

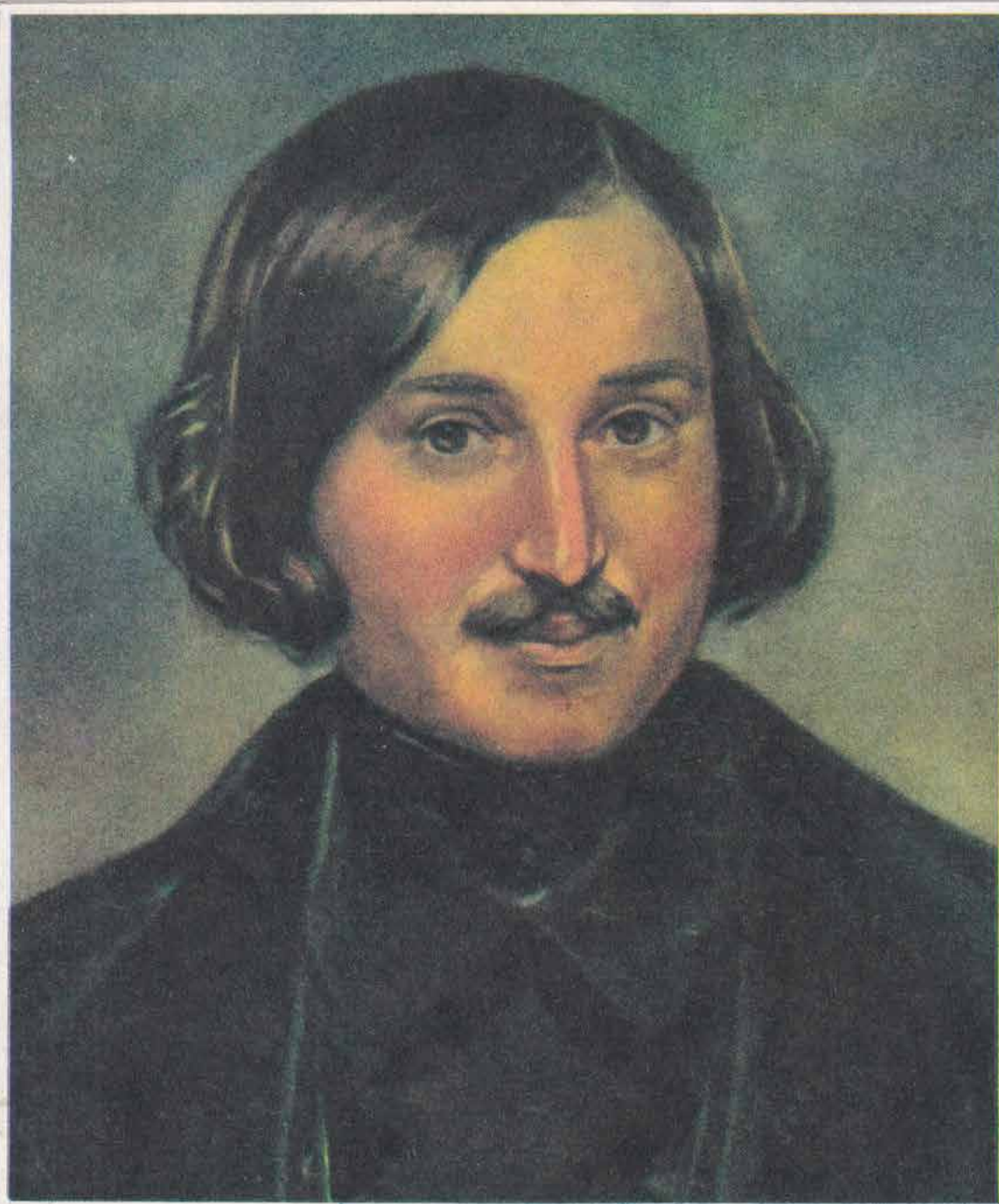


УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ

UKRAINIAN WORLD

СВІТ

THE UKRAINIAN IDENTITY ON THE BRINK OF THE 21st CENTURY





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KULISH**



**Vasyl
PACHOVSKYI**



**Vyacheslav
LYPYNSKYI**



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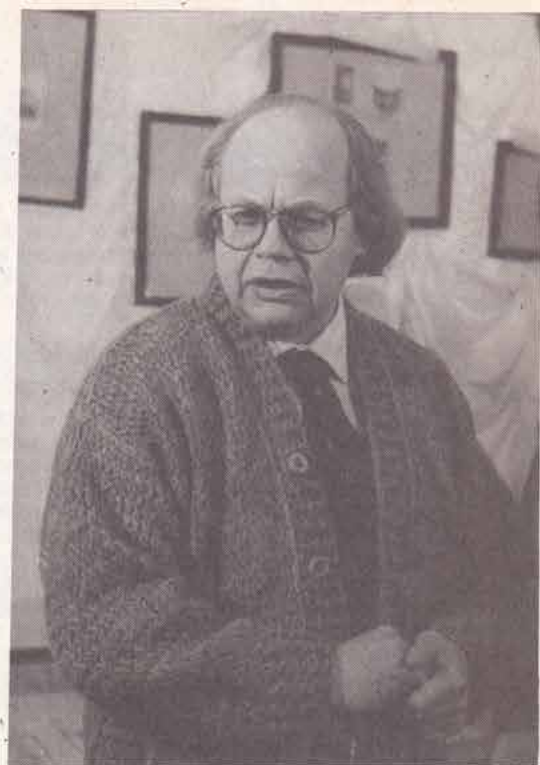
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DOES THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL IDEA WORK?

In the XX century, the ethnic Ukrainian nation lost half its population — such was the damage to this stateless nation from the great famine (1932-1933) and WWII (1939-1945). Thus, we are living only one half of our life. But even after that kind of annihilation we've managed to attain our own state. All this testifies to the obvious endurance of Ukraine's idea which has always burned at the heart of the Ukrainian people.

A few years ago I managed to visit the Brazilian state of Parana and its capital, Curitiba. The original Halychyna natives have lived there for a century (recall Ivan Franko's poem "To Brazilia"). A little twig of the Ukrainian nation, thrown by fate to the outskirts of the world and encouraged mainly by enthusiasts of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic church, lives a decent, full life in a Portuguese speaking sea. Ukrainian schools and university chairs, Ukrainians filling top governmental positions — all this could not but shock me.

I believe the critical mass of ethnic Ukrainians should exist in such a way, should be to a certain extent mature and developed enough for the national idea to live on within it. I once had two Ukrainians visit the Ukraina Association. One came from Australia and the other — from Norylsk, a city above the polar circle. Both of them represented Ukrainian communities of the same size — 30,000 people. It was odd that the Australian community is well known to all of us, yet of the same sized community in Norylsk we have only the vaguest notion. I once visited Norylsk with my colleagues Davyd Kuhultinov, Kaysyn Kuliyeu, and Mykhailo Dudin. As far as I remember it was in 1976 and few Ukrainians came to talk to me.

I realize that the Ukrainian community in Australia united politically conscious Ukrainians. And in the north of the Krasnoyarsk Region, the community consisted of convicts, many of whose numbers were killed and who were unable to achieve any kind of unity. Partially, the community consisted of traveling workers who left Ukraine to earn money. I portrayed one such worker, whom I named Hryshko, in the story "Zaporozhets behind the Polar Circle", published in Literaturnaya Gazeta.

But the existence of these 30,000 communities of Ukrainians in far-off flung corners of the planet, living such different lives, the latter living an absolutely different fate, made me ponder many things...

The Ukrainian idea over the centuries was investigated by Panteleymon Kulish. In his "Appeal to the Ukrainian intelligentsia" he wrote in 1863: "For a long time we were like the dead, were immobile in a lethargic dream for a century and a half after Bohdan sold us to two parties at the same time and his own alter ego he was willing to sell to the third party. Our native tongue awakened us from that lethargic dream..."

...By historical experience we know that nations are conquered by misalignment and wild fear of death, let's hope in brave spirit that in our past there is hidden an immortal power and by that power we'll grow up to the height to which we are destined through nature itself..."

So, we are not a minority, which our neighbours fail to see because of their own praise. We are not a minority for the single reason that, so long as we were on the side of Poland, Moscow suffered losses to Poles; but as soon as we backed Moscow, Poles screamed from beneath the heel of Muscovites.

We are not a minority because, having given Poland and Moscow our archbishops, nobility and writers, we have not followed those seduced leaders into strange lands.

The highest glory of the Ukrainian nation is revealed in the fact that, being bereft of celestial, political, military, and scientific leaders, we still managed to create original literature and greatly worry the powerful unifiers of Rus.

We remember the speech of the Moscow oracle: "Polish rebellion is child's play if compared to the rebellion of Ukraine's literature. In the Polish case a mere province seceded from the empire and in Ukrainian case, the language of peasants, if it becomes a language of literature will split the empire in the center." That's how Moscow's prophet evaluated us...

I remember, dear brothers, the word of the apostles that we gave as a motto to this "appeal": "Let your spirit burn! If we don't extinguish it nobody will ever manage to extinguish the spirit of our nation. Vague things gradually became clear to me while reading the geopolitical works of Leo Humilyov and Yuriy Lypa. That's a consequence of the time, which I followed to come across them, although this consequence should be reversed, judging by the period they were writing in. Things which are very hard to explain came closer to my understanding. Later I began to brood over the question of why, in one case, for a nation to live in its own state, it is enough to have a million or a few million people like the Estonians or Czechs, and for our sinful nation dozens of millions is not enough. Could the concentration of the national idea, density, level of patriotism per inhabitant or some other wise and hardly countable thing be a reason? In Kyiv, three out of four inhabitants are Ukrainians, but when you hear the Ukrainian language you turn always your head to see your acquaintance. Will we face Irelandization, where in Dublin the actors of the main drama theatre are obliged to perform a play in the mother tongue once a month?

Thus a chain of thoughts on the Ukrainian national idea reveals itself. M.Yevshan wrote: "... when we really took courage to fulfill a certain historic mission, really decided to set ourselves free, we had to review our present-day activity from the point of view of historical outlook.

In other words: the Ukrainian national idea has to become a foundation for the raising of Ukrainian generations, become a new religion for them, follow their pace."

Ukrainian community consciousness continues to develop even now. It has not made a fixed system of views on the place and role of the Ukrainian people in the world, has not crystallized in competitive, active, mature concepts. So, it cannot provide generally recognized motivations for a consolidated or (historical) behaviour of the majority of citizens. The view of Ukrainians toward their Motherland has existed in a primary, intuitive phase for too long a time (hazardously long). In part, these views have so far produced no clear cut equations for the realizable, steadfast — and what is most important — continuous collective action that marks historical creativity. This is so specific a feature of Ukrainian national consciousness, so unique among the nations that have states (or individual communities which can be called full nations) that an analyses of the nature of such a phenomenon in the world will irrevocably become the beginning and the end of any investigation. An investigation of the original reasons behind a similar colloid, amorphous existence in which Ukrainian society submerges from time to time would certainly provide the key to understanding the past and the future and to revive the nation.

The nation-creative and state-creative function of the idea itself is not a discovery. This is an objective condition for each nation to survive. But most likely, Ukrainians still need an ideological education that is comparative-descriptive rather than theoretical. We should understand the meaning and functioning of national ideology in the historical fates of Germans, Japanese, Chinese, Americans, Brits, Frenchmen, Italians, Spaniards, and above all — Russians. A couple of volumes of a world anthology of national ideologies would be worth as much as the innumerable years of activity by many of our institutions in the disgraceful quasi-patriotism in which was obscured (but is still deeply rooted) the sterilization of a Ukrainian national consciousness, even if some people would like to evaluate that activity differently.

So far we cannot rely upon state assistance to research the nature of Ukrainian idea. State-owned scientific research institutes are oriented on the reverse: ("The national idea did not work"). The push should be given by independent researchers, creative teams like scientific bodies of the World Ukrainian Coordination Council. Later there will appear individual distinguished thinkers ("the historian Mykhailo Hrushevskiy appeared out of nothing"). But the loss of "pace" cannot but worry ("the Ukrainian nation is always late" after M.Skrypnyk) and as a result we have conserved an eternal expatriatehood as a means of historic existence.

A systematic analyses of the ingredients of the Ukrainian idea, strategic investigations — these are not one year matters. But a lot of dangerous information, which is being successfully injected into the

4 years old Ukrainian national consciousness (since independence) should be reviewed as soon as possible by scientists, publicists, politicians and propagandists. Well known foreign and domestic factors which contradict Ukraine's national interests poison wells and erode the self-realization of the Ukrainian people. The extortion by "democratic" ill-wishers of Ukraine in order to take advantage of societal gloom (as happened in Belarus) should be made clear to the majority of people.

Thus the burning issue in the sphere of information is the need to react to and strongly counter the feeling of total pessimism regarding the future prospects of independent Ukraine which has already been sown into the consciousness of even patriotic minded citizens.

The capitulating silence of patriotic intellectuals is outrageous. The vocabulary of patriotic oriented politicians and publicists is fully impregnated with doom, disbelief, disgraceful weeping, shameful begging and sobbing on "the tragic fate of the Ukrainian nation" — to whom, God only knows why, were given a state in 1991 as a gift without any effort by the nation itself. As if it was given for charity, from begging. Although the authors of these weepings have next to no personal motives for the all-round minor tone. The most dangerous thing is that the conscious demoralization of Ukrainians, which follows the "Don't try so hard" pattern, has already been picked up by those who had to awaken in the nation the hope and will to toil in the name of Ukraine. Sometimes it seems like even our honorable top leaders and sages were caught in a hypnotic trance and were themselves brainwashed to automatically translate the "commands" of a Ukrainophobic guru. In Russia, people from the President and top officials, parties and movements down to the clowns and conferencees work to re-animate their delusions of grandeur. In Ukraine it seems that even the most boisterous, most courageous, most talented, most popular scientists and artists recall only the words of mourning and cannibalism. During the Ukrainian Rebirth in the first part of the XX century, Moscow stopped the process only by bullets and Solovetski islands for the creative nobility. Now to paralyze us they think it sufficient to manipulate us via the mass media to undermine our sober psyches. The depression after the deserved surprise of national upheaval in 1988-1991 shocked not only the unconscious or poorly conscious citizens about whom it is popular to complain. Their mouths, holders of their thoughts and feelings, are silent. That's the main reason behind the mass apathy of Ukrainians.

A certain amount of embarrassment is felt as well in famous foreign communities known in Ukraine. Irrevocable changes in every area are lasting too long. Contacts with inland Ukraine are becoming personal and sporadic again. Thus, perhaps, we must now get together for a common council and today start preparations for the second world congress of Ukrainians. I am positive that this will give a powerful push for a transition to the next stage in creating a new Ukraine. I believe in a national energy of Ukrainism. After all, three years ago, along with the ranks of the veterans there appeared a fresh cohort of Ukrainism activists on a world scale who gave a lot for their ethnic Motherland. So both novice and experienced keepers and populists of the Ukrainian national idea will appear again. And all together, no longer blind, we will start climbing the next step determined by God and history to achieve the grandeur of our Ukraine.

It is worth while keeping an eye on the following directions and goals of these research issues:

1. Reestablishing connections to time, culture and spiritual heritage, particularly from Kyivan Rus to present-day Ukraine (ethnic roots, statehood, religion, writing, art, folklore) since their foundations have been deeply undermined;

2. The economic grounds for national interests — creation of a Ukrainian domestic market. Let's recall what Volobuyev faced in the 1920s. Here lay the resolution of real and artificial contradictions between those regions of Ukraine that were parts of different empires. In 1991 very little was done to address these problems either in theory or in practice;

3. The geopolitical situation in Ukraine - past and present. Problems with allies, potential enemies, and thus formulating an efficient foreign policy;

4. Completely independent directions: Ukraine and Russia. The optimum variants of long term bilateral co-existence, through different phases including the most acute, such as hostilities. The analysis of compatibility and incompatibility of national interests of Ukraine and Russia;

5. Historiosophia: the gnoseological and historical roots of any national idea as an ideal matrix of genetic types of one or another community in its interaction with its local environment. This opens the way for survival and the capability of developing a national community.



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Cover page: F. MOLLER. Portrait of M.HOHOL. 1843.

Volodymyr
SHAYAN

THE POWERFUL SOURCE OF UKRAINE'S CULTURE

Theoretical and ideological principles

The State and Nation's Spirituality



The issue of how a nation regards itself is connected to the nation's self-image in terms of its spirituality, which in turn weaves as far back as the folklore stage of its culture. The spiritual and cultural values of each nation determine its place, meaning and role in the history of humanity. History evaluates nations on the basis of their culture, in the broad sense of the word. The level at which an ideal is transcendent, and the level of a nation's moral power, very often become a guide-line for all of humanity. The cultural achievements of great nations which have become makers of history form the basis for cultural developments over the millennia. It is worth noting here that the culture and philosophy of ancient Greece has become a cornerstone of culture and philosophy for the entirety of Europe. In the same sense, Shevchenko's creations are a world phenomenon.

The highest dictate of a state, the steadfastness of its metaphysical nature, is included in the dimension of a nation's cultural and spiritual unfolding. The high culture of a nation is its flower, the crown of its life in history, which produces a ripe harvest for etherea, a global or cosmic creativity.

Thus the highest function of the state is, undoubtedly, the spiritual self-revelation of the nation. But it would be a misunderstanding to perceive the notion of "spiritual self-revelation" in the trite and vulgar meaning of the word "spirituality" as a denial and opposition of the

so-called "material" — which is defined as a result of a dualistic concept of the world where the "spiritual" was often perceived as an ascetic resignation from the world and a denial of life or the physical needs of a person.

Meanwhile, Spirit and Idea are realities as equal as all the other elements of real energy found in their metaphysical nature. All these forms of "energy" show themselves to be the versatile and various integral forces of the cosmos, and together create our world as well as our vision of the world to be a world containing phenomena. A review of this issue leads directly to the most difficult issues of ontology, and a review of the issue in question is conditioned by the wish to definitely avoid the misunderstanding which may arise in connection to the notion of "spiritual self-revelation".

Thus "spiritual self-revelation of a nation" means the Idea's and Mind's hegemony over the other revelations and bases of a nation's life such as soil, plants and animals, which serve the nation's development, or the use of the other types of energy which we either extract from the ground or create in the process of history. To other powers of a nation also belongs the thing generally known as biological power, or substrate. Other functions of the state, such as protection of the so-called "physical existence" of nations — that is, of life itself from enemies (such as provision of multilateral development by its members) — are also the basis of this highest purpose. In the ideal image of our state there is no room for argument between an individual and national-state matters.

It should be clearly stated that the fundamental function of a state is not equal to the highest function of the state. For comparison, while there may be a foundation for a holy temple and it is not possible to build a temple without this foundation, the base also does not culminate in a dome or upright Gothic towers. Certainly, a dome cannot hang in the air and must have a foundation.

For a stateless nation — I mean a nation which has lost its highly-developed statehood because enemy forces have won and thus it is a nation struggling for its statehood — this fundamental function of a state becomes the most significant one, as if a purpose in itself. It is clear, that as one cannot erect a dome without a foundation, so one cannot build a state.

It is quite natural that during the struggle for state independence and sovereignty, when the

very basis of the state is being created, the sharp focus is always placed on such key functions of a state as protection of the nation's life itself from its enemies; that is, its biological survival. This is the struggle for preservation of the so-called "biological substance of a nation" which is closely connected with the struggle for the state, the task of which is also to preserve its biological being. However, the protection of a state from enemies and the struggle for the state itself make it necessary on more than one occasion to sacrifice our bio-substance in order to save the life of the nation as a nation.

The automatic or dualistic opposition of "bio-substance" to spirituality often leads to the dangerously opportunistic view or even to treason under the pretext (which is fooling oneself) that in this very way the "bio-substance" is preserved. The alarmist of alarmists, Hryhoriy Skovoroda, rebuffed this opportunism (or even treason), through his famous teaching: "I know that you save your body, but you'll kill your soul, which is a bad substitution. I don't know why you carry the sword if not for the fight for which it is intended. I don't know why you should save your skin, when in saving it you are sacrificing it because you are only saving it to be able to wear it."

Skovoroda portrayed clear-cut ideas of the Holy heroism which is a basic belief of the kings of Ukraine's freedom-fighters. Thus, preservation of the so-called "bio-substance" of an occupied nation is possible only through the arrogant fight to the death in a revolutionary struggle for a nation's freedom. Biological sacrifices of a nation are utterly necessary in order to maintain the substance of its life.

The common task of a nation is to accumulate the good things and the energy which promote its development, safeguarding it as an integrity and unity of its creative forces. In the course of the process in question different forms of the state, which were the integral parts of its culture, were being molded. In this sense, the state serves the nation's culture and becomes a display of its culture.

The real philosophical analysis of the so-called notion of "material basis", even on the basis of modern physics, will show that the issue is about the division of energy and the accumulation of energy. The blossoming of a culture is an explosion of a nation's accumulated potential.

The national territory of development, or the physical territory of the land itself, along with expansion, or the exchange of "goods" or

"products" - is the basis of energy in a nation's development. Today it is not only the fertile chornozem (Ukraine's fertile, black earth) and the other types of energy extracted from the bowels of our motherland, including atomic energy. Here lies the origin of the ancient struggle for our motherland — the reservoir of the energy of the chornozem, which has been accumulated via biological forces for millenia. In its most subtle top layer, the chornozem is also the result of a conscientious caretaking of its fertile power by the primordial farmer — the tribal or state ploughmen; by those who plough the land.

Since time immemorial, from as far back as the era when Ukrainian familial-tribal states existed, Ukraine had to fight off various enemies. Often these tribes, while seeking shelter, settled near forests or lakes. During the early great state era of our history our ancestors had to fight with their enemies constantly for lands which have been located on the territory of Ukraine's tribes from the very beginning. This was revealed most apparently during the period of the great Ukrainian state formed under Svyatoslav, son of Knyaz' (Prince) Ihor and Knyahynnya (Princess) Olha. As well, thanks to the liberation of Ukraine's lands captured by enemies, Volodymyr the Great managed to establish a great medieval Ukrainian state.

The theme of self-defence which has run throughout the whole history of Ukraine most clearly molded the idea of the state as the only protector of life and freedom of the nation. Moreover, this theme was made even greater because slaves from the territories of the then-Ukraine were captured for the markets of Byzantium, Syria and the Mediterranean world as far away as Spain, and even to the countries of Northern Europe.

The history of Ukrainian slaves is yet to be studied, although numerous sources give vigorous reference to it, such as Greek and Arabian documents from the 7th to the 9th centuries. Certain areas of Ukrainian territory were also under a state of temporary dependence on stronger or better-organized neighbours (with the payment of tithes acknowledging another's superiority).

Then, Svyatoslav put an end to such "slave deliveries" from Ukraine by establishing the most powerful, at the time, legion of knights. According to Greek historians Svyatoslav's legion had 60,000 warriors. If we are to take into account all of Ihor's campaigns we have to understand that the power of successive waves of campaigns is generally much greater than a single campaign.

That is why, in taking the historical view, the bearer of the state's idea, its creator and statesman, is inseparably linked with the image of a knight, or knight-Kossack, or finally of a knight-hero or a knight-rebel.

The specific characteristics of these military state warriors were their all-national character, dedication to a belief in knighthood-brotherhood, unquestionable obedience, and complete readiness to face terror and death. All these

features of the military-knight organization belonged (although not to that extent) to knight organizations known as the "Order". Although the conditions of a knight's existence from generation to generation, as well as his property conditions, were more severe — often up to extremes — than the West European style of knighthood. In Ukraine, a ploughman who under the guidance of a prince-owner defended his land, freedom and entire nation, might become a knight.

This was not only a consequence of geopolitical conditions in Ukraine, because the attitude of our knighthood toward the world and to the environment comes from the metaphysical roots themselves, from the idea and moral sphere of a nation's existence that is from its highest point not yet at its fully self-realized destination as it follows the process of creation in human history.

The common good and harmony, the right to those, and rights in general, are tied into Ukraine's sense of its world, with this serving as the main basis of the nation.

The good of a nation is a natural, organic development; the harmony of existence is the basis of growth and creativity. Evil is the destructive force of a hungry steppe, and the annihilation of those creating harmony via the conquering and killing of nations. Evil is also a destructive force among the people, which resists creation of higher forms of a nation's life, thus limiting the understanding of an individual as a purpose in itself and with the petty tyranny of its egocentricity. This too was the reason behind national enslavement — the primordial Ukrainian ulcer.

Along with this, plenty of events in our history were misunderstood or evaluated as 'evil' by certain of our historians who failed to understand the key process and the main task of Ukrainian history. The inner struggle, for instance, is not always an evil in itself.

Had we had such tribes which did not promote the liberation of Ukrainian lands from enemies, did not take part in Knyazh Svyatoslav's feats, that is in his show of the mighty force of Ukraine in the war against its enemies, slave owners and slave dealers, then such tribes by themselves and exclusively for themselves would have been an evil element towards our state and towards its show of national will. Unfortunately, not all internal affairs were as clear as this example and not all of the knights' timocracy — in Plato's sense of this word — was spirited by the state idea in keeping with Ukraine's world vision.

From this originated the search for forms of top official power, as we can see in, for example, the concept of the "seniorate" of Yaroslav the Wise, or by an idea of absolute power by Monomakh, or Roman the Great. However, in all those concepts, Ukraine's knight was more than just an armed warrior or rebel. He is a knight: creator of harmony or justice.

Regretfully, the high moral-ideal qualities of harmony-making and culture-making for the Ukrainian nation were not able to establish

themselves at the highest levels of national culture, since just at the time when the process of national self-realization began, Ukraine as a state was destroyed. The beginning of this process is clearly seen in the "Tale of Ihor's Campaign"; that is, the story illustrates the moment when the Ukrainian stratum of knighthood realizes its responsibility for the fate of the nation and the state. The analysis of the above-mentioned process is one of the most crucial points in the research of ideology in the tale.

The old-Ukrainian, or more exactly the medieval Ukrainian state, was destroyed just at the period when golden-domed Kyiv could have started the construction of a Golden-Domed Sacred spirituality along with the harmony of a nation, by including knighthood as an integral part of the sovereign life of the nation within the state.

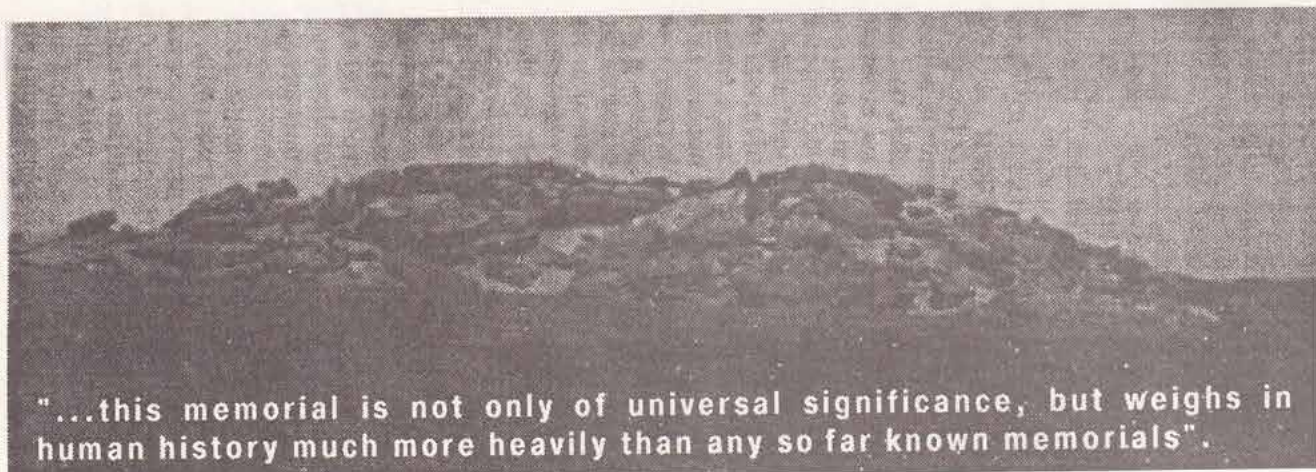
Although the process of creating its own culture in the highest sense of this word was interrupted by force, we must emphasize that this culture has already been in existence and we could not have understood the entire further history of Ukraine without it, in particular its fight for liberty during the Kozak period, and the present day.

Our fight for freedom and statehood are not, and have not been, attempts to create our own state out of nothing, or only from tribes which were in a state of folkloric development. No, the tasks of our liberation attempts were and still are to renew the Ukrainian state, and the leaders of our liberation movements were and are fully aware that in the fight for our inheritance from our forefathers — for their land, great culture, history and traditions, the Ukrainian nation did not and does not continue to fight as a stateless orphan which, as if in the tribal stage of life, is trying for the first time to formulate a certain state order or state relations. No, the Ukrainian nation already has its high, ancient culture and historical heritage, and the attempt of the enemy to conquer them resulted in mortal insult and resistance, and mobilized forces for struggle. As a result we have the budding rebirth of Ukraine and, in particular, attempts at liberation for the renewal of the Ukrainian state.

Thus, our national culture was a state-creating force. Its heritage is more than a mere tradition, but a creative power which is shown in all forms of our life and battles. National culture shows itself not only in the preserved memorials of literature and art. It is preserved first of all as a heritage of life in its continuance, in the mystery of the reality of our soul's experience, and not as just a freshly-painted sign making no sense: it is preserved as a mystery of soul — the life-creating power of life itself, and in the spiritual life which precedes it.

In this sense our cultural heritage is more than just a motive. It is also out right as Ukrainians to have our sovereign state. This is also a categorical imperative of a Ukrainian's soul.

The Well-Kept Secret of Ukraine's Most Ancient Written History



"...this memorial is not only of universal significance, but weighs in human history much more heavily than any so far known memorials".

General view of Kamyana Mohyla Tomb from northwards.

"The story began in Shumer..." This famous phrase came from the Mesopotamian excavations of a British archeologist, L. Woolly, in the late 1920s. However, over a hundred clay tablets were found in 1990 in the region of the River Danube. Those tablets bore proto-Shumerian inscriptions dating as far back as 6000 B.C., close to 30 centuries prior to the appearance of Shumer in Mesopotamia. Moreover, Shumerians themselves stated that their origin was in "a country of bread producers", Aratt, whose existence was proven by the tables found near the banks of the Danube. So, where is the beginning of human history?

The Arattian inscriptions are being studied by experts from Romania, Bulgaria and other countries located along the Danube. Within the former Soviet Union there is only one linguist fit for this job — a professor from Moscow, Anatoliy Georgiyevich Kyfishyn. He is the author of the first work taking a general overview of the most ancient inscriptions connected to archeological cultures¹ — in particular with Trypillia, a settlement found near the village of the same name. According to conclusions drawn by Kyfishyn as well as his foreign counterparts, we may draw a picture of Aratta in its formulation stages as being connected to the appearance of Shumer.

Going along with changes in human activity from 8000-7000 B.C. — from hunting and gathering to cattle breeding and farming — there started to appear "patriarchal unions" of present-day nations. "Ancestors" of the future British, Germans, Slavs, Greeks, Irish, Indians and other Indo-European nations were unions of tribes who lived on the territory of Asia Minor. Further development of these Indo-European unions took place around the Black Sea. When the centre of development moved to the Danube regions, there appeared the first nation in the world: Aratta. In the middle of 5000 B.C., the next large wave of Indo-Europeans rushed from the patriarchal motherland of Asia Minor, and the centre of Aratta

moved to the Dnipro River. There, in the present-day Cherkasy Oblast of today's Ukraine, "the country of farmers" reached its highest level of development (known under its more common name of "Trypillian archeological culture"), and its traditions existed in the principality of Arattia-Orattia, with Arta as its capital, and extended into the Kyivan Rus period. Through the Orian tribes, who lived in Dnipro basin area under the influence of Aratta, the name of the principality made its way to India in mid-2000 B.C. The sacred name was Bharata — "Divine Aratta".

According to Kyfishyn's preliminary conclusions, Arattian and proto-Shumerian nations had joint pre-Indo-European roots, but later their historical paths split. The Shumerian forefathers, or their most active members, moved from the upper Dnipro regions during the establishment of Aratta/Trypilia, their movement closing an Indo-European path around the Black Sea. Later Arattian priests, Orian cavalry and Shumerian wise men, who worshipped near-Dnipro sacred objects in mid-3000 B.C., travelled along this path between the Dnipro, Mesopotamia, and Asia Minor.

I came to similar conclusions in the 1980-90s², before I even knew about the discoveries of Kyfishyn, and without due regard for the conclusions of famous archeologist and historian V.M. Danylenko, who long ago discovered the "Sea of Azov-to-Black Sea" path between Trypillia and the civilizations of the Near East. I was guided by facts:

- portrayal of the wanderings of the Shumerian creator-god Enlil in a sanctuary of the Kamyana Mohyla (Stone Tomb) near Melitopol;
- pottery with local drawings depicting a key episode of the Shumerian "Poem About Hilhamen" (whose dynasty, by the way, originated from Aratta) found there and closer to the Dnipro;

- a joint burial site of Mesopotamian and Trypillian priests located inside the burial mound of Velyka Oleksandrivka in Kherson Oblast.

So, when I came across the publications, and later across the manuscripts of Kyfishyn, my archeological research began to support his linguistic conclusions based on the deciphering of the most ancient writings of Kamyana Mohyla, the Upper Dnipro regions, and the regions along the Danube.

