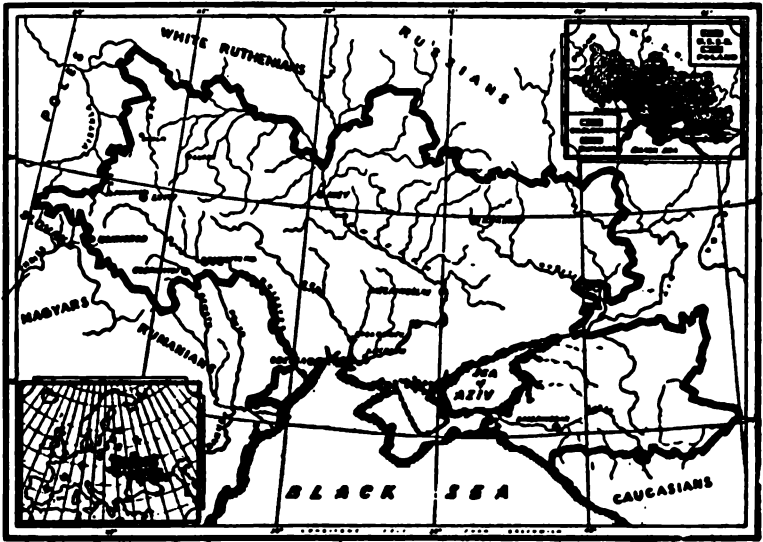

THE UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY

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SYMBOLIC MAP OF **UKRAINE**



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

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WILL THE RUSSIANS FIGHT STALIN?

Editorial

This question very important for American foreign policy was discussed by Wallace Carrol in his article, "It takes a Russian to beat a Russian" ("Life" Chicago, December 19, 1949) but he did not give any definite answer. American foreign policy is still undecided on this subject, as is seen by the statement of Walter H. Wagoner in his despatch from Washington to the New York Times (March 12, 1950). Commenting on the policy of the State Department's "Voice of America" broadcasts, he writes: "Other experts on European politics call attention, meanwhile, to the fact that the strategy of distinguishing between "oppressed peoples" and their "oppressive Governments" is not now being applied with any force to the Soviet Union. It is believed that while this policy might have the effect of dividing people from Government in the satellites, it would be likely to weld them more tightly together in Russia.

The Russian people, it is argued in this quarter, have felt the effects of more than one generation of thought control and Communist party orientation. The people as a result, more often than not, identify themselves with the Government and identify this, more often than not, with Soviet Communism."

It is obvious that there are in the Soviet Union many peoples and nationalisms which are in open antagonism to Russian nationalism, but in the headquarters of the "Voice of America" there dominates a different point of view which has been formulated by certain "experts on European politics."

The policy of the broadcasts of the "Voice of America" especially in its Ukrainian program follows the line of these experts not to disturb good relations between the Kremlin and the non-Russian peoples subjugated by Moscow. This policy produces the natural result—a complete lack of interest of the Ukrainian people in them, if not actual hostility, for the New York broadcasts in Ukrainian often scarcely differ from those put out by radio Kiev. Both follow the same imperialistic line of not distinguishing between the subjugated Ukrainian people and the Russian government. It is evident that the American broadcasts in this case are not functioning for the benefit of this country.

This is the opinion of Ivan Bahryanny, a well-known Ukrainian author and victim of the Soviet concentration camps during several years. His life between the two World Wars he spent in the Soviet Union. We are convinced that he is better informed about the Soviet Union than the official American advisers for the "Voice of America." He writes:

"After listening for four months to the "Ukrainian" broadcasts of the "Voice of America" I venture with full responsibility to assure the administration of the "Voice of America," that such broadcasts will positively produce in Ukraine completely opposite results which are not profitable for America and Western democracies. In the best case they will only produce laughter at the "Voice of America" and at America in general. In the worst case, they will destroy forever in the Ukrainian people faith in America and Western democracy. Why? Because everyone must look to the future for safety. What can the Ukrainian people under the Soviets hope from America, when its voice advocates Russian imperialism and that in the year 1950 of the twentieth century. (Ukrainski Visti, March 30, 1950, Ulm, Germany).

Mr. Bahryanny points out many painful mistakes in American broadcasting policy but we are able to produce official documents which show that these are a result of a definitely-planned American policy toward more than a dozen non-Russian nationalities that have been subjugated by Moscow. And this despite the fact that it is not dealing with undeveloped Asiatic or African clans but with cultures that often have existed for over a thousand years.

Mr. Vladimir Sushko of Baltimore wrote to the Chief of the Broadcasting Division of the Department of State and asked for an explanation of this policy which was so harmful to America. He received a very interesting answer from Mr. Foy D. Kohler, Chief of the International Broadcasting Division of the American Department of State. In his letter Mr. Kohler says frankly, "Our Ukrainian broadcasts have been criticized, sometimes severely, *because they do not project a liberated Ukraine . . . We still are unable to do that for that would be contrary to the United States foreign policy.*"

Mr. Kohler says frankly that the liberation of Ukraine (and presumably all peoples subjugated by Russia) is contrary to the foreign policy of the United States, despite the several speeches of President Truman and of the Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, promising all peoples of the world liberation and even extending it to primitive peoples who do not yet make claims to it.

There must be something wrong in the foreign policy of the State Department, when the anonymous planners care more for the preservation of the Russian Empire, the prison of peoples, than they do for America.

It should be evident that it is to America's interest to favor all those forces in the Soviet Union which are working to weaken the power of the Kremlin. To-day, five years after the ending of World War II we find these forces active in Ukraine, the Caucasus, and Turkestan, all non-Russian territory.

The Ukrainian underground activities are no longer subject to doubt. The resistance movement in the Caucasus was described in the New York Times (June 1, 1950) in a Berlin despatch based on information from Sergeant Karatsyev, a deserter from the Red Army, and a Caucasian Ossete by race. Now and then we secure information of turbulence in Turkestan, but for the planner of American foreign policy it seems better not to draw any distinctions between the peoples and the Politburo, for they "identify Communism and Russian nationalism".

There is no doubt that many of these planners are either Russian imperialists or they are individuals who have been educated to admire the Russian Empire. Neither group desires to look at the real conditions in the Soviet Union. They do not believe that America should try to profit by the efforts of the nations of the Russian Empire to free themselves, and stress the fact that America must deal only with the Russian people who do not desire Russia to be divided into its national entities. They assert that it is the Russian people who will overthrow Stalin for America.

This idea is not only unreal. It is basically false, for with the exception of small groups of paid agents who will never be able to draw the Russian masses into the struggle against Stalin, there are no Russians who would be willing to oppose him. *The Russian people as an assumed ally of America is a myth.*

The only secure ally for America in the struggle against the Kremlin must be the nations enslaved by Russia and they alone can help America to destroy the tyrannical Kremlin and its slogans. If America neglects these allies, it will risk a real catastrophe in the struggle against Russia. It will not be able to rouse the Russians against the Kremlin but it will repel a full half of the population of the Russian Empire, the enslaved nations.

We can leave aside the ideological basis of this policy, which runs directly counter to the American ideals of freedom for all, and think only of the practical question as to whether the Russians in case of an inter-

national conflict will fight against Stalin. They will not do so, for *a struggle of the Russians against Stalin is contrary to the national interests of the Russian people*. Russian patriots are Russian advocates of Russia as a great power with mystical conceptions of the historical role of Moscow to save the world and to be its teacher. The slogan that Moscow is the head of the world did not arise with Lenin or Stalin but with the Tsars. The idea that it was the task of Moscow to save the world from the "rotten west" did not arise among the Communists but among the Panslavists of the first half of the nineteenth century.

The Eurasian ideology that the Russians historically are closely connected with Asia in the past and future and that this union is the basis of the Russian Empire was not the invention of any Russian Communist internationalist but of Russian nationalist emigres, after the accession to power of the Bolsheviks. This purely imperialistic Russian ideology has been taught by Russian professors also in American universities and the "international" communist government of the Politburo has only taken over these slogans and elevated them to be its chief doctrine. Now we hear from Moscow that the Russians have invented everything, the electric light, the radio, television. There appeared in the Moscow "Literary Gazette" the news that the "Kievan Russians" had even discovered printing in the days of the "Russian Prince" Volodymyr the Great, while all other nations are degenerate.

The slogan, "Moscow the Third Rome, the Eternal Rome for Christianity" arose not among the Bolsheviks but even before the establishment of the tsardom under the Grand Princes of Moscow in the second half of the 15th century. But never has Orthodox Moscow so brought under its control the Orthodox Churches, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Polish and others, not speaking of the Ukrainian, as it has with the help of the atheistic government of Stalin, who for the Moscow Patriarch "has been saved by God and established by God, to rule over Russia." With the aid of Stalin and his police, the Moscow Patriarch has liquidated the "Uniat-Church—so hated by the Russians" in Western and Carpathian Ukraine, which Tsar Nicholas II attempted during World War I without result. Moscow has even succeeded in liquidating the Church-Union in Rumania. With such blessing and help would the Moscow Orthodox Church call upon the Russians to overthrow Stalin, who has so helped in its successes?

Never in history has the Moscow Patriarch declared with such self-confidence as he did under Stalin in 1948 that the Moscow Church is the

only example of the true Christian faith, for all the other churches, Catholic and Protestant alike, have falsified the teachings of Christ.

We do not doubt that among the Russian immigrants in America there are some sincere democrats who are real enemies of the red dictatorship. But every Russian is a great Russian patriot and a member of the Russian nation before he is a democrat or a socialist. The good of the "fatherland" is first. Democracy comes a poor second. This the Americans cannot understand, for they do not know the ways of thinking of the historical European peoples.

The Poles and others of the enslaved nations think in the same way. There is no doubt that if the anti-Communist Poles were ordered to go to Warsaw to overthrow the government of Bierut and reestablish democracy but at the cost of losing the western lands taken from the Germans, that army would find few volunteers to fill its ranks. So there are few Russians who would be willing to overthrow Stalin and the Politburo with the knowledge that the liberation of the Russian people could take place only at the cost of the dismemberment of the Russian Empire. There would be few Russians in the ranks of volunteers with the American army in case of a war between America and its allies and Russia. The Russians will not fight against Moscow, be it white or red. That is certain.

Why will not the Russians fight against red Moscow? They will not, because no one has so increased the power of Russia as Joseph Stalin. The Russian Orthodox Church has never so extended its influence as under the Communist rule of Lenin and Stalin. The Russians remember their services to the "fatherland," for they have again cemented the Russian Empire which in 1918 lay shattered as a broken pot.

That this is the opinion of all Russians and even of the famed Russian socialists is shown by a recent article, "The Rotation of the Foes", written by the Russian socialist, I. Abramovich, and published in the "Socialist Journal", the organ of the Russian socialists in America. (1950. 1-2, pp. 19-20). The author attacks those Russian emigres, who call Stalin Enemy No 1. He brings various charges against Stalin like Hitler, but he admires him, "for he has not dismembered Russia". Of the Bolsheviks, this socialist writes, "*They are despots, tyrants, dictators, and hangmen in many crimes against the people, except one: they are not the dismemberers of Russia.*"

Russia was dismembered in 1917 by the peoples whom it had enslaved, who asserted their right to a free life on the basis of the American ideal of the self-determination of peoples, but in the eyes of a Russian

socialist, this is a crime. It is the merit of Stalin that he has cemented together Russia again.

The Russian will not fight against red Moscow because a new cataclysm in eastern Europe will inevitably bring about the division of Russia into many countries, whether Britain and America wish it or not. In the Great Russian Revolution of 1917, when the national consciousness of the peoples was far less, Russia split up into parts, into national states. In a new cataclysm it will happen ten times as quickly. The Russians know this and therefore they do not want a foreign attack on the Soviets.

Since this is so, *America can count only on the nations enslaved by Moscow* and it is to its interest to win over these peoples. The oppressed nations will fight Stalin for two reasons, to free themselves from the rule of Moscow and to shake off the bloody tyranny of the Kremlin.

The most violent anti-communist slogans will not bring the enslaved nations to the side of America, unless they know in advance what will happen after the fall of the Politburo. The enslaved nations have learned by the experiences of the last 30 years and especially from World War II that the downfall of communism does not necessarily mean liberation. Hitler counted upon anti-communist slogans without liberation in Ukraine and he found that in the second year of the war the Ukrainians were actively fighting both the Soviet and German armies.

This has made the people of eastern Europe more cautious and unwilling to pull other nations' chestnuts out of the fire. If America wishes to have allies in Eastern Europe, it must develop a dynamic program to liberate the oppressed nations in accordance with the American idea of freedom for individuals and for nations. It must realize that the active element of an anti-communist revolution must be the nations enslaved by Russia and convinced that their struggle against Communism will bring them national liberation.

We Americans of Ukrainian origin are bound to call the attention of the American people to this confusing attitude of our foreign policy toward the peoples of eastern Europe. It reminds us involuntarily of the policy of the past six years toward China. There thanks to pro-Communist "expert advisers," America suffered a great defeat and lost a large part of the results of its victory over Japan, purchased at such a cost of American lives and property. We are afraid that if the advisers on Russian policy continue to cherish the ideal of the unity of the Russian Empire and disregard the American ideals of freedom for all peoples, they will bring America to the same catastrophic outcome in Eastern Europe as in China.

THE MYTH OF SLAVIC UNITY

By CLARENCE A. MANNING

For more than a century Europe has been alternately alarmed and consoled by the prospects of the appearance on the political scene of a united block of Slavic peoples who would furnish a needed counterweight to a unified Germany and to a lesser degree Italy. Yet there has always been something extremely vague both in the promises and threats of the new order. Such phrases as the Slav soul, the Slav genius, were employed as much to confuse thought as to be a guide to clear and accurate thinking. At present we hear often about the Slav world as an antagonist of the Anglo-Saxon world.

These questions were not raised in the Middle Ages, when the independent Slav states formed part of the concert of Europe. The Grand Princes of Kiev with their matrimonial alliances throughout the entire continent were still themselves. The Kings of Bohemia and Electors of the Holy Roman Empire had their own place in the political life of the day. So too did the Kings of Poland. No one felt that it was necessary to fit the Slav states into some sort of a framework other than that of Europe.

Then the Slav states fell upon evil times and by the middle of the eighteenth century, Muscovite Russia was the only one that had succeeded in maintaining its political independence. The revival of the other Slav peoples throughout the nineteenth century was one of the most important events of the period but it was scarcely understood when at the end of World War I and the downfall of the three imperialistic empires of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia, the way was open for extending the new democratic ideas into eastern Europe. The failure to do this and the efforts to restore Russia brought about World War II and directly led the world into the cold war of the present day.

European thought on the Slavs was largely disturbed and confused by political propaganda. The ruling circles in Berlin and still more in Vienna became increasingly fearful that they would not be able to maintain their control over the Western and Southern Slavs and they trumpeted loudly the menace to Europe and to European culture, if the Slavs were organized as a mass under the banners of the Russian Tsars.

Their arguments were reflected by the Russian imperial propaganda, for the rulers of Russia in their zeal for expansion and their desire to make St. Petersburg the capital of the world argued that all of the Slavs naturally fell into Russia's orbit, the while in the east they were extending their domain over as many non-Slavic tribes as they could absorb and incorporate in their domains. German opposition and Russian pleadings seemed to confirm each other and the world was swung all too easily into the belief that Slavic unity was inevitable.

There was still another point of view, that of the Slavic idealists. From the appearance of the *Daughter of Slava* written by Jan Kollar in the early part of the nineteenth century, these idealists reacted to the enthusiastic movements for the unification of Germany and Italy and visualized the creation of a great United States of Slavia, in which all the Slav peoples would find their place for the achievement of a just and democratic order. At its best it was a pious expression of hopes for a world organization. At its worst, it was, as the Slav Congress and the American Slav Congress showed during World War II, a mere cloak for Russian military expansion and for the subjugation of all the other Slavs. The movement found its greatest support in Czechoslovakia and played an important role in turning over that country without a struggle to the colossus from the east.

What are the bases for all these theories? They rest entirely upon linguistic evidence. It is undeniably true that the various Slavic languages are far closer to one another than are the languages of any other group. A Slav can pass from the western border of Czechoslovakia to the Pacific Ocean and satisfy the minimum of his physical needs. Such basic words as bread, meat, beer, house, sleep, go, are practically the same in all the Slav languages.

There is something delightfully and deceptively simple about the creation of a theory of linguistic solidarity on the common use of simple words, but it is among these that the likeness is most pronounced. As soon as the vocabulary of the various languages concerns itself with intellectual concepts, the differences begin to increase. They reflect the various cultural influences that the Slav peoples have undergone and the variations increase until we reach that international vocabulary of words like telegraph and telephone that have become the common property of all civilized tongues during the past century.

The bond that apparently holds together the Slav world is therefore one of language. A Slav is a person who speaks a Slav language but outside of this, other criteria begin to fall away.

Anthropologists have tried in vain either by study of the present Slavs or by measuring the skeletons in long abandoned cemeteries to determine the norm of the race as a whole. Each locality, each nation has retained its own peculiarities and somewhere in the Slav environment scholars have found typical representatives of almost all the human races and subraces found on the Eurasian continent. If there are strongly predominating features, they occur only in certain definite regions and they give little support for any belief that there ever was or is now any human type that can be unfailingly recognized as Slavic. The Russians differ from the Poles, the Ukrainians from both; the Slavs of Moravia and the Balkans are to be classified elsewhere.¹

In the field of culture we find the same situation. The features common to all the Slavs are those that go back to the primitive life of pre-historic man and in many cases we cannot be sure from the nature of the remains whether the people who used them were Slavs at all. From the moment when the Slavic tribes appear on the pages of recorded history, we find them as sharply divided as they are to-day. Each tribe and later each nation had its own customs, its own practices, its own traditions, and they have maintained these stubbornly for well over a thousand years. There are border areas which have been forced to swing from one group to another but in general the location of the Slavic peoples to-day is the same as it was when the mediaeval states commenced their political career.

Yet the greatest single factor in putting an end to any general Slav culture was the division of the Slavs at the moment of their Christianization between the Eastern and the Western Churches. The boundary line between Rome and Constantinople ran directly across Slav territory. It was not so much a question of religious dogma, for even to-day the points at dispute between East and West are strikingly small. It was rather the attitude toward life, toward government, toward the ideas inherent in the position of the Byzantine Emperor as compared with those connected with the Pope. It was differences between two cultures.

In the beginning these differences of world outlook were not so important. The Grand Princes of Kiev maintained contact with all the sovereigns of Europe but the inclusion of Moscow in the Mongol Empire and of the Balkan Slavs in the Ottoman Empire served not only as brakes on progress but as instruments of direct retrogression. On the other hand those Slavs who were drawn into the Western tradition shared to the full

¹ This is the gist of the extreme pro-Soviet pamphlet of Prof. Ales Hrdlicka, *The Peoples of the Soviet Union*, Washington, 1942, p. 27.

in the great movements as feudalism and the Renaissance. The Reformation and the Counter-reformation affected them in varying degrees. They shared in all of the artistic and intellectual movements of the day and while a part of their upper classes were denationalized in the Hapsburg Empire, enough remained to ensure the harmonious development of the national life.

Side by side with this there came the question of the written language. Along with Eastern Christianity, a part of the Slavs received the Church Slavic language, a variation of a dialect spoken in the neighborhood of Salonica. It gave to the Slavs who employed it the opportunity to develop their culture far more rapidly than in the West. It rendered accessible to them in a tongue which they understood the wealth and the resources of Christian civilization and literature and they made good use of it. Still it was at best an artificial form of speech and after its first abundant fruits, it became rather a drag upon the people, for it did not prove itself adaptable to the newer needs of the day, but its influence was finally checked only in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when for the first time the vernaculars were brought into literature.

On the other hand, in the West, there was little or no attempt for centuries to create a vernacular literature. Those people who could read and write, used Latin, as they did elsewhere in Western Europe. The chronicles, etc. were all in Latin and it was not until the domination of Latin was ending, that adventurous spirit began to write in their own languages. Yet literary progress, once the tide had set in, was more rapid among the Western and Roman Catholic Slavs, for the newly formed languages were much better as media of literature than were the stereotyped form of Church Slavic with its strong religious traditions.

At the same time, as proof of the vitality of the various Slav peoples and their degree of separation from one another, there never arose either in the East or West any author who was able to appeal to more than one nationality. There was no one like Chaucer who in the *Canterbury Tales*, brought together the English dialects. There was no Dante who did the same for Italian. There was no Luther who by his translation of the Bible into German set the pattern for all of his successors, even if they differed with him religiously. Perhaps the writings of Jan Hus came closest to this conception but his influence was largely confined to Bohemia and Moravia and the later Czech thinkers as Comenius found as sympathetic support in England and Sweden as in any of the Slavic lands. The same was true in Poland, where no one of the sixteenth

century writers advanced their influence across the political boundaries of the country.

There has been an almost endless amount of paper wasted in efforts to prove that there is only one great Slavic literature, of which all the national literatures are a part. Lengthy volumes have been written upon it by students who are desirous of preaching the doctrines of the Slavic brotherhood in one form or another but the results are always disappointing. Each nationality has had its own types of folksongs, its own treatment of the eighteenth century, its own types of romanticism and realism, its own applications of symbolism and of futurism, depending upon its relationship to the great stream of European intellectual life.

There is hardly an outstanding author in any of the Slavic literatures who does not bear the stamp of his own people and their mode of thinking. Shevchenko and Franko are as clearly Ukrainian in essence as Mickiewicz is Polish or Pushkin Russian. The desire of Khvylovy and Zerov to strengthen their European roots is as typical of Ukraine as the efforts of the Russian thinkers and writers to dissociate themselves as thoroughly as possible from the corrupt and degenerate West. The long line of Czech thinkers from Hus to Masaryk is as much a part of the Czech tradition as the folk tales of Marko Kralyevich are an inalienable part of the Serb culture or the ultra-nationalistic writings of the Bulgarian historical novelists mark their own people.

