MUCH BREAD DOES UKRAINE HAVE?

During the years of the Soviet colonial regime the popular notion took shape that Ukraine was not able to provide itself with bread and that this is why it was forced to buy it abroad. Actually, bread was imported into the USSR through Ukrainian ports (mainly, Odessa) for all-Union needs. It was difficult to believe that the fertile Ukrainian land, known as the world producer of bread since ancient times, was not able today to feed its industrious people, one-third of whom are farmers, and boasting the greatest percentage of ploughed land in the world (55.3%).

But all the same we have bread. Let us take the figures from the most recent years. Here are official data of the Ukrainian Ministry of Statistics about the production of cereals in Ukraine:

	1990	1991	1992	1993
Gross output of cereals, mln of tons	51.0	38.7	38.5	45.6
including forage grain	18.5	15.7	17.2	21.7
Yield from 1 hectare centners	35.1	26.5	27.9	32.1
Productivity of grain per capita, kg	983	744	739	874
Consumption of bread products (bread, macaroni, flour, groats, beans) per capita, kg	141.0	142.5	142.5	146

*Olena Tokarchuk, journalist*

## Anatoliy MATSKO

# THE CRIME PROBLEM AND THE PROTECTION OF CITIZENS

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The process of the state-building and the introduction of market relations into our economy awakens in our hearts feelings of the value of human dignity. Nevertheless, the transition to democracy has also been used by those who live by the motto: "For me alone everything is permissible!"

The state and the law-enforcement agencies are carrying out their work, aimed at maintaining law and order in very complex circumstances. Consolation is hard to find. The crime rate is up, as follows: the total number of crimes committed in 1992 is 28,969, which is 22.4 % higher than the previous year. Of special concern is the considerable increase in crimes against property; armed robbery is up by 585%, robberies – 63.4 %, thefts – by 37.8%. The general percent of cases closed in Kyiv is 30.2%. Given such developments, mass media, eager to get sensations, frequently relish in the details of crimes. For some criminals it is the newspaper lines and TV programs that have become a "textbook" telling how a crime should be committed. The studies on this topic, undertaken by the author, show that 85% of publications are of that very type. The book published by Y.U.Kondratyev and telling how to prevent criminal attempts as well as defend our life and property is as an exception.

The reform of criminal law and penal system which was to take place in 1985 is being dragged out without no end in sight. Preventive police work, aimed at preventing crimes, has come to nothing.

Today as never before it is necessary to scrupulously analyze the reasons for and the conditions affecting the increase in crime. The time has come for us to formulate our own program for reforming the criminal justice system on the basis of accumulated data, using the scientific and practical resources of the state, and also applying well-tested foreign models.

Those who consider it necessary to make use of so-

called "effective measures", unfortunately, either do not understand the fatality of such approaches, or simply seek to mislead others, for this way is one-sided. The struggle in this case is directed only against consequences and only the old, approbated methods of a compulsory character are emphasized, under which a man gets into the system of coercion, becomes embittered and not always leaves prison reformed. So, let us not deceive ourselves: punitive measures and the strengthening and reequipment of the corresponding apparatus will not enable us to stabilize the situation. A worker of the law-enforcement agencies must first of all be a protector of law, appealed to for help by people, irrespective of the nation they belong to as well as their social status, and it is only then that he can be entrusted with the task of applying coercion to the law-breaker.

The experience which has been accumulated by law-enforcement organs as well as by scientists, specializing in the problem of crime prevention, has now to be studied. We should not cast away such positive aspects as the participation of the population in maintaining public order – from the activities of brigades assisting the militia, squads protecting public order in the street to the city and region committees for the self-defence of property and private ownership. It is useful to activate the teaching of law for both juveniles and adults.

All measures aimed at crime prevention should pursue the general purpose – the individual's protection.

Statesmen and political figures engaged in the elaboration of crime and law policy as well as in the adoption of laws must always set forth from the standpoint of protecting the individual, the free citizen of an independent state.

It is only on this way that our society will find methods of blocking the growth of criminality.

*Translated by Volodymyr Horak*

Vasyl MAROCHKO

## PEASANT COOPERATION — A POWERFUL SOURCE OF NATIONAL REBIRTH

VASYL IVANOVYCH MAROCHKO was born in the village of Velyka Chernihivka, Ovruch district, Zhytomyr region. He graduated from the Kyiv Pedagogical Institute in 1981. He is a senior research assistant in the Institute of History of Ukraine of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, the author of over 60 research works on the history of the Ukrainian peasantry and on the cooperative movement. He has studied the causes and results of the famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine. He also researches the life and work of the outstanding figures in science and culture. He is working on a book *Peasant Cooperatives in the Context of the National Idea*.

The history of the Ukrainian people is first of all the chronicle of a great martyr. It was oppressed by foreign and home-grown tyrants, it fell prey to treachery, they tried to bring it to its knees, to deprive it of its Motherland. But it did not obey, it rose from the flames, out of the pits of starvation, out of Stalin's casemates and ruins. From what did it take such powerful life-giving strength which not only preserved but created and further augmented its glorious traditions? This strength — first of all — is the Ukrainian peasant-farmer. It was these farmers who always were and are and, — let us hope, — will always be the motive force of our national rebirth. Neither political parties, nor their leaders, nor new false prophets that pose as spokesmen for peasant interests and are not able to protect them. Politicians of different types, as our history testifies, have been always pursued but one aim — taking of power, and protecting peasants. No one will protect the tiller of the soil, if he does not protect himself. Real peasant cooperation was the tried and true form of self-protection of the social economic interests of peasants (and also their national interests). It was not run by the state, it did not get stuck in the politics of political parties, but it was created by the lower classes themselves. The freedom-loving and hard-working Ukrainian peasants were always short of unity. But the success of our state-building depends on the real unity of the farmers. Vyacheslav Lypynsky, a famous Ukrainian historian and public figure, was right when he called peasants to unity. "The unity and organization of the whole Ukrainian nation depends on the unity and organization of the Ukrainian agricultural class," he noted almost 70 years ago. These are very just and instructive words.

This autumn will witness the centennial of the foundation of the first Ukrainian agricultural artel which, strictly speaking, was the starting point of the Ukrainian peasant cooperation. It was on September 17, 1894, when the agricultural artel was set up in the village of Fedvar, Oleksandriya district, Kherson province (now Kirovograd region). Peasants who sought in the artel salvation from the hunger that was widespread in southern Ukraine were its organizers. At first glance, this fact is ordinary but it is a turning point: this first artel gave impetus to the cooperative movement in the Ukrainian village. Mykola Vasylyovych Levytsky was the "artel's father" of peasant cooperation. He was born in 1859 into a priest family. His friends said of him that he was a Rightist by profession and a Populist by his political convictions. 125 artels appeared in Kherson region thanks to his activity. Their life was vividly depicted by Ivan Karpenko-Karyi in his play "Above Dnipro". The author of the novel *There is a Cliff on the Volga* Osyp

Navrotskiy gave Mykola Vasylyovych material aid in organizing artels. Unfortunately, the greater part of the money which the donor had transferred was embezzled from the Kherson zemstvo, but they hurried to accuse Mykola Levytsky. In general, Russian bureaucrats tried everything to hinder the creation of the artels, they did not registered their statutes for years, refused them credits, persecuted the artel's founders. "I have taken a written pledge," Mykola Vasylyovych said at the time, "that I myself, without the presence of police, had no right to talk to anyone about artels." If the Ukrainian language which was prohibited by the Russian government awoke the national self-awareness, then peasant artels destroyed the economic foundations of autocracy in the village — the village commune with its patriarchal way of life. Ukraine was the pioneer of the cooperative movement. It was in Poltava region where in 1863 the first consumer cooperative appeared. Ukrainian public figures M. Ballin, V. Kozlov, H. Halahan were the founders of consumer and credit cooperation in Ukraine and Russia. Their fathers had transferred their land to the peasant long before the end of serfdom, and their children wished to protect the Ukrainian peasantry through cooperation.

The revolution of 1905 in Russia, in spite of its limited and unfinished character, helped foster the development of Ukrainian cooperation. The agricultural reform of Petr Stolypin also had a positive influence. An opportunity to create not only societies, but also cooperative communities appeared. The repeal of the Ems Ukaz prohibition of the Ukrainian language promoted the widening cooperative press which took up the farmer's cause. According to the words of one of its founders, K. Matsiyevych, cooperation began "to attract first of all people with an awakened national conscience". Such people were M. Levytskiy, V. Domanytskiy, Borys Martos and others. They talked for the first time about the important role of cooperation in the national rebirth of Ukraine, and also of the self-protection of the Ukrainian peasants' economic interests. Russian bureaucrats discouraged the creation of cooperative unions in Ukraine in every possible way. The idea of creating of a "Central Agricultural Cooperative Community" had taken shape in the summer of 1913 among Kyivan cooperators, and the community was registered only in October 1915. The initiative to organize the cooperative people's bank had been pigeonholed of the "Special Office of Credit Part" for 6 years! And only after the revolution of 1917 did the National Bank of the Ukrainian cooperation began to operate. Restraints on the Ukrainian cooperative movement were great. Such a policy, in addition to objective causes, led



in a number of cases Ukrainian cooperatives to yield to Russian ones. Out of 7096 agricultural societies operating in Russia before revolution, only 950 were in Ukraine. But, in spite of all disagreements, peasant cooperation gained strength. During 1912-1914 cooperative trade societies appeared servicing various branches of agricultural production.

The establishment of a self-governing cooperative system in Ukraine became possible only after the proclamation of independence in January 1918. Leading figures of the Ukrainian cooperative movement officially declared their intent to organizationally dissociate themselves from Russian cooperative centers that sought to inherit their former supreme position in Ukraine. However, the laws of the Russian Provisional Government about cooperation were still in force there, and the Council of the All-Russian Congress of Cooperatives wanted to take over itself the role of coordinating center. The Ukrainian cooperative circles did not prohibit the economic activity of Russian cooperatives which, by the way, acted on the basis of agreement. They declared their readiness to collaborate with those cooperative centers of Russia which "widely recognized their right to free and independent political life and wanted to see our Mother-Ukraine not their dayworker, but an equal free sister state, and the Ukrainian people not as somebody's dayworker, but as their brothers who wanted and had the right to live with all in harmony as equal among equals and free among the free". These just words of the patriarch of the Ukrainian cooperation, M. Levytskyi, proclaimed by him in 1918, are still relevant today.

Cooperation was only finding its feet. The proper cooperative centers "Tsentral" - the Central Agricultural Cooperative Union, "Dniprosoyuz" - the All-Ukrainian Union of the Consumer Communities, Ukribank - The National Bank of the Ukrainian Cooperation acted in Ukraine, 90 percent of population of which were peasants. The Central Ukrainian Cooperative Community fulfilled the role and function of coordinator of the Ukrainian cooperatives. It was headed by Borys Martos. In spite of war and ruin, over 20,000 various cooperative communities were active, serving various branches of agriculture. Thus, from the far-flung peasant artels that had failed in the Kherson steppes in the late 1890s, the Ukrainian peasant cooperative system stood on its own feet. It was still weak, but had a good chance of growth. The peasant cooperatives had their own symbols and birthday. According to the old style, September 17 fell on September 30 - the Day of Faith, Hope and Charity and their mother Sophia, to whom the colors blue, green, rose and white corresponded. Faith in the steadfast force of cooperation, hope in the creative strength of the people, its wisdom, in the final victory of the ideals of kindness and justice - these were the symbols of the Ukrainian cooperatives. Sunrise was depicted on a blue background, two sheaves of rye - on a green, shaking hands - on a rose one, and below of these symbols there were the name and the date of the foundation of the cooperative society.

The national character of peasant cooperation was conditioned not by loud appeals on the pages of the cooperative press, even not by the leadership, but first of all by the socio-economic originality of the Ukrainian farmers. And the cooperative as an economic community took on the national features of peasants, their daily life, and their interests. According to its social outlook, the economic activity the Ukrainian cooperative, was peasant, neither capitalist nor socialist. It strove for initiative, but only as an economic unit. Cooperation well prey to the various military-political forces that were then operating in Ukraine. It declared about its political neutrality, but at the same it was plundered.

The establishment of Soviet power in Ukraine, more

precisely, the totalitarian state of a dictatorial type, was fatal for the Ukrainian peasant cooperation. It lost forever its individual initiative and its independence. At first the Bolsheviks placed it under state organs - Narkomprod (the People's Commissariat of Food-Supply), Narkomzem (the People's Commissariat of Agriculture) etc., and in the late 1920s the former centers of the Ukrainian cooperation were liquidated once and for all. According to the idea of the then People's Commissar of the Agriculture of the Ukrainian SSR Dmytro Manuil'skiy, it was the socio-economic base of the Petlyura (Ukrainian independence) movement. The New Economic Policy, which the Bolsheviks had to resort to, had a far-reaching aim. They did not alter their principles, they did not retreat from the idea of the world communist revolution. The NEP (New Economic Policy) was first of all a tactical maneuver of the Bolsheviks to accumulate money in order to make an extraordinary political and economic leap. To that end the Bolsheviks made a compromise: they tolerated some private enterprises, renewed cooperation and freed up market relations within the framework of their ideological postulates. This policy lasted until January 1928, when the Soviet government, not for the first time, resorted to "extraordinary" measures: to forced food requisitions, repression, crash programs.

During its rather short period of life - from the spring of 1922 to the summer of 1929 - the renewal peasant cooperation attained great success. It depended not on the state policy, but first of all on the hard-working Ukrainian peasant. Upon agricultural cooperatives depended almost the total production and the sale of the main technical crops (flax, hops, sugar beat, etc.), and played a leading role as a supplier of other agricultural raw materials. It had its own trade representative offices abroad and exported its produce to West Europe, Asia, and America. Its production was in great demand on the world market; it was competitive. The cooperatives united over three million peasant households out of five million in Ukraine. The farmers' households began to gather around it, whose sprouts appeared in the South of Ukraine. In spite of state interference, it gradually formed a diversified economy in Ukraine. The Ukrainization of public life, together with the liberalization of economic relations, even if they did not threaten the political system at first, later became an obstacle to the next Bolshevik experiment.

1929, proclaimed by Stalin as the year of a "great turn-around", became in reality the year of great ruin for agricultural cooperation and socio-economic well-being of the farmers. It began with the notorious theory and practice of the total collectivization. That monster of the command administrative system of a totalitarian type robbed the Ukrainian village of vitality, caused the famine, and ruined the very idea of the peasant cooperation. In June 1929, the Central Committee of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) adopted a resolution on the reorganization of agricultural cooperation that, in fact, had ceased to exist and become a part of history. The newly-created collective farm system, which was imprudently equated to the cooperative one, had all features of the serfdom. The peasants were deprived of property, of real forms of their economic community, they were robbed, they were enserfed physically and spiritually. A peasant without land is a dayworker, and Ukraine without a peasant-proprietor - like fateless widow. And now the peasant is only mentioned at harvest time. The words of Serhiy Yefremov come to mind: "We shall all be guilty before the faithless peasant". Let us turn back the land to the Ukrainian farmers, and, together with it, faith and hope as the guarantee of socio-economic stability and state-building.

Henadiy  
DMYTRENKO

## HOW DO WE INCREASE THE EFFICIENCY OF THE UKRAINIAN ECONOMY?

*HENADIY DMYTRENKO's concept of high-efficiency economics is innovative even in terms of currently prevailing economic doctrine and resembles in its main ideas the now-forgotten theory of labor outlined by SERHIY PODOLYNSKYI (1850-1891).*

*Economist-naturalist Podolynskyi laid the basis for a new, completely original theory of work as an economic and ethical category, and worked out a natural theory of value.*

### WHAT IS THE MARKET ECONOMY?

What is the so-called market economy which, judging from our first steps toward it, could well be beyond our power unless we thoroughly understand it?

It is quite possible that this is not just various kinds of private property of the means of production and not just the majority of small firms which fill the gaps between powerful corporations, not the stock and commodity exchanges and not legal business (including speculation within definite legal limits); not the commercial banks, omnipresent advertisements, a great quantity of computers, etc. Nor is it even the real millionaires in every country with market economy nor the private and chain stores with counters full of goods.

Today few of us understand precisely that all this is only the appearance of the market economy and the results of its functioning which we in turn interpret as the substance of its organization.

That is why as a general rule economists opt for the privatization of the means of production as the main prerequisite for making the transition to a market economy. Moreover, those who seek salvation in this direction and their supporters who explicitly reject Marx are involuntarily and blindly following in his footsteps and accepting the findings he announced as far back as the middle of the nineteenth century. That is truly dogmatic thinking!

Let us return to the substance of the market economy. In the author's opinion the essential characteristic of the market economy which has inestimable significance is,

**first, its ability to stimulate rapid economic development, producing a great deal of high-quality products and, secondly, its responsiveness to the consumer.**

It is precisely this understanding of the market economy which leads us to its basis, production, giving impulse to the creative search for its own direction of highly effective economy

and movement toward a humane, civilized society through treatment of its main disease of underproduction of goods, primarily because of the weakness of the mechanism for motivating work.

### ETHICS OF WORK

As is known, academic science has not put forward any such hypothesis, most likely because it assumes that destatization and privatization would by themselves create a synchronous, working mechanism, coordinating the enterprises on the basis of the personal interest of each worker to do his job better while retaining the fruits of his past and present efforts.

Thus, to attain a scientific understanding of the transition to the market from the ground up, starting from the microeconomic perspective (without touching the main macroeconomic regulators) we have to define a special instrument for motivating labor. Such an instrument would compel every worker to do his work in a timely and qualitatively better manner, thereby ensuring the synchronization of cooperation in all the inner chains of the enterprises. On the other hand, it would also stimulate the conservation of past and present reserves. Thirdly, it would continuously impel every worker to improve the level of his skills, compelling him to seek out the sphere best suited to his inclinations, abilities, etc. And finally it is vitally important that the mechanism we seek would function so as to give rise to civilized work ethics among our workers.

This unique instrument has been sought for a long time by managers both in the market economy and by the best managers of our enterprises, the latter comparatively recently. But academic science never considered this search its main task. And the old command system did not really look for it. Dictators did not need it.

The question is one of evaluating the capacity of the productive forces of individual and cooperative labor, which rests on the comparative basis of

the most useful expenditure of work-time, on sociologically objective parameters of labor.

### THE MECHANISM FOR ACTIVATING THE LABOR POTENTIAL OF UKRAINE

Today there are really two sectors of the economy: a super-monopolistic large-scale sector, which includes large and average-sized enterprises and produces more than 80% of all production, and a small-scale sector which consists of a great quantity of small service and producer cooperatives and small enterprises.

Most probably, the measures used to change the external conditions in which the enterprises function do not take into account the different reactions of these enterprises.

For example, privatization activates the labor potential of the workers of small-scale enterprises and motivates highly productive work. But what sort of impulse will privatization give to motivate workers in large-scale enterprises where the workers are alienated from the final results of their activity by a large number of mediating links. Probably it is rather naive to consider the number of shares held by the members of a collective as a motivational impulse.

That is why from the standpoint of creating healthier economic relations in the state in which revival is necessary we must consider various urgent tasks confronting each sector.

In the small-scale sector of economy along with the subsequent intensification of privatization, we should also focus upon the special purpose re-orientation of production and organize personal acquisition so as to minimize speculative activity and maximize the satisfaction of social needs. In the large-scale sector, we should create a powerful mechanism to motivate highly effective work and simultaneously gradually strengthen marketable services under conditions of the diversified production.

It is common knowledge that the market economy of the developed countries long lumped together the labor

compensation of white and blue-collar workers through the mechanism of hourly wages. In this was it succeeded in creating a synchronously functioning system of managing production based on the personal interests of workers of all classes to conserve their own and alienated time (including a mediation in the means of production). That is why it actively responded to scientific and technical progress.

We shall have to do the same, but in a shorter period and by means of our own instruments consciously designing the mechanism of highly effective work on the basis of the law of the economy of labor time.

Another way of fostering the civilized labor ethics typical of the developed market economy and inculcating in the worker economic re-

sponsibility for his activity insofar as possible is simply not available to us. And the only possibility of creating the economic miracle by which we might rise to the level of highly developed countries cannot be made to depend solely upon revolutionary transformations of labor relations on the basis of the components of the formerly centralized planned economy.

*Translated by Lesya Nikiforova*

**Volodymyr  
DIDURYK**

## HOW CAN WE LEAD UKRAINE OUT OF CRISIS?

*VOLODYMYR OLEXANDROVYCH DIDURYK was born in Odessa region. He graduated from the Odessa Military School (1958) and Bauman Moscow Higher Technical School (1967). He works in Kyiv in the scientific-research institute and is author of a number of publications and inventions.*

What has happened to Ukraine? Why is it so poor, when it should be among the richest countries of the world? Our soil is fertile and our people hard-working. Ukrainians live in other countries, and not in poverty; but at home we cannot manage our economy. We are a great European country and it is rational for us to follow the example of such states as Germany and France. These states are very similar to our country and they can serve as an example for us. Such a choice would satisfy all political currents in Ukraine, excluding, maybe, those dreaming of reviving "the one and indivisible" Russian state. And common sense tells us that time of empires has already passed. During the last 75 years our people paid tens of millions of human lives, confirming the eternal law, according to which a state had to be built: ownership is the basis of social well-being. Even the Bolsheviks started with this, constructing their communist empire. They seized power thanks to the slogans, such as: land to the peasants, plants and factories to the workers; but then they dispossessed the workers and peasants. And it was just this absolute power of the Bolsheviks that caused the collapse of that last empire, which fell before our eyes. And we inherited the lack of a real sense of real ownership. This is our main misfortune, which keeps us from standing on our own feet.

Our society will suffer the effects of crisis, until a real owner-producer appears. Because all those, who currently buy, resell or simply rob society, contribute nothing to the betterment of our life. On the contrary, returns to direct producers have fallen below those to other strata of the population, and this is leading to the paralysis of our newborn state.

If the state itself helps the produc-

ers to become the direct owners of what they produce, then society will have a future; but if it does not help bring about such state of affairs, then, sooner or later, society will collapse. For this reason, all the experiments in market relations, which are being carried out in Ukraine, undoubtedly, will lead to no good, until the state creates a class of proprietors who are also direct producers. All today's market experiments are taking place under the slogan: "Everything is allowed, that is not prohibited."

Thus, how can we build a real market in Ukraine? If a producer-proprietor wants to have a good housing, then he first builds a new house, and only then destroys the old one. But our "creators of the market" do everything in precisely the opposite fashion. The same "cogs" in the machine are suffering, who suffered earlier, "building communism". What if the "market builders" get sick of all those experiments? Thus, instead of destroying the state sector of the economy, our so-called "market builders" should look abroad, at least, to such a typical free-market state as France, where the state sector constitutes nearly half of the economy. In this way, the nascent private sector of the economy should be added to our existing state sector. The state sector will compete with the private one, and this competition will help us get back on our feet.