I personally became acquainted with Kyfishyn in early 1994. I gave him a couple of snapshots from the archives of the late V.M. Danylenko and an article by one of Danylenko's students — B.D. Mykhailov, director of the Kamyana Mohyla Museum-reserve³. The materials I gave him concerned the ancient inscriptions on this memorial. On the spot, Kyfishyn determined them to be proto-Shumerian and upon my request wrote an article for "Ukrainian World". Unfortunately, the article in question proved to be too scientific for a magazine on cultural issues, and I took the responsibility of redoing the text submitted by a Professor of Linguistics into a popular science essay, for the sake of reaching a wider audience. Thus, I apologize on behalf of the Editorial Staff that we took a popular approach to the thoughts of Kyfishyn.

¹ Кишишин А.Г. Геноструктура догреческого и древнегреческого мифа // Образ-смысл в античной культуре. М., 1990. с.9-63.

² Шилов Ю.О. "Епос про Гильгамеша" на памятниках Північного Приазов'я XVII ст. до н.е. / IV Республіканська конференція з історичного краєзнавства. К., 1989. с.153-154; Шилов Ю.А. Космічні тайни курганів. М., 1990.

³ Михайлов Б.Д. Письмена эпохи бронзы из гротов и пещер Каменной Могилой в Северном Приазовье // Археологічний збірник Полтавського краєзнавчого музею. Полтава, 1992, с.29-35.

Yuriy SHYLOV.
candidate of historical sciences

Anatoliy
KYFISHYN

The Sumerian and Proto-Sumerian Inscriptions of Kamyana Mohyla

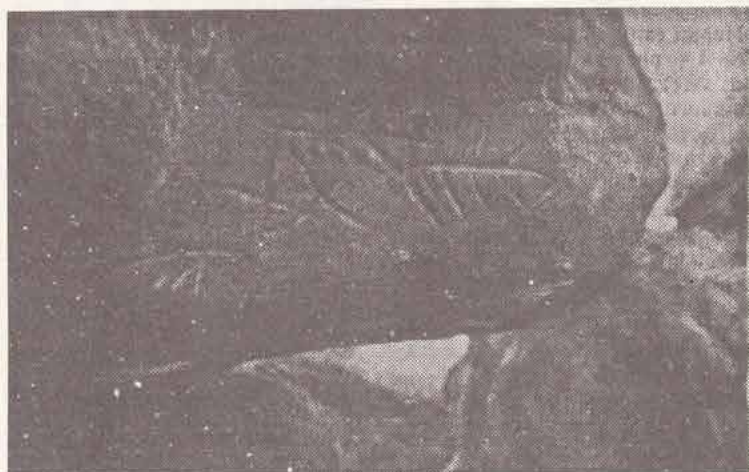


Image #1 bearing Sumerian inscription "shu-nun".

Anatoliy Heorhiyovych Kyfishyn was born in Altay, where his parents fled from Ukraine during the Great Famine. He graduated from the University of Vinnytsia, was a doctoral candidate in Leningrad, and now lives and works in Moscow. He has numerous students and is a distinguished Sumerologist.

After reading the publications of V.M. Danylenko, Y.O. Shylov, and B.D. Mykhailov, I decided to pay a personal visit to the sanctuary of Kamyana Mohyla. My wife, Dr. Liudmyla Ivanivna Akymova and I, left to see the spot in July, 1994. After returning to Moscow I began to study the archeological cultures of Ukraine as of 6000-4000 B.C., which I view as being the proto-Sumerian period. These are the cultures of the Buh-Dnister, Dnipro-Donetsk, and Sursk-Donetsk regions. They were influenced by the then proto-writing cultures of the Danube regions: the cultures using lines and stripes on their pottery: Turdash, Keresh. They managed to penetrate into the proto-Sumerian encompassing of Ukraine twice.

Firstly, the path of the Danube region culture of Keresh reached presumably as far as the sanctuary near the Sokolnyky Rapid of South Buh and the Kamyana Mohyla sanctuary, located near the Molochna River, a Dnipro tributary; via the Danube these sanctuaries maintained contacts with religious centres in Asia Minor, such as the pre-Indo-European Hadjylar.

Secondly, this path was renewed by representatives of the Turdash culture circa 4250 B.C. At that time Ukraine was the

legendary country of Varna, judging by toponyms found near L'viv, Ternopil, Cherkasy, and Kirovohrad. This country reached as far back as the pre-Indo-European era, and testament to this fact was preserved by the Orian Brakhmans.*

The proto-Sumerian cultures of Keresh-Turdash penetrated into the Left Bank region through the Buh-Dnister and Dnipro-Donetsk cultures, and in about 4250-4242 B.C., in an inexplicable way, they became keepers of the Kamyana Mohyla sanctuary. On slabs #2-#4 (according to M.Y. Rudynskiy) they left their first (that we know of here) inscriptions which could be compared to texts from tablets PI-32, and PI-73 from the most ancient Sumerian archives, discovered by archeologists in the northern Mesopotamian city-state of Shu-shun (present-day Jemdet-Nasr).

On the reverse side of the PI-32 tablet, written in the most ancient Sumerian letters from 4000-3000 B.C. (no less than a millennium after the Kamyana Mohyla inscriptions), we found a text of the first dynasties of rulers. And on slabs #2-#4 there are dates of reign of dynasties and the names of the second, fourth, and fifth rulers: Mu-hi, Ki-sal, Sal-tush. The name of the first ruler, Utu-pail, was found on slab #3/A, and

* It is necessary to mention here the sacred settlement of Var near the village of Varva in Chernihiv Oblast — found right in the centre of historical Siveria, and also mythological settlements of the Vars in Iran, which are given full review in Avesta. — Editor.

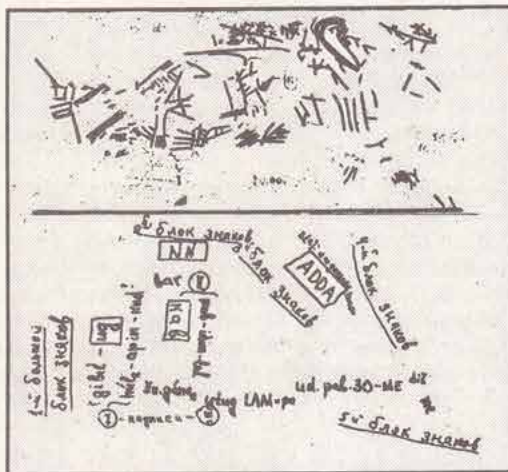


Image on the slab #5 of the Stone Tomb according to M. Rudynskiy and its deciphering by A. Kyfishyn

the name of the third ruler, Enlil-Pail, on slab #37/4. As was a rule in Shumer, the years of reign on Kamyana Mohyla were also marked by differences in cycles of the Moon and Sirius. In addition, no less than two inscriptions encompassing the years of the second dynasty (after 4173 B.C.) were found belonging to proto-Sumerian era. Slab #7 read: "Lion — (the god of herbs) Abu, who judges utuhs (demons), aladu (bulls), lil (spirits) 2144 times." The figures here possess meaning in calendar terms. Generally they allude to certain events surrounding interethnic relations at the time when the proto-Sumerians appeared at Kamyana Mohyla. Inscriptions on neighbouring plate #5 have a household-ritual meaning, mentioning about a magic "field hand" which helps ploughers to plough.

The ritual opposition of the first and second dynasties, known from inscriptions of Shu-nun's archives, are the same as mentioned in the Sumerian poem "Ninurta's Exploits", which in its turn corresponds with certain specific inscriptions and images of Kamyana Mohyla. In any case, it is beyond questioning that Sumerian priests kept visiting its sanctuary later.

After 4242 B.C., the proto-Sumerians must have changed their system of calendars and, moreover, they were more involved in predicting the future by looking at the past. For this purpose they started to use the other (no longer connected to Sirius) cycles of the Moon. Around 2782 B.C., priests from northern Mesopotamia had to visit a "Mysterious Sanctuary", the Kamyana Mohyla,

of their patriarches in order to copy sacred texts for the oldest Sumerian archive in Shun-nun. Later, until about 2530 B.C., the next delegation left numerous inscriptions on slab #52/A. They give a clear notion of "Jeshnun's ruler", the ruler of a famous Sumerian city which in 2530-2500 B.C. was at war with such cities as Uruk, Ur, Lahash, etc. in a coalition under Mesilim, the king of Kish. Pre-Lahash was destroyed in this war, and when restored there were introduced the cults of the goddesses Hatumduh and Nanshe, as well as the god Ninhirs, which must have been a cult of the pre-patriarchal "Mysterious Sanctuary" for many years. In one Sumerian "Ode on the Creation of the Ninhirs temple", there is found mention of, for example, a one-handed hero whose image was found in Kamyana Mohyla.

The most vivid tracks were left by a delegation of Sumerian priests who visited the tomb in about 2517 B.C. In particular this delegation corrected the old inscription on slab #7 (see above), having carved the following a bit higher: "Shara, the King of a Country (Shumer) and the seven..." Thus, a new stage of worship at this ancient sanctuary was initiated for the Sumerians. According to it, judging by the underlining of the old inscriptions and the carving of new ones, they gave it the ritual name of Kiruda (pre-Eridu) and Shu-shun. The latter name (in honour of the oldest Mesopotamian city of Shumer?) was carved in capital letters on slab #1. Shu-shun means "hand of a queen". On the other side of the Mohyla, which faces the Molochna River, they wrote the then-name for the river: Nun-birdu, or "queen of the steppe". At that time they were in the habit of erecting small ritual grounds on higher areas. They consisted of horizontal slabs with grooves for the blood of sacrificial creatures, and of vertical slabs with inscriptions and drawings. It may be that the mysterious "seven" in the story of Shara of Shumer was connected to the number of sanctuaries of Kamyana Mohyla and neighbouring tribes. In any case, specific connection to this "seven" can be followed in the poem "Ninurta's Exploits". The inscription on slab #7 says that Shara is "King of Shumer", probably head of the most significant delegation which came from Mesopotamia through the Caucasus to worship at Kamyana Mohyla and the other pre-patriarchal sanctuaries. At the mouth of the Molochna River (near the village of Nadezhdino), B.D. Mykhailov discovered strange buried remains. These were the leg bones of an adult human being placed on a slab made out of Kamyana Mohyla sands and decorated with the inscription "Shara". This was the god of the moon in Sumerian mythology. His trunk was considered immortal and his legs considered to be human. It is hard to tell if this was King Shara buried there. However, it is quite possible that this was a sacrifice to the god Shara. Thus, in one of the grand sanctuaries of the ancient world, the Sumerians left quite obvious tracks. Now

there arises the task of the complex studying of Kamyana Mohyla by experts, for this is a unique phenomenon of Ukrainian and world history.

Editor's note: In the light of the discoveries by Professor Kyfishyn, the specific joint features of old Ukrainian (Aratta-Trypillia), Sumerian and other cultures, which sounded widely incredible some time ago, now become clear. Thus Oleksandr Znoyko in the book "Myths of the Kyivan Land and Ancient Events" (K., 1989) compiled a small dictionary of Sumerian-Ukrainian conformities, and Yuriy Shylov in his book "Gates of Immortality" (K., 1994) and "Pre-patriarchal Arrueh" (K., 1995) indicated a combined preservation of traditions surrounding the Arattian-Sumerian god-creator Enlil Kur-gal (Wind Shattering a Great Mountain) with the Slavic-Ukrainian Lel with its Beautiful Hill, when for spring worship they usually decorated primordial mounds-burial sites. In his latest book, Shylov also reviews archeological evidence of Aratto-Sumerian and Orian-Sumerian links. For example, Shylov states that the first complex of the Velyka Oleksandrivka tomb, located between Inhulets and Dnipro, contains the remains of two priests from Upper Dnipro Aratta and Mesopotamian Shumer and that the tombstones are decorated by drawings typical also for Kamyana Mohyla. Opposition of the zodiacal Wild Boar and the Calf on those drawings holds specific correspondence with the above-mentioned poem "Ninurta's Exploits", and the burials themselves could be tied to the 2782 B.C. delegation of priests, or to the transition from 4000 to 3000 B.C. And, the drawings of the central episode of the Sumerian "Poem on Hilhamen" found on two local pots from the tombs between Kamyana Mohyla and the Dnipro, were established to have existed after the delegation of Shara, on the brink of the 23rd-22nd centuries B.C.

Thus, the written history of Ukraine begins not from Greek-Scythian and not even from the Orian-Sumerian era, but much earlier - from the era of Aratta-Trypillia, at least from 4250 B.C. So, from now on, when mentioning the oldest historical chronicles in Ukraine (and maybe the whole world) one should not consider the "Tale of Years Passed" by chronicle-writer Nestor, not "The Book of Veles" or the "History" by Gerodot, but the Aratto-Proto-Sumerian inscriptions from Kamyana Mohyla on the Molochna River.

Kamyana Mohyla is a huge hill, maybe 15 metres high and 200x300m, made out of sandstone. Inside it is like a honeycomb with dozens of caves and grottoes and nearly 600 inscribed slabs. According to Kyfishyn this memorial is not only of universal significance, but weighs in human history much more heavily than any so-far known memorials. Because the sanctuaries (dozens of them) of Kamyana Mohyla were created far earlier than the Sumerian ziggurats, and the Egyptian pyramids; earlier than the Orian Rihveda or the Jewish Bible, let alone ancient Greece and Rome... Thus, "history began in Aratta?"



V.TROPININ. Portrait of M.HOHOI.

Mykola Vasyliovych Hohol (born Apr. 1809 in Velyki orochyntsi, Poltava Oblast - died Mar. 4, 1852 in Moscow) was a great Ukrainian writer, an innovator of Russian literature who wrote in Russian. Hohol praised the Ukrainian spirit and the nation's heroism throughout the world in such stories as *Myrhorod*, *Nights at nearby Dykanka hamlet*, *Hetman*, and *Taras Bulba*, while ridiculing the irrationality and negligence of Russian imperial life in *Dead souls*, *Inspector*, *Greatcoat*, etc. Hohol's entire life was a fight between two forces - his genetic Ukrainian heritage on the one hand, and his semiofficial life in Saint-Petersburg on the other. Obviously, this contributed to his premature death. Hohol was more than an artist, thinker, historian and teacher, and his personality needs to be examined closer. In 1834, he accepted the position of Adjunct-Professor of the General History Chair at Petersburg University while dreaming about becoming a professor at his home in Kyiv at the University of St. Volodymyr. But it was not to be happen. Hohol as historian understood the universal historical process and simultaneously sought and developed a place for Ukraine in this process. Thus he referred to the heritage of, for instance, Herder, expressed his outlook on the teaching of universal history and also prepared a fundamental history of Ukraine: in 1834 he announced the publication of the first volumes of his work on Ukraine's history in #24 of "Severnaya Pchela" (Northern Bee) magazine. The book "Outlook on formation of Malorossia (Ukraine) issued the same year under the name "A Passage from Malorossia's history" is also designated Vol.1, Book 1, Ch.1. Regrettably, this work has not yet been recovered for Ukrainian science.

Being a historian of Ukraine, Hohol appears to have embraced the so-called theory of Pogodin, according to which the Mongolian-Tatar yoke squeezed "Russians" out of Kyiv and thus the abandoned territories were inhabited by Ukrainians from the Carpathian moun-

He Praised Ukrainian Will

Mykola HOHOL

View on Formulation of Malorossia*

tains. But only at first glance. In fact Hohol held the reverse view: Russians are a blend of Slavs who migrated to northern lands and mixed with the local Finnish-Hungarian population. And Ukrainians appeared as a combination of the early aboriginal settlers in Ukraine mixed with strangers from neighbouring lands. What is important here is that Hohol used the following notions: Russia and Malorossia, Rus' and Ukraine: the first two are used while talking about political realities, that is about the metropolia and the colony, the latter two while analyzing historical and geopolitical phenomena. In this case Hohol is categorical — not Malorossia but Ukraine. To give some grounding to his conclusion, he developed arguments using social, conditional, physiognomic, natural, linguistic and other evidence.

Hohol's geographical views in particular should be more deeply analyzed. Odd as it may seem, one can read between the lines of the great writer and see his intention of finding a basis for his systematic and historical views of Earth. At the same time, Hohol presented the hypothesis that the natural conditions of a region significantly determine the character, history, and fate of nations. In addition, he viewed the main reason behind Ukraine's political dependence to be its lack of protection by natural borders. Thus, according to Hohol, the teaching of Geography at school should be focused upon creating an integrated image of a planet and its main features. The review of the planet's surface should be studied according to the successions of anthropogenesis: from Asia to Africa, then to Europe, and in the end to America and Australia and its surrounding islands. (See *Thoughts on Geography*, 1834). We should remind you that at the same time another distinguished Ukrainian, Mykola Maksymovych, reviewed similar biospheric outlooks.

Hohol wrote on "physical geography". However, we can see from his text that he actually addresses general land science which also includes human activity. Here it is appropriate to point out the book "Land science" by Academic Pavlo Tutkivskyi, who a century after Hohol has developed many of Hohol's views on the earth's surface. This is probably more than mere coincidence. In any case, the Hohol phenomenon has yet to be fully investigated, and many mysteries remain to be deciphered...

Valentyn KRYSHCHENKO,
Dr. of Philosophy

1. What an awfully futile time XIII century was for the Rus'! Hundreds of small states of the same belief, tribe, language and character, which seemed to be united by homogeneity against their will. They were more divided against each other than any opposing nations could ever be. They were not separated by hatred — strong passions had not reached so far — nor by a permanent politics, a consequence of unbroken wisdom and awareness of life. No, the divisions were a consequence of a chaos of wars for temporary profit — gains which could last but a moment. They were destructive wars because little by little they mutilated the national character, which was just beginning to develop different attributes under the rule of powerful Norman princes. The religion which first of all unites and creates nations produced but a slight effect. At that time religion failed to mingle with the laws and lifestyle. Monks, priests, and even metropolitans were one-man monastics who went off to their caves and closed their eyes on the world, who prayed for everyone but never knew how to grab power over the people using their most powerful weapon, the faith and its burning inspiration and enthusiastic striving which alone can unite primordial nations and encourage them to great achievements. Here it was quite different from the West where the monarch Pope spun an invisible web of religious power throughout the whole of Europe, where his mighty word either extinguished wars or opened hostilities, where the threat of excommunication controlled passions and half-wild nations. There, monasteries became shelters for people who were of exceptional character in obedience and good-will for their era. Among the Rus', there were but rare cases when pastors from caves and cloisters were counselors to appanage princes. But their counsel was pointless: princes only fasted and erected churches, believing thus they were observing all the obligations of Christianity. They could not understand it as a Law whose demands must be obeyed. The merest of trifles caused endless wars between princes.

* This essay is an introduction to the history of Malorossia, but since the first part of it was completely redone, it was ignored and is given here as a separate article. (Hohol's note).

These were not skirmishes between kings and vassals or vassals and kings — No! These were wars between relatives, brothers, fathers and children. And it was not hatred or strong desire that drove them on — No! Brother raised his hand against brother for a patch of land or just to show courage. What an awful example for a nation. Links of blood were being destroyed since the dwellers of two neighbouring princelings, relatives among themselves, were ready to rise against each other at any moment with the fury of wolves. They were not driven by any inherited enmity, since a present-day friend would become an enemy tomorrow. The nation acquired a calm brutality because it thrust for no special purpose. The nation was not warmed by a burning desire, or fanaticism, or superstition. Thus it seemed like all noble human feelings had died in the nation, and even if a genius had appeared who wanted to lead the people to something greater, he would have failed to find a single string in their hearts to pluck to shatter the peoples unconsciousness except by steely physical force. In that era, history seemed to freeze and transform into geography: monotonous life, which was moving in parts and was immobile in the whole, could be viewed as the state's own geography.

II. One unusual thing happened during that epoch. From Asia, from the very center of the continent, from steppes which hurled so many nations toward Europe, there arose the most powerful, the most numerous unsurpassed conquerer. Terrible Mongols with their countless horse-herds and nomad carts never before seen in Europe rushed toward Rus' lighting their way by flame and fire reinforced by purely Asiatic violent pleasures. This scourge held Rus' enslaved for two centuries, cutting it off from Europe. Whether it was deliverance, preparing Rus' for independence, since appanage princes couldn't have protected it from Lithuanian conquerors, or it was a punishment for those never-ending wars. Whatever it might be, this terrible event had an awful outcome: it placed a yoke on the northern and middle Rus' principalities but also produced a new Slavic generation in southern Rus' whose very life was a struggle, the history of which I have taken liberty to explain.

III. The southern Rus' suffered greatly at the hands of the Tatars. Burned out

cities and steppes, forests in ashes, ancient Kyiv destroyed, depopulated regions and wastelands, that's what this poor country looked like! Scared inhabitants became refugees in Poland or Lithuania; many boyars and princes moved to northern Rus'. Even earlier the population had started dropping considerably in these lands. Kyiv would no longer be a capital for centuries; the larger estates were located far to the north. People were leaving lands as if they had no value, where varied nature was ingenious, regions rich in beautiful, free steppes abundant in countless, tremendous grasses, where all of a sudden you come across vale decorated with wild sweet and sour cherries, where ravines were abundant in flowers, and all over the marvelous landscapes spread winding stripes of rivers, stretched the Dnipro with its insatiable rapids, grand hilly banks and immeasurable meadows - and all this warmed by the moderate southern breezes. People abandoned those places and crowded into those parts of Rus' where the land was monotonously flat and smooth, almost completely covered by swamps decorated with sad pines and fir trees, representing a nightmare which touched the soul of the contemplative rather than inspiring a life full of motion. It seemed like the rule was proved - that only a nation of strong character and vitality could inhabit powerful lands, or only intrepid and marvelous lands could create a courageous, passionate nation of character.

IV. After the first fright was over, Polish, Lithuanians, and Rus' Slavs gradually began resettling the south, the authentic motherland of Slavs, lands of primordial Polans, Siverjans, pure Slavic tribes who would eventually blend with Finnish nations to become the Great Rus', but here they were preserved in their former integrity with all their popular pagan beliefs, child's superstitions, songs, tales, Slavic mythology, which so easily has mingled in their souls with Christianity. As the former dwellers in these regions returned, they brought back with them people from other lands with whom they maintained strong connections after having lived with each other for so long. The resettling took place cautiously, because the nomads were never far away; they were only separated, or perhaps it's better to say united, by the steppes themselves. Despite the diversity of the population, there was little of the internal strife that constantly occupied the central Rus': danger from all sides restrained internal conflicts. Kyiv, the ancient mother of Rus' cities, lay in ruins from the extraordinary masters of horse-herds, and for a long time it remained impoverished and was hardly a match for even not the more modest cities of the northern Rus'. Everybody abandoned Kyiv, even the monks who wrote annals and for whom the city was always a sacred place. All references to Kyiv were abruptly cut off and, despite the fact that descendants of

Rus princes still lived there, nothing could save it from half a century of neglecting. Very rarely, as if in a dream, chroniclers wrote that it was devastatingly destroyed and that it was full of the Khan's baskaks (supervisors). Later, Kyiv put a kind of impenetrable veil over itself to hide from the Khan's men.

V. While Tatars made Rus' stiff and immobile, the great pagan Hedymin led a new nation into the spotlights of the era - a nation poor in both lives and livelihood, inhabiting the wild pine woods of present-day Belarus, still wearing animal skins instead of clothes, worshipping Perun and primal fire in groves untouched by axes, a nation which previously paid tribute to Rus' princes and known as the Lithuanians. Thus, this nation guided by prince Hedymin became the most outstanding nation of its time in the large, north-eastern region of Europe! At the time, cities, principalities and nations in the west of Rus' were a kind of scraps, leftovers located outside Tatar subjugation. They were not integrated, and so the Lithuanian conqueror in a almost single stroke of his well-organized pagan troops conquered the whole passage between Poland and Tatar Rus'. Then he rushed southwards to the estates of the Volyn princes. It was quite natural that he was a success everywhere. However, in Lutsk Prince Lev offered a desperate resistance, but he had insufficient power to protect his lands. Hedymin, having appointed his foremen and principals, went further south to the very heart of the southern Rus' - to Kyiv. Lutsk's Prince Lev somehow managed to escape and appealed to Kyiv's Prince Svyatoslav to open hostilities against the formidable conqueror; Kyiv armed force was reinforced by Tatar alliance troops. But all resistance scattered before the mighty Lithuanian. Hedymin gave them a good beating near the river Irpet and entered Kyiv, which still showed fresh wounds of the Tatar visit, as the victor, appointing a Greek convert, Prince Mindovg Olshanski, as governor. Thus the Lithuanian conqueror grabbed this land right under the Tatar's nose! It seemed like hostilities were foreordained between two nations, but Hedymin was a man of solid wisdom, he was a politician despite his obvious barbarousness and his uneducated era. He managed to maintain friendship with the Tatars while retaining lands grabbed from them and paying no tribute. This barbarous, illiterate politician, who worshipped a pagan god, changed neither the customs nor the former systems of government in the conquered nations: he left everything as it was before, recognized privileges and strictly ordering his deputies to respect national rights, and he never left devastation in his path. The complete wretchedness of surrounding nations and other historical individuals gave him great stature. He died in 1340. According to the pagan customs of the Lithuanians, his dead body was mounted on a horse

with an arms carrier and hunting dogs, falcons, etc. and incinerated. Afterwards, mighty rulers like Olgerd and Yagailo expanded the Lithuanian empire using the same policy with annexed nations.

VI. The southern Rus' under the mighty dominion of the Lithuanian princes were by now completely cut off from the Northern Rus'. All connections between them split; two states were established with the same name of Rus'. One under the Tatar yoke and the other under the Lithuanian sceptre. There were no relations between them whatsoever. Different laws, different customs, different goal, different connections, different exploits moulded two completely different characters. How did this happen? That's the question our story must answer. But first we have to take a look at the geographical position of the country, which should be the first consideration, because the characteristics of the land affects the conditions of life and even the character of the nation. Geography resolves many historical questions.

The land which was later called Ukraine reaches as far northwards as 50 degrees latitude, mostly flat rather than hilly terrain. Small hills are often found but there is no mountain chain. Its northern region is covered in forests that once swarmed with bears and wild boars. Its southern regions are all open, broad steppes which have very fertile soils but was rarely sown with grain. Rich, uncultivated soils put forth an abundance of herbs. These steppes were swarming with herds of saiga, deer, and wild horses. From the north down to the south flows the great Dnipro with its tangled tributaries. The right bank is hilly and shows charming and at the same time brutal cliffs, while the left bank is all meadows, covered with groves and flood plains. 12 gorges of rapids form at the bottom near the mouth of the river and make navigation over them extremely dangerous. Near the rapids there lived a breed of wild goats called saiga, with white shiny antlers and soft, velvet skin. Earlier, when the Dnipro's waters were higher, it flooded vast territories covered by meadows. As floodwaters dropped you could see a breath-taking sight: all the hills would be like innumerable green islands in an intangible ocean of water. A single navigable river, the Desna, flows into the Dnipro in the northern part of Ukraine, with banks covered by forests flooded almost on both sides but even this river is navigable in some places. Also in the north, the Oster and part of the Seim, and in the south - the Sula, the Psel rich in landscapes, the Khorol, etc. flow into the Dnipro, but none of them is navigable. There were no connections, people could not exchange their goods and that's why a nation of merchants could not develop in southern Rus'. All the rivers are divided in the middle, with none flowing across the border and thus none providing a natural border with neighbouring nations,

neither in the north with Rus' nor in the east with the Khyпчаian Tatars, nor in the south with the Crimean Tatars, nor in the west with Poland. All around just fields, plains, open space from all sides. Had there been a natural border at least on one side from mountains or from the sea, then the nation that settled down there would have maintained its own political existence and established an individual state. But the derelict, open land was the land of devastation and attacks, the place of conflict for three hostile nations, the land thoroughly manured by human bones and fertilized by the blood. One Tatar attack could destroy the whole working cycle of the farmer; meadows and fields under crops were trampled by horses and burned out, huts were completely destroyed, dwellers driven away or captured and driven along with the livestock. This was a land of fear, and that's why only a nation of warriors, strong in unity - a desperate nation the entire life of which was involved and saturated with war - could spring from the land. And then free dwellers and captives, homeless people who had nothing to lose, whose life was worth but a kopeck, whose violent will could not bear laws and power, who were in constant danger of being hung, organized camps and chose the safest place in sight of the Asian conquerors - the Tatars and Turks. The horde grew larger and spread wider into a whole nation, which gave its character and one can say color to the whole of Ukraine, and which made a miracle - turned peaceful Slavic tribes into a nation of warriors known as Cossacks who are one of the most curious phenomena in European history, who probably restrained the devastating spread of two Mohammedan nations that threatened to engulf all of Europe.

VII. If not in the late XIII then in the early XIV century, the Cossack realm appeared. It happened in those centuries when holy days, and frank attitudes toward religion had not yet cooled down in Europe, when almost abruptly all over the territory there appeared brotherhoods and Orders of knights which were a strange contrast to the existing division and which, with unbelievable self-denial, destroyed and ignored the conditions of everyday life; celibates, strict, irremediable observers of the events in the world, iron protectors of the Christian faith. The weaker were links of the existing states, the stronger was the violent power of those unions. The spread of the Mohammedan religion and the new powerful Mohammedan nations that continuously invaded Europe made them even greater. The spirit of those unions spread far and wide but not just among the knights and not only for such purposes. At that time near the rapids, there appeared a town or walled hedge called Cherkasy, built by desperate settlers, the name of which sounds like they were Caucasus natives. Many people even think it was built by Caucasians, and that

was the chief gathering place and camp of the Cossacks. At first, frequent attacks by Tatars on northern Ukraine made the inhabitants run for refuge, joining Cossacks and making their community ever more numerous. This was a motley crew of the most desperate people, composed of bordering nations. Barbarous highlander, robbed Russian, Polish slave, who escaped the despotism of his hosts, and even Islamic refugee - Tatar as well perhaps - initiated that curious partnership on the other side of the Dnipro which later adopted the goal to be in a permanent state of war with the faithless - the same goal as knights of the Orders. This crowd of people had no fortification, no locks. Earthworks, caves, and caches on the Dnipro's steep banks, often under water, on Dnipro islands, thickets of meadow grasses served as hiding places for them and for their lot. The mass of these men of prey was invisible; they attacked abruptly, and having caught their prey, returned home. They made the Tatars face the war of their own making - the same Asiatic raids. Their lives were once destined for eternal terror, so they took the liberty to be the terror of their neighbours. Tatars and Turks were in constant alert awaiting the inexorable people from the rapids. The Mohammedan neighbours knew not what to call this dreadful nation. If one wanted to show his utter contempt, he called him a Cossack.

VIII. The majority of that community was, however, comprised of the original inhabitants of southern Rus'. The proof is the language which, despite borrowing a number of Polish and Tatar words, always had a purely Slavic southern character... Anyone could join the community, but it was compulsory for him to be converted into the Greek religion. The community displayed all the features which can be attributed to a gang of criminals, but on deeper investigation one can see the embryo of a political body within, principles of a typical nation, which from the very beginning had a single aim - to fight the faithless and preserve the purity of their own religion. These people, however, were not as strict as Catholic knights: they committed themselves to nothing - neither to fasting, nor to abstention, nor to mortification of flesh; they were as restless as their Dnipro rapids and during their great banquets and merrymaking they forgot about the whole world. The same strong brotherhood as is preserved in gangs of criminals kept them together. They had everything in common - wine, houses, money (tsekhines). The eternal fear, the eternal danger made them feel a mild contempt for life. A Cossack took greater care of a good mug of wine than he did his fate. But in their attacks one could see the whole flexibility, quick-wittedness, skillfulness in exploit opportunity. You should see that settler of the rapids clad in semi-Tatar, semi-Polish garments which so sharply reflected the

frontier nature of the land. He rushed on his horse across the steppe like an Asian, vanished in dense grasses, attacked as quick as a tiger from his invisible hiding places, or unexpectedly appeared out of a river or a swamp all silty and seeming like a monster to the retreating Tatars. The same Cossack after an attack, while enjoying merrymaking and drinking with his friends, showered his loot, was deadily drunk and carefree as long as a new attack was at hand, unless the Tatars happened to attack first, making them scatter from being drunk and imprudent, completely destroying their settlements which as if by wonders were erected again and again, and later a devastating, terrifying attack would sally forth against the Tatars as a vendetta. And again the same imprudence and the same merrymaking.

IX. It seemed to be that the existence of that nation would never end. The Cossack never grew less: there were casualties, killed, dismissed, drowned, who were replaced by newcomers. Such a life filled with merrymaking was a seduction for anyone. That was a poetic era when everything was gained by sable, when every man tried to be a character of deeds and not a mere onlooker. That crowd gradually developed into an integral, common character and nationality, and by the end of the XV century the community had grown considerably from the arrival of newcomers.

Eventually, all the villages and sloboda settled down with hosts and families next to that grand stronghold to take advantage of its protection, under condition of certain obligations. Thus the settlements all around Kyiv became deserted and on the opposite bank of the Dnipro they became densely populated. Men with families and newlyweds became gradually affected by their neighbours and were becoming martial. The sable and the plow made friends and were to be found on every farm. At the same time, merrymaking refugees together with chervontsi (golden coins), tsekhins and horses started to grab Tatar women and girls to marry them. For that reason their territory, originally different, acquired one common feature tending to be more Asiatic. And at last there appeared a nation which by the faith and by their location belonged to Europe but by their way of life, customs, and garments belonged to Asiatic culture in which two different continents and two elements of different characters so oddly blended: European prudence and Asiatic imprudence, agreeableness and shrewdness, vivid activity and great laziness and lethargy, a desire for development and perfection and at the same time the desire to arrogantly ignore all kinds of perfection.