The events of the last years have brought into disrepute the efforts to determine the essentials of national character. It has been painfully easy to group together scattered data and to produce preconceived results. It is hard to draw a line between the personal and the national, between the purely accidental and the deep seated and the vital elements of a people. Yet it is a striking coincidence that throughout the centuries the various Slavic peoples have maintained that role with which they emerged into history. Religiously, socially, culturally, they have continued along their traditional paths. Any attempt to group them together, to find the predominating characteristics of the Slavs as a whole are foreordained to end in a mass of conflicting details which deprive the studies of any real significance.

From any point of view, a comparison of the various Slav characters as a basis for united action is as futile as the hopes and efforts of the Pan-Germanism of the past, when dreamers and politicians thought of the possibility of lumping together in one grand organization not only the Germans and the Dutch but also the Anglo-Saxon and the Scandinavian worlds. The twentieth century has been fruitful in the production

of these racial dreams. Pan-Latinism with its object of uniting all the Latin-speaking countries, Pan-Hispanism with its dreams of restoring the glories of the Spanish Empire, Pan-Turanianism with its pious wishes for creating another great community of nations among the Finno-Ugric and Turkic peoples of Europe and Asia, all of these move on that shadowy ground where idealism and greed for power are almost indistinguishable.

For the adherents of these ideas, language and the possibilities of language relationships are the all-important items. They are not concerned with history, with national ideals, with the concrete manifestations of life. It makes little or no difference to them whether the life of the Balkan Slavs proceeds along the general pattern of the Mediterranean area, whether the Czechs have been under the influence of western Europe for centuries and owe to this many of the peculiarities of their culture and national psychology, whether or not there is a distinct Polish attitude toward life. All of these things can be swept away without a murmur in the name of some vague Slavdom which its advocates are imposing because of the blessings of language.

It is easy to see how this idea of language can be perverted to suit the interests of the masters of the Kremlin. At the very moment of the foundation of the Soviet regime, Lenin, sure of the success of his ideal internationalism, was ready to cast aside any and all linguistic theories for the success of his experiment. The answer which he received was the desire of the Ukrainians and of all the other oppressed peoples of the Russian Empire to recover their liberty and to make plans for the reorganization of their own lives in connection with the democratic world. The Soviet drive to the west in 1920 was shattered on the combined opposition of the Poles and the Ukrainians and it showed Stalin who was with the southern armies the weakness of pushing his claims for world domination purely on the economic basis. Something more was needed and this was furnished by the revival of the old idealistic theories, exactly as Hitler saw fit in his dreams for Pan-German conquest to take under his control the Scandinavian countries as Norway and Denmark.

Now under the new dispensation, Moscow became the elder brother of the Slavs. It was from Moscow that they were to learn how to run their lives; it was from Moscow that they were to receive new ideas to adopt new modes of living, to the end that they could become ideal citizens and subjects of the new Soviet Union, the new hope of humanity. The standards of living and of thinking in Moscow were destined to be the norms for people everywhere and especially among the Slavs who

were henceforth to be considered as speaking merely variants of the Muscovite language, even though unfalsified history knows of older forms of the Slav tongues.

The Muscovite theories have received added support in Kremlin circles from the Soviet theories in both genetics and language. Under both of these as exemplified by Lysenko and Marr, it is possible to change all inherited characteristics exactly as it is to be presumed that all languages will tend to become similar as they approach the ideal form of human speech, which is very obviously that language spoken by the great master of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist thought. Thus Soviet science and Soviet philology both are combining to treat the problem of the common Slavic culture as something that has already been decided in the interest of Moscow.²

For more than two centuries the Ukrainians have felt the full weight of the tsarist efforts to remodel their culture and ideals on Muscovite lines and to deny their own individuality as a nation and a people. The rest of the world including the other Slavs looked on partially in ignorance and partially without sympathy. To-day the process has been advanced and the new Soviet science and tactics are able to apply the same treatment to all the other Slavic peoples who have passed within the iron curtain. Nothing shows better the new methods than the reevaluation of the services of men like Thomas G. Masaryk as seen through Communist eyes on the one hundredth anniversary of his birth. Gone are all of his salient characteristics except those very few that can be fitted into the new situation. Gone are the dreams of a Slavic brotherhood of nations, gone are all hopes of fitting the Slavic peoples into a worldwide federation of equals. The Slavs, for their future as for their rewritten past, are but pale reflections of the elder brother Moscow whom they are doing their best to emulate.

It is high time that the world returned to that older point of view which reigned for so many centuries, when the Slavic rulers found their place in the concert of European powers. The old order was not perfect and there were many crudities and injustices in it but there was not the deepseated intellectual barbarism and neglect of humanity that prevails in the new order. Facts were facts, truth was true, and if a gullible age paid too much attention to the stories of their elders, they did not attempt to deny the present. We can smile sadly at the whim-

² The latest dispatches from Moscow state that Stalin has personally denounced Marr's linguistic theories as sabotage against smaller peoples. This is probably an attempt to win the favor of the subjugated nations in a coming war.

sical belief of the rulers of the day that the fate of nations depended upon the matrimonial alliances of the rulers, whereby provinces and nations were handed around from one family to another. At its worst it was far less brutal and less destructive of human dignity than the present when in the name of the new Soviet man, the hand of authority reaches to the last individual and bids him change his mode of speech, his mode of thought and his mode of action.

It was a fatal day for the Slavs, for Europe, and for humanity when the Slavic idealists and enthusiasts went beyond their kinship in language to extend it over the entire domain of culture and of political organization. It was still more fatal when in the name of their common Slav heritage they temporized with their national traditions, their historic past and their mode of life to seek an uneasy future under the protection of Russia-U. S. S. R. There, to quote the bitter words of Taras Shevchenko, "*all are silent, because they are happy*". That is a far cry from the dream of the early Slav leaders who saw in the Slavic revival a flowering of the basic features of the culture of each of the Slavic peoples, the culmination of that thousand years of history during which the national characters of the different peoples were being formed and developed. It emphasizes the differences between the lands within and without the iron curtain and it is another plea for the carrying into effect of those ideals of self-determination for all peoples which were so loudly and enthusiastically greeted at the end of World War I. The moment for their realization passed but it must come back, if mankind is to progress along the path of freedom and democracy.

A MONUMENT OF GLORY

A noted Ukrainian sculptor M., who escaped during the war from Kiev to the West, had the misfortune at the end of the war to be „liberated” by Soviet troops in a German town — on the edge of a western occupation zone. As he had not the slightest desire to return „home”, he proposed to the Soviet authorities to build a memorial of Soviet victory there. His idea was accepted and he received the permission to take from the German „bourgeois” cemeteries all the marble needed for the monument. In several weeks the huge monument — a bas-relief with a Soviet soldier flanked by a female figure of Glory — was ready. The work was much praised and on the day of the unveiling a mass parade began in the presence of many Soviet generals. One of them delivered a speech and at the end he turned and demanded to see the author of the monument: — „I want to thank him publicly for such a fine work of Soviet art” — he said.

But the sculptor was nowhere to be found. Some hours before, when all were absorbed with preparations for the parade, he passed the frontier into the western zone... (SH)

NATIONAL IN FORM, SOCIALISTIC IN CONTENT¹

by ALO RAUN

Many American pro-Communists and fellow travelers picture Soviet Russia, a multinational state, as a paradise for the non-Russian population, and emphasize that the Soviet Union has achieved a true and complete ethnic democracy, in which all the many nations enjoy equal rights. In many articles in our *Quarterly*, we have maintained a different point of view. We have tried to prove that the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union are suffering steadily increasing pressure from the brutal policy of Russianization. This has been particularly true in Ukraine and White Ruthenia, where thousands of intellectuals have been annihilated and cultural institutions have been closed.

The author of this article gives a detailed picture of one aspect of this policy of Russianization as applied to the non-Slavic peoples of European and Asiatic Russia that have been forced within the Soviet Union.—(Editor).

In his *Problems of Leninism*² Stalin says: "The period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialistic reconstruction in the USSR is a period of the *flourishing* of national cultures, socialistic in their content and national in their form . . . The flourishing of cultures, national in form and socialistic in content under the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, with a view of their being absorbed into one common socialistic culture (socialistic both in form and in content) with one common language, when the proletariat shall triumph in the entire world and socialism shall prevail, is precisely what is implied by the dialectic of the Leninist attitude towards the problem of national culture".

Let us consider this interesting utterance more closely. It is easier to interpret its so-called socialistic content. This term implies, first and foremost, everything contained in the works of Lenin and Stalin, as well as in other party publications, not only of a purely theoretical nature, but also praises of kolkhozes etc., both in verse and in prose.

The question of the alleged national form is far more complicated. Examining any one of the languages of the Soviet Union, e. g. Mordvinian, one is shocked by the discovery that it swarms with Russian words, and that often only the suffixes are Mordvinian. The word-order, use of

¹ I have discussed the same topics more briefly and in a different connection in "Scholar" No. 1. (Heidelberg 1947).

² 10th edition, p. 426-427, here quoted according to the *Bolshaya Sovietskaya Entsiklopediya* (Great Soviet Encyclopedia) vol. 35, 1937, col. 472.

cases, etc., are a poor imitation of Russian. This applies especially to the texts translated from Russian. The situation is somewhat better in original texts. But in the languages of the Soviet Union, translations predominate, and it is a well-established custom there to quote from the political literature as often as possible, even in a grammar of a language. As a matter of fact, other books are not always available, for it sometimes happens that a "purge" deprives the literature of a Soviet nationality of practically all its authors. A Votjak teacher complained in 1941 that for a while he and his colleagues had to teach only grammar in their schools, since most of the genuine authors and their works had been proscribed.

The present author has investigated the Soviet policy of spelling and script, and collected all the data relating to this problem which were available in Estonia before and during the Soviet rule of 1940-41.

In the thirties there was still some liberality to be observed in the Soviet Union, and in 1934 the *Latin* script was extolled as "*the October script*".³ But a reaction soon set in, and from 1937 to 1940 the Russian script and spelling were made compulsory.

Of the Finno-Ugric languages, Ingrian and Vepsä had had some textbooks in Latin script issued since 1932. The situation in 1941, however as described by a Russian scholar,⁴ was such that these nationalities were supposed to be sufficiently "served by the Russian literary language", i. e., their literary languages had been liquidated.

An interesting case is that of the Karelian language. Before and during World War I, only some religious (Orthodox) literature in Russian script was published. In 1931 the Latin script was introduced. About 1934, a Russian scholar⁵ "proved" that the Karelian language was not so close to Finnish as had been assumed, and that consequently it was more convenient to use Russian characters in writing Karelian—a patently nonsensical statement. Since 1937 Russian characters have been used also for North-Karelian. But, when in 1940 the Karelian Soviet Republic was renamed the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Republic, the Russian script was thrown overboard, and Suomi-Finnish was recognized as the official language. This seemed advisable in view of the Soviet attempt to conquer Finland.⁶

³ Allusion to the October Revolution of 1917.

⁴ Jusmanov, whose works are not available to me at this moment.

⁵ D. V. Bubrich, professor in Leningrad.

⁶ Before 1934, the Suomi-Finnish language was officially used as the literary language of Soviet-Karelia. *K. H. M.*

The situation was easier with regard to the Volga-Finnish languages, Mordvinian and Cheremis (Mari), in both of which there was no literature except some translated books of a religious nature in Russian characters. True, there was among the Cheremiss an intelligent lexicographer,⁷ who had applied several auxiliary signs and combinations differing from the ordinary Russian script, but since such discrepancies were claimed to be injurious to the harmonious unity of the peoples of the Soviet Union, they were prohibited. The Votjaks or Udmurts too, ever since the inception of their literary language, have used the Russian characters with only very minor modifications.

The case of the Zyrjan or Komi script was more troublesome. In 1918, a Zyrjan teacher⁸ invented the Zyrjan script, based upon the Russian, but with numerous modifications. In the beginning of the thirties efforts were made to replace it by the Latin script⁹. But as early as 1935, Molodcov's script reappeared, and the Russian characters were reintroduced throughout.

Of the remaining Finno-Ugric literary languages, Vogul (or Mansi) and Ostjak (or Kanty) were established in 1931 and were written in Latin characters. In 1937, however, Russian script was imposed upon them. Exactly the same was the fate of the Russian Lappic or Saami.

In Soviet terminology, the last-mentioned three languages are called Northern languages, and a common Latin script was used for them after 1931. But in 1937, these labors were undone, the only recognized script for them now being the Russian. The same also happened to Giljak or Niv, Gold or Nanaj, Jurak-Samoyede or Nenec, Korjak or Nymylan, Lamut or Even, Chukchi or Luoravetlan, Tungus or Evenki and Ude, while the so-called Ostjak-Samoyede or Selgup script was Russianized only as late as 1940, if the available data are correct. In Itelmen (Kamchatka) and Ket (Yenisej-Ostjak), the "national form" has been completely abolished, and these peoples are "served by the Russian literary language". In the Eskimo language of the Soviet Union, the so-called Juit, Russian characters are likewise compulsory since 1937.

The Turko-Tatar scripts of the Soviet Union were originally based on the Arabic script, which was somewhat modified. Then followed a period of Latinity and, eventually between 1937 and 1940, the Russian script was introduced. In 1937 the following Turkic literary languages

⁷ Vasiljev by name.

⁸ Molodcov by name.

⁹ Some extensive publications, such as the collected works of the Zyrjan writer Lebedev were actually printed in this.

were Russianized: Kakas (1931-1937 Latin script), Yakut (1920-1937 Lat.), Crimean-Tatar (1928-1937 Lat.), Karachai-Balkar (1924-1937 Lat.), Kumyk (1927-1937 Lat.), Nogai (1928-1937 Lat.), Shor, (1931-1937 Lat.). In 1939 the Russianization of Kazan-Tatar was carried out (1928-1939 Lat.). In 1940 Russianization involved: Azerbaijan (1922-1940 Lat.), Bashkir (1927-1940 Lat.), Karakalpak (1928-1940 Lat.), Kazakh (1928-1940 Lat.), Kirghiz (1927-1940 Lat.), Turkmen (1927-1940 Lat.), Uzbek (1927-1940 Lat.). In the Chuvash language, which used the Russian script from the first, various disturbing deviations were removed. I have no exact data about Tuva (Urjanxaj), in which the Latin script was used after 1932, or about Uigur, which employed the Latin script after 1928.

The case of the Iranian languages is much the same. Thus, in Tat (1929-1937 Lat.) in 1937 and in Tadjik (1928-1940 Lat.) in 1940 the Russian script was imposed. I have no exact data about Shugnan, which had the Latin script since 1932. It is possible that in Beluc and Kurd, which are spoken mostly outside of the Soviet Union, Latinity had not yet been abolished in 1941. In the Ossete language which used Latin characters between 1923 and 1927, the Russian script has come into use only in the region of Northern Ossetia, while more will have to be said about South Ossetia.

The languages of the Caucasus were mostly Russianized in 1937. This is true of Abazir (1932-1937 Lat.), Adyghe (1926-1937 Lat.), Avar (1928-1937 Lat.), Darghin (1928-1937 Lat.), Ingush (1922-1937 Lat.), Kabardin (1923-1937 Lat.), Lak (1928-1937 Lat.), Lezghin (1928-1937 Lat.), Tabassaran (1931-1937 Lat.), and Chechen (1925-1937 Lat.).

The languages that have kept their traditional scripts are Armenian¹⁰, and naturally, the mother-tongue of Stalin himself, Georgian or Gruzian, which has even displayed some tendency to expansion. Thus, in Abaz, which had Latin characters from 1924-37, the reform of 1937 resulted not in the usual Russian script but in the Georgian script with some additional signs. Georgian characters, with certain additions, have been introduced also in South-Ossetia. But the Megrel (or Mingrel) literature in Georgian script was completely eliminated and this nation "served" by the Georgian literary language.

Likewise, the traditional Mongol writing had not yet been abolished in 1941, but in Kalmuk (1648-1922 national characters on a Mongol basis, 1922 Russian, 1930 Latin, 1938 again Russian script), Burjat (up

¹⁰ Probably in the interests of political propaganda among the Armenians outside of the Soviet Union.

to 1931 Mongol, 1931 Latin, 1938 Russian script), and Oïrot (1929-1937 Latin, since 1937 Russian script), Russianization has been carried out in full.

The Moldavian script has been Russianized, since Latin characters would have brought it too close to Rumanian. Even the Gipsy language is written with Russian characters in the Soviet Union.

From the facts mentioned above it may be concluded that since 1937, even the outward aspect of the so-called "national form" of Soviet Culture, i. e. the characters in which literature is written and printed, has been subjected to the most far-reaching Russianization. Several of the national tongues have been completely wiped out as literary languages. As regards the rest, the Russian script has been imposed with ruthless consistency, in order to "bring the nations of the Soviet Union nearer to each other", i. e. to the Russian language and the Bolshevist way of thinking. The only interesting exception that we mentioned, the Georgian language, whose influence on some of the neighboring languages has been increased, finds its explanation in the descent of Stalin, who is reputed to be able to speak only Georgian and Russian.

In the view of the above, one tends to wonder about the meaning of the early experiments with Latin characters which looks so extraordinarily like a "Trotskyite" deviation. Inconsistencies and sudden changes of policy on order from above are characteristic of the present regime in Russia. But it is possible that there may have been some meaning also in that early phase of development. One thinks in this connection, e. g., of the Soviet agrarian policy, which started by distributing landed property among the poor. The next step was the driving of all the small landowners into state-farms or kolkhozes, and if anyone dared to resist, he was called a kulak and was liquidated. Now, the Latinization of the scripts sounds like an initial distribution of property, while the final Russianization might be compared to the definitive imposition of state control by organizing the kolkhozes. But this is no more than a comparison.

I had finished this survey, when I got into my hands the new volume of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia, dealing esp. with the USSR, issued in Moscow in 1948. In the chapter "The languages of the nations of the USSR", B. Grande supplies an official Soviet interpretation of the development traced above. As it is most interesting in its way, I cannot help quoting the passage¹¹ in extenso, in my own translation:

"Nevertheless, the Latinized alphabets which in their time played a positive part as an instrument for the mass liquidation of illiteracy, in

¹¹ col. 1630-1631.

the course of time ceased to satisfy the requirements of a further powerful development of the languages of the USSR. *All the nations of the USSR display a strong tendency to learn Russian and to read in the original the works of Lenin and Stalin as well as the classics of Russian literature*; in all of the republics the Russian language is taught from the second school year as the second language after the mother-tongue; the peoples of the USSR endeavor to avail themselves of the leading Russian culture and science; finally, the languages of the USSR are enriched by a considerable quantity of words taken from Russian or by way of Russian. Under these circumstances, it is far more to the purpose to have one common basis for both languages, the mother-tongue and Russian, than to use two different bases of alphabet, since any literate person, who knows one alphabet, will then be able to read in both languages, his mother-tongue and Russian, without waste of time and energy for additional studies. These circumstances have caused a new movement for replacing the Latinized alphabets by new ones based on the Russian alphabet. As early as 1935 the Kabardinians adopted an alphabet on a Russian basis. The Kabardinian alphabet may be regarded as the first experiment in new alphabets. The movement for new alphabets has developed in the RSFSR especially since 1937.¹² In the course of the following two years all the nations of the RSFSR abandoned their Latinized alphabets for new ones based on the Russian script. As for the union republics, the new alphabet was accepted first by Azerbaijan (the alphabet confirmed on Sept. 17, 1939), and since then also by the other union republics (except, of course, the Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, and Karelo-Finnish¹³ Union Republics, which have long used the Latin alphabet, as well as the Armenian and Georgian Republics, which preserve their scripts established in ancient times). At the same time new orthographic rules were formulated, since the acceptance of the new alphabets is not a pure mechanical exchange of the Latin characters for the Russian ones, but is connected with a considerable reconstruction of the orthographic system itself. As the fundamental reason for the adoption of the Russian alphabetic base was the necessity of facilitating the spread of literacy in two languages, the mother-tongue and Russian, the orthographies in the new alphabets were elaborated anew on the basis of the structure of the Russian alphabet, which made possible the assimilation of the orthographies to the Russian orthography as regards the use of letters as well as the

¹² This was also the year of persecution of foreigners and of their expulsion from the USSR.

¹³ This is not exact, see above.

assimilation of all orthographies among themselves. The entire scholarly side of the elaboration of the new orthographies and alphabets was concentrated in the central scholarly institutions (the Institute of Language and Literature¹⁴ of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR), whereby from the very beginning the risks of disharmony were removed and the unification of the alphabets on the basis of a common alphabetic structure was effected. One of the characteristic features of the alphabetic and orthographic work of the last period is its systematic nature and the severe scientific control over it exercised by the central scientific organs. The alphabets and orthographies of all the autonomous republics of the RSFSR were confirmed not only by the local governmental organs, but also by the People's Commissariat of Culture of the RSFSR, after having received definitive sanction from the Institute of Language and Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. This was very important esp. for the languages with incompletely established norms of literary grammar. Simultaneously with the adoption of the new alphabets, some alphabets and orthographies, which already had rested on a Russian basis Mari, Chuvash, Komi or Zyrjan were recast and fixed with greater precision. These latter had been based on the principle of the reciprocal correspondence of the letters and phonemes of these languages, but not on the structure of the Russian alphabet. Therefore many terms adopted by these languages from Russian and pronounced alike in both languages, were written in different ways. Even though it was possible to put up with this fact at first, gradually, as the connections with Russian culture widened and the knowledge of Russian spread among the masses, such deviations in the orthography began to impede the learning of both languages. Therefore the orthographies of these languages were recast and all the Russian letters as well as the structural peculiarities of the Russian alphabet were brought into their alphabets."

