THE UKRAINE—WHAT IS IT?

By DR. MICHAEL MILKO AND R. KORDA-FEDORIW

This magazine does not advocate any one particular solution for the pressing problems of the world. Corresponding to the world-wide nature of the present crisis, future solutions cannot take into consideration only the wishes of this or that group, but will have to be planned on an enormous scale and will depend to a large degree on the eventual outcome of the war. What this magazine wants to do, however, is to bring out the fundamental issues of our time. Understanding them today will contribute to their intelligent solution after the war. The problem of nationalities is one of these issues. Believing it to be important that they should have a chance to speak for themselves, we submit articles written by competent members of two large national groups, the Ukrainians and the Turks of Russia. They represent a total of some 60 to 80 million people who do not possess states of their own.

The editor does not identify himself with the views presented in these two articles; but in his opinion they correspond to the beliefs and desires of a large percentage of the co-nationals of both authors. They are worth serious consideration as examples, taken in this case from the Soviet Union, for the disturbing problem of national minorities all over the world.

The authors of this article are Ukrainians active in organizations directed toward the independence of their native land. They have written many articles and books on Ukrainian affairs. Both were educated first in Czechoslovakia and then in Germany, where Dr. Milko obtained his Ph.D. at the University of Giessen.

The world has become accustomed to looking at the history of the Russian empire through the eyes of Russian historians. Without wishing to enter into a discussion about the pros and cons of Ukrainian and Russian historiography, the editor, himself a pupil of the Russian school of history, believes that the Ukrainian interpretation of the history of Eastern Europe is an interesting study. It is for this reason that we have left unchanged some terms unfamiliar to most readers, such as “Moscovians” for the better known “Great-Russians.” Some of our authors’ statements are contestable, the figures claimed for the Ukrainians, for instance, varying between 30 and 50 millions. Nor is there common agreement as to the size of their ethnographic territory. Our maps are the work of a Ukrainian authority.

The Russians naturally maintain that there is no separate Ukrainian nation. Indeed, it would be hard to prove objectively either the Ukrainian or the Russian contention. The editor, having lived in both parts, has found that it is rather a matter of subjective feelings among the peoples concerned. Those of many Ukrainians are expressed by Dr. Milko and Mr. Korda.—K.M.

The French philosopher Voltaire wrote in his history of King Charles XII of Sweden: “L’Ukraine a toujours aspiré à être libre.” He was right. The question of a free Ukraine exists independently of any plans which the great powers might have for the future of Europe; for there are some 45
Let them cut off my ears and tongue,
Let them pierce my eyes with arrows —
Your breeze, O Yurusen, is balm to
my torn nostrils,
My mutilated ears will hear your
rippling waves,
O Yurusen, my tongue will not be
there to praise you
But my blind eyes will remember
your beauty.
Let them raise high my head upon
a spear
As they have done before to our
fathers —
We will never surrender your beauty,
O Yurusen, river of my home,
As long as your waters are not red
with our blood,
As long as we do not drink the blood
of our children with your water!

THE CASE OF SULTAN-GALIYEV

Typical of the attempts to use the
national form for purposes of nation­
alism is the case of the Tartar leader
Sultan-Galiyev. Prior to the Revolution
he had openly been a Turkic nationalist,
advoating the liberation of the Tartars
and the eventual establishment of a
Pan-Turkic state. When the Bolshevist
Revolution broke out, he joined the
Communist Party. He trusted the
slogans of Lenin and Stalin, who,
immediately after coming into power,
had said in their proclamation headed
"To all toiling Moslems of Russia and
the East":

"From now on your beliefs and
customs, your national and cultural
institutions shall be free and inviolable.
Organize your national life freely and
without hindrance . . . . You yourselves
shall be the masters in your country
and organize your life according to
your spirit and likeness. This is your
right, for your destiny is in your
hands."

Sultan-Galiyev had a brilliant career,
held important posts, won the confi­
dence of Stalin, and became one of
the deciding men in the People's
Commissariat for Nationalities. Yet at
the same time he had to see his Tartar
nationalism come into ever-increasing
conflict with the real intentions of the
Bolsheviks. He was perfectly willing
to accept the economic doctrines of
Bolshevism, but he demanded the
fulfillment of Moscow's promises of
national autonomy. He became what
we might call a national-communist,
who worked for the formation of a
"Communist Party of the East" for
the Turkic and Mongol peoples of
Russia.