Objections can be raised. The government has adopted a number of laws for the development of the private business, but it does not want it to develop for some reason or other. In the country, for example, nobody wants to take land, because there is nothing to cultivate it with. It is because everything is done not to permit people to get the land as private property. But the immediate owner-producer, the main lever of the economy, cannot exist without pri-

ate property in land. All state enterprises have officially secured the right to own the land which they occupy, but the private owner does not have this right.

Private property in land is in itself the main requisite for creating a market economy. Without it all the talk about the market is just empty phrases. In order to create a market economy in Ukraine it is necessary to remove by state decree a fixed portion of all land, nearly 20-25%, from the state sector and distribute it among those wishing to acquire it for a relatively small fee, which must be related to the quality of the land in question.

If the people receive land as private property, it will not be necessary to be concerned about the market - it will create itself. The state's efforts should be directed solely to ensuring honest relations among all the participants in this process, because the state will collapse, society will fall into decay without honesty and morality. No economic system can withstand corruption and theft by the authorities. You see, people, who know that somebody else will receive the results of their labor, will simply stop working. If the Bolsheviks took everything away by force and forced people to work for nothing, then now our new state should only regulate whether people work honestly or not. This is good for everybody. During one or two years the state must regulate retail prices in proportion to world prices, and then convert to world prices and refrain from price control. Preferential rights to goods and services must belong to the producer.

Thus, the state must concentrate all its efforts on creating and fostering the growth of a class of owner-producer, that will be the backbone of the Ukrainian state.

*Translated by Oksana Petrusyk*

## CONFERENCE OF THE LEADERS OF THE UKRAINIAN STUDIES CENTERS

A coordinating conference of the leaders of the Ukrainian studies centers took place in Kyiv on June 24, 1993, on the initiative of the Institute of the Ukrainian studies of the Kyiv Shevchenko University. It was opened by the vice-rector of Kyiv University L.V. Hubernskyi. The timeliness of the conference is conditional upon the current problems of that discipline, among which are lack of qualified personnel, an absence of structure, and difficulties concerning the integration of the Ukrainian studies into all branches and levels of education. Nowadays Ukrainian studies is reborn in different forms and directions. Varied regional centers and departments of the institutions of higher learning are formed, that means that the time is coming to share experience, to work together to solve the problems that appear.

Petro Kononenko, the director of the Kyiv University Institute of the Ukrainian studies, took the floor with the main report on the conference. The subject of the Ukrainian studies is for us a new discipline, he admitted, it is, first of all, the investigation of such problems as these: Ukraine — ethnos, Ukraine — language, Ukraine — nature, ecology, Ukraine — nation, state, Ukraine — culture, and Ukraine — subject of the international community. Ukrainian studies is the history, present, and future of Ukraine. Its task was formulated by the academician Serhiy Yefremov in 1918 this way: Ukrainian studies is the philosophy and policy of the state. "Today," Kononenko emphasized, "it must become one of the main fields for molding the individual. From this flows the problem of training cadres and of introducing Ukrainian studies as a school subject and as a special field in institutions of a higher learning..."

Kononenko then went on to describe the structure of the Institute of the Ukrainian studies. It consists of sections on the history and theory of the Ukrainian studies, Ukrainian philology (language and literature), ethnology, folklore, national culture, comparative studies (oriental and occidental studies), the theory and practice of translation, education, the development of teaching modules, international ties and information, planning and scientific information, philisophic aspects of Ukrainian studies, and publications section. The Institute worked out the program of a Ukrainian studies course for all institutions of a higher learning. It prepared the textbook *The Ukrainian Studies: Its Status, Problems and Perspectives for Development*. It is now preparing other textbooks on Ukrainian studies, conducts research and coordinates activities with other centers; its research associates stay in close contact with colleagues abroad. Thus, it was decided in 1993 to hold annual conferences on the Ukrainian studies in the USA and in Ukraine.

Anatoly H. Pohribnyi, Deputy Minister of Education, described the place of Ukrainian studies at the educational system in Ukraine. He acquainted conference participants with

the steps being taken by the Ministry of Education for the development of Ukrainian studies. The subjects of the Ukrainian studies' cycle must form the basis of the state program of secondary and the higher education. The Ministry has directed all institutions of a higher learning to create departments of Ukrainian studies, and to conduct all instruction from the first course in the Ukrainian language. Education must be harnessed the tasks of the state-building and the upbringing of a new generation of citizens and patriots.

Deputy Minister for National Minorities and Migration Affairs V.I. Piskun emphasized that the development of Ukrainian studies is a main component of public policy in Ukraine, necessary in order to return Ukraine to Ukrainians.

Rector of Ivano-Frankivsk University V.I. Kononenko proposed to unite two directions: the theoretical research and the practical problem-solving. To his mind, every regional center must work out its own program. The coordination of such work will provide an opportunity to raise the professional level of the Ukrainian studies. Ivano-Frankivsk University houses the Council of Ukrainian Studies Departments that is attempting to coordinate the work of various departments and develop Ukrainian studies as the systematic discipline. The Ukrainian language, literature, history, and culture are taught in all departments. There is also a department of the Ukrainian diaspora where students from various cities of the former USSR are studying. Lack of special programs is its greatest problem. The Center of Ethnopedagogy and Ukrainian Studies (on the level of NDI) was created as of September 1.

The chairpersons of the sections of the Institute of the Ukrainian studies took the floor, and acquainted the conference with the methods, programs, themes that were developed by the Institute in order to work out the basic idea of Ukrainian studies as a synthesizing discipline. Meanwhile, V.S. Krysachenko, chair of the section of philosophic aspects of Ukrainian studies, considered the following problems of Ukrainian studies: object, subject, methodology; for him the practical significance of Ukrainian studies lies in formulating and substantiating the national idea in order to unite the nation, and this can become a decisive factor in our process of state-building.

A general program for a course in Ukrainian studies was adopted unanimously by the conference; it also adopted a resolution to send a letter to the Ministry of Education requesting it also approve the program and make it compulsory in all secondary and higher educational institutions. It emphasized the necessity of an urgent step by step realization of the program.

The conference also supported an initiative by American scholars in Ukrainian studies concerning the establishment of an International Association of the Professors in Ukrainian Studies.

*Oksana Udovychenko, Olena Shvets*  
 Translated by *Olexandra Bairakovska*

## THE FIRST FOLK MEDICINE DRUGSTORE IN UKRAINE



Ukrainian folk medicine has existed as long as people have lived in our country, that is, for millennia. But the Kyivan drugstore of folk medicine has existed only one year. Does this seem strange? It can only surprise those unaware of the fact that the germ of this idea — opening such a drugstore — has been kicked around for over half a century through the multi-stored mass of bureaucracy that was such a terrible yoke on our people. It can be compared with a thin shoot of grass on a slab of asphalt. Moreover, folk medicine actually gave birth to the scientific medicine which then tried to kill its mother. Traditional medical practitioners were outlaws for many years. They were called quacks, they were taxed heavily, they were forbidden to treat people and they were even physically liquidated. The rich experience of millennia was trampled down without mercy, devastated, and rooted out of people's memory. Children did not learn the art from their parents, because they saw that it was officially frowned upon, and they were afraid. Thus, the passing on of folk wisdom was interrupted, the eternal knowledge that had been transmitted through the ages from generation to generation ceased to exist.

Finally, even the name was taken away from traditional folk medicine. Scientific medicine was made official and renamed traditional, and the folk was driven underground. But still, while the official medicine fed the sick persons with chemical compounds foreign to human body or resorted to surgery, folk medicine barely survived, retaining its experience and enriching it as best it could. Even though this was very difficult. The frightened folk-medical practitioners feared their own shadows and treated only relatives and those who, having lost faith in chemistry, sought salvation from the folk medical practitioners. The number of such persons grew from year to year, because chemistry, having poisoned every human organ, turned out itself to be diathetic, causing allergy, eczema and other skin diseases. Who knows, maybe people would still not have awakened, if scientific medicine itself had not begun to decay, or so to speak, did not fall ill. Having invested great sums of money in building pharmaceutical factories and plants on foreign territory, now Ukraine is left with nothing — there is no method at this difficult time for producing of even an aspirin to cure a headache. And here also Chernobyl has destroyed, and lost the best Ukrainian lands, the most beautiful places of living nature where the largest resources of healthy grasses were situated, which had helped our ancestors at difficult moments. Just as they had found without any laboratories malenka, a plant stronger than the greatest oak-tree, and kalhan (galingale) which was sometimes called the Cossack's ginseng. That plant has saved many people from dysentery and gave men youth and power. True, the official science brought St.-John's-wort up to the first place; it was repeated in book after book that it was as impossible to make medicines without St.-John's-wort, as to bake bread without flour.

Was it ignorance or sabotage? Is it difficult to

*DANYLO NYKYFOROVYCH ZUBYTSKYI was born in the village of Pokotylove, Kirovohrad region. He inherited knowledges of folk treatment from his father and grand-father. He has been studying folk medicine for all his life, now practices as healer, for which he was persecuted by the authorities. He is the author of many medicinal preparations and recipes, based on the herbs. He is at the head of the "Barvinok" (Periwinkle) center of folk medicine.*

*NATALYA PETRIVNA ZUBYTSKA was born in the village of Krykhaiv, Chernihiv region. She has three higher humanities degrees and one medical. Her husband — Danylo Nykyforovych Zubytskyi — was her main teacher. She treats on the basis of Ukrainian folk medicine, studies the experience of the peoples of the world in this sphere, translates medical literature from the Bulgarian and Vietnamese languages. She is director of the folk medicine drugstore, vice-director of the "Barvinok" center.*

explain, but it was not written in any book that St.-John's-wort could be drunk only seven days a year, to which folk medicine strictly adhered. Because on the eighth day it did a man irreparable harm — he slowly became impotent. Blood pressure rose and the heartbeat strengthened in the middle-aged women; and a young girl's body hair began to grow, spoiling her beauty and femininity.

And we can give a great number of such examples.

Thus, the three above-mentioned causes: oversaturation with chemistry, bankruptcy of pharmacology and the loss of the natural reserves of healthful plants, led, after long battles and endless boring and exhausting backroom discussions, after much effort and pain, the birth of drugstore №. 70 of folk medicines on Peremoha Prospect in Kyiv took place on October 20, 1992. It became a truly folk pharmacy. At the time it opened the drugstore had only twelve medicines, but after a year and a half they already numbered over one hundred. At first glance, 100 is still few. But if the medicines are effective, then we do not need many. If, for example, choleasin treats liver disease six times better than Essentiale, why look for something else? The effectiveness of the medicines was the drugstore's only advertisement. Those who had been cured brought their sick relatives, neighbors, and friends. The chronically ill came, who have been left to the mercy of fate by official medicine. Those who could no longer even look at the tablets because of allergy came, too. Thus, in eighteen months ten million visitors have come to the drugstore.

Here people help people with their ability, knowledge, kind words of advice and what is the most important — with harmless medicines taken from nature itself, close and accessible to people. A plant has the same cell structure and physiology as a human being, it lives under the same conditions, that is, it is a very close to human body. Besides, these are not medicines that have been tested for twenty years in laboratories by being injected into an animal, but for millennia in nature, voluntarily, by age-old methods of examining the influence of plants on the behavior of animals and people. Poison plants were discovered at the price of human lives. The first commandment — "Do no harm" — had taught people to give plants exact names according to their effects on the human organism. And from those times come Ukrainian plant names which describe their properties.

Thus, cherishing the experience of our ancestors, picking it up bit by bit, enriching it with our own observations, we witness the rebirth of the foundation of Ukrainian folk medicine in the first official folk-medicine drugstore in Ukraine.

*Translated by Olexandra Bairakovska*

Dear reader,  
address ZUBYTSKY's drugstore:  
252113, Kyiv, pr.Peremoha, 70.

Olena SHESTAKOVA

# EARTH, BREAD, FLOWERS

## THE IMAGE OF KATERYNA BILOKUR'S WORLD

*OLENA IVANIVNA SHESTAKOVA was born in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, and graduated from the Kyiv Arts Institute (1974). She is an art critic, author of the chapters "Decorative painting" and "Kateryna Bilokur" in the book The State Museum of the Ukrainian Folk Decorative Art (SMUFDA) (1983); selections of the decorative postcards of M.Prymachenko, P.Vlasenko, M.Hlushchenko, M.Tymchenko; articles in the periodicals. She directs research on the decorative paintings in the SMUFDA and does a great deal of exhibition work in the museum and outside it.*



Still life "Breakfast" (1950)

Kateryna Bilokur's creative work occupies a special place in the history of the Ukrainian people's spiritual life.

The great artist was born in 1900 in the village of Bohdanivka, Pyryatyn district of the Poltava region (Yahotyn district today) into a poor peasant family.

She was a true child of her native land, a daughter of Ukrainian parents. Her soul was so imbued with the divine spark that it gave her the strength to survive under unhuman conditions and create her "sacred art".

Kateryna was fated to see and live through the revolution, civil war, collectivization, Famine of 1932-33, Second World War, and postwar privations. In addition, she also suffered personal tragedies as solitude and diseases took their toll. All these had an affect on the artist's creative work, and, perhaps, it was these tragedies in her life that caused her to express such a heartfelt manifestation of a deep sense of existence and high humanity, both in art and in life.

Endowed with God's Gift of viewing the world figuratively, Kateryna Bilokur mastered on her own the secrets of painting, became an unexcelled painter in oil, masterly graphic artist and water-color painter. Feeling Nature, understanding its laws, she glorified the beauty and wealth of the Ukrainian land along with the fertility and industriousness of its people in her wise, poetic, and vividly national works.

Inspired by nature and the spirit of deep national traditions, the artist's work is generally perceived as a call for love, creative work, and faith to the all-triumphant will to Life.

Two origins, folk and professional, call to one another in Kateryna.

Bilokur's work. Landscapes, still lifes, and portrait were the subject of her brush. In the majority of her works, elements of these genres constitute an inseparable integrity, that is a manifestation of her original and unique perception and reflection of the world.

Kateryna Bilokur thoroughly pictures every element of the composition: flower, bud, leaf, fruit, reproduces in detail the texture and color of the object. She selects these elements so wonderfully, builds a composition so unusually, and finds coloristic solutions, that often these elements seem not to have a foothold, seem to soar in the space, not casting shadows. One feels as if each of those elements has its own dimension. Besides, everything, depicted by the artist, gains a symbolic meaning.

Flowers were the highest manifestation of earthly beauty for Kateryna Bilokur: from their conception to lush blossoming to their transformation into fruit and seeds. In the course of the time — both in the life of the nature and of the human being — is one of the base philosophic motifs of the artist's creative work. Simultaneously, her paintings are inspired by a sense of the deep tragedy of the Ukrainian people's fate. Except for the flowering of colors, the bitterness and misery of the downtrodden Ukrainian woman is hidden in her paintings.

In her early works like "Flowers Behind The Fence" (1935) and "Dahlias" (1940), space as an object does not interest the artist, it is only a peculiar base, on which the composition of flowers is built. All that gives a feeling that the artist is in a state of the creative search and aspirations.

The canvas "Wild Flowers" (1941) is inspired by obvious joy; the artist with great fascination depicts as washed by an early-dew the tender and fragrant emissaries of her native Poltava region. On this canvas for the first time we encounter the artist's inclination for using space and method in a centristic composition, the central sense of which are golden ears of wheat. Her masterly use of color helps to create a real and simultaneously mysterious world; thus, the dark blue color of the sky is a symbol of the infinity of the Cosmos, golden ears of wheat -- the symbol of life on the Earth.

The artist's postwar still life "The Harvest" (1946) was painted after some of her paintings had been destroyed in Poltava. Here luxurious fruits are depicted as the embodiment of dreams about the generosity of the land which rewards man for his work.

Still lifes "Flowers and Nuts" (1948), "Flowers, Apples and Tomatoes" (1950), "Flowers and Grapes" (1958), "Still Life With Ears and Jug" (1958-1959) are inspired by the human need of prosperity, revealed in splendors in baroque, calling forth a feeling of the impracticability and vanity of dreams.

Nobility and natural simplicity of the Ukrainian peasant meal is shown with extraordinary artistry in the still life



"Welcoming the harvest" (1946)



Still life "Flowers and fruit" (1959)

"Breakfast" (1950). This work evokes associations with the best foreign works in this genre, in particular with the "Little Duchess".

Very often in her still lifes Kateryna Bilokur introduces pictures of grapevine, bunches of grapes, ear of wheat, and bread -- the eternal symbols of the Ukrainian agrarian culture.

In one of the most significant and best known still lifes: "In the Shrankiv District In Cherkassy Region" (1955-1956) grapevine creates a goldish ornamental background, on which is displayed a garland of flowers, crowning such everyday things as lumps of sugar, sugar-beets, and wheat.

Gifts of nature -- flowers, fruits, as well as products of the human work: bread and sugar -- are main subjects of Kateryna Bilokur's paintings.

Her works, like "Decorative Picture" (1945), "Blossoming" (1944-1947) and "Ear of Wheat as Tsar" (1949), are imbued with a deep philosophical sense of man's unity with the Cosmos, the course of the time, the tragedy of human fate and at the same time the triumph and blossoming of everything living on the Earth.

"Decorative Picture" provokes contradictory moods and thoughts: the war had just finished now, the people's tears had not yet dried, the wounds had not yet healed, and the losses are still deeply painful, but all this do not suppress the instinct for recovery. This picture is a peculiar requiem to those who perished and hymn to the victory of life over death.

The same idea is observed in the picture "Blossoming." The movement of ornamental motifs of "Decorative Picture" grows into a flourishing goldish-purple glow, unveiled before our eyes in the



"Blossoming", and outgrows the boundaries of the picture itself, as if it is pointing to a limitless world.

In the postwar period of Kateryna Bilokur's creative work a yellow-red-brown range appears in her works, bringing, on the one hand, a joy of existence, dynamism and agitation, and, on the other hand, -- a presentiment of the autumn of the soul.

In folk belief, lilac and dark-violet are considered to be the colors of grief and widowhood, and these very colors became dominant in Kateryna Bilokur's deeply philosophic work "Ear of Wheat as Tsar" (1949). With the aid of color the artist demonstrates her never-ending, deep mental anguish. The picture's colorful range is supported by the thin change from the clear, slightly naïve, youthful colors of life to the saturated, intensive dark-red range, over which three silver ears are bent, shining in the dark, inaccessible as the stars in the sky, fragile, defenseless as the human fate seeking shelter during what may be the last moment of its earthly existence. Meanwhile, a cranberry tree stands over the ears...

It is difficult to know now, but perhaps in creating this picture, Kateryna Bilokur had the same feeling.

The artist is no longer among us, but life flows from her immortal pictures and calls on us through the blossoming of flowers and ears of wheat to believe, love, and create joy on the Earth.

Works by Ukrainian People's Artist Kateryna Bilokur hang in many of Ukraine's museums, but the most complete collection of her work is in the State Museum of Ukrainian Folk Decorative Art.

*Translated by Oksana Petrusyk*



"In the Shramkiv district from the Land of Cherkasy" (1955-1956)

Still life "Watermelon, carrot, flowers" (1951)



# THAT BLACK 1933...

James E. MACE

## THE VOICES OF SUFFERING

*James Mace was born in Muskogee, Oklahoma, USA and holds degrees from Oklahoma State University and the University of Michigan, including a Ph.D. in history from the latter. From 1981 to 1986 he was a research associate at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, where he participated in the project to study the Famine of 1933 and researched the Ukrainian language sources for Robert Conquest's Harvest of Sorrow. In 1986-1990, he was Executive Director of the US Commission on the Ukraine Famine, drafted the Commission's Report to Congress, and edited its three-volume Oral History Project. Later, he held fellowships at Columbia and Illinois Universities. He currently lives in Kyiv, is Supervisory Research Associate in the Institute of Ethnic and political Studies of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, and chairs the Organizing Committee for the Ukrainian National Institute of Genocide Studies.*

In history there are no authoritative sources from which we can reconstruct a full and accurate picture of the past. Take, for example, the old chronicles of Ukraine-Rus', which were written by monks from the standpoint of the church hierarchy. Stories in newspapers and magazines reflect the point of view of a journalist, his editor, or the publisher. Even archival documents, despite their alleged objectivity, reflect the viewpoint of the authorities for which they were written. Thus, in order to lift the veil shrouding the past, we have to collect and analyze all the sources we can get.

In order to understand why either the Ukrainian Famine or, for the matter, the Holocaust happened, we have to go to the documents. But in order to understand what happened, we have to go to eyewitnesses. Without retrospection

about what happened to people, such questions as When? Who is to blame? Why did they do it? lose all meaning. For example, there is a three-volume history of the Holocaust by Raul Hilberg, written on the basis of the official German documents. It is the outstanding source for historians who study this subject. But without such works as the Diary of Anne Frank, a young Jewish girl who hid from the Nazis, was then discovered, and who perished in the death camps, that is, without reference to the human side of the Holocaust, even such a thoroughly documented and outstandingly detailed work as Hilberg's three volumes would have no meaning.

When the issue is understanding the scale of the human tragedy, we simply cannot understand it fully from the top down, we must seek

out human information: how people died, how they survived, and what they lived through. A number of memoirs exist, often quite interesting and detailed, but we have to recognize that only specific types of people write memoirs, often in quest of self-justification, self-glorification, and suchlike. When the issue is social history, we simply cannot do without the stories of the so-called "little people," who almost never leave their footprints in the sands of history. The overwhelming majority of the West's self-proclaimed Soviet social historians devoted no small effort to trying to show that the USSR never had a totalitarian system and in attempting to discredit "Cold-War Stereotypes," they wrote that the Stalinist terror was a very limited phenomenon, that the vast majority of the population were never terrorized because "the sun still shined, people still danced and made love," and that the initiative for repression came primarily "from below" because of such factors as envy, personal conflicts, and the like.

The truth about how things really were in the USSR and the truth about its history penetrated the consciousness of Western citizens, historians, and politicians only with great difficulty. At the risk of getting ahead of myself, I can say that practically every witness account given to the US Commission on the Ukraine Famine, of which I was executive director, reveals an expectation that nobody would believe what the narrator said, that his account would make no difference, and that the world simply did not want to hear what he had to say:

"The Ukrainian people had a harsh fate, and no other country helped them. They did not believe it," said Ostap Piven, who came from the village of Shliakhove.

"I wish more people would bare witness, that more people would understand, and especially here in America, that they would really believe that this was a terrible tragedy. For many years nobody wanted to hear our voices," - an anonymous writer from the village of Khukhra, Kharkiv region.

"They all said it was a lie! And the second time we wanted to talk about it the answer was 'What are you talking about? Where? There never was any famine, when I saw it myself!' - Edward Chernenko from Tal'ne, Cherkassy region.