¹⁴ Instytut Jazyka i Pisjmenosti, the latter being a broader notion than "literature".

THE TRYPILLYAN CULTURE IN UKRAINE

by YAROSLAV PASTERNAK

I.

While conducting excavations in Kiev, at the close of the past century, the director of the Ukrainian National Museum V. Khvoyka unexpectedly discovered the remnants of pottery covered with peculiar painted ornaments, clay figurines, implements of stone and bone—which



Trypillian Culture in Ukraine. — Map of the most important finds.

were strikingly different from the known archeological remains, found previously in the region of the Dnieper River. This new find led him to systematic archeological research in the village of Trypillya (Tripolie), near Kiev, and thus revealed a hitherto unknown prehistoric culture named Trypillian after the village which proved to be a veritable archeological treasury. This discovery of not only local but European significance, is one of the most important links in the cultural development of the Ukrainian lands in the Upper Stone or Neolithic era.

At that time the population of Europe was divided into two categories, according to their ways of securing a livelihood. One group consisted of the nomadic tribes of northern and eastern Europe, which led a life of hunting, fishing and food-collecting. To the other group belonged the more civilized tribes of southern and western Europe, which lived by still primitive agriculture and cattle raising and led a settled life. A common trait of the material culture of this second group was their pottery, decorated with spiral and meander patterns. To this last group belonged also the tribes of the Trypillian culture, which occupied the fertile Ukrainian black soil from the Dnieper to the western boundaries of Podillya (Podolia).

Many European archeologists have studied the Trypillian culture, and the knowledge of this period is the fruit of their combined work. The objects of their investigation were at first the remnants of Trypillian settlements, of which there are now several hundreds. The most important



Reconstruction of a Trypillian dwelling from Nezvyska. — After L. Kozlowski.

and from the historical and cultural point of view the most interesting finds were the areas of baked clay, called "t o c h k y" (platforms), the purpose of which was for a long time a riddle to archeologists, until it was finally established that these platforms were the remains of Trypillian dwellings. In comparison with corresponding remains of pre-historic dwellings of the same area

constructed by agricultural tribes in the rest of Europe, the Trypillian platforms are far superior architecturally. They were built throughout of wood and clay on a system unknown elsewhere in Neolithic Eu-

rope. On the well leveled site chosen for the new structure a layer of logs was placed; this was covered by another layer of large raw bricks, on which in turn was built a fire; this was fed until the bricks under it were red and well baked. The bricks were then covered with a thin coat of pure yellow clay. This clay coat was likewise baked in order to make it waterproof and as a protection against rodents (mice and rats). Some of the brick foundations were covered with 4-5 layers of clay. The low walls of the dwelling were woven basket-fashion out of willow shoots held by a framework of oak beams and covered both inside and outside with clay. The roof was erected on separate oak poles, its straw or reed thatch was fastened to wooden cross beams. In the village of Nezvyska, West Ukraine, L. Kozlowski excavated the remains of Trypillian dwellings similar to the Greek *megaron*. They consisted of one room with a rather large ante chamber and a smaller annex without walls.

Three clay models of prehistoric houses found south of Kiev (Volodymyrivka, Popudnya, Sushkivka) give a good idea of these prehistoric dwellings. One of these models has a vestibule with a high threshold.

In the right hand corner from the entrance is a clay oven combined with a sleeping place; along the left wall is a bench, on which a woman kneels over a milling stone. Opposite the entrance, nearer to the rear wall is a cross shaped elevation, probably the domestic altar, and over it is a small round window. It is an interesting fact that today, as five thousand years ago, the Ukrainian peasant builds his house after the same general plan, with the stove, its attached sleeping place and the bench in the same positions.

The walls and fireplace of the Trypillian house often bear traces of colored painted ornaments, and this is shown on the models of the houses. The model from Volodymyrivka was decorated both outside and inside, around the door and the window. Often even the floor is ornamented. This would signify a highly developed esthetic sense.

Beside small one-family dwellings, about 200-350 square feet, in area as shown by the models, the Trypillians had also much larger dwellings 25X70 feet. These had more entrances and rooms with fireplaces. This indicates that several families sometimes lived together and that the Neolithic matriarchate also existed in Neolithic Ukraine. Those rooms that had no fireplaces were probably used as store-rooms. The poorer populace lived in pit dwellings (Kiev, Rzhyshev).

Groups of such dwellings forming whole villages were arranged in rows (West Podillya) and for greater safety in circles (Kolomyishchyna).

More than a thousand dwellings were excavated in Volodymyrivka, and so this settlement might be regarded as the organizational center of the tribes in the Dnieper region.

Together with the discovery of these settlements and dwellings new materials for the study of Trypillian agricultural civilization were unearthed. V. Khvoyka noticed and it was proved by all the following excavations that the bricks, which served as foundations, as well as the covering of clay had a large amount of chaff mixed in them. Often charred remains of wheat, rye, barley and millet grains were found. On this basis V. Khvoyka and A. Spitzyn regard the Trypillian culture as the oldest agricultural civilization in Europe; i. e. the present central Ukraine was the cradle of European agriculture.

The Neolithic *agriculture* was still primitive and the Trypillians cultivated the soil with the help of stone or bone hoes, many of which are still found on the sites of their settlements. The ears of the ripe grain were cut with flint knives, but in the settlement of Kolomyishchyna T. Passek found a large bone sickle. The grain was ground into flour on mill stones. These agricultural implements exceed in number all other tools found in the Trypillian settlements and this convinces scientists that agriculture was the most important means of livelihood of the prehistoric inhabitants of Ukraine.

Cattle raising seemed to be of less importance to the Trypillians. But in this they were more or less on the same level as other settled Neolithic civilizations. The bones found in the excavated settlements show that the Trypillians raised two breeds of cattle. One was small, the ancestors of a breed still raised by the Hutsuls in the Carpathian mountains; the other was a much larger breed, somewhat like the aurochs. The bones of horses, probably still wild, are rarely found. Cattle raising took the first place in Trypillian civilization only in the Bronze age, when the matriarchal system was changed into the patriarchal. Then the Trypillians owned more horses and it is possible that they were already tamed, as in the settlements of this time bone bits are often found.

Fishing was not very important in the Trypillian household, but large quantities of shells of fresh water mollusks have been dug out of the ancient refuse heaps outside the settlements and this indicates that the Trypillians were not above the most primitive means of securing food-collecting. *Hunting* seemed of least importance. The excavations showed only very few bones of wild animals. This can be explained by the fact that their domestic animals supplied them with enough meat, and that hunting is not an important part of the life of agricultural peoples.

II.

Beside these fundamental forms of domestic civilization the Trypillians cultivated many crafts, such as pottery making, modeling of clay figures, the making of flint, stone and bone tools and weaving. The metallic (copper) tools were imported from Asia Minor.

The best developed domestic craft was *pottery*. Among all the ceramic groups of the Neolithic era in Europe, the Trypillian holds without doubt the first place, for its technique of preparing clay, its wealth of forms and colored ornamentation. This pottery is universally regarded by archeologists as the most characteristic trait of the Neolithic culture. This pottery has enabled scholars to establish the territorial groups and the chronology of the whole region of Trypillian culture—the Culture of Painted Pottery, as it was at first termed.



Trypillian Pottery from the Dniestr Region. Left so called „Binocles” (Found in Lysychnyky), right a ritualistic vessel on human (?) feet (Nezvyska), — Before the war from the Museum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv.

Trypillian pottery knows two kinds of vessels. The first and more elaborate were meant for table use and the storing of food; the other was simpler and was used for cooking. The first was made of purified clay, usually well baked, of a terra-cotta color and often as thin as porcelain. It is very varied in form and in its painted ornamentation. The second type is gray, much heavier, made of clay mixed with ground pieces of shells and sand to render it more fire resistant. It is ornamented with a simple incised design.

The leading motifs of the painted pottery, the main expression of the artistic spirit of the Trypillians, were spirals and volutes. Their fantastic ingenuity and boldness of design has made them the finest specimens in the whole Neolithic era. Even today they are highly admired by artists. The wealth of forms corresponds to the richness of painted ornament. In the earlier phase in the Dniester region a polychromy of

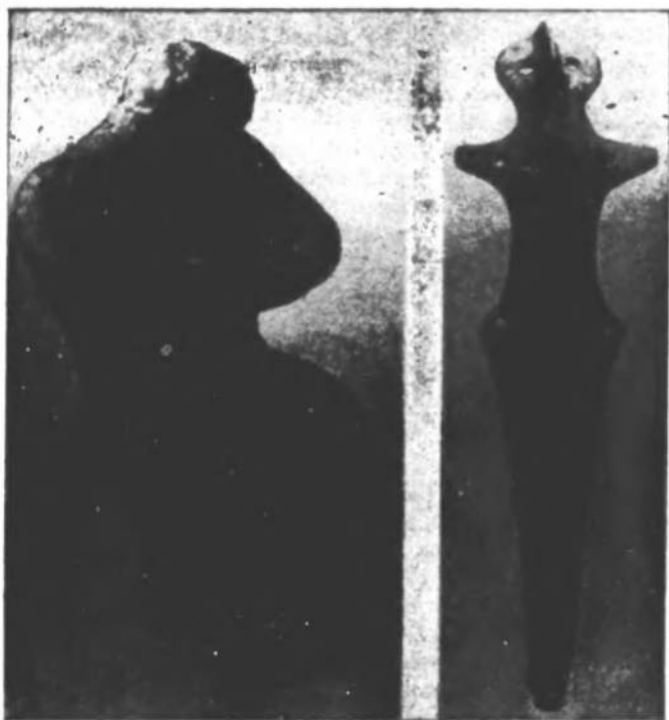
white and black patterns was used on a red slip. In the Dnieper and Boh regions a black design was used on a natural, well smoothed brick background. In the later phases only the monochrome remained, made in dark brown or black on a red slip, but then the color of the background often was more striking than the ornament (Bilche Zolote).

Most interesting, however, is the variety of forms, which indicates the large number of purposes which this pottery served. This is a sign of the well developed household. The large inverted pear-shaped vessels, with high helmet-like lids, often found beside the mill stones, were no doubt used for storing grain. Water was kept in large clay "barrels" with rows of handles for convenient carrying. Meat was probably stored in the wide-brimmed amphoras, decorated with small plastic heads of bulls or rams (P. Kurinny). A whole series of squat pitchers and clay sieves were used in dairying, and bread could have been kneaded in the large unornamented clay basins. A form peculiar to the pottery of Trypillya, and unknown elsewhere in European archeology, are the so called "binocles"—a joined pair of hollow cylinders widening toward the top into bowl-shaped brims. When covered with stretched bladders they could have served as drums at tribal rituals. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that similar single clay drums (monocles) are still used in India as a folk instrument.

Human and animal clay figures form a separate group of Trypillian pottery. Such figurines are common to the entire group of agricultural civilizations along the Danube. They are also found in Crete and Troy, but on the sites of Trypillian settlements they are more numerous and varied, and have their own special significance. The human figures are naked and rarely masculine. Feminine figures are in both sitting and standing positions. The former are more realistic and are often seated on chairs. Two figures from Sushkivka and Krynychky represent mothers with children in their arms. According to the experts on Trypillian art the figure of the mother bending over her child found in Sushkivka is the finest expression of maternity hitherto found in Neolithic Europe. The standing figures are more simplified, with jointed legs and short stumps for arms. In both types, however, the necklace, belt and footwear are often indicated, as well as flowing hair and sometimes tattooing on the body.

The purpose of these figurines is not altogether clear. They have been thought to represent the ideal primeval beauty (Hoernes), or to typify women and serving maids burned on the pyres of the dead (L. Kozlowski), or the maternal head of the tribe in the matriarchal family

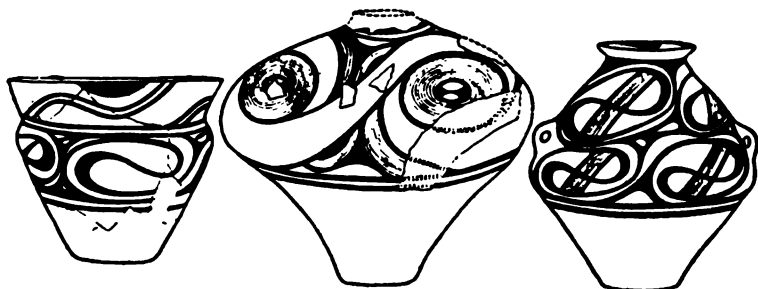
(V. Shcherbakivsky). Finally the excavations of the entire settlement of Kolomyishchyna confirmed the hypothesis of Obermayer, that these figures have a deeper religious meaning. They were always found at fireplaces or together with urns containing burned animal bones, which would signify that these objects were held to be endowed with magic powers to insure fertility and success in the household.



Trypillian finds. — Left: Woman with child from Sushkivka. Clay, Third millenium B.C. (The support a recent addition). — Right: Feminine figure from Bilche Zolote. Same epoch. Both figures were before the war in the Museum of Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv.

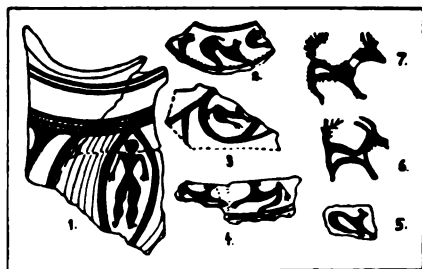
Among the animal figures the bull is the most frequent. The bull or its parts are also found on painted pottery. In the settlement of Koshyliv-tsi a bone tablet with the drawing of a bull's head was subsequently also

unearthed. The cult of the bull as a symbol of power, so common to all the Mediterranean civilizations in the II millenium B. C., was spread throughout Ukrainian prehistoric territory. Beside the bull are figures of cows, sheep, swine and less frequently horses, which were also probably connected with the primeval religious ideas of the Trypillians (animism, fetishism).



Ornamental Motifs on Trypillian Pottery from Volodymyrivka and Petreny (center). — After T. Passek.

The decorative inclinations of the Trypillian artists are apparent not only in sculpture. Aside from the colored ornamentation of spiral and volute motifs on the pottery of that time, there occur fairly frequently specimens of figural painting, which usually represent domestic animals.



Human and Animal Motifs on Trypillian Pottery: 1. Rzhyschiv, 2-5 Petreny. 6-7 Krutoborodyntsi. — After T. Passek.

The pottery excavated in Petreny is ornamented with designs of fantastic bulls and dogs with claws, painted in black. K. Schuchhardt and Chykalenko maintain that the arched bodies of the animals could have been the final phase in the development of certain ornaments, in which the abstract volute is developed into living form (vivificationism). One large amphora from Krutoborodyntsi

is decorated with the figures of four animals: a male and female goat, a dog and a deer. Separate representations of bulls and dogs are found on vessels from Shypyntsi, Koshylyvtsi and Bilche Zolote.

Human figures were rarely used as a decorative motif for pottery. So far they have been found only on the site of the settlement at Rzhyschiv excavated by V. Khvoyka. It is certain that this type of ornamentation was not incidental, and it is very possible that the human as well as the animal figure had a specific magical meaning. V. Buttler is convinced that even the very common spiral motif is for the Neolithic artist a symbol of ever advancing movement, perhaps life itself.

The study of the highly artistic geometrical and figural ornaments on Trypillian pottery clearly shows that these were not merely the work of the potters. Separate groups of painters and decorators must have developed and executed these designs, in view of their color, form and meaning. Thus we may consider these men the first to lay the deep and firm foundations for Ukrainian folk art. Variations of these primeval designs still persist in Ukrainian peasant embroidery, tapestries, Easter eggs, pottery and so on. It is possible that some of these branches of folk art existed already in the prehistoric era. For example the making of tapestries was well known to the Scythians (VIII-II centuries B. C.) and it is very possible that the Trypillians knew it also, for their weaving was already highly developed.

III.

The burial rites of the Trypillians still offer an unsolved problem. Some scientists maintain that the dead were burned often with the whole dwelling (L. Kozłowski), but some excavations show that the Trypillians burned only the dead body (Veremya, Kononcha, Kolodyste, Krutoborodyntsi, Vasylykivtsi), or buried them in a curled position (Krutoborodyntsi, Chernykhiv), or in a straight position (Kolodyshche, Shcherbakivka). A skeletal burial ground was discovered in the "Verteba" cave (Bilche Zolote). Here all the skulls belong to the Indo-European long-headed races — the majority to the Mediterranean race, some to the pre-Slavonic and a few to the Nordic.

The second important question in the study of Trypillian culture is the *problem of its origin*. Some scholars as Shcherbakivsky, think that the Trypillians came from Asia Minor. D. Krychevsky maintains that they came from Central Europe. G. Childe and E. Schroll seek the prototypes of the painted pottery in Mesopotamia or Transylvania or the Sudeten countries. We, however, think that the Trypillian tribes on the territory of contemporary Ukraine beginning with the upper Paleolithic period were native. Y. Polansky, I. Moroshan, and I. Ambrozhevych discovered over a hundred settlements of that age in Western Podillya and

along the Dniester and Prut rivers, and about the same number were discovered in Eastern Ukraine by M. Rudynsky, I. Smolychiv and others. This means that those Ukrainian lands which were not covered by the destructive ice sheet were already well inhabited in the upper Paleolithic period. E. Krychevsky in his latest work (1941) discusses the flint tools of the late Paleolithic and the early Neolithic type of Campigne, and their subsequent development into the Trypillian. This continual development of culture furnishes the basis for the conclusion of the continuity of the population.

Therefore we are fully justified in regarding the Trypillians as the original ethnic root of the Ukrainian people.

The chronology of Trypillian culture is the third important question in the study of this period. The relative chronology of Trypillian culture, that is the general scheme of its development, as established by V. Khvoyka, who divided it into two periods "Trypillya B" (older) and "Trypillya A (younger), is already universally accepted. This division was confirmed by the parallel development of the Neolithic culture in Romania (Izvoar, Cucuteni, Erosd). However, the absolute chronology of Trypillian culture is still a matter of controversy, and can hardly be established beyond all doubts. Today most archeologists are of the opinion that Trypillian culture began before the IV millenium B. C., or in its beginning (V. Gorodcov, P. Kurinny). It developed through the entire Neolithic period, up to the early Bronze Age (2000-1500 B. C.), when the Trypillians fell under the destructive influence of the nomadic tribes from the Ukrainian steppes and of the semi-nomadic Germanic tribes of Central Europe with their corded ware. Under the influence of these culturally inferior overlords the Trypillians deteriorated, returned to primitive pit dwellings; their pottery lost its rich color ornamentation and only the clay feminine idols and carved stone heads of bulls (Usatove) still indicated the permanency of their religious beliefs.

The latest prehistoric culture which by all probability can be still accredited to the Trypillians is the Bilohrudivka Culture (the village of Bilohrudivka near Kiev). Our own investigations conducted at the sites of that culture in Novosilka, Kostyukova, Kornych and Krylos furnish a certain basis for establishing the time of this civilization as the beginning of the first millenium B. C.

Today the investigators of Trypillian culture still have to cope with many unsolved problems, but one fact is certain: the Trypillian culture in Ukraine, particularly in the III and II mil. B. C. was an important and prominent link between the culture of the West and the East. On one

hand it belonged to the wide European circle of the cultures of Spiral-Maeander Pottery, reaching from the Rhine in the west across Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Ukraine to the Dnieper in the east, and represented its finest and most civilized efforts; on the other hand the Trypillians belonged also to the Mediterranean circle of civilization. Greece of the pre-Mycenaean period, Crete of the Minoan era, Egypt, Asia Minor of the Hittite period, and Mesopotamia were the partners of Ukraine in developing the finest specimens of spiritual and material culture, thus preparing the soil for the growth of the Mycenaean (Homeric) and classic Greece. This relationship of the Trypillians with the Mediterranean civilizations is established, as mentioned above, by the painted pottery (which preceded the Greek painted vessels), the female figures, often seated on chairs or thrones, with wide skirts and narrow waistlines, which resemble closely the ritualistic figures of Crete, and the cult of the bull, related to that of Mesopotamia, Egypt and Greece. These are the most important archeological proofs that prehistoric Ukraine of Trypillia belonged to the most civilized nations of the ancient world.

Ukraine maintained this connection with the Mediterranean nations through long centuries far into the proto-historic era and even into the Middle Ages through the Greek colonies in the southern part of the country, the Roman provinces along the lower Danube and later through political and commercial relations with Byzantium. It was only the wild Asiatic hordes that continually swept over the territory of Ukraine for eight centuries, that severed the many thousand year old connection with the great family of the cultured nations of that time.

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A PROFESSOR'S MODESTY

Professor Ivan Rakovsky, the distinguished Ukrainian anthropologist and zoologist, was the chief editor of the *Ukrainian Universal Encyclopaedia* in Lviv. He was well known for his modesty, and this caused the following story.

When the volume with the letter "R" was printed, it came to light that the item about the professor himself had disappeared. The printers said that the Professor himself had told them at the last moment to replace it with an illustration. When the other editors reproached him, he defended himself by saying that his name could not appear in the encyclopaedia of which he was editor, when many other names had been omitted.

"That is true" — his colleagues argued, — "but if some person that should have been in the encyclopaedia is omitted, that is due to the lack of information or to oversight. But you, Professor, are a well known person and the author of scientific works".

The Professor, however, was firm.

"I do not want any undue honors!"

"But a mention in an encyclopaedia is not necessarily a honor. It is information. You yourself wrote a long information about the flea, for example".