Moscow became increasingly suspi­
cious, and Sultan-Galiyev was forced to
adopt secret methods. By 1923 he was
convenced that he had committed a
terrible mistake. His nationalism and
Moscow's internationalism were irre­
concilable enemies, and Bolshevism was
a far deadlier enemy of nationalism
than Tsarism had ever been. He estab­
lished secret contacts with illegal
organizations at home and with anti­
Bolshevik refugees abroad. These con­
nections were discovered.

Badly shocked by the discovery of
Sultan-Galiyev's intrigues, the Central
Committee of the Bolshevist Party
convoked a four-day meeting of Party
leaders and representatives of national
minorities to Moscow. This was in
June, 1923. The facts of the plot
were put before the assembly, and
Stalin, the People's Commissar for
Nationalities—himself the son of two
national minorities in the Caucasian
mountains—was bitterly attacked. In
his defense, Stalin declared that he
had possessed knowledge of Sultan­
Galiyev's nationalist tendencies but
that he had put up with them on
account of the scarcity of capable
leaders among the minorities willing
to co-operate with Moscow. He admitted
that he had been duped by Sultan­
Galiyev and that he had now broken
with him completely. Sultan-Galiyev
was excluded from the Party and
disappeared.

FORM AND CONTENT ARE ONE

The Bolsheviks had to deal with
similar cases time and again. By the
million Ukrainians, inhabiting in a compact block a territory of 380,000 square miles—approximately the size of France, Italy, Switzerland, and Denmark combined.

THE UKRAINE AND MOSCOVY

Many people are familiar with such terms as "Ukrainian wheat," "Ukrainian black soil," and "Ukrainian iron ore." But in using them they do not imbue the word "Ukraine" with a concrete national and political content as they do in the case of other states, for instance Poland. Accepting the interpretation of the Russians, the world has accustomed itself to look upon the Ukraine as "southern Russia" just as it regards Bavaria as "southern Germany." Yet the Ukrainians have been and still are as much of a nation as the Poles or the English or the French.

The word Ukraine comes from Krai which has the meaning of land, country, also border. It was used in the past side by side with another name, Rus. In the ancient Ukrainian Ipatyev chronicle of 1187 A.D. it is written, in connection with the death of a Ukrainian prince, "about him the Ukraine groaned much." Thus the term Ukraine included not only the land but also the people who groaned over the death of their beloved prince. The word Ukrainian also appears frequently in other early documents. It is constantly met with in ancient Ukrainian songs. In the sixteenth century the Ukrainian students at the Sorbonne were listed in Latin as Natione Ruthena de Ucraina. On a map dated 1580 in the Paris National Library the Ukrainian territory is named Ucraina, nor have maps of the seventeenth century any other name for this territory.

At the same time the Moscow state to the northeast of the Ukraine is always called Moscovia on these maps. Thus in those days there was a Ukraine and a Ukrainian people just as there was a Moscovy and a Moscovian people. The term Russia is very recent. It was introduced by Peter the Great by an official decree in 1721 after his conquest of the Ukraine. This term, derived from the old word Rus, was to indicate that from now on Moscovy and the Ukraine were to be one.

THE UKRAINIA NS—A SEPARATE NATION

The attitude of the Ukrainian towards the Moscovian is characterized by ancient Ukrainian proverbs, such as:

If a Moscovian is your friend, you must keep a stone at hand.

A Moscovian cannot breathe without lying.

"Dad, the devil is trying to get in."

"Never mind, as long as it isn't a Moscovian."

The Ukrainian people arose from a number of Slavic tribes in the territory where the Ukrainians live to this day, in the broad plains of the Dniepr river. In the ninth century these tribes appeared for the first time in European history by forming the state of Rus with Kiev as their capital. The Moscovians on the other hand did not emerge as a nation till much later. They are a mixture of Slavs with peoples of non-European stock. Those Slavs came partly from the northern Slavic tribes and partly from the Ukraine, whence many had moved into the northern forests to escape the constant attacks of Asiatic nomads in the open spaces of the south. In the north they intermarried with tribes belonging to the Finno-Ugrian family of nations. While Rus, in its struggle against the nomadic tribes of Asia and its western neighbors, the Poles, became increasingly weaker, the tribes in the north were organized in the twelfth century into the principality first of Suzdal, later of Moscow.