"I was already older and had lived my life when I understood that God saved me so that their names and torments would be known to the whole Free World," wrote Mykhailo Borovyk as he sent me a list of those who died in his village.

Working with the Commission, I often saw with what bitterness and feeling of grievous injustice Ukrainians reacted to the disbelief they encountered. It was for this reason that, in addition to making a *Report to Congress*, containing and analyzing all the sources of the Famine then known, the Commission decided to organize public hearings at which witnesses could themselves underscore the human panorama of the Ukrainian Famine and to publish our oral histories in order to make public the most information possible, not only about the Fam-

ine, but about the entire sweep of Soviet history up to the Second World War. Especially with the latter, we wanted to give future historians the ability to approach each individual narrator as a separate and very specific historical source. As a historical source, memory has a very specific character. Different people recall the same event completely differently. People can be mistaken about specific dates and details. But there is much in the oral histories, which simply cannot be taken as invention or fantasy. Hundreds of people who never had any contact with one another described the same identical "mechanism" that brought about the famine. Both those who witnessed the famine as adults and those who did so as children remembered clearly and in detail an almost identical march of events: "kulak" babies being thrown into the snow, "kulak" children being expelled from school, "tow" brigades which took half a glass of milk or borsch and poured it on the floor or who seized the last half a cup of millet, that is, something that could have saved a person's life. Outbreaks of cannibalism, dead bodies on the streets in the cities, and dead bodies in the village fields, when the starving tried to chew ears of green wheat. One could go on *ad infinitum*. Whether in the region of Dnipropetrovsk or that of Poltava, the general picture of the Famine is basically identical. A terrible picture. But each survivor has his own unique story of survival and his own unique memory, containing his own unique fate and sufferings. And this provides us with a uniquely human understanding of an essentially human tragedy.

Even today in Ukraine there are voices heard which claim that any further concentration of effort by historians on the subject of the Famine could lead to the people's psychological debasement. In response, I would like to cite the oral history of Rev. Olexander Bykovets, a priest of the catacomb Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church: "We all knew that a sword of Damocles hung over the Church and over those who served the Church... but even so there was still joy of life and there was hope. Only one thing troubled us - we were all ready for martyrdom, we knew that this day or the next might be our last. Only one thing troubled us - would the world know about this and would the world say something? And there was a second problem - this is of a more intimate character: would there be anyone to pray for all those who perished?"

Of course, history is fundamentally different from physics or chemistry in that it is both social science and a branch of the humanities. The historian need not moralize or judge, he has only to honestly, clearly and insofar as possible, accurately reconstruct the past in all its aspects. But the very act of researching a subject like the Ukrainian Famine gives rise to an issue of moral responsibility and an obligation of an essentially moral character. And such research is impossible without recourse to the collection of oral histories from as broad a sample of witnesses as possible. Let us hear them while we are still able. While they are still with us. While they are still among the living...

# UKRAINIAN REACTION TO THE FAMINE IN UKRAINE\*

In response to the man-made famine of 1933 in Ukraine, Ukrainians in Galicia and neighboring territories held wide actions of protest. Such protests found expression in the assassination of Olexander Malow, the Soviet representative in Lviv by Mykola Lemyk as well as in letters and protests of various organizations and parties to the League of Nations. To characterize these actions, we publish the following documents.

**RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION (UNDO)** passed on June 24, 1933, concerning the situation in Soviet Ukraine

The Moscow Bolshevik regime in 1920 put an end to the Ukrainian national liberation struggle by force of arms and annexed the territories of Greater Ukraine, on both banks of the Dnipro, to the Soviet State. The Ukrainian people has not given up the struggle for its separate existence and is perpetually carrying out this struggle both within the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and beyond its borders against the Moscow Bolsheviks for the purpose of securing the highest right of the nation.

To suppress the resistance of the Ukrainian people, the Bolshevik power is applying inhuman methods. It

1) Under the guise of culture artificially suppresses the national character of Ukrainian literature, by means of terror molding it to the needs of the Moscow's Communist internationalism.

2) In the political sphere the Moscow Communists more and more stubbornly oppresses the Ukrainian people – that is, by imprisonment, assignment to forced labor and physical extermination of the nationally conscious and developed intelligentsia.

3) In the economic sphere the Moscow Communists are carrying out a policy of total expropriation in Ukraine. In the sphere of industry they are exploiting the mineral wealth without regard to the needs of Ukraine. In the sphere of agriculture, collectivization has led agriculture to total anarchy, and they have begun to carrying out a policy of indiscriminate and total robbery, which has brought about constant famine in this richest and the most fruitful country of eastern Europe and the unheard of desperation of the Ukrainian village. This economic policy of the Communists has led to massive mortality of the Ukrainian population from starvation.

The Central Committee of the Ukrainian National-Democratic Association condemns in the most categorical way this policy of the Communists in Ukraine, a policy of theft aimed at the complete annihilation of the Ukrainian population, and calls on all Ukrainian Communities on this side of the border established by the Treaty of Riga to counteract the local agents of Moscow Communism which is the mortal enemy of the Ukrainian nation's existence. (Archive №168, from July 1, 1933.)

Рятунок акція для Великої України. Огляд діяльності Комітетів Рятунку України до дня жалоби й протесту 29.X.1933. Зладив Андрій Жук. Львів, 1933, стор. 45-46

## LETTER TO THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL (PEOPLE'S) REPUBLIC

in exile to the head of the Council of the League of Nations  
Mr. Mowinkel

Geneva, September 25, 1933

To His Excellency Mr. Mowinkel, head of the Council of the League of Nations

Since 1920 I have defended before the League of Nations, as a representative of the Government of the Ukrainian National (People's) Republic, that in 1921 fell prey to Muscovite aggression, the political interests, sometimes very important ones, of my country. This time I have the honor to address Your Excellency to defend a cause that stands above all politics. This cause is great and touches upon the conscience of humanity. In a time of complete peace hundreds of thousands and even millions of people are dying from starvation and suffering heavily without any help virtually in the center of Europe. The very existence of a great nation is being threatened. Our people are in mourning. All Ukrainians, all our organizations outside the USSR, unanimously ask the League to raise its voice in the name of the salvation of our people.

In this place, in Geneva, many Ukrainian representatives have by the very fact of their presence and with all their resources to demonstrate their solidarity with the cause I am raising. The delegates of the Ukrainian committees to Aid the Starving, established in Lviv, in Chernivtsi (Bukovyna),

in Prague and in Brussels, the Society of Emigrants called the European Association, have united their efforts in Geneva at this moment, tragic for Ukraine, in order to defend before the League of Nations the cause of the famine in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian deputies in the Polish Parliament who represent the Lviv-based Committee to Aid the Starving, have presented Your Excellency today a memorandum, the text of which they were kind enough to share with me. I fully support this memorandum together with the organization I represent – The Supreme Ukrainian Council of Emigrants (federation of the central organization of Ukrainian Emigrants residing in Belgium, Bulgaria, France, Luxemburg, Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Turkey and Yugoslavia) and the Ukrainian Association of the League of Nations. Thus, the solidarity of our action for Ukraine's salvation from the famine is absolute.

At the end of this letter allow me, Your Excellency, to ask you to do your utmost to raise in the League of Nations the painful question of the famine in Ukraine, which I also plan to include in the agenda of the Assembly, submitting a frank letter to its Chairman.

Sincerely yours, O. Shulhyn

Олександр Шульгін. Без території. Ідеологія та чин Уряду У.Н.Р. на чужині. Париж, 1934, стор. 207.

## THE LETTER OF THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE GOVERNMENT to the Head of the Assembly of the League of Nations, Mr. Votier

The representative of the Government of the UNR Mr. Shulhyn sent the following letter to the Chairman of the League of the Nations on September 27, 1933.

Dear Mr. Chairman,

I have the honor of drawing Your Excellency's special attention to the terrible famine now reigning in Ukraine.

Hundreds thousands and millions of men, women and children are cruelly suffering from this plight and dying out in great numbers. Our rich country is threatened by degeneration, for the villages are becoming empty, dead or deserted by peasants who have set out to seek bread.

A great number of testimonies of both Ukrainians and foreigners sheds light on the details of the catastrophe.

Such developments in our country are still more paradoxical given the fact that the harvest of 1932-1933 was relatively good and adequate to feed the population. In this declaration we shall give pass over the political problems, mentioned in our last memorandum that was presented in London to His Excellency Ramsey MacDonald, President of the Conference on Economics. But here we must note that the famine was caused by, on the one hand, collectivization of the farm system, and especially, on the other hand, by the so-called grain-collecting campaign. The grain, collected in Ukraine, is to be supplied to the Soviet Army, to Russia, and especially – to be exported.

While the years of 1932 and especially 1933 were so difficult and tragic for Ukraine, the forthcoming winter and spring of 1934 promise to be still more baneful.

It is for this reason that we sent through the mediation of Your Excellency an urgent call to the League of Nations and to the whole civilized world to come to the rescue of the Ukrainian people.

We ask Your Excellency: to take necessary steps to halt the export of grain from the USSR (in reality – from Ukraine); to establish a commission to determine the scale of suffering on the spot; to organize international assistance to those starving in Ukraine.

We hope that the League of Nations will not be able to ignore our request and that the whole civilized world will hear the appeal of the Government of the UNR in exile.

All Ukrainians, dispersed throughout the whole world, to a man will support us in this request, dictated by our great concern about the fate of the great nation in need.

O. Shulhyn

Олександр Шульгін. Без території. Ідеологія та чин Уряду У.Н.Р. на чужині. Париж, 1934, стор. 209-210.

\* Published in: Українська суспільно-політична думка в 20 столітті. Документи і матеріали. Том II. Упорядкували Тарас Гунчак і Роман Сольчаник. – Бібліотека Прологу і Сучасності, ч. 157, Мюнхен, 1983, С.352-361.

Translated by Volodymyr Horak



# FAMINE—33

We bring to the reader's attention the last interview with Lidia KOVALENKO-MANYAK, the late Chairman of the Association of Independent Researchers of the Famine-Genocide of 1932-33 in Ukraine, which she gave to our correspondent Oleksander KAVUNENKO only a few months before her death.

*Everything that her hands and heart touched, she did not get used to doing in half-way or half-heartedly. She could not...*

*And she was loved by people because of this. I myself witnessed that sincere respect and touching love for Lidia Kovalenko in the village of Tarhan in Kyiv region. Then, during the opening of the monument to the victims of famine of 1933, the peasants did not know, as they say, where to sit her down...*

*And now all words about her are in the past tense. In the time that moves rapidly away from us the vivid image of that wonderfully sensitive and strangely troubled woman who used to take so much over her weak shoulders.*

*Even on that fatal day, feeling bad, she came to people in order to lighten her heart. But her heart could not stand it...*

**Correspondent:** Mrs. Kovalenko, I would like to start our today's conversation with the book *Famine-33*, which you and your husband sent to press – a great tribute to the writer Volodymyr Manyak. Well, how was the book born? What moved you when you began this, to my mind, self-sacrificing work?

**Lidia Kovalenko:** First of all, I have to say that we began to collect materials about the famine at an inauspicious period for this. It was 1983 – a suppressed year. The world marked the tragic 50th anniversary of the Famine in Ukraine. In that world far from us scholarly conferences took place, new books and feature films appeared, which were devoted to the terrible tragedy, and we learned about all this only from late-night radio broadcasts, which were jammed with great force. And at the same time – from an irrepressible, loud counterpropaganda campaign in Ukraine itself. There were special conferences, instructions, among them closed, open, of a high and low level. So to say, now the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists inflated the theme of the Ukrainian famine to the whole world; it is, as they said, a myth, there was no famine, but there was famine in 1933 at the Western world, which had suffered crisis then. You see, such blatant lies cause a feeling of protest in any normal person.

**Cor.:** Mrs. Kovalenko, it is obvious that both you and your husband heard about the famine of 1933 considerably earlier...

**L.K.:** Of course!.. That is natural, because my husband was brought up by his Grandmother Olena in the village of Kryshopivtsi, Podilya; and I was brought up by my Grandmother Sophia from Chernihiv. How could we be indifferent to that theme or be in that "blessed ignorance," which some of our politicians now try to feign.

We worked a long time, I would say, in not very comfortable conditions. Because we did not appear desirable and dear guests in the village. The authorities treated us rather guardedly, and this was somewhat unusual, because my husband as a rather famous writer was received earlier with all due respect. Thus, walking by the village Soviets and collective farm offices, we entered

people's houses at once. Not a few were afraid to talk to us, but very many people no longer felt afraid. It seemed to us that they were already tired of living in fear. They could not stand it any more! Their life was near an end and they wanted to tell the truth, which they were asked about in the twilight of their life.

We began, of course, with my husband's native Podilya (he was so convinced a Podilyan, that I also became the patriot of that region), – we began with Khmelnytsky and Vinnytsya regions. Then Kyiv and Cherkassy regions... Thus, we had the whole Ukraine in our grasp. There appeared cassettes with tape recordings, but I liked the most of all, when a granny sat down and for the first time in her life wrote something for strange eye after our talk, somewhere in the evening.

**Cor.:** Mrs. Kovalenko, did you know then that it would be a book soon – a people's book-memorial, for truth?

**L.K.:** No, I did not!.. We believed very little in it... Then the words "perestroika," "glasnost," "democracy" were heard. It is now when we take the word "perestroika" in quotation marks, sometimes we have to take the word "democracy" in quotation marks too. But then, some years ago, it was like after stuffiness people breathed fresh air. People's lips strained to tell the truth, and our hand also strained to write words of truth after a whole life of half-truth, a quarter-truth, of keeping something quiet, of cunning, of the fear before that a censor would be waiting for you, sitting in a high chair. Only then, an opportunity to publish this book flashed before us. The Union of Writers helped us morally, I would say so: our idea which was expressed by my husband Volodymyr was supported there. You may believe it or not, but those almost 600 pages, from that moment when we started to work directly on the book, took us only seven months of our life. We were surprised then ourselves, how we without any technical aid (I mean the editor who would read very numerous letters; without computer, without anything, but working eighteen hours a day) made this book for those seven months. We added illustrations, we arranged it, we even gave the sketches of design... Briefly speaking, this book was born all at once, as it was nurtured in our consciousness for years. As if at once...

**Cor.:** I can only imagine how it was psychologically hard for you to read and prepare for editing those numerous witnesses, those letters, each of which cried out the horrors of 1933...

**L.K.:** It was incredibly difficult psychologically. Incredibly! Because a human tragedy came to us with each letter. I believe that these letters preserve the biostreams of human psychology, of a human torment which grew because it had been repressed for a whole lifetime. You see: all their lives people kept locked up inside themselves the torment of their parents who were buried then, the child's torment somewhere in the back of their soul...

There were also graves in cherry orchards, in gardens. Those graves were hidden. They were planted over with cherries, nobody knew that. Because the village Soviets forbade even marking the burial places of 1933. It was very hard!

**Cor.:** It seems that this book was, perhaps, more important for you, than everything up to that time...

**L.K.:** It was, generally, a unique period of all my long work in the press. And it was something quite unusual for my husband.

Then we addressed people through the newspaper *Literary Ukraine* and the then mass-circulation (2,5 million) newspaper *Village News*. There were many who wrote us. There were many who called. And there were many who simply got on a train. And in the morning, when the trains arrived in Kyiv, we would suddenly hear a ring, a grandfather or a grandmother came – they wanted to talk!... They also slept in our house, we saw them off, and we are still very touched by their relations with us.

The work over this book made a real radical change in our whole world outlook. You see, even knowing perfectly the village and being there often, we still considered that a peasant was looking at the land, that he was looking under his feet. And thanks to those witnesses we became convinced that the village was also looking forward. The village is also looking around, searching for the root of its misfortunes. We became convinced that those people were not so simple, as they used to write and say: "the simple Soviet people". There are no simple people! There is no more complex person, than our peasant. There is no a person who has experienced so many sufferings as our peasant has. But it did not prevent him from attaining the highest spirituality which can exist.

**Cor.:** In one of the brilliant comments, of which there are many in the book *Famine-33*, you asserted that the famine not only took millions of human victims, but also caused terrible spiritual ruin...

**L.K.:** I had my own theme in the investigation of the famine. If my husband investigated the historico-political, economic and social aspects of the famine, then I was occupied with the spiritual aspects, and I consider them to be no less important.

Indeed, a terrible spiritual ruin was also left in Ukraine together with the millions of graves. But, fortunately, Ukraine was not levelled to the ground. Do you remember how Friedrich Nietzsche wrote: "Rebirth is possible where there are graves". That is, so I read it: rebirth is possible where there is memory. Well, our people had memory. And I consider that it came out alive, spiritually alive from that terrible famine, from that pit where it already was only thanks to the fact that the Ukrainian nation had deep roots. Very deep. Maybe deeper than any other Slavic nation. Thanks to this, it retained the signs of life, and later from these roots, like a cut-down willow, sprouted out with new shoots in the spring. And the best proof that Stalin's satanic action did not succeed, that he did not succeed in amputating the people's soul is, I think, those six thousand testimonies which we collected: a thousand are in the book; five thousand are at home, they lay waiting for their time and weight on my conscience. And it is very hard to do it today, as all our publishing ideas have fallen prey to our economic crisis. But I believe it will not be for ever. I believe our society will understand sooner or later that it cannot step over everything, it cannot ignore of everything.

**Cor.:** Unfortunately, famine is not just a thing of the past. Because even today many people are in poverty, and there are also cases, not unique, of people starving to death in the streets, in the stations...

**L.K.:** This is the word "hunger" that has become terribly relevant today. It cannot be consigned to some historical category, it does not only relate to the past. And when we hear this word from the Parliament's tribune,

pronounced quite without projection to 1933, and when we hear this word in the lines, where people stand for the most basic goods, then it is, of course, causing anxiety for our people.

Even now some say: why do we raise the theme of that famine, if the Ukrainian people even today live in such poverty? But maybe that is just why we need to remember 1933? Maybe this memory will remind somebody that he cannot be so indifferent and not look back at the greatest masses of people? If eight months might take eight million – that has to mean something to our local and national authorities. This is a lesson...

**Cor.:** The book *Famine-33* did not have an easy fate. By the way, obstacles appeared even when, it seemed, there were no reasons for it...

**L.K.:** Our book was received at the publishing house as a long-awaited one, and we thought that there would not be any obstacles to its being published. Our manuscript was not even retyped. There was already no censorship. In fact, we were already quite free. We were not afraid of some political reading there, and it was a great joy for us.

But it so happened that the book laid at the publishing house for two and a half years. Because it turned out that there was no paper, that there was no material for its cover, that printing took much money... I have to say here that the factory, which printed our book, showed incredible nobility. It printed it for half price. It meant that each worker who did his job on our book received only half of what he was supposed to receive. Thus people understood that it was necessary!

**Cor.:** Unfortunately, the book's print run was small. Far from everyone who wanted to could buy it. And it may be only a consolation that a new reprinting of the book *Famine-33* is in preparation...

**L.K.:** A press-run of 110,000 was planned, but because of the shortage of paper it was reduced to 30 thousand... But I have at home hundreds of letters of people who are waiting, asking, begging for this book. There are no less of them at the publishing house Ukrainian Writer which is looking lately for the opportunity to publish the book with the printing of 100,000 just this year when the sixtieth anniversary of the people's tragedy will be celebrated.

**Cor.:** Maybe, only then the book will come to village too?..

**L.K.:** There are 33,000 villages in Ukraine. The printing of the book was 30 thousand. So, you may count. There was not even a book for every village that suffered. There are regions where there was not even one book.

**Cor.:** You, Mrs. Kovalenko, have come to the editorial staff with letters that cannot but touch the heart. There is sincere thanks in them, people wish you health and spiritual energy to continue this difficult, but so necessary work. What gives you strength, what warms you especially now, after Volodymyr Manyak's tragic death?..

**L.K.:** You know, people warm us. People's attention and these people's thanks, - they have warmed our souls from that day when we appealed to them. Because, let us emphasize it once more, there were simply hopeless moments on the way to this book. I can tell you that, for example, my husband and I were sure: if the ill-famed putch of August 19 had succeeded then, maybe, our book would not have been published at all.

**P.S.** What thorny path will not fall to this book-memorial's *Famine-33* lot, it received nationwide recognition and it was awarded the State Shevchenko Prize of Ukraine.

*Translated by Oleksandra Bairakovska*



# FACTS ABOUT THE FAMINE

From the Final Report of the International Commission on the Investigation of Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine, published in Canada in 1990:

"Hunger in Ukraine undoubtedly existed almost from August-September 1932 until July 1933..."

### Witnesses

The fact of the famine's existence is clearly confirmed by the testimony of eyewitnesses who had survived it and who told the Commission about living conditions during the period under consideration. Moreover, these testimonies, the sincerity of which is undoubted, are confirmed by other evidence gathering by the Commission..."

In addition to the testimony of eyewitnesses, the Commission used such predominant witnesses:

- Press reports (of Western countries)
- Diplomatic sources
- Soviet sources
- The work of scholars.

## STARVE

We offer the reader excerpts from the new book by the Ukrainian writer Oles Volya *Death*, where the painful truth about the hunger in Ukraine is related to us from the mouths of eyewitnesses. It is a cruel and incredibly terrible truth, but we have an obligation to know it.

*OLEK SANDR VOLODYMYROVYCH MISHCHENKO* was born in the Poltava region. He graduated from the Kyiv University. He is an author of several books of fiction, and also of a book of testimonies *The Bloodless War* about the famine of 1932-1933. He is also chairman of the Association of the Independent Scholars of the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933 in Ukraine.

### A GLASS OF SEED

*SEKLETA VOLODYMYRIVNA KOCHUBEINYK* was born in 1893 in the village of Vivsanyky, Kozyatyn district, Vinnytsya region. She died in 1985. The story was preserved by her grandson Stanislav.

It was May.

People fell dead from starvation like autumn leaves.

And I could still stand on my feet and pull sugar beets on the collective farm. And I prayed God every day: "Do not let me, my God, see my children die. Do what you want with me, but save my children..."

At home we still had a cow - it was going to calve soon. Milk was shared out among children, and I was left a quarter or nothing at all.

Maria worked on the beets along with me. She came to the field with her first-born every day, hoping for the thin gruel that was brought out for dinner. That time there was no dinner. I could barely keep myself from drinking a quarter of milk at one gulp. Maria walked toward me. The nearer she came, the slower her steps became. "My son is dying," she said quietly, "I am watching him die..." her crying eyes followed me relentlessly so that I would give her the milk. And I gave it to her. Maria covered the bottle with the palm of her hand and kept her hand extended so that the temptation of hunger would not overcome her, so she would not drink milk and give it to her child.

I sat and cried at the thought that I had given away the only food I was likely to get. "If the child does not die today," so I thought, "he will die tomorrow. And my quart of milk will not help him, but I will get completely weak, and my children will die without me..."