"Ah, the flea, — that is altogether different, — it's very important!" — said the Professor.

Finally, a three-line notice about the Professor appeared in the Supplement. (SH).

THE PRINCIPLE OF PARASITISM IN THE ECONOMIC POLICY OF SOVIET RUSSIA

By STEPHEN PROTSIUK

The Soviet radio broadcasts from Moscow, the tirades of Soviet "diplomats," the voice of almost all organs of the Soviet press devote an extreme amount of time and space to criticizing the assumed oppression of the working classes by the powers of the Western bloc and also very frequently the exploitation of various lands by the colonial system of the Western great powers.

These attacks form a typical part of the Russian tactics with which the Western world has acquired a good acquaintance, especially in the period of 1945—1950, in connection with the Soviet carrying on of the "cold war." The errors and deficiencies in the internal economic policy of Moscow in the USSR are so numerous and striking that if it did not try to point its fingers at other countries and to seek for the weeds in its neighbor's garden, it could not conceal its own failures and its misdeeds in this field. For the most part the Soviet propaganda is devoted to a condemnation of the economic conditions in the territories of the British Commonwealth and the French Union and the powers included by United States action within the activity of the Marshall Plan. Here we will only refer to the experiments of Soviet "economics" in recent times and especially to the exceptionally cruel and often stupid economic experiments which the Kremlin is carrying on, so to speak, on the living bodies of the so-called "allied republics," that is, those lands which by force and against their will have been included in that artificial creation, which has the name of the USSR. These theoretically and on paper are fully equal Soviet republics but in fact and reality they are under the heavy yoke of Russian chauvinism and imperialism and are nothing but colonies of the so-called national (ethnographical) Russia, and that not even in the present Western European sense but rather in the primitive sense of colonies as understood by the medieval conquistadores.

Let us take the first in the list and in importance of these unfortunate "allied republics"—Ukraine. It is well known not only as the basic source of grain for the entire USSR, since on its agricultural

production are built the Soviet military reserves of food stuffs and their dumping policy abroad, but also for its production of coal, pig iron and steel, the bread and salt of all industrial development. Without considering the continued mad efforts of the USSR to build up the coal and metallurgical industries in and beyond the Urals, Ukraine produced in 1938 80.7 million tons¹ of the total Soviet production of 132.9 million tons, that is at least 61% of the total Soviet production. As a matter of fact we can call Russian production only that of the so-called Centre (the Moscow district) i. e. 7 million tons and of the Urals, i. e. 8.1 million tons, in all 15,5 million tons. The remainder is supplied by the Kuznetsk basin and Central Asia (21.8 million tons) and by Siberia and the Far East (11 million tons).

The production of iron ore is in the same proportions. The rich Ukrainian fields of Krivy Rih and Kerch gave in 1938 16.9 million tons out of the 26.5 million tons produced in the entire USSR, that is 64%. We see the same thing in the production of manganese, which is necessary for metallurgy. The Nikopil fields in Ukraine (the largest in the world with reserves of 450 million tons) furnished the basic part of the manganese production in the USSR (more than 60%). In 1938 the USSR produced 2.27 million tons or 44.5% of the world production. Of the Ukrainian production the USSR used 81% and exported 439,000 tons. This amount included 169,000 to the United States, 110,000 to France, 61,000 to Germany, 35,000 to Belgium, and 27,000 tons to Czechoslovakia². These figures show not only the enormous wealth of Ukraine which flows every day and every year to Russia and prepares Moscow for its policy. When we analyze the exchange of commodities between the Ukrainian SSR and the Russian SFSR, we see that in return for the colossal amounts of grain, fruits, meat, coal, steel and sugar, Ukraine receives from Russia an incomparably smaller amount of paper, wood, and special machine equipment.

The paper is for the greater part in the form of Soviet propaganda literature. The wood which Russia has furnished to Ukraine in the post-war period, after there was annexed to Ukraine the forest wealth of the Western districts (the Carpathians, Volyn, and part of Polissya) has not been much. Furthermore this wood that it sends is not the real property of Russia for it comes from Siberia and Bashkiria, and these lands cannot be called purely Russian. As regards machines, we must speak of this

¹ Baykov, *The Development of the Soviet Economic System*, London, 1947.

² *World Minerals and World Peace*, Washington, D. C. The Brookings Institution, 1943, pp. 38, 72.

part of the economic policy of Russia in more detail, for it is characteristic of its relations not only to Ukraine but to all the subjugated nations and lands from the Oder and the Neisse to China. It is necessary only to glance at the far from complete list of factories gathered around Moscow (published in *Pravda*, November 3, 1949) to see how the Kremlin has concentrated and monopolized maliciously a series of the important fields of industrial production *exclusively in the central Russian districts* (around Moscow and Leningrad and also between the middle Volga and the Urals). This area harbors especially military industry and also the manufacture of electro-technical, optical, measuring and precision instruments, and also some complicated chemicals, i. e. those products which are fundamental for the creation of a modern industrial production. By not permitting the construction of enterprises in these branches³ in the "allied republics," Moscow holds in its own hands, so to speak, the breathing system, by which it can strangle artificially the industrialization of the oppressed lands by weakening their economic position and thereby the effectiveness of their eventual opposition to the Kremlin.

How consistently Moscow carries on this policy can be seen by the fact that it applies it not only to the allied republics but to the *satellites*. Moscow, for example, did not approve of the commercial relations of Poland and Czechoslovakia with the west, for by them these countries hoped to assure themselves of a supply of the necessary machines for their own industry. Let us remember, that in 1948 of the total Polish exports with a value of \$513,000,000, \$294,000,000 went to the powers of the Western bloc and of the \$746,000,000 of Czechoslovak export, \$301,000,000 went to the West. In its efforts to make the satellites entirely dependent and therefore to weaken their strength as independent organisms, the Kremlin, acting under the so-called *Molotov plan*, reduced to a minimum the trade of the satellites and the West so as to bring them under the influence of the Russian production centres in various ways. For example the USSR loaned Poland in 1949 the sum of \$450,000,000 for the purchase of Soviet machines. To the other satellites as Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania, Moscow is still sterner and has introduced into all fields of national production *technical norms* according to the *Soviet* pattern, which naturally prevent the importation of machine products from Western Europe and America, for these have fundamentally other norms. The object of all these devices is the same—the compelling of the satellites to the same

³ The construction of any, even the smallest, plant in any area of the USSR requires invariably the approval of the Planning Board of the USSR and the appropriate central ministry, not of the republic but of Moscow.

degree as the "allied republics" to secure the most important and most necessary machines for their technical aggregates from the heart of Russia and to place their industry and all the national production of these lands under the direct control and dictation of Moscow.

Returning to the "allied republics," we notice that of the total enormous production of Ukrainian stone coal in 1947 (more than 70 million tons), the State Plan of the USSR has left at the disposal of the local Ministry of the Fuel Industry in Kiev hardly 900,000 tons, not quite 1.3%. In the light of such figures we understand the process of the complete economic subjugation of the "allied republics" by Moscow, for all 15 Soviet Republics in the USSR are in the same position as Ukraine (with the exception of the kernel, Russia) and even worse are the so-called autonomous republics (ASSR), which are artificially annexed to national Russia and form that abnormal political-administrative conglomerate, which has the official title of the Russian Federation (in short RSFSR).

If we look at Byelorussia, we find that Moscow exports from it yearly great quantities of wood and wood products, hemp, flax and potatoes, but at the same time the country has been waiting in vain for ten years for the draining of the Polissian marshes, which cover a space of 4.2 millions hectares and would form a great addition to the wealth of Byelorussia, if they were added to it. The proper draining of Polissya would add to Byelorussia 2.8 million hectares of arable land without including the acquisition of great quantities of cheap fuel, for the swamps of Polissya are 70% peat and the depth of the peat deposit ranges from 3 to 10 metres. The economic use of Polissya would noticeably strengthen the economic position of Byelorussia but this is evidently not in the interests of Moscow and we are therefore not surprised that after more than 30 years of the "membership" of Byelorussia in the USSR, there have been scarcely drained 270,000 hectares. The beneficent interest of Moscow in this important problem of Byelorussia can be seen by the fact that the Radnarkom of the USSR accepted the plan for the draining of Polissya on March 6, 1941, on the eve of World War II. This can be regarded on the same basis as the recognition of Ministries of Foreign Affairs for Ukraine and Byelorussia in 1943 and the sending of large supplies of textiles and footwear to the allied republics shortly before the yearly election to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR⁴, etc. They are actions of a propaganda nature with the object of cleverly gaining the

⁴ Foreign observers in Ukraine noticed the wide action of this character in February, 1950.

favor of the people of these lands, which Moscow desires to push to the wall only at moments for its own advantage.

The economic exploitation of the *Baltic* and the *Caucasian* republics proceeds at the same rate as that of Ukraine and of Byelorussia. As an illustration, we can cite here that of the 35.4 million tons of crude petroleum planned for 1950, 17 million tons are to come from the Azerbaidzhan SSR (Baku); if we take into account the 14.5 million tons from the RSFSR, we see that easily the largest part of this product (over 21 million tons) comes in fact from non-Russian lands, and also from the fields of Grozny and Maykop (the lands of the Kuban and Terek Kozaks) —and the Agideyskian AO) and also from the fields of the Bashkir ASSR (the basin of Sterlitamak-Ishimbay, which is now called in the USSR a "second Baku").

From the Caucasian lands Moscow draws also large quantities of extremely important non-ferrous metals as copper (Alaverdi in Armenia, more than 20% of the production of the USSR), various metals (Dzhau-dzhykau in the North Ossete ASSR occupied second place in the production of lead in the USSR) manganese (Chiatura in Georgia, the second largest manganese field in the world, almost 40% of the production of the USSR) and others. In exchange for such valuable exports to Russia, the Caucasian lands receive 20-30% of value in their imports from Russia and of this 30% as if for a joke a large proportion consists of products which Russia has stolen from other lands as Ukrainian grain and coal or the textile products made of Central Asian cotton.

When we turn to the Baltic republics, we can characterize the Moscow exploitation by looking at the well-known Estonian oilshales in Kohtla-Erve. The exploitation of the deposits at Kohtla-Erve (these cover an area of 150 square kilometres) proceeds at such a rapid pace that Moscow sent to the region in 1946-47 more than 80,000 pure Russian workmen, an action which created stories of special plans of the Kremlin for the political movement of populations.⁶ In October, 1947, all the diesel locomotives in the region of Kohtla-Erve were replaced by modern electrical machines, thus increasing their capacity by three times. At the same time there were commenced preparations for constructing a gas line to Leningrad, 220 kilometres in length, which clearly indicates that the Kremlin is planning to employ Estonian gas. The fictitious "equal rights" of the allied republics are clearly shown by the fact that paradoxically even the capital of Estonia, Tallinn, will not use Estonian gas although

⁶ The deportations of the native population, which continued as late as 1949, showed that there was some truth in these stories.

Tallinn is also a great industrial centre (where 60% of all Estonian industry is concentrated, and also it is half the distance of Leningrad from Kohtla-Erve). Profiting itself by the deposits of Kohtla-Erve⁶, Moscow leaves to the Estonian economists (if any have been left in important posts) to utilize for Estonian industry peat (in which of course Estonia is not rich).

It must be emphasized that the peoples of the Caucasian and Baltic regions are in a much worse situation than Ukraine or Byelorussia for the reason that they are all small peoples and are not in a position to oppose on a significant scale the economic demands of Moscow as has happened noticeably in Ukraine⁷ or Byelorussia. In the same or even worse situation than the Caucasian or Baltic lands are the Asiatic lands within the USSR, especially Kazakhstan, Uzbekia, Kirgizia, Tadzhikia, Turkmenistan and the other smaller peoples as the Buryat-Mongolian ASSR, the Tyvinska AO, etc. Merely between the years 1928-37, Russia imported for finishing in its central district from the four Central Asian Republics (excluding Kazakhstan) 17.35 million bales of cotton, which on the scale of prices in the United States from 1946-48 had a value of 2.4 *billion dollars*. The value of this cotton in rubles (calculated on the Soviet value of 1926-27 — 270 rbl. a bale) is 4.6 *billion dollars*. To this figure must be added at least 1.5 billion rbl. for other articles imported by Russia: silk, Persian lamb and other skins, fresh and preserved fruits, meat, and various minerals and metals. If the decade 1928-37 gave Moscow this profit of 6 billion rbls., what can be said of the decade 1938-47, when we know that the exploitation of Central Asia made colossal progress especially if we take into account the specific situation of the USSR during the war (1941-45), when there was built beyond the Urals the actual chief centre of Soviet industrial potential. In addition we must also take into consideration the great expansion of the export of non-ferrous and precious metals (lead, tin, zinc and especially cobalt, wolfram and molybdenum, and even gold), which go especially to the metallurgical factories of the Urals. We have also definite information that in Central Asia the USSR has developed uranium mines (Taboshar, Kara-Mazar, Tryumuyun, Mayli-Su). The production of coal has also been increased (Kirgizia: 1,6 million tons in 1950, Uzbekia: 1,13 million tons), of petroleum (Uzbekia: 1,066 million tons in 1950; Turkmenistan: 1,104 million tons) and the

⁶ At Kohtla-Erve there has been constructed a large refinery for the production from shale of aviation gasoline, 100% of which is sent to Moscow.

⁷ For example: the action of the State Plan of the Ukrainian SSR under the leadership of M. Volobuyev and later briefly of M. Skrypnik in 1926-34.

plantations of cotton and rubber-producing plants have been increased. The amount of cotton has been planned to rise in 1950 to 2,8 million tons, which would mean a value of 1,77 billion dollars a year.

Still greater are the demands of Moscow upon Kazakhstan, where the production of coal will reach (according to plan) in 1950 16.4 million tons, (the basin of Karaganda and the new basin of Ekibastuz), of petroleum, 1.2 million tons, the same of copper (together with the production of Almalika in Uzbekia), more than 60% of the All Union production of copper (in 1938—101.6 thousand tons). In return for this enormous wealth, which Russia receives from the Asiatic lands, it returns to them nothing or almost nothing. It is only necessary to read the speeches of the Asiatic representatives in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR — G. V. Nigmatzhanov or K. D. Dikambayev (*Pravda*, March 17, 1949), to see what the people of these directly rich lands are suffering, how they have to be satisfied with mere crumbs of their own production, wretched crumbs which Moscow throws to them almost in the form of charity. It seems a joke that the capital of rich Kirgizia, Frunze, with a population of about 200,000, did not have in 1949 even one motor bus line,⁸ but the overwhelming majority of the regions of the city did not have even a primitive sewerage system. We understand of course that in the USSR only the Moscow factories build motor buses and water-purifying machinery, and they, at the wink of the Kremlin, will of course take their time with the preparation of supplies for the Central Asian centres. Likewise we cannot fail to think of the methods of building the pyramids of the Pharaohs in Egypt, when we see the Soviet method for the construction of irrigation canals in Central Asia. Here for these works hundreds of thousands of the population are driven together, for they must execute *without cost* these local works as a "gift" to the government. We will mention only the building of the so-called Great Fergan Canal (named of course after Stalin), of a length of 271 kilometres, in which in 1939 160,000 Uzbek kolhospniks (collective farmers) were compelled to labor for 45 whole days and without cost remove 18 million cubic metres of earth.⁹ That is the way in which Moscow builds not only irrigation works or great dams and hydrocentrals (Ablakotka, Kzil-Orda, Orto-Tokoy, etc), in which in Kirgizia alone the extent of excavations in 1950-51 will amount to 9 million cubic metres, but also constructs railroads and roads, not only in Central Asia (the railroad Chardzhoy-Kungrad, the chaussee Osh-

⁸ Theoretically a local communication network was begun in 1946, but by 1949 it had not functioned as a result of special projects.

⁹ *Planovoye Khozyaystvo* (Planned Industry), 1940, No. 2.

Khorog, etc.) but also in the entire USSR. The slavery, especially in the economic field, of the Central Asia peoples is further witnessed by the unexceptional fact, that e. g. in Kazakhstan, which so to speak, shows the best traces of the illusory "full rights" in the USSR of all the Asian republics, in the textile industry there worked in responsible posts in 1949, 6.74% of Kazakhs; in light industry, 4%; and in city industry scarcely 2%.¹⁰ The remainder of the staff was formed by a newly arrived element, chiefly Russians from the central districts. This fact is the more striking, as Soviet propaganda often boasts that the Soviet regime has brought enlightenment to the Central Asian peoples, but that is only the enlightenment of the *lowest grade*, or rather that grade which would permit the native population to accept without criticism the orders of Moscow. Besides Moscow does not conceal its plans in this connection; in the official and most widespread school textbook on the Economic Geography of USSR¹¹ we read on p. 393: "Moscow and Leningrad have taken upon themselves the responsible task of being the *suppliers* of the qualified labor force for *all* regions being industrialized for the first time. Especially the many universities (higher educational institutions), the scientific research institutes, the hundreds of technical schools, *concentrated in Moscow and Leningrad*, serve for the accomplishment of this task.

We have stressed rapidly and briefly the outline of the economic policy of exploitation practiced for decades in the USSR. We have shown in its main outlines what colossal riches Moscow has drawn from the *non-Russian lands*, which have been violently forced into the net of the USSR, what gigantic sums have flowed in the form of the best raw materials or half-finished products, even of finished manufactures into the bottomless pockets of always hungry Russia. Naturally we fully understand the need of export from Ukraine and Georgia and Kazakhstan and the other "allied" republics, and this would be normal, if in exchange they could receive imports of corresponding value. But Russia repays the lands with which it is in commercial "relations" within the USSR on a scale which usually comes to an amount that is barely 10-20% of the value of the goods which it has received. This is shown clearly by many things and especially by the official Soviet statistics which state that the exchange of goods in the Moscow industrial centre consists of 78% of im-

¹⁰ "Ost-Probleme", Frankfurt, No. 4., 1950.

¹¹ N. N. Baransky, *Economic Geography of the USSR*, Gosud. Uchebno-Pedagogich. Inst. M.-stva Prosveshcheniya RSFSR, Moscow, 1947, 8th. ed. Circulation 260,000 copies.

ports and only 22% of exports (in weight). That even from this 78% Russia enjoys hidden profit, we see from the fact that the cost for example of one ton of pig iron was at the Makiivsky factory in Ukraine in 1935—47.32 rbls., and the cost of the same ton of pig iron at the factory "Vostokstal" (East Steel) at Khabarovsk (DVK) was 94.04 rbls., i. e. almost twice as much. Therefore, at the time when the production of the so-called heavy industry in Ukraine (per capita of the population) was *diminishing* in the period 1937-1950 as follows:

	1937	1950
Coal (kilograms)	2340	2153
Pig iron (kilograms)	298	243
Steel (kilograms)	285	220

there was at the same time being artificially built up by a clear perversion of the economics of the non-Russian republics of the USSR—a vast industry in the Urals; it remains to say that in the years 1940-43 alone the production of coal in the Urals increased by 35%, the manufacture of pig iron and steel by 36% and the production of steel ingots by 37%.¹²

At the same time, while the population of the "allied" republics were hungry and in rags, thanks to the cruel export of all their best productions to the heart of Russia, Moscow, profiting by the full and overflowing benefits of this export, did not hesitate to throw away gigantic sums on the "beautification of the capital" or on purely military, imperialistic aims. Thus in 1936-1937 there was spent (in millions of rbls.):

	1936	1937
Moscow Subway	311	458
The Volgastroy (the control of the Volga near Moscow)	222	200
The Moscow-Volga Canal	—	243
The Severmorput (the acquisition of the Arctic)	440	580

The payments on the first three works which profited only Moscow came in 1937 to 901 million rbl., the same amount as the year's budget for the whole of Azerbaidzhan. We may say also that Azerbaidzhan in 1937 produced about 75% of the All-Union supply of petroleum or 22.4 million tons. If we take as the value of the petroleum output, the price of petroleum (in 1939 it was \$1.02 a barrel of 42 gallons), this gives us for it 150 million dollars. The payments for the three works of the city of Moscow likewise equal the yearly budgets of the two important Central Asian republics—the Turkmen and the Tadzhik, taken together (even 2

¹² V. Marchenko, "The Role of Ukraine in the Present Five-Year Plan," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 2, p. 124.

years later in 1939). This shows us how the Kremlin is draining all the oppressed lands to build Moscow into a splendid capital, to develop the central Russian regions, and to finance works of a purely military character. At the same time when most of the sections of Kiev, Kharkiv, and Minsk, still lie in ruins five years after the ending of the war,¹³ the Kremlin, envying New York, orders the construction of many-storied skyscrapers (the so-called plan for the reconstruction of Moscow). At the same time when the masses of the workers of the Donets and Karaganda basins are using in their poor quarters broken chests and furniture, a series of enterprises of such evident non-Russian cities as Lviv, Chernivtsy, Uzhorod, Tallinn, Riga, cities which have been recently "joined" to the USSR, and are distinguished by the production of articles of a European character, are working *exclusively* for the enrichment and for the needs of Moscow. Soviet purchasing commissions which have selected for import to Russia articles (often of a luxury character) at the International Markets of Prague, Budapest and Poznan have destined all the goods bought only and directly for Moscow and none of the other "allied" republics or even their capitals have seen an item of this importation.

There exists in the USSR the unwritten law, that all foreign observers and tourists and especially journalists are to be conducted only around Moscow, its museums, its new streets, its new industrial enterprises, the Moscow subway and the ports of the Moscow-Volga canal. In this tour no mention is usually made, on what money, with what material, by whose labor, at whose general cost these works have been constructed. An answer to these questions would give at once a *comparison* of the economic projects completed in Moscow and real Russia and those of the "allied" republics. For this reason the Soviet officials almost regularly do not permit foreigners to visit the other cities of the USSR and especially the cities and regions of the non-Russian republics. The Kremlin knows that such a comparison of the "achievements" of the regions oppressed by Russia with the actual achievement of the heart of Russia and especially its capital of Moscow would give a true picture of this *frightful economic exploitation and robbery* which is practiced in the USSR by the dictatorship of Moscow.