GUIDES OF THE UKRAINIAN IDENTITY: PANTELEYMON KULISH AND STEPAN TOMASHIVSKYI

These two outstanding historians and promoters of Ukrainian culture were born in different times and in different parts of Ukraine: Kulish early in the last century in the East, in Siveria, and Tomashivskiy — at the end of the century in the West, Halychyna. But their understanding of Ukrainian history, and their prophecies of the future are remarkably alike. They take a critical view on the national way of life from the perspective of national identity as a necessary prerequisite for the formation of a national state. They also both suggest that Ukrainians demand high moral standards in their acceptance of things foreign.

Kulish and Tomashivskiy are people of the same spiritual type. Being aristocrats of the spirit and bearers of the conservative national ideology, these two true Ukrainians gained no fame among their contemporaries because they voiced their thoughts openly and never compromised their beliefs simply to be liked by the masses. Ukrainian societal thought at the time had already been ruined by liberal democrat and socialist propaganda, and a pseudo-intelligentsia, with designs on being the new national elite, began to frequent political circles. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian people lived in spiritual and political captivity. And as with any enslaved people, Ukrainians kept disturbingly silent about developing the national idea, and about those who were helping define it. Accordingly, in 19th century, Kulish became an unperson and Tomashivskiy in the 20th. The spiritual individuality of both these congenial people can be expressed by Tomashivskiy's own words in his article "Kulish and Ukrainian national identity", which described the individuality of Kulish: "...who has failed to gain public respect either during his lifetime or after his death, notwithstanding the fact that this figure was more outstanding than the average Ukrainian national saint..."

PANTELEYMON KULISH (1819-1897) — was a thinker and an artist who brilliantly expressed himself in different spheres of Ukrainian culture— as a historian, philosopher, poet, writer, playwright, publicist, translator, literature scientist, folklorist, linguist, teacher, graphics painter, and publisher. Having a many-faceted education and gifted from birth he mastered ancient, classical, and contemporary European languages. After graduation from Novhorod-Siverskyi high school and graduation from Philosophical and Law Chairs of Kyiv University, he taught at St. Petersburg University. Coming from an aristocratic family of Cossacks Panteleymon, he absorbed the tradition of his native culture and the idea of Ukrainian national peculiarity and a nation's natural right of its own state management.

In Russian Empire times, it was forbidden for our nation to call ourselves by the ancient name *Ukrainians*, but only "small Russians". Ukrainian language was spoken only by peasants and Kulish was the first to write his scientific works in Ukrainian. He is a founder of the Ukrainian novel, performed the first and still unsurpassed translations of the Bible, of Shakespeare and Byron, committed folk dumas (folk stories), Ukrainian songs, myths to paper. In addition, Kulish pioneered the publication of the biography and works of his compatriot Mykola Hohol. Having established his own publishing house in St. Petersburg for printing Ukrainian books, Kulish invented a new Ukrainian alphabet called "Kulish's orthography" which is still in use today. In 1861-62 he issued the first Ukrainian magazine *Osnova*, on issues of politics, literature and the arts. At the very beginning of his didactic activity, Kulish had a credo: "Ukraine and Ukrainian language has now become my true faith." He stood for the natural functioning of his native tongue in all spheres of national life and brought the Ukrainian identity into the world to his last breath. He was a rare breed — he was the first and the greatest. There is hardly a man who had as many enemies while both alive and dead as did Kulish. Few compatriots are to realize his great ascetic desires on the path to Ukraine's rebirth. There were many open and covert enemies of Ukrainian identity who called themselves — Moscow representatives."

In an "Appeal to Ukrainian intelligentsia", Kulish made a thorough historiographical analysis of Ukrainian life under the damaging pressure of the Russian empire: "Two tsar dynasties have tainted themselves by tramping on our spirit. Has it been extinguished? Did we emerged into one nation with the 'orthodox' Moscow kingdom? We have not, and moreover, because of that violence, we broke from it and we are even further from it now than we were once from the Polish Catholic Kingdom." But "because of that violence and tyranny", through "flattering Muscovites" Ukrainians lost masses of "priceless power". "... We have our dignitaries no more... We have neither a Ukrainian court, nor customary law. We have neither the church which might be judged by the public consciousness, nor schools to raise our children according to the national spirit. Most of all, we have no native press which would prevent national language from

scabbing under the yoke of a foreign one...The only possession we still have is the living Ukrainian word. This word helped during the muscle-against-muscle struggle. The time has come for the word to start the spirit-vs-spirit struggle..."

Spiritual devotion of Kulish turned into a true heroism among the ruins of Ukrainian society when history "seemed to freeze and transform into geography" (M. Hohol, See p. 11). The Ukraine's traditional state structure was generally ruined and the national spirit was glowing only at the khutors. The *khutors* were small settlements, founded by the Cossacks, in the rich Ukrainian countryside, the remains of the military administrative layer of ancient Ukrainian society, forced to switch to farming. Kulish returned from the Imperial Capital back to khutor life. Instead of the position as a Professor at St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, the scientist with initiative served a three year sentence in a remote Tula (1847-1850) for being a member of Kyrilo-Mefodiy Brotherhood. Later, he settled down on the khutor Motronivka, the family estate of his wife Oleksandra Biloers'ka-Kulish, a talented Ukrainian writer who wrote under pseudonym — Ghanna Barvinok. (More detailed information to be found in the essay)..." "Blessed be the day of our meeting..." (Ukraina magazine, 36-38, 1989).

The Kulish's khutor estate with his direct participation in its construction, maintenance, and management became the economic basis behind all his cultural accomplishments. At the Motronivka estate (presently the village of Olenivka in Borzen district, Chernihiv Oblast), this hard working man died in honor. Local elders continue to go to Panteleymon's tomb, as if for asking forgiveness from the saint. This testifies to the truth of Tomashivskiy's conclusion that Kulish was a man of spiritual grandeur.

Tomashivskiy's only assumption about his Siverian predecessor needs to be explained. Kulish "in his inability to critically regard everything national, both modern and old, to give or make any attempt toward developing a positive ideology, and thus made his works impossible to understand and thereby gained no supporters." This time using the phrase 'positive ideology', Tomashivskiy refers to Kulish's psychological orientation and proud disposition: he had no desire to gain the support of the superficial masses.

Kulish's ideology was generated from his personal khutor experience as an organic expression of the spiritual traditions of Ukrainians. This is 'khutor philosophy' or 'philosophy of nature' which became a symbol of the Ukrainian national identity.

This philosophy was highlighted in his works "Letters from khutor" (St. Petersburg, 1861) and "Khutor philosophy and Poetry from the Far Away Land." (St. Petersburg, 1879). All the copies of this book were immediately destroyed and only a few copies were preserved. On the one hand, the official Imperial ideology exerted a harsh pressure on Kulish's spiritual guidance, and he was called an ideologue of Ukrainian nationalism. The Bolshevik ideologues inherited this attitude from their predecessors and also dismissed Kulish's ideas.

On the other hand, the khutor philosophy was beset on every side by foreign progressive-cosmopolitans and homebred liberals and positivists-materialists. They perverted Kulish's philosophy, which was based on the true spiritual practices of the nation, by calling it a 'Ukrainian khutorhood' and launched it into the mass consciousness as an intellectual virus, while traditional Ukrainian culture was declared as backward. Ukrainian culture, as a relic of European antiquity, has been and still is a special focus of those pillagers, who portray themselves as progressives. Kulish's warning is still important today: "...The history of deceit is longer than the story of truth, if we are to count pages... You know it very well yourself but you still keep pushing your books on us...Go to hell, civilizers! You think only of sales and consumption! And you would prefer world wide trade to God's heaven... That's why we distrust you..." ("Letters from khutor").

Why did Kulish's 'khutor philosophy' result in such a gross response from strangers, being inconceivable for most compatriots? The theory and practice of khutorhood was founded on natural stability of khutor life, on the customary law and natural spirituality. For Kulish, a khutor is a spiritual center of terrestrial beings, where a man undergoes enlightenment and acquires inner independence from the outer chaos. The original meaning of the word *khutor*, or the archaic *khator* is a *Dwelling of the Spirit of Light*. "The khutor philosophy" or "the philosophy of light", is the eternal spiritual practice of Ukrainians — farmers, from whom man defines his nation.

Thus, Kulish renewed the nation's memory of the tradition of living according to man's inner freedom. At the same time, this Ukrainian thinker became a contributor to European existentialism. Nonetheless, Kulish's concept of existence is that it includes the inner freedom of both individual and nation: "... Nations live according to God's law, according to the law of nature, and the wisdom of all leaders lies in this one fact: do not go against this natural

law. It would be better to say, perhaps: do not throw yourself against this law. This is why our crippled and unworthy Ukrainian people have as big right for life, as does the smallest blade of grass..." ("Historical story"). Kulish based his concept of "Ukrainian nationality and spiritual freedom" on a scientific understanding of universal cosmic laws, which in turn determine the laws of human life.

Mighty individual spiritual will, high conscientiousness, deep cordiality and wisdom, high feeling of human dignity — these are all features of the Ukrainian national identity. The most typical sign of human life is a spiritual will — a strength of spirit despite adversity. The truest Ukrainians preserve their spiritual and natural integrity of being. At the same time, they differentiate between a being's natural necessity to be terrestrially grounded and the soul's spiritual desire to live eternally. This demonstrates the inseparability of the land from the Cosmos. This binds Ukraine's earthly and spiritual reality to its cultural tradition.

When a community of people realize their specific spiritual and natural integrity, in the framework of their ethnic culture—the mores of societal relations, language, religion, customs, economy, state management, education, science and art — then this is a nation with a national identity. This nation can then express itself as a nation-state. For those who failed to inherit traditions of the native culture, national identity becomes a rescue beacon in the darkness of denationalization. This beacon comes from the depths of one's own heart: "The human heart creates a dignified day-to-day life and educated people introduce national identity to the laws of human interaction and then command future generations to follow them..."

The moral principles of Kulish's 'pure heart' and his 'philosophy of nature', and the 'witty heart' of Skovoroda's self-cognition, as well as 'philosophy of heart' by P. Yurkevych are the essence of spiritual Ukrainians and the Ukrainian identity. The people unite themselves through the moral might of the national identity to become true-to-life ethnic being. They begin to formulate their own system of government — a protective body of the society, regulated by laws of customary law of the people. In Kulish's view, the Ukrainian national identity unites people into a community of conscience, spiritually free people, rather than a mechanically mixed collective headed by political leaders, because: "National and social dynamics follow the same unchangeable physical laws as do any substance."

The uniqueness of the Ukrainian national identity lies in the fact that it is not designed for a mediocre mass consciousness. This identity needs people of strong spiritual will. Ukrainian naturalist Volodymyr Vernadskyi (1863-1945) based his work on this principle: "Actually, for the complete satisfaction of a man, there is one vital issue to be resolved: the issue of eternity of the individual, rather than the issue on God." So for a true Ukrainian, the key factor for individual and societal life is the question: How are his mind and soul's desires met? This is the essence of Ukrainian individualism that provides for the existence of a national identity. In Ukrainian tradition, the individual will is coordinated with the nation's collective will and the Universal Will, thanks to regulations of ethics, law, and religion. The will to live is an expression of spirit of the original creation and racial purity of a man.

During Kulish and Tomashivskiy's time, Ukraine's ethnic and spiritual health had taken a precipitous decline. And here I take the liberty of using the word *race*, in that through the unique and mixture of tribes that is the Ukrainian people. This special combination created a 'race' of Ukrainian people in all its spiritual potential and cultural richness. Ukrainians potential for life was weakened through endless defensive wars, and later through the imperialistic policies of Russia, Poland and Austro-Hungary. Ukraine suffered its most severe losses in 20th century, during the Bolsheviks destructive regime.

But if a Ukrainian preserved his racial feeling and ideological integrity, he would yield neither to the illusory influences those who would divide the nation, nor to the psychosis of mass degeneration. Such a man is self-adjusted via the special idea of the national identity, and his individualism becomes a psychological mechanism to maintain the identity itself, and this in turn promotes harmony in the race. Kulish and Tomashivskiy are national representatives of typical Ukrainian individuals.

STEPAN TOMASHIVSKIY (1875-1930) — is one of the outstanding Ukrainian historians bearing the title "the most significant historian of Halychyna," a talented publicist, a gifted prophet, and a wise politician. After finishing Sambirsk high school, he graduated from L'viv University and from Jagellonian University, where he was a student of Professor Mykhailo Hrushevskiy. He taught at high schools in Peremyshl, Berezhany, and L'viv. He taught Ukrainian history at L'viv University and Jagellonian University. In 1913, he became the Chair of the Shevchenko Scientific Association. And from 1919 through 1921, he was a representative of Halychian government in Paris, as well as being an ambassador to London. In 1921, he became an editor at the magazines Ukrainian Word and Litopys (Annals) in Berlin. There he founded the publishing house Ratay and in 1925-26, he edited the weekly L'viv publication Politics. From 1927 until his death he worked at Jagellonian University in Cracow. Because Tomashivskiy's wide range of scientific interests demanded a thorough study of historical sources, he mastered 15 ancient and contemporary European languages.

In his scientific works, Tomashivskiy demonstrated not only the talent of an attentive, shrewd historical researcher, but also a strong talent for seeing the larger picture, a distinctive feature of a true historian. This scholar had also enough public courage to doubt the fundamental advice of respected Ukrainian historians of the so-called 'national school'. Moreover, he managed to argue persuasively that the conclusions of those historians were one-sided and thereby limited Ukrainian history to the interests of a few, socially humble strata

of society. From his early childhood in the village, Tomashivskiy absorbed the moral principle of the nation's integrity, he learned that the concept of a national state is an innate to Ukrainians.

Tomashivskiy became the founder of Ukrainian historiography, and interpreter of the state ideology. In his works, this scholar drew the classic example of a national history of Ukraine, and from this vantage point, he praised highly Kulish's accurate analysis on the destructive forces of Ukrainian history. Few people know that Tomashivskiy was a teacher of V. Lypynskiy, and encouraged him to study Ukrainian history. In his critical analysis of Lypynskiy's works and speeches, Tomashivskiy advised "not to interpret some favourite doctrine as a fact," so that the creative power of future generations would be lost in the chaos of formalistic doctrines. No matter how highly Tomashivskiy values historical facts in his works, there are no superfluous details since they 'kill general ideas, which are the most crucial thing in history."

Being a philosopher and an active statesman, Tomashivskiy warned Ukrainian society to not be mesmerized by the words "state, state, state" during the complicated process toward statehood. Regrettably, this is still a burning issue. Great historians knew that the general public should first be brought up on principles of national statehood, starting from its native ideological principles through to a number of historical factors — political, cultural and economic. The Ukrainian population needed to experience the spiritual and historical path to a Ukrainian nation, already having clearly realized their own national individuality.

What is the basis for Tomashivskiy's notion of the individuality of Ukraine? Tomashivskiy delineated such key historical ideas in his work "Ukrainian history": "The first concept comes from the ancient **contrast between the cultural-forest and the steppe-to-meadow stripe of our land...** The second idea comes from political-cultural debate between the West and the East... In the basis of Ukraine's third historical concept there lies the **political-economic contrast between the North and the South**, through racial and cultural differences... The Steppe, Poland, Moscow region — this is a triangle of historically-political development of Ukraine." Placing the **land** as the basis of his concept of Ukrainian history, Tomashivskiy came to a conclusion that only "**geographically** can we speak of Ukraine as an individual, permanent notion, throughout its **entire** history." Reviewing Ukraine as a geographical notion, Tomashivskiy places the main emphasis on its location and its historical consequences: "Ukraine's location is determined by the **Black Sea** which thus becomes a geographical, political, and economic basis of this land."

In speaking of Tomashivskiy's objective historical concept, I will employ a particularly enlightening observation from the article devoted to the 20th anniversary of the scholar's death: "The modern respectable reader, immuned to this 'hurray patriotism', will not disregard Tomashivskiy. On the contrary, he will highly regard his historical objectivism, since in he did not write his historical works exclusively against Moscow or Poland. He wrote about Ukraine." (selections Ukraina, 1951).

Evaluating the state of Ukrainian society in his article "Does a Ukrainian National Identity Exist?" (1921), Tomashivskiy wrote that today's 'notion on Ukraine has little to do with geography and even less with geopolitics. Under such conditions, it is no wonder that the idea of the nation as a group of people in our ideologies is very vague: one believes that Ukrainians are only those who are more to the left than esdacs, regardless of race and language; others believe that only Greek Catholics can have a right to be a member of the nation, etc.. Let alone the historic elements in those ideologies. These national ideologies are more than simple 'not historical'. They are all anti-historical." Tomashivskiy stood for this truth with courage, despite the public's aggressive attitude towards it. Both Tomashivskiy and Kulish placed hope on future Ukrainian generations. Just such a young Ukrainian scholar devotes his selection of historical and essays: "Under the Wheels of History" (Berlin, 1922, reprinted in New York in 1962). In the preface he emphasized that "...self-realization and self-recognition are prerequisites to self-recovery and without the latter we will perish." The special ideological stance in this selection is an analysis, "Kulish and the Ukrainian National Identity."

This scholar devotes his book to the victims of Ukrainian politics: Ukraine was pushed under the wheels of history by the despotic ambitions of various parties which wanted to be the leading force in the Ukraine's desire for the creation of a national state.

Tomashivskiy is one of very few historians who predicted the terrible paralyzing impact of the communist ideology and the tragedy of Ukrainian intelligentsia through which the Bolshevik empire annihilated Ukrainian village. Kulish was as adept at predicting ideological reasons and intellectual means behind a new national ruin: "This communism which is preached by Your scholars will bring disaster to educated fools and this science will not be absorbed by farmers, neither in Halych nor in Ukraine" (extract from a letter to Ivan Puliuy to Prague.)

The disenfranchised intelligentsia, self-deceived by a new, messianic ideology and weakened by democratic liberalism, could not arrive at moral conclusions from the previous disasters in Ukrainian history. One of the greatest calamities of Ukraine was the ambitions of pseudo-intelligent political tyrants to play a role of the national elite Ukrainian democratic liberalism fully testified to the fact that it is unable to be create a nation or state because it is spiritually disconnected from the national identity.

Weakened, alienated Ukrainians, who drag their wretched existence, can only be consolidated into structured nation-building Ukrainian society by the force of an individually-perceived national identity. This is when the Ukrainian identity becomes national ideology and religion for conscientious citizens.

KULISH AND THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL IDEA

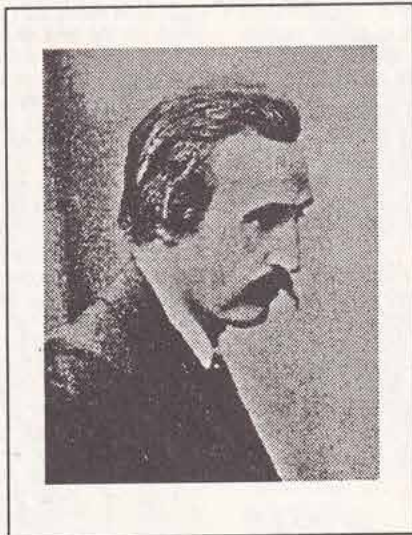
1. THE UNPOPULARITY OF KULISH

Ukraine is the Promised land for people seeking fame, for artists, writers, politicians and atamans. This was the case in ancient times, and so it remains today. Some people gain popularity espousing ideas held by the masses, others through modern ideas, developed to promote the happiness of those same masses. As a result, every tenth Ukrainian intellectual enjoys well-deserved nationwide glory during his life and particularly after his death. But this rule has its exception. There is one lonely figure among innumerable glorious fathers of the people of the 19th century, who has failed to gain public respect either during his lifetime or after his death, notwithstanding the fact that this figure was more outstanding than the average Ukrainian national saint. He was P.O.Kulish. The least popular, the least esteemed and, perhaps, the least understood figure among all Ukrainian writers. He was like Ivan the Second from Vyshnya, a hermit during his lifetime, hushed up after his death.

The reason for his unpopularity is wrapped up in the peculiar character of the author of "Chorna Rada" ("Black Council") — proud and aristocratic, irreconcilable to the crowd and its rules. Another factor was his passionate and ambitious temperament, which offended others and was quick to take offense. His competition with some contemporaries — he was not without the human feeling of envy — caused conflicts with people, groups, currents and opinions. In addition, Kulish had a well-developed and very valuable characteristic, rarely seen among Ukrainians, which was the courage to express his opinions sincerely, and persist in them even though others did not like it. He also had the courage to be unpopular — we shall show the psychological basis for that moral loneliness, in which he spent almost all his life and which transformed later into physical estrangement from people. However, we are not going to discuss the relationship between Kulish and lonely people, but his relationship with the whole Ukrainian collective or, more to the point, with the Ukrainian national idea.

2. THE CONFLICT

The critics of Kulish (I belonged to them myself) take exception to the fact that in his poetic and scientific works he disagreed with the main principles of the national struggle of the Ukrainian people both historically and during his lifetime, and counterbalanced those values, with which he



enriched the national culture. Kulish's "sins" can be grouped as the following: a) Russophilism or simply disposition to the idea of national-political "reunification"; b) the recognition of cultural achievements of Poland; c) the opinion that the history of the Ukrainian Cossack movement revealed mainly the destructive, anti-cultural instincts of Ukraine; d) reproaches against the Ukrainian intelligentsia, mainly writers and scholars, that they idealized the shameful deeds of their ancestors and cherished the destructive inclinations of the society. If Kulish had expressed those heresies only in his scientific ("History of the Reunification of Russia", and "History of the Separation of Russia from Poland") and popular works ("Krashanka", "Painted Haidamachyna", and "Ukrainian Landowners"), the judges would be more indulgent toward him. But unfortunately, his works abounded in these heresies and, in a sense, immortalized them.

*Here is his message to the "native people", translating the works of Shakespeare:
You are a people without honor and respect,
without truth in your letters and the
precepts of your wild ancestors;
You are a people of reckless courage,
confirmed drunkards and great robbers.
You, the blind barbarian, stop triumphing,
blush for yourselves.*

*Take a mirror, look at yourselves in it,
and understand what a miserable Asiatic
you are.*

*Do not be proud of your robberies,
forget your road, and return to the cultural
way of Volodymyr.*
(literal translation)

Ukrainian writers and scholars who used the authority of Shevchenko as a cover suffered even more from his attacks!!! In his Holy name, to the shame of Ukraine you are spreading lies about the glory of ruins.

*You make a mockery of Taras,
Our scholars mourn that not all the
landlords were struck down by the Holy
knives,
that Honta and Zaliznyak did not become
the princes on the land
where Monomach with his sons ruled.*

(literal translation)

The poet deals easily with his numerous critics, comparing them with Tatars:

*You fell upon me like a horde,
a wild horde under the flag of science,
You destroyed my good name with your lie,
you tied my hands with your stupidity,
you buried my honor and my name.
Tatars! Where have you disappeared to?
In what dark places have you hidden
yourselves?*

*Everything you did is already forgotten,
Only my songs about you remain.
Tell me: how do people called you?
What titles did they give you?*

(literal translation)

Such and similar thoughts pierce through almost the entire literary heritage of Kulish. Certainly, it is difficult to say that this feature was very beneficial to poetic style or to the whole literary value of his works; on the contrary, a liking for controversy killed more than one of his poems, though not all (for instance, "Marucya Bohuslavka").

It is not our intention to discuss the source, beginning and development of the conflict between one of the main pioneers of our national renaissance of the 19th century and the so called defenders of our society, a conflict which caused the complete estrangement of Kulish but did not crush his spirit and self-respect (see his poem "I am standing alone"). But we must say one thing. Contrary to all the national "faults" that were imputed to him, not least of which was the accusation of treachery and desertion, there is no other so complete a Ukrainian figure, so symbolically Ukrainian in the best sense of the word, as P.O.Kulish in our recent history. I can say even more — he belongs among those rare manifestations in our national life that preclude any disbelief in the future of the Ukrainian people.

3. REHABILITATION

Both during his life and a quarter of century after his death Kulish was alone, alienated, unloved, misunderstood, and thought to be slightly mad, even suspected in the purity of his thoughts and deeds. And what of today? I do not see any other opinion about him dominating today, although I have no doubt that the time has come to change our view of him. Closer analysis of all Kulish's "faults", made 25 years later, especially considering the experience of last five years, must lead, I am completely convinced, to the following conclusions:

1. If it is necessary to speak about the "faults" of Kulish (one should be very careful with such concepts), the primary one would be his inability, in critically regarding everything national, both modern and past, to give or make any attempt toward developing a positive ideology, and thus complicated and even made impossible to understand his thoughts and win supporters.

2. Concerning objective reproaches, with new consideration one part of them loses all value because of the fact that they are typical manifestations of all Ukrainian society at the present state of its national development, and almost nobody among Kulish's contemporaries was free of such "faults". In particular, this relates to the question of Ukrainian-Russian relations in the past and today. Ukrainian Russophilism is not a pathological reaction against a peculiar national spirit, but only the developing phase of that spirit, for which nobody must be reproached.

3. A third element among Kulish's "faults" should be rewritten from his liabilities to his assets. These are the faults of seeing the abundance of negative, destructive forces in Ukrainian history after the Princes' times; these faults led the poet to the point of view of "the political failure of Ukraine" and to the heart-felt protests against idealizing the historical and modern anarchic and anti-cultural instincts among good and hard-working people by the intelligentsia.

"We can find a wonderful example of high moral standards in Kulish's opinions about the duties of any writer in his works "Introduction" to the "History of the Reunification of Russia": "Let nobody think that my purpose is to protect the book from the severity of experts. Not only severe but even hard criticism is very useful for the historian. Only the most thoughtless praises from people, less developed than the author, can be harmful for the historian. There is nothing more dangerous for the self-improvement of the historian than to be loved by the majority and be satisfied by the unanimous acclaim over works that can barely be evaluated by the public. From this moment on, when righteous man begins to believe in his own holiness, he ceases to reach for the ideal of holiness".

14. II. 1922.

Roland PIETSCH

Scientific Angle of the National Idea (Abridged)

The purpose of the scientific approach to the national idea is to prove the usefulness of this notion to the cognition of nations, politics, and political philosophy overall. It is necessary to recognize that contemporary notions of nation and the national idea obviously play no particular role in political philosophy. There are many reasons behind this, but we are not addressing them in this article.

The notion of nation originates from the romantic philosophy of the nation-state, and according to Max Weber's socio-empirical analyses, this notion is determined by categories of empirical sociology, i.e. scientifically obscure and indefinite.

Max Weber's point of view is opposite that of Kurt Hübner, who believes it is possible to examine the nation scientifically.

Kurt Hübner is a famous philosopher in Germany. He was born in Prague where he studied at the German Karlsuniversity. Professor Hübner is a member of the Sudeto German Academy of Sciences and Arts and numerous other scientific bodies. Among his most outstanding works are essays on the theory of cognition, the theory of science, the philosophy of science and historical studies, the philosophy of myth, the philosophy of the nation-state, and the philosophy of arts. Hübner, unlike Max Weber, takes a more general view on a matter which cannot accurately and precisely be defined but can nonetheless exist. He draws the example of man's individuality, which really cannot be exactly defined through his character. But this individuality must be assumed because it is a required condition for all interhuman relations. In other words, the assumption of individual peculiarity is an indispensable practical postulate. One can talk about the special features of the nation with corresponding changes. National peculiarity is an urgent condition of human coexistence. How can Hübner talk about a scientific approach to the national idea after having stated the need for this practical postulate? Aiming at this target, the scholar introduces two categories which basically give a well-rounded scientific approach to the notion used by the philosophy of the nation-state during the Romantic era: the category of "an historical system of rules" and the category of "an historical plurality of systems."

An historical system of rules, or simply an historical system, is a category which refers to historical processes. Such processes follow the laws of nature, biological laws and also take place in accordance with the rules established by people. These rules are as numerous as the spheres of human life.

An historical system of rules can be regarded as an axiomatic system or as something which can be described by this system. The nation can be conceived based on its peculiar features as a necessary practical postulate as well — as a plurality of an historical system of rules. To this plurality of systems of rules belong values, customs, culture, language, political ideas and goals and also the relationship to specific

geography and climate, the treatment of material goods, handicrafts, technology, commerce, etc., revealed in certain individual styles only. Such systems of rules come into frequent partially-hierarchical relations with other similar systems. In this regard the subject under review, i.e. the nation, has a structure. Hübner sums up: "The peculiar features of a nation are formed up to the definitive moment by the plurality of specifically structured systems. That is where the peculiarity comes from." The present variety of a nation's features are the peculiarity of the nation in Hübner's view. The hierarchical order is caused by the fact that certain systems of rules form the centre in the general plurality of the system. National plurality of systems is conceived as directive idea.

The scientific acceptability and the necessity of describing such a notion as nation in the way we have just set forth are revealed in a special manner in the work of historians. An historian acts in this field like a naturalist who is also striving to portray the systems of reality...

What is the essence of the identification of people with their nation, what is the essence of the inner experience of this identification?

Firstly, it is necessary to determine that national identification is fate rather than an act of will or a voluntary decision. So far, this may sound strange. However, one may use it since, unlike the notion of "chance", fate indicates the hidden contents of history.

Each man is born with his own language, his childhood and youth in the nation which places its unforgettable brand on him. This deep inner connection with the nation and the Motherland often remains unconscious. Any citizen identifies himself, be it consciously or unconsciously, with the nation as a general thing.

Thus, each is a member of a general national peculiarity. Once this takes place a citizen represents both individual and general notions. The directive idea of the plurality of systems mentioned above shows that the nation can be regarded as an integral whole. Thus the identification is with the nation in general. In direct, practical life, conscious identification happens only to that part of a nation which becomes clear, which can be proven and in a certain way supported, which provides guidance through language, thought and action, and which is fairly well known.

These parts together with national pluralities of systems cannot be separated from the whole. Because of this, it is impossible to withdraw anything from this identification without splitting the totality. A nation cannot exist in parts any more than a person can exist in parts. Identification with the nation means that every new phenomena is involuntarily attracted to identification with the past or the future. The pride in national achievements, the pain of national shame is nothing other than revelations of this deep connection between the peculiarity and identification.

The integrity of material and ideal matters belongs to an integrity of the entire and the

partial, the general and the individual so typical of national identification. What is the integrity of material and ideal matters? No doubt, generally, capability or a national idea is an ideal thing. There is also no doubt that a nation exists-not only as an ideal thing but also as a physical body. "If a general thing bears a potential existence in an individual body, then it blends the general things of a nation with the individual ones in its individualism. Thus each one involved in this process is a personification." This also reveals not only identification with a nation as a general and integral thing but also that the totality appears and is materialized in each of its representatives. This can also be found in national personifications, in national symbols, etc. All this, on the one hand, is a material thing and on the other hand personifies the national spirit. In other words, the identification with the nation never reveals itself only through spiritual things but always with physical manifestations as well.

National identification also concerns each significant event in the national history. "Each approach to the preservation of ancient memorials, each preservation in a museum or an archive be it national documents, symbols, regalia, coat-of-arms, stamps, royal treasures, etc. testifies to the characteristics of sites important for a nation. **All these samples of old epochs partially buried long-ago under the ground again demonstrate the integrity of ideal and material things. As something material they bear an ideal meaning and they may comprise a whole spiritual world which may become a modern one.**"

Again parts represent the integrity. For instance, the autograph of one of Shevchenko's poems represents more than the author himself but we feel the whole poet. Thus, we have to lay a special emphasis that we deal with more than an ideal reminiscence. Another example can be drawn. Let's picture a state which quits subsidizing horsebreeding through expenditures as a "symbol of the past". This might mean that there will be no more preservation of memorials, national museums, libraries, archives. As a result, no government would be able to survive such a move. Why? Because both the material and physical reality of the ancient history would have been lost. Even when it comes to remaining fragments. These fragments, these remaining parts of ancient history, represent the unity of the nation. **Had the citizens of a state unanimously supported the decision of the government to remove the "witnesses of the past", it would have been the end to the nation. Actually, this cannot remove one's own history. But it is quite possible to lose subjective identification with it.** All these thoughts were created by a brooding which firmly ties material and ideal things, creating an inseparable totality.

These elements of the phenomenology of national awareness' as an internal identification with national characteristics should provide both a structural and categorial view of how people's actual behavior is affected by this, and what they think, what do they feel like, and what internal experience they gain in the process. This analyses of national identification joined with the analyses national peculiarity is a crucial prerequisite for a fundamental review of the national ideas in the whole. Thus it is a shame that present-day political philosophy has not yet managed to do so. Because the philosophy of the nation-state during the Romantic epoch contains so much material that it is relatively easy to scientifically research the national idea as it was once perfectly studied by Kurt Hübner...

München



Roland PIETSCH

The purpose of this work is to review the interpretation of the Myth of Narcissus conducted by the great Ukrainian philosopher Hryhoriy Skovoroda, in the context of myth research conducted during the time of the German Romantic period. Friedrich Creuzer's famous work in which he most deeply explained myths, "Symbols and Mythology of Ancient Nations, Featuring the Greeks", combined the interpretations of neo-Platonic philosophers with the philosophy of Marsilio Ficino. It is considered to be an extremely significant work on par with the works of Herres and Kann. Goethe, Hegel, Schelling, the Schlegel Brothers, Wilhelm von Humboldt and others, who gave due attention to this issue.