Thrown out of their home.  
Photos from 1921 and 1933.

Ukrainian World 3-12 '93 THAT BLACK 1933



"Young boys, where now?"  
Photo from 1921.

Homeless children.  
Photo from 1921.

These children's parents starved to death and their home became the village orphanage.  
Photo from 1933.

But God ordained that Maria's child survived.

Three houses down lived Olha M. Two were left in her family: she and her oldest son who was 14 years old. The boy, as long as he could, came to our house to play. And now I see big hungry eyes, swollen stomach, and swollen legs. "He will die..." I thought with fear and looked at my children to see if they also had the signs of death. "Hold on for just two more weeks at least. My God, save, and forgive us..." I took a half of glass of seed grain from the bottom of a trunk and cooked soup at night.

Soon the neighbors' Vasylo could no longer walk, and his mother opened the door. "She will ask for food..." I guessed. Our neighbor Olha came in the house and sat down in silence - she was sad and half out of her mind. Then she got up to go home: "Vasylo's legs are swelled up with running sores...he does not get out of bed..." she said. "Sores! But you smear them with butter, and they will go away. Butter helps..." I understood that I had said something wrong and gave our neighbor the last glass of seed grain.

And Vasylo is still alive today.

...Once I had to turn to him for help: he was then a big boss, and Vasyl said to me sarcastically: "You, aunt Sekleta, want me to give you a half the collective farm for a glass of seed grain..."

So I went home with nothing but my old tears covering my eyes.

This is written from the mouth of Vitaliy Petrovych Khyzhnyak who was born in 1927 in the village of Semenivka, Poltava region.

#### A SPY OF THE AMERICAN FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

After four years of military service and captivity I came back home. My house was gone - it had been burned down by the Fascists during their retreat, and my father built a small hut of old railroad ties in its place. Father was as thin as if he was removed from the cross. Having high cheekbones, of a sallow color face cut thickly with wrinkles, he met me with labored weak smile. My mother was standing barefoot, looking unmoving at me with her deeply hollow, once beautiful eyes. She was probably saying with her mute look: so, we are alive... One after another my three young sisters came out of the house. They were dirty, in dresses which had been patched and repatched, looking at my uniform frightenedly as if at something strange and incomprehensible...

And my father told me that thirty ears of wheat from the previous year's harvest were all that was left. How could one live? What could one hope for? And my father made a mortar of a tin can and hexa-surface metal rod to grind down the grain. One head a day. And we cooked a gruel in a pot from that handful of cereals. No, I could not stay home: we would die of starvation earlier together. So I left for the Zhytomyr region to a girl with whom I had worked in Germany on a farm. She lived with her old mother and older sister, whose husband had been taken away to the army for additional training on the third day after the wedding, then the war began and he did not come back... I settled in Maria's house, and we got married at once. My mother-in-law was glad that there was a man in the house, maybe because she thought that because of this they would not be quite so poor.

A week later I was sitting at the office of the chairman of the collective farm, Sava Ivanovych Zhyvolup. He was a man of middle-height, over 50 years old. His face was wrinkled, and his mouth was hollow for lack of teeth. A big wart stood out on his pug nose.

"We are the representatives of the Soviet power in the village," Sava Ivanovych said. "I am the only Communist, and you are a Komsomol member. So, set up Komsomol group. Here you are the keys of the collective farm club..."

The club was located almost in the center of the village, just opposite a pasture, where the common grave was situated: the German intelligence service shot 60 of our



sleeping soldiers there. I opened the door – it blew of emptiness. A dirt floor, rotten straw on it, sunflower husks, and rags. I swept out the garbage as best I could, some girls also helped me, and it attained some degree of order.

And now we danced the hopak and polka at the club. We even got rich on music instruments, and we made a tambourine from the skin of a stray dog that had been shot. But once the chairman told me during a meeting:

"You're a Komsomol member, why don't you quit cultural work and become a bookkeeper. You'll calculate people's labor days."

There were the labor days about which our peasants had made a ditty:

A girl is sitting on a linen,  
And is counting labor days.  
Labor day, labor day, labor units,  
Father is going without trousers,  
Mother – without a skirt.

Thank God, we survived the famine of 1947, and already breathed easier. But my wife Maria was beginning to draw the attention of the KGB (Committee of State Security) of the town of Lubarsk, which called her in for interrogation. It was necessary to go on foot on bad snowy roads 25 kilometers from the district center. She was interrogated by an investigator of especially important cases, Captain Tymchenko. Not she, but I was accused: having been in the American Zone from April 11 until May 29 during the war, they thought it likely that I had been recruited by American intelligence as an FBI spy for the USA...

Maria was five months pregnant, could not stand the pressure and she lost her mind. At the beginning of March she bore a girl in Velyka Vodytsya, but the baby died after two weeks with her mentally ill mother.

At great effort I sent Maria to Zhytomyr for treatment and began to pick up documents. The head of the collective farm even did not want to talk to me. "You are, comrade Khyzhnyak, a collective farmer," he taught me haughtily, "and a collective farmer is collective farm property..." But Sava Ivanovych died in February, and a new head, a native of that village elected by the peasants of the village, signed my reference about leaving the collective farm at once. Now there was delay, for the head of the village Rada, Zavidov, who refused as stubbornly as a donkey: "Why don't you like working on the collective farm?" And he was hopeless drunkard. That fact helped me out.

The next day I took a two-liter jug of moonshine, grilled chicken and went to him. I spread it out on his table and suddenly Zavidov was glad: "Now I see that you come on business..." With a stroke of the pen Zavidov marked that I was removed from the military registration.

And I returned to Poltava region, where I lived in my parent's house.

Soon I built my own house and got married a second time. Live, as people say, and praise God. But at that time KGB was higher than God. Major Romanenko became exasperated. Short, stocky, always tipsy, boots of chrome leather, tunic with medals and orders, sword belt through shoulder – he was a real knight of Beria's guard. He walked accompanied by a German shepherd, so smooth he was.

He kept me in his investigation room at night, demanding a confession that I was the agent of American intelligence. I wrote some papers, he took them and read: "What did you write, provocateur!" He tore them up in front of my eyes and angrily threw them into a basket: "Write the truth, you, traitor to the Motherland. I have documents that you, citizen Khyzhnyak, while in the American zone, finished two-month school of espionage and you were sent there to fulfill your criminal intentions. This is what you have to write, traitor to the Motherland..."

On December 15, 1950, I was dismissed from the railway as a "socially dangerous element." When I was coming home I was arrested by two officers from the organs of state security.



Famine in the family home. Photo from 1933.

Miserable life in the peasant house.  
Photo from 1921.

Have earned a small bundle of millet in the collective farm.  
Photo from 1933.

These photos are taken from the Central State Archives of Cine-Photo Documents of Ukraine.

## REVENGE

I am shaking from a just lived dream, and I jump up terrified from my bed without finding a place for myself. I am soaked through in a cold sweat. That NKVD (former name of the KGB) torture chamber in Poltava, that sack-cell No 13. Almost nobody came out of there alive... "But I am still breathing. I touch myself. "I am alive, my God..."

I was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment in a severe regime camp, and I was deprived of civil rights for 15 years. My investigator, Major Andriy Vasylyovych Mykhnenko, ordered the guards to bring me to his room for the last audience. "I shall do my best so that the buzzards will pick your bones after two or three years!" he threatened. And now, after years and years, a free man, sometime a thought comes over me to the depth of my whole being: "Butchers of my people, where are you? But do not be afraid - I forgive you..."

But all the same I want to tell not about myself, so cruelly tried for "anti-Soviet propaganda and treason to Motherland" and who later after so many inhuman tortures was declared innocent... Let me tell you about another prisoner from cell No 13 Pavlo Ryabych.

He was born in Pohrebnyaky, among the Poltavan light steppes which are covered with wild poppies in the spring, with a blossom of yellow camomilles and blue Petro's bathis. A place of neat white houses with roofs of straw and cane. A well trimmed with wood and a big wooden bucket. There were five in his family, and after Lenin's decree Pavlo's father got five hectares of arable land, they acquired a cow, had sheep, poultry, and his father got a couple of good horses. But then there was collectivization... At a meeting idlers and drunkards founded a collective farm "Forward to Communism", and his father, an individual farmer, was levied high taxes and such that after several times that there was nothing to pay with. In the evening of January 20, 1932, a drunken crazy crowd bursted into his house. Someone with a leather jacket and a cap cocked egged the others on. He wore a shoulder-holster with a revolver. "Get out of the house! Get out of the house, kulak!" he cried.

"Stop it, you are still Christians," a housewife begged them.

Father, white as a whitewashed wall, stood in silence near the doorstep. He knew there was nothing that could stop the crowd.

Even the oil lamp seemed to tremble from the crowd's cursing.

The head of the group jumped on the bench, removed the icon of the Virgin from its place and threw it on the floor in the middle of the house and began to jump with boots on the holy icons: "Oh, apple, where are you rolling to..." Then he ran to the Ukrainian embroidered towels.

A wooden mortar was standing in the entrance hall. One member of the drunken band seized an axe and chopped it into small pieces. The children - girls in light dresses and a boy in homespun trousers only - were seized by the hands and feet and thrown like kittens.

It was 20 degrees below zero outside; a storm had begun. But they did not care. They were already in the stable - they had already led a pair of horses out and hitched them up to sleigh. They forcibly threw my tied-up father and mother into the stable. Mother no longer had the strength to cry, she just held out her hands to the children, and hot silent tears streamed down father's face. With whistles and shouts they raced the horses into the darkness of a cold stormy night.

They announced in the village that whoever took in a kulak's children would be sent to Siberia...

And Pavlo Ryabych was only thirteen years old when all this happened.

Four kilometers away his aunt Odarka lived on the farm. He rushed headlong and left his two sisters in the threshing barn wrapped in old linen which had been hidden from the brigade. Pavlo ran like the wind, only his chest burned. At least it was a house. He knocked on the window frame anxiously with frost-bitten hands.

"Who's there?" his aunt asked frightenedly. She put a kerchief on her shoulders and opened the door to see the half-naked boy, exhausted from running. Pavlo told her everything that the brigade had done that night at their house.

Aunt Odarka dressed hurriedly, for a while she seemed bewildered and to be looking for something. Then she found some holey boots under the stove. "Put them on!" She took from the bed a shabby grey blanket of homespun wool, put a kerchief on, locked the house and they started quickly to Pohrebnyaky. Pavlo fell into a deep snow and when he drew his legs out of snow, they fell again, slipping out of the boots. Aunt Odarka tried to encourage the boy as best she could. A snowstorm grew up into an endless snowy wall and when they finally reached his farm, they thanked God. Pavlo rushed to his sisters whom he had left in the threshing barn. They were sitting absolutely still, wrapped in a linen, with their arms strongly around each other. They were cold as an ice, and it was impossible to separate their bodies...

Aunt Odarka wept for the whole world, and Pavlo cried out of pity for his sisters, but the storm did not stop, and no one heard their crying, no one felt for their grief, no one wiped their hot tears...

In the morning the brigade arrived at a gallop on horses in the village together with the plenipotentiary from the district center, who was wearing a leather jacket. They stole the cow, chickens, horses ("we have to save the State!"). Those who resisted were thrown into the snow, and those who obeyed had their property taken away.

So, Aunt Odarka and Pavlo buried the frozen children in the frozen earth. From that time on Pavlo lived on his aunt's farm. He hardly got out of bed until spring because his lungs were inflamed. He caughed constantly, had sores on his legs, his fingers suffered from frost bite.

Aunt Odarka had a few potatoes and beets in her basement, so they lived until the spring.

The sun became warm and the world came alive. A white blossom appeared on the trees, and people ate the blossom, because there was nothing else left to eat, and Pavlo started down the road with a sack on his shoulders to escape death.

He wandered to the railway station of Veselyi Podil and took the first freight train. At the Romadan station he was caught by the militia, but he ran away, again caught a freight train and reached Kyiv. During the day Pavlo made his living in the markets together with other street urchins. Somebody would give them something, or they would steal a cake from a street vendor. They lived in a boiler room. But he was caught, and he told the truth to a militiaman about why he was there and what had happened to his parents and sisters. And he was taken to a children's home. There Pavlo Ryabych finished seven classes of primary school. He worked his way out... Later came the war, bloody battles near Orzhytsya. Captivity. Escape.

Pavlo Ryabych came back to the Poltava region, to his native Pohrebnyaky. His house was preserved, and strangers lived there. The farm was destroyed, ruined. There was thistle in the yard of as high as a man and a burdock. He searched for Aunt Odarka - but it was in vain: in 1933 she left her home and died of starvation. Pavlo Ryabych (he was then 22 years old) knew from his neighbors that those who had taken both parents from him lived quietly and comfortably. His little frozen sisters near the threshing barn, a stormy night and mother's inhuman crying came alive before his eyes.

And Pavlo Ryabych boiled with terrible anger. In his rage he could not find the strength to keep himself from taking revenge. And he threw every one of that repugnant rabble that had "fulfilled the plan" into the well. Although there was no water there, they could not get out. And he shot them all...

There was again the front, bloody battles, wounds. He worked as a metalworker after the war. In the spring of 1949 the organs of the state security caught his trail. Pavlo Ryabych was arrested and given to the court of the military tribunal.

The sentence of the court - execution by firing squad...

*Translated by Oleksandra Bairakovska*

## THE REGIME SQUEEZED CONSTANTLY IN ITS FIST

**These are the memoirs of a peasant Kateryna Shylova, written with herself and given for publication by her nephew Yuriy Shylov, a well-known archeologist and writer.**

*KATERYNA IVANIVNA SHYLOVA was born in the village of Obitochne in the Prymorske district, Zaporizhya region. She is descended from the peasants who founded her village in the early nineteenth century. From the beginning of collectivization until immediately before the war she worked on the collective farm which gave her a life-long loathing for farm work. Then she worked as an unskilled laborer, a cleaning woman. She had never married or had children.*

I no longer remember, how much land my parents had, but there never was enough of bread to last until the next harvest. We had a horse, a cow, sometimes even a piglet. We slaughtered hens and ducks only at Christmas and Easter. And we always kept a small tub of fish for Lent. We were neither full nor hungry... There were 11 of us children. I was the eldest daughter after several sons. Later Tanya and Nadya were born.

1921 was a very hungry year and many people died. My father was still alive, but he could no longer walk. He was badly wounded in the First World War.

Once my mother went to a drug-store for medicine, and she ordered Alyosha, Arkhyp and I – we were still small – to bolt the door. Because at that time a brigade came several times a week and behaved like bandits. They jarred our souls: "Fulfil the plan!" And what could we fulfil it with, if we ourselves were hungry? And they searched every corner, looking for what else they could take. They stuck the floor, walls and ceiling with a twig. They looked in pots and they took away the cooked right from the stove...

So, we had no time to lock ourselves in the house, as our mother had ordered, and they came. They had a two-horse light wagon to haul away what they took. We all fell silent. What then? One of them climbed through the roof and opened the door. Then the others ran into our house. Somebody jumped on my father and lifted him up by collar: "Fulfil the plan!" And my father said his last words: "I will soon fulfil the whole plan with my soul". Then my mother ran in: "Do not touch him. He is ill!" Then they seized my mother, bound her arms and legs and threw her into the kitchen. We were crying, but they went on with their search, and pushed us aside like butchers. My father was a very skilled carpenter, and had a lathe and other tools. They took everything away! Near his head there was a sack of flour, about 20 kilograms. Mother kept it only for father. And they did not find it. God must have blinded their eyes, turned them away from it.

I was in school only three years. There were no copy-books and such. But my brother Alyosha studied up to the tenth grade. But he was also expelled. They called my mother to school and said that they could not teach him any more, because it was not they who taught him, but he who taught them. Because of this he then fell ill of that and wandered along seashore at nights... And when I was 10, I went to work, because I had to earn money for a living.

I worked first in the agricultural base. They paid nothing there, but they gave some pottage. And in the "collective" (Society of Cultivating of Land – TOZ) they wrote down the labor days all year, but at the end of the year what they paid was not even enough for a box of matches. They sowed cotton then. We went barefoot on stubble carrying a sack... Then I also worked on vegetable gardens, on Noviy Byt near the sea. It was not land, only sand there. Ten to twelve year old girls worked there. They dug wells themselves and watered melon fields and tomatoes. The wells got often silted up, but we dug them out over and over. The head of brigade got us up at three o'clock at night and forced us to water until eight or nine o'clock. Then the adults from the village came home. And we, already soaked through to the bone, stood in the wells and gave them water out of the buckets...

I cannot say exactly in what year footwear, manufactured goods and so on appeared in the shops. When I was eighteen or twenty, I bought a patched skirt in a bazaar for 300 rubles. I do not even know where the money came from.

I went in that skirt both to work and to go out...

My father died in February 1932. My mother was only 40 then. She found some sort of job in town – she washed or took care of children. She worked from the morning to night. She worked, they fed her – and she went home to us, hungry children, and was covered with tears... When my father died there were seven of us left with mother.

1933 came. My 22 year old brother Arkhyp and my four year old sister Nadya died the same day. My brother Panteleimon was already married, he lived separately from us. He worked out at the State Fisheries on the sea, 40 kilometres from his home. But his wife was left with the oldest child, and the other two she brought to our house and said: "Feed them!" But we ourselves were swollen with hunger. When Panteleimon came back, they had already died... Then my mother found Vasya who was dying in the ditch near our house. The Komsomol leader Brychko stepped over him and went on, but she brought him to the house. Vasya's parents died of starvation, his two sisters went to Yalta, and he was left, because he was not able to make the journey. People found him and took to the children's home, but he ran and wound up in the ditch. He lay there like a lost kitten. He was already seven years old. How much my mother suffered with him while she cared for him. And later she also took in Anya, her dead sister's daughter.

It was freezing, but there was no fuel for heat. Our house had a cane roof, which we opened a little and heated our house. But when it was raining, it poured on our heads. Our mother bought a mattress and pillow for a silver George's Cross that our father had left, but they took it all away during one of their searches. So we slept without covers on bare boards.

Sometimes three or four Komsomol members would poke us with their prods: they wanted us to go work. They came late in the night. Our mother said them there was nothing to go for. But they did not want to listen anything: "Give us meat, milk, eggs!..." Search where you want, but pay the state what you owe. Even if you die!... They grabbed us and threw us in the swamp. We were lucky to have time to put something on our feet. And we were crying, hungry and cold all night. Mother returned in the morning exhausted, terrible to look at. Panteleimon, the oldest, was also taken, because he had just married and not moved. He was taken and beaten, he then she. To pay what was owed the state. They took two wardrobes at the office and beat them in the face so that they got struck between them. And it lasted all night. Either mother or son. What sadists!..

From 1930 till 1941 we were so burdened by collectivization and obligations. Then – war and the fascists began to torture us. And that's how it was, year in and year out!..

...The regime beat us with its fist all the time. It knew that we suffered everything, stood everything: work without pay, famine. All the time – utter poverty and again utter poverty! We although had understood each other and had related before the war, and after the war – it got worse and worse... And whoever came to power did nothing for us, brought the people nothing good. Such a serious job – to lead the state! One must think deeply and know the situation well. They should feel sorry for the people and should keep them in good hands, not let them get out of hand, but not strangle them...

*Translated by Oleksandra Bairakovska*



Stanislav KULCHYTSKYI

# THE REASONS FOR THE FAMINE

*STANISLAV VLADYSLAVOVYCH KULCHYTSKYI was born in Odessa. He graduated from the History Department of Odessa University (1959). Worked as a research associate of the Odessa Regional State Archive and of the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Since 1972 he has worked in the Institute of History of Ukraine of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, specializing in problems of the Ukrainian history in the twentieth century. He holds a candidate degree of economic sciences as well as a doctorate in history. He has more than 400 scholarly publications.*

In 1983 the scholarly journal of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (Alberta University) published an article by S.Maksudov (Aleksander Babyonyshev), on the geography of the famine of 1933. The author rests his conclusions concerning the human losses on published Soviet statistical data. Prior to him it occurred to no one to use as a historical source the All-Union Census of 1959. It became apparent that the geography of the famine, which had been a prohibited topic in the Soviet Union, could be studied from this source. Even 26 years after the famine, the population still displayed its terrible scar. The terrible crime of the totalitarian regime was branded not only on the nation's collective memory, but also in the very body of the nation. Those who died are an irrefutable proof of genocide that can be submitted to any court.

Now we know a great deal about the silent famine. Due to the efforts of numerous investigators both in West and in Ukraine a solid scholarly foundation has been created. The US Government Commission on the Ukraine Famine published a three-volume collection of the testimonies consisting of 2000 printed pages, edited by James Mace and Leonid Heretz. In 1990 the Government Printing Office in Washington issued in this collection on a scale limited to the needs of the Commission. The same year there appeared the first documentary collection – directly in Ukraine – *The Famine of 1932–1933 in Ukraine: in the Eyes of Historians, in the Words of the Documents*, compiled by a group of research associates of the Institute of History of the Party, affiliated to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. In 1991 a great book of memories and documentary testimonies, *Famine – 1933*, compiled by Volodymyr Manyak and Lidia Kovalenko, was published. In 1992 appeared the fundamental collection of documents: *The Collectivization of the Agriculture and the Famine in Ukraine*, compiled by research associates of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Both in our country and in the West editions of a more modest scale were also published. The documents and the testimonies of the eye-witnesses answer many questions, relating to the reasons and consequences of the famine. But scholarly research in this area should be continued.

Now the court of history can be presented with hundreds of testimonies that give a detailed characterization of the implementation of the famine. In 1990–1993 Ukraine saw the publication of a number of collections of documents and testimonies concerning the famine of

1932–1933, that to a great extent settled the problem of a source basis. These historical sources enable us to authentically determine what Stalin and his accomplices stood for, what they hoped for, when they passed a death sentence on the millions of peasant families.