¹³ The Soviet officials maliciously have the custom of rebuilding only the main railroad stations and the streets around them, to deceive travelers. In fact, at a distance from the railroad stations, almost all the sections of the cities are still in ruins.

METROPOLITAN JOSEPH SLIPY

(On the fifth anniversary of his arrest, 1945—1950)

By N. CHUBATY

On April 15, 1945, Western Ukraine was struck by a shattering blow from the red "liberators." On that day the Soviet government arrested in Lviv the religious leader of the Western Ukrainians, Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, and at the same time all the Ukrainian Catholic bishops of Western Ukraine, Hryhori Khomyshyn, bishop of Stanislaviv, and the assistant bishops, Nykyta Budka, Mykola Charnetsky, and Ivan Lyatyshevsky. Somewhat later at the instructions of the Kremlin, the Red Polish government arrested bishops Josaphat Kotsylovsky and his assistant Hryhori Lakota, bishops of Peremyshl, the seat of a diocese for 900 years, which on the basis of the Yalta Agreement had been handed over to red Poland. Thus began the forcible implanting of Russian Orthodoxy in Western Ukraine by the aid of religious persecutions.

The arrest of the entire Ukrainian Catholic episcopate was preceded by a "brotherly" appeal of the Moscow Patriarch Alexy to them to leave the Catholic Church and unite with the "mother Russian Orthodox Church." When this appeal was rejected, the agents of the MVD appeared to help the missionary work of the Moscow Patriarch and they aided him in carrying on his mission in Western Ukraine more energetically.

Of course this close cooperation between the administration of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian police was not new; it has had a long history in the forcible conversion of the Uniats of Ukraine and White Ruthenia since it was first applied in the reign of Catherine II, and then again under Tsar Nicholas I. Finally there was the tragic violence to the freedom of faith of the last land of the Ukrainian Catholics, Kholmshchyna, in the reign of Tsar Alexander II (1874). Every time the synchronized work of the Russian police and the Russian Orthodox hierarchy finished with the hypocritical refrain: "Torn away by violence, united by love." That was the inscription on the medal ordered struck by Tsar Nicholas I in 1839 after his final violence to the religious consciences of millions of White Ruthenians and Ukrainians in that year.

This Moscow love now fell upon Western Ukraine and its seven



JOSEPH SLIPY

**Metropolitan of Halych, Archbishop of Lviv.
Imprisoned by the Red Russians (1945), now in the labor camp
of Vorkuta, Subarctic Russia.**

bishops were cast into the dungeons of the agents of the MVD. Bishops Josaphat Kotsylovsky and Hryhori Khomyshyn, both old men on the edge of the grave, died in prison before their trial. The trial of the Metropolitan and the four other bishops was held in Kiev in 1946 behind closed doors. Apparently the Soviet government, which is so fond of holding "show trials" in such cases, considered that it was more profitable for the interests of the Communist government not to arrange in the capital of the "independent Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic" a public spectacle which would clearly publicize the actual position of Ukraine. Thus the trial of the "enemies of the Ukrainian people" was held by the red Russians and unwitnessed by the Ukrainian people. The Metropolitan was condemned to seven years of hard labor in a concentration camp, and each of the other bishops was given five years.

No one knows for certain where these clerical prisoners are or even if they are alive. There are reports that Metropolitan Slipy is in a sub-Arctic labor camp in Vorkuta in Siberia; Bishop Nykyta Budka, a former Canadian bishop and apparently a British subject, is said to have become insane.

In 1947 the French Catholic daily *La Croix* published a report on the brutal treatment of the imprisoned Metropolitan by the Soviet police. It was said that he had been so tortured that several of his ribs had been broken. At the same time the news was brought by couriers of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Army from behind the iron curtain that there was circulating through Western Ukraine in hundreds of copies a Pastoral Letter of Metropolitan Slipy from prison to his faithful. In this the Metropolitan called upon the clergy who were working underground and the faithful not to lose their courage, not to establish contacts with the Russian Orthodox clergy violently imposed upon them, but to have trust in the Justice and the Mercy of God. There can be no doubt that there was some connection between the brutal mistreatment of the Metropolitan and his Pastoral Letter to his faithful of Western Ukraine.

The stature of Metropolitan Joseph Slipy grows in our eyes to that of the classic martyrs of the first centuries of Christianity, although the world press has never paid much attention to this first victim of Soviet violence to the Catholic Church, even when it has stressed the fate of two other similar victims of red tyranny, Archbishop Stepinac and Cardinal Mindszenty. The Vatican alone has marked the heroism of these martyrs for the freedom of the religious conscience of the Western

Ukrainians by issuing postage stamps with the portrait of Metropolitan Slipy and his bishops.

Metropolitan Joseph Slipy has become a historical personage in his own lifetime and it is fitting on the fifth anniversary of his sufferings to pay to him a tribute. The author of this article wishes to have that privilege, especially as he was for years a friend of the Metropolitan and his close collaborator as a professor of the Greek Catholic Theological Academy, of which Metropolitan Slipy was the founder and the long time president.

Metropolitan Slipy, now 57 years of age, was born the son of a small farmer in the village of Zazdryst in Western Ukraine. After completing the secondary school in Ternopil with the highest honors, he studied at the University in Lviv and later in Innsbruck in Austria in the well-known theological faculty. He finished his studies in the Gregorianum in Rome and in the Oriental Institute not only with the degree of Doctor of Theology but also with the position of Assistant Professor in the Gregorianum.

Beside theology his favorite study was art and this was his hobby throughout his life. In this he was like his great predecessor, Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, the great protector of the artists of all Ukraine. In 1922 as a young professor of Theology, Dr. Slipy returned to Lviv to work with Metropolitan Andrew and he quickly became the undisputed younger leader of the clergy of Western Ukraine.

At that time Western Ukraine after the unsuccessful war for independence with Poland felt under Polish occupation on its own skin all the consequences of the motto *Vae Victis* (Woe to the Conquered). The new occupying government struck the Ukrainian people most painfully on the cultural front by depriving the Ukrainian people of all their gains in the state University of Lviv, which under Austria had had a Polish-Ukrainian character. It was impossible to secure permission for the establishment of a private Ukrainian university, and so the Ukrainian scholars proceeded to establish a Ukrainian Secret University, a school unique in the history of European civilization.

During four years (1920-1924) more than 1500 students attended the lectures of 72 professors, who beside their lectures carried on research seminars, laboratories and even sections in anatomy in the three faculties of theology, philosophy and law, and the two first years of medical studies. The lectures took place in various buildings scattered throughout Lviv, often in the private dwellings of the professors, and were constantly persecuted and broken up by the Polish police. The

Polish government did not recognize the courses given by the Ukrainian Secret University, although all the universities of central Europe did so, thanks to the scientific qualifications of the professors.

The theological faculty was in the most favored position, for its lectures could be held quietly within the walls of the Greek Catholic Seminary, of which the Rector was the young professor of Dogmatics, Dr. Joseph Slipy. As Rector of the Seminary, he carried on scientific and cultural activity for he was widely learned both by desire and by the favor of God. He constantly had the ambition to raise the entire establishment to the highest intellectual level and to surround scientific investigations with the atmosphere of art. At the Religious Seminary he established a Museum of Art and he decorated the Seminary in a truly artistic manner, calling to the work the most talented painters and sculptors, who were in large numbers in Lviv, for they had left eastern Ukraine after the final triumph of the Bolsheviks.

Rector Slipy founded the Ukrainian Theological Society and organized in it an important library and edited the scholarly theological quarterly, "Theology." He was also greatly interested in secular studies and literature and gave all possible help to various publications. It is no wonder then that the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, the oldest scholarly institution of the Ukrainian people and in fact the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, without the title, named Rector Slipy an "active member."

In 1924 as a result of the persecution by the Polish government, the Ukrainian Secret University had to cease its activity. The theological faculty, which was loosely connected with the university, became an independent academic theological school and Rector Slipy with the approval of Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky set to work to change it into a Greek Catholic Theological Academy, an independent institution based on the highest theological institutions of the Eastern Church, theological academies, but also adapting the structure of the new institution to the structure of the Catholic universities of the West. The Theological Academy in its spirit and national traditions was a revival of the well known Kiev Mohyla Academy which was founded in 1632 and continued for 150 years to be the academic training school for many generations of Ukrainians.

It was planned to expend the Theological Academy far beyond the frame of a theological school and at an appropriate hour under the protection of the Church and its privileges in Poland to give the Ukrainian people a full Catholic University, something which the Ukrainians could

achieve by no other way. In all of Western Ukraine there was no better person to be the architect of this exceedingly difficult undertaking. The Theological Academy in reality came into existence in 1926, although Metropolitan Andrew issued the basic charter only in 1928 when he saw that the Academy was actually functioning. Its first and only President up to 1945 was Rector and later Metropolitan Joseph Slipy.

From the first months of the existence of the Academy, he established in the new institutions the stiff requirements of a real university in the organization of lectures, seminars, and the qualifications of the professors. Several publications were proofs of the inner workings of the Academy. Rector Slipy had exceptional ability in attracting scholars. There was not a single Ukrainian scholar without regard to his specialty who would not have aided him in his Theological Academy.

As President of the Academy, Joseph Slipy guided it as such but, in the future he saw a full Catholic University and he needed not only philologists, historians, and archeologists but also anthropologists, mathematicians and even chemists. President Slipy had great respect for the value of a learned man, since he regarded the staff as the most important material in the building of his Academy.

The whole life of the Academy was permeated by an artistic atmosphere and interest in all sides of the national life of Ukraine.

Ideologically the Academy was the bearer of the great idea of the Union, the dream of the heart of Metropolitan Andrew. The Academy had the function of preparing cadres of clergy educated ideologically and able to carry the idea of Eastern Catholicism far to the East, to Eastern Ukraine, and even further. This was in accordance with the commandment of Pope Urban VIII (1644) which is dear to all Ukrainian Catholics of the Eastern Rite "Per vos, Mei Rutheni, Orientem convertendum esse spero" (Through you, my Ruthenians, I hope the East is to be converted). This idea thrilled President Joseph of the Academy, and he tried to implant it in the hearts of his students, usually with full success. The Lviv Academy trained hundreds of young and highly educated clergy with a broad point of view, with firm characters and with a full understanding of their future obligations toward Ukrainian Catholicism.

A living memorial of the work of the Academy was that heroic moment on July 1, 1945, which took place in the national shrine of the Western Ukrainians, the Cathedral of St. George in Lviv. When after the arrest of the episcopate with Metropolitan Slipy at their head, the government of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic appointed Comrade Khodchenko commissar for religious questions in Ukraine and he ordered the

Western Ukrainians to recognize a group of apostate traitors to their faith as the legal administration of the Church, the Professors of the Academy and a group of the clergy, who had been educated there met in the Cathedral in Lviv and made a solemn protest against this violence to their Church. In an address to the Soviet Premier Molotov they asked for the liberation of the Metropolitan and the episcopate and the granting to them freedom of faith in accordance with the Soviet constitution of Stalin. All the protesters perished by a martyr's death.

The last time the author of these lines saw Metropolitan Slipy, then the President of the Academy and his superior, was on August 9, 1939 before his departure to an International Conference in America. In saying farewell, the President of the Academy silently foresaw the storm which was coming over the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Academy, and pressing his hand for the last time, he said: "If the storm carries us away, you beyond the seas must serve the ideas of our Academy." The storm broke only a few weeks later. Joseph Slipy, President of the Academy and Metropolitan, was the first in the Catholic Church to fall a victim to that storm which is still raging over Ukraine and her neighbors.

DIRECT POPULAR RULE IN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OF UKRAINE OF THE 17th CENTURY

By L. O-CH.

In the studies of the history of law most illustrations and examples are taken from the ancient Graeco-Roman world or from the West-European State organizations of later times. In studying European legal institutions and forms of government, special attention is paid to the evolution of the English governmental and legal forms. To a less degree the forms of government are also studied of such old European States as France, several German States, of Italy, and of Spain. Still less attention is paid to such State and legal organizations as those that existed in the past Bohemia, Poland, Finland, Rumania, etc., though many of them (as, for instance, the Polish parliamentary system of the XVI and XVII centuries) constituted special and unique types of government.

But no attention has been paid to the governmental institutions that existed in the nations which later lost their independence. To this category belong also the governmental institutions that existed in the past in Ukraine. Yet it is quite logical to presume that there must have been interesting forms of government in the nations which later lost their independence.

As an example we suggest that it is really profitable to study the central government of the Ukrainian State of the XVIIth century. We have in mind here the *Ukrainian General Council*, as it was an instrument of direct popular rule in Ukraine.

Juridical studies, in speaking of popular rule, has usually in mind such modern institutions as referendums and plebiscites. It also considers the assemblies of the city-states of ancient Greece and Rome, or the assemblies of the capital cities in the State organizations of the early Middle Ages, or finally the meetings of the free citizens in the cantons of modern Switzerland which still retain their old principle (though this can be disputed) of direct popular participation in the administration of the State.

Yet it is even more interesting to examine direct popular rule when it is exercised by an assembly of many thousands of people of the same

social class, for this brings out both its positive and negative aspects. A very fine example of this type of democratic rule can be furnished by juridical studies as to the form of the General Council of the Ukrainian State of the XVIIIth century.

The Ukrainian State had its origin in 1648 after a successful uprising in the central part of Ukraine, on both sides of the River Dnieper, against Poland under whose domination the territory had been previously. The central part of Ukraine, on both sides of the Dnieper, of the XVI century and of the first half of the XVII century was different from the rest of the Polish territories not only in its ethnic elements, not only in its desire for freedom and restoration of its lost independence of the times of the Kievan grand dukes and the kings of Galicia, but also in the social structure of the population. This population in accordance with the general social structure of the period, was divided into the usual classes of the landed nobles, the free citizens of the cities, and the peasants, serfs in the villages on the lands of the nobles and gentry. In addition, there was still another class which was non-existent in Poland. This was the Kozaks, warrior descendants of the pioneer settlers in the steppes which had been devastated by the Tartars between the XIII and XVI centuries. Socially the Kozak stood midway between a landed nobleman and a serf. He was similar to the former by being a free man with the right of wearing a sword and in times of war he was called upon to serve as a soldier. He was similar to the latter by being a tiller of his own land. He differed from the nobleman in having no serfs; and he differed from a serf by being a free man.

There were several Kozak uprisings against Poland. Finally the Kozak army, under the leadership of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, a contemporary of Oliver Cromwell, was victorious in 1648. The Polish army, along with the Polish administration, retreated to the west, and evacuated the area. Thus Ukraine regained again that political independence which it had lost in the XIV century. The Ukrainian Kozak State continued to fight against the insistent Polish attempt to reconquer the lost territory. During the war the young Ukrainian State concluded an alliance with Muscovy in 1654 for the sake of self-defence, and the terms of this placed Ukraine, in the opinion of many historians, to some degree in the position of a vassal State. This arrangement guaranteed Ukraine's existence as a separate State as constituted in 1648. The Ukrainian Kozak State existed as such, without any essential changes, until 1709, when Hetman Mazepa, in alliance with Charles XII of Sweden lost his struggle to secure full Ukrainian independence from Russia. Somewhat changed, it continued

to exist until 1781 when the Ukrainian territory was incorporated within Russia with the rights of the ordinary Russian province.

After Ukraine regained its political independence in 1648, it developed a different form of government from that of the Ukrainian principalities during the period from the Xth to XIVth centuries. The new political system was based on those conditions that had proved useful in the struggle and victory over Poland. It was the Ukrainian Kozak army that had waged war against Poland and won the victory. It was accordingly the same army that took over the government and administration in Ukraine. The hetman, commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian army, continued to be the commander of the army and at the same time became the uncrowned monarch of Ukraine, while his colonels retaining their positions as the heads of their regiments became at the same time the heads of the "regimental" districts of Ukraine. The General Council of the Ukrainian army in this manner became the organ of the central government of the new State.

Until 1648 the name "General Council" was applied to the general assembly of all the Kozaks. At least in principle this considered problems which concerned the Kozak self-government. In the general assembly the Kozaks elected a new commander-in-chief—the hetman and other military officers, tried Kozak offenders, decided its policy toward Poland, and approved (or disapproved) the participation of Kozak units in wars with Muscovy, Turkey, Crimea, etc.

After 1648 the position of the "General Assembly" radically changed (perhaps, without it at first being noticed even by those who took part in it). From being an organ of class self government of a special category of military men it became an organ of government of the whole State. In as much as the General Council consisted (theoretically) of all the Kozaks it was a form of direct popular rule (though composed of only one social class). Thus its very existence and activities furnish material for study on the workings of direct popular rule in a large State such as was Ukraine in the XVII century.

One can imagine how interesting and colorful these General Councils must have been. The Kozak army formed a huge circle in the open fields. Each Kozak regiment stood apart, under its own regimental colors, with its officers at its head. When all the regiments were in place, there was a ruffle of drums to proclaim the opening of the General Council. Then into center of the Kozak circle stepped the Hetman, in his resplendent uniform, with a copper mace (the bulava) and followed by his staff. He

opened the meeting of the supreme governmental organ of the State with an inaugural address.

We learn about the procedure of the General Council from official documents, memoirs of contemporaries, and from observations of foreign visitors. In exceptional cases, members would step out, evaluate the proposals of the hetman and present their own. But, due to the many thousands of participants in the assembly, it was impossible to have regular debates. So, if there were any counter-proposals, they would be expressed in shouted slogans. The Kozaks with shouts and uproar would express either their approval or disapproval of separate proposals. They would often express their approval by throwing their caps into the air. If they became disorderly the aides of the hetman, "the osavuli," hurried to restore order.

Actual counting of votes determines the will of the collegiate legislative bodies which have been introduced into the majority of European states in the recent centuries. In such large bodies as the General Council of the Kozaks with many thousand members an accurate counting of votes would take many hours (on every separate subject). It was not employed and instead of this there reigned the principle of unanimous approval surpassed in shouting. Naturally such a "unanimity" was only relative and in fact the majority of the Council prevailed for it thereby drowned out the minority. If the groups were approximately even, the General Council might disperse without coming to any definite decision. On still rarer occasions there would be even bloody conflicts between the armed men, who at moments of sharp dissent reached for their swords.

The General Council had the power and competency of the central government of the State. In principle, it had the right to deal with all the most important and basic affairs of the State. But as there was no full written constitution, as in most of the countries of the period, and since there was some conflict of functions in the activities of the governing bodies, the General Council would sometimes be competing with some other governing body of the State. For instance, the relations and rivalry of the General Council with the authority of the Hetman were of such a nature that the very type of order in the Ukrainian State was on the borderline between a republic, when the General Council prevailed—and a monarchy, with the triumph of the power of the Hetman.

It was within the power of the General Council after 1648 to declare war and to conclude peace, to conclude military alliances and to establish diplomatic relations. The most important task of the General Council was to elect the head of the State—the Hetman. In principle a Hetman was

elected for life, and thus had the features of an elected monarch. But as the General Council had also the right to force the Hetman to resign and elect a new Hetman, it unmistakably was a republican form of government¹.

It was a very valuable prerogative of the General Council to make written agreements which, on one hand, defined the relations between Ukraine and Muscovy, which sent to the Council representatives of the Tsar and, on the other hand, served to some degree as measures of a constitutional character for the Ukrainian State.

At the time of the election of a new Hetman the General Council elected also his assistants—the holders of the higher posts.

This dry summary of the General Council, covers moments of an extraordinarily important colorful, and sometimes even tragic character in the history of the Ukrainian nation. For instance, even Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the great national leader, had to defend himself before the General Council. It was at the General Council that such standard-bearers of Ukraine's independence as Ivan Vyhovsky and Petro Doroshenko were elected as Hetmans. And later on each of them had to lay down his Hetman's mace in front of the General Council, bow to the Kozaks, "thank the army for their confidence in them," and resign their posts. It was the General Council that elected clever Mazepa. The General Council decided in 1654 to conclude an alliance with Muscovy. Later on a General Council deliberated over an alliance with Turkey.

Actually the General Council was an organ of direct popular self-government in a limited sense of the word. In the full sense only the class of the Kozaks were (or had the right to be) present at the General Council. They formed a large proportion of the population, but they were not the entire population. The peasantry had no representation at the General Council. The population of the Ukrainian cities and towns, constituting the urban class, sent to the Council its representatives, some dozens in number. But the prominent Kozaks who were coming to form the new class of nobles of "the famous military society," were always present there in full force.

This actual limitation of the structure of the central government to "the Kozak people" undoubtedly had a decisive influence on the historical part played by the General Council. The significance of the General Council grew in proportion to the growth of the influence of the Kozak

¹ This was symbolized by the act of the Hetman in laying his mace on the ground in the center of the circle, to show that he was placing it at the disposal of the army.

class, and decreased in times of the decay of the Kozak class. This was the reason why the General Councils met several times a year in the fifties of the XVIIth century. They were a common feature and an influential organ in the sixties and seventies of the same century. But as time went on the change in the General Council became apparent. The Kozak class began to break up. It gave birth to a new class of middle and large landowners who crystalized more and more as a separate higher class of society and had more and more influence on the state affairs. The poorer class of the Kozaks suffered great hardships in the many and long wars in defense of the Ukrainian State and more and more were burdened by their membership in the Kozak class with its responsibility of military and state service. More and more frequently the Kozaks began to pass into the peasant class.