In the light of the deep understanding of the Narcissus Myth interpreted by Friedrich Creuzer, neo-Platonists and Marcilio Ficino, we will review how this myth was explained by Skovoroda. The Myth on Narcissus, for Skovoroda, is a parable from Egyptian theology which later became the origin of the Jewish one: "...The ancient parable from old-time Egyptian theology is the mother of the Hebrew myth." For philosophers and theologians of the Italian Renaissance period such notions as Egyptian theology and an old-time theology (theologia prisca) indicated eternal Divine Wisdom as the source of pre-revelation and pre-traditions. The knowledge inherited from the Divine source was determined by Italian philosopher and theologian Augustin Steuko (1497-1548) as the "eternal philosophy". In his work of the same name "On eternal philosophy" (De perenni philosophia), Steuko taught that there was an ancient philosopher, Hermes Trismegist, whose teaching bore an uncanny resemblance to the views of Moses himself and which was even clearer than Moses' teachings; that is, it greatly promoted understanding of Moses' theology. Even his 'Poimandri' reveals itself as bearing Moses' origins, along with Plato's 'Himeus'. In addition, Steuko compares Plato and Moses. And, although we won't find a chain of ancient names (names of mythical theologians like Trismegist, Orpheus, Aglaophem, Piphagor, Philolai) in Skovoroda's work, his reference to Egyptian theology very clearly and definitely indicates the place where the origin of the Myth on Narcissus is to be found.

According to Skovoroda, not only the parable on Narcissus reveals this origin, but also the character of Narcissus himself. Narcissus is striving to recognize his own self, with the purpose of achieving divine wisdom. The gaining of this wisdom is, in turn, connected with the love of wisdom, because: "Where wisdom strikes, there, love is extinguished."

And love is tied to beauty since: "The heart doesn't love without beauty in sight." The circle of this contemplation results in relations between love and wisdom: "Love is a daughter of Sophia".



V. DOZORETS. Portrait of H. SKOVORODA

Narcissus managed to find this divine wisdom on the path to self-knowledge and self-admiration, which is a way to overcome one's own 'I' and is at the same time transformative. Skovoroda depicts this through a magnificent picture of metamorphosis (the transformation of Narcissus from a crawling worm into a butterfly aloft in the air).

Skovoroda reveals the deep meaning of the myth in his work "Narcissus, a Discussion: Know Thyself." When the mythical Narcissus contemplates himself in a spring and realizes that he is he, for Skovoroda the water reflects not only the exclusive person of the mythical Narcissus. By his death due to self-love, Narcissus overcomes himself and thus approaches the Divine basis of his creation. In this work Skovoroda makes Narcissus tell the real reason for his self-love: "This is what I love: I love the beginning and the apex, the embryo and the prime, the eternal currents originating from my heart's breath. The sea is sewage. Rivers disappear. Currents dry out. Springs disappear. The source of the spring breathes eternally, bringing life and coolness. I love the source itself, and I vanish. All the rest for me is sewage, urine, depths, shadows, tails..." And, "Oh, peaceful heart! Pure abyss! Sacred source. I love only you. I vanish into you and I am transformed."

It is beyond the slightest doubt that through these words Skovoroda expressed a burning desire for unity with God. However, this unity comes about only if a man releases himself from all limitations and penetrates deep into his inner nature. On the path to self-knowledge, that is, on the way towards God, a person comprehends the opposition of the internal

Skovoroda's Myth of Narcissus in Light of the Romantic Concept of Myth Creation

and external - or the weed and the grain. In other words, he who wants to follow the path towards self-knowledge has no freedom to be a slave to the external world and has to tear the external cover off in order to reach the nucleus. Skovoroda strongly insists: "Chew it up, bite it up, mash it up, break it up and smash this idol; claw this lion, this devil, and find within an enigmatic poison and the sweet honey of eternity - the unknown and mysterious wisdom of God."

According to Skovoroda, it is necessary to distinguish two stages or steps in the breakthrough to the inner axis. Firstly, all outside barriers should be removed and ruined, and only after this can the sacred mystery be tasted. The difference between the weed and the grain - this knowledge is a gift from Heaven, a knowledge which comes when in state of enlightenment and in a state where light and expression are undifferentiated. Skovoroda writes, obviously, out of his own experience: "Now raise your eyes when they are shining with the spirit of truth, and take a look at it. Before, you could only see gloom. Now you can see the light. Now you have double vision: two waters, two lands. Now everything that lives inside you is divided in half. Who has created this division? God. He split everything in two in order that you wouldn't confuse darkness with light, and lies with truth. Since, until now, you could see nothing but lies, as if they were walls hiding the truth, for this He created a new heaven and a new land for you. He solely creates a marvellous truth. Once you saw God with a new and truthful eye, your whole self was completely in Him as if in the source of a spring - it is as if in a mirror you saw the thing that has always been in God, but you never saw it before. And, having your eyes opened, the oldest for you is the newest for you because you never had it in your heart before. And now all this seems to be newly-created because you had not seen it and only sensed it. Now you can see both - the old and the new, the obvious and the mysterious."

However, dualism cannot be divided visibly or invisibly as a simple opposition of the external and internal, of the grain and weed. On the contrary, it is believed that unity is the basis of dualism. In other words, hidden and visual do not oppose each other as independent parties, because the visual reveals the hidden.

Skovoroda's teaching on dualism in this sense is an interpretation of metaphysical teaching on sole reality, which reveals itself through different ways and at numerous levels. Pure reality itself - that is, God in his pure absolutism - does not reveal Himself since this would make Him no longer purely absolute. This pure reality can only be reviewed in a negative way, because it remains an inexpressible mystery of God. Divine activity which reveals itself in opposition to its inner inexpressible activity therefore lends

itself to the revelation that it differs within itself. Manifestation stipulates the presence difference between the thing that manifests and the thing being manifested. The manifested thing is always searching for a return to its primary source, that is, to the primordial unity of existence and, unquestionably, everything that exists is before the eyes of God - and there is nothing beyond that. Skovoroda expressed this metaphysical teaching through his prayer: "Pure, lasting, eternal God! Everything is like You and You are like everything, but nothing is You and You are nothing but You." God, in this pure and unconditional absoluteness, is free from any dualism, meaning He is free from any difference and is the goal and purpose of mysterious and metaphysical knowledge. With regard to this absolute goal and purpose of teaching on dualism, there is no other sense save one - to realize a real unity of divine reality by acknowledging the unity.

Cognition of dualism first of all concerns a human being. Thus, Skovoroda differentiates between the external body of a person and the internal, true person. The true person is not tied to physical body although he is hidden in it, and together with God he is the purpose of mysterious and metaphysical cognition of self-knowledge: "The work is twofold - to recognize oneself and to realize God, to recognize and understand the exact person...Therefore a true person and God are the same thing." Cognition of God and cognition of a real person is exercised as self-knowledge, which penetrates through the callous cover of the external, physical man to the deep hidden nucleus inside himself - right to the heart of man. The heart is an embodiment of the internal, true person since it is "root and self" and "each person is his heart." The reason behind such a rupture with the external covering of a person, his physical body, lies not in the external but in one's own heart, where God exists. In this sense one has to understand Skovoroda's above-mentioned notion that the real internal person is equal to God.

This equivalence of the internal man with God, Skovoroda explains by revealing the connections between the unfathomable depths of the heart and the Divine abyss. The heart is "an abyss of all the waters and wide-open spaces of the heavens!... How deep it is! You embrace and absorb everything but nothing can absorb you." Only God alone, due to His incomprehensible nature, can penetrate into this indefinitely deep human heart. In other words, only in this abyss can a man unite with God. An appeal which soars from the abyss of a human heart to the Divine abyss is in fact an appeal for the love of God found within oneself and an appeal for self-knowledge of God. An interpretation of this appeal and prayer from the depths of the heart for unification with an absolute God reveals an

innuendo in Skovoroda's spiritual method, and thanks to it a teaching on metaphysical self-knowledge may become true-to-life. This method lies in an appeal to divine names which bear all of the Divine reality. God's presence in the heart's depths, which can be neither recognized nor proven by the human mind (ratio), Skovoroda pictures as God's spark. Cognition of this spark and self-knowledge for him is the same thing, and for him there is nothing more important as "knowing oneself, finding one's own eternity, and digging it out as one would a spark from ashes."

However, the Divine spark can only light up a person from the bottom of his heart if he frees himself from his outward callousness and gets rid of his own will. Deliverance from one's own will and egotism - this is the death of an external man and this death is without question necessary because: "If a wheat grain decays in the field, when the external is dead - a new fruit is blossoming inside."

From the inside appears a new, true person free from any limitations of the physical person: "In height, in depth, in width, he flies without limitation. Neither mountains nor rivers, nor seas nor deserts, can hinder him. He can see into the distance, recognize the mysterious, peer into the past, and penetrate into the future..."

Metaphysical cognition of a divine person promotes the transformation of an old man into a new one, and he who has managed to comprehend a true person "has fallen in love and has become mutually beloved... And he who has comprehended the everlasting and true man will not die, and death has no power over him any more." A person who truly comprehends himself, "having melted from the flame of self-aggrandizement becomes transformed into a primary source. Alas! Alas! One becomes the thing one has fallen in love with. You can tell any person by his heart. Each person is in the place, there, where his heart is. Pure abyss! Holy Beginner of the Beginning! I love only you. I vanish inside you and I am transformed... On hearing this, hypocrites and the superstitious give way to temptation and condemn this. To become the beginning, the origin? How can this be? Don't complain! It is very easy for those who believe, and I can clarify the subject for you: those who recognized such beauty in their own selves." This beauty is an essential indication and contemplation of Divine Wisdom, and through its cognition each real philosophy comes true.

This brief review clears up all possible doubts around the fact that the independent philosophical interpretation of the Myth on Narcissus by Skovoroda is equal to the best interpretations of this myth in the whole of West European culture.

München



Oleksander
KONOVETS

Ph. Dr. of History

UKRAINIAN INTELLECT:

HOW TO PREVENT LOSSES?

As recently as five years ago we could think of the "brain drain" as a problem which only existed in other countries, in our foreign colleagues' scientific publications or in ironic and biting information from TASS, the former Soviet news agency, about, for example, the French or the Italian who worried because talented French and Italian scientists were leaving their native lands for prestigious research centers in North America. We consoled ourselves by saying: "With us this is impossible, the Ukrainian intellectual is a great patriot, moreover, one bound to a permanent place of residence, permanent job, permanent residence permit (the latter in fact had an obvious ideological and legal character - anyone who dared to go abroad risked becoming an enemy of the Soviet people and losing all support - material and moral)." Who could foresee then that soon Ukraine, this young country, would, so to speak, catch up to the developed West in terms of emigration figures. The facts show that today Ukraine is threatened with one more national problem, a scientific brain drain. Suffice it to say that more than 350 scientists from the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences went abroad to work for various periods in 1992, many of them forever. In 1993, 150 scientists failed to return to Ukraine from other countries. While in 1990-92, 60 scientists from the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences annually left the country permanently. In 1994, 86 scientists went abroad.

The social and economic situation in the country is worsening, unemployment is rising, and financing for science and research is dropping. All this works as a catalyst. In comparison with other professional groups, scientists' average salary is among the lowest. Thus, while in 1990 a scientist's salary exceeded the average salary in Ukraine by 20% and ranked second place in branches of the national economy, in 1993 it occupied fourteenth and was nearly 10% lower than the average salary. All this has a negative effect upon the development of science and technology, as more and more scientists leave the country in search of better living and working conditions. In 1990-1992, 150 Doctors and Candidates of Science (over 1% of all scientists) emigrated

from institutes of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, where three-fourths of all Ukrainian Doctors of Science and one-fourth of all Candidates of Science are concentrated. Physicists account for over 30% of all emigrant scientists, biologists 15%, economists 3.8%, computer programmers for 3.1%. Although, at first glance, the number of emigrants represents a small portion of all scientists in the Academy, the so-called group emigration of scientists from individual institutes results in significant losses to research collectives. For example, in the same period the Semiconductors Institute lost 16 researchers, the Physics and Technical Institute of Low Temperatures lost 12, the Institute of Experimental Pathology, Radio Biology and Oncology lost 11 scientists. Some departments cannot perform their functions properly because of group emigration. Certainly, elite scientists are leaving the country (for instance, in 1993, 68 Doctors of Science emigrated from Ukraine) and according to the data of the Ministry of Statistics of Ukraine more often they leave for such countries as Russia, the USA, Israel, and Germany.

This problem most seriously affects young scientists, who occupy minor, low-paid posts and have little hope of bettering their prospects. The number of specialists in all categories of science diminished over last five years in Ukraine by 13%, and the number of young researchers by 30%, and in some institutes by 60%.

The result of the youth brain drain is the rapid aging of the staff of research institutes along with deformation of their structure. It is obvious that Ukrainian scientific emigration will grow. Less and less money is being allotted to science here, its technological base is becoming morally and physically obsolete, and there are insufficient funds to renovate it. Is there a way out? What should be done? And is it worthwhile trying to do anything, if the whole process is, so to speak, out of control? One might say that there are two opinions on this: a strategy of noninterference and one of radical measures aimed at regulating the process. The latter requires detailed, thorough analysis. Recently the H.M. Dobrov Center for the Research of Scientific and Technical Potential

and the History of Science of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences completed a special study under the aegis of the international project, Brain Drain Problems in Europe, of the UNESCO Regional Bureau on Science and Technology.

"The project's aim," states B.A. Malytskyi, a Ph.D. in Economics and President of the Center, "is to objectively assess the scale of the intellectual migration of scientists from Ukraine, to summarize our experience and assess the situation in the Commonwealth of Independent States, and to inform the public and the governments of these countries which are members of the project concerning the urgency and scale of migration. Such long-scale, complex research enabled us to work out a strategy of behavior, a program of further measures, and to make recommendations concerning the regulation of intellectual migration. The issue is to give the process a civilized, organized, and mutually beneficial character and to guarantee conditions for the open activity of scientific organizations, groups and individual scientists in the world community. To achieve this we have to solve a number of important problems: the elaboration and the implementation of international agreements which would organize the process of the voluntary relocation of scientists, the development of such forms of international cooperation as fellowship abroad, contract work, assistance in completing this or that project, issues concerning research assignments to other countries, and so forth. It is important to create a legal foundation which would make it possible to safeguard scientific activity on the level of the developed countries. Important laws have been discussed in the Verkhovna Rada: 'On the Status of Scientific Workers and Organizations,' 'On Scientific and Technical Program,' 'About Patent and Licensing Activity,' etc. However, effective scientific research cannot be provided for without solving one of the basic problems concerning intellectual property.

"We have also carried out sociological studies on Ukrainian public opinion on the problem of scientific emigration," he said. "Over the last four years the attitude of people towards the brain drain problem has changed,"

(See p.44)



Ivan Ostafiychuk's World

Finding Ethnicity in Things Universal

The world of each man, let alone the world of an artist, is multidimensional, inimitable. And probably the best illustration of this world is inner contemplation. For example, Mykola Hohol, in many of his works and in particular in "Selections from letters...", tested societal thought of that time. His genius was frustrated that there was no adequate acceptance of his spiritual effort. He said: "Each accepts me, as he is himself." But very few accepted or comprehended the real Gogol not only in Russian, but also in his motherland of Ukraine. The artist is the only one who can tell truth about himself. Certainly, this conversation between Ivan Ostafiychuk and Oleksander Shokalo will help you understand Ostafiychuk.

Ivan Ostafiychuk: I would like to review my creativity from the angle of time, because each artist passes through different stages, different paths. Such are the pains of creativity. And as a rule he remains unsatisfied by his search. If we take a look back, I could divide my creative work into two periods. The first might be called an aesthetic period. What is implied here? My first quest was around Ukrainian subjects, Ukrainian existence. All this had a base, I would say one grounded in literature. Since I began with the artists of 60s (the Sixtiers) I include myself with them, and those ideas penetrated into my creative work. My first illustrations were for the poems of Vasyl Symonenko, and later various national topics, Hutsul legends, the topic of Oleksa Dovbush as a national hero — something we wanted to see at that time. Further on, those topics were connected to the trials which were under way in Ukraine. Each trial was met by a series of works. Such series as "Path" and "Dovbush". We know that Dovbush was quartered and hung at a crossroads in order to frighten the population. In my latest work Dovbush is hanging at the market where people are trading and buying. Life goes on. I felt that our life too, goes on, even though the situation we faced was very complex; we were lost and it was hard to find a way out. And, naturally, all these topics were in symbolic images, which encouraged and supported our intelligentsia. At that time the urban intelligentsia gathered at these exhibitions and here they made sense of the purpose of their existence — that it exists and secures the Ukrainian idea.

In the 80s the idea was born that times were changing, and it seemed to me that there were too few works devoted to such literary-aesthetic topics.

So a new work, a new period began. I call it an ethnic period, when I began to submerge deeper into the world of the human being. These were the same Ukrainian ideals, but their comprehension was on a different level. At the time I mostly painted. Naturally, the first period dealt with graphics and was finished in a series of monotypes which were lauded as the best. At an international exhibition in Brno I was given a gold medal for my monotypes. But this is interesting: certain artists believe this is enough. But I had to give everything up because I understood that I had to go deeper.

So, the second period began. I focused mostly on painting. Great discoveries have already been made in art, say Japanese



art, Persian art, in South Africa. I tried to utilize and to coalesce this world experience, and to extend it further. In a similar fashion I managed to penetrate deeper into our past, into Trypillian culture, which came down to us in what remained of symbols: on the pysanka (Ukrainian Easter eggs), pottery, embroidery. I realized that the early Ukrainian foreground of art was poorly studied, and that it is ground for an artist. Having no ethnic foreground within in ourselves, we throw ourselves into the world...

Oleksander Shokalo: I cannot tell the division between the ethnic and aesthetic in your works - the integral human being is combined in their unity. Your early works violate the canon, inherited perhaps from the past century, when the purpose of whole generations of poets and painters was to direct their forces in the search for a so-called positive ideal which would encourage people toward social activism. All hopes were placed on a personality which would lead the masses. In more recent centuries this is shown in many spheres of Ukrainian existence and is a consequence of a messianic ideology brought from the outside. This happens when a man relies on someone else's will, hoping that someone will come, awaken, and lead the masses. Your creative work is a way of searching for the spiritual principles of self-awareness, digging deeper into the soil of culture; that is, reaching for the very centre of the human being. On top of all that, the universality of the individual was the principle of our cultural tradition. Each human personality is unique. Each person is responsible for his life and soul, and his every action is on his conscience. And only through individual efforts can one emerge from difficult circumstances, from

Thistle. 1992.





Spring. 1985

foreign influences, and attain the creative freedom and the will to live.

I.O.: I quite agree with what you are saying. I could also say that the concept of my "I" includes: Truth, Will and Originality. Why do I speak of aesthetics when I speak of my first period? Because the topic of Ukraine was mostly portrayed in a more general, contemplative way. We have plenty of such works and Ukrainians very often rest their gaze on them, on these aesthetic works of self-love. My second period is also devoted to Ukrainian themes but this time I'm searching for deeper secrets. I have no idea what they are, since they are known only to our Creator. I portray this mystery on the canvas merely as a hint for the viewer. And what is important, when I work with colors, is the energy of color, the energy of lines, texture. And this energy is

A cross the village. 1985.



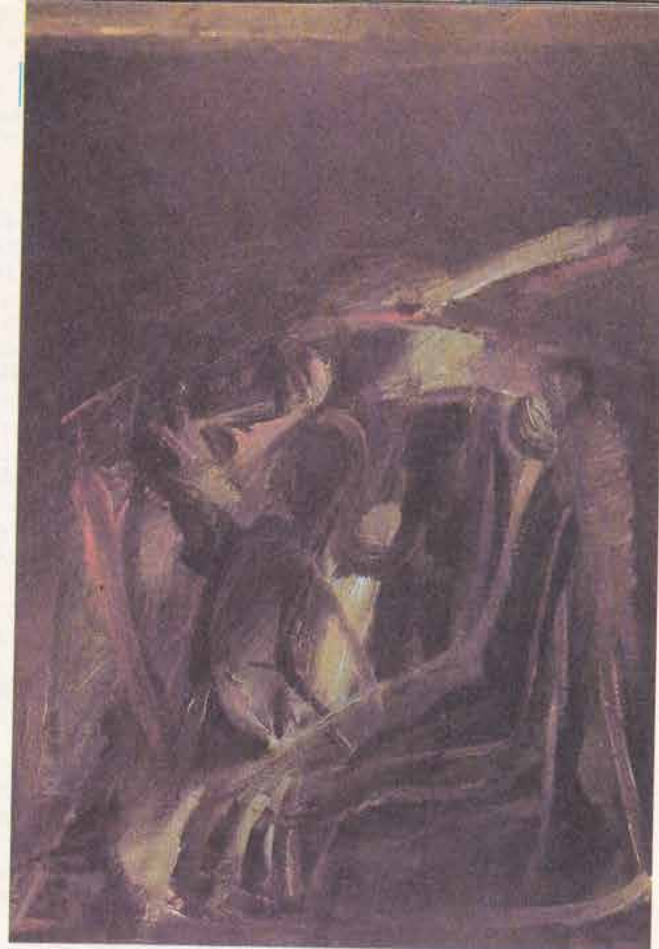
Summer. 1985

connected with the code of the mystery; it leads and encourages the viewer. And since my concept is based on ethics, I encourage a person to perform good deeds. If I portray evil, I also provide the outlet through which a person can escape from this evil. My mystery code has a sign of good and escape. A person can see the code, the mystery, and this awakens his understanding so that gradually he will decipher it. From day-to-day, the life of the painting is different, and its life continues along with the life of the person. Works of intellectual and aesthetic direction can, on the other hand, be viewed once or twice and that's all, the end. This is a fanciful way of thinking which has been in existence since the Renaissance period right through to the Classic period. These are generally-accepted canons. But our ancient artistic ways, which live in national art, are very deep symbols. They open up very large opportunities. This is what has remained in Chinese calligraphy - signs of love or tragedy. Those who created and painted them each and every time brought new reflection of this world. When I paint a portrait or a still-life or a landscape I want to portray the present day. It is also to show to those who will come by in a century's time and see the work, that at that time people lived this way. This is a reflection of the present day. I believe this should be the main direction.

O.S.: There is a universal canon for general perception. These are external, attributive elements of culture. It is sufficient here to draw simple lines and signs, so to speak: general ethnic symbolic features. But when we come to the depth of a man's psychology, the ethno-psychological code here is deciphered through colors. All deeply individual intonations in a language, painting and other arts have their own code, their own combination of modulations of voice and words, colors and lines. Your palette explains your unique feeling and understanding of time. As sunshine reflects, changes and plays through the dewdrop, so does the spiritual light of a human soul reveal the gist of a person. The Mystery of the Universal World is most vividly revealed through the uniqueness of a human being, through the code of a human soul...



Autumn. 1985.



Winter. 1985.

I.O.: Each nation, each ethnic territory has its unique color code. Dutch men, for example, are known for cold colors; Spaniards, for hot ones. So, our Ukrainian color code has its palette. I study this through the relics of traditional culture, trying to perceive our color and add to it everything I want to have portrayed. Such observations are exciting. When I had an exhibition in Kyiv two years ago, different artists visited it and expressed wonderment because this color attracted them for a long time. They came again to take a look. This is just what I call the energy of color. The color should be properly used and should fulfill its task.

O.S.: Subconscious action...

I.O.: Probably this is a subconscious thing but I'm well aware of what I'm doing. I learned it and I know it to a certain extent.

O.S.: For an artist this is natural because he discovers and implements his discovery consciously through the creative will. An ordinary person may not completely perceive this, but is influenced greatly.

I.O.: Certainly, it's all too much for words. I torture myself and work very hard to achieve the proper level of creation. This is the path of gathering tradition, extending the tradition which was interrupted here because the people's memory was being killed. And it is very hard for us to revive it. That's why we have to learn from these artists who have progressed in the world, and to create on our own grounds. I consider myself to be a follower of a tradition, and not a discoverer. Maybe someone can manage to discover. But I believe if someone follows his tradition on a certain level, this is good. The generations that come after, which will have a thread of connection with the tradition, will grow on this spiritual ground.

O.S.: Certainly a discovery is a relative thing. For you this is not a discovery since you perceive it in depths of your efforts. For certain people who do not do this work but who come to see it come to be aware of something — this is a discovery. To comprehend and apprehend the most deeply coded mystery, one has to make great spiritual efforts. Traditions are forgotten in a crowd and only individuals

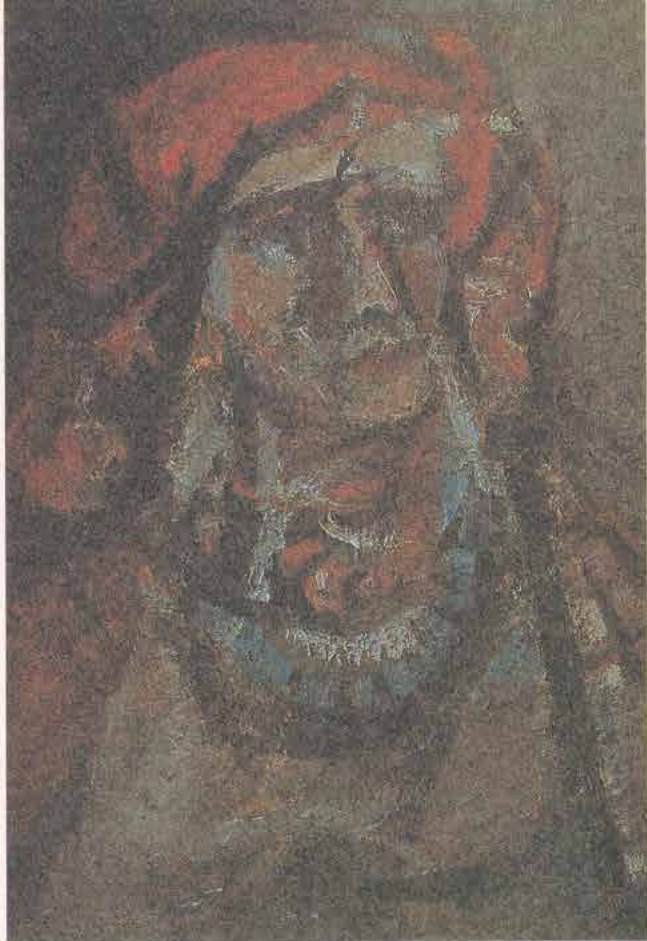
keep following this tradition. And when society internally needs to find and reach its primary basis, the society needs people to preserve the traditions, our primary knowledge. And this could be interpreted as a discovery, although everything is already discovered from the time the world was created. Everything has already been revealed long ago, but for the majority of people many things remain half-revealed. If we are to take a closer look at our traditional embroidery or pysanky, one notices that each region of Ukraine has its unique color code, and altogether this is a mighty code of psychological energy for all of Ukraine...

Your transition from graphics to painting — this is probably more than just a change of genre?

I.O.: This was happening gradually. I worked at painting all the time. In graphics I worked with color monotypes. Certainly, I couldn't transfer this aesthetic level into painting. But here the

Anxiety. 1989.





Hutsulka. 1985.



Hutsul. 1985.

crucial turning point was in a change of a world vision. So, everything depended on the formation of my world vision system.

O.S.: What's interesting is how do you accept your creative work over time: from the first works in graphics up to painted canvases? And how did the fact that you stayed in Ukraine, then went beyond its borders, then returned, influence your creative work?

I.O.: The entire way I've gone in my life was followed in a certain way: I kept improving my knowledge, studied philosophy, Lilies. 1992.



read literature. But the breaking point in my world vision came after I read Albert Schweitzer's book. He devoted his life to serving people and this had a great effect on me. All that was general and global took rest on my soul. But I could not get out of the specific circumstances of life which limited us at that time and which were pulling me down, as if a dumb-bell. It was clear to me: if we were truly free we would have achieved the standard of living which many people in the world already have. Since Ukraine had no conditions for this, I left Ukraine and kept pushing myself further. I went to libraries and spent time in museums, but I understood that this is not that vital. A lot of Ukrainians left for the U.S. and Canada but the majority of them never understood even the things which had already been discovered. I understood that first of all everything that a person has come to himself, he has achieved himself. Zen-Buddhists call it enlightenment, awakening, or the divine light. When the enlightenment comes, a person begins to understand much more, and at this level a person can study new things and add them to his store of knowledge.

O.S.: I often notice that quite a few people, including scholars, who left Ukraine over 50 years ago remained at the same level of understanding of our life which they had before they left. Because of the internal toil with his own roots, his own primary motives cannot be seen from the outside, and it produces grave consequences. Because no matter how a person begins to attach himself to other knowledge gained by other cultures, he has no life experience like the experience gained in his specific world, on his own land, with his people. Even if it is in such a society like ours. But the experience of a man who works with the spirit, should definitely be connected with his specific environment.

Quite probably, that is not what immediately becomes evident because all of that one could not declare openly to the world. But we know what is ours. And all this — in our potential, we have to embody it in life.

I.O.: Sure, what lies in people's souls should be awakened.

I believe and hope that our nation will be born again in time. Such rebirth began in the 20s. But those people had different morals, they were purer, and they still held the memories of our ancestors.

O.S.: Those people were striving for a spiritual life, for reconstruction of a new world, but quite a few of them were misled by a strange world vision. That social ideal appeared in people's conscience as a result of their inner mistrust under the influence of the external illusion of Messiah's ideology and the forgetfulness of their own spiritual tradition. The Messiah's ideology became especially rude and violent in this century. It focuses on conquering the whole world and transforming it into a global commune of slaves under the guidance of 'leaders'. And good efforts of people fooled by this were used to cause evil to others. Until now many people cannot tell the truth from fallacy. Volodymyr Vernadskyi wrote in his diary in 1918 that Ukraine had a historic chance of gaining freedom and consolidating it in the form of a state, but there were very few moral people and the majority of Ukrainians just talk but don't do anything. That was the fair judgement passed on that generation. And now in Ukraine one can find a similar societal incapability. There are loud yells, appeals, hopes and complaints saying that the nation has no leader. In a healthy society every conscious citizen is a leader and a judge of his life. And no leader, no Messiah, can help a person, can give to a person what he has to gain by his own will according to his needs. The internal impulse for conscious expression of the will here was given to a man by the ancient rites of our traditional religion of light. Today's art is left over from the elements of a primordial syncretism of a ritual culture which functioned in an integrity of the flexible, rhythmic, live and effective word. Let's take our traditional everyday life. It was filled with symbols which affected a man daily on a spiritual level. And how they were extinguished: garments, jewellery - all utensils. And when our people were collectivized by force they began to wear the gray uniform of prisoners - a jersey and tarpaulin boots. All this severely depresses the psyche of a person. Recently, people have started being more particular about the appearance of their offices and premises by bringing them to artistic order. And all this belongs to our traditional culture. And all this was more than just beautiful. It was to the highest degree expedient and beneficial, because it is based on polyfunctional principles and the interaction of spiritual and natural spheres of human life.

I.O.: I believe that currently the re-creation of cultural traditions is the key issue. Culture should have its own world vision which unites its people. It is vital to free ourselves from the mentality which has driven the people into a dead end. If a person becomes free and feels and realizes that he is a human being, he will also realize his fundamental idea. Such a view of the world should be the basis of everything. If we keep thinking that we'll change people through the economy, then this is a farce. We'll become as pragmatic as the people we see in civilized worlds, but in a worse way when combined with our present-day mentality.

O.S.: Yes, because the material sphere is a way for spiritual self-realization of a person. If we don't have pre-determined directions and high goals of spiritual development, then the method to achieve that very soon becomes the ends in ourselves. Let's reach a state of well-being, and stop there. This state of things is typical for civilized societies. Because civilization, in its direct meaning, is a sphere of methods and a level of know-how. And culture is the higher integral characteristic of people as a way of their self-realization. How do you evaluate those societies from your experience of living abroad? How do you understand the highest goals of art over here? How, for instance, was your art received abroad?

I.O.: Western art reflects western pragmatic life. This is a sign of civilization. Once Gandhi was reproached that he was using a type-setter as a tool of civilization. Mahatma replied: "I use this tool of civilization to fight against it all the more effectively, because I don't keep up using other methods." We have to act in this world in a similar fashion, fight against negative signs of the civilized world. Along with it we should use

good traditions which were preserved by our nation as well as by others. Then the people will become better.

How has my creative work been appreciated? I believe people receive it in the same way everywhere. There are different stages of preparation. For example, what I was doing here was not appreciated at all some time ago because people were not ready to do so. Abroad, where people are used to seeing various versions of an artist's quest, my creative work was met with acceptance. Now I can compare myself here and there. Why have I come back? Because I have an inner duty to my nation. When I know something, I want to work for it. Each nation works for itself: Frenchmen for Frenchmen, Germans for Germans. Thus Ukrainians have to work for Ukrainians. Although art is understandable for everybody when it has met its goal. In the west people are more practical because that is the practical world. With that material well-being their souls are growing stale because the soul becomes indifferent under conditions of richness. Our soul is still archaic and has preserved its goodness. It is sensitive because it has suffered, and for that it is better than the pragmatic and indifferent soul. For us it is very important to preserve that which is valuable in a soul - that which is easy to lose and hard to find. Our people have to understand that we have our own history, a great past, and only afterwards do we have to gradually, carefully become civilized.