Although originally of the same Slavic stock and ruled for many centuries by members of the same dynasties—first the Ruriks, later the Romanovs—the Ukrainians and the Moscovians eventually became entirely
different nations. Professor Korsh, a member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, wrote, for instance, in 1912 in the magazine "Ukrainskaya Zhizn" (Ukrainian Life): "As to the differences between the Ukrainians and the Moscovians, they are to be found in the language, in the physical build which is sufficiently characteristic to distinguish a Ukrainian from a Great-Russian at the first glance, and lastly in psychological peculiarities, in the special humor, impressionability, sincerity, and vivid imagination; fourthly, in daily habits, which are so different and so obstinate that they persist even where the Ukrainians live among Great-Russians. All these distinctions must be considered essential, since they could only develop in the course of many centuries of life removed from the Great-Russians. They will also continue for many centuries and will only change to a certain extent under the influence of universal human development." Similar opinions were also voiced by other outstanding scientists. In 1905-6 even the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, in opposition to the policy of the Government, recognized Ukrainian as an entirely separate and independent language.

ANCIENT UKRAINIAN CULTURE

The rise or decline of Ukrainian culture is closely linked with the political ups and downs of the Ukrainian people. But even in times of political weakness the distinctive culture of the people remained an important weapon in the struggle for their liberation.

The Golden Age of Ukrainian culture lasted from the tenth to the thirteenth century during the existence of Rus. From this period there still remain beautiful structures, such as the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev, which, although erected in Byzantine style, show many Ukrainian characteristics. Ukrainian art developed at that time under Greek and Roman influence and held its own in the cultural life of Europe. Its outstanding literary product is an epic poem relating the warfare of the Ukrainian Prince Igor against the Asiatic tribe of the Polovtsy. This epic, "The Saga of Igor's Campaign" (1187), bears comparison with the Song of the Nibelungs or the Song of Roland. In 988 the Kiev prince Volodimir recognized Christianity as the state religion. Christianity left its permanent mark on Ukrainian culture.

All this came to an end with the Mongol invasion in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Under the blows of the Mongols from the east and her neighbors in the west and north (Poland, Lithuania, Moscovia) the Ukraine ceased to exist as an independent state in the middle of the fourteenth century. Her rich fields were turned into an eternal battlefield for Tartars and Turks, for Poles, Lithuanians, and Moscovians.

But even though the Ukrainian state disappeared, Ukrainian culture continued to develop, and for a considerable time retained its leading position in Eastern Europe. In the Lithuanian state, for example, of whose population
only one-tenth were Lithuanians. Ukrainian was the official language. Not until Lithuania and Poland became one state in 1386 did the oppression of Ukrainian culture begin, putting an end to its further development for some time.

**THE RISE OF THE COSSACKS**

New life was given to the Ukraine with the rise of the Ukrainian Cossack state. Cossacks were those Ukrainians who had in centuries of warfare with Asiatic nomads developed the peculiar characteristics of a peasant-warrior class. To them were attracted the most active men of the population. In fortified camps they led a proud, Spartan life under their own laws and chiefs (hetmans), in constant fights with Tartars and Turks, and often with Poles and Moscovians. Their rise as a political factor imbued the entire Ukraine with new political confidence and cultural life.

The upper classes learnt Latin, Greek, and other European languages. Hetman Bogdan Khmelnitsky could correspond with ease in Latin with Cromwell and Wallenstein, and spoke the Turkish and Tartar languages; and Hetman Ivan Mazepa, on whom poems were written by the Englishman Byron, the Russian Pushkin, and the Pole Slowacki, was one of the most cultured men of his time.

When the great days of the Cossack-Ukraine passed and the Ukraine fell under the domination of Moscow, the Moscovians directed their energies more and more against the cultural independence of the Ukraine, abolishing Ukrainian schools and eventually forbidding the publication of Ukrainian books and even the use of the Ukrainian language. This was done because Moscow felt the gap between her own half-Asiatic and the consciously European culture of the Ukraine. Outstanding Ukrainian poets and scientists were persecuted, imprisoned, and exiled.

Ukrainian folk music is known all over the world, and the list of outstanding singers and conductors is a long one. The Ukraine has produced her own scientists, sculptors, and painters, and in particular her own forms of applied art in wood and metal work, embroidery, and ceramics.