On account of the above factors, towards the end of the seventies in the XVIIth century and from then on to the defeat of Hetman Mazepa at Poltava in 1709, the General Council grew less and less frequent. In fact, they were called only for the election of a new Hetman, their duty being to give an approval to a candidate nominated at a joint meeting of influential political beforehand groups. The General Councils met then at intervals of some ten to fifteen years.

We must consider this problem of the General Council from another point of view. Looking at the General Council from the point of view of their usefulness in dealing with the problems of paramount importance, facing the Kozak government such as the continual struggle of the Ukrainian State for self-preservation, was it possible for the "Kozak people" of the XVIIth century to express to any higher extent the principle of democratic rule in the affairs of the State?

In every case, we must answer that the "Kozak nation" was striving with great faith in the idea of popular self-government. That is why the General Councils were so popular and why there always was so much agitation for calling them together and why the General Councils are so often mentioned with great respect in Ukrainian folk songs.

The significance of the General Council as an instrument for the expression of the principles of self-government is emphasized by the fact that they existed and functioned at the time of the alliance between the Ukrainian State and Muscovy. When the Ukrainian State recognized in 1654 the tsar of Muscovy as its overlord it created a very tragic situation, indeed, on account of the incompatibility of the basic principles in the system of government of the two States. The severe, all-permeating absolutism of the Muscovite tsar was striking in disharmony with the

rule of the Ukrainian Hetmans who were elected at the tumultuous General Councils of the freedom-loving Ukrainian Kozaks. Two different worlds of life concluded an alliance in 1654. The contrast between the absolutism of the Russian monarchs and the self-government of the Kozak General Councils was one of the best illustrations of the difference between the two worlds.

Conflict between them was inevitable. It was long postponed by the fact that Ukraine still retained its own form of government and had its own Kozak army to stand on guard of it. The result of this state of things was a prolonged conflict leading to a gradual limitation of the powers of the Ukrainian government.

Opposition to the attempts to limit the state power of the Ukrainian government required a strong concentrated effort and a well-planned policy which could be at the proper time cautious or bold and even radical. The General Councils did not always meet this need. On the contrary, more than once at these large free meetings the voices triumphed of those persons who were willing to serve foreign interests.

This was one of the causes why the influence of the General Councils began to diminish long before the downfall of the Kozak State and much of its power passed over to other organs of the central government. The division of the Ukrainian population into separate social classes, similar to those in other European countries of the time, facilitated the change of the form of government to one closer to the governments of the other European countries. The new social classes sought for a new form of government, suitable to the new social order, and found it in the form of a class parliamentary system, that is in the form of representative self-government as was proposed in the Ukrainian constitution of 1710.

But the features of the Ukrainian parliament that took the place of the Kozak General Council is an entirely different subject.

Our object in this article has been to call the attention of the students of government and of the educated people in general to the interesting and unique form of government known as the Kozak General Council. Through this special institution the Ukrainians have contributed to the history of the evolution of governments that are founded on the direct participation of all full citizens in the government (in this case the Kozaks). This part of the history of Ukraine should find its proper place in the studies of the different forms of government of the world.

THE UKRANS AND THE UKRAINIANS

by ROMAN SMAL-STOCKY

A distinguished student of the history of Ukrainian Art, Prof. W. Sichinsky, two years ago published a pamphlet with the title *The Name Ukraine* (Nazwa Ukrainy, Augsburg, 1948, 43 pp.) in which he advanced a new theory for the derivation of the national name of Ukraine and the Ukrainians (vid. pp. 23, 24, 25).

The author identifies the present Ukrainians with the Proto-Slavic tribe of the Ukrans who, in the first half of the Xth century inhabited Slavic Pomerania; he quotes from a monograph by F. Vater (Herr Heinrich, Muenchen, 1942) in which the German Emperor Henry I (903-936) is described as being compelled, before marching to Italy, to make war against the "Ukræner". The pamphlet also contains a map, on which the Ukrans are shown as neighbors of the Obotrites and Redarites. In addition Prof. Sichinsky gives a list of names of villages and towns which, he considers, correspond completely with Ukrainian usage. The author states that this designation "Ukrans" is no "isolated phenomenon" but is also found on some Western European maps of the XVIIIth century where the Ukraine on the Dnieper is called in Latin "Ucrania". He also believes that there was a tradition existant in Ukraine during the XVIIth century that this North Western district was the original homeland of the Ukrainians. He supports this view by a quotation from a "*Universal*" (publication) of hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky issued in 1648 at Bila Tserkva. Here the hetman, recalling the courage of their Ukrainian ancestors, spoke of "the Rus' men from Rugia (now the island of Ruegen) from the Baltic seashore . . . who, under the leadership of their prince 'Odonacer' (apparently: Odoacer alias Odovacer) in 470 A.D. had no fear even of the Roman might and by these courageous men was Rome conquered and ruled for 14 years". (The quotation is from the Chronicle of Velychko in the 18th century).

Thus, readers of this pamphlet obtain the impression that the modern Ukrainians are descended from the Ukrans, a Western Slav tribe living near the Baltic Sea, and that this was the original Ukrainian mother-country whence they apparently migrated eastwards to the area of the Dnieper where, subsequently, the name Ukrania became Ukraine

and the Ukrans became Ukrainians. How this actually happened the author does not explain.

Since this pamphlet is rather popular with all Ukrainians interested in their past, and since we have received and are receiving questions about this theory, a student of Slavic history and philology is bound to examine this identification (by Prof. Sichinsky) of the Ukrans with the Ukrainians, in the interests of scholarly truth.

The existence of the Western Slavic tribe of the Ukrans is an established historical fact. We possess ample information about this tribe and its fate. But until now, not a single linguist or historian has connected these Ukrans with the Ukrainians. The reason for the attitude of the scholars are as follows:

(1) Firstly, there are linguistic reasons for opposing any identification or even relationship between these two words. The words "Ukrans" and "Ukrainians" are etymologically two separate meanings which can not, under any circumstances, be brought into relationship or be confused.

The derivation of Ukraina from "*Kraj—Krajina*" "country, land," connected with Proto-Slavic "*Krojon—Krojiti, Krajati*" "to cut, to divide," is absolutely definite.¹ In our opinion, the term Ukraina originated in connection with the division of land among the clans during the gradual emergence of clan-land-property, and it developed as a popular term simultaneously with the old tribal name of the Poliane "the field-dwellers" in the Kievan area.²

The derivation of the word Ukrans is also definite—c. f. A. Bruekner, *Słownik Etymologiczny Języka Polskiego*. It is derived from the river Wkra-Ukra (etymologically from the root: weng-wang—) originally meaning "to wind, to meander."

In our opinion also, the majority of the topographical names of the old Ukran territory and modern Ukraine, are common to all Slavic nations; therefore this similarity has no bearing on either the identity or the relationship existing between these two distinct peoples.

(2) Secondly, there are also historical reasons for opposing any identification between the Ukrainians and the old Ukrans.

¹ c. f. E. Bruekner, *Etymologisches Woerterbuch der Slavischen Sprachen*.

² The original meaning of Ukraina was "The country divided into land-property" amongst the clans, or the country which the tribe regarded "cut out" from "the holy earth" as its private property and dominion.

(a) There is no proof that the Ukrans are a Proto-Slavic tribe. This name has been found only since Xth century, many centuries after the Proto-Slavic era and we do not know anything with certainty about the tribal names of that early period.

(b) In addition, there are, we believe, weighty reasons for opposing the belief that the original Slavic homeland existed on the bank of the river Oder. This is the theory put forward by the so-called Poznanian school of Polish scholars (Lehr-Splawinski, Kostrzewski, Rudnicki, Czekanowski). In our opinion, however, the Pole Rostafinski and many other scholars of Slavic pre-history are right in locating the original Slavic mother-country on Ukrainian territory with the Pollisia as the nucleus.

(c) There is no proof that the Ukrans were connected in any way or at any time with the "Rus'men of Rugia" or the Rus-men of the IXth century or the old Germanic tribe of the Rugians (IVth century A.D.). At the time of Khmelnytsky each nobleman tried to construct, not only for himself but also for his nation a distinguished and ancient "family tree" but historical theories cannot be based on such boasts.

(d) In addition, good historical material about the Ukrans from the time of their appearance in recorded history in the 10th century has been collected by W. Boguslawski: *Dzieje Slowianszczyzny Polnocno-Zachodniej*, Poznan 1887, and elsewhere. The Ukrans existed in the oldest times on the left bank of the river Oder and were known in old records as: Uchri, Ucrani, Vuveri. They inhabited two towns, Przemyslav (Prenzlav) and Pozdiwolk (Pasewalk), both on the river Wkra from which the tribal name of the Ukrans is derived. They were a separate tribe, often included into the Lutitian or Velétian tribal unions, and fought not only Henry I but later in 954, organized a great rising against the German invaders when Margrave Geron and Konrad of Lotharingia had to suppress them. In the XIIth century they belonged to the domain of Wartyslaw I of Szczecin and in the XIIIth century the Germanization of the Ukran nobility began, followed in the XIVth and XVth centuries by that of the Ukran people. An ethnic dualism developed in this territory and lasted till the end of the XVIIIth century. The population spoke a Slavic-German mixture "Ukerwendsk" and were regarded as Ukro-Wends (Wenden—from the original name of the Western Slavs) while their country was called by the Germans "Uckerland", later, by the Prussians, "Uckermark" as it is today.

Thus these Ukrans never migrated eastwards, but have a continuous history which is still terminologically connected with their old home.

(e) Ukrainian history, on the other hand, also opposes any attempt to construct a "Western-Slavic" origin for the people. The name Ukraine and Ukrainians is recorded in the Kievan Chronicle in the XII century. If we take into account the fact that the Chronicle was written in the XIIIth century, but certainly reflects the terminology of at least the IXth century, we can accept the fact that the ancestors of the modern Ukrainians already inhabited their country on the Dnieper at the same time, when the Ukrans on the Oder were living along the river Wkra-Ukra.

To sum up: any identification of Ukrans and Ukrainians or any relationship between these old Slavic tribes must be regarded as impossible. The Slavic world had already finished its mighty expansion in the VIIth-VIIIth centuries and was differentiated into the Western and Eastern-South Slavic nations. The Ukrans belonged to the Western Slavic branch, the Ukrainians to the Eastern.

But how can the misspelling of Ukraine as Ucraina on the XVIIth century geographical maps be explained? In our opinion, the German geographers of that period misspelled Ukraine as Ucraina for two reasons: in part they were influenced by the historical term for the Ukrans who were their neighbors; in part they employed the well-known linguistic phenomenon of "metathesis," in order to make the pronunciation of that strange Slavic word easier for themselves. The same metathesis also occurred in Turkey, since for the Turks also the word Ukraina (with the accent on i) was a strange and difficult vocal combination. Therefore we believe that influences from Constantinople, transmitted through the Italians, may have encouraged this Western European misspelling. In any case, it is a purely linguistic phenomenon and cannot be used as a demonstration of any relationship between the old Ukrans and the Ukrainians.

Remarks by Dr. Sichinsky:

In reply to Prof. Smal-Stocky's comment on my article *The Name Ukraine*, I wish to state that that article showed that in the first half of the tenth century there existed a Proto-Slavic tribe with name *Ukran*, inhabiting the region near the mouth of the Oder river. However, no broad conclusion or theory to the effect that the modern Ukrainians are descended from the Baltic *Ukran* tribe was advanced. Whether there

is a relationship between that tribe and the Ukrainians is a problem requiring additional investigation, philological and otherwise, as does the problem of the genesis of the name *Ukraine*. My ideas on this subject have not yet been fully developed and therefore cannot yet be published.

However, the use of the terms *Ukrania* and *Ukran* to designate present-day Ukraine was neither an accident nor a mistake in transcription. Latin sources in Western Europe show that *Ukrania* was the oldest term in use, and is used today in the Iberian, Flemish, and Magyar languages. Investigation of the cartography of Ukraine shows that the oldest maps made in Western Europe using the word Ukraine employ the spelling *Ukrania*, *Uckrania*, *Ukran*. Such forms are found on the following maps:

W. Hondius, Danzig, 1644.

Archives of Meautiell, Paris, beginning of the seventeenth century.

N. Sanson, Paris, 1655, 1663.

Glob, Olomuoc, Czechoslovakia, 1697.

Baworowski Library, Lviv, seventeenth century, containing a Dutch map of that period.

De Ramme, end of the seventeenth century.

De L'Isle, early eighteenth century.

J. Danckerts, Amsterdam, 1705.

P. Schenk, Nurnberg, 1705.

B. Homann, Nurnberg, 1716.

G. Weigel, Nurnberg, 1717.

Mattheus Seutter, 1736.

Beauplan, first edition, Rouen, 1650.

Most of these maps are of Dutch and French origin, and therefore this usage cannot be the result of errors by German cartographers. On the contrary German writers, with few exceptions, used the word *Ukraine*; other Western European cartographers consistently employed the spelling *Ukrania*, *Ukran*.

RUSSIAN COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS

by WASYL HALICH

Russian propaganda has been a government weapon for more than 200 years in age. It is turned on its own people as well as on foreigners. Catherine II, like Stalin, considered herself the master mind of it. It costs the government a large sum of money, which is drawn from the "education fund," but no doubt from other funds also. Occasionally the fiscal spring runs low, as the editor of "*Soviet Russia Today*", Jessica Smith, revealed in the fall of 1948, when she sent out the following printed notice on penny postcards:

"To the Librarian:

*Some time ago, Mrs. A. M. Woodruff, one of our readers, wrote you that a gift fund had been created to send subscriptions for the American monthly magazine "*Soviet Russia Today*" to libraries indicating a desire to receive it. On receiving your application, a subscription was entered for your library.*

As our gift fund is limited, we are now writing to ask whether you wish to continue to receive the magazine. Will you be good enough to fill out the attached card and drop it in the mail.

*Very truly yours,
Jessica Smith, Editor
"*Soviet Russia Today*"*

One of the college librarians who received this notice informed the author that she had never at any time indicated a desire to receive the magazine. Most likely the other school and city librarians were equally innocent. They, just as the teachers, get this propaganda material through the mail without ever having ordered it.

Red propaganda in the schools covers the United States from one end of the country to the other, although without too much thoroughness. Some people think that it started with the American recognition of the Red regime in 1933, but this is not the case. Various films on Soviet Russia were somehow booked with other films for schools as far back

as the twenties. There were also a few pamphlets and occasionally books. After Pres. Roosevelt's recognition of Russia and the influx into the United States of many agents attached to the Kremlin diplomatic corps, propaganda started in earnest and since 1945 it has been quite persistent.

Though not much news of this gets into the American press, mention is made now and then. Some two years ago the School Board of Newark, N. J. wrestled with this pestiferous problem. In 1949 the following Milwaukee high schools reported the arrival of unordered Red propaganda: North Division, Bay View, Lincoln, and the suburban West Allis Central. For some reasons, however, Stalin's agents overlooked six other high schools in that town. Mr. W. T. White, Sup't of schools in Dallas, Texas, recently reported that his schools, too, had been getting some Red "literature", which he termed "out and out propaganda" and which he dispatched to the wastebasket. More recently, at its Feb., 1950, meeting, the Board of Education in Superior, Wisconsin, discussed what to do about the Russian propaganda sent to both of its public high schools. In 1947, the author saw "Soviet Russia Today" conspicuously displayed in the Ironwood, Michigan, public library, much frequented by high school students. There is no doubt that our college and university libraries are on the regular Russian mailing list.

TEACHERS THE TARGET

Apparently not every teacher in every school is considered equally important by the Red agents. It is the teachers of social science in the senior high schools, especially the ones that teach the 11th or 12th grades or those who have classes in world history or democracy that are so favored by the Russians. The public high school libraries, as already mentioned, are also "honored". The Catholic high schools thus far, as a class, have been left alone. The school principals, college and university professors of social science are also remembered. In addition to the propaganda received through the mail, not infrequently a new Red convert student smuggles some pamphlets into a college library reading room. As long as it is the teachers personally who get the propaganda, the pupils and schools are, on the whole, quite safe. Though there are, here and there, Reds in the teaching profession, their sneaky ways are not approved by any of the teachers' organizations and they must work under cover; and when uncovered, as recently in the case of one woman teacher in New York and another in Pittsburgh, they are dismissed from the

teaching force, for one Red teacher could be more dangerous than scores of pamphlets. Fortunately, the teaching profession has in this regard a highly honorable record.

PROPAGANDA MATERIAL

According to Mr. Oliver F. Wergin, Asst. Prin. of Lincoln High School, Milwaukee, as recently reported in the "*Milwaukee Journal*", the names of Russian propaganda publications change "although basically the editions appear to be the same in content and style". During the last two or three years the following publications have been "visiting", uninvited, the American schools: "*Soviet Russia Today*", published in New York City; "*USSR Information Bulletin*", Washington, D. C., and "*In Fact*", New York City. These are open, undisguised propaganda and no expert knowledge is needed to detect the fact.

Then there is the Trojan horse of gigantic size, real bolshey, the *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, used extensively as a college reference library book. George S. Montgomery made a special study of this publication and in his recent book devoted one chapter (IX) to this topic.¹ The editor of this encyclopaedia, Dr. E. R. A. Seligman (Prof. Emeritus of Columbia Univ.), for some reason selected mostly European professors, pupils of Karl Marx, such as the late Prof. Harold J. Laski, to write on such topics as Liberty, Freedom, Democracy, Freedom of Association, Judiciary, Bureaucracy, and Social Contract. Even the topic of Great Britain is presented with the Marxist touch. Laski, of course, praises Lenin because "from a Russia in chaos he built a powerful modern state upon a foundation strong enough to make it a decisive challenge to capitalist civilization."² These articles by Laski are noted not only for what they say, but also for their omissions; for example, Prof. Laski, while analyzing Freedom of Association, touches Russia before 1917 but remains silent on the issue after that date. Then there is Prof. Schuman's book *Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad*, written as if to glorify the Soviet regime. Very recently there appeared in English the translation of V. A. Smirnov's novel *Sons*³, a piece of Stalinist propaganda which could give some innocent soul reading it a good dose of falsification.

¹ See *The Return of Adam Smith*, The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1949.

² Vol. XV, 143.

³ Pub. by Doubleday and Co., Inc., New York, 1947.

There are also some other books on Russia that pretend very hard to be factual but are biased.

If the purpose of any propaganda is to make people believe things they would not otherwise accept too readily, then the Russian brand is of a most pernicious type. It aims not only to deceive, to betray and dishonor a person, but it calls ultimately for blood, for the lives not only of individuals but of millions, even of nations. By its own people and those in occupied countries it is not readily acceptable, because it is observed that the Reds preach one thing but often do the opposite. Therefore propaganda has to be made effective through the use of the gun and the slave camps on the one hand and by bribery of the less moral individual on the other. The Czechs, Poles, and other new nations under the Russian regime are being sovietized according to the same blueprint as the one used in Ukraine twenty five years ago.

MATERIAL FOR AMERICAN CONSUMPTION

Being fully aware that America is a civilized nation, the Russian propaganda experts here prepare the material accordingly. The two common publications, "*Soviet Russia Today*" and "*USSR Information Bulletin*", seem to follow this arrangement: 1. They lavishly praise everything Russian and occasionally have pictures of the Soviet way of life. — 2. They ridicule or denounce the western standards but not in such violent language "as in Moscow". — 3. They deny that such things as slave labor camps exist, or that the Russian election system is a farce, or that the "republics" of non-Russian nations of the USSR are abused by the Muscovites. — 4. Once in a great while they attempt to discuss a topic in a scholarly fashion. — 5. "*In Fact*", though directed at the college and university professors, seems to be "cold war" propaganda directed against the United States and the West.

With these characteristics in mind we will examine some of the actual material. Let us, for example, take the April, 1948, issue of "*Soviet Russia Today*". Its very loud headline on the cover reads: "Diplomacy by Falsehood", and then in smaller type "Facts and Fabrications in the State Department's Use of Nazi Documents Against the USSR" by Prof. Frederick L. Schuman. On page 11, under the paragraph heading "Who 'Betrayed' Poland and 'Unleashed' World War II?", we read the following: "The State Department's prize exhibit is the Secret Protocol (p. 78.) to the Treaty of Non-aggression of August 23, 1939. The American press and radio have presented it as a robbers' pact whereby Hitler gave Stalin Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Eastern Poland and Bessarabia

while Stalin gave Hitler Lithuania and Western Poland. In fact the document merely says that 'in the event of a territorial and political rearrangement', the German and Soviet 'spheres of influence' shall be bounded by the northern frontier of Lithuania and by the rivers Narew, Vistula and San". This proves that the American interpretation of the document is quite correct, although Prof. Schuman tries hard to absolve Russia of any guilt of starting the war through her alliance with Hitler and the partition of Poland.

In the same issue is the second of three articles on "Religious Life In The Soviet Ukraine" by V. J. Tereshtenko. He does not ramble and quote Stalin's constitution but attempts to present reality as much as he deems safe. The author admits that "voluntary church welfare agencies are not known in the Soviet Union" (p. 21). He further states that the "church does not maintain any printing establishments of its own, since this is a monopoly of the State"; also, "there are no chaplains in the Red Army", but "during the war relations between the army and the priest were most cordial and friendly" (p. 22). The statistics the author gives about the religious bodies in the Ukraine, as of January, 1947, present the following number of churches and religious sects: Roman Catholic 260, Old Church of Russia 132, Adventists 144, Greek Orthodox Uniats 212, Reformed Calvinists 81, Methodists 1, Moslem 3, Armenian 1, Jewish 75, Molokans 8, Evangelical Christian Baptists 1914, and Lutheran 3 (p. 23). If there is any truth in these figures, then they are appalling: it would appear that the Red atheistic government has destroyed since 1945 about 85% of all the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic churches in the provinces of Bukovina, Galicia, Carpatho-Ukraine, Volhynia, Cholm, and Polissya. It is no wonder that the Ukrainians in these provinces are defying the Muscovites. To qualified readers this is propaganda in reverse.