O.S.: And then a civilized everyday life and advanced know-how will not define a man; everything that becomes part of a normal way of life if a person hasn't destroyed or lost his spirituality. All around a person should be worthy of his inner essence, and then no material benefits will harm him. If a person spends all his efforts to gain external things, this is a betrayal of the inner being.

I.O.: Unfortunately, civilization affects this state of things greatly. For instance, Frenchmen fight against Americanization in France. In this country it is very hard to fight against all that when people want to have those civilized benefits. In this matter, it is very important for a person to know how he should maintain his basic humanity. One has to remind himself of the following: "I'm a human. Within me I carry culture. I have to remain a human." And we all have to act on this totally.

O.S.: This is similar to bringing up a child. Everything begins with reminding. And only later does the goal in life become formulated.

I.O.: If we don't dedicate ourselves totally in this matter, we'll lose. What we have seen in the civilized world has terrible effects and disempowers people. And a

person becomes self-satisfied in this and transforms himself into a mere consumer of things.

O.S.: How do those conditions affect creative work?

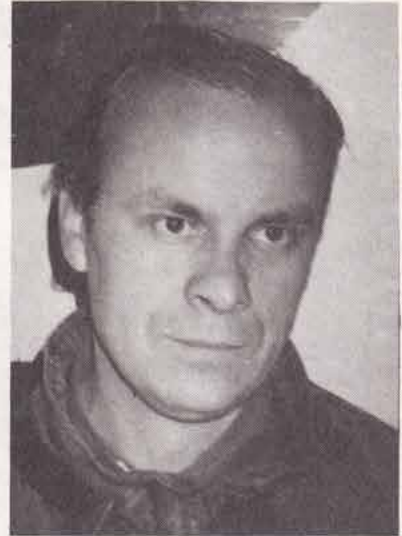
I.O.: I could say that under those conditions it was pretty hard. They persecuted at every step I took, amongst other things. I went to the west with a couple of trunks and then I had to make my way there. I had no money to so that I could work in peace, as for instance an American who has inherited a fortune or who has funding from the state. At the same time, across the ocean I could set myself free from that awful pressure which had enveloped me in Ukraine. It was easier to breathe and work over there. But now I have my own country and I have that freedom here and I am lucky enough that I am able to work. I believe the key condition is freedom.

It's good when a state is rich, but its riches first of all belong to its people, so for strangers it won't be a help at all. In our poor Ukraine we have to work first and foremost. This is what freedom is for, and this is the most important thing. This is how we will create our state.

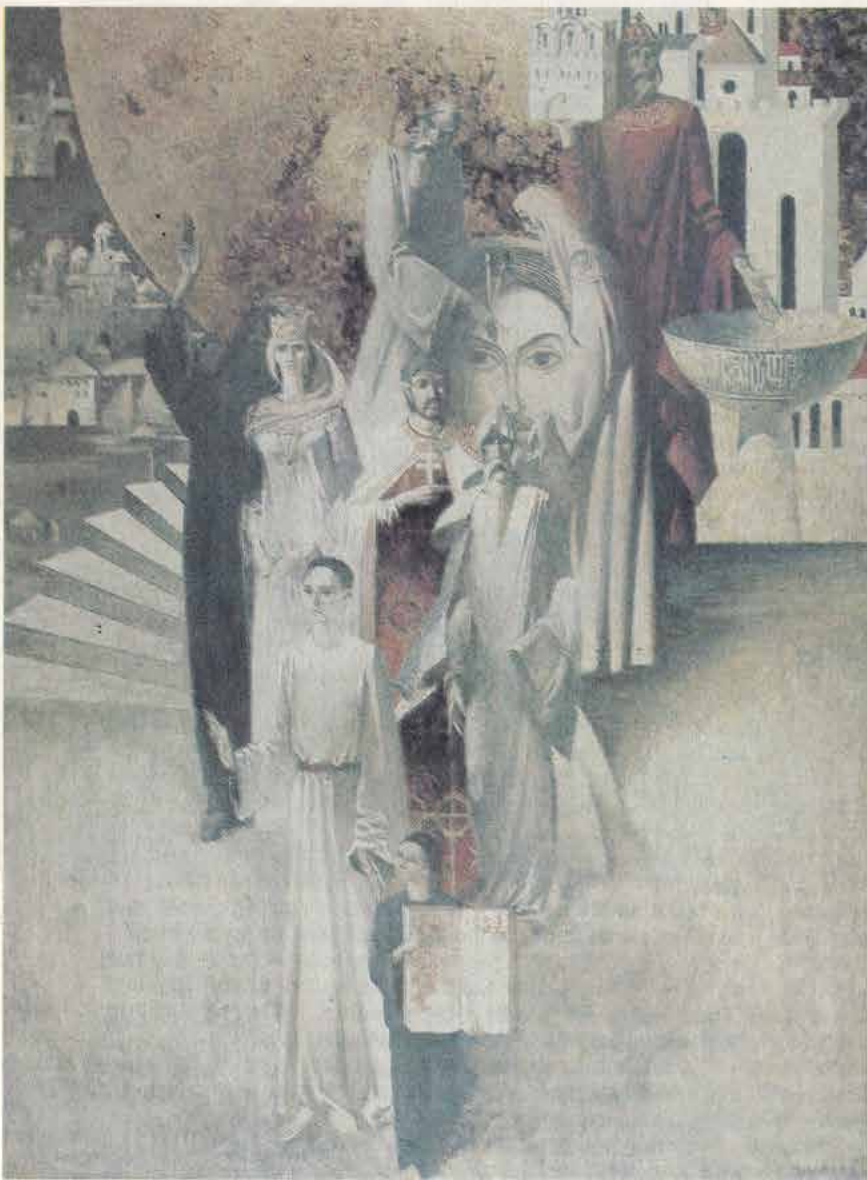
O.S.: Thus the creation of the world according to Ostafiychuk became more visual. This world is viewed as an organic part of the whole Ukrainian world, and thus close to its axis, to the spiritual flow of our tradition. Artists, being spiritual people, themselves create the eternally alive, palpitating axis of the ethos. Culture is not materialism, objects which we can mount at home on the walls or exhibit in museums. Culture is the highest state of human soul: the living, life-creating state of the nation. This is the very process of life itself: life in happiness and light.

Towards the Worlds:

Ivan PYLYPENKO —



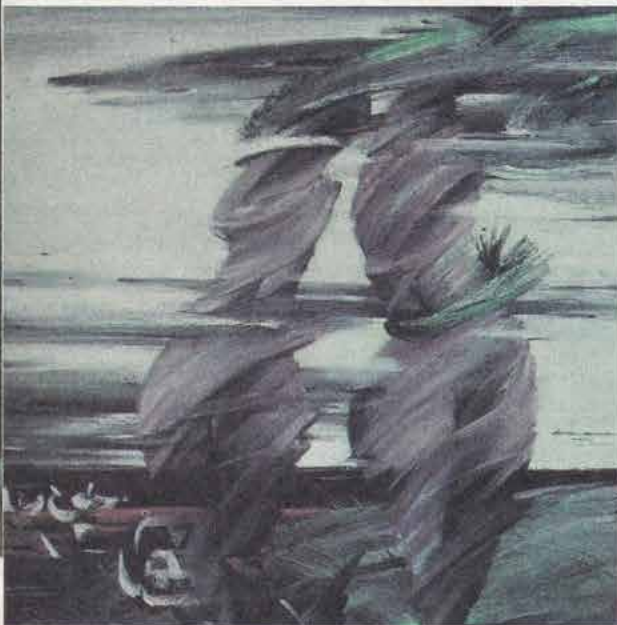
Ivan Pylypenko and Mykolay Kochubey are quite well-known in artistic circles in Ukraine and abroad. Nonetheless, I will take the liberty to introduce them once again — this time to the readers of "Ukrainian World". In appearance they are very different. Ivan is earnest, sagacious, and his movements are smooth and well coordinated. He talks about himself calmly, with words carefully weighed and guided by logic. Mykolay appears more relaxed and emotional; he smiles a lot, speaks animatedly and jokingly. These characteristics are apparent when you talk to them separately. When they are together, you notice the inner connectedness of these men who have been friends for many years. Through the mutual understanding and mutual respect of artists, you notice a similarity of creative paths, a unity of direction and purpose in the work, and realize that they belong to the same nation. The creative growth of painter Ivan Pylypenko and graphic



Educators. 1989.

Ritual of Perehenya. (A maiden clad in rags to frighten the public). 1985.

Three men. 1993.



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Origin of Parallel

"Outflow of energy from people and from the past is capable of creation of the spiritual state of the present day."

— Mykolay KOCHUBEY



Folk sources serial. Choomack's songs.
(Choomack — merchant usually an ox-driver). 1990.



Folk sources serial. Songs of spring and Easter spring songs. 1991.

Our song serial. Harvesters mowing the wheat with sickles on the hill. 1991.



artist Mykolay Kochubey began in the mid-70s when they started at the private school of Volodymyr Zaretskyi. According to Kochubey, Pylypenko was the first to arrive, and Kochubey followed. That's where they met and later became friends. Their lives were like a race. Kochubey was the first to enter the College of Industrial Arts, with Pylypenko joining him a year later. Things evened out when they entered the army in the same year. Pylypenko was the first to enter the Kyiv Institute of Arts and in 1988 he successfully graduated from Mykola Storozhenko's workshop of the monumental arts. In 1990 Kochubey graduated from the Andriy Chebykin and Mykola Kompansets workshop of stage painting.

After the institute, their paths separated for a certain time. While in 1992 Pylypenko was training in Great Britain in a Cheltenham art college, Kochubey was working hard at home and his works were being exhibited frequently. But fate brought them together again, this time in creative workshops to train assistants at Ukraine's Academy of

Arts. Kochubey was a trainee of Heorhiy Yakutovych and Pylypenko a trainee of Mykola Storozhenko. Thus, they were among the first in Ukraine to receive the title of Bachelor of Fine Arts.

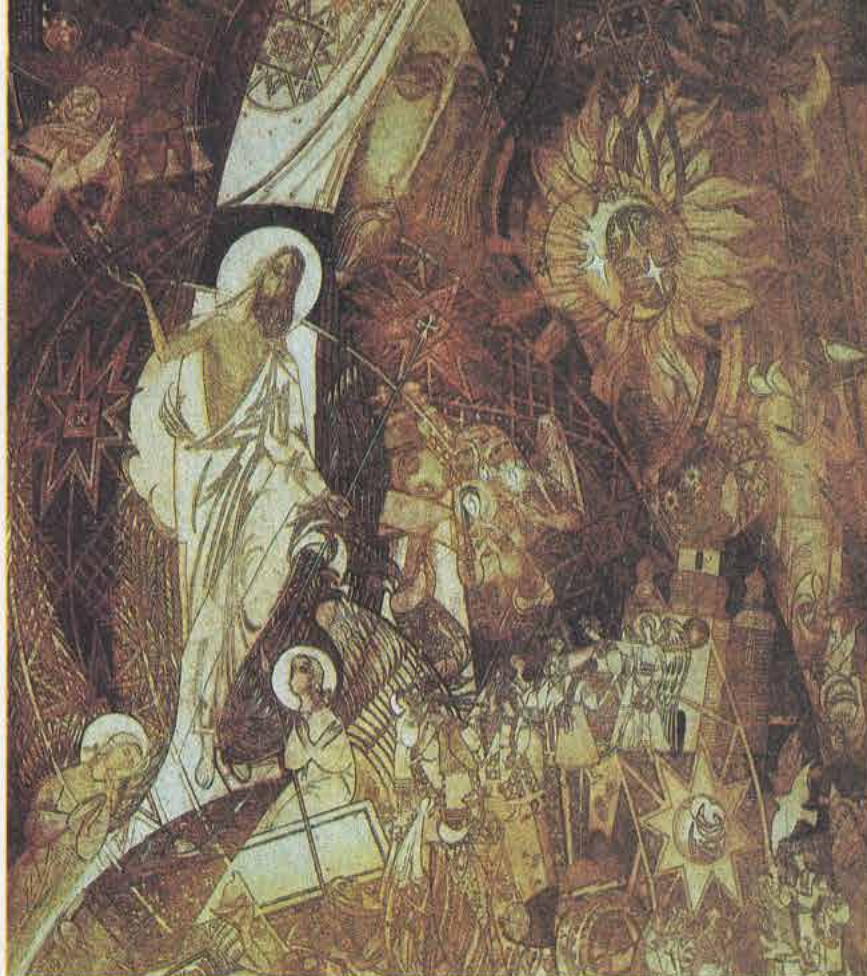
Now, I'll try to depict them as artists. From the very first viewing of Pylypenko's works one is shocked by their integrity. The artist easily reaches that balance of color and content which makes one feel an inner harmony. He creates the compositions of his works quite precisely from the architectural point of view, as if following logical calculations. But sometimes they are so emotional that you seem to share the feeling of the mood he had while creating his works of art. Pylypenko portrays the historical past of Ukraine, in particular the Scythian era ('Eternity', 'Beginning'), Bible stories ('Prophet', 'Four'), national themes ('Perehonya'), or he just ponders life ('Theatre', 'Destruction'). He never makes the plot of the work solid, concrete. Each piece for him is an exploration of eternity, the flow of time, the place of people in the Universe, the secret of development and rebirth of art through lines and colors. This secret lays in the fact that the moves forward are sometimes moves backwards to the past, to the source.

'Destruction' becomes 'Genesis'.

The world vision of Kochubey can be traced through the names of his works. The element of folklore is the basis of his creative work. Through his graphic serials he portrays rites and songs absorbed from his early childhood.

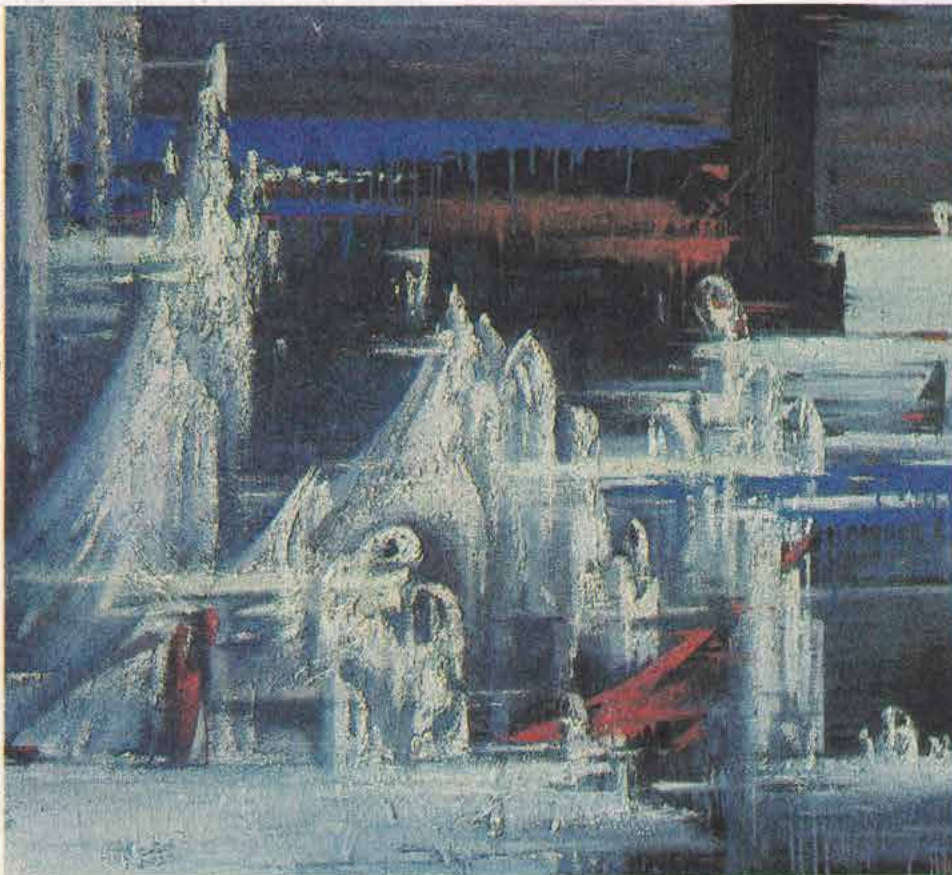
Using mainly the complicated technique of color etching, Kochubey skillfully operates the rich palette of hues, thus creating the feeling of a sheet with a glimmering surface. The image starts moving and becomes animated, as if enveloped by a slight gauze. The works of graphic serials like 'Native Sources' and 'Our Song' are so compositionally saturated with image and so masterfully composed that it seems that the artist coded the ringing echo of songs through his decorative pattern. One can hear songs, clear as a bell ('Vesnianka'), luminescent sorrow ('Wedding Songs'), the musing wisdom of ox-cart drivers ('Tchoomak Songs'), and dancing rhythms ('Hayivky'). The author adds to his works fragments of Ukrainian icon painting, folklore and so paintings and household implements to achieve the changeability of the pattern which, through suggestive clues, carries energy-laden information on the master himself and on the traditions of Ukrainian culture. Says Kochubey: "The flow of energy from the people and from the past can create today's spiritual state." The creative works of Ivan Pylypenko and Mykolay Kochubey are based on traditions of national culture. But each artist shows his spiritual attitude toward these traditions in his own way.

Maryna Lvova
Arts study expert



Folk sources serial. Koliadky (Christmas carol). 1990.

Time flow. 1994.



Halyna
OSTAPCHUK

VYACHESLAV LYPYNSKYI'S IDEA OF ACHIEVING STATEHOOD

Halyna Oleksandrivna Ostapchuk was born in the Rivne region. In 1989 she graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy at the Taras Shevchenko Kyiv University. She has worked as a teacher of philosophy, history and political sciences. Currently Halyna Ostapchuk is a post-graduate student at the department of History of Ukrainian Philosophy and Culture at Kyiv National University.

Vyacheslav Kazymyrovych Lypynskyi (1882-1931) was an outstanding Ukrainian writer, philosopher, historian and sociologist, an eminent politician and publicist, and a prominent public figure. However, until now his name and his rich academic heritage were not widely known. During Soviet times his views and convictions were hushed up, or anathematized as ideas proclaiming bourgeois nationalism. Now that our people are once again returning to recognizing national achievements, Lypynskyi's spiritual heritage is evoking a lively interest.

Vyacheslav Lypynskyi was born in the village of Zaturtsi in the Volyn province, to the family of a Polish landlord. He received his primary education at the Kyiv Classical Gymnasia, then studied at the Department of Philosophy at Krakow's Jagiellonian University. He then entered an institution of higher learning in Geneva, where he studied political science. In 1917 he was one of the organizers of the Ukrainian Democratic Party of Grain-Growers. During 1918-19, Lypynskyi served as ambassador of Hetman Skoropadskyi and the Ukrainian People's Republic (UPR) government in Vienna.

In June 1919, he emigrated to Austria. During 1926-27, Lypynskyi worked at the Ukrainian Research Institute in Berlin, where he headed the History of Ukrainian Statehood department. It was on his initiative that the Ukrainian Union of Grain-Growers, supporting the idea of statehood, was organized. Later on Lypynskyi was leader and ideologue of the monarchist and conservative camp, very popular among Ukrainian immigrants and popular in Western Ukraine. In 1930, as a consequence of ideological conflict with Hetman Skoropadskyi, Lypynskyi announced the dissolution of the union, and together with a group of supporters organized "The Ukrainian Classocrats and Monarchists Brotherhood." Lypynskyi was author of such works as: "From Ukrainian History", "Ukraine at the Turning-Point", "Letters to the Grain-Growers", "The Polish Gentry in Ukraine", and many others. He was among the first to substantiate the necessity of Ukrainian statehood. "We will not have the state built but we must build it ourselves! Neither will the nation be created for us, unless we ourselves want to become a nation." These words, once spoken by Lypynskyi, are still true today.

Unlike the narodnyk (populist) school representatives, Lypynskyi considered that a national state promotes the creative development of society. Thus he connected cultural, economic and political achievements to periods when Ukraine had its own statehood. It is important to point out that Lypynskyi's concepts concerning the political life of people and the state, his ideas of Ukrainian statehood, did not coincide with the prevailing



socialist and socio-revolutionary views most widely disseminated by our intelligentsia at that time.

Lypynskyi spoke for complete national liberation, and an independent and sovereign state. He explained that the inner struggle of the Ukrainian people can be successful only provided it is aimed at gaining liberty, and complete cultural and political independence.

It was quite natural that his political opponents called Lypynskyi "a conservative", "an aristocrat", and "a nationalist".

Reflecting upon the causes of defeat for Ukrainian statehood in 1917-20, Lypynskyi arrived at the conclusion that the struggle for Ukrainian independence was headed by representatives of Ukrainian democratic intelligentsia who not only did not believe in Ukrainian independence but who sometimes even held animosity towards the very idea of state independence.

"Without national idealism and passionate love for the whole nation, for its every class and social group, without ideological national feeling and idealistic enthusiasm for the image of complete liberty and national independence — which go hand-in-hand with the national revival of all the European peoples — the very notion of NATION loses its vital and creative contents. The only thing that is left then is form, an empty husk without the seed. The lofty national idea is whittled down, squeezed into the form of 'land socialization' and a solid Russian revolutionary front, into tight community with the Russian revolutionary democracy," Lypynskyi emphasized. He stated that society, in its historical development, is grounded in such basic concepts as tradition, aristocracy, nation, state and intelligentsia.

The president of the Lypynskyi East European Research Center in Philadelphia said: "Lypynskyi is one of the leading Ukrainian political theoreticians, sociologists and ideologues of the 20th century — and, probably, the most original one."

According to Lypynskyi, "tradition is a proper destiny, which obliges a person to work and create to strive and develop... Each of us should be aware of our place and role, determined for us by life... Everyone must fulfill his duty, following the dictates of the conscience." This means striving and creating while being guided by tradition.

Lypynskyi regards aristocracy as a "group of people, who happen to be the best at a certain period of history; who are the organizers, the leaders and the stewards of the nation." He

considers material strength, moral authority and a striving for power to be the features of national aristocracy.

Lypynskyi stated that the process of achieving statehood amounts to setting up a strong nation: state and nation come into existence when amidst a passive group of people there appears an active national aristocracy, leaders who lay the foundation of an independent state and form a nation. There cannot exist a nation which does not have its own state, and the word "state" is synonymous with the power of the "national aristocracy". Without it a strong nation is impossible.

Lypynskyi stated there does not exist such a notion as "nation in general" or "aristocracy in general" — there are only concrete, specific nations, aristocracies and traditions, which are being constantly modified, constantly changed and then developing again: "each nation has a tradition it worked out itself through history." According to Lypynskyi, national identity is not a certain psychological and "characteristic" code, but, rather, "a result of historical and social processes within a certain community — the resulting historical product."

Spiritual values are the essence of Lypynskyi's ideology. His deep conviction was that religion and faith shall save the people, especially if they have good intentions; that historical process as well as the whole social being, and the world in general, are structured in this way.

Lypynskyi's reflections upon Ukraine's past resulted from the political necessities of his time. The defeat of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-20, as well as unsuccessful attempts of the Ukrainians in the Dnipro and Dnister regions to restore their statehood after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires, made Lypynskyi and his supporters ponder the reasons why the struggle for liberation had been defeated? He tried to analyze why smaller groups of people like the Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians had managed to gain liberty and to establish their own states; why Czech Republic, Poland and Turkey had revived their statehoods, while the 40 million strong Ukrainian people had reduced themselves into a state of bondage worse than before.

Vyacheslav Lypynskyi's great achievement was that on the basis of facts, he developed a detailed analysis of the process of the formation of Ukrainian statehood. He had foreseen and criticized the Ukrainian Revolution, being convinced that it could only result in chaos. Lypynskyi worked out his own system, based upon the idea of gradual political and social development: through the state towards the nation. His idea of statehood formation continues to be vital, and urgent, today.



Yevhen NAKHLIK

VASYL PACHOVSKYI ON THE UNIVERSAL MISSION OF UKRAINIAN SPIRIT

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And all the peoples will go to a country,
where language is a song,
and thought is the Universe...

V. Pachovskyi, From collection
At the Mountains Junction.

Until recently Vasyi Pachovskyi (1878-1942) was almost unknown to Ukrainian readers. Literary historians had a general notion about him, mainly as about one of the members of "Young muse" — a modernistic literary group in Halychyna in the early twentieth century. Today, thanks to the efforts of Dnipro Publishers an anthology of West-Ukrainian poetry of the period of *Young muse* and the collected poetic works *Strewn Pearls*, his literary works are partially returned to the modern worshippers of image-bearing word. Partially, because these books showed to the wide circles of the readers only Pachovskyi the poet and first of all, lyric poet, the author of the collections *Strewn Pearls* (1901), *At the Mountains Junction* (1907), *My Thorny Fire to Lada and Marena...* (1913); reveal him to be an interesting innovator, beautifying Ukrainian love lyrics with erotic elements, aestheticizing the flesh, enriching our versification with florid strophes, whimsical rhythm, with melodies and experiments in the realm of verse's orchestration. (Yet Myron Stephyak, literary critic of the 1930s, rightly called Pachovskyi a great master of the rhythmic art and instrumentation, a precursor of Tychna's melodiousness).

But even today Pachovskyi is still little known as an epic poet, all the more so as a dramatist and prosaist. Only a few researchers from among amateur readers are familiar with his rich dramatic, epic-poetic heritage and attempts at prose.

They are, strictly speaking, those lucky enough to become acquainted with various works published during his lifetime (now rarities) of his tragedies "Dream of the Ukrainian Night" (1903), "Ruina's Sun" (1911), "Roman the Great" (1918); dramas "Sphinx of Europe" (1914), mystery-play "Hetman Mazepa" (1933), the mystical epic work "Golden Gates" (1937), "Holiday" (1902), the fantastic short story "Victim of One Thing" (1906); with his journal publications, as well as with his Collected Works published in 1984-1985, in Philadelphia, New-York and Toronto in two volumes, the first of which contain poetry, and the second, the epic poem "Golden Gates".

Vasyi Pachovskyi's drama and poems are almost unstudied and not valued thoroughly, though there were some positive comments about them. Thus, Stepan Charneckyi highly praised the tragedy "Ruina's Sun," staged in 1933, in Peremyshl'; and Vasyi Barka — the "monumental vision" of his "Golden Gates," putting it on the list of the most extraordinary works of Ukrainian literature in the twentieth century.² Meanwhile, Pachovskyi is worthy of recognition, to my mind, as one of the most interesting creators of the Ukrainian philosophic-historical tragedy and drama, written in verse, as well as of dramatic and epic poetry. As a dramatist and epic poet he was drawn towards a philosophic vision of historical processes and their interpretation in the light of artistic conditions. Some of his plays contain concrete-historical pictures of our national antiquity; in others as well as in his poems — a specific symbolic-metaphorical world, full of prophetic visions, is created on the basis of real historic events.

While in his lyric poetry Pachovskyi proved mainly a partisan of "pure art" (It is a thing, I do not insert any ideas there...) — we read in "Strewn Pearls", he described and understood our history in his dramatic and epic works from a statist point of view, guided by the ideal of independent Ukraine. In his youth Pachovskyi already distinguished himself by his deep national self-consciousness; feeling himself to be "a son of plundered nation," he was pained by displays of Russian, Polish, Austrian, or Hungarian chauvinism. In 1901 the poet was even expelled from L'viv University, according to Ivan Franko's explanation for "reading his poem, full of heated protest against the offended Rus' people at one heated meeting".³ During the Ukrainian revolution, in 1918-1919, Pachovskyi served as a chotar (platoon commander) in the Ukrainian Galician Army, and as military editor of *Striletts*.

Soon, in peculiar ideological-aesthetic manifesto "My Confession" the writer-patriot affirmed that Ukrainian literature, as the literature of an oppressed nation, first of all, must be nationally engaged: "...so far we are a stateless nation, our art will not be able to resolve the universal problems — it must solve the idea of our statehood under the slogan: building the temple of our state, for one great imperative governs all spheres of our life: either our own state, or death..." (*Bells*, L'viv, 1934).

In Pachovskyi's dramatic works and poems the author's image appears in the double role of aesthete and publicist, historian-creator, writer-ideologist; he cloaks original historiosophical ideas in distinctive image-bearing garb, makes history contemporary and dedicates himself to the active passionate quest for an answer to the questions, what caused the loss of the Ukrainian statehood during princely times, prevented its complete and permanent revival in the Cossack period and how might our people revive their independence under the conditions of the author's time.

Pachovskyi's publicistic and historical works were very popular at one time, and, unfortunately, unjustly forgotten today. The fact, that the author was a historian as well, informs the artistic and scientific-historical statements of the author of *Golden Gates*. The same year as his expulsion from L'viv University, where he studied medicine, he began to study history in Vienna, and successfully graduated from the University of Vienna in 1909, passing the exam of professorship.

His booklets, *Ukrainians as a Nation* (1907), *In Honor of Hetman Mazepa and the Battle of Poltava* (1907, 1909), *Hetman Petro Doroshenko. Fighter for an Integral, Free, Independent Ukraine* (1917), *Halychyna's Voice of Ukraine* (1919), *Kuban' and Ukraine* (1919), *World Mission of Ukraine* (1933), *Ivan Mazepa* (1937), the monograph *History of the Transcarpathia* (1921), *Silver Land. A Millennium of Carpathian Ukraine. Historical Essay with Maps* (1938) are Pachovskyi's main scientific and scientific-publicistic works. (Pachovskyi's attention to the Transcarpathian Ukraine is explained by the fact that he became Professor at the Uzhhorod gymnasium in the early twentieth century, he was a teacher there for nearly ten years; and, failing to obtain legal permission to live in Czechoslovakia, was forced to return to Halychyna, where he succeeded in getting a post in the Peremyshl' gymnasium.) The author used either scientific-historical, or historiosophical, or

publicistic (social-political) approaches, often combining them in one text.

Among Pachovskyi's historiosophical-publicistic works the greatest attention should be paid to the synopsis *Constructive Ideas of Statehood and the Cosmic Mission of the Ukrainian Nation*, delivered in Peremyshl' 60 years ago — on January 22, 1933, on the fifteenth anniversary of the Fourth Universal of the Ukrainian Central Rada and on the fourteenth anniversary of the reunification of West-Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR) and Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR). That same year the writer and his family moved to L'viv, where he died.

In this synopsis (the author himself thus called the genre of his speech, although it would be more precise to call it a treatise), the idea of independent Ukraine is illustrated not only from the socio-political perspective, but also from historiosophical, religio-philosophical, ethical and aesthetic points of view as well; the author interprets fate of the Ukrainian nation both in terms of urgent political tasks, and its cosmic existence and mission concerns the historical context of the Indo-European civilization. Subject-object succession "individuality (microcosm) — nation (society, state) — God (cosmos)" is a pivotal one in the synopsis; another succession corresponds to it, it means a kind of individual's activity, and with its help individual realizes his relation with mentioned subjects and spheres: "ethics — politics — religion."

In the sphere of interindividual relationships Pachovskyi, basing himself on the ethic ideas of Hryhoriy Skovoroda, Mykola Hohol, Panteleymon Kulish and Pamfil Yurkevych, stands in favor of so-called pluralistic ethics, determines everyone's right to his "own individual ethic way."

Concerning relationships between the individual and society (state), he arises highly — to counterbalance of "the Asian spirit of nomadic horde," "the Asian collective," on the one hand, and on the other, "Hellenic culture of individuality," setting the models of social behavior for most European peoples, including Ukrainians. Thus, he demonstrates the ultimate necessity to combine the idea of independent state with the idea of cult of individual freedom, considering such combination organic to the Ukrainian national character and our ancient national traditions.

In the sphere of international relations, Pachovskyi dreamt of "obtaining for his nation a separate place in the world by the grace of God and the people." The pages of his treatise are filled with the feeling of national dignity, highly developed with a heightened sensitivity in the author and, simultaneously, a deep respect for other nations. The formation of the Ukrainian independent state is, for Pachovskyi, a cherished dream, but not end in itself or absolute. "No nation," he noted reasonably, "can live only for itself; each has duties as regards the others, the general European system and the whole of Mankind." Precisely for this reason, the question of the all-human mission of the Ukrainian people and the world destiny of

the Ukrainian spirit is the main theme in his treatise. Ukrainians as a settled agricultural nation, that "became the best agricultural pioneer in the world" and preserved elements of "two worlds" — Europe and India in its worldview, is called, according to Pachovskyi, to create a "new higher culture, which will have cosmic importance".

The "Universal mission of the Ukrainian people" is to proclaim "liberation of all nations in the name of truth and freedom" "among injustices and material covetousness," to propagandize the idea of the "harmony of all the people of the world". Oppressed, but not subdued spiritually, this nation can save all mankind.

The treatise's author raises the "idea of inner harmony with God, interpreting it as the highest ideal of ethnic consciousness, above ideal of outer harmony (between people, "individual ethnic types," person and state, nations and peoples).