It is in cultural life that the difference between the Ukraine and Moscovy is particularly evident. The culture of Moscovy obviously belongs to the border-line between Europe and Asia. While members of the Russian intelligentsia have always quarreled over whether their culture is European or Asiatic, many of them denouncing the Europeanization which Peter the Great forced on his people, the Ukrainians never had any doubts on this score. From the beginning of their history they have considered themselves a part of European civilization.

At the time when the Ukraine came under the rule of Moscovy, her church was practically independent. Moscow immediately proceeded to change this. To give their action a legal semblance, the Moscow authorities exerted pressure on the Patriarch at Byzantium till he renounced his formal rights as head of the Ukrainian Church and turned them over to the Patriarch of Moscow. Thus the Ukraine lost her religious independence and with it her ancient custom of electing the clergy.

**WHY NO UKRAINIAN STATE?**

In 1838 the German traveler Kohl wrote concerning his impressions of the Ukraine: “There can be no doubt that in the eventual disintegration of the huge Russian empire, the Ukraine will be the first to cut herself loose and become independent. The night in which this will happen is already approaching.”

This prophecy of Kohl’s came true when in 1918 the Ukraine proclaimed her independence. But after bloody battles lasting four years the Ukraine was again cut up by her neighbors.
THE UKRAINANS IN EUROPE
(The political frontiers are those of 1937)

1:5 000 000

The percentage of the Ukrainians within the total population
At the time of the Census of 1937 for the Ukranian
Scientific Institute of Lemberg in 1937
How did it happen that a nation of 45 millions was not able, in the course of so many centuries, to organize its own state and, on finally winning its independence, could not preserve it for more than a short time?

The Ukrainians have expended an enormous amount of energy in their struggles with the nomad peoples of Asia, who constantly invaded the Ukrainian territories through the age-old gate between the Ural mountains and the Caspian Sea. Whenever the Ukraine was weakened by this ceaseless warfare, she found herself attacked by the fresh forces of her neighbors. Her most implacable enemy was Russia.

The reasons for the determined efforts of her neighbors to control the Ukraine are to be found in her natural wealth and her geographical location. For centuries the Ukraine has been known as the granary of Europe, her wheat famous throughout the world. Her mineral resources are known for their wealth. The deposits of coal in the Donets basin and of iron ore in the Krivoy Rog and Kertch districts are practically unlimited, to name only a few of the treasures of her soil.

The geographical location of the Ukraine is important as she is the nearest gateway between Europe and Asia. For centuries the Black Sea, the northern shore of which is Ukrainian, has played an important international role and attracted many conquerors.

EUROPEAN ALLIES

In spite of all these obstacles, the Ukraine has fought untiringly for her freedom and twice—in the seventeenth and twentieth centuries—succeeded in putting herself on the political map of Europe as an independent state.

The first climax in the nationalistic struggle of the Ukrainian Cossacks came in 1648 when Hetman Bogdan Khmelnitsky, utilizing his people's national, religious, and social unrest for a revolution, established a Ukrainian state. But realizing that the Ukraine would not be able to preserve her independence as long as she was threatened by Moscovians, Poles, and Tartars, he tried to destroy his dangerous neighbors one by one. He appeased Moscovy and turned against Poland. A coalition army of Ukrainians, Swedes, Brandenburgians, and Lithuanians marched victoriously against Poland, which faced a catastrophe. At this critical moment the Hetman died, and the Ukraine was left without a leader. Bloody warfare continued. Eventually Poland and Moscovy came to an agreement and divided up the utterly exhausted Ukraine into spheres of influence.

Hetman Ivan Mazepa tried to free his people from their dependence on Poland and Moscow through an alliance with Charles XII of Sweden whose victorious army had penetrated into Poland. But in 1709, in the battle of Poltava, the Ukrainian and Swedish armies were defeated by Peter the Great, and the Ukraine had to suffer terrible punishment. Many Ukrainians were carried away and forced to labor at the building of St. Petersburg. To this day the Ukrainians say that St. Petersburg is built on Ukrainian bones.

The Ukrainians continued their struggle, hoping for aid from western Europe. But none came. In 1764 the Hetman Government was replaced by a Moscovian governor general. Occasional revolutions were suppressed, and in 1775 the cradle of Ukrainian Cossackdom, the Sitch, was destroyed. Yet memories of the free Cossack state have always remained in the hearts of the Ukrainians.