The initial reason for the famine is the grain-procurements campaign. As early as 1932 the village was in the main collectivized. From the technical viewpoint the collection of grain became a very simple matter: the grain was brought in the points and elevators right from the collective farm fields. The grain-procurements campaign of the 1931 harvest lasted all winter long up, till the spring of 1932. As a consequence of this grain-procurements campaign, in the first half of 1932 44 regions of the Ukrainian SSR (out of 58) were hit by massive famine, accompanied high mortality. Because the state was taking away all goods, produced in the collectivized sector of the economy, the peasants lost any interest in working in the collective farms, albeit having to work in them under the whip. The peculiar "Italian strike" (a strike at which the workers were present at their workplaces) was quickly spreading through the collective farms. It was not an organized action. It was the spontaneous reaction of the peasant to the state's intention to force them to work for no pay. What was at the bottom of such an intention of the state? If to proceed from the reason that consequence of the facts, reproducing the real policy of the authorities, and to pass by propagandist declarations, it is possible to reconstruct the events prior to the famine in the following way:

In March 1930 Stalin had to declare that forced collectivization had led to "Dizziness from Success" and to retreat from the imposition on the village of the collective farms in the guise of artels. The peasant succeeded in defending his households, safeguarding for himself the right to bring his production to market. From the very outset this right was no more than theoretical, for the government had unofficially prohibited retail trade. But in May 1932 it had to lift these prohibitions to save its reputation and the regime had to rename the bazaars "collective farm trade centers". As the case stood, the Party leadership attempted to block the link between the collective farm households and the uncontrolled market, which had been illegal until May 1932. It did not want the peasant, already driven into the collective farm, to slip out of the central control. The leadership's plot was primitively simple – to deprive the collective farmers of the physical possibility of

selling their production. That is, it hoped to alienate all production of the collective farms in favor of the state. In this case the villagers had to feed themselves from their plots, despite the fact that its harvest was poor. It goes without saying that the right of the collective farmers to the production of the collective farm was not observed. For the realization of it quite a new form of payment came into being – the labor day. The labor days were punctually given to those working. But the fact is that in 1930–1931 the collective farm labor days could not be turned, but for rare exceptions, into goods.

In contrast to the situation in previous years, during the harvest of 1932 Stalin allowed the distribution of 10 to 15 % of the collective farm grain as an advance to the collective farmers for their labor days. This was considered to be a great concession on the part of the state. But even before this resolution the peasants believed it was unprofitable to work even for half of the collected harvest. It is understandable that the collective farmers took the advance without stopping their "Italian strike".

The slave attitude toward labor caused tremendous losses. There are several estimations of the losses from the harvest of 1931. About 200 million of poods were lost – that is half of the total output of Ukraine's village population. There were no calculations of the 1932 harvest losses. But they were significantly higher: each passing month made the degradation of the collective farm economy increasingly evident. Paper declarations stressed that the harvest in Ukraine was rich, that nobody was in need of it, and it was rotting in the fields.

The villagers declared: "Let it rot, it will be taken away all the same." In spite of the burdens imposed on the peasants by the grain-procurements organs, the quantity of agricultural production the state could hope to receive was rapidly decreasing.

To put an end to "theft" – the appropriation of the artil's production by rank-and-file collective farmers and to "waste" – the distribution of the collective farm production on the initiative of the local authorities – Stalin personally wrote the law on the Inviolability of socialist property, adopted on August 7, 1932. The "theft" of the collective farm property became subject to punishment by 10 years imprisonment in concentration camps or execution. A handful of unripe grain brought from the field by a starving family was enough to send it to the concentration camps.

The grain-procurements campaign of 1932 was a much more difficult process compared to that of the previous year. The state did not have grain to be exported, albeit machines had been bought for the currency earned with exporting grain. Bread rationing in the cities was limited and attributed to the sabotage of the kulaks. At the end of October extraordinary grain-procurements commissions were sent into the main grain-collecting regions of the USSR – to the Volga region (led by Pavel Postyshev), to the Northern Caucasus (Lazar Kaganovich), to Ukraine (Viacheslav Molotov). These commissions demanded that the grain be collected by well-tried Bolshevik methods. Before the spring of 1933 the peasants of the enumerated regions were deprived of food, forage and seed grain. As a result of the second grain-procurements campaign, aimed at getting the 1932 harvest, the famine was renewed. It was to lead to consequences more tragic than in the first half of 1932, when tens if not hundreds of

thousands of households of peasants perished as a result of the actions of Postyshev's commission in the Lower and Middle Volga. There was also a terrible famine that befell the nomad Kazakhs. As a result of that famine almost half of the population died in a famine, brought about by the forcible collectivization of livestock. And in the Ukrainian villages and in the Kuban stanitsas (the census of 1926 found that 70% of the Kuban's population consisted of Ukrainians), the actions of Molotov's and Kaganovich's commissions led to the famine not only as a result of the excessive grain-collecting campaigns. The famine deathrate in the country of these regions were so significantly in excess to what was happening in the Volga Region that the grain-procurements campaign alone cannot be the sole explanation.

If a peasant was deprived of bread without having any other stores of food, he died. He could not manage to feed himself by other means at that time, for there was bread rationing in the cities. But most peasants had, in addition to their traditional stores of foodstuffs which they kept until the new harvest, other products as well, such as potatoes and fatback. To make him die of hunger together with his family, he had to be deprived of all his stores. And this was what was done by the two extraordinary grain-procurements commissions, headed by Molotov and Kaganovich.

Thus, the famine in the Ukrainian SSR and in Kuban was not brought about solely by the grain-procurements campaigns. It involved one more ingredient, the hallmark of which was the so-called "fines in kind". On November 18, 1932, Molotov dictated the resolution of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U and on November 20, 1932 – the resolution of the Council of Peoples Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR with the same title: "On Measures Aimed at Strengthening the Grain-Procurements Campaigns". On November 21, 1932, this state resolution was published in all newspapers (the Party resolution was made public only in 1990).

The contents of the government resolution clearly attest to the state's desire not only to strengthen the grain-procurements campaign, but also to punish the debtors for their having no bread to be taken away. The debtors were to be subject to "natural fines". The concrete object of the government policy was meat, and a secret Party resolution mentioned potatoes as well. The state sanctioned mass searches and the punishment of all those having no bread with natural fines. It was a juridical base for terrorising people with famine.

But the eye-witnesses of that events are unanimous in arguing: confiscations spread not only on meat and bread in case meat was not found. They confiscated every kind of food: the dried foods in the attic, a bottle of grain on the ceiling, a bag of onions – anything that could be eaten. And this is attested by oral histories from all over the enormous territories of Ukraine and Kuban. The similarity of actions of the local authorities attest to the real existence of such instructions.

The course of events was as follows. Stalin ordered the seizure of previously advanced grain by the state from collective farms that were "debtors" in the grain-procurements campaigns (such collective farms were in the majority in Ukraine).

If grain and collective farm produce were not available, natural fines were to be imposed. These two

elements in the actions of the central power are based on documents. The third element – the confiscation of all that belonged to the peasant family – is not confirmed by documents of an official character. But, let alone the testimonies of the people who passed through this hell, many documents have been found that confirmed that all available things were confiscated, including even the publications of popular newspapers, telling about the heroic struggle of the people devoted to socialism, with the kulak sabotage of the grain-procurements campaigns. The fourth element, the border inspections on the railways and the borders of Ukraine with Russia and Belarus, is also confirmed by documents. Without this barrier hundreds of thousands of people would have escaped to the regions where the natural fines were not applied (in 1921 almost half a million refugees from the Volga Region arrived in Ukraine). The fifth element is well familiar to us – that information about the famine was suppressed. Mentioning the famine of 1933 in the post-war years was enough for a man to be imprisoned according to Article 58 (anti-Soviet agitation).

These five elements, taken together, attest to the effect that the famine of 1933 was a weapon, applied by the totalitarian state in the process of strengthening the consequences of the collectivization. This weapon was used under the guise of the grain-procurements as a mean of forcing the peasants to work for no pay in the collective farms for the state. As Stanislaw Kosior, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U (his words are also confirmed by documents) said in his note submitted to the Central Committee of the CP(b)U on March 15, 1933, the famine was to give the collective farmers the lesson of wisdom.

Apart from the liquidation of the kulaks, the famine should be considered an element of forced collectivization. The Party was putting an end to the well-to-do higher strata of the peasant population not only because it was offering more active resistance (in comparison with other groups of the peasants) to the alienation of their property, but also because it wanted to set everyone an example – a rebellious man will face the same fate. Even the lower strata of the peasants – the poor – were branded as the "agents of the kulaks". The Ukraine-Kuban Region was robbed as the most rebellious one, the state having the same purpose in mind: to show to the collective farm peasantry by its own example what would happen to those sabotaging the collective farms.

After the peasants were taught this collective lessons, individual measures were also applied: each collective farmer had to work a definite minimum of the labor days, and for what it was for the first time since 1930, when the collective farms came into being – he was to receive material incentives. The grain collecting plan, based on forced procurements, was replaced by grain taxes. Any surplus over the tax was acknowledged to be the property of the collective farmers and was to be distributed according to their labor days.

Thus, in the period of 1932–1933, the Soviet Union saw the implementation of the mass collectivization of the peasant farms and forcing the peasants to work in the state-controlled farms. Agriculture became a part of the command economy. The remnants of market relations were put an end to under the latter's unlimited control.

Facts tell that the central authorities used the famine in order to create in the collective farm system a system of economy identical to that represented by the nationalized command heights (large scale mechanized industry). To create this mass command economy, corresponding to the essence of the political regime, those in power did not stop short of genocide.

The terrifying dimensions of the famine are also explained, to some extent, by the technical impossibility of holding the famine terror within the control figures, similar to the liquidation of the kulaks, and the terror that took place in 1937–38, because the famine terror could scarcely be controlled. It is impossible to compare the results of the activities of the three extraordinary commissions, sent by Stalin to the main grain-collecting regions of the state – to Ukraine, Northern Caucasus and Volga. In Ukraine and Kuban (where two thirds of the villagers were Ukrainians) the confiscations of foodstuffs were applied to all debtors of the grain-procurements campaign, which were almost all villagers. In other districts of the Northern Caucasus, where the number of Ukrainians were far lower, as well as in the Volga Region, the confiscations of foodstuffs were an exception. Where the stores of potatoes and sugarbeets were available, the population managed to survive. That was why the deathrate in such regions was a several times lower.

This enables us to arrive at the following conclusions: the genocide against the village population is explained by the intention of the state party to implement the main postulates of the communist doctrine at any cost. The highest stratum of the peasants was chosen as the main object of the liquidation of the kulaks in order to show by its own example what lay in store for those resisting collectivization. In an analogous way the Ukrainian peasants and Kuban Cossaks (who also were predominantly Ukrainian) were chosen as the scapegoats of sabotage. Their fate was to show everyone and everybody what could be expected by those working in the collective farm with insufficient diligence. The material lining of the genocide speaks about itself in a deaf voice in the resolution of the Central Committee and Council of Peoples Commissars of the USSR, dedicated to the grain-procurements campaigns in Ukraine and in Northern Caucasus on December 14, 1932 (later made public in the collection of documents: *Famine of 1932–1933 in Ukraine in the Eyes of Historians, and in the Words of the Documents*). This state-party resolution put an end to Ukrainization in almost half of the regions of the Northern Caucasus where it had been implemented for the preceding decade. In particular, all state business was transferred to the Russian language on the grounds that it was "more understandable to the population of Kuban." Ukrainian schools, newspapers, theaters and other cultural institutions were liquidated. The famine had a paralyzing effect on any protest of the population against the liquidation of all gains of the policy of Ukrainization.

So, the terrible weapon of the genocide was chosen by the Stalinist totalitarian regime in order to carry out two tasks: first, to create an economic basis adequate for the regime, and secondly, to suppress the Ukrainian national liberation movement. The famine of 1933 signified the total enslavement of the traditional Ukrainian village.

*Translated by Volodymyr Horak*

## Antonina NAHORNA

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Undoubtedly, Ukraine's future largely depends on reforms in the village, on reviving and developing effective agricultural production. However, success in this sphere is conditioned not only by measures of a legislative character, but also by the physical and psychic health of rural population. The situation here is far from being satisfactory and calls for the serious concern. Further development of today's negative tendencies in the public health of the rural population of Ukraine can lead to our loss of the farmer – the basis of the Ukrainian nation and culture.

During recent years the indices of mortality, especially of male mortality, increased in the village, average life expectancy declined, the normal (age-sex) population structure was altered toward an aging population, the irrational migration of the population became more intensive, the birth-rate fell considerably, and this has caused a process of depopulation. Since 1960 the rural population of Ukraine has fallen with steadily increasing speed and is now 32.4%; the ratio of rural to urban population – 1:3. Persons of retirement age constitute 25.2% in the village, and 15.5% in the town. During last 10 years the proportion of the employable population in the country has fallen from 53.1% to 50.9%, mainly at the expense of women.

The average duration of life in 1992 in the country was 63.1 years for men, 73.9 – for women (average – 70.1); in the towns – 65.5 years for men, 74.4 – for women (average – 71.1). A certain difference in life expectancy of men and women is observed in Ukraine. According to current mortality trends in Ukraine, a boy born in the countryside will live 63.1 years, and a girl – 73.9; versus 74.2 and 80.2 years in Japan; 74.0 and 80.2 – in Iceland. Thus, new-born children in Ukraine are less likely to live to old age than in the developed countries. There is also a large difference between the mortality of men and women in young, working age. Men between the ages of 25-29 years die on the average four times more often than women of the same age.

A steady fall of the birth-rate has been occurring during last three decades in Ukraine (from 20.1 children per 1000 inhabitants in 1955 year to 11.5 – in 1992, 11.9 urban, 12.6 rural). This causes a decrease in the proportion of children and youth under 16 years among the population and increase in the population over 60 years of age.

The mortality rate averaged 13.4 per 1000 in Ukraine in 1992. The rural mortality rate was 17.2 (urban 10.8). That

# HOW DO YOU FEEL, FARMER?

is, it is 63.5% higher in rural than in urban areas. Indices of male and female mortality in rural areas before the age of 49 are increasing. Rates of growing mortality are especially rapid for rural men aged 20–29 in comparison with analogous indices for urban areas. Mortality in such regions as Vinnytsya, Kirovohrad, Sumy, Cherkassy and Chernihiv is considerably higher than the Ukrainian average. In order to discount the difference in age structure on the general mortality index, we have adjusted it to reflect the standard European age structure of the population. As a result, the adjusted mortality index in Ukraine (on the whole and for various regions) increased in recent years, especially among rural men.

In recent years population increase was negative in Ukraine. Beginning with the 1960s, the demographic development of the republic has been characterized by a steady fall in the rate of natural increase of the population. In the 1950s the increase averaged 1.5% annually, in the 1960s – 0.95%, in the 1970s – 0.5%, and in 1981–1989 – 0.35%. The index of natural population increase in 1992 was negative (-1.9%). In connection with the lowering of the birth-rate, the population for Ukraine as a whole suffered a decline for the first time in 1991, and again in 1992. An especially unfavorable demographic situation arose among the rural population of Ukraine, where population decline was observed in 20 regions. The main reasons for such a situation are growth of mortality, lowering of the birth-rate to the point that it fails to provide for the reproduction of generations; halt in rising life expectancy; and the negative balance of interpublic migration.

Infant mortality is one of the most important medical-demographic characteristics of the general state of popular health. It is currently at 14.7 per 1000 in rural Ukraine, i.e. almost the same as in urban areas (13.5). We are about fiftieth in the world level of infant mortality. However, we should note that infant mortality in Ukraine is displaying a tendency to decline.

The level of sickness of the rural population is considerably lower than of the urban (by 30–32%) and is currently at 926 persons at 1000 of the population. But taking into consideration that the mortality rate is 63.5% higher, then undoubtedly, this directly reflects the lesser likelihood of diseases being diagnosed and of comparably low general quality of rural medical care. The results of serious medical examinations testify to the fact that 218.9 persons of every 1000 rural inhabitants are healthy, 406.6 are suffering from some functional changes

in the organism and 375.5 have chronic pathologies.

The most wide-spread diseases in rural areas are diseases of the cardio-vascular system, followed by diseases of the nervous system, of the sensory organs, of the respiratory system, mental disorders, diseases of the digestive and endocrine system. Primary invalidization in the country makes up 42.8 per 10,000 (in the town - 39.8).

Morbidity of certain occupational groups of the rural population has its own peculiarities. Thus, those who have contacts with chemical pesticides are most likely to display pathology of cardiovascular and nervous systems (vegeto-vascular dystonia, astheno-vegetative syndrome, hypertension, atherosclerosis of the aorta, of heart ventricles and of the brain, marked cardio-toxic effects, etc.), as well as of liver and bile ducts (hepatocholecystitis), pathology of alimentary canal (chronic colitis and gastritis), diseases of female genitalia; nearly 50% of workers have reduced eyesight. Among the dairy workers, in particular milk-machine operators, first place is occupied by diseases of the skeletal-muscular structure (arthritis, radiculitis, myositis, tendovaginitis), then by skin diseases. Also widespread are allergic diseases, of the respiratory system: almost half of all workers have peripheral neuropathy, contact chronic dermatitis, lowering of all classes of the blood immunoglobulins, and antropozoonosis. Sugar-beet growers show diseases of the respiratory system, of the skeleto-muscular apparatus; women - falling and prolapse of the womb as well as pathologic climacteric. Those who make grass flour very often have allergic diseases. 35% of workers in the meat-packing industry (in the Kyiv and Ivano-Frankivsk regions) have been diagnosed with pathology of the skeleto-muscular apparatus (osteochondrosis of the spine, arthritis, arthrosis etc.). Machine-operators are most likely to have unspecific diseases of the lungs (40%), hypertension (15%), myocarditis (almost 15%), diseases of the spine, vibrational disease, deafness etc. Workers in hot-houses - diseases of the respiratory system (42%), complications in pregnancy and birth, and breaches of the menstrual cycle.

The state of children's and teenagers' health is also bad. More than 80% of children in the children's homes in the country have health problems. Only 26.5% belong to the first group of health, 44.6% - to the second, 26.5% - to the third, 3.3% - to the fourth. According to research data children from rural districts, where pesticides and fertilizers are widely used in agriculture (even at permissible levels), are more often less developed mainly as a result of lack of body mass, chronic diseases of the nervous system, diseases of the respiratory organs, infectious diseases, neurotic reactions, asthenic-neurotic syndrome, some breaches in the cardiovascular system, endocrine breaches, and diseases of the bile ducts.

It has been discovered that among children, who enter school in rural areas, the rate of functional maturity is lower than among the corresponding contingent of urban children, i.e., 54% vs. 80%. From the first to the tenth grades the number of children which are ill increases from 59% to 75%. The sickness rate of rural teenagers is at the level of 900-1200 deviations in the state of health per 1000 persons examined.

Under current conditions of medical care nearly 50% of children under 15 remain unhealthy. As a whole, only 197 of 11,900 rural schools have medical control of the health and physical development of pupils, of the dosage of their physic and mental load, of the keeping of social-hygienic norms, and regimes and controls of the quality of their nourishment.

As noted above, qualified medical help is less available to the rural inhabitants than urban, and as a result, diagnosis is late and treatment is less effective.

Today village inhabitants can get medical help in medical-prophylactic institutions: in 45 regional hospitals; 167 regional health centers, 678 central and 1437 district dispensaries, in 1401 village medical attendant-obstetric dispensaries and in over 3500 preventive care clinics attached to the dairy farms of the collective and state farms. 40% of all hospital beds fund (274,400) in Ukraine are in these institutions.

District medical institutions provide nearly 54% of all hospital help, regional institutions - almost 20%. District dispensaries located in rural districts give 1/4 of hospital medical care and 1/3 - of out-patient care to the rural population.

The number of visits to doctors per rural inhabitant increased during the last 5 years from 6.8 to 7.8, and in the regions of Ivano-Frankivsk, Vinnytsya, Lviv, Rivne, Cherkassy, Chernivtsi and the Crimea it approaches 10 visits.

But the development of the material-technical basis of out-patient clinics does not yet correspond to current needs. There are only 136.3 visits during one shift, though the norm is 240 visits at a rate per 10,000 inhabitants of the country districts. 5001 doctor's posts are supposed to exist in out-patient clinics, but 803 are not filled, and 773 are occupied by persons who also cover other duties. 16 district hospitals and 55 out-patient clinics operate without a doctor, and 899 medical attendant-obstetric dispensaries without any medical workers. Of Ukraine's average index of 45 doctors per 1000 inhabitants for urban areas the index is 70-80 and only 20-25 in the villages. Moreover, 60% of rural clinics and 50% of obstetric dispensaries are situated in premises of little use, 30% of central district hospitals lack central water-supply and sewerage. The problem of supplying rural medicine by transport, telephones, equipment, medicines etc. is still not solved. For this reason, the rate of doctors' visits in rural areas is lower than in urban areas. Distance is also a factor influencing the situation: if the distance from a doctor is 10 km or more the number of visits is reduced approximately threefold. Rural men represent only 34.4% of all hospitalized persons in Ukraine.

A considerable difference in indices of popular health is observed depending on place of residence. There are twice as many ill persons in the medically underserved and un-served regions where there are only village medical institutions than among the inhabitants of district centers.

We have mentioned above only some of social-hygienic and medical-organizational issues, problems of the protection and improvement of health of the rural population in Ukraine, but it is sufficient to be certain that the problems are very urgent and require immediate solution.



## Oleksander STEHNIY

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# A SOCIAL PORTRAIT OF THE UNEMPLOYED IN UKRAINE

This article is prepared from the empirical data of two public opinion polls. In January 1993 the Institute of Sociology of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine finished its research work in correspondence with models provided by the Institute's collaborators on

"The Socio-Economic and Political Situation in the Regions of Ukraine". In July the firm "SOCIS", a joint venture with "HELAP" (London), held the "Monitoring of Public Opinion in Ukraine" with its own questionnaire. In both cases the adult population of the republic formed the general aggregate, and a sample was chosen to reflect the main socio-demographic features (sex, age, educational level, regional structure of settlement).

The opinion poll was held in those regions of Ukraine which were singled out because of geopolitical factors reflecting particular features of popular opinion. A total of 1905\* and 1197 persons were polled respectively. In both surveys the sample of the unemployed was statistically significant (92 and 66 persons respectively) and allows us to analyze certain tendencies among that social group. For convenience, the January survey is numbered as [1] and the July one as [2].

### SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE UNEMPLOYED

According to official data, as of January 1, 1993, the level of unemployment was 0.3% (70,500) of the economically active population. But hidden unemployment became more widespread. In 1992 306,000 persons (or 2% of the workforce) worked only part-time. These underemployed people can become unemployed very rapidly.

As the surveys show, people under the age of 30 with incomplete primary or secondary education are most likely to be unemployed. A breakdown according to sex shows that women make up a considerably larger proportion of the unemployed in Ukraine. This latter finding does not correspond to the official data, probably due to incomplete registration of the unemployed, because official data is based on the number of applications at job placement offices. In the surveys conducted, respondents most often indicated that they did not appeal to these offices, although they considered themselves to be unemployed, thereby concealing their real social status.

\* The data is based on the results of the survey of 1528 persons, without taking in account the Donbas region (377 persons), since for objective reasons, the poll took place according to the job places of the respondents at that region do not correspond the general structure of the survey questionnaire.

According to place of residence, the unemployed can be broken down as follows:

- urban-district centers - 42%,
- other towns - 26%,
- large villages - 22%.

Marital status also provides a very useful variable. Thus, the July poll showed a preponderance of married over unmarried. A significant number of unemployed live in, so-called "common law marriage" (5%) and 2% are separated. As we see, marital status provides no special complications for the unemployed.