The more recent copies of the "*USSR Information Bulletin*" contain some of the gems of Kremlin propaganda. Let us examine the copy of January 27, 1950. On page 37 appears the big headline: "Only Under Soviets, Lenin Taught, Is True Democracy Possible". Then the author of the article, Miss (or Mrs.) R. Savitskaya, offers the following quotations from the Red diety, Lenin, to prove her point:

"Only Soviet Russia gave the proletariat and the entire overwhelming toiling majority of Russia freedom and democracy, un-

precedented, impossible and inconceivable in any bourgeois democratic republic" (p. 37).⁴

Her own gems are as follows:

"Bourgeois democracy is the veiled dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the exploiting minority over the exploited majority. Soviet democracy is real democracy, democracy for the majority, new principle, people's democracy under which all the people participate in administering the country" (p. 38).

"The Soviet system has ensured the working people the real exercise of democratic rights and democratic freedoms. The Constitution of the USSR, whose author is J. V. Stalin, does not limit itself to the formal recognition of equality of the rights of citizens, but ensures the conditions necessary for the practical exercise of these rights, ensures genuine democracy". Still another reference to the Soviet democracy is that of "a voluntary and honest union of the peoples of Russia".

"The application of the Lenin-Stalin national policy has fostered inviolable friendship among the peoples of the USSR (empire), headed by the Russian people. The solution of the national question by Soviet democracy is the greatest achievement among mankind's great social gains" (p. 38).

"Peaceful Policy of Lenin Continued by Stalin", written by G. Rasadin, likewise has some intriguing phrases. Here are samples:

"The Lenin-Stalin foreign policy of the Soviet Union invariably enjoys wide popularity and support among the working people of all countries and nations because this policy has always been directed against war, because it upholds the cause of peace and peaceful co-operation among the nations" (p. 44).

"The Soviet Socialist State has no need for foreign expansions. It has no need for colonial conquests. The Soviet people have no fear of peaceful competition with capitalism. That is why they stand for peace although they are firmly confident of their unvanquishable might".

"As a result of the wise Stalin foreign policy the Anglo-Soviet-American anti-fascist coalition took shape in the course of the Second World War in the interest of all the freedom-loving peoples" (p. 45).

⁴ According to Angelica Balabanoff (one of Lenin's co-workers, still living, the first secretary of the Communist International), "*Communism means Slavery*". She did not approve of Lenin-Trotsky methods and left the country in 1922. *Duluth News Tribune*, April 9, 1950.

It is hardly worth the space here to refer to the Red elections and yet here is an article (p. 53) for American consumption entitled: "Election System of Soviet Union Is World's Most Democratic".

It is a fine thing that this propaganda magazine contains some pictures, for the reader can see other things than what is intended for him. Those appearing in the "*USSR Bulletin*", Jan. 27, 1950, are after the pattern of the "*Potemkin villages*". However, few of the people appear happy; instead they look stern and regimented. Although the buses on the city streets seem modern, the streetcars of Leningrad look like those that America discarded thirty years ago. Very few cars are in evidence (see pp. 56-63 of the "*USSR Bulletin*", Jan. 27, 1950). In the same magazine for Feb., 10, 1950, are the fabulous car production figures: for 1947, a 100% jump; 1948, 210%; and 1949, 477% (p. 69). Where are these cars concealed then? Is it a war secret? Oh, no. The secret is revealed on p. 64. of the Jan. 27, 1950, issue: they are on the Ukrainian farms, those farms having five to seven cars each ! . . .

The Feb. 10, 1950 issue of the "*USSR Bulletin*" is confined to boasting of the Soviet industrial and agricultural accomplishments. According to this propaganda, industrial crises, while common in the capitalistic nations, are impossible in the Red empire. Then, of course, there are more samples of "*Potemkin villages*", meant as in Catherine II's time to deceive the foreigners. The authors would try to make you believe that a Russian laborer lives better than a middle-class family in the U. S. or England.

TO COMBAT RUSSIA'S PROPAGANDA

While the Russian agitators are busy in this country, the Americans though not exactly asleep are not fully awake either. According to various reports, Russia already has more fifth columnists here than she had in Czecho-Slovakia before the Czech government was overthrown and its older leaders liquidated.

Our newspaper columnists have been doing fine work the last three years in assisting the American people to understand the real conditions in Russia. But the youth of high school age does not read the journalistic columns or editorials. In fact, very few college students do. Therefore more pamphlets are needed if Russia continues her present policy of attempting to overthrow other people's governments in her zeal to conquer and dominate the world.

MYKHAYLO HAYVORONSKY — THE BARD OF THE UKRAINIAN ARMY

By WASYL WYTWYCKY

The First World War, with its occasional lulls in the fighting, with its periods of quiet life behind the front lines, and with the long stretches of position warfare provided opportunity for artistic expression. Soldiers found it possible *inter arma* to continue their interests in the arts. The Ukrainian military formations emphasized their soldiers' love of song and music, and from their ranks came noted musicians, such as Michael Hayvoronsky, Roman Kupchynsky, and Lev Lepky, the last commanding a squadron of cavalry. The songs of such men became the inseparable companions of the Ukrainian *Sichovi Striltsi*, and we can say of this Ukrainian music what Deems Taylor said of the marches of John Philip Sousa—that such music is necessary to marching men who cover long miles both in the summer's heat and in a downpour of rain.

Zalishchyky, where Michael Hayvoronsky was born in 1892, is one of the most picturesque towns in Western Ukraine. On one side of the sharp bend of the Dniester river, stretch luxuriant green fields, while on the other side a steep bank looms like a large mountain. Amid this scenic beauty Hayvoronsky passed his youth. He took violin and violincello lessons, studied the theory of music, played in the local orchestra, conducted the church choir, and organized a band. In 1912 he was graduated from the teacher's college in Zalishchyky with honors. With several compositions already to his credit, Hayvoronsky went on to Lviv and studied music at the university and the conservatory in that city. He supported himself by his work until the First World War broke out, and then in 1914 he found himself in a soldier's uniform.

Hayvoronsky was placed in the *Sichovi Striltsi*—a separate formation for Ukrainians in the Austrian army who had volunteered for service against Tsarist Russia. He became the musical expert of that unit, and wrote compositions for its use. His first compositions were of a humorous character, but later his works became more serious and military in tone. He arranged a series of songs for male voices and for three years he headed a soldier's orchestra. For a brief period he worked as an inspector of military orchestras and during the existence of the Ukrainian National Republic he served as the chief bandmaster of the Ukrainian army, with

the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He compiled bugle signals for infantry and cavalry during this service. With the fall of the Ukrainian State Hayvoronsky was taken into Polish captivity, and when released, returned to Lviv to take an active part in music work.

Up to 1923, Hayvoronsky's productions were marked by their military flavor. The compositions of his youth and military career were perfected by growing maturity and increasing ability. All these works are arranged for male voices and are martial in spirit (*Slava, slava, otamane, Nema v sviti krashchykh khlopstiv*). One of them catches beautifully the melancholy of a lonely soldier (*Yikhav striletz na viynonku*); others portray the grief that comes with the death of a comrade in arms (*Pytayetsya viter smerty, Oy, yikhav striletz u kray zruba*). Hayvoronsky also prepared an excellent medley of soldiers' songs for a male chorus, and a series of soldier's love songs for solo and piano (*Synia chichka, Oy, kazala maty, Nahnuvsyia dub vysoky*). As a conductor of military bands Hayvoronsky prepared about twenty compositions for wind instruments.



MYKHAYLO HAYVORONSKY (1892-1949)

"Wars have always produced songs, and people keep on singing them long after thoughts of war have gone from their minds," J. T. Howard remarked of the songs of the American Civil War. The same was true of the Ukrainian soldiers' songs, which live today both in the productions of choral groups and as a source of other musical arrangements. Often these songs became so popular that they became true folksongs, the authors remaining unknown. That these military songs became the base for future musical elaboration testifies to their intrinsic worth.

In 1923 Hayvoronsky came to the United States and settled in New York City. He worked with such Ukrainian musicians as the violinist and composer Prydatkevych and chose to further his musical studies. He studied at Columbia University under Daniel Gregory Mason, Seth Bingham, and Douglas Moore. He was graduated with honors and received the Mosenthal Award. In the 1930's and 1940's Hayvoronsky was especially active, publishing many of his previous works and composing new ones. He was assisted in his endeavors by his wife, Dr. N. Pelekhovich-Hayvoronsky.

In America Hayvoronsky struggled to raise the musical standards of the Ukrainian immigrants. Impressed by the accomplishments of such groups as the Scots, who diligently fostered their musical heritage, Hayvoronsky conducted concerts among the American Ukrainians, strove for the amalgamation of small choruses, and acted as a patient teacher. At a special festival of Ukrainian music in New York City in 1930 he appeared at the head of a great chorus of 300 voices. The American youth of Ukrainian descent were accorded special attention, and he trained some excellent young musicians and directors, inspiring love of music in the hearts of many. In the last years of his life he came forward with aid to his colleagues who were exiles and displaced persons in Europe. Hayvoronsky died on September 11, 1949.

As a composer Hayvoronsky was not an exponent of revolution or experiment. He devoted himself completely to the themes and traditions of Ukrainian music. These activities embraced primarily the fostering of choral music, and its organic identification with folksongs. He was among those who did the important work of reviving, strengthening, and improving what tradition had given. The means of his musical language, harmony and polyphony were deliberate and conservative. Experimentalism and "ultramodernism" he tended to avoid, and in his reconstruction of Ukrainian musical culture he revived much good material which had been forgotten. In a letter, dated Jan. 5, 1948, Hayvoronsky wrote to the present author:

"I have worked with those materials to which others paid no attention, either because they lacked time, strength, or the disposition to work. And fate drew me whither others of our music leaders chose not to go. The more I became familiar with the ethnographic wealth of our people, the more was I captivated and benefited by it. I have gathered so much material and have more than enough for my work.

Despite the abundant choral arrangements of Ukrainian folksongs in the works of Lysenko, Leontovych, Stetsenko, Koshetz, Liudkevych and

many others, Hayvoronsky was able to make use of new materials and elaborate on such works as the old folk song *Dunayu, Dunayu, chomu smuten techesh*, published for the first time in 1571, and he worked on the folk songs of Polissya, Lemkivshchyna, and Carpatho-Ukraine, as well as the Ukrainian songs from the Bachka region of Yugoslavia. Hayvoronsky also interested himself in the folk songs of other nations, such as those of the White Ruthenians, Canadians and Americans.

In his cycle of choral arrangements of folk songs Hayvoronsky followed the principles of Mykhola Leontovych, emphasizing polyphony and paying particular attention to separate lines of the text. In place of the old system of line construction, in which one musical arrangement was applied to all lines of the text, Hayvoronsky employed a varied form in which the character and quality of the musical production changed with the content of the individual lines of the text. His compositions evolved in harmony with the meaning of the words. The principal melody changes, when the text of the song justifies it, from soprano to other voices, such as bass; the position of the voices is changed, as are the tonality, tempo and spirit. Similar techniques are found in his original compositions. (*Koval, Skytalcha tuha, Ballad for mixed chorus*).

Hayvoronsky's concentration upon neglected areas of musical lore stressed church music. He worked extensively upon the religious chants and choral arrangements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His arrangements of Masses are particularly valuable. His 1949 works include a series of solo parts with piano and compositions for different ensembles.

In the second period of Hayvoronsky's work he devoted himself primarily to instrumental music. His instrumental productions are no longer marches and band pieces, as was true during the First World War, but are intended as "pure" music. For violin and piano he wrote *Sonatina, Dumka, Prelude, Serenade* and *Suite*, and employed such old styles as the minuet, rondeau, gavotte, and ariette. The Ukrainian music critic Vasyl Barvinsky wrote that "*The Sonatina*" of Hayvoronsky must be greeted not only as one of the composer's best works, but also as a valuable enrichment of compositions for the violin. Its chief qualities are freshness of invention, transparent and brittle form, melodiousness, and a luxuriant but not exaggerated elaboration of the part for the piano."

In chamber music Hayvoronsky wrote a *String Quartette*, a *Christmas Suite* for the same ensemble, a *Prelude*, and a fugue for a string trio. His orchestral compositions include a three-part suite and tone-poem which was played by the New York Symphony Orchestra.

Hayvoronsky did not believe in composing "in a complicated manner when it was possible to write simply." "Beauty in simplicity" was the way the Ukrainian expert Filaret Kolessa characterized Hayvoronsky's art.

Although Hayvoronsky's name is bound closely with the Ukrainian army of liberation during the First World War and he remains primarily the bard of that army, nevertheless his contributions to the development of Ukrainian music in America are richer and more varied. His creativeness and activity are infused with a basic principle: art serves and must serve a definite goal. He did not transgress that rule and possessed no urge to do so, as many artists and laymen of his generation seemed to be impelled. He worked and lived for his contemporaries; his home in Forest Hills New York evolved into a sort of oasis where despite the strident surroundings there were preserved melodies imbued with the spirit of the past, with the song of the highlands of the Ukrainian Hutsuls, and of the beautiful fields of his native Podillya.

BOOK REVIEWS:

UKRAINE AND ITS PEOPLE, edited by I. Mirchuk. Ukrainian Free University Press, Munich 1949.

When the dangerous imbroglio of East-West politics is one day resolved, the opinion of many is that the solution will stem from within rather than without the Soviet Union. It is generally known that the Union represents no homogeneous national unity. Composed of a large number of distinct ethnic groups, who speak more than a hundred separate languages and exemplify great cultural divergencies, the Soviet state is in fact far more heterogeneous than any other great power. From Soviet propaganda to the contrary, one readily gets the impression that its cohesion is more a function of its police organization than of the integrative power of international communism. Certainly, in an historical sense, the Tsarist police were able to maintain a politically unified Russian Empire long before Communism came into effect.

If someday this unity is desintegrated, one of the emerging states will almost certainly be Ukraine. This the largest of the non-Russian ethnic groups and territories of the Soviet Union, comprising some 40,000,000 persons and 176,000 square miles, has never been wholly reconciled to its forcible inclusion therein. Speaking a separate language, exemplifying another culture, and exhibiting a contrasting mentality, the Ukrainian people protest most vigorously the popular tendency of the rest of the world to identify them with the Great Russians. A strong nationalist and irredentist spirit exists among them. They have in the large majority always desired their own national identity and look forward confidently to the day when they can regain it. Although many thousands of them, unable to stomach the Soviet regime, have emigrated, their tie to the motherland remains strong and the emigrants carry on a vigorous program for their suppressed countrymen in the homeland.

The emigre groups have systematically propagated Ukrainian culture and learning abroad. One such group, settling in Prague after the First World War, founded, under the protection of the Czech Government, the so-called Free Ukrainian University, which carried on its work there until 1945. Then, fleeing the Soviet occupation of that country, the institution took up its work in Munich where it has functioned since. With great courage and tenacity, and in the face of unbelievable difficulties, the

devoted faculty of this institution has carried on an able program of university instruction for their exiled countrymen, as well as one of productive scholarship.

One of the most notable of the works of scholarship to proceed from their efforts is the book which is the subject of this review, a handbook entitled "The Ukraine and its People." Edited and in part written by Professor Iwan Mirschuk, formerly Rector of the institution, the work is a compendium of information on Ukraine assembled by specialists competent in the various fields of treatment. It aims to give a comprehensive picture of the people, their land, their history, and their culture. All revelant aspects of the country are dealt with—geographical, historical ethnological, economic and cultural.

The book has been published in lucid English and the writer knows no other work which can give in so small a compass and with so authoritative a treatment as complete a picture of the land. Supplementing the text is an ample assortment of tables, charts, and maps. There are also appended a carefully prepared bibliography, glossary and index.

For the English speaking reader who desires to increase his knowledge of this region, which promises one day to play a decisive role in world history, the work provides a unique guide and handbook. As such, it is worthy of considerable attention in the United States.

Dr. CLIFTON C. WINN

Chief University Branch OMGB.

HISTORY OF THE UKRAINIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE, by Metropolitan Ilarion (Ohiyenko). Winnipeg. Publication "Nasha Kultura" (Our Culture, No. 12, 1949, pp. 382, 8°.

This work of the Metropolitan Ilarion (the former Prof. Ivan Ohiyenko, Ph. D.) is a monograph on the history of the Ukrainian literary language. It aims at a greater completeness than many of the previously published studies, which have treated only certain aspects of the problems offered.

The work is divided into three main parts. In the first, ("The Ukrainian Language," pp. 7-55), he states the linguistic theories underlying his work, discusses the origin of the Ukrainian language.

In the second part (The Evolution of the Ukrainian Literary Language," pp. 57-294), he presents the sources for the Ukrainian literary language and discusses its growth. He marks out the periods of its development in close connection with the historical and cultural situation in each period. These fall naturally into the period of the reigning princes

(IX-XVI century), the Lithuanian period (XIV-XVI centuries), the Polish period (1569-1654), and the Muscovite period (1654-1798), during which much of the denationalization of the Ukrainian period and their language takes place.

The period of regeneration of the literary language begins with the publication of Kotlyarevsky's travesty of Vergil's *Aeneid* in 1798. The classical works of the Ukrainian poets, writers, and dramatists mark the development and growth of the literary language during the XIX century. Although the author stresses the influence of Shevchenko as the progenitor of the literary language, he assigns to him less importance than he does to Panteleymon Kulish as the ideologist and creator of this language.

Metropolitan Ilarion is, however, wrong in his opinion as to the small role of the Galician writers.¹

In the following chapters, he discusses the important moments in the development of the Ukrainian language. These are the persecutions by the Tsars under the orders of 1863 and 1876, the Revolution of 1905 and the years 1917-1920. It was only after the Revolution of 1905 that Russian scholars acknowledged that the Ukrainian language, like the Ukrainian nation, was an independent entity and not a dialect of Great Russian.

After the second Russian Revolution, the Ukrainian literary language thrived and developed through the efforts of poets and writers, linguistic scholars, and journalists. At this period all phases of the literary language, vocabulary, terminology, exact grammatical forms, were made the object of careful study. This period continued during the years 1922-1933, but since that last year the Soviet regime has been persecuting the Ukrainian language like all the other languages in the Soviet Union and has been trying to transform it on the basis of the Russian language.

Metropolitan Ilarion's work covers a wider scope than that of his predecessors. It offers a wealth of material based on the history of Ukrainian culture.

WASYL LEW

SLAVS AND TEUTONS, by Roman Smal Stocki. The Oldest Germanic-Slavic Relations. With a preface by Alfred Senn, Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania. The Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee, Wisc., 1950. P. 108.

In this book the author, now professor at Marquette University,

¹ Cf. Y. Sherekh: "Galicia's influence on the new literary language," in "Kulturno-mystetaky Kalendar-almanach, 1947. Regensburg, 1947, pp. 40-46.

contradicts the view of certain Russian scholars, who deny the existence of an aboriginal Pan-Slavic people and country, and strive to divide it into three Proto-Slavic tribes—the West, Middle and East-Slavs, who in their remotest antiquity spoke their own languages. So, for example, Prof. G. Vernadsky rejects the unity of the ancient Slavic people and accepts only a homogeneous Proto-Slavic cultural sphere. In particular he believes that only the West and Middle-Slavs were under western influences for the East-Slavs had a Eurasian background. On the other hand the Soviet-Russian scholars on Slavic origins have introduced several theories so fantastic that it is difficult to discuss them on a scientific basis.

Prof. Smal Stocki does not agree with the theory of Prof. Vernadsky regarding the East-Slavs. He is convinced that they too had close relations with western Europe. This he proves by his "linguistic archaeology". He mentions especially the possible Proto-Balto-Slavic linguistic and cultural community, supported by several distinguished linguists, and the still earlier influence of the Proto-Germanic culture on the Slavic world. To prove this, the author gives a review of the common Indo-European background and cultural inheritance of the Germanic and Slavic languages. These two cultures developed in two different ways, largely because of geographical conditions. Here he stresses the importance of the Ukrainian territory from the Carpathian mountains to the Polissya marshes, which was one of the oldest Proto-Slavic homelands and supports his views by etymological research on the names of rivers and places. Prof. Smal Stocky thinks that there is not only a linguistic and cultural, but also an historical background for his ideas. But being a linguist himself, he gives more space to the linguistic influences, and to this end he mentions several "loan words" which the Slavs took from the Old-Germanic language. These are chiefly from the spheres of German political organization, law, weapons, building etc., as the Germans had already a higher developed form of state and culture. This influence was later strengthened when the Goths organized their state on Slavic territory—in the present Ukraine. On the other hand the Slavs contributed to the Germanic language their own words, mainly in the sphere of agriculture. Prof. Smal Stocki thinks that, without depreciating the importance of the Iranian cultural influence on the Slavs, there is no linguistic evidence that the Iranians and not the German Scandinavians laid the foundations for the Slavic political organizations.

The cited loan words can serve as a conclusive proof of the Germanic influence on the Slavs, although we can not always be certain that the

Slavs borrowed them directly from the Germans. For example, the names of oriental animals were not necessarily borrowed from the Goths as the Slavs had certainly their own connections with the East. We know, for example, that the Trypillians obtained copper from Asia Minor and it is possible that in the earliest times the names of the Asiatic animals also came to the territory of Ukraine directly from Asia. We regard also as doubtful the statement that the Germans passed on to the Slavs their knowledge of cooking, for as early as the II millenium B. C. this was certainly known on the territory of present Ukraine (as is known by various pottery for cooking). But all these loan words, cited by the author, are really fascinating not only for a linguist or historian, but for a poet as well: the words appear rooted deeply in their most functional meaning and possess the charm of primeval beauty.