High hopes were placed by the Ukrainians in Napoleon's war against Russia. Napoleon had promised them independence. Hiding their real motive, the Ukrainians organized within a short time fifteen Cossack regiments on the pretext of aiding the Russians. But the enthusiasm with which the Ukrainians joined these regiments caused suspicion in Moscow. The secret connections between the Ukrainians and
Napoleon were discovered, the regiments transferred and partly dissolved, and many Ukrainians executed. Again in 1847 a secret Ukrainian organization, "The Brotherhood of Cyrill and Methodius," was discovered and its leaders exiled. Other secret organizations were formed. "The Ukraine for the Ukrainians" was their unanimous battle cry.

THE COMING OF THE BOLSHEVIKS

After centuries of servitude the Great War finally gave the Ukraine her chance. After the Bolshevist revolution and a good deal of fighting and political confusion, the complete independence of the Ukrainian Republic was proclaimed on January 22, 1918. In answer the Bolsheviks, in spite of their declared principle of self-determination, occupied Kiev.

With the help of German and Austrian troops the Bolshevists were driven from the Ukraine. A change took place in the Ukrainian Government. On April 29, 1918, General Skoropadsky, the representative of the conservative elements, was elected the first Hetman of the Ukraine in 154 years. His regime survived the fall of the German Empire by only a few days. The republic was restored under the so-called Directory with Simon Petlyura as the leading figure. The Ukrainian nationalists under the command of Petlyura and Colonel Konovalets defeated the troops of Skoropadsky, who renounced his powers and left the country. The collapse of Germany had left the Ukraine to face her enemies alone—the Poles in the west, the Red Army in the north, the White Army under General Denikin in the southeast, and the Rumanians in the southwest. In this "quadrangle of death," as the Ukrainians called it, their troops fought desperately up to 1921, while the Entente states calmly looked on. In the end Ukrainian resistance broke down and their land was divided up. The Soviet Union received the lion's share with more than 35 million Ukrainians, Poland seven and a half, Rumania one and a quarter, and Czechoslovakia over half a million.

The Bolsheviks accorded the Ukrainians a purely nominal independence under the title of the "Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic." On paper the Government of this member state of the Soviet Union has the right to determine its frontiers, to entertain diplomatic relations with foreign Governments, to declare war and peace, to have its own army and legislation. In reality, however, power is strictly centralized in Moscow. The Ukrainians were deeply dissatisfied. Frequent and bloody rebellions took place and many preferred death to slavery.

The lack of Ukrainian cooperation in the Bolshevist cause can be seen from the fact that in 1927, 37.6% of the members of the Ukrainian Communist Party were Russians and not Ukrainians. In 1928, among the 627 high officials in the administration of the Ukrainian Republic only 158 were Ukrainians, while there were 258 Russians, 178 Jews, and 35 others.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Gradually the Bolsheviks realized that in order to stabilize their regime in the Ukraine they would have to make some concessions. They slightly loosened the restrictions they had placed on Ukrainian nationalism. The Ukrainians made immediate use of their increased influence in government, education, the press, etc., to further their nationalistic aims, cloaking their real purposes with the profuse use of Bolshevist phraseology. Voices raised in opposition against Moscow became louder and louder. Even men like the Ukrainian Commissar for Education, Shumsky, openly proclaimed the inevitability of Ukrainian independence. Much excitement was caused by the slogan of the poet Khvylyovy, "Away from Moscow—Orientation towards Europe." The wave of nationalism entered even into the ranks of the Ukrainian Communist Party and the Communist Youth Organization.
Scenes from a film based on the Ukrainian opera Zaporozhets za Karagai describing the life of cossack refugees who fled to Turkey in 1709 after their defeat by Peter the Great at Poltava.

This picture of Ukrainian refugees of the past was made by Ukrainian refugees of today in America.

A Cossack, sturdy warrior-farmer of the Ukraine.

UKRAINIANS

The Hetman with his Cossack chiefs.
Ukrainian peasants on their way to work

The Gopak, a Ukrainian national dance
In these circumstances Moscow returned to its policy of oppression, which in turn forced the Ukrainian nationalists underground. In 1930 an illegal organization, “The Federation of the Liberation of the Ukraine,” was discovered. The following year the GPU unearthed the “National Center” in which even members of the Ukrainian Communist Party were found; and in 1933 the “Organization of Ukrainian Revolutionists,” directed from abroad by Colonel Konovalets.