It should be added that the majority of the unemployed (68%) are childless, one fourth have one child, and only 8% have two children. No families with three or more children were found in Survey [2].

The majority of the unemployed, as the January poll shows, are Ukrainians (68%). Russians and other nationalities make up 21% and 11% respectively.

### SOCIAL SELF-IMAGE

The social self-image reflects the mental and emotional state of people, conditioned by their opinion concerning their perceived basic needs and their chances for meeting them. Depending on the character of these opinions the social self-image may be pessimistic or optimistic with some variation to one side or the other.

A pessimistic attitude is registered when the respondent feels he cannot meet his basic needs and is uncertain about meeting them in the future. On the other hand, an optimistic attitude is characterized by emotional enthusiasm, faith in the possibility of positive change, and active searching for solution of current problems.

From this point of view it is obvious that unemployment must first of all influence the general social self-image of the unemployed.

In the highly-developed industrial countries unemployment is one of the main determinants of the socio-economic position of the unemployed, upon which depend many other indicators of their place and role in society. It is known that the assimilation of social values takes place in the professional sphere, and the criteria for the evaluation of one's own actions are formed there. Work-place achievement, success in one's career, determine the social status of a working person, while unemployment complicates the process of socialization.

In order to identify those factors which directly influence the general self-perception of the respondents, a menu containing a set of factors influencing living conditions was offered:

Table 1

Source of Dissatisfaction	Rank in Importance							
	Survey № 1 (№. 1528)				Survey № 2 (№. 1197)			
	Unem- ployed		Gener. Popul.		Unem- ployed		Gener. Popul.	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Accessibility of Foodstuffs	1	52	1	59	1	42	1	53
Struggle with Crime	2	43	2	47	5	21	4-5	22
Prices of Goods and Services	3	42	3	44	3-4	26	3	26
Living Conditions	4	35	4	32	*	-	-	-
Medical Service	5	27	5	29	-	-	-	-
How to Make Ends Meet	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	42
Unemployment	-	-	-	-	3-4	7	7	8

1 - Rank of Importance;

2 - Percentage of Respondents;

\* - Not asked

This data shows that the most important concerns of the unemployed are economic. In comparison with the January survey the problem of survival under conditions of hyperinflation and economic chaos forced even such concerns as "criminality" to the background. It is also unusual that the problem of unemployment disturbs only every fourth unemployed questioned, and among the general population surveyed it ranks only seventh among concerns. It thus seems that unemployment is not at this time a serious concern for the majority of the respondents.

Thus, in the current economic situation the social self-image of the unemployed, is the case with the majority of population, is determined by "immediate" problems, among which are first of all the purchasing power and the level of access to material goods.

In order to determine the real importance of the indicated variables, it is necessary to determine the unemployed's level of satisfaction with their living conditions. Taking in account that unemployment is connected with an objective worsening of financial problems, let us analyze the real level of access to material goods and relative access to industrial goods and foodstuffs.

The overwhelming majority of the unemployed indicated extreme dissatisfaction over the prices of goods and services, though that item was ten points lower than among the general population (68% and 78% respectively). Instead, 53% of the unemployed (vs. to 43% among others surveyed) were completely dissatisfied with their access to material goods. But this indicator has a subjective coloration as it depends on how the respondent evaluates the "level" of his well-being: what is sufficient for one, is not necessarily the same for others. All those questioned were in solidarity in their extreme dissatisfaction with their level of access to foodstuffs and industrial goods.

For all the importance of the information about how the respondents evaluate the conditions of their lives, it must be taken into account that self-image depends on how the respondent evaluates his ability to change these conditions. How a person views tomorrow was a general indicator used in the January survey. It turns out that the most disturbing fact for the unemployed is their perceived inability to change their situation (as one-third indicated).

There are fewer optimists among the unemployed, the same quantity of pessimists and almost half again as many who

could not be compared with the general population questioned. The preponderance of the last-mentioned among the unemployed (42%) indicates possible hesitation between optimism and pessimism. But the general level of dissatisfaction with the immediate conditions of life does not point toward the growth of optimism. In this connection, the question arises naturally: how will the unemployed decide to resolve the problems of their specific societal state?

### POSSIBILITY FOR IMPROVING OF THEIR MATERIAL WELL-BEING

It would be quite logical a wish to improve their skills, which would increase their chances to get a good job. This becomes especially urgent because of the automation of industry and the introduction of microprocessors which constitutes a new element in the management and control of equipment.

This is why the technological revolution (and our country cannot avoid it on its way to becoming a developed country) calls for basic changes in the content, function, and organization of the work place. New vacancies will be created, which will demand high skills. The current model of rationalizing industry, before which Ukraine is standing, embraces the whole new set of functions for a highly-skilled work.

Thus, intellectual work is becoming an integral element of the whole industrial cycle. But the paradox is that none of the unemployed questioned in July named the improvement of skills as a possible way of improving of their material status. The data of the table 2 let us trace the possible ways of how they might alter their status.

Table 2  
(in % of those surveyed)

Ways of improving	Material status			
	Survey № 1		Survey № 2	
	Unem- ployed	Gener. Popul.	Unem- ployed	Gener. Popul.
Emigration	31	17	21	8
Demand the Government Lower Prices	24	35	3	10
Demand the Government increase Wages	16	21	-	4
Find a Second Job	16	15	8	14
Find a Higher-Paying Job	10	11	26	15
Start a Business	10	9	15	11

The received results show a clear tendency to dismiss of the main possible ways of improving material status. While the January survey going abroad and demanding of lower prices were in first place, in the July survey seeking a higher-paying job went to the first place. What does this tendency show?

Analysis of a socio-demographic profile of the unemployed indicates that youth below age 30 with a general education prevails in that social group. This means that we are not dealing here with skilled specialists dismissed for economic reasons. Here we approach one of the main causes of unemployment among a large segment of the unemployed.

Unemployed youth is left jobless primarily because of dissatisfaction with wages. Low level of education does not give low-skilled candidates an opportunity to demand high wages in the work place. The paradox of the current period is that such jobs are only offered by the private sector. Under these circumstances it is quite probable that the majority of today's unemployed are temporarily jobless, awaiting the chance for a job at a good wage.

It is worth emphasizing that this is a specific feature in the formation of the "army of the unemployed" precisely now, when the transition to the market economy in Ukraine requires the structural and technological restructuring of the economy on a less labor-intensive basis. The reduction of "excess" and less productive sequents of the work force, especially in the Donbas, may give rise to very painful social consequences.

It is likely that social policy and the inability of the state to lead the country out of crisis will deprive a working-age population of the hope for state aid, and thus alter the paternalistic attitude left over from the Soviet period. Only in terms of this can we explain the considerable reduction of those wishing to demand lower prices and higher wages from the government.

We might hail this increased popular feeling of independence during a period of transition to the market economy, if it really derived from Ukraine's social and public policy. Though sad to admit, these moods are determined by the crisis of faith in the power structure, to which the results of the July poll testify eloquently. Finally, the fact that a considerable proportion seeking to go abroad confirmed by the data of both polls, has to disturb the relevant state organs. Lack of faith in their ability to resolve their financial problems in the Motherland impels the unemployed to look for satisfaction in foreign lands. If for the majority of low-skilled unemployed such attitude is caused by the desire to get rich quick with some trade-financial manipulation, then among educated specialists it reflects the wish to find a good job with a salary that would correspond to their level of qualification. Whatever it is, for both alike migration processes (including immigration ones) are the consequences of inability of Ukraine's power structure to take the necessary steps to safeguard effective function of the national economic mechanism. In cost of living we are almost flush against West, but the level of wages and salaries do not correspond to the increasing costs of goods and services of primary necessity. The state is suffering from migration of the work-force abroad, which may threaten to create a deficit of labor resources, and first of all employment-able youth.

#### READINESS FOR SOCIAL PROTEST

The complication of the process of socialization, connected with the breakdown of links with the labor collective, may lead to marginalization and the display of deviant behavior. In this connection it is interesting to note under what conditions the unemployed respondents would take part in spontaneous actions ("going out into the streets") and what precisely forms of social protest they might favor.

Table 3

What personally would make you go out into the streets (in % of those surveyed)\*

Reason	Unemployed	Gener. Popul.
Disappearance of foodstuffs	33	43
Rising prices	26	35
Salary freeze	21	24
Rising Crime	19	32
Worse Pollution	15	21
Under no circumstances	25	23

\*Data of Survey 1

It should be noted first of all for both the general population questioned and the unemployed, the potential participation in spontaneous demonstrations is determined by economic difficulties. At the same time those most likely to take part in demonstrations give the least weight to political demands among the factors they might protest. It should also be noted that one-fourth of polled unemployed did not plan to protest under any circumstances. It is reasonable to suggest that, first, here is felt the influence of a pessimistic general societal self-image concerning their ability to change things, and, secondly, increasing reliance on oneself and one's ability to solve his problems himself, because the state is not able to help for this reason it is quite useless to demand anything from the authorities.

Perhaps increasing social apathy and political indifference can become safest consequence of these moods in that open conflict between the supporters and opponents of the economic change are very dangerous to the consolidation of the democratic independent Ukrainian state.

The results concerning the attitude of the sample to various forms of protest enable us to understand, what form mass social protest may acquire with the participation of the unemployed (survey 1).

Analysis of the data obtained indicates that the majority of the unemployed are in full agreement with other participants in the poll concerning their attitude toward legal forms of protest. It is established that the more extreme character the action of protest has, the less it is supported by the unemployed. Thus we may forecast that massive social protest with the participation of the unemployed will not assume illegal forms in near term and will not call forth extremism.

The specific feature of the moment is that the existing "army of the unemployed" differs greatly from those who might in near future expand it. And this has implications for the social consequences of structural change.

The most widespread forms of protest among the unemployed coincide with those of the whole population. There is real cause to expect the spread of such forms of protest as critical articles in the press (clearly this form is unreal for many unemployed), legal meetings and demonstrations, and also participation on pre-election campaigns and circulation of petitions with collective demands.

The above data of sociological surveys shows that current unemployment, especially among youth, is connected with negative consequences of the blocking of reforms. As existing vacancies in the state sector (in enterprises and offices) do not satisfy fully the majority of the young unemployed, they "voluntarily" wait for better payment in the commercial sector. A desire of a considerable part of this social group to seek a better life abroad is especially dangerous. The outflow of the young work force is connected with increasing xenophobia in Western Europe.

At the same time it should notice that the expected structural reconstruction of Ukrainian industry (without which the effective functioning of the market model of economy is impossible) may lead to the massive unemployment of manual and low-skilled workers. Besides, the rational use of budgetary resources also demands the reduction of staff and even sometimes of whole enterprises, which allows us to speak about the potential replentishment of the unemployed by white collar workers.

# Alexander KONOVETS ON THE 125th ANNIVERSARY OF THE PROSVITA SOCIETY

In December this year we will witness the 125th anniversary of the foundation of the Prosvita (Enlightenment) society, a mass, national-cultural public organization, that made, perhaps, the greatest single contribution to raising the national consciousness of Ukrainians by uniting the attainments of national and world culture, and by fostering the people's eternal aspirations for freedom and independence. The history of the Prosvita movement in Ukraine is full of dramatic events, when raising the level of culture and education, accompanied by intellectual and spiritual valor, alternated with waves of colonial oppression and repression, prohibition of the language, and restrictions on the printed word by censorship.

When the 1860s and '70s national-cultural life in Eastern Ukraine came to an almost complete standstill under the heavy oppression of the Russian autocracy (public movements were just being born), at the same time in Halychyna, where meager elements of democracy survived, Ukrainian national forces stepped up their activity and the work of enlighteners intensified up. The Austro-Hungarian government for a certain period permitted the creation of cultural-educational organizations along with the publishing of books and periodicals in national languages, all the while keeping close watch on the limits of these "freedoms". Still, in 1848 in Lviv a Supreme Ruthenian Council was created in order to foster the introduction of the Ukrainian language in the schools, to seek permission for the Ukrainians to hold posts in the government, to attain equal rights of the Ukrainian clergy with the Polish one, etc. The same year a Council of Ruthenian Scholars summoned by the Ruthenian Council, founded the Halytsko-Ruthenian Matytsya, a society, that put cultural-enlightener tasks, in particular the dissemination of literature and the creation of a Ukrainian press and theater, as its top priority. One may also recall the activity of Transcarpathian enlightener O. Dyhnovych, who in 1850 created a Literary Institution in the town of Pryashiv, that published and disseminated books for the people, like Halytsko-Ruthenian Matytsya. These were the forerunners of Prosvita, and it was this basis that the national revival began in Halychyna and then spread to all Ukraine.

The first Prosvita was established in Lviv in 1868 as a Ukrainian literary society, which, however, had its own functional peculiarities. If the Matytsya tried to develop higher education and to occasionally publish anthologies and collections, then Prosvita took on the task of raising the educational level of ordinary people, to popularize the knowledge, that would promote the intellectual and spiritual rebirth of the Ukrainian nation.

Professor of the academic gymnasium A. Bahnyanyn

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became the head of newly-formed society.

The first Prosvita began as a publishing society, that sought the fullest possible satisfaction of the peasantry's acute need for the Ukrainian printed word. Soon Lviv Prosvita began to found branches, libraries and reading-halls in towns and villages.

In 1870-1880 Prosvita played a leading role in public and cultural life. Branches of the society worked in the cities and towns of Halychyna. Prosvita published the newspapers Chytalnya (Reading-hall) and Letter from Prosvita, literary-scholarly anthologies, an annual People's Calendar, in addition to school textbooks and popular booklets. Prosvita also took the initiative of founding the newspaper *Dilo* (the Deed) (1880) and of the first Ukrainian political organization, the People's Council (1885).

The further development of the West-Ukrainian Prosvita societies is connected with cooperation. After the reforms of 1891 the society assumed an economic character and headed the cooperative movement in Halychyna. Prosvita societies helped the peasants in their economic activity by popularizing improvements in agriculture, cooperation, commerce, etc. While it was characteristic of the early stage of the Prosvita societies in Halychyna that the priest played a leading role in them; they later came out against the radicalism of the Prosvita's championing of the Ukrainian national liberation and social-democratic movement.

At the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Prosvita movement began to appear in the Eastern Ukraine as well. The active development of cooperation among the Ukrainian peasantry was the most effective stimulus to the national-cultural revival in Dnipro Ukraine. Ukrainian enlighteners believed "cooperation had to be built on a national basis" and "the national idea had to have economic needs of the people as its foundation." The so-called Normal Statutes of the Russian government of 1897 and 1898, which allowed the development of Ukrainian village cooperation, were of great importance in realizing the idea of cooperation. It is sufficient to say, that 102 agricultural cooperative societies worked in Dnipro Ukraine. The legally guaranteed status of the cooperative societies made it possible for the Ukrainian intelligentsia (doctors, agronomists, priests, teachers, etc.) to conduct legal national-cultural work. This movement became especially active in Poltava region, where cooperation played the same enlightener-economic role as Prosvita societies in Halychyna after the reforms of 1891.

Though legal official registration of Prosvita societies in the Dnipro Ukraine took place only after the Revolution of

1905, when the tsarist government was forced to issue the October Manifesto guaranteeing freedom of speech, consciousness, and the press, and, in particular, the right to found private societies.

Kyiv, Kamianets-Podilsky, Katerynoslav, Odessa, Mykolayiv, Chernihiv, Zhytomyr and other towns became centers of the Prosvita movement in the Dnipro Ukraine. Prosvita societies appeared and also worked successfully outside the borders of Ukraine — in Katerynodar, Minsk, Baku, Vladivostok, and in various cities of Central Asia, where Ukrainians had settled.

T.H.Shevchenko Prosvita in Kyiv was one of the first to be organized in May 1906. The well-known writer and public figure Borys Hrinchenko became its head. Welcoming the first organizational meeting, he said, "Our Prosvita societies will carry the waves of the wise life, the light of science and art to the farthest regions of our Motherland and will also spread and popularize the attainments of our Ukrainian culture."<sup>2</sup>

Prosvita societies expanded their publishing activity. The non-official public organ of the movement became the newspaper *Rada* (Council) (Kyiv, 1906–1914), whose publisher was Yevhen Chykalenko. The publishing house Ukrainian Teacher was founded in Poltava in 1907. In Mohyliv-Podilsky Prosvita gravitated to the editorial staff of the weekly magazine *Earthly Star*. Prosvita in Katerynoslav published the newspaper *Good Advice*. Enlighteners in Odessa founded the L.Smolyanskyj fund for publishing books of historical content in Ukrainian.

In 1909 the first Prosvita economic congress took place in Lviv, where members of the West-Ukrainian and Dnipro Ukrainian Prosvita and cooperative societies discussed urgent questions concerning the cultural-economic development of Ukraine. At the beginning of the First World War most Prosvita societies temporarily became inactive, although the drawing together of the Western and Central societies' members became especially actual at that period.

Prosvita in Kyiv revived and new societies began to appear after the overthrow of the tsarist autocracy. However, political events in Kyiv relegated its activities to a secondary role. But at the same time the Prosvita movement became more active in the provinces. Society clearly needed the popularization of history, ethnography, philosophy and aesthetics.

But after the establishment of the Soviet Power in Ukraine, which pursued the harsh policy of War Communism and conducted a red terror, the situation changed radically. The new regime gradually but steadily worked toward the annihilation of the Prosvita societies. But the Communist conquest of centers of education did not happen all at once, because the Bolsheviks simply did not have sufficient intellectual forces to do it. The rule of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the Prosvita societies was absolute. Hence, the political, moral and financial siege of the societies was organized by the party apparatus. Prosvita received no state subsidies, the press ignored their existence (even if they were mentioned, it was only a negative context), and they were disbanded at the first opportunity.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s the Prosvita societies and their published organs were repressed completely on the territory of Soviet Ukraine.

At that time the Prosvita societies in Halychyna played

an important role in raising the level of Ukrainian national consciousness as well as the general level of education. Still, during the Polish occupation of Halychyna (1919–1939), the authorities frowned upon Prosvita, and in the Lemko and Boyko regions the movement was completely banned. However, in 1935–1937, Prosvita could still boast 1930 courses for reading-hall instructors, 37 for drama teachers, 126 for choral conductors; and there were 3209 libraries attached to the Prosvita's reading-halls.

In the Transcarpathian region Prosvita was established in 1920, and in 1934 it counted 10 branches (including branches in Pryashiv and Bratislava), 230 reading-halls (7 of them in the Pryashiv region). The Hungarian authorities liquidated Prosvita in the Transcarpathia in 1939. Its property was confiscated, its archives and many of its books destroyed.

A similar fate met the Ridna khata (National Home) Society, that had been active in Kholm and Pidlyashya regions since 1918 and had nearly 125 branches. In 1930 the Polish authorities liquidated it.

Prosvita societies in Volyn' had more than 600 reading-halls, all of which were closed in 1932.

Many Prosvita reading-halls appeared after 1905 in such Ukrainian populated areas of Russia as the Kuban', Zelenyi Klyn (near Vladivostok), and in other Ukrainian settlements of Asia and Siberia. All of them were abolished in 1922, and only in Harbin (Manchuria) did a branch exist until 1945.

At that difficult time Ukrainians of the Western diaspora were very active, especially in the organization of newspaper-magazine and book-publishing.

In June 1988 the Prosvita society was revived in Lviv. The revival of Prosvita brought new impulse to the struggle of the Ukrainian people for national liberation. The society achieved the adoption of a law on language, became an initiator of democratization, took an active part in politics, and actively supported the struggle for Ukrainian independence. Leaders and organizers of Rukh as well as many democratic parties worked in the society. Today the All-Ukrainian T.H.Shevchenko Prosvita Society possesses an extensive network of lecture and seminar facilities, and also publishes newspapers and magazines. Recently it began to publish the Sophia series of books on aspects of political science and philosophy, *The Popular Encyclopedia of Prosvita*, and *Prosvita for Children*.

Collecting and analyzing information about the legal status of the Ukrainian language, overseeing the fulfillment of the law on language, supplementing libraries with Ukrainian books, decorating of rooms of enlightenment in military stations, preparing and distributing terminological dictionaries, and constantly helping establish new Ukrainian schools and children's institutions — these are only some of Prosvita's current activities.

The old Prosvita was a school of statehood in alien state. Today's Prosvita must become state-building factor in Independent Ukraine.

1 Гехтер М.С. Сільська кооперація на Україні російській/Перший Український просвітньо-економічний конгрес. Львів, 1910, с.596.

2 Передлюва//Просвітянин — 1918 — № 1. С.1.

Halyna SYTA

HALYNA MYKOLAYIVNA SYTA was born in Kharkiv. She graduated from the Mechanical-Mathematical Department of Kyiv T.Shevchenko University (1962). A Candidate of science in physics and mathematics, she works as a research fellow in the Department of Probability Theory of the Institute of Mathematics of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.



Ukrainian scholarship has recorded many bright pages in its past which, unfortunately, are not well-known to most people. One of them is connected with the name of Heorhiy Voronyi (1868–1908), a prominent Ukrainian mathematician, well-known in the world of science and a specialist in the field of number theory.

Voronyi was born on April 28, 1868, in the village of Zhuravka (today, a village of the Varvinsk District in the Chernihiv Region). A picturesque hill over the Udai in Zhuravka appealed to his grandfather, Yakiv Voronyi who started out as a chumak (salt merchant) and, after earning enough money, bought this patch of land and settled there with his family. According to family legend, the Voronyis are descended from a Cossack, who was one of the defenders of the nearby Voronivka Fortress. On the map of

## "...I Have a Bright Vision of the World..."

### A Mathematician of Genius: Heorhiy Voronyi

Beauplan, the fortified town of Voronivka was on the right bank of the Dniipro, near Chyhyryn. But according to the description by M.Tkachenko in *Humanshchyna (Umanshchyna) — 15th–18th centuries* (K., 1927), the town of Vorone was near present-day Buky. There were mentions of Vorone (where there was a fortress), from 1545 to 1674, when the advance of the Turks devastated much of the Uman area and forced the local population to migrate en masse to the Left Bank. Perhaps some of the mathematician's ancestors began as chumaks from the time of this migration...

Voronyi's father — Feodosy (1837–1910) — was a master of Russian grammar. He was educated at Kyiv University, worked in the Nemyriv gymnasium and in the Nizhyn Lycee, was director of the Kyshyniv, Berdyansk and Pryluky gymnasiums. In 1887, he retired, took up gardening in Zhuravka and took an active part in the work of the Pryluky Agricultural Society. He was a man of progressive convictions and favored efforts at popular education. Even in his student years at Kyiv University, Feodosy Voronyi helped organize free-Sunday schools for working youth and taught history in the Kyiv-Podil school (1859–1861), where he also hosted student literary soirees. His initiative to create a Sunday school was enthusiastically received by Taras Shevchenko, who donated 50 copies of his Kobzar to the school in 1859. Later, describing events of national importance at Kyiv University in the late 1850s and early 1860s,

Olena Pchilka laid a special emphasis on the honorable actions of the student Feodosy Voronyi, calling him a Citizen (with a capital letter).