Pachovskyi's religious worldview formed in the early twentieth century, in the transitional period, when after an age of positivism which weakened or even destroyed religious feelings, a considerable part of the European intelligentsia started to search for the lost God. In studying the literature and art of various countries, Pachovskyi, according to his confessions in his *Autobiography*, felt clearer and clearer "the change of atmosphere in European civilization": the age of materialistic worldview, experimental science, technical inventions and mechanization of production were falling into decay, "wealth of newly-gained knowledges, blinding people, lost its magic," as "the relativity of modern civilization, which does not contain the final key to wisdom, had been already comprehended." Instead, yearning for religion, mysticism, idealistic philosophy arose in the human soul, freed from the grips of positivism. "The metaphysical need," he added, "which existed in the Middle Ages, awoke in Europe. Deeper minds looked from the land upward to the ultimate problems and mysteries, surrounding our life. Something like religiosity began to arise, it was a deeply informed search for God, far from confession, putting the question about the ultimate causes and aims of the world and life, not of the individual's life alone, but of social life as well. I experienced the turning point, firstly unconscious of my spirituality, and before me appeared the mystic enigma of the people, when the slander was thrown upon it, that if its country disappeared from the world, then the mankind would lose nothing, because this people has nothing of value. The drama, *Ruina's Sun* (1908-1909) was an effusion of this mood of spirit."⁴

A respectful attitude to the Ukrainian (and Slavonic) mythology of the pre-Christian times (his collection *My Thorny Fire to Lada and Marena* is full of its motifs and images) is characteristic of Pachovskyi's religio-philosophic ideas. I see expressed in his treatise the idea of "the cult of life-giving national religion on the base of cult of the Sun", i.e., cherishing ancient ritual holidays, where the people's eternal beliefs are reflected, is of great importance for

the rise of our nation, reconstruction of our state, and realization of the messianic mission of the Ukrainian spirit. While other peoples of Europe, Pachovskyi notes, have not preserved their ancient mytho-religious consciousness, outlawed it completely in favor of a new culture, built on the gains and ruins of Roman civilization; the Ukrainian people have retained through the centuries the archetypes of their ancestral world view in its national holidays, which have not only upheld their originality against the pressure of neighbors, but cultivated a unique aristocratism of the spirit, based on the ancient agricultural culture.

According to Pachovskyi, "the Christian cult" of the peasants of Ukraine is united with cult of the Sun." From the author's reflections we can conclude, it is necessary to preserve that national-ritual synthesis of both religions, and not to replace one by another. Mankind today in all spheres of development goes to the synthesis of its best gains, cultural values, traditions. That is why the harmonious co-existence in the worldview of modern Ukrainians of "Christ's temple" and "cult of the Sun-Dazhbog seems natural to me." In the Christian Bible we find both the Old and New Testaments, among which exist not only undoubted likeness and obvious continuity, but also visible contradictions (for example, Evangelic sermon of love one's neighbor and equality of all people before God, independently of their social status and nationality, is opposed to the Old Testament's "an eye for an eye" and Judaistic ethnocentrism, the idea of the "chosen people"). Why not, then, to combine the internationally oriented New Testament with the Sun-glorifying mytho-religion of our ancestors? Both these religions come, as is known, from one source — Vedism, common to all grain-growing (Indo-European) peoples — an eternal spiritual practice, fixed, in particular, in the ancient-Indian written literary monuments (Vedas).

Pachovskyi's treatise even now preserves its relevance, both in the sphere of statist thinking and historiosophy, and in the sphere of religio-philosophic and ethic consciousness. That is why we propose it to modern readers. The reprinting is devoted to the one hundred fiftieth anniversary of writer's birth.

Text published according to the edition: V. Pachovskyi, *Ukrainian world mission. — Peremyshl': Krasa i Sylva Publishing House, 1933. — N.2 16p.* This title is given on the first title-page of the booklet. There is another title before the beginning of its text (on p.3): "Constructive ideas of statehood and cosmic mission of Ukrainian Nation. (Report announced in Peremyshl', in *Moloda Ukraina* newsletter, Jan.22, 1933.)

¹ Степняк М. Поети "Молодої Музи". Червоний шлях. 1933. № 1, с. 182.

² Барка В. Лірик-мислитель (1878—1942). Пачовський В. Зібрані твори: у 2 т. Філадельфія — Нью-Йорк — Торонто, 1984, т.2, с.17.

³ Франко І.Я. Наша поезія в 1901 році. Зібрання творів: у 50 т. К., 1982, т.33, с.175.

Vasyl
PACHOVSKYI

CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS OF STATEHOOD AND THE COSMIC MISSION OF THE UKRAINIAN NATION (Extracts)

I. HISTORICAL IDEAS OF UKRAINE

The first great messianic idea of princely Ukraine — the **idea of Holy Rus'** from the Prince Volodymyr to Yuriy II — was stolen by Moscow and was victim of an outrage by the blood of Asian despotism.

The second messianic idea of Cossack Ukraine — the **idea of Knights of the Holy Cross** from Prince Baida Vyshevetskyi under the hetman's mace in the high style of the Ukrainian baroque — was victim of an outrage committed by history, thrown up by our northern neighbors.

The third messianic idea of the Ukrainian nation — the **idea of federation of the Slavs** in the form of a confederation of free peoples, the idea of the Cyril-Methodious Brotherhood, expressed in the *Book of Genesis of the Ukrainian People* also died, was dragged through the mud and paid no attention to by neighbors. Taras Shevchenko mourned its death with tears of blood and put forward the goal of a new Ukraine "without serf and without master" — and the other genius, Mykola Hohol, derided Peter The Great's Russia with the Russian language by ruinous laughter and, having taught the Russians to laugh at the state, he destroyed it for the resurrection of a free Ukraine...

II. CONSERVATIVE IDEAS OF UKRAINE

The great tragedy of the collapse of Ukraine gave us a solution to the problem of our nation — it had created the great **legend of the immortality of Ukraine**. The first figure in that legend is a representative of aristocratic conservatism in the person of the eternal knight, Prince **Mykhailyk**, who because of the treason of the Tatar people took the Golden Gates on his spear, like a sheaf of rye, and brought them to Tsarhorod. There he stands guard on bread and water for six hundred years by the Golden Gates, the symbol of Ukrainian statehood. They stand near Tsarhorod invisible to the Ukrainians and await the day when Prince Mykhailyk will bring them back to Kyiv and put them on the granite base of statehood, until which time Ukrainians will learn through a hell of misfortunes what a treasure is their own state — under the call of "State or death!"

The other figure of the great legend of the centuries is Ukrainian spirit revolutionary, embodied in the eternal **Mark Proklyatyi (Accursed)**, who in the name of the idea



of freedom, liberty, formed an idea of "rebellion for the sake of rebellion" always wanting to make good but always coming to a bad end, for he always wants to tear down rather than build up!

The **first idea**, — the conservative one of Prince Mykhailo, was taken from the ashes of the centuries in order to strengthen our nation, to build the Ukrainian state, is the idea of **land power** living in the soul of every Ukrainian.

The Ukrainian immigration of the nineteenth century searched all over the world for land like that of Ukraine, and our farmer who is known the best of all peoples on black soil, took the best land in the North Caucasus, Turkestan, Siberia, Canada, and has become the best agricultural pioneer in the world.

The **second conservative idea**, which we have taken from the ashes of the centuries for growth of our nation, for rebuilding the Ukrainian state, for the mission of the Ukrainian spirit, is the life-giving **national religious cult** modelled on that of the Sun...

*Yaroslavna cries aloud,
Glorious Osmomysl's daughter,
In Putyvl, among clouds.
Bright Sun, thrice bright to everyone
It brings warmth, beauty and income...*

Princess Yaroslavna, as a child of the people of Dazhboh's descendants, is praying not to the Christian god, brought from the Greeks in an incomprehensible lan-

guage, but to the Sun God, as her ancestors in Ukraine had done for two and a half millennia before Christ. After all, all old holidays of Kalyta, Kolyada, Shchedrivka, Kolodiy, Velykden (Easter), Ivan Kupala, all the holidays from Maccabeus to Philip, are celebrated with a special people's cult, for three and a half millennia of the Dazhboh sun cult lays at the basis of the Christian Saints. Easter eggs drawn in marks which are **symbols of the Sun God's movement**, that is, the broken cross (swastika), a troychok (trikveter) and star (roseta), which appear in the oldest cultural monuments of East and America, is proof of this. The Sun cult came to Ukraine in the late bronze age, and thanks to it Ukrainians as a settled people created the ritual songs for the Sun festivals with refrain "Dazh-Boh!"

Those ritual holidays seem to be gossips remnants for the intellectual who has strayed from the nation, has lost the national culture and respect to it, but for peasants all over Ukraine the Christian cult is united with the Sun cult. The whole culture came from the cult of the national festivals, cherished in Galicia by the married priesthood from Shashkevych to Mark Murava, a cult that united the intelligentsia with the people formed among the priestly families the elite of the rebirth of our nation in Galicia throughout the nineteenth century. The aristocratism of the spirit of our nation shows itself best of all in these festivals; that is why they belong to the artistic creation not only in poetry, but also in **painting**, as we can see in Trush's "Hahilky" or in the beautiful procession of Pymonenko's Sunday morning church service. This high elevation of the spirit is also seen in the architecture of our churches from the Zaporizhzhia church in Samara to the Volos Church or St. George's Cathedral in L'viv; it is immortalized as a symbol of the religious importance for the nation in the immortal paintings of Novakivskyi. After all, the cult of the national religion is one of the elements of the cosmic mission of the Ukrainian nation that has to join two quarrelling Christian churches, the eastern and the western, into a single shrine of Christian Eurasia.

Thanks to this religious cult our peasants have in themselves that **aristocratic spirit** based on the old culture which no other people in Europe possesses, which only Roman civilization has taken. Thanks to this aristocratism, our peasants do not

give way to alien culture over six centuries of statelessness; thanks to this aristocratic spirit our people swallowed up all the Scythians, Sarmatians, Pechenegs, Turks, Polovetsians, and Tatars, and even now is swallowing up the colonists who settled in our country, because in third generation their children already speak Ukrainian. This is why our people from time to time loses its upper intelligentsia stratum which tears itself away from the old national culture in favor of the ruling nation, but our nation has and is growing into a giant in days, in nights, in hours thanks to its religious, hallowed with the ritual festival.

The third conservative idea, which has been taken from the ashes of the centuries for the growth of our nation, for building our state, is the idea of capturing the Black Sea as a road to the ocean.

In princely times Ukrainian people reached Ros River, in the Cossack times the Samara River, and now Ukrainians possess the Black Sea littoral from the Caucasus to the Danube, because the nation with the insignia of the trident was fighting for the Black Sea through its thousand years of history.

The soul of the nation, cherished by creators of art, broke through to the sea. A painter Aivazovskyi depicted the sea in his wonderful pictures; sea was sung of after Shevchenko by all poets of "Young Ukraine": Lesya Ukrainka, Oles, Lepkyi, Pachovskyi and the Ukrainian flying Dutchman P. Karmanivskyi. The godfather of the Ukrainian pure art M. Voronyi made his psalm.

Although the Moscow dictators want to throw us back from the sea with alien colonization, the Ukrainian nation which has swallowed the Pechenegs, Polovetsians, Tatars, will also swallow this colonization and hang its trident on the Chatyrdah rock.

The fourth conservative idea that has been taken from the ashes of the centuries for the growth of the Ukrainian nation, for Ukrainian state, is the struggle between Europe and Asia, the struggle of the European spirit of our nation, settled since time immemorial, against the Asiatic spirit of the nomadic hordes for culture on the basis of individual development.

Here, between the Dnipro and Don, Rus-Ukraine laid down its life for its Hellenic culture of individuality against Asiatic collective hordes, and here it struggles with the nomad's Asia up to the present.

III. THE UKRAINIAN MISSION IN REBUILDING THE WORLD

The fifth idea — that is already the revolutionary idea of Mark Proklyaty, that was taken from the ashes of the centuries for the growth of the Ukrainian nation, for building the Ukrainian state, for the mission of the Ukrainian spirit in the external Universe, is the cult of the free will of each individual to comprehend the highest ideal of the ethical consciousness, the ideal of internal harmony.

The idea of the cult of freedom leads to a comprehension of the deep internal content of our culture within our state. Its aim is the development of Hellenic individualism for the display of the full value residing in the soul of every Ukrainian who feels himself to be a microcosmic creature, because everything in the whole world is hidden in the depths of his heart like an abyss. Here, based on Skovoroda's and Hohol's world view, is the recognition that every person has right to his own individual ethical path, called "pluralistic ethics," here the human task, according to Skovoroda, is to seek the truth and fight for it.

But the truth is incomprehensible, and all human happiness comes out of this endless search for the truth. Here the hallmark of the Ukrainians is tolerance for alien world views, even religious ones, because they reject the Muscovite view that eternal truth revealed by only one method all over the world. If Tolstoy's world view is fatalistic, according to which all displays of self-consciousness of the individual come to slavish obedience to unchangeable laws, then Skovoroda's world outlook is eudemonistic* and optimistic in that it recognizes human intellect and a free will, which is why the basis of Skovoroda's philosophy is a Greek motto: recognize yourself, because "to be happy means nothing other than to find yourself, to recognize yourself and to live accordingly." It must reign not by fighting among the individual ethical types, but peace, that is, by agreement and harmony, according to the Ukrainian's world view of peace among people, human peace (Skovoroda, Hohol, Yurkevych, Kulish). The ideal of internal harmony with God, "which is beauty" joins with the ideal of external harmony.

The highest ideal of today's new Europe, to which it wants to raise by the road of bringing up the full the value of the individuality in each generation, is the Ukrainian ideal of internal harmony as the highest ideal of ethical consciousness, already contained in Skovoroda's, Hohol's, and Yurkevych's ideal, and it is the ideal of the Ukrainian spirit up to the present.

The sixth idea is the second revolutionary idea of Mark Proklyaty, which has been taken from the ashes of the great war for the growth of the Ukrainian nation, for building of the Ukrainian state, for the mission of the Ukrainian spirit in the Universe, is the idea of truth and freedom, which is the messianic idea for all oppressed peoples of the world.

When Oles sings the anthem of Ukraine —
Live, Ukraine, live for beauty,

For strength, for truth, for freedom... — that is the modern anthem of "Young Ukraine" instead of the sentimental "Ukraine has not yet Perished." Beauty and strength is the appeal of Ukraine from time immemorial, proclaimed by Shevchenko on the basis of proverbial folk wisdom. Truth is justice; freedom is liberty. Thus, Ukraine puts forth beauty and

strength as a condition of a new cosmos — justice and freedom for all the nations of the world.

The seventh idea that rises up out of the conjunction of Mykhailyk's conservative idea with Mark Proklyaty's revolutionary idea, taken from the ashes of the centuries for growth of the Ukrainian nation, for mission of the Ukrainian spirit in the Universe, is the idea of the Ukrainian state, whose symbol is the Golden Gates of two worlds — East and West.

These Golden Gates from the great legend of the centuries still await the great transfer to Kyiv. For that great aim Prince Mykhailyk, the spirit of conservatism of our culture as the spirit of people's rationality, has to unite with the revolutionary Mark Proklyaty, as the spirit of common people will on the basis of its territorial system build the Ukrainian state.

And now the highest imperative of the Ukrainian nation is the state with its capital in Kyiv, in that Ukrainian Rome, where the Golden Gates of two worlds, East and West, have to be set, and where a new greater culture will grow up out of the aged culture of Europe and of depths of Asian India, it will have cosmic significance, because the Ukrainian nation has preserved elements of those two worlds in its world view and is still preserving them.

IV. SYNTHESIS AND TASKS OF THE GREAT WAVE

Gathering all these ideas, we, the creators of a clear art, have come to the following synthesis:

1/ The Ukrainian nation must guard the possession of the land which gives it strength;

2/ It must keep the tradition of the national religion which defends it from its neighbors;

3/ It must take the supreme power over the Black Sea and to gain access to the ocean;

4/ It must wage a life or death struggle for the sake of the Hellenic culture of Europe against the normadic collectivist civilization of Asia;

5/ It must reconcile the cult of freedom of the individual with the state idea to achieve the ancient aim of its culture, that is, the full-value of every personality;

6/ It must raise the motto of justice for all peoples of the world for harmony in the life of mankind in order to realize its cosmic mission in history;

7/ It must create the state that will be the Golden Gates between Asia and Europe, and the golden-domed shrine will shine on them like a phoenix of high culture in the new world of Eurasia.

*Eudemonism: an ethical principle which holds that the basis of morality is the human desire for happiness



Volodymyr KOSYK

THE INFLUENCE OF THE EVENTS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR UPON UKRAINIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Volodymyr Kosyk was born in the town of Drohobych, in Galicia. He studied and defended his thesis for the Doctor's degree of history in the Sorbonne University. Today he is Professor of the Independent Ukrainian University in Munich, teacher in the Paris University, Full Member of the scientific T.Shevchenko Society, head of the Union of Ukrainians in France. Author of recently reedited in Ukraine book "Ukraine and Germany in the second world war" (Paris, 1986).

Considering the need of research of the political ideas, French political scholars Marseil Preillot and George Lesquier affirm that the ideas are worth of research as motive elements of events, history, as ideas, which influence political institutions and political life. According to their essence they reproduce human ideas about politics, way of reaching the ultimate aim, and character of the political system. Thus, facts and events have indisputable influence upon the development of the political thought.

Before the second world war the Ukrainian political thought developed almost freely, although with many difficulties, only in the Western regions of Ukraine, in particular in Galicia, partly in the legal but controlled by censorship press, as well as in other editions, and, obviously, in the underground editions of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

Development of the Ukrainian political thought was conditioned by outer factors. Camp of the traditional political parties and camp of the nationalists recognized the same common ideal of an independent and united Ukrainian state, but were separated by the theoretical (ideological) and tactical method of approach to realization of the ultimate aim.

On the other hand, the Ukrainian ethnographic territory was divided among four neighbours of Ukraine. Thus, solution of the Ukrainian question in favor of the idea of independence of Ukraine was very complicated, because it broke sovereignty of four states, and ment destabilization of the Eastern-European region. It was quite naturally that this complicated situation forced Ukrainians to look for understanding and allies outside, or to try to normalize the relationship with the existing state, for example, with Poland.

It is the main reason why the Ukrainian political thought was little occupied with the projects of society and social system before the war. The traditional parties were on the poorly worked out positions in this question. Legal way of their activity kept them within the limits of existing laws, and, thus, led to a certain modus vivendi with the state with a hope for evolution of the situation to the better; while the nationalists, working out and highlighting the ideal of the nation and struggle for its independence by all means, considered that not breaking up of the forces but their consolidation, not inner struggle but struggle against outer enemies, orientation not toward alien but toward inner forces of the nation would help to take out "the Ukrainian political life from

the historical vicious circle." The Ukrainian nationalism dissociated itself from the existing political parties and did not accept any policy of servility in the question of the way and tactics of the struggle.

But the nationalism also did not have any theoretically worked out project of the political system in the future Ukrainian state. "To revive powerful, independent, united Ukrainian State and to accomplish the ideal of social justice, good and beauty in it - is the only one task worthy of revolution," wrote the organ of the Leadership of the Ukrainian Nationalists in 1918. One of that time famous authors Y.Onatskyi, who regarded national-socialism with criticism, spoke positively about the corporativism of the Italian fascist state of Mussolini. In 1935 M.Stsiborskyi spoke with the project of "natiocratic state," which would be headed by "the Head of the State" with authoritarian power, but who would not be a dictator. This author regarded national-socialism also with criticism.

Really the OUN's position concerning the political system in the Ukrainian state was neither worked out nor final. The decisions of the Great Meeting of the OUN in 1929 remained very important. It was said in them that in the day of revival of the independent state transitional period would come, during which a head of the state, "summoned by the representative body, would appoint the executive power, responsible before him and the highest legislative body," and "local self-government would be the basis of the administrative system of the Ukrainian State."¹

Situation was not better in the question concerning joining the allies to the Ukrainian affair. This problem did not practically exist in Ukraine before the war. Besides the efforts to keep the Polish government loyal to the Ukrainian affair, the circles of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) initiated abroad the League "Prometheus" of the enslaved by Moscow peoples (Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Caucasian peoples, Don, Kuban', Crimea, Ural and others), with its centers in Warsaw and Paris (1926-1940). After Hitler's accession to power the OUN, apart from attempts to adjoin some European governments, paid attention to the governmental circles of the Great Britain.

Some changes in the government of the Ukrainian political forces took place at the beginning of the second world war. National forces were liquidated in the Soviet Ukraine in the 30s, and did not exist before the war. In the Transcarpathian region, where Ukrainians obtained autonomy and proclaimed independence in the moment of disintegration of the Czecho-Slovak-Ukrainian state in March, 1939, the Ukrainian political forces were liquidated during the occupation of the Carpathian Ukraine by Hungary.

In September, 1939, after the German aggression against Poland, the Western territories of Ukraine were occupied by the Soviets. As a result, the Ukrainian legal political parties stopped to exist there. The German authorities strictly forbade any political activity on the occupied

territories. Thus, events of the 1939th led to full disappearance of the Ukrainian political forces, apart from one: only underground political party, the OUN, continued its activity, precisely because it was underground.

However it was the time when the OUN, enduring the crisis, split into two separate organizations: the OUN of Mel'nyk (Colonel Andriy Mel'nyk remained its leader) and the OUN of Bandera (headed by Stepan Bandera, who was elected the leader of the organization after creation of the Revolutionary Leadership in February, 1940).

Young and very enterprising members of the OUN of Bandera directed at once the Ukrainian political thought to new rails, and broadened the horizons of their activity and struggle. Already in December, 1940, they published the manifesto, where appealed to Ukrainians and other enslaved peoples of the USSR. In this document Ukrainians were given the leading role in the struggle for freedom in the following way: "We, Ukrainians, lift the flag of our struggle for freedom of man and the peoples... We fight for the liberation of the Ukrainian people and other peoples enslaved by Moscow... We bring safety to all peoples, which are under the threat of Moscow."²

That political program had also some issues which concerned the human rights: "We struggle for dignity and freedom of man, for the right to recognize sincerely his convictions, for the religious liberty, for full freedom of conscience." It was said also about the right to hold meetings, organize political parties, public and professional organizations, etc.³

In practice they started to organize forces of the other enslaved peoples against Moscow. The OUN began to publish a bulletin "Our Front" as an organ of "liberation organizations of the enslaved peoples." In the article "Our Tasks", put in the bulletin, it was said that "they had to take into consideration the possibility of involving Moscow in the war. Such a war would be an extremely useful factor in the revolutionary work. It was very likely, that the war would not finish soon."

In its political resolutions in April, 1941, hoping for war, the OUN emphasized that "it would continue by all means the revolutionary struggle for liberation of the Ukrainian people, not caring of all territorial-political changes on the territory of the Eastern Europe," thus, in the case of German occupation of Ukraine as well.

What concerns the outer world and determination of the possible allies of Ukraine, the resolutions said that the OUN considered the allies of Ukraine those state, political groups and forces of the other peoples, which "were interested in the disintegration of the USSR and in creation of the independent Ukrainian Sovereign State."

In May, 1941, the OUN foresaw specifically that it would "announce reconstruction of the Ukrainian State" on the liberated parts of the Ukrainian territory in the case of war with the USSR.

We should remark that at that time no another Ukrainian political force or group hadn't such a broad, precise plan and clear program of

uncompromise political and armed struggle for the Ukrainian state. Political ideas, expressed in the mentioned above documents, had undeniable influence upon the course of events in Ukraine.

Foreseeing the possibility of war between Germany and the USSR, some Ukrainian social and political circles in emigration tried to influence the policy of the German government, although in reality that policy was formed not by the government but only by Hitler himself. In the German archives there are three Ukrainian memoranda of that days, where the political ideas concerning the solution of the Ukrainian problem are stated: the first one from T.Omelchenko, Head of the Ukrainian National Association in Berlin from June, 3, 1941; the second from V.Kubiyovych, Head of the Ukrainian Central Committee in Krakow, from June, 11, the same years, signed also by T.Omelchenko; and the third one from the OUN of Bandera from June, 23 (i.e. June, 15, reedited June, 23).

The attention to the importance of the Ukrainian problem, that Ukrainians fought for national liberty and independent state, was paid in the memoranda. The hope was expressed that Germany would understand the Ukrainian aspirations and permit to take part in the struggle against the bolshevik Moscow.

However the memorandum of the OUN of Bandera differed from the two previous. It is obvious, that it also tried to persuade the German authorities in the necessity of creation of the Ukrainian independent state, but not like an ordinary ally, but as equal in rights and sovereign partner in the Eastern-European policy and in the war against the Soviet Russia. On the other hand, it warned the Germans that "if even during the entry of the German troops into Ukraine they would be greeted like liberators at first, this attitude of the population would be able to change soon, if Germany would not go to Ukraine with the purpose of revival of the Ukrainian state, with the corresponding to it slogans." It is said below that "the least violence in Ukraine would provoke opposite results."

Political ideas expressed in the memorandum touched a number of other problems. Its authors, for example, affirmed that "the European continent was enveloped by two imperialist concepts: German idea of Reich, directed to a new system in Europe, and Russian concept of imperialism, based on the world revolution." Only existence of strong Ukrainian independent state can cause any changes of the system in Europe and promote the healthy development of the Eastern-European region. Ukraine belongs to Europe from the economic and strategical standpoints. Military occupation of the Eastern Europe for the long time is impossible. In the economic meaning of the word the Ukrainian sovereign state must be completely independent and out of the control of Berlin. The Ukrainian independent armed forces will become a guarantor of the German-Ukrainian union. In conclusion the authors of the memorandum wrote that the Ukrainian problem could not be resolved after the model of Slovakia or Croatia. Ukraine must be completely independent.

We should confirm that all other letters and memoranda of the Ukrainian establishments or persons of that time and of the beginning of the war (letter of A.Mel'nyk to his collaborators, former fellow-soldiers from July, 6; letter of P.Skoropadskyi from July, 16; letter of the UNO from, 30; the joint letter of the metropolitan A.Sheptytskyi, V.Velychkobskyi, general M.Omelianovych-Pavlenko and A.Mel'nyk from January, 14, 1942; memorandum of M.Livitskyi from February, 6, and the others) did not go so far as documents of the OUN of Bandera. Those memoranda were limited with the proposal of common struggle against the bolshevism, with a remark, that Ukrainians wished to create the Ukrainian independent state.

Acting according to the previous decisions, one of the mobile groups of the OUN of Bandera organized in L'viv in June, 30, 1941 the declaration of the Ukrainian State. Caught by this unexpected for them fact, Germans arrested S.Bandera (July, 5), then Y.Stetsko, Head of the Ukrainian State Administration (July, 9), took them to Berlin, where tried unsuccessfully to force them to recall the act of declaration. Finally they were thrown to the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen.

The arrests of the members and partisans of this movement began. The OUN of Bandera itself went underground, so far as, according to the German secret account, it was the only one of all political parties in L'viv which refused to assure in its loyalty to the German occupation authorities before the messenger sergeant-major of the General Headquarters of Wehrmacht, capitain professor Hans Koch.

It was a period of work for strengthening the forces of the OUN and concrete preparation for the revolt against Germans. Receiving the information about this preparation, in November, 25, 1941, the German police authorities (Command of SD and Gestapo) issued a strictly secret order to arrest all active members of the "Bandera movement" and liquidate them as "thieves", because they "prepared the insurrection in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine for the purpose of creating the independent Ukraine."

Later the political thought of the Ukrainian underground developed according to the situation. Already in December, 1941, the leading circles worked out a thought that Germany would not win the war against the Great Britain and Soviet Russia, and that both belligerents would be so weakened with war on the territory of Ukraine, that would not be able to continue fighting, and the OUN of Bandera would take advantage of this to strike the final blow to the German army and create the independent Ukrainian state.

This idea can be found in the resolutions of the Conference of the OUN in April, 1942. The OUN hoped for the "defeat of Moscow, general exhaustion, inner and outer shock of Germany" and that is why energy of the people should not be poured into the "guerilla warfare, but had to take shape of the "wide national movement," which would lead to creation of the Ukrainian State. That is why it was important for Ukrainians to create and construct their own political and armed forces and to trouble about the creation of the "wide front of struggle of the enslaved peoples of the East and West of Europe. Idea of the common front of struggle of all peoples of Europe against the German rule, expressed in the document of the Conference of the OUN, could not be realized because of the existing difficult circumstances of occupation and war.

The mentioned above Conference drew up also the conceptual bases of the Ukrainian political thought: to the Moscow-bolshevik international concept of internationalism and German concept of so called "New Europe" they opposed the international concept of just national-political-economic reconstruction of Europe on the basis of free national states under the slogan "Freedom to peoples and man."

What concerned relations with the neighbours, the resolutions of the Conference said that the OUN fought the "political and cultural active" of the Russians and any Moscowphilism as an instrument of the Russian imperialism, and was for the "adjustment of the Polish-Ukrainian" relations on the basis of the independent states and recognition Ukrainians' right to the Western-Ukrainian territories.

Simultaneously the propaganda with leaflets among the population against departure at work to Germany, against military service in the German detachments and against the nation was led. It

was said that freedom and independence could not be given by the alien forces (Germany or Russia). One of the instructions told that "any cooperation with the invaders was considered treachery and would be punished with death."

The German and Soviet forces were considered invaders. Since the very beginning of the existence of armed detachments of self-defence (since April, 1941), and moreover after the joining those groups and creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (October, 1942) the problem of cleaning the forests and defence of the population from the Soviet partisans appeared; as the partisan groups were formed on the Ukrainian territory, and at the same time were coming from the North, from territories of Russia and Belarus'. In November, 1942, appeared one more leaflet, which was directed to the partisans and said that "the Hitlerite and Russian imperialism came up against each other that day, but they both fought for to destroy and enslave the people." The leaflet remembered that in 1939 both sides had signed the pact and helped each other in the struggle against the Western countries. That is why the task of the people is to struggle against both regimes, against Hitler and Stalin, for liberty and independence of the national states of the enslaved peoples.

In the call to the population in December, 1942 the Ukrainian movement assured on the contrary that the only way out for Ukrainians was the revolutionary struggle for independence and the main enemy, Russian imperialism, rendered lifeless, Germany exhausted itself, and the chances of Ukraine rose in the course of the war. The question of relations with Russia was touched upon in another leaflet of the OUN, where it was said that "the Moscow prison of nations fell down, and Stalin wanted to save it for nothing, promising the paradise. The best sons of Ukraine wrote on the walls of the Russian prison of nations the following sentence: "Liberty to Ukraine, death to Moscow! Ukraine and Moscow are separated for ever with the heaps of corpses and sea of blood."

The Ukrainian political ideas in 1943 reflected again the general situation. The liberation movement affirms that war on the East of Europe was fought "in the name of imperialist interests of the German national-socialism and Moscow bolshevism", and that "it was first of all a war because of Ukraine, interpreted by both imperialisms in their aggressive plans as a central problem of their imperialist policy on the East of Europe and as a casual basis for later fights." (From the resolution of the conference of the OUN of Bandera, February, 17-21, 1943).

Thus, Ukraine kept the key position in this struggle. For this simple reason existence of the "sovereign national states... of the enslaved peoples of the Eastern, Middle, Northern and Southern Europe and a long peace" were impossible without annihilating both imperialisms and creation of the Ukrainian independent state. The OUN of Bandera was ready to take an active part in every European coalition, "but only providing the recognition of our right to the state independence by other peoples."

What concerned the striving of Germany to join or force the enslaved peoples to fight with bolsheviks, the OUN of Bandera considered it "the perfidious manoeuvre of the invader and late attempt to avoid the results of made mistakes, and one of the ways to increase their military potential at the expense of the enslaved peoples."

In 1943 the political ideas were expressed not only at the narrow forums of the OUN of Bandera and in the leaflets, but in the underground press and magazines as well. The third extraordinary Large Meeting of the OUN, that took place from the 21st to 25th of August, 1943, that is, at the time when Germans already held the evacuation of the Eastern territories of Ukraine, besides

confirmation of the previous decisions, paid much attention to the social program.

The political declaration of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UIA) "What the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UIA) struggles for", spread in the form of leaflet and booklet, was composed on the basis of that program. It was said in it that the UIA fought against the imperialists and empires, against the USSR and German "New Europe", Russian communism-bolshevism and German national-socialism, for destruction of the collective farms, nationalization of large industry (small industry should be cooperative or public), right of the workers to take part in the management of factories, for eight-hour working day, free work, freedom of trade unions, complete equality of rights of women, the youth having free access to schools and free education, for liberty of the press, word, thought, faith and worldview, free recognition of cults, etc., and for the complete right of national minorities and equality of all citizens of Ukraine.³

What concerns the foreign policy, the OUN of Bandera was against "the rests of the white Russian imperialism", that is, for example, against Vlasov and the Union of the Russian Officers, which were considered to be the servitors of the alien imperialists, and strived for "the reconstruction of the reactionary landlord-capitalist system." These circles did not have any influence upon the Ukrainian people, but "pushed the Russian element to the bolshevism." The Polish leaders were interpreted in the document like capitalists, as they tried to direct the Polish population to the struggle against the Ukrainian people on their territories. Thus, the resolutions affirmed the aims of the OUN came out of the limits of Ukraine, connecting the Ukrainian struggle with the fight of the peoples of the East, Baltic and Balcan countries. "Our slogan of liberty to the peoples and man and right of each people to the independent national states"⁴ had to be popularized in those countries.

Foreseeing a new occupation of Ukraine by the Soviet Army, the resolutions of the OUN of Bandera said that Ukrainians would meet the occupation of the Ukrainian territory by the bolsheviks with "planned active struggle in all forms."

In the decisions of social character of this OUN there was a visible influence of the realization of the fact that the Soviet Army would soon occupy the Ukrainian territories. Hence appeared an anxiety to emphasize a sincere affection of the Ukrainian Liberation movement towards the principles of social justice, and striving not to keep away from the Soviet socio-political phraseology, to joint to the Ukrainian business those who hesitated between the Soviet concept of resolving the Ukrainian question and independent Ukrainian concept.