The discovery of underground organizations led to mass terror, executions, and party purges. All the opposition members within the Communist Party were “liquidated.” The Commissar of Education and member of the Council of Commissars of the USSR, Skrypnik, committed suicide on the eve of his arrest.

In the early thirties enforced collectivization resulted in a terror and subsequent famine which caused indignation throughout the world and was answered by many Ukrainians with sabotage and passive resistance. In 1937 the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, Kosyryor, acknowledged in a speech that during the preceding year 50% of all tractors had been damaged by the Ukrainian peasantry and that of the repaired tractors some 30-40% were found to be useless (Bolshevik Ukrainy, I, 1937).

LITERATURE AS A WEAPON

Ukrainian literature in particular was purged. Moscow suddenly discovered dangerous tendencies in the writings of the Ukrainians. The poet Slissarenko attacked both the Red Army and the leading Soviet writer Gorky, for which he was exiled to the Far North. The humorist Vyshnya ridiculed Stalinism and was “liquidated.” Khvylyovy frankly stated that the Soviet Ukraine was nothing but a colony of Moscow. Through one of the heroes in his novel Woodcocks he expressed the thought: “If the Ukrainians do not want to be swallowed up by Moscow, they must become nationalists.” In 1934 a great trial was staged against writers who were accused of nationalism and of belonging to a terrorist revolutionary organization. A number of leading authors were shot, others disappeared without trace. Their writings were of course banned.

The Ukrainians know that, in the last analysis, the weakening of Moscow, no matter where it takes place, aids their own struggle for freedom. Hence they have been deliberately working for the awakening of national consciousness among the nations under the Russian yoke, particularly among the peoples of Asia. They did this by means of underground organizations as well as through the medium of literature.

The Soviet Ukrainian writer Gytsky, for example, has written a novel, The Black Lake, in which he describes the enslavement by Moscow of the natives of the Altai Mountains (on the Russo-Chinese border). In this novel the author shows the Altaians how to fight for their liberty. His Alatain nationalists in their fight against the Soviet regime know no difference between Bolsheviks and Russians, for in their eyes Bolshevism is only another instrument of Russian imperialism. Some Altaians are teaching their children the Ukrainian language as the common language for all peoples under the Russians.

In a similar vein we have a novel by another Soviet Ukrainian writer, Olesytch, Fires on the Lakes, in which he describes the movement for freedom among the Karelians (near the Finnish border). Both Gytsky and Olesytch were executed.

THE UKRAINE AND EUROPE

During all this time the Ukrainians have also been fighting for their liberty within the state boundaries of Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and particularly Poland, where the ruling class committed the old mistake of dreaming
about the "Great Polish Empire" while oppressing its national minorities instead of raising the cultural and economic level of its own people.

The ruthless liquidation of any national movement in the Soviet Ukraine by the Bolshevist Government placed the leadership in the ideological fight for an independent Ukraine into the hands of Ukrainians abroad. The Ukrainian refugees are divided into several groups, among them the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (first under Colonel Konovalets, and since his assassination in 1939 under Colonel Melnik), the Hetman Movement (conservative and under the former Hetman of the Ukraine, Skoropadsky), and the Followers of the Ukrainian Republic as it had existed 1919-1921. Differing on various points, all these groups agree that the Ukraine must have the closest economic and cultural relations with Europe. To them the meaning of Ukrainian independence is to lead their rich and beautiful country with its millions of industrious and peaceful people back into the fold of Europe and thus to make Europe greater and stronger.

The cause of the Ukraine has many representatives all over the world, particularly in the Americas where over a million U.S. and Canadian citizens are of Ukrainian origin. There are 80,000 of them in the Argentine, 60,000 in Brazil, and 30,000 in other American countries. In the Americas alone they publish 55 periodicals in their own and other languages. Ukrainian refugees in the Far East are active on account of a large section of the Soviet Far East, particularly along the Amur and in the Maritime Province, being inhabited by Ukrainian settlers who are struggling for the independence of what they call the "Ukrainian Wedge."

The importance of an independent Ukraine for Europe was clearly expounded in the *Deduction des Droits de l'Ukraine*, addressed by Hetman Orlyk in 1712 to the European powers. He wrote: "Those who care for the interests of all Europe and of each single European state will easily understand the danger for the freedom of Europe that comes from such an aggressive power as Moscovy ... Hence the security and stability of peace depends to a certain degree on the restoration of the Ukraine." Today these words still hold their meaning and are true not only for Europe but also for Asia.