Feodosy Voronyi left us a work in which he expressed his views on teaching and education. In particular, he believed that "success in political and social life is impossible without people being enlightened by moral sciences." He emphasized the need to spread historical knowledge among the people, for it, he believed, "clarifies man's intellect, provides him with a better understanding of his status in life and frequently points out the best ways of using the strength he has to secure a better living for himself and others."

Feodosy Voronyi implemented his ideas of popular education in Zhuravka, where at his own expense, he built a school for the village children, in which lectures, concerts, and plays were also held. The money collected was spent on enlarging the public library in Zhuravka. Feodosy had three children. Each of them chose his own way in life: Leonid became a doctor; Mykhailo — an agronomist, Heorhiy's lot was to become a well-known scholar. But the brothers all had the same sense of independent initiative and an active approach to life.

Even as a student in the Pryluky gymnasium, Heorhiy was distinguished by his deep interest in science, diligence, and punctuality. Mathematics attracted him, his studies in "that field were especially thorough, achieving the ranking of one of the most successful pupils in mathematics."

But he checked himself again and again, to see if he would have enough talent and persistence to be a professional scientist. In 1885 the young Heorhiy Voronyi presented his solution to a problem posed by the *Journal of Elementary Mathematics* (Kyiv), and his article was published. The same year he entered St. Petersburg University.

The diary he kept in his student years (1885–1889) and which, fortunately, has been partly preserved, discloses his character, inner world, the process of his creative growth and self-consciousness.

The author is active and sensitive, able to sympathize and give help, albeit sometimes critical of himself. At times hot-tempered, he later expresses regret. He tried, as he writes himself, to absorb everything with his heart, not just his intellect: "I have a bright vision of God's world and each thing I touch captivates me". A great part of the diary is dedicated to his relationship with Olya Krytska, his future wife. He writes about his feelings so honestly, with such virtue and temperament (events are almost absent, only his feelings are present), that these pages

read like a novel.

The author gives rather a sad characterization of contemporary society: "Our times are hard, we are victims of a terrible regime; now the most innocent things cannot be said. Otherwise one gets into the hands of the "custodians of hearts". We are characterized by mistrust. We distrust each other."

The false feelings and hypocrisy that reigned around him led him to seclude himself from social life.

"One feels one's weakness before the strong world. It was difficult for me to write this phrase, but it is a mere trifle. Sometimes I get such thoughts, and it occurs to me immediately: what an abomination to have no political convictions, see all things almost indifferently, have no desire to serve mankind... That today is my moral face. In any case, I had to jump up and pronounced in fear: have I lost any chance to get better? I desire this from the bottom of my heart. Can it be more difficult than pricking one's hand with needle to keep from sleeping during lessons?"

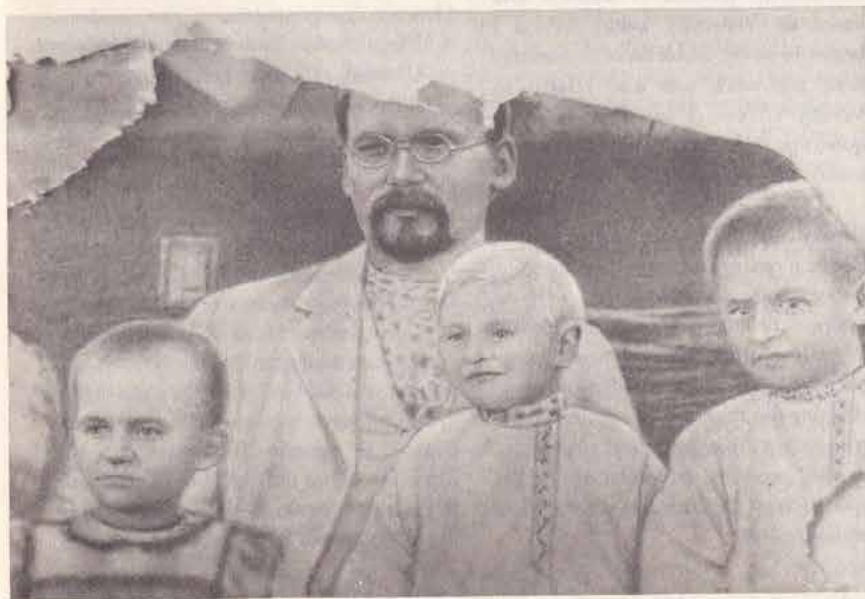
All these sad self-revelations

do not prevent Heorhiy Voronyi from studying his favorite science stubbornly and in good faith, developing strict self-discipline, the habit of regular and diligent work and the ability to concentrate his intellect on problems. Punctuality and accuracy, inherent in his nature, help him at his difficult work. His first discoveries gave a new impetus to his creative labor. With time it became his all-absorbing passion.

When studying at the university Voronyi had to earn his living by private tutoring. As he spent much time on his own investigations and research, he had to limit himself in the most necessary things and to get used to working under any conditions — for example, to the accompaniment of the loud noise of his room-mates or to working at night.

"It is already the second day that I have been sitting over the calculations of the sun's eclipse on August 7," he wrote in March, 1887. "Yesterday I worked ten hours. Today — seven hours. My work has made significant progress, but I am feeling very tired — the more that I have not had a breath of fresh air for two days. Figures, figures... Yesterday, I filled my head with them so much that they tormented me all night long... I even had to get up and pour water on my head. And today I shall have to resort to this very same method."

Many years later Voronyi, who had fallen seriously ill, confessed to one of his pupils: "The doctors have forbidden me to work... Moreover, I noticed myself that a strong intellectual strain always has an effect on my disease. But they do not know what not being occupied with mathematics means to me... For me mathematics is life, Everything..."



Heorhiy Voronyi with his children.

The main object Heorhiy Voronyi chose for study was number theory. It is one of the oldest fields of mathematics, known since the days of Ancient Greece. Despite its superficial simplicity, there remained many "tough nuts" – hypotheses, which were expressed centuries ago, still remain unproven. Attempts to find solutions to these problems gave an impetus to new ideas, opening up new fields of investigation.

In the second half of the nineteenth century in St. Petersburg, a school of numbers theory appeared, comprising professors P. Chebyshev, A. Markov, A. Zolotaryov. It was Professor A. Markov who became Heorhiy Voronyi's main mentor.



Heorhiy Voronyi with his family.

## CONFERENCE IN HONOR OF HEORHIY VORONYI

The International Conference of Mathematicians, devoted to the 125th anniversary of Heorhiy Voronyi's birthday, took place in Kyiv on October 5–9, 1993. Already preliminary correspondence with the participants of future conference testified how the scientist's name is greatly held in respect among those familiar with his outstanding work:

"I'd like to express my most genuine gratitude for the invitation to the conference in honor of Prof. Voronyi. It's a great pleasure and honor for me to accept the invitation". [Prof. V. Novak, Austria]

"Recently I studied Voronyi's works very attentively. I was interested in his deep ideals". [Y. Kubilyus, academician of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences]

"I'm extremely interested in taking part in this conference, especially because my own scientific works were and still are under the influence of Voronyi's ideas". [Prof. Ludwig Danser, Germany]

The conference took place in the Institute of Mathematics of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. The papers covered those fields of modern mathematics (in particular, number theory), which were considerably influenced by the basic ideas of H. Voronyi. Such fields include analytic number theory, algebra-

ic and geometric number theory and linear methods of addition.

The conference was not very large, but representative. Mathematicians from Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Russia, the Czech Republic, Germany, Switzerland, Great Britain, Canada, and the USA took part. Almost all the papers were directly connected with Voronyi's work. In his speech opening the conference Professor M. Seneshal (USA) remarked: "I studied Voronyi's works already in my student years. My doctoral dissertation was on the formula of addition and based on Voronyi's works. When I began to study problems of crystallization, my work was also related to Voronyi's. Now I use his works on quadratic equations, and they are a source of inspiration for me."

The conference convincingly showed, that Voronyi's works, written almost a century ago, are relevant even today. They are helpful not only to mathematicians, but also to specialists in various other spheres: crystallographers, physicists, geologists, chemists, studying the structure of various chemie compounds from geological objects up to food products, molecular biologists, specialists on the questions of distinction of images, etc.

It adopted a resolution to call international conference, dedicated to the development of the ideas contained in Voronyi's works, every 5 years.

Conference participants visited Voronyi's home town of Pryluky, where he studied at gymnasium, and the village of Zhuravka, where he was born and where, in accordance with his will, the great scientist was buried. An improvised meeting of the scientists with the Zhuravka school-children took place in the Heorhiy Voronyi local secondary school; Director of the Institute of Mathematics of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and Member Correspondent of the Academy A. M. Samiyenko, Professors Andrzej Szyncel (Poland), Pieter Engel (Switzerland), Martin Huxley (Great Britain), Robert Erdal (Canada), Sergei Rushkov (Russia, Moscow), and Pavlo Varbanets (Ukraine, Odessa) took part in the meeting. H. Voronyi's grand-daughters – Galyna Yuriyivna Vorona and Natalia Vasylivna Vasylenko – were among the guests. All the participants shared their impressions of the conference, their stay in Zhuravka and in our country as the whole. A church service was held on Voronyi's gravesite. Finally, it must be mentioned that it was possible to organize the journey to the Zhuravka in our difficult time of economic misfortunes thank to the sponsorship of the International Renaissance Foundation.

*Halyna Syta*

*Translated by Oksana Petrusyk*



# FOR CLOSE COLLABORATION OF UKRAINE WITH GERMANY

An Open Letter to Compatriots in Ukraine from Germany

*The Ukrainian economy suffers a deep crisis. How did it happen? Its roots should first be sought in the dogmas of "scientific socialism", that terrible utopia which programs first industrial development, and then catastrophe. Why? Because this utopia declared war on private owners of the means of production, that is, to the private economic initiative that is base of the well-being of every nation. This utopia demands the destruction of competition — of a mechanism that leads to an increasing and quality of goods and to the lowering of prices. This utopia propagates a centralized planned economy which leads automatically to the creation of an administrative-command system. The action of economic laws stops — an army of bureaucrats takes their place. Money for paying them does not fall from the sky. The state draws it invisibly out of the pockets of the working people, as a result of which their payment is lowered. Thus, an anti-scientific economic system appears, the unprofitableness of which is compensated for with dictatorship and terror...*

*And when in 1991 the empire collapsed, the period of colonialism ended and the need to switch Ukraine from the tracks of utopia to the tracks of a social market economy appeared, there were no cadres qualified to carry out the task. There were talented engineers and physicists, but there were no specialists who knew how to build the transition from the utopia of "scientific socialism" to a social market economy.*

*Destroyed during the Second World War, West Germany accomplished an economic miracle in a short time and created a strong economy. In Ukraine and the other countries of the former socialist camp the utopian experiment led to catastrophe. Ukraine needs a rapprochement with Germany. Ukrainian economists have to study the German experience of building of the social market economy and apply it in their country: not blindly, but taking into account the particulars of its own situation.*

*Fortunately, the leaders of the Federative Republic of Germany, especially the leaders of Bavaria that calls itself "the free state of Bavaria", are demonstrating their willingness to cooperate with and help Ukraine. The city administrations of the capitals of Ukraine and Bavaria proclaimed Kyiv and Munich sister cities. Six other cities of Ukraine and Bavaria: Odesa and Regensburg, Kharkiv and Nuremberg, Rivne and Augsburg have cemented the same relationship.*

*In February 1993 the "Carpathian region of Europe" was created. Ukraine, Poland and Hungary entered into it with the aim of establishing close cooperation between the Western regions of Ukraine and the neighboring regions of Poland and Hungary. It was an appropriate step, useful for each of countries involved. It is also advisable to create the regional "Danube-Black Sea-Dnipro region of Europe" where Bavaria, the near-Danube regions of Austria and the Eastern European countries, the Black Sea and Dnipro Basin of Ukraine will enter to. The cheapest way to transport goods is by the waterway of the Danube-Black Sea-Dnipro, and this has the opportunity to widen considerably the trade among Ukraine, Bavaria and the Danube Basin countries of the East and Central Europe. It should take into account that in September 1992 the building of the 171-kilometer channel between Bamberg and Kelheim which untied the Main river (a tributary of the Rhine) and the Danube was completed. Now ships may sail from the Atlantic Ocean across Central Europe by Rhine, Main, and the Danube rivers to Odesa, Kherson, Crimea, Dnipropetrovsk, and Kyiv. This waterway is not suitable for transporting people between Bavaria and Ukraine because of the time required, but it is very advantageous for transporting goods.*

*Today's catastrophic state of the Ukrainian economy is in sharp contrast to its potential. Ukraine (603,700 sq.km.) is larger than France (543,965*

*sq.km.), and is considerably larger than the Federal Republic of Germany after its unification with the former East Germany (357,046 sq.km.), and it is almost twice as large as Poland (304,463 sq.km.). In terms of territory, Ukraine is the largest state of Europe, except for Russia. In terms of population (52 million) Ukraine is the largest state in Eastern Europe after Russia. None of the other countries of Europe has so much first-class black soil as Ukraine. None of the other republics of the former USSR has such a good potential for mass western tourism as Ukraine: the climatic conditions of Ukraine and its proximity to West promote it.*

*The wise cooperation of the Ukrainian government and private initiatives in Ukraine and the West is needed in order to plan for large-scale foreign tourism. It should organize the sale of examples of Ukrainian folk art to foreign tourists as souvenirs: women's embroidery, wood carving, paintings, etc. It should also sell these works in the West at the same time.*

*It should remove all obstacles hindering the development of trade between Ukraine and Germany and other countries of the West. It should stimulate Western capital investment into the Ukrainian economy. It should create laws and conditions, in which potential Western investors would agree to risk-taking and invest money in reconstructing the industry of Ukraine, in building new enterprises, in measures to increase labor productivity, and helping to create substantial future income.*

*For German-Ukrainian cooperation on the level of the governments of Ukraine, Germany and Bavaria to be a success, it should be supplemented by public cooperation among these countries. And it should create structures to foster this cooperation.*

*Three million Ukrainians in the West can and must help Ukraine together with other western friends of Ukraine in this decisive hour of history. But our compatriots in the Motherland must also triple their efforts to overcome the current crisis.*

**Ihor HORDIYEVSKIY**

*The author is a native of Odesa and has been living in Bavaria for 48 years.*

*Translated by Oleksandra Bairakovska*

## GERMAN-UKRAINIAN RELATIONS AND THEIR RESULTS

When the conversation turns to wars and the reasons of defeats and victories are analyzed, people say that Germans were the best soldiers and the worst politicians, and because of this they lost wars. I can not understand why the German historians have not yet realized the reasons of their failures.

As a Ukrainian, a veteran of the First Ukrainian Division of the Ukrainian National Army (UNA), and citizen of Germany, I venture to express my own idea and vision of this question as my own experience and my consciousness prompt.

There are two peoples in Europe, which stand out because of their exceptional industriousness. They are the Germans and Ukrainians. The Germans continuously had their statehood. But the Ukrainians were fated to be enslaved by the neighboring peoples, who annihilated them and falsified the very history of Ukraine to serve their own interests.

The Germans did not know the real history of Ukraine and do not know it even today. Ukrainians study the history, culture, arts, and literature of the German people, as well as of other peoples of the world. It has formed a positive attitude, respect, goodwill and liking for the Germans. Masters of the world have divided Ukraine into four parts. Germany was divided the same way after the Second World War. And nobody gave any thought to the fact that such a division of the states, namely, Ukraine and Germany, was made by the same masters. How much there is in common in the fates of Ukraine and Germany!

In 1932-33 Ukraine endured one of the most tragic pages of world history — the Man-Made Famine. At the same time Germany was in the midst of the Great Depression, which threw millions of people into the streets with the slogan: "Work and bread!" Headed by Hitler, the German government saved its people and stabilized the economy. Besides, it organized help to the Germans, living in Ukraine, to save them from starving to death. But at the same time Hitler's government kept silent about the worst crime of the Bolsheviks.

Hitler's attitude to the struggle of various European peoples for their statehood was contradictory. Thus, in 1941, he gave autonomy to the Slovenes and Croats. In 1938-39 Carpatho-Ukraine, where the Ukrainian people were their own masters, was formed, headed by President Achustyn Woloshyn. But the Hungarians convinced Hitler at the diplomatic level that territory of Carpatho-Ukraine belonged to them and, with Hitler's consent, Hungary occupied the young Ukrainian state... Why did Hitler conduct himself so criminally in regard to the Ukrainians?

After German attack on the Soviet Union, Stetsko's government proclaimed an independent Ukraine in Lviv on June 30, 1941. As it became known later, the Provid (government) of Stepan Bandera made a mistake: Hitler's administration forbade the Ukrainian national movement, German headquarters arrested and shot all the members of the Provid, or sent them to the concentration camps, and Bandera himself was imprisoned.

The German historians puzzle: "Why did the Germans lose the war?" And every Ukrainian-patriot, I think, would give the answer...

Dear compatriots! Not so recently we were called to help Poland. And today renovated Ukraine has found itself in crisis. If anybody of you visited Ukraine during the war and remember the warmth of the Ukrainians, you can show your gratitude to this people today by your good-natured, sincere word-recollection using the "Ukrainian World" magazine. You can address the editorial staff through my mediation: 7302, Ostfilder-2- Hergart-Hauptman.

Oleh Fedyk, Germany, Stuttgart.  
Translated by Oksana Petrusyk

## MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE — A MAN OF COURAGEOUS HONESTY



L.Homburg at M. Muggeridge's grave.

The horrible tragedy of the Ukrainian starvation of years 1932-33 is already a universally recognized historical fact, clearly fixed in the consciousness of the world and of western society in particular.

But how did it happen in the far and near past? Persistent denials by Moscow and its pro-communist fellow travelers, the priorities of the commercial thoughts of the West, as well as a lack of documents, in particular from the British state archives, along with the activity of western intellectuals long prevented the world from grasping the reasons for and scale of this Ukrainian national tragedy.

And when we take into account these difficult, unfavorable circumstances, the efforts and role of Malcolm Muggeridge, who died on November 14, 1990, at the age of 87, gain exceptional importance.

I consider it to be our national task to express our deep gratitude and recall the role of Malcolm Muggeridge as an eye-witness to the Ukrainian famine and as an outstanding historic figure, who for many years reminded the world of things which others tried to forget or falsify.

First of all, Malcolm Muggeridge will remain in our memory as very talented man with a highly-developed sense of intellectual curiosity, social courage and moral valor, as a person characterized by courageous honesty.

With such features of character, Muggeridge quickly lost his illusions while still young. He was one of the first in the West who called the USSR an "armed, ruthless dictatorship", supported by violence and intimidation. For him famine of 1932-33 was not an accident or ideological fault of Moscow, it was a type of war of the ruling regime against its own people.

We can not deny giving Malcolm Muggeridge the credit of his appearing on the press scene of Great Britain as one of the first and main eye-witnesses of the Ukrainian famine already in 1933.

But the matter is not only in fixing and documenting his testimonies and descriptions. We mean the whole series of his articles about the famine which appeared in *The Manchester Guardian* on March 1933, and *Fortnightly Review* on May 1 of the same year. Benevolent fate endowed Malcolm Muggeridge with long and fruitful life, during which he was mainly in the center of social activity and public attention, first of all as a journalist and publicist, editor, producer and director of popular TV shows, and as an internationally known lecturer. He had access to the leading newspapers and intellectual elite of Great Britain, and he constantly associated with people, who formed a social thought, influenced it, and promoted its full development.

All his life he was a living reminder of the enslavement and misfortunes of the part of Europe which lay under the communist yoke.

Malcolm Muggeridge maintained close contacts with the Ukrainians from Great Britain, in particular, with the English-Ukrainian society, that was headed for a time by his friend Oberon Herbert. From time to time he took part in our affairs and supported various Ukrainian initiatives. But broader and more detailed information will have to wait for another occasion.

Kostyantyn Zelenko, England, London.

# DNIPRO-THAMES

"Dnipro-Thames" is the name of the Association of the Ukrainian-British co-operation. Organizations and firms from Kyiv, Simferopol and Vinnytsya founded "Dnipro — Thames" in October 1992. The Association is a voluntary, independent, self-governing society, founded for establishing, developing and strengthening broad contacts between Ukraine and Great Britain in various spheres, such as economics, science, arts, sports, and religion. Let us talk with the General Director of the Association — Leonid Hamburg.

**Editor-in-chief:** Mr. Hamburg, already judging by the name of the Ukrainian-British Association, it intends to cover a wide range of questions.

**Leonid Hamburg:** Yes, the name of the Association "Dnipro — Thames" has a deep symbolic sense. It reflects our wish to exchange spiritual and material values, created by the peoples of our two countries on the banks of these historic rivers.

We hope to build firm bridges of co-operation as lasting and enduring as the famous Tower Bridge over the Thames.

**Ed.:** Does your public organization get any support from official circles in Great Britain and Ukraine?

The Association has established sound contacts with official British institutions, various firms and scholarly institutions, as well as the Ukrainian diaspora in Great Britain. Greeting the Association on November 20, 1992, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Great Britain in Ukraine Mr. Simon Hinmons emphasized that "the Embassy of Great Britain would in every possible way support the worthwhile activities of the Dnipro — Thames Association."

This support has found expression in practical acts.

Thus, with the Embassy's help we succeeded in organizing treatment in the Bristol Royal Hospital of three-years old miner's son Dmytro Kasho from the Donetsk region; arranging Christmas holidays from December 22, 1993,

to January 5, 1994, in Great Britain for 15 Ukrainian girls and boys, from the ages of ten to thirteen; establishing contacts with the Ministry of Trade, British Council, London Chamber of Commerce, and other organizations in England.

All this enhances the Association's ability to carry out its practical activity in Great Britain.

But it also testifies to the fact that President of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk spoke about the Association's activity during his visit to Great Britain in February 1993.

**Ed.:** Mr. Hamburg, you became the official representative of the British Expert-Service Organization (BESO) in Ukraine. Please, tell us briefly about the activity of this organization.

**L.H.:** The Association aspires to further the use of British experience in various spheres of Ukraine's life. This organization assists Ukraine with advisers on very favorable conditions. The receiving side assumes responsibility only for the housing of the adviser. Experienced advisers of BESO can work in Ukraine from one

week to six months.

In 1993 already ten advisers from Britain have worked in Luhansk, Vinnytsya and Kyiv, both in educational institutions and various firms.

We hope that Ukrainian businessmen will take the opportunity to invite experienced British specialists on management, marketing, and finance. They can address us, using telephone/fax in Kyiv: 555-45-79.