The extreme worsening of the Polish-Ukrainian relations on the Northern-Western territories of Ukraine and conflicts between the Poles and Ukrainians impelled the Leadership of the OUN of Bandera to change the attitude to them. In October, 1943, expressing thoughts of the Ukrainian side concerning that question, they emphasized that the existing tense situation became the result of the "extermination policy" of the Polish government as to the Ukrainian people, that caused chauvinistic mood among the Polish minority on the Ukrainian territory. During the German occupation, interpreting liberation movement of Ukrainians as a threat for creation of an independent Poland and belonging of the Western Ukrainian territories to the Polish state, some Polish circles promoted "spreading of Ukrainian-Polish hatred." Later in Volyn' region the Polish departments of the auxiliary police used a "methodical pogrom of the Ukrainian population." Well-known cruel events appeared on this basis.

Outer forces, Moscow and Berlin, took advantage of the situation. There were some elements among Poles and Ukrainians, who did harm to the interests of both peoples. The Leadership of the OUN of Bandera denounced "the acts of mutual mass assassinations," and called all Ukrainians "to be susceptible to the enemy inspirations and follow the resolution, that dictated the interests of the national-liberation movement of the Ukrainian people." At the same time they called the Polish population "to keep away from any kinds of actions against Ukrainians."

Germans used numerous "eastern battalions", which consisted of former prisoners of war of different nationalities of the Soviet Army, in the struggle against the UIA. That is why, the Headquarters of the UIA decided to appeal to them with leaflets not to fight against the Ukrainian liberation movement and go over to the UIA. There were so many deserters for a short period of time, that the Headquarters of the UIA had to create small national detachments in the UIA (Lithuanian, Georgian, Armenian, Uzbek, and Tatar; the first two consisted of several hundreds of soldiers). Thus, cooperation of different peoples in the struggle against the nazi Germany became real.

This fact, as well as later struggle against Germans and Soviet Russia, caused that the leaders of the UIA and OUN resolved to summon the First Conference of the enslaved peoples of the Eastern Europe and Asia. It took place on November 21-22, 1943, and representatives of thirteen Eastern-European and Asian peoples (Russian exclusive) took part in it. The Conference considered all further possibilities of struggle against the national-socialist and Russian-bolshevik imperialisms, for independent life of the peoples in their own states and creation of the common front of struggle.

It was emphasized in the resolutions of the Conference that both imperialisms, which clashed with each other in the imperialistic war for "ruling over the world, new division of the material values, acquisition of new sources of raw materials and commodity markets," denied the peoples' right for their independent political and cultural development in the independent national states. It was said about the need of national revolutions of the enslaved peoples so that to stop the war and gain independence. It is worthy to emphasize that the Conference welcomed "the heroic struggle of the peoples of the Western and Middle Europe against the German imperialism" and expressed them "its full political solidarity in this struggle," paying attention at the need of information among these peoples about the liberation movement of the peoples of the Eastern Europe and Asia."

In practice the mentioned plans could not be realized because of the quick march of the Soviet troops to the West. In April, 1944 the greater part of Ukraine, including Western-Ukrainian territories, was already occupied by the Soviet Army. The leaders of the OUN of Bandera and UIA, preparing for the long struggle under the Soviet occupation, decided to unite all Ukrainian political forces and create one political center of struggle. Preliminary negotiations with political persons were carried on since October, 1943. In June 11-15, 1944 a great meeting was summoned, where the Main Ukrainian Liberation Council (MULC) was formed, that became an underground government of Ukraine.

The political platform of the MULC was based on the previous ideal-political principles of the OUN of Bandera and UIA. It assured, for example, the national-democratic way of creation of the political system in the Ukrainian state, as well as liberty of thought, worldview, faith, fair social system "without class oppression," real legality (that is, legal state), equal rights for all national minorities, free initiative, socialization of main

natural resources (lands, forests, water, mineral resources), heavy industry and transport, cooperativization of light and food industry, free commerce and development of trade, etc.

The OUN of Bandera, UIA and MULC later refused to connect their struggle for a Ukrainian independent state with an idea of creation and actual organization of the German division "Galicia" and were against it.

In December 1944, when Germans tried to unite all nationalities around general Vlasov and when all Ukrainian territory was occupied by the Soviet Army, the liberation forces of Ukraine came out also against the German "act of Vlasov." Calling Vlasov an agent of "a new Russian imperialism," the circles of the Ukrainian liberation movement declared that the UIA would fight against the Russian troops of Vlasov if they would appear in Ukraine, as well as they fought against the Russian bolsheviks.

The Ukrainian political thought during the second world war had several main ideas that directed the Ukrainian political attitude of that time. Ukrainian Independent United State was the main ideal for all Ukrainian independent forces. Only nationalism, that, having received a broad encouragement from masses, turned to be stronger, than the enemies of Ukrainian independence, - Moscow and Berlin - expected, stood the test of struggle.

The idea of struggle against the main national enemy of Ukraine, bolshevik Russia, was united with the military and ideological struggle against Hitler's Germany already at the beginning of the German occupation. The Ukrainian liberation movement was ready to cooperate with other national political forces and state on the only condition: recognition of the right of Ukrainians to their independent state on their ethnographic territory.

The thought about exhaustion in the war of the belligerents, German Reich and Soviet Russia, their weakening to the extent that they would not be able to resist the revival of the independence of Ukraine, and about possibility of war between Moscow and the West came from the evaluation of the existing situation. Few people believed in a long alliance between cruel Stalin's dictatorship and Western democracies. For example, Commander-in-Chief of the Polish military forces, general K.Sosnakovskyi, although had more complete information in London than the leaders of the Ukrainian liberation movement, foresaw the following possibility in 1944: the war would exhaust all forces of Russia and Germany, but the English-American military potential would constantly grow; the alliance with the Soviets would not last for a long time and would end in a quarrel or military conflict between the allies.

The Ukrainian idea of common struggle of all peoples of the Eastern Europe and under-Soviet Asia and idea of solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of the Middle and Eastern Europe was very important. But military circumstances on the one hand and lack of interest of the West in the Ukrainian problems on the other hand made it impossible to spread a truthful information about Ukraine and prevented these ideas from understanding in the Western countries, in particular, in two main members of anti-Hitler's coalition - the USA and Great Britain.

¹ ОУН в світлі постанов Великих Зборів, Конференцій та інших документів з боротьби. 1919-1955 р. 1955т. с.6.

² Там же, с.21.

³ Там же, с. 22-23.

⁴ Там же, с. 62-63

⁵ Літопис Української Повстанської Армії, т.1, Торонто, с. 126-130.

⁶ ОУН в світлі..., с. 119-120.



Ivan HVAT'

"Ukraine and Germany"

In late 1994 the Ukrainian Free University (UFU), together with its Munich branch, re-edited a very useful book - especially to the German reader - titled "Ukraine and Germany: Nine Centuries of German-Ukrainian Relations".¹ It was written by famous Ukrainian historian, and political and social figure, Professor Dmytro Doroshenko (1882-1951).

One can unreservedly agree with the words of UFU Professor Myroslav Labunka. In his very precise introduction to this new edition, he writes that Doroshenko's book is one of those works that never grow old.

In the book, Doroshenko attempted to collect all available materials about the way Ukraine and Ukrainians were represented in ancient German chronicles over a period of a thousand years, as well as how they were represented in various works by German authors up until the late 1930s.

The author divided the book into 11 chapters.

In the first section Doroshenko writes about Ukraine in the Kyivan Rus' period, according to German chronicles. These are stories by Adam Bremenskyi, Brun of Querfurt, Titmar of Merseburg, Gerberstein, Lassoti, and so on.

The second section is dedicated to Cossack Ukraine of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as reflected in the German literature of that period.

German historiography grew more interested in Ukraine in the eighteenth century, which is described in the third and fourth sections of the book.

The nineteenth century (section 5) proved rich in its mentioning of Ukraine in German literature.

In chapters 6-8 of his work, Doroshenko closely describes the process of the growing interest in Ukraine and, namely, in the "Ukrainian question" on the part of both German historiography and public discussion. This is in connection with Ukrainian land (Halychyna) found within the borders of Austro-Hungary, especially in view of the events of World War I.

Questions of Ukrainian ethnography and folk art are dealt with in section 9, and Ukrainian literature in the works by German authors is described in section 10. The final section is "Ukraine in beautiful German writing".

According to the preface, Dmytro Doroshenko finished his book in May, 1941 in Prague. It was published in Leipzig the same year, under the title "Ukraine and the Reich".² And though the reader of the book will not find any hint of apology of the word "Reich", which Hitlerites started

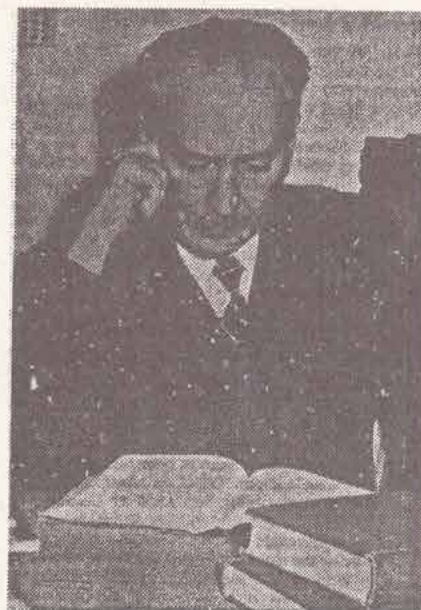
"creating" intensively in 1941, it is probably due to this title that the book was no longer mentioned in the works of other German authors who did, however sporadically, deal with the subject of German-Ukrainian relations.³ It is our opinion that the publishers of this new edition of Doroshenko's book should have at least substantiated the change in the book's title.

A considerable shortcoming of the new edition is the absence of great credit that should be given to the research and public activities of this outstanding man, Dmytro Doroshenko. Doroshenko was an UFU Professor from the time the university was established in Vienna in 1921, and was also Professor at the Karl University in Prague (1926-36), Professor of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin (1926-31), a Ph.D. in Church History of the Orthodox Theology Department of the Warsaw University (1936-39), etc. In addition, Doroshenko is the author of thousands of works in various areas of Ukrainian Studies, works published not only in Ukrainian but also in German, English, Czech, Swedish, Polish and Russian.

In connection with the increased interest of Germans and Europeans in the "phenomenon" of Ukraine during the last few years, it would have been worth adding a bibliography of recent German publications dedicated to the Ukrainian question. Such works do exist. Worth mentioning is the German edition of the "History of Ukraine" by Nataliya Polonska-Vasylenko (Munich, 1988); G. Hausmann (A. Kappeler (Hg). Ukraine: Gegenwart und Geschichte eines neuen Staats (Baden-Baden 1993); Frank Golczewski (Hg). Geschichte der Ukraine (Glottinger, 1993).

Certainly, providing information about Doroshenko and adding a bibliography would have increased the volume of "Ukraine and Germany". This would have, correspondingly, affected the price of the new edition. However, in our opinion, German readers would also have gotten a more detailed publication which would have assisted them greatly in treating the "phenomenon" of Ukraine with far less superstition than before. All this is due to the absence of publications about Ukraine and, more importantly, the absence of Ukraine as a sovereign state on the international scene.

The reprinting of the book "Ukraine and Germany" by Dmytro Doroshenko is surely a significant contribution by the associates of the Ukrainian Free University in München to the deepening of knowledge on the part of German-speaking readers



Dmytro Doroshenko

DMYTRO DOROSCHENKO

DIE UKRAINE und DEUTSCHLAND

Neun Jahrhunderte
Deutsch-Ukrainischer Beziehungen



1994

Ukrainische Freie Universität
München

about Ukraine. We hope it will make Germany look at Ukraine as it should be looked at, and not through "Polish" or "Russian" eyes.

¹ Die Ukraine und Deutschland. Neun Jahrhunderte Deutsch-Ukrainischer Beziehungen. München, 1994.

² Die Ukraine und das Reich. Leipzig, 1941.

³ One should also do justice to the author who, in his summation of the collected materials, confirmed in the afterword that the Germans over the past few centuries looked at Ukraine first "through the Polish prism" and then, after Ukraine became the prey of the Russian empire, "through the Russian prism".

München-Kyiv



Volodymyr
SERHIYCHUK

GERMANS IN UKRAINE

Soon deportation of the Germans from the frontier districts of that time Kyiv and Vinnytsya regions began. Their way laid to Kazakhstan. As a rule, Red Army men or proved in loyalty to the communist power were resettled on their places.

After that the repressions fell on the German national school. Thus, in May, 1936, Secretariate of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U considered the question about revision of the text-books published in German, and about teachers' staff of the German educational establishments. As a result, the following decision, signed by Postyshev, Kosior and Popov, was adopted: "After the disclosure of the German fascist organization it became clear fascist active participation in text-books' compiling for the German schools and technical secondary schools. To propose in connection with it to the Department of schools of CC CP(b)U —comrade Moyseyenko:

1. To choose a group of comrades to review all text-books published in German for secondary, technical and higher schools.

2. To organize a survey of all teaching staff of the German educational institutions to clean them from politically suspicious elements."

It gets worse and worse as it goes on. For example, already in January, 1937, the Germans were accused without grounds of wrecking in industry of the UkSSR. The Candidate-member of the Political Bureau Sarkisov announced on the plenary session of the Central Committee: "Great work has been carried out concerning discovering of German fascists; the Germans, got entangled with fascists, set their traps on large electric power stations... I believe that here we

must more courageously deport many Germans from the Donbass region. We don't need them. Our people can manage without them. It's a time! Now many time has passed as they live in Donbass! The Germans must be deported."

In August 1937, the Political Bureau of the CC of the CP(b)U adopted the resolution of the People's Commissars' Soviet of Ukraine about liquidation of the German department attached to Dnipropetrovsk theatre school and of the Bulgarian department attached to Odessa theatre school. And if together with it they adopted decision about admission of national contingents of the Moldovans and Bulgarians that passed on education course without special preference to Odessa theatre school; but on condition, that according to the curriculum they'd have special hours for studying their native (Bulgarian, Moldovan) languages; then it wasn't mentioned in the document about the preparing of the artists of the German youth.

At the same time the CC of the CP(b)U paid a special attention to Odessa pedagogical institute. On December 4, 1937, Yeryhymovych, director of this institute, and Grinstein, party organizer, were dismissed on representation of the Odessa regional committee of the party. It was put a task "to help to the party committee to choose the staff", especially of the professors-communists and of the Komsomol members, as well as to organize scientific-research work and to consolidate party massive work in the institute.

But already in 4 months, on the 10th of May, 1938, the Political Bureau of the CC of the CP(b)U with participation of a new leader of the

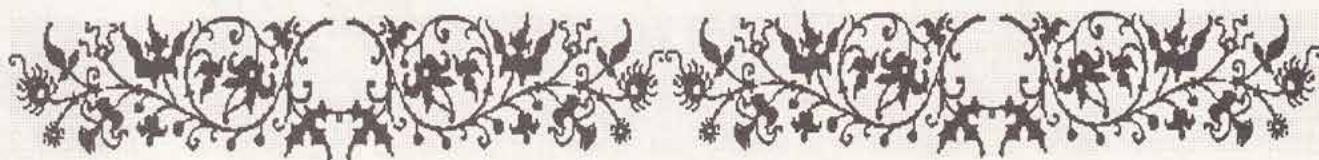
UkSSR Mykyta Hrushchov adopted a decision "About reorganization of national schools in Ukraine", where it was particularly emphasized that "people's enemies —partisans of Trotsky, Buharin and bourgeois nationalists,—being active in the PCE (the People's Commissariate of Education—V.S.) of the UkSSR, implanted national German and other schools, converted them into the hearthes of bourgeois-nationalistic influence upon children."

So, that is to say, "the practice of implementation of national schools caused an enormous harm to the business of correct studying and upbringing, guarded children from the soviet life, deprived them of the possibility to receive henceforth an education in the technical secondary schools, higher educational establishments".

It was a sentence for the German school, as well as for the whole educative system of national minorities, about what the further lines of this resolution, signed by Mykyta Hrushchov, deputy secretary of the CC of the CP(b)Uk, testified: "Proceeding from the decision of the VCP(b)Uk, Central Committee of the CP(b)Uk, the Political Bureau considered it inexpedient and harmful the further existence of special national schools, national departments and classes attached to ordinary soviet schools."

Thus, All German schools were liquidated; Odessa German pedagogical institute was reorganized into the institute of foreign languages. All this work had to be carried out under the personal control and rule of the first secretaries of the regional party committees.

For the development of this resolution the Soviet of People's Commissars of the UkSSR held a



corresponding reorganization in June 1938. Thus, there were closed 369 German primary schools, where 16 717 pupils studied, 146 incomplete secondary schools (3 752), 28 secondary schools (10 364); German-Ukrainian :77 primary (3 342), 32 complete secondary (3 752), 11 secondary (2 577); German-Russian: 6 primary (223), 5 incomplete secondary (412), 4 secondary (701); German-Ukrainian-Jewish: 3 primary (217), 1 incomplete secondary (247); German-Jewish:3 primary (149); German -Ukrainian-Russian:2 primary (88), 2 incomplete secondary (197), 2 secondary (575).

Besides of Odessa German pedagogical institute, Pryshybska German Veterinary school, Landau German agricultural school, German national department attached to Kirov agricultural school of mechanization, Molochanska German doctor's attendant-obstetric school, Horthytsya German pedagogical school — all these establishments were liquidated with transfer, as a rule, into the Russian language of teaching.

Reorganization of the German districts was the next stage of attack on the rights of national minorities.

In 1938 in Odessa region, for example, Peterstal, Josefstal, Mariental, Franzfeld, Klein-Liebental, Spartak, Alexanderhilf and Neuburg German village Soviets with 14 105 of population were transferred to newly-organized Ovidiopol'sky district, where the Ukrainian population already prevailed — 16 368 persons.

One more German village Soviet of the Spartakivsky district — Freidental (1689)—was transferred to the Biliayivsk region.

Karl-Liebkecht district was broken up the similar way. Karl-Liebkecht, Speer Waterloo, Karban, Katerynental, Karlsruhe and Johannenstal (totally 16 394 persons) were subordinated to the Veselynivsk district (the Ukrainians numbered there 12 000 persons, other nationalities — 305); Vormsk (1972) — to Berezivsk district of Odessa region; Zelz (1654), Helstadt (1315), Scheinfeld — to the Varvarivsk district of the Mykolaiv region.

Strasbourg, Baden, Zelz, Elsas and Kandel village Soviets (totally —12 830 persons) of Zelz district were

joined to Rozdilniansk district of the Odessa region (where Ukrainians also prevailed).

The similar way Fritz-Hekert district of the Mykolayiv region, Luxembourg, Molochansk and Rotfront districts of the Dnipropetrovsk region were liquidated.

After Molotov-Riebert pact and joining of the Western Ukraine, the German population of Galychyna and Volyn' regions was repatriated to Germany. The same lot fell upon the Germans of Bukovyna and Bessarabia regions in 1940.

Repressions against the Germans in Ukraine began with the Hitler's invasion as well as in 1917. The South Front HQ's fighting dispatch N28 named after Stalin and South-Western direction Commander-in-Chief Budionnyi gave rise to those repressions on the 3d of August, 1941. It was mentioned, in particular, in the document: "1. Fighting actions on the Dnipro river showed that the German population, shot from windows and gardens at our retreating troops.

It was ascertained that marching fascist-German troops were met with bread and salt in German villages on July, 1, 1941.

There is a great number of settlements with German population on the front's territory.

2. We ask to give instructions to the local organs about the immediate expulsion of suspicious elements."

Tiulenev, Zaporozhets, Romanov. On the form of this cipher telegram Stalin appended such instructions: "Comrade Beria. It's necessary to deport ignominiously. J.St."

And on August 31, 1941, a resolution of the Political Bureau "About Germans, living on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR" was adopted. The People's Commissariat of Domestic Affairs (PCDA) of the USSR was charged "1) to arrest the Germans, being on the books as antisoviet elements; 2) the People's Commissariat of Defence to mobilize the other part of able bodied male population, aged from 16 to 60, into construction battalions and to transfer to the PCDA for use in the Eastern regions of the USSR."

The Germans of Left Bank Ukraine and of Crimea were deported firstly to the Northern Caucasus, then to

Kazakhstan. It was not enough time to deport those living on Right Bank Ukraine and in the Western Black Sea region.

Part of these Germans were drawn in by the fascists for the auxiliary actions of occupation administration.

Retreating from Ukraine the Hitlerites took with them 350,000 Germans firstly to Poland and then to Germany.

It's necessary to say that Hitler planned to take 45,000 of the German colonists that lived through all Ukraine, and to settle round so called region of Hehewald, where his Headquarter's had been built near the town of Vinnytsia. With this purpose in December 1942, the population of 7 villages near the village of Kalynivka was deported to free places for the German colonists from the Volyn' region.

By the way, Hitler planned settling of the South Crimea by the Germans from Palestine.

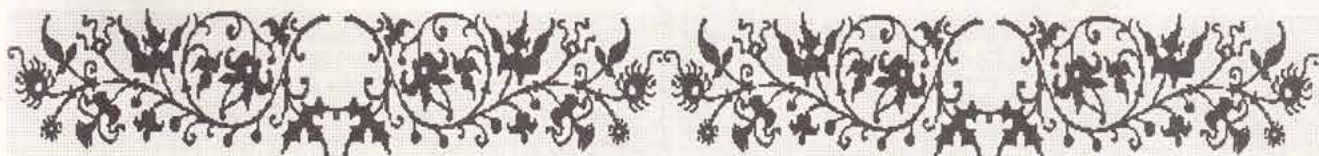
After 1945 the USSR achieved returning of 250 000 Ukrainian Germans, who were not returned to their settled places, but were readressed to the Komi autonomous republic and Middle Asia —to fell woods and to mine coal.

Thus, the German colony in Ukraine stopped to exist. Announced in December 13, 1955 amnesty didn't give a right to the Germans for returning back on their previous places of living.

That's why it's not strange that a dash was put in the column "Germans" of the census of population of Ukraine in 1959. And only in 1970, 28 871 of them already returned, in 1979 — 34 139, and in 1989 — 37 849. But all deported have right to return to their native lands. Only President of Ukraine has guaranteed them this right. And one would like that his words and deeds be never at variance.

Editor's note: Detailed review of the history of German ethnos settlement across Ukraine you may found in a recent book 'Germans in Ukraine' of the same author.

The end. See previous entries # 1-2, 3-12 '93; 1-2, 5-12 '94.



Mykhailo SKRYNNYK

Mykhailo Antonovych Skrynnik was born in the village of Vyazove, Konotop district, Sumy region. After graduating in 1973 from the Philosophy Department of Kyiv University he has worked as a teacher of philosophy in various institutions in L'viv. He holds a Candidate's degree in Philosophy and is the author of over thirty scholarly works. His scholarly interests encompass contemporary value orientations and Ukrainian studies.

Every culture can represent and confirm itself only through values. These contain accumulated social experience in the form of models and stereotypes of behavior and activity. Models of behavior and activity have also socio-psychical meaning and a sense that is expressed with concrete symbols. Undoubtedly, culture is not a fixed reality of these forms and senses, but primarily the result of their functioning, where the character of the relationships between a person and his surroundings is obvious. The individual gains strength through these relationships to some degree. This happens in the form of a search of a sense of one's self and in the creation of values in the form of structuralizing reality. Discovering one's senses of self and the accumulation of these senses constitute the sense of culture.

Models, accumulated in values and stereotypes of behavior and activity, have two strata. First, as acquisition of civilized culture, it is a source of reproduction and improvement of the instrumentality of human relations. It does not descend to the depths of the psyche, but is situated on the conscious level and constantly reproduces and increases itself through discursive thinking. The second represents deep socio-psychic models, called archetypal pre-forms

SOCIO-PSYCHIC ORIGINS OF THE ORIGINALITY OF CULTURE

by Carl Jung. According to psychoanalysis, these are prototypes of social ideals and historic ideas of a given people. These prototypes, created in the days of mythic-ethnic mentality, form an algorithm of perception of the world by a given people and the specificity of its senses of existence.

Peculiarities of culture, the determining motif of historic ideas — that is, its historic code of behavior, the character of the relationships between an individual and his environment in archaic times is connected with an image of the transcendent as the single basis of universe which governs human participation to a specific territory and community. The integration of people into the community occurs through this image. It acquires its specific form, for example: Family, God, Folk Spirit, etc., in each historic epoch in this or that group of peoples.

The specificity of the relationships between the individual and community depends on which dominant fills the sense of existence: whether it be the individual person, or group solidarity. They form completely different structures of reality and thus different type of culture and corresponding moral, aesthetic, and political values. Group solidarity foresees hierarchy and a leader. The Russian mentality and Russian idea can serve an example here. Today, yet again they have thrown into the political arena their historic idea of "collecting lands" and a "new" leader in Vladimir Zhyri- novskiy.

Ukrainian culture is not based on group consolidation, but on the individual, and this determines both priorities and the peculiarity of the Ukrainian idea's establishment and function. Thus, according to the evidence of Maurice of Byzantium (sixth century), the people living on the territory of Ukraine were characterized by the fact that "if they quar-

relled with each other, they would never make up." They do not come to a common decision because each of them has his own idea. The dominance of individualism as a universal national trait leads to competition among individuals and to the isolation of the individual's inner world, to a striving to find peace of the spirit in solitude, communing with nature, etc. Ukraine's traditional absence of strong centralized power is a result of the disunion of individuals in the community. Only the period of romanticism formulated a national idea clearly and simply. This idea is revealed as the individual's finding senses of existence by way of entering the transcendent, imagined as the folk spirit. The voice of real nature corresponds here to the spirit of the people, because they are essentially the same. Accentuating attention to the spirit of the nation opened to the pre-romanticists a unique phenomenon of the national culture and became the typical romantic outlook: "the peoples declare their right to spiritual development alongside other peoples before the whole world" (Panteleimon Kulish, *Collected Works in Two Volumes*, V.2, p.488). All strivings of the nation to defend its originality, and independence are interpreted by romanticism as a natural right corresponding to the essence and destination of the nation. Then history of the nation appears as the peoples' struggle to be themselves. Only a people which has preserved its spirit is capable of striving for freedom. Freedom means activity of the spirit, a form of existence of God and spirit. The national idea in Ukraine becomes a way to reconstruct community into state and a way to search for the sense of being by finding the historical mission of the nation in the various spheres of social life.

THE HUMAN BEING: EXISTENCE, TIME, FREEDOM

Volodymyr
SHYNKARUK

Any summary of the ideas of the outstanding modern Ukrainian philosopher Volodymyr Shynkaruk inevitably touches upon fundamental bases of the Ukrainian worldview. The integral faith-knowledge of our ancestors indicates that their life represented an indissoluble unity of the past, present, and future. Moreover, integral man, in the process of his self-realization as a spiritual-natural being, distinguishes between the soul's striving to live and organism's striving to be. A more detailed review of this issue may be gleaned from Pedagogical Anthropology by Kostyantyn Ushynskyi, the genius of Ukrainian Pedagogy (See #4-6 issues as of Ukrainian World 1995).

Editor

Volodymyr Ilarionovych Shynkaruk was born in the village of Haivoron, Kyiv region. After graduating from the Faculty of Philosophy of Taras Shevchenko Kyiv University he worked as a teacher, and was soon chair of this same faculty. From 1968 he has been Director of the Institute of Philosophy of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. Doctor of Philosophy, Professor, Academician of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, he is author of numerous works on history of philosophy, philosophic anthropology, theory of worldview, and ontology. Volodymyr Shynkaruk is an active public figure. In particular, he headed the Supreme Rada's Commission which worked out a draft Law on Languages in Ukraine.

1. Man's being, realized in the concepts "existence," "time," "freedom," has a meaning of human existence in general (species Homo Sapiens), the existence of a separate human individual, and the existence of "everyone of us."

2. Man's being is existence in the world from the very day of our birth, from the cradle and childhood. This world is not simply our surroundings, but is the world of our existence. For, the world of our childhood, the world of our youth and of our maturity are different worlds, just as our existence is different in childhood, youth, and maturity.

3. The world of man's being is not created by ourselves, because it is given to us as an outer, objective world. Fundamentally, it is a unity of natural and socio-cultural origins.

4. From the viewpoint of the traditional naturalistic-materialistic view, nature is determining in this unity, for the world itself is, finally, a natural, material world. It can be comprehended with the help of categories like "matter," "movement," "space," "time," "animate," and "inanimate" matter, consciousness as a "characteristic feature of highly organized matter," brain, etc. But these categories are inapplicable to the

world of human existence, when we mean the world of an individual's existence.

5. In the world of man's being that is not material-natural, but spiritual, socio-cultural bases are determining elements. It is the world of humanized nature, not simply transformed, but given to us in its human meanings. It is a mysterious world populated by language, knowledge, science, and the culture we have adopted in general. It opens itself up, appearing in and through these factors.

6. The world of man's being exists in space and time, the horizons of which are given by the culture we have adopted. This is a socio-cultural space-time.

7. Another determining peculiarity of man's being (together with its existence in the world) is its existential essence. The concept of existence, as an essential category of the human being, was introduced for the first time into the philosophy of existentialism, and worked out the most deeply from the methodological viewpoint by Karl Jaspers, Jean-Paul Sartre and others in the mid-twentieth century. Martin Heidegger was considered mistaken by this philosophical trend. Moreover, the latter dissociated himself from existentialism. Not existence, but being is a real central category of his "fundamental ontology." According to Heidegger, although being is Dasein ("precisely this being," "presence"), it is also simultaneously transcendent, determining a deeper essence. Heidegger's real achievement is his introduction of being as an attributive index of time (Heidegger's main work is Being and Time).

8. Time is really essential for the human being. Out of time there is no human being, only existing, as we determined it in the familiar philosophic categories of materialism: "matter," "movement," "space," "time," etc. Thinking about existence, precisely about human existence, we did not pay proper attention to the conclusion of the young Karl Marx that man, unlike the animals, dissociates himself from his vital functions and confronts the latter as an object of his consciousness and will. This alienation occurs precisely because our vital functions have their own real being only "just now" and "just here" where we are at the moment. But up to this moment we were "then and there," and yet we could think to be "sometime and somewhere."

9. Man by his essence is an active being, and self-activity is human existence proper. Our vital functions really exist only in the present. They already were in the past (that is why, they are already not existing), and they are not yet in the future (not existing yet). Thus, our vital functions can exist in the present, past, and future. They will pass, ceasing to exist (objectively and subjectively-spiritually) except as "traces" and "results."

10. Time of existence and time of being are different times. Our language reflects it perfectly:

it is quite natural to say "I was at the theater," or "I was at work," but the expressions, like "I existed in the theater," or "I existed at work," are completely unacceptable. Our existence, stretching into the past and future, really exists only "now" and "just here." We come from the past, having left "traces" of our activity, which became the past, and we enter the present, bringing our past as experience. The objects of experience are events in our life, connecting the times of our life with our existence in the world. The times of our life are very often only times of waiting. They slip out of our existence, which we do not carry as our experience from the present to the future. The future is not simply something not existing. It exists, has its existence in the present: in the "horizons" of the world of our existence, in the continuous projections of the existence into the future, in the experiences of the future as the present.

11. Such a phenomenon as an event is of exclusively great importance in the times of the human being. Event is a thing in the time-links of our life, which became an object of our experience. After all, our life is closer to experiencing than to living. If to have in mind the past, events will be the "link of times" in it; they have become stuck in our memory and are experienced in recollections as really existing events. Moreover, we also experience as really existing the events of the imaginary future.

12. In the dimension of time of our being, only the present is the real springboard of our existence. We consider the past from the position of present existence, and only in this case we see realized and lost opportunities, which could have, but did not happen, and what occurred, precluding what did not happen. From the perspective of the present and past we project our existence into the future, which appears in the form of various possibilities and impossibilities: the objects of our hopes, expectations, events, and dreams.

13. Existence means ourselves (you, we and I) in our being and unbeing in the past, in the present, and future, in all beings together, and in every being in particular, in transcendence into the eternal and timeless.

14. Insofar as man's being, according to its essence, is existence which continuously transcends itself into the really existing being, freedom is its essential feature. Already the fact that man dissociates himself from his vital functions and makes the latter an object of his consciousness means that man is existentially free. This freedom manifests itself in the distancing of real being (Dasein, according to Hegel) from what was, and transferring it into what should be, into desirable possibilities of the really existing being. Freedom of existence manifests itself and is realized in its transcendent phenomena.

Vyacheslav
SOLOVYOV

T I S - A Remedy for the Economy

Vyacheslav Pavlovich Solovyov was born in Russia's Orenburg region. He graduated from the Samara Polytechnic Institute and continued his graduate studies at the Institute of Cybernetics of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv. Solovyov is deputy director of the H. M. Dobrov Center for Research on Scientific and Technical Potential, and the History of Science section of the National Academy of Sciences. He is the author of nearly one hundred scientific publications on research process technology. Solovyov participated in writing the laws "On Scientific and Technical Information" and "On Scientific and Technical Expertise" adopted by the Ukrainian Parliament.

The economic welfare of each of us depends not only upon the direct efforts of an individual or the state, but to an even greater extent on the level of harmony between everything we do today and everything we learned yesterday. We may not be fully satisfied with our past achievements, but this does not mean that we should disregard everything created and achieved in the past. Most of all, if we care about our future, we have to evaluate the experience we have accumulated to date. The normal existence and development of any economic system is possible only if the functions of production, distribution, and consumption are in balance. This balance can be safeguarded only by adequate administration and availability of necessary resources. Economic resources are not only and not even primarily natural resources and land, but the whole complex of energy, intellect, and the raw materials of production.