**Ed.:** Are there important results of the Association's work in this area?

**L.H.:** Visiting Britain, we succeeded in establishing contacts with medical institutions and firms. The British-Ukrainian Medical Corporation was founded on our suggestion; the purpose of its activity will be co-operation with Ukraine in medicine

production. Co-directors of this Corporation Mr. Harold Berwin and Dr. Malcolm Scott on our invitation visited Ukraine in October of this year. They brought medicines, given as humanitarian aid to hospitals in Kyiv and the Kyiv region.

**Ed.:** How does Dnipro — Thames coordinate its activity with the activity of British Ukrainians?

**L.H.:** Our friends from the Ukrainian diaspora have formed a Fund for medical help to the victims of Chernobyl. Now we plan to buy modern British medical equipment for one hospital. With the help of Ukrainians living in Britain, in particular, Mr. Konstantyn Zelenko and Mrs. Tonya Lewiv, we succeeded in finding the grave of Malcolm Muggerridge in the small town of Robertsbridge. Malcolm Muggerridge was the only journalist from Britain who at that time wrote the truth about the famine of 1932-33 in Ukraine.

**Ed.:** How did the Association finish the last year, and what are your plans for the future?

**L.H.:** This year the Association became the member of the Ukraina Society for contacts with foreign countries and took an active part in the International meeting "Foreign Community and Ukraine: Perspectives of Co-operation," that took place in Kyiv in December. The Association plans to do everything possible to promote mutually beneficial relations between Ukrainian and British organizations and firms, as well as establishing human contacts.

**Ed.:** Mr. Hamburg, I sincerely thank you for this information about the good works of the Dnipro — Thames Association, and for the article about Malcolm Muggerridge. UKRAINIAN WORLD has every hope that Ukrainian-British co-operation will continue to bear fruit.

Translated by Oksana Petrusyk



# Volodymyr SERHIYCHUK

## THE GERMANS IN UKRAINE

The period from 1917 till 1920 left its mark in the history of the German settlements in Ukraine. German colonists did not remain aloof from the stormy events, which swept over Ukraine. They organized special battalions and detachments of self-defense, which formed a part of the Denikin and Wrangel armies. Germans also served in Bolshevik units.

The German settlers turned a cold shoulder to the Ukrainian state. But a number of the Germans in the regular military did serve in the Ukrainian Army and in the Fleet, in particular, General S. Delwig, Colonel Y. Otmarstein.

Germans in Galicia were more active in Ukrainian affairs, and even sent representatives to the Ukrainian National Council. Besides, many Germans of West-Ukrainian origin served in the Ukrainian Galician Army. Among them were Lieutenant Colonel A. Bisantz, Sotnyk (lieutenant in the tsarist army and as well in the Cossack troops) H. Koch, General A. Kraws, General H. Ziritz and others.

But in Bukovyna the Germans basically favoured the Romanians.

The Government of Ukraine paid attention to the problems of the German colonists who resided in Ukraine for centuries. Thus, in June 1918 the cabinet of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky formed a commission attached to the Ministry of Justice for organizing the order of returning to the Ukraine's Germans property which had been sequestered during the First World War.

But all German settlements in Ukraine were terribly devastated in 1919 as a result of the invasion of the Volunteer Army of General Anton Denikin.

This devastation especially evident in 1921, when southern Ukraine was hit by crop failure, followed by famine, because all the grain supplies of the previous years had been forcibly appropriated by the communist authorities through the system of food requisition brigades. And in many cases to save their families from the death, the German colonists had to apply for job to the Jews, who rented them out their parcels of land.

The situation in the German settlements of the South Ukraine was still very difficult in the autumn of 1922, especially in the Velykotokmak, Melitopol, Dniprovsk and Odessa districts, which were considered by the Central Commission on Combatting the Effects of the Famine as those that suffered most in Ukraine. According to official statistics, 126 thousand of Germans lived in those districts, which amounted to 1/3 of those Germans who lived in Ukraine.

Life among Germans in other districts wasn't any better. Thus, a survey of settlements in the Yelysavethrad District showed that the only food the population had was milk and grass soup.

The inhabitants of the Springfield settlement near the station of Dolynska complained about the behavior of Red Army men who were quartered not far away: they had attacked peasants who were bringing foodstuffs to market, violently seized all the food, rode up to houses and demanded subsistence, conducted mass searches and took everything they wanted, and even robbed their masters.

*Beginning in issues 1-2 '93*



The German settlements suffered greatly from many persecutions by official governments. Thus, the settlers living in the Neufeld colony were not allowed to return to their birthplaces, because they were accused of being counter-revolutionaries. A poor peasant named Hochhalter who lived in that settlement declared that the head of the district's executive committee and the chief of the militia hated the Germans.

And it was no accident that the local Bolshevik's leaders could not make the Germans join the committees of poor peasants (Komnezamy) en masse. For instance, only one peasant wished to join the Komnezam in the Neufeld settlement; the committee in the Karlsruhe broke up at once, because the German peasants weren't interested in the communist propaganda, a fact which even Hochsteger, the Head of the German section of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, admitted.

Meanwhile, the main task of that German section was organizing of the food taxes, sowing campaign, and purges of teachers in the settlements. The Odessa District achieved most success, as Hochsteger stressed in his report in October, 1922. The local Zeltsk Volost which consisted of 4 great colonies was awarded the Order of the Red Banner "for the exemplary fulfilment of the foodtax; other German districts were approved and the Grossliebental Region received a pocket watch".

But such "successes" in the fulfilment of the foodtax also provoked a reaction, witnessed by revolutionary acts of the common people against Soviet regime. In particular, a plot was exposed at the border of the Odessa and Tyraspol districts, and 35-40 Germans took part in those acts. Hochsteger explained that situation in the following way: "The kulaks (rich peasants) set the tone in those settlements where there are no communists; and where there are the Party workers, the poor hold power".

But the stratum of the communists among the German colonists was very thin. For example, the Tahanroh District had only 2 members of the Russian Communist Party (RCP) and 200 settlements of the Volyn Region had no communists of German origin.

To a certain extent the reason for this was explained by Hochsteger himself: "The German colonist stands out against the background of the other population in Ukraine because of his gift for agricultural management, and up to now, thanks to his language, religion and customs, constitutes a unique element, and it requires special methods to work with him. He yields to meaningless talking and promises even to a lesser extent than Ukrainian peasants. Because he likes order and in the final years under the old regime was heavily oppressed, he could easily be won over to the side of Soviet power, if it gives him order and protection from violence".

Help began to arrive in Ukraine and similarly suffering regions of the Volga Basin, saving millions from starvation. Moreover, the German settlements in the Odessa Region accepted 600 starving German children from the Volga Basin, while colonists of the Zhytomyr District took in 400 children from the Mariupol District.

Three delegations of colonists from Ukraine went to Germany and Switzerland where they agitated for the help to the starving population in Soviet Russia.

But those journeys came possible later, when it became impossible to keep silent about the starvation in Ukraine any longer. Only then did Ukrainian diplomatic representatives in Berlin propose that material be published in a special issue of the magazine of worker's help to the starving people Soviet Russland im Bild specially dedicated to Ukraine.





Thanks to the close links with the German colonists who had left Ukraine but still intended to return, it became possible to get a credit of 100 million marks from the German Reichstag to assist the economic recovery of German colonists who suffered from the famine in Ukraine. The firm of Peter Westen, realizing the allotted costs, delivered to Ukraine 2 ships with foodstuffs and seed grain.

However, the Government of the Soviet Ukraine was in no hurry to receive back all the Germans-colonists. Thus, in August, 1921, Christian Rakovsky, the Head of the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine, informed Soviet Ukrainian representative in Berlin Ausem: "We'll, undoubtedly, receive the old German colonists who are returning from Argentina with agricultural implements. We will render all kinds of assistance to the Germans in Ukraine for us to make use of their economic experience."

But the Ukrainian-German colonists, who at the very beginning of the 1920s had found themselves in their ancestral homeland, belonged to a class category, which leaders of the UkrSSR did not always find satisfactory. They had among them those who had been exiled by the tsarist regime during the First World War, those who had left of their own free will in search of a better living or under the pressure of the German occupation authorities in 1918, who had been mobilized by Denikin and Wrangel in the places of the German settlements as well as those who had left Ukraine during the fall of the Russian Empire.

That is why Ukrainian Soviet diplomats in discussions with those wishing to return to Ukraine confined themselves to general phrases, so as to say they would send returnees to their previous places of residence, only if they brought with themselves sowing grain and implements.

There was one more complication, as the Soviet Government permitted the re-emigration of the German colonists only to the regions on the left bank of the Dnipro River. This looked very strange, since the Odesa and Mykolayiv regions were situated on the Right Bank, had large quantities of free land, and were historic centers of German colonization.

New analysis of the previously unknown archival documents testifies to the fact that difficulties the Germans faced during that period, were to a large extent artificially created by the Bolshevik authorities in Ukraine. In particular, the Germans in Ukraine were persecuted because Germany had received the Ukrainian emigration. Thus, in December 1921, being unable to influence official Berlin in this matter, Ausem, the representative of the UkrSSR in Germany, recommended to the Premier and Foreign Minister of Soviet Ukraine Rakovsky "to make a couple of difficulties for the Germans in Kharkiv and Odesa".

At that time the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine paid special attention in its work among the German population to the Mennonites, who numbered up to 100 thousand, because of the deep religiosity of that group.

The documents show that in addition to the general tasks implemented by the Soviet Secret Police (OGPU) concerning the German settlements on instruction of the Bolshevik Party, there were two special directives concerning the Mennonites: control over The Society of Descendants of the Dutch by Origin and "unmasking" of the Mennonite preachers.

According to the Ukrainian Chekists The Society with its center in Kharkiv had "led underground political activity



aimed at keeping the Mennonite masses beyond the reach of Soviet influence; and on the other hand is connected with the Mennonite organizations in the USA, Canada, Germany, the Netherlands and other countries. The Society tries to carry out the so-called policy of the unity of Mennonites interests in the whole world, hence the striving to be less dependent on the State under which they live. "Such facts as the emigration of 1925 of two and a half thousands (2,500) people to Canada is nothing but the systematic movement; it was prepared beforehand by Canadian and Ukrainian organizations and this is confirmed by documents which are at the disposal of the Committee of the State Security..."

Besides reports on preachers' activities, we found the rousing tendency which was for the necessity of the Mennonites refusal of privileges based on religion. We intend to develop that tendency for the purpose of penetrating of the Mennonite mass and undermining its solidarity".

The Politburo of the Central Committee of CP(b)U at its meeting in September 4, 1925, decided to reorganize "The Society of Descendants of the Dutch by Origin" in Ukraine. In particular, political measures were foreseen, in addition to the economic measures which were expected "to draw that reorganized Society as a co-operative organization into the general system of Soviet co-operation."

The political measures were as follows:

"...To charge the German sections with taking the measures fostering to the undermining of Mennonites from within by means of organizing a proper active base that could be relied upon".

"To make staff changes in the governing board of the Society at the next Congress through the promotion of pro-Soviet elements from the lower classes".

"To consider it in principle possible to allow those who sold off their belongings and have the passports to go abroad".

By implementing these measures, the Soviet regime began to control land tenure in the Menninites settlements. Moreover, in order to draw the population into the process of "Soviet construction," Mennonite membership lists were revised. If earlier the Mennonites were deprived of civil rights, now they became free of combatant service in the Red Army, and their cultural establishments began to be financed from the local and state budget.

Thanks to these measures the emigration among the Mennonites declined considerably (it had threatened to increase to enormous proportions: in the end of 1925 only 4,000 of the Mennonites had left Ukraine, but earlier there had been 25,000 interested in leaving).

But, as earlier, the leaders of the Soviet Ukraine were disturbed by The Society of Descendants of the Dutch by Origin that was considered a serious obstacle to the Communist Party and to the realization of its policy in the German villages. The Soviet regime was especially discontented by the leaders of the Mennonite organization, considering it hostile to socialism and to the government in general. The documents of the Central Committee of CP(b)U emphasized that circumstance, that the leaders of the Society were to blame because in the Molo-chanskiy District only 60 persons out of a population of 25,000 had joined the Committees Hof poor peasants, only 7 persons had joined the Komsomol, and "even fewer joined the Party"...

*To be continued*

*Translated by Oksana Petrusyk*



Viktor HRYSHCHENKO  
**ASCANIA-NOVA**



**"...The piece of virgin steppe, protected but untouched, will thus remain as beautiful forever."**

L.Heitz



**Ascania-Nova is an integral part of Ukrainian history. You will see it better, if you visit Ascania-Nova and see it with your own eyes, and read a wonderful book *Paradise in the Steppe or Adventures of the Phalz-Fein Family* by L.Heitz, published in 1970, Stuttgart (its English translation was made by Edward Phalz-Fein, nephew of the last owner of Ascania-Nova Friedrich Phalz-Fein). Some materials in this publication are taken from the book and the archives.**

Last year I visited Ascania-Nova for the first time and got many impressions there, both marvelous and sad. Today Ascania-Nova is not only a village but also the home of the M.F.Ivanov Ukrainian Scientific-Research Institute of Livestock Breeding, botanical garden, zoo and many other developed enterprises. The village looks like any run-down, Soviet one; but the main building of the Institute, behind which is an arboretum like a forest, looks much better, and the only good road, lined with flower gardens and trees, emphasizes the contrast. One feels sad after visiting the Phalz-Fein estate. Good impressions are left, perhaps, only from the walk in the zoo and round the pools with swans and many other birds. Better impressions are gained from the arboretum, and completely unforgettable in the steppes, where all living things feel free. Almost all these things were created by the work of generations of the German colonists and Ukrainian peasants in days of the Russian Empire.

Let us take an excursion into history. In 1763 Catherine II granted the right to immigrants from all over Europe to settle in Russia and to receive land. A German peasant named Johann Fein was one of the first settlers, who, rather than tolerate the mocking of an officer in the Duke of Wurtemberg's army, fled to Russia. In great hardship he spent his whole life in the virgin lands of the Scythian steppes and built up a good farm. His son Friedrich Fein (1794) inherited his father's estate and greatly enlarged it. He was a famous landowner and specialist in animal husbandry.

In 1855 Emperor Alexander II visited the Fein's family estate and awarded Friedrich Fein a gold ring with a black diamond and a picture of the double-headed eagle on it, saying: "I would like to have some more subordinates like you. Your family has hardly been in our country for a hundred years, but has already managed to create an exemplary farm".

Friedrich Fein had only a daughter and three grandsons, that's why he appealed to the Tsar with such request: "I would be grateful if my grandsons had the right to bear the name of Fein." "I grant them this right," answered the Tsar. At the same time the Tsar granted Fein the hereditary status of honorary citizen. Fein's son-in-law had the name of Phalz, and since that time Fein's descendants had the double name Phalz-Fein.

A memorable meeting between Phalz-Fein and Leo Tolstoy took place during the Crimean War. Two officers were standing side by side near the common grave and disparaged war as a crime against God's creatures. From that time the friendship of Fein's family with the world-reknowned writer Tolstoy began. On August 16, 1856, Friedrich Fein bought Ascania-Nova estate, which had belonged to the Dukes of Anhalt-Kothen since 1828. By then the Duke Ferdinand of Anhalt cultivated an area of 150,000 acres in the South-Ukrainian

steppes and called them Ascania-Nova because his family also had the title of counts of Ascania. In 1864 Friedrich Fein died. His grandson Friedrich Phalz-Fein (1863) inherited the Ascania-Nova estate and purchased more land. He had been known as one of the best livestock-breeders in Russia.

In 1896 Friedrich Phalz-Fein sent prize cows, sheep, wool samples and several horses to the Nyzhni-Novgorod fair. The samples and the animals from Ascania-Nova won prizes. At the fair Friedrich Phalz-Fein was presented to the Tsar Nicholas II by Count Witte: "Your Majesty, he is the king of the stock-breeders."

"I have also heard that you supply the army with the best mounts," said the Tsar.

"It is not so hard for me, Your Majesty. I inherited first-class English horses from my father. They were improved by crossbreeding with the select Arabian mares and wild Przhhevsky horses. That's why I have succeeded in breeding the ideal cavalry horse for the army."

"And that is for that you received your gold medal today," said the Tsar.

It was easy to say but behind it were years of hard work and the experience of several generations of Fein's family. In addition to scientific breeding, Friedrich Phalz-Fein intended to create the world's largest open air zoo and a vast nature park for animals. And step by step he achieved his dream. He obtained antelopes, bison, gazelles, ostriches, horses, camels, zebras and even elephants, llamas and many hybrids for his zoo. He built a very effective water-supply system and Ascania-Nova became an oasis in the middle of the steppes. Nobody would ever dream that so many trees could grow there, such as beeches, elms, maples, oaks, ashes, acacias, poplars, mulberry, and many species of spruce from abroad. Ascania-Nova became a real paradise in the very heart of the steppes.

Tsar Nicholas II decided to visit Ascania-Nova, largely because of the enthusiasm of a member of the Russian Geographic Society, General Kozlov, who wrote in many central newspapers about this piece of paradise. First, the Tsar expressed his satisfaction with the water-supply system. "The water-supply system you have here is a real miracle. Tell me, dear Phalz-Fein, how many different species of animals have you got in Ascania-Nova?"

"I have 58 different species of mammals and 402 species of birds. I started with one flock of birds, one bear, one wolf, one deer, one roe deer, and white hare in a single enclosure. That was in 1884," answered Phalz-Fein.

"But people must have a chance to see all this, Phalz-Fein."

"They already have. Apart from the many scientists who come here, whole groups, especially of children, visit us, I have even hired men to take the visitors around. My museum, containing many exhibits excavated from the Scythian tombs, evokes great interest as well. We have weapons, pottery, and coins dating back to the seventh century B.C., and everything is written in catalogs. The younger generation should know about the Scythians, who ruled these lands between the Dnipro and Don rivers."

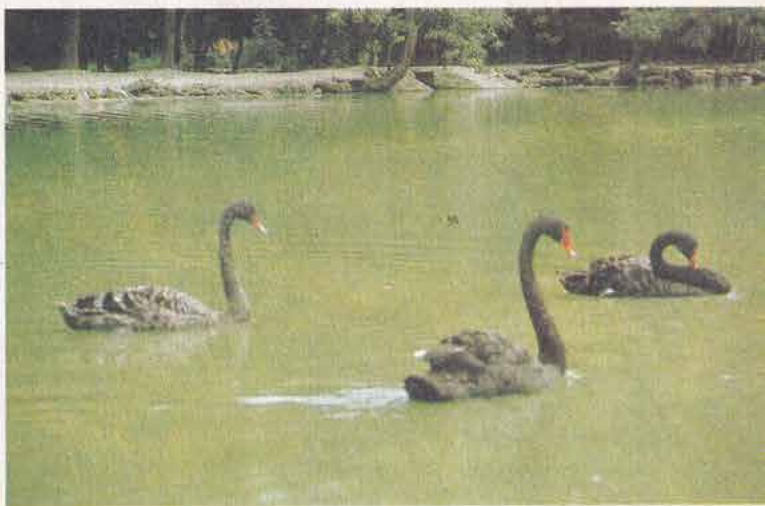
This meeting occurred on the very eve of the First World War. The injustices and miseries, which always accompany war, did not pass by Ascania-Nova. Then the violent storm of the revolution swept over Ukraine, sweeping away everything gained over the ages, and Friedrich Phalz-Fein was arrested.

Thanks to the protection of scientists, among them Professor M.F.Ivanov and the head of the Moscow Zoo, he was released. Fein's mother perished in the chaos of the revolution. The large Phalz-Fein family, together with many German settlers who were mainly loyal subjects and served in the Russian army, were scattered all over the world. Friedrich Phalz-Fein was forced to emigrate to Germany and died in 1920, at the age of 57. He was buried in Berlin. Ascania-Nova became public property. Professor M.F.Ivanov, who already had scientific contacts with Friedrich Phalz-Fein in 1904, was appointed to head the Institute of Livestock Breeding.

After the Second World War (in 1956) Ascania-Nova was transferred to the control of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Today, it is a steppe state reserve. Together with the M.F.Ivanov Ukrainian Scientific-Research Institute of Livestock Breeding of the Steppe Region, special farms for pedigree

cattle, it is a large enterprise which now has many problems. A first-rate scientific-agricultural enterprise of the new type can be organized on the basis of all these bodies. But such an enterprise needs a certain degree of freedom, just like the Phalz-Fein family in its time. And together with the revival of the genetic reserve of flora and fauna we will safeguard the human genetic fund as well. Undoubtedly, the economic perspectives for such an enterprise would be powerful. And Phalz-Fein's course would not be destroyed, but become a basis for the revival of the land. It also concerns the renewal of German settlements in Ukraine, which have already testified their viability.

*Translated by Oksana Petrusyk*





# AGRICULTURE

The Ukrainian people was known as a grain-growing nation for a long time. Streams and the whole currents of grain were flowing from Ukraine in different directions, providing with bread almost half of Europe and a part of Asia. On the eve of the first world war the Ukrainian peasant grew over 70% of world grain harvest.

A natural question can be asked: at the expense of what were reached such indeces? Ukraine occupies only some parts of 1% of our planet's land, and its population yields by its number to many countries. Searching the answer, they mention, first of all, the soils – the Ukrainian chernozems are famous by their productivity. And it's true. They speak about Ukrainian grain-grower, who received a proper answer from the land, often regardless of the fate and circumstances, thanks to his courteous and devoted attitude to land. And it's true as well. But they not rarely set aside one more, the third component – productive human thought, special system of the Ukrainian way of thinking, that permitted them to reach a considerable advantage in grain-growing, compared with their neighbors, under the same circumstances.

Let's remember that even during the difficult times of tsarism the Ukrainian agrarian science occupied high positions in the world. Figure of only, for example, Levko Symyrenko, a world-known scientist, creator of over 3000 sorts of cultural crops, author of fundamental three-volume *Pomology*, would be a credit to any country. And there were also other works: *How to Rule the Plowed Land, How to Sow and How to Gather?* (1888) by A.Bart, educator from Lviv; *Talks about Agriculture* by Y.Chykalenko, that was edited several times; *Course of Agriculture* (1918) by A.Ternychenko, and many works of other authors.

It's characteristic, that a young state, Ukrainian People's Republic, formed at the height of the first world war, having proclaimed constant neutrality and disarmament as its strategic course, began the construction of its proper organism of exclusively humanitarian affairs: creation of All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, National Library, founding of Ministry of Agriculture, which consisted, by the way, of one of the first in the world department of nature protection. The fact was not less revealing, but, unfortunately tragic, that already in several years the population of Ukraine gave food to the researchers of another sort, who studied influence of malnutrition upon man: foreigners succeeded in organizing the starvation in the agricultural country. Since that time Ukraine could not eat, or is undernourished till today – the results of destroying not only Ukrainian political structures, but also its proper agrarian science.

Valentyn KRYSAHENKO