In Ukraine it so happens that the main economic resource it has today and probably will have for many decades to come is our scientific and technical potential. This is comparable to the situation of such developed states as Germany and France. However, in the initial stage of economic reform in Ukraine, this transformation of science has been the most inert of any state in the CIS. This was largely due to attempts to preserve the traditional principles in the administration in science, preserve the former system of training highly qualified personnel, as well as to maintain the very structure of financing research and design developments.

Ukrainian science seems to have fallen into a coma, so that both its output ("external" work) and input of financial and material resources have been reduced to the minimum. If one might use a metaphor from biology, we can say that under such circumstances the "collapse" of science was minimized but inevitable. This comatose state resulted in a near-halving in the number of scientists and deepened decentralization in the administration of science, but has simultaneously helped promote awareness of the existing opportunities for Ukraine's integration into the world system of production and distribution of intellectual property.

Today we are witnessing an awakening of science, not only because the further gradual extinction of intellectual potential can be dangerous in itself, but because the decline of science can render the tasks of reform and escape from the current crisis impossible. A primary reason for the upsurge in interest in science is precisely the lack

of political possibilities to reform Ukraine's economy and lead it out of its worsening crisis. The state is unable to give science any direct financial support. Still, it becomes clear that without using high technology and without providing the production sphere with qualified specialists, it is impossible to solve any serious problem either in the area of economy and production, or in the social sphere. Especially when the issue is one of international cooperation.

One might say: "Long live science, the universal remedy for the economy." Though if we accepted this thesis, we would face the question: "Who should play doctor, write the prescription, and dose out the medicine? The President? The Cabinet of Ministers? Parliament? Foreign advisers?" In reality, the most effective cure is "self-help therapy." For the fact is that the a state and its economy are specific entities, existing not because someone would have it be so, but because that's the way of the world.

The successful use of scientific advancements, getting the best possible return from scientific and technological potential under economic reform, directly depends upon how we understand the natural place of intellectual resources and their role in the entire structure of energy, informational, social, and material factors of social development. Still, this process of understanding requires a certain amount of time and practical experience. This is why it has become rather important today to study the possibilities of effectively using our scientific and technical potential in various local situations and under different experimental conditions.

Overcoming the economic crisis can be compared to recovery from an illness. Of course, we cannot expect a perfect analogy between economic and biological processes. But some common general principles in maintaining the viability of both types of organisms are obvious.

We must emphasize that in medicine it is difficult to obtain therapeutic results only locally. Medicines are usually sent to work on not only a diseased organ, but on the whole organism. However, in medicine they generally do not pay specific attention to this common practice. But in economics the lack of external "therapeutic" resources makes one ponder possible ways to localize "hygienic measures."

The most primitive way of economizing on "therapeutic resources" is so-called "shock therapy." In medicine this method amounts to knocking the organism out, thus making it "half-dead" in order for it to consume less expensive medicines. Those parts of the organism which are to be treated are locally stimulated in order to increase their sensitivity.

In the economy, however, the most effective and most humane method is one creating the necessary economic conditions on a specific, localized territory. One should not "stun" the whole economy. Some economically healthy zones can be found even in a crisis, however deep it may be. The main task is to concentrate all possible resources and efforts within a small territory, thereby creating conditions favoring the spread of the "health virus." And more. We have to select the right

territory to "treat." In the foreign economy, which has richer experience in economic hygiene, such a concentration of resources can be seen in science parks, business parks, scientific incubators, and some other forms of business innovation centers. Such centers focus concentration on one specific area of production, research, and commercial activity, their quality and level of output being sufficient to create an infrastructure that is able to maintain conditions for accelerated development and for bringing high-tech production to market. In the world there are over than 350 science parks. Their activity is localized and thus does not create much distraction to the economy as a whole. On the contrary, science parks significantly stimulate production, with their new technical and technological inventions conquering both domestic and foreign markets.

However, we cannot transfer features of developed market economies to a developing one. In order to create a science park that could work effectively, it would be necessary to have a specific zone of "crystallization." Abroad, these zones come into existence mostly spontaneously, on the basis of so-called "basic organizations." A basic organization is usually a university or other scientific institution that possesses land, buildings, and equipment. Above all the institution has to possess new technology, research potential, and the ability to bring this technology to consumers. A university forms the necessary infrastructure, because it has a personnel training system and includes research laboratories along with small business and commercial firms. Obviously, due to a completely different system of property relations in Ukraine such organizations cannot exist here. Not a single university or research institute possesses land or buildings, so at present we cannot create a basic organization in the classic sense of the term. But, it could take the lead in organizing a science park.

At the same time, Ukraine has many scientific developments of high consumer quality. Were it not for careless treatment, these developments could exert considerable effect on the economy and even be able to compete with western technologies. This, in turn, implies that what remains to be done is to find a mechanism to create conditions in Ukraine to transform our scientific and technical potential into a real control lever of social and economic development.

The law "On the Principles of Organizing and Functioning of the Free (Special) Economic Zones," which also considers science parks to be such zones, could in theory provide a foundation on which to create such a mechanism. However, the unwieldy system of implementing the law considerably complicates the situation. According to this law, in order to organize a science park, a separate law would have to be adopted to give a fixed- and long-term definition of what a science park is, to fix its structure, to establish basic mechanisms of investments, and so on.

The science park has to be a simultaneously flexible and dynamic structure, especially now, when we still lack the experience in organizing business innovation structures. In order to create such structures other legal structures of a "soft" type have to operate.

Recently the Academy of Sciences drafted the regulations governing the organization and function of business innovation structures in Ukraine. Those regulations have taken into account general foreign experience, taking into consideration some of the special conditions, necessary to successfully organize such entities.

What are these basic conditions?

Firstly, on (or near) the territory of a science park there has to be a sufficiently high level of industry, exceeding average rates of regional production. This would ensure that those employed in producing goods have an appropriate level of interest in the quality of their work and are thus fully open to the acceptance of all innovations for improving quality.

Secondly, on the territory of a business innovation center there must be a high intellectual potential, in order to understand along which lines technology must evolve and to have concrete proposals for accomplishing this.

Thirdly, there must already be well-established contacts with foreign partners interested in technological development of the region.

Fourthly, the region itself must have enthusiastic participants, ready to risk their own capital for the sake of future profits.

Fifthly, and finally, local authorities also must understand what the center could mean for the region and be willing to provide financial and organizational support at the start-up stages.

These conditions are necessary, but they are not enough. There simply has to be a real opportunity for success, but at minimal state expense.

Ukraine has rich experience in organizing innovative structures. Even in the 1970s and 1980s an inter-sector network of scientific-technical complexes was created. Research centers of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences combined the academic potential of regions, and engineering centers become an interface between leading academic institutes and industry.

In recent years the regional aspect of economic development has regained its importance. Organizing free economic zones in the Transcarpathian and Black Sea regions have been given consideration. In 1994, two state documents: a Presidential Decree and Cabinet of Ministers resolution, were issued on conducting an economic and technological experiment in the Brody region, L'viv oblast. An agricultural-type innovation center has been created in the form of an agribusiness park. At present a series of documents have been worked out and sent to the Cabinet of Ministers on conditions to conduct similar experiments in Kyiv, where three science parks and an administration-intensive scientific and technical development region are to be set up. In this connection the head of the Kyiv City Council has issued a directive to organize in Kyiv a business innovation incubator. Technical economic substantiation (TES) to organize a recreation business park at the Truskavets health resort in the Carpathian region is being developed. The state is deeply interested and is actively participating financially in this project, which is scheduled to begin operations within two years. The first results of the Brody experiment have demonstrated that one dollar invested by the state into a regional innovation center will result in a profit return of no less than one hundred dollars of foreign investment, given proper planning and organization. The principles of investment development worked out in Kyiv indicate that the conditions, under which future business innovation center-structures are supposed to work, stimulate the revival of former networks of cooperation between scientific/technical organizations and industry, though under completely different economic conditions and at a higher level of economic relations. Work on the TES for organizing the Truskavets recreation business park shows real possibility not only for quickly recouping all money invested but also for considerable profits in the health business.

Olexander BARANOVSKIY

UKRAINE AND THE WORLD: CONVERSION

Oleksander Ivanovych Baranovskiy was born in Kyiv. Graduated from the economic faculty of the Kyiv National Trade and Economics University. Candidate of economic sciences. Works as chief adviser at the Secretariat of National Security Council by the President of Ukraine. Studies the issues of conversion, scientific and technological policy, and economic security.

To resolve most effectively the problems connected with conversion of the military-industrial complex, Ukraine needs international cooperation.

There are three types of conversion: use of technological potential of the Military-Industrial Complex (MIC) for civil output production, transferring high MIC technologies into civil branches, and use of various types of military production in the economic complex.

Realizing the conversion of the military-industrial complex can be achieved in several ways. Firstly, through monetary investments of local and foreign investors directly into the civil production output of military enterprises. Secondly, by investing money reserves from sales of weapons still in production (the so-called "Russian variant"). Thirdly, conversion can be carried out by way of creation of joint ventures and joint-stock companies, with the use of foreign capital from 0 to 100. Fourth is the compensatory method, which combines foreign technology and equipment, with local production. The fifth possible way is the accumulation of currency resources from the export of raw materials. The sixth option is to obtain credit lines from the International Currency Fund, the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), foreign states, banks, and companies.

However, no matter which of the above-mentioned ways will be chosen to carry out defense industry conversion in Ukraine, we should always remember the necessity of constantly controlling the terms of its realization. International practice demonstrates that even very economically powerful countries can reach only 5-10% of terms of conversion. Higher percentages result in degradation of entire branches.

Under conditions of conversion, there is a problem in preserving the scientific-industrial basis of technologically-connected production. That is why the conversion must be carried out after thorough study, in order to support a significant part of the technologies which have a dual destination. Programming takes on a large importance here. It is necessary to distinguish complex aims and concrete projects, within the bounds of large scientific-technical programs, with the use of business-plans.

Thus, the future of the conversion processes is, from my standpoint, not in the output of consumer goods from defense enterprises, but in carrying out of large commercial projects.

For example, the specially-formed joint-stock company "Space Industry", which includes such leaders of the Ukrainian MIC as the Pivdenmash design office, the Southern Machine-building factory, and the "Khartron" scientific-industrial union, is occupied with the creation of the space technology complex. This method of approach is characterized by the use of new organizational-legal methods for the realization of certain large commercial conversion projects, development of industrial cooperation between the MIC enterprises of Ukraine and Russia,

refusal to apply the consumer attitude to the state budget, and effective commercialization of scientific-technological ideas. And, finally, the technology of the military-space industry can be used to resolve of such problems, common to all humanity, as prevention of the collision of the Earth with the meteorites, asteroids and comets.

It is not entirely possible to fill the chasm between the technology of destruction and technology of creation. Although one of the most brilliant examples of home conversion is the reorientation of activity by the Department of composition materials, part of the Institute of problems of studying materials, which is part of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine. It earlier studied missiles and now creates exclusively the means for human defense.

Lack of notable progress in privatizing the objects of Ukraine's MIC is one of the factors that impedes investment of foreign capital. According to the proposal of the Ministry of Machine-building, Military-industrial complex and Conversion of Ukraine, 1500 of 1840 enterprises can be privatized. Only enterprises assigned 100% of the defense orders must be left as state property. International cooperation is playing ever more significant part in conversion of the military complex. In particular, the US and Ukrainian defense ministers signed a joint statement about the main principles of organization concerning possible mutual activity of the military departments of both countries. This applied to the conversion of the specialized military-constructive industry of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine into objects/enterprises able to build houses for servicemen who were discharged into reserves that are connected with the reduction of nuclear weaponry.

The Commission of European Associations also pays a great deal of attention to conversion processes in Ukraine. Its program of technical help to Ukraine for 1993-1995 foresees projects directed toward the conversion of the defense industry. The one condition laid down by the Commission is ensuring the effective cooperation on the Ukrainian side and the effective use of know-how that is at our disposal.

The conversion processes in Ukraine will be accelerated if the governments of the developed countries introduced reduced taxation of investment funds, created for financing the conversion in the so-called "transitional period countries" and for foreign firms that invest money into joint enterprises resulting from conversion. It would be worthy to expand the reduced taxation with a form of insurance against political risks, and guaranteed repatriation of profits.

Creation of "technical parks", using foreign capital, in regions with a high concentration of military production and scientific-research institutions, would be also a good incentive for the conversion.

Considering world experience, we cannot ignore the fact that conversion processes go on less painfully in countries (first on the list are the FRG and Great Britain) where trade unions take an active part in their realization. Because of this circumstance the trade unions of Ukraine must step up their activities considerably in the formation of the strategies and actions in this area.

In this time of global awareness surrounding environmental problems, and in these changing political times, increased international attention with proper support and participation of the United Nations must be paid to military conversion.

UKRAINIAN INTELLECT: HOW TO PREVENT LOSSES?

(See p. 20)

comments I.O.Klochko, manager of the department of social and economic problems of the Center's scientific groups. "Negative or indifferent attitudes have been replaced by interested understanding of the importance of a growing problem. For example, some time ago attitudes toward young scientists who went to work abroad were strongly negative. Now people understand that everyone has a right to choose his own path and place in the international division of labor."

It is worth noting that the government now shows growing concern over the process. The brain drain problem is being discussed in the Ukrainian Presidential Administration and the State Committee on Science and Technology. The National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine has stepped up its activity in this sphere and has created international research centers on physics, mathematics, and biology, where young Ukrainian scientists can participate in international scientific projects and better realize their creative potential. The new Science and Culture Committee, responsible for connections with Ukrainian scientists who work abroad, also makes a contribution. The experience in international cooperation of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in L'viv is also noteworthy. These forms of scientific activity contribute to the preservation of the nation's scientific potential, reducing internal and external emigration, and safeguard the connections of Ukrainian scientists with the world community. The constant material support and moral stimulation of gifted young scientists is a positive factor. Today nearly 1,200 of the young Ukrainian scientists receive named scholarships from the President of Ukraine, the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, various ministries and departments.

However, in spite of all the positive attitudinal changes to the brain drain problem, the situation in Ukraine is quite mixed because it remains uncontrolled. The migration might be viewed, on the one hand, as the integration of Ukrainian science into international science and, on the other, as intellectual losses to our country. Moreover, some scientists never return - they change their citizenship. Bohdan Havrylyshyn, world-famous scholar, public figure, chairman of the Consultative Council to the Presidium of the Ukrainian Parliament, member of the Club of Rome and the International Academy of Sciences, said: "To tell the truth, I'm not afraid of the fact that some of our young talented scientists work abroad, at the best international scientific centers and laboratories, gaining experience, and improving their reputations as scientists and experts. In future this emigration of the Ukrainian elite may become an intellectual bridge, that will help our young country enter the family of developed democratic countries. I'm more concerned with the so-called "inner immigration," when talented scientists have to give up their scientific carriers and look for jobs of another kind due to difficult material circumstances, connected with the economic crisis.

Obviously, we should intelligently adapt ourselves to such global processes as the internationalization and integration of science, the fulfillment of joint international projects, etc. The rule that one's gain is another's loss may well hold true on the bilateral level, but from the point of view of the international scientific commonwealth this process contributes to the world treasure of knowledge. At the same time, we must make use of the forms of international scientific cooperation which can help preserve our national science. A country, which cares about increasing its intellectual potential has to stay in touch with scientists working abroad and involve them in mutually beneficial, friendly relations. Only then can we expect intellectual patriotism from Ukrainian scientists.



HAS THE ICE STARTED TO MOVE?

The present period in Ukraine is often called a new national Rebirth. And rightly so, because the hitherto downtrodden spirit of the people is coming to life, and its creative forces are being set free. But there is also reason to state that this process is far from total. The economic crisis, for example, does not allow us to place a proper material base under this cultural Renaissance; what the reader gets (if anything) is mainly literary classics of the past. The lack of modern works and authors is very clear against this background.

For this reason the appearance of a fundamental work on Ukrainian ethno-national development constitutes an important event in our nation's cultural life*. The collection counts over fifty-six quires of the text and covers a range of questions concerning the cultural, ethnic, political, religious, legal, and educational status of the Ukrainian people. Biographies of major figures of the Ukrainian history, political parties, and the mutual relations of ethnic minorities, etc. found a well-deserved place on its pages.

In order to orient the reader, suffice it to mention the book's main sections and their editors: 1. National Rebirth in the Context of Historical Experience (Roman Szporluk); 2. Theory of the Nation and Ethno-National Relations (F.Horovskiy); 3. Legislative Aspects of the National Rebirth (Ivan Dziuba); 4. Problems of the Ethno-National Policy (Y.Rymarenko); 5. Spiritual-Cultural Rebirth. The Culture of Interethnic Intercourse (L.Novychenko, V.Rusanivskiy, P.Tolochko); 6. National Bringing up. Overcoming of the Brake Elements of the Rebirth (Y.Rymarenko); 7. National Factor and Multi-Party (E.Wilson, V.Yakushyk, T.Kuzio); 8. Religion and Church at the Ethno-National Rebirth of Ukraine (M.Rybachuk).

Among doubtless advantages of the directory is not only its linguistic richness, but also the circle of authors enticed by the editors of various articles, among whom there are Omelyan Pritsak, I.Bychko, I.Varzar, V.Ihnatov, S.Yarmus, V.Zhmyr, Y.Pakhomov, Oksana Zabuzhko, V.Shynkaruk, O.Myronenko, Y.Shemshuchenko, Y.Zinchenko, Leonid Shklyar, O.Shevchenko, Mykola Zhulynskiy, V.Shved, L.Pylyavets, and other famous investigators. In some cases, when necessary, the compilers employed a somewhat unusual, but, as it turned out, by quite justified way to publish these articles (or fragments) which had been written for other works, but which opened up important ideas for the collection. So, fragments of the works of Ahatanhel Krymskiy, Zh.Maklaflin, Viacheslav Lypynskiy, Ivan Bahryanyi, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Henry Kissinger, M.Shlemkevych and others have appeared in the directory. Such texts deepen understanding of ethno-national processes in Ukraine and their conformity with world dynamics.

Yet another social psychological aspect merits attention. The compilers enticed to collaboration authors who not so long ago confined themselves to narrowly specialized topics. Perhaps, the collection in itself constitutes a model for attaining national harmony by seeking cooperation in pursuit of truly higher interests.

Thus, the reviewed work is one of only a few original fundamental national-cultural studies by which all its successors will have to be judged. And for this reason we may ask, has the ice started to move? And will the idea of rebirth be supported by the requisite indigenous and translated literature.

Certainly, an acute need for a new edition is already felt. We do not touch upon small shortcomings, but it must be mentioned that giving the work a standardized format would have given it more rigor and, at the same time, it would have made it easier to use.

*Етнонаціональний розвиток України. Терміни, визначення, персоналії. К., 1993, 800 с.

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"I see a Clear Opportunity for Cooperation with Germans"

Thoughts of Lev Hrytsak,
chief physician of the
"Karpaty" sanatorium.

It is not for the first time that our edition highlights the unique "theme of Truskavets". In 1992, we acquainted our readers with the history and artistic acquisitions of the Truskavets society of the Lemkivski engravers. The following year we presented the artistic works of the local artist Mykhailo Bilas. Yet at that time, Volodymyr Kushnir, the founder and director of Mykhailo Bilas Museum, told us about creating a recreation complex in Truskavets — the "Karpaty" sanatorium, which represented the Near-Carpathian region of Ukraine in its unique spiritual and natural character. Volodymyr Mykolayovych himself was directly participating in the artistic decoration of this medical-health establishment as a deputy chief physician for capital construction. And today Lev Yaroslavovych Hrytsak, chief physician of the "Karpaty" sanatorium, describes the realization of his plans, achievements and problems in establishing the recreation center.

I shall begin with the history. The Department of Agriculture of the L'viv Executive Committee was the founder of the sanatorium in 1981 headed by Leontiy Antonovych Dunets. Certainly, there was a great shortage of money. The Ministry of Agriculture of Ukraine settled down later. And Leontiy Dunets, at the time first deputy minister, was in charge of the construction. We consider him to be our godfather, because everything exists thanks to him. To find financial and technical assistance for the construction works we started to attract shareholders. At present we have some forty shareholders. Although the "Karpaty" sanatorium belongs officially to the Ministry of Agriculture of Ukraine, it has the status of a joint stock company. Thus, we continued the construction of the sanatorium on the money of shareholders. Our purpose is to build the best sanatorium in Truskavets. If needed do not be restrained by the estimate. Such was the instruction of Dunets.

At that time, it was very risky both for Leontiy Antonovych, such a high-ranking leader, and for me, head of the construction. Because the least deviation from the estimate could mean our discharge from our jobs. However, against all odds, we continued construction of our

sanatorium on a high quality level. According to the norms of the time, the artistic decoration could only cost 2% of the total construction estimate. But we began to make improved ornamentation with the financial support of the shareholders. We wanted to create real comfort for people who would come to improve their health both spiritually and physically.

Fortunately, I happened to meet Volodymyr Mykolayovych Kushnir, a connoisseur and expert on the ethnography and traditions of our culture. I enticed him from the building-assembly office, attracting him by our desire to create the most comfortable sanatorium we could to be the pride of Prykarpattia region. The cooperation between me and my construction deputy was quite successful: I worked as an administrator, and he was responsible for the decor. We were advised to enlist the services of an original artist from L'viv, Orest Skopa. In team with his colleagues he developed interior and exterior projects. He was picky while choosing his helpmates.

Interior decor of the sanatorium is a match for museum items. This is wood carving performed by I. Stefiuk, blowing glass by A. Bokotel, sculptures by R. Petruk, R. Romanovych, V. Yarych, artistic porcelain ware by I. Yaroshevych, Y. Hipp, I. Kovalevych, wrought iron by O. Bonkovskiy, drapery by Maksymenko brothers, painting by B. Soika, unique works of imprinted leather by I. Kopchuk, etc. Thus, every floor has its designer and its topic. We strove to show the variety of the traditional art of our Pre-Carpathian region. Individual characteristic features of the artists can be seen in the decoration of the halls, and together with that the whole conception of the Ukrainian culture can be traced here. Besides, we made all necessary everyday works and managed to create a highly comfortable sanitary complex. A dream of Leontiy Dunets came true: sanatorium "Karpaty" became one of the best ones in Truskavets and the whole Pre-Carpathian region. The President issued decree awarding the sanatorium for extinguished architecture and design.

Today there are quite enough patients willing to be treated in our sanatorium. We invest the money we earn in new construction. We are finishing the building of a gymnasium, an indoor swimming pool, a bath-house and a number of other facilities. We have a winter garden, a

mineral water spring. All sanatorium buildings are connected with each other via galleries so that patients were able to take rest and improve their health rain or shine, without even leaving the building. The natural environment of Truskavets favoured the creation of a unique psychological-aesthetic microclimate.

A rehabilitation center called "Elita", for foreign patients who come to treat children for cerebral palsy, rents a large space. We provide them with facilities and food, and physicians from the rehabilitation center, headed by Volodymyr Kozyavkin, provide treatment. His treatment is rather successful. During a single term, i.e. 14 days, he achieves such results that many kids recover their walking abilities, others can sit, talk and paint. It's amazing.. there are some families from Germany that have visited our sanatorium three times. The Germans will not waste money. So this testifies to the authority of our doctors. The effectiveness of our center has been highly evaluated by the Ukrainian government. On basis of our sanatorium it is planned to establish the Republican Rehabilitation Center to treat children for cerebral palsy. With this purpose a new building of a sanatorium is being built. It is stipulated that we will have a mutually beneficial cooperation: the sanatorium would receive financial assistance and it could improve the skills of the medical personnel and patients would have all required conditions for treatment. By the way, our price for vouchers is lower than other sanatoriums of the same level, to say nothing about sanatoriums abroad. It is a great advantage to have a universal medical complex and reasonable prices. Today we are sending a group of our specialists to Germany to learn new methods of treatment that we might introduce at our sanatorium. I see a clear opportunity for cooperation with the Germans...

We have many problems in addition to our achievements. But when we have a stable situation in Ukraine, and our government supports a wise and effective policy, and money is invested into the development of recreation centers, which are the conditions for supporting the natural resources of the country and to insure people's health, then we shall occupy an honorable place in the world. Geographically, Ukraine is near the center of Europe, and we must attain a level in life suitable to such a position.

Erna ANDERL-FRÖHLICH

*Center of
Rehabilitation
"Elita" in Truskavets*

*Though my feet are little still,
Doctor Kozyavkin cured them
well,
Later on, when I will run with
them,
I will be glad to remember him.*

This poem is written under the footprints of four-year-old Danielle on the dining room wall of the Karpaty Sanatorium in Truskavets, together with dozens of brightly colored children's drawings. At first sight they seem to be from a competition of younger and older children, some just scribbles in various hues, others displaying colorful buildings, flowers, trees, happy clowns, a smiling sun, again and again bees clearly showing their sting despite their grinning faces, an airplane, a girl with many electrodes on her head, and a doctor's room. If you look at them more closely, you'll notice dedications under almost every picture: "Many thanks to Dr. Kozyavkin's team," "From Laura to Lena," "To Dr. Oksana," "From Tobias to Maria, you always were so patient with me."

What takes these children from Germany to Truskavets, a small town in the Carpathian Mountains, seventy miles from L'viv? It is not the famous medicinal springs of Truskavets, visited annually by up to a quarter of a million people, but the Elita Rehabilitation Center run since 1988 by Dr. Volodymyr Kozyavkin. It was only after the breakup of the Soviet Union that the treatment especially developed by Dr. Kozyavkin for children, who suffer from cerebral palsy, could be discussed in the West and thus become accessible to children from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Great Britain, and overseas for recovery.

A JOURNEY TO TRUSKAVETS

Many of the German and Austrian parents, who accompanied their children to Western Ukraine in August 1994 had learned about the new therapy for CP-patients from a spring 1993 television program showing Dr. Kozyavkin, a German doctor, and a little girl they were treating. Thousands of letters were sent, but capacities were limited and many had to wait. Complete documentation of case histories were sent, and finally the decision for treatment was made. Every two weeks there is a special Lufthansa flight from Stuttgart to L'viv, carrying about fifty children with their mothers and sometimes their fathers also. They have mixed feelings while traveling to this strange country, to an Eastern Europe still seeming to many so far away, to Ukraine. But hope for a better life for their children overcomes their trepidation. Experts of the Center meet the newcomers at the airplane. Thanks to an agreement with the Ukrainian immigration authorities, baggage control and customs formalities are conducted at the plane. The children, their wheel-chairs, and luggage can be loaded immediately into busses. After an hour and a half they arrive at Elita Center, spread over several stories of the picturesque Karpaty Sanatorium on the outskirts of Truskavets. In the evening Dr. Kozyavkin introduces his colleagues

and explains his method to the children, their parents, and adult CP-patients. The center is also equipped with state-of-the-art computers and medical appliances which took several foreign professors visiting this "oasis of healing" in Western Ukraine by surprise.

DR. KOZYAVKIN'S THERAPY

In 1985 Dr. Kozyavkin developed a system of neurophysiological rehabilitation and presented it at a number of conferences in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and abroad. In 1993, he presented his rehabilitation treatment for cerebral palsy at the autumn social pediatrics congress in Brixen (South Tyrol, Italy). In September 1994 he addressed the Third International Symposium on Problems in Neuro-orthopedics and Rehabilitation in Murau (Austria). Dr. Kozyavkin's starting point is that every cerebral motor disorder has not only cerebral but also functional blocking of spinal segments. Thanks to his training as a neurologist, which also includes manual therapy, he found in the treatment of adult osteochondrosis patients that spinal manipulation leads to a remarkable decrease of muscular tonicity, exactly what generations of scientists and doctors have seen as the starting point for the rehabilitation of CP-patients. Transferring this principle to CP-patients had the effect normali-



zing muscular tonicity and thus reduce spasms. Only normal muscular tonicity enables patients to acquire such elementary skills as sitting, walking, standing, etc. Before starting treatment all children undergo a thorough clinical laboratory and neuro-physiological examination. The "stand-up diagnosis" shows if the patient can change position with someone's help, whether he can stand or sit with or without help, or keep his head upright lying face down. Apart from this, social development deficiencies such as underdeveloped language skills, lack of independence in play, or mental retardation are recorded.

During a fortnight cycle of medical treatment, the spine is manipulated daily in the center. The daily regimen also includes physical therapy, massage, acupuncture electric stimulation, reflex therapy, bee venom and wax treatments — hence the many drawings of bees — along with exercise on a moving belt.

The novelty of Kozyavkin's therapy is that he does not concentrate on a certain segment of the spine, but tries to mobilize the blocked segments of the spine in groups using back rotation. The first manipulation already leads in most cases to a decrease in the tonicity of the muscles affected by spasm and a strong need for the patient to rest, which in succeeding days gives way to a wish to move and actively participate in treatment.

The results of the treatment are impressive. After completing the therapeutic program the ability to move, speak, and perceive improves considerably. Although treatment leads to improvement of the condition of 90% of patients, Dr. Kozyavkin emphasizes that the cause of cerebral palsy has not been removed. The developed pattern of rehabilitation activates compensation possibilities of the child's organism especially it concerns his brain. The circulation of the blood is improving, movements of joints increase — a new functional condition appears which becomes the basis to recover active movements and social adaptation of the patient.

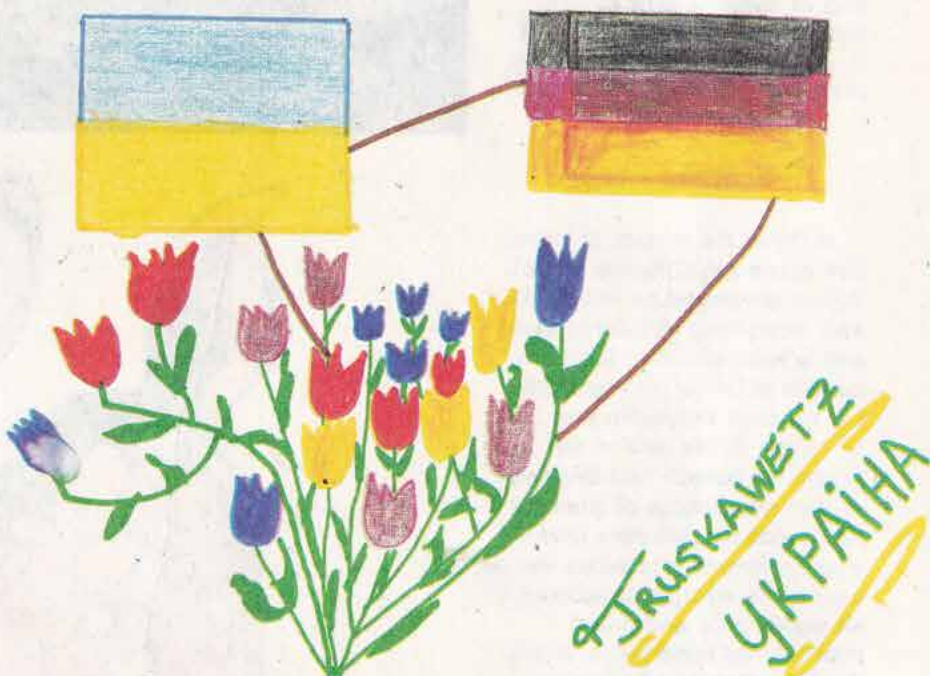
ДОРОГИЙ ЛАНЕ ДОКТОР І ПАНІ ДОКТОРКО КОЗЯВКІНИ !

СЕРДЕЧНО ДЯКУЮ ЗА ПРЕКРАСНЕ ЛІКУВАННЯ
ЗА ВАШУ БЛАГОДНУ ПРАЦЮ. Я РАДІЮ ЗА
УСПІШНУ ТЕРАПІЮ!

Я БУДУ РАДА ЗНОВ ЗУСТРІТИСЬ НА ТРЕТЬОМУ
ЛІКУВАННІ, 23.7. - 6.8. 1995,

СЕРДЕЧНО ДЯКУЮ !

Мана Буринська



All parents whose children had been invited for treatment in August agreed that after the first week of treatment their children became less tense and older children who had previously undergone other therapies also said that they themselves noticed progress. At the end of the treatment the children paint again — and decorating the walls is only a pleasant side-effect. Moreover, art is primarily therapy: the pictures indicate whether the therapy was a success. They not only show an improved motor skills, better handling of crayons and colors, but also the psychic state of the little patients, their mood, their view of the world.



PERSPECTIVES

In 1994 the system of intensive neuro-physiological rehabilitation developed by Kozyavkin was recognized as priority trend and is recommended for introduction at Ukrainian hospitals. For his work Kozyavkin was promoted to the rank of an Honoured Scholar and Engineer of Ukraine. Despite all present-day economic disasters Ukrainian government provides visual assistance taking into account all significance and grand international importance of this Center. It should be mentioned that children treated come from abroad and as well from Ukraine who could not afford treatment and are treated mainly as out-patients in L'viv. Thus, plans for enlarging the Rehabilitation Center and the Training Center can come to fruition only through active assistance on the regional and national level and foreign investment. It is all very expensive. The Center can carry out its mission only with the help of the government and of foreign organizations.



Kyiv

Für Frau Nelle vom
Matthias Schumacher 6 Jahre
4.5.95