These loan words can be of great value in explaining many obscure words that are found in the old historical or literary works. For example, the word *Olbiry* (and *Olbery*) is known in two documents: The Hypatian Chronicle and The Tale of Prince Ihor's Campaign. This word is supposed to be the name of an eastern tribe. But it can be also explained as a word of western provenance: Old-Polish *olbora* means the tenth part from king's mines; *olborny*—the collector of the tithes. This Polish word originated from the Old-German *Urbar*, *Orbar* which means the duty obtained from soil. So when we read in the Hypatian Chronicle that "Prince Mstyslav sent to them the *Olbir* Sheroshevych"—the *Olbir* can represent a prince's official. There must have been a special cast of these collectors of tithes, and Prince Volodymyr the Great even built a Cathedral called the Cathedral of Tithes.

Prof. Smal Stocki is a scholar who seeks the objective scientific truth. When some years ago he published a work dealing with similar Germano-Ukrainian loan words, we heard comment that such works do not support the national Ukrainian ambitions. But we heard also a German who remarked: "I was told that I will easily understand the Ukrainian language, because it has hundreds of words of Germanic origin. Now Prof. Smal Stocki proves that there are not hundreds, but thousands of such words, and I still do not understand a thing"!

S. HORDYNSKY

A MODERN UKRAINIAN GRAMMAR, by G. Luckyj and J. B. Rudnyckyj, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949, iv. 186 pp. \$2.50.

The purpose of this book, to provide the general student with a guide to Ukrainian, has been achieved by the two authors. The work con-

sists of 39 lessons in which brief texts are followed by an explanation of the rules of Ukrainian grammar, sentence structure and idioms. Each lesson has a separate vocabulary, and there is also a short introduction explaining the main characteristics of Ukrainian and its place in the Slavic family of languages. Unfortunately, little is said about syntax but this would require a separate chapter.

The method used is that of induction—form phenomena and their examples to general conclusions and formulae, and it has been followed quite successfully throughout. Well chosen texts introduce the student to the elementary vocabulary; these lead up to more complex but always interesting descriptions of life in Ukraine and end with extracts from Ukrainian literature. Purely practical information in the form of everyday conversations is not omitted. The colloquial phrases, however, often corresponding to English idioms, are arranged without any logical sequence. Frequent translation exercises and recapitulations help the student to build up his vocabulary and to review previous lessons.

The Ukrainian text is accented throughout as it should be for the beginning students. There are, however, several cases of somewhat unusual accentuation (e. g. *strashu*, *strashyty*, *voyakovi*, *parkiv*, *khrystyianyn khryshchenia*, *napytky*, *tvaryna*, *svaty*). Some constructions such as *ludyni* (instead of: *cholovikovi*, *muzchyni*) *potribno...*, *gyvntivka* (instead of *rushnytsia*), the plural of *divcha*, and not of *divchyna*, as *divchata*, the plural declension of *lubov*, *krov* which is not used, the declension of the archaic *sey*, *sia*, *se* could be mentioned as minor blemishes.

The value of the book is enhanced by a well arranged final vocabulary and tables of paradigms. Its greatest merit, however, lies in its fresh approach and in the clear, methodical presentation. These place this publication in the front rank of Ukrainian grammars for English-speaking students who should give it a warm welcome.

K. KYSILEWSKYJ, Ph.D.

ESTUDIAMOS EL ESPANOL, by Bohdan Lonczyn. United Ukrainian American Relief Committee, Munich, 1948, pp. 200, App. 200-246 voc.

Thousands of Ukrainian DPs who migrated to the Latin American world, found themselves in difficult situations because of the fact that very few of them were familiar with the language of their new neighbors and Ukrainians could not provide them with books, grammars and dictionaries because they had none. In order to ease this situation, the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee decided to publish a series of

foreign language textbooks for the Ukrainians. *Estudiamos el espanol* is the first of these.

Estudiamos el espanol is designed primarily for beginners. In compiling his work, the author divided it into thirty lessons on various subjects. Each lesson is divided into two parts; the first treats minutely in Ukrainian every grammatical problem presented in the section, while the second contains the text of the lesson, conversation and exercises. The Spanish text of the first two lessons is accompanied by an interlinear Ukrainian transcription which serves as a "visual" and "hearing" device for the correct pronunciation of the words. It is believed that this device, although it has been usually discarded in this country, will be of assistance to those who are forced to learn the language by themselves. The text of lessons III-XXX are presented in a short, well balanced and compact form. Their sentences are too often unrelated and repeat themselves in one or another way in order to stress one particular tense or expression. It shows the author tried to familiarize the student with the idiomatic language rather than to develop topics for conversation. This makes the book more practical. But a still greater achievement of the author is his presentation of grammar. Dr. Lonczynna has given exhaustive and elaborate explanations of those forms which have no equivalent forms in the Ukrainian language (subjunctives, types of object pronouns and possessive adjectives, etc.). Each explanation is well illustrated by an example and then this is usually prepared in the text.

Also the author has done a great service to the student by adding in the Appendix a table of regular verbs, an elaborate list of regular verbs and selected reading material. Another appendix contains a small Spanish-Ukrainian dictionary of approximately 3000 words.

It is the first Spanish textbook in the Ukrainian language. It would be worthwhile, therefore, to prepare a new, revised and corrected edition.

NICHOLAS M. PALEY
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IVAN THE TERRIBLE, by Hans von Eckardt. Translated from the German by C. A. Phillips, 1949, Alfred A. Knopf, New York. Pages 421 + XI. Published and distributed in the public interest by authority of the Attorney General.

In this biography of the Muscovite Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible (+1584), H. von Eckardt, Professor at the University of Heidelberg (Germany), describes the ruthless ruler against the background of the political spirit of the XVIth century. He does not use a chronological

method, but treats his subject through the different problems of the time. He goes deeply into the character and psychological structure of Ivan the Terrible, "the unbridled criminal that he felt himself to be" (p. 233) and paints his crimes, murders, tortures and aversion for the West and the Catholic Church. In Ivan's time "the whole land groaned under persecutions, fearful blood-letting, forced transfers of populations, transportations" (p. 334). But—the author states—"Ivan's inhumanity is no exception in Russian history . . . Russian cruelty has something gloomy and dreary about it . . .; hardly any other people in Europe has so often practiced, tolerated, and discussed cruelty of such a type, repeating itself century after century. Tyrants can devise and command many things. But who is it that executes and tolerates them all" (p. 291).

The book is very interesting and instructive and is an excellent contribution to the understanding of the psychology not only of Ivan the Terrible but also Peter the Great, Joseph Stalin as well as of the Russian people.

There are, however, in this book some very serious mistakes which we hardly would expect from a Professor of Political Science. The author does not distinguish the Ukrainian and the White-Ruthenians from the Russians. For him the *Ukrainian* grand princes St. Vladimir, Yaroslav and Vladimir Monomak are *Russians*; Kiev, capital of *Ukraine*, is a *Russian city*; and *Ukraine is only a south Russia* (!). The author does not understand at all the Lithuanian period in the Ukrainian history for he looks at it from the Russian imperialistic point of view. Ukrainians and Russians are two different nations in origin as well as in culture, character and political tendencies. The former take their traditions from Kiev, the latter from Moscow. And these traditions develop in different ways. When Kiev was already a capital of a great Ukrainian state of St. Vladimir and Yaroslav (Xth-XIth centuries) Moscow did not exist, and consequently the Russian nation as an entity did not exist then. The Moscow principality came into existence much later (XIIth century) and gave birth to the Muscovite and then (since Peter I, XVIIIth century) to the Russian empire.

B. LONCZYNA

UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"Neither Czar nor Commissar," foreign news. *Time*, the weekly news-magazine, May 22, 1950, Chicago, Illinois.

This intriguing account of a discussion between a *Time* correspondent and a leading representative of the Ukrainian national movement in a Berlin cellar cafe is horribly miscaptioned by the term "Russia." For the main contents of the conversation, bearing on the historical background of Ukraine and the contemporary record of unyielding Ukrainian resistance to communist imperialism, scarcely apply to that foreign entity. In fact, with respect to underground activity, it is well known by those who are intimately familiar with the subject that absolutely no legitimate evidence exists of any such movement in Russia as such, today.

In what is otherwise an instructive report for the general American reader, it is also unfortunate that a strikingly wrong impression is conveyed about the Ukrainian struggle for freedom. In reading one of the assertions presumably made by the Ukrainian informant, one would think that for a period of 240 years Ukraine experienced no measure of independence, however limited in time. Yet, in order to understand intelligently the pattern of Russian communist aggression in the current period, one is simply forced to trace the sequence of events back to 1920, when the independent Ukrainian republic was crushed by the Russian communist horde.

The comments on the abject weakness of American foreign policy toward eastern Europe cannot but be accepted with grave concern, and the more of such reports appear in this nation-wide publication, the more sensitive and balanced will the general American outlook toward this vital area of the world tend to become.

"Germans In the Ukraine, 1918," by Henry Cord Meyer. *The American Slavic and East European Review*, Columbia University, April, 1950, New York.

This absorbing article is based on excerpts from several unpublished letters given to the author in 1948 by Dr. Paul Rohrbach, a German publicist who was in the German political mission to Kiev toward the

close of World War I. Rohrbach represents himself as a sympathetic friend of Ukraine, who viewed Germany's policy in support of Skoropadsky at the helm of the Ukrainian government as immature and chiefly attributable to the fact that "the importance of differentiating between Muscovite Russia and the Ukraine was not understood. Skoropadski (sic) . . . was at heart more Russian than Ukrainian; most of the Ukrainians would have little to do with him."

In expressing his views to August Thiel, the German Consul General in Kiev at the time, Herr Rohrbach was apparently strongly critical of the fiction of an independent Ukrainian state led by the German-supported Skoropadsky and also of Skoropadsky's Muscovite entourage. That Rohrbach's views were widely shared by the Ukrainian people, subsequent events well demonstrated. Most significant are the excerpts which show the opposing ideas that were held by German political minds on this crucial subject of how Ukraine was to be politically constituted. Many of them are even serviceable today in differentiating between politically realistic and the politically romantic and sentimental thinking.

"Stalin's Perversion of Land Reform," by W. Lissner. *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, April, 1950, New York.

Mr. Lissner, for whose objective analyses of Soviet economic and sociological conditions one can have only the highest regard, emphasizes one of the most fundamental points in connection with the premises of Russian communist economic organization. This is that, though Stalin's program of land reform and collective farming has failed from the narrow economic point of view, as evidenced notably by the steady decline in the productivity of farm labor, it is being exported elsewhere because "it is the best system yet devised for the exploitation of the peasant class by a ruling class." In Ukraine it served as a political instrument for the destruction of the fortress of the Ukrainian movement for national freedom.

"International Organizations and Soviet Statistics," by Naum Jasny. *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, March, 1950, Washington, D. C.

Against a concise background of Soviet misuse and perverse manipulation of statistics, involving such stock techniques as the suppression of unfavorable data, the selection of unrepresentative years, the exclusive employment of percentages, and the skewed definition of yields and crops, where, for instance, beets and potatoes and their parts remaining under ground are included in the official estimates, this well-

known student of Soviet economy makes the valid claim that some international organizations serve merely as instruments for the spread of Soviet propaganda when they indiscriminately incorporate misleading Soviet statistics into their composite world reports.

What is the remedy for this situation? Professor Jasny confesses that he sees none. However, accepting one of his considerations, there is no substantial reason for the continued inclusion of fabricated Soviet statistics in a body of statistical results arrived at by objective statistical procedure. In order perhaps not to sacrifice the opportunity of gleaning some constructive information even from a mass of misinformation, the best alternative to absolute exclusion would seem to be a guarded segregation of such padded results with ample annotations as to their defects.

"Science Joins the Party," by Bertram D. Wolfe. *The Antioch Review*, Spring 1950, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

The same idea as the above is expressed in this study by a competent American writer of the corruption of genetic science in the Soviet Union. Much of the article is taken up with the 1948 Summer Congress of the Lenin All-Russian Academy of Agricultural Sciences which was dominated by the Ukrainian academician, Trofim D. Lysenko. Instead of learned papers being read on genes, chromosomes, polyploids etc., a political harangue delivered by Lysenko, whom one eminent British geneticist regards as "completely ignorant of the elementary principles of genetics and plant physiology," consumed the entire time to warm the robot audience of the cessation of all controversy in genetic theory—in favor, of course, of Marxian pseudo-science. Surely it is more than just plain interest to note along with the author "that Lysenko's own brother, Pavel D. Lysenko, a leading fuel and coke chemist, has fled from the 'sheltering care of the Soviet government and Comrade Stalin personally'."

ANTI-SOVIET OR ANTI-RUSSIAN, by Dr. Ivan L. Rudnytsky. *Der Monat*, April 1950. Munich. International German Journal.

In a letter to the Editor the young Ukrainian journalist I. Rudnytsky took part in the discussion between the Editor Melvin J. Lasky and the editorial staff of the Berlin Tagesspiegel on the problem whether the Russian people can be identified with the Soviet system.

Ivan Rudnytsky presented the point of view of the peoples subjugated by Russia. The author evidenced that the population of the Soviet

Union is interested not only in the downfall of the Communist Kremlin clique of the Politburo, but also in the national liberation of dozen peoples subjugated by both Russias-Red and White as well.

"Masters of Europe: Germans or Slavs?" (III), by Frederick H. Cramer. *Current History*, May, 1950, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

A rather compact survey of European history is offered in this series of articles under the dominant theme embraced by the title above. The author's conclusion that the price of either German or Slav supremacy is too high can scarcely be rejected by any rational student of human affairs, but it is evident from the lengthy exposition that the author does not understand sufficiently the Slav development. To discuss, for example, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk without any mention of Ukraine, which was an important participant, is inexcusable. Also, the weight of misplaced emphasis as seen in the assertion—"Were it not for Russian bayonets and a handful of organized Red minions, the overwhelming majority of Czechs, Slovaks, Bulgarians, *and even Ukrainians* would joyously break away from Russian despotism."—can hardly be reconciled with the fact of the foremost resistance rendered by the Ukrainians today as, indeed, yesterday.

"A Polish Challenge," by G. F. Hudson. *International Affairs*, Royal Institute of International Affairs, April, 1950, London.

The responsibility for the massacre in Katyn Forest of 10,000 Polish military men is still to be laid formally on Russian communist shoulders. According to this writer, the Poles, led by General Anders, are challenging Russia to a hearing of the Katyn case before an international tribunal. It goes without saying that this will not take place. There was no investigation of the mass graves by the International Red Cross in this case as in the Ukrainian one of Vinnitsa because of the Russian occupation of the territory and their consequent refusal to permit it when they were discovered during the war. Russian communist genocide, as well as host of other pernicious communist activities, conduce happily to a common ground of action among the non-Russian victims. This ground must be broadened by mutual understanding.

CURRENT UKRAINIAN CHRONICLE

AN INTERVIEW WITH STEPAN BANDERA

On March 31 Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, gave an interview to a group of American newspaper men. He is now in Germany, but the American authorities state they know nothing of Bandera's sojourn in their occupation zone. This interview of Bandera was dispatched by all the great news agencies and printed in the press the world over, with the exception of the USSR and its satellites;

The principal points of Bandera's interview were:

1. He urged the Western Powers to discontinue "legal" relations with Russia and to support the revolutionary anti-communist movements which are now acting in the interior of the USSR and its satellites.

2. Ukraine does not expect to be liberated by others; she will fight in every situation. In case of war the Ukrainians will give their assistance to the Western Powers only under the condition that Ukraine will be totally independent;

3. The Soviets are preparing a war, as all their economy is directed toward it. The methods used by the western world against communism are not a guarantee for a victory in this universal struggle;

4. The principal allies of Ukraine are the other nations under the Russian rule: Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czechia, Georgia, Estonia, Hungary, Idel-Ural, Kazakhia, Lithuania, Latvia, Rumania, Serbia, Slovakia, Turkmenia, White Ru-

thenia. They are organized in the ABN—the Anti-Communist Bloc of Nations. (The Poles do not take part in the ABN as they are against the principle of independent national states within their ethnographical boundaries).

This interview of Bandera was published also in the American Press. How hopelessly ignorant a part of it can be concerning East European matters, is demonstrated by *The Detroit News* (April 2, 1950). Here we read that Bandera, the leader of the Ukrainian nationalists is fighting for the independence of a great Western Russian Republic(...)

NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN USSR

According to statistics from 1939, the relations of the Russian, Ukrainian and White-Ruthenian members of the CP are as follows:

Russians 71% (total of populace 58%)

Ukrainians 7.5% (total or populace 16.5%)

White Ruthenians 2.4% (total of populace 3.1%).

To this estimate we would like to add that the majority of Ukrainian communists are not Ukrainians at all. The leaders of all the Communist Parties in the "National Republics" are today almost without exception Russians. So in Ukraine in place of the recalled Khrushchev came another Russian Melnikov. In Azerbaijan the first secretary is Lomakin, in Uzbekistan—Kruglov, in Armenia—Pirogov, in Tadjikistan—Shilkin, Kulkov and Golikova, in White Ruthenia—Gudzarov, in Karelia—Kupreyanov, in Moldavia—Kashnikov.

THERE ARE NO UKRAINIANS IN THE POLITBURO

To the Kremlin Politburo belong: Stalin, Malenkov, Bulganin, Molotov, Voroshilov, Beria, Mikoyan, Kaganovich, Khrushchev, Shvernik, Andreyev, Kosygin. Recently the White-Ruthenian premier Ponomarenko, the secretary of the Russian Committee of the Communist Party, Popov, the chief editor of "Pravda" Pospelyov, the chief of the party propaganda department Suslov and Shiratov were also appointed as members of the Politburo. Voznesensky was removed. The bureau now consists of 17 members. It numbers 13 Russians (70%), 2 Georgians (12%), one Armenian, one Jew and one White-Ruthenian (each 6%). The Ukrainians, who number over 40,000,000 (that is 20% of all the population of the Union) do not have one representative in the Politburo. So much the better perhaps.

THE "FASCISTS" ARE GUILTY

During the preliminary debate in the House of Commons on March 13, 1950, Mr. Kenneth Younger, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, revealed that in August 1947, London had sought to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Ukrainian Government in Kiev. This proposal, undertaken by the British Government in earnest, was completely ignored by the Soviets, he added.

The British demarche was encouraged by the Soviet insistence that both Ukraine and White Ruthenia (Byelorussia) are in fact "independent republics" and as such they enjoy membership in the United Nations.

In the end after more than two years *The New Times*, Moscow, N. 13, lied that diplomatic relations were not established because "the Fascist and killer groups of the 'Banderivtsi,' as before,

still enjoy the protective support of the British government and openly operate in the British zones of Germany and Austria. They especially are strong in Canada where they raid Ukrainian worker's clubs. Thousands of forcibly deported citizens of Soviet Ukraine (...) have become the object of cynical trade as 'displaced persons.' They are being forcibly resettled in Australia and Canada and other countries."

UKRAINE—VANGUARD AGAINST SOVIET DICTATORSHIP

Under the above heading "*Die Wochen-Zeitung*," a Swiss weekly, in its issue of Jan. 19, 1950, discusses the struggle of the Ukrainian people against Soviet-Russian imperialism.

The article begins with the description of Russia's pillage of Ukraine. Hundreds of thousands of trainloads carrying Ukrainian coal, wheat, fruit, and Ukrainians themselves, "are continuously rolling north." The writer emphasizes the continuance of the struggle of the Ukrainian peasantry against collectivization, particularly in Western Ukraine and the struggle of the UPA and its underground government, the Supreme Council of Ukrainian Liberation, against the Soviet-Russian aggression.

Here follows an appeal to the "Voice of America" to send to Ukraine truly Ukrainian broadcasts, and not to feed the Ukrainians tales of Tsar Ivan the Terrible and quotations from Lenin's works. Stating that the West is not supporting the Ukrainians or any other people fighting for their freedom against Bolshevism, the author concludes:

"What will happen when the non-Russian peoples, numbering over 100 million people and exposed to the daily Russian propaganda barrage, will finally succumb to the Russian Bolshevik idea?"

THE NUMBER OF UKRAINIANS REPATRIATED

Not long ago the Kiev radio made known the number of Ukrainians repatriated to the USSR. According to these statistics, after the end of the war 1,300,000 Ukrainians were repatriated from Germany, Austria, Poland, France and other countries. These official calculations announced by the Kiev radio cannot be accepted without a great many corrections. According to the moderate Ukrainian calculations, at least five millions of the so called "Ostarbeiter" (East laborers) were Ukrainians from Soviet Ukraine, Galicia, Carpathian Ukraine, Bessarabia, and Bukovina, as well as the Ukrainian political emigrants, who lived in Central Europe between the two World Wars.

At that time the Western Allies considered the Ukrainians deported by the Germans as fascists and collaborators, and as such they were subject to persecutions not only on the part of the Soviet Army and the NKVD, but the Anglo-Americans as well. The situation of the Ukrainians from Soviet Ukraine was particularly difficult and dangerous. According to the treaty of Yalta, they were subject to forced repatriation as Soviet citizens. Consequently millions of them were forcefully returned to their "fatherland."

By the middle of 1946 from the five millions Ukrainians in Germany and Austria there remained only 350 thousand. This means that at least 4.5 millions of Ukrainians were given over to the USSR. Therefore not 1.3 millions of Ukrainians were repatriated, as the Kiev radio announced, but three times as many. Only one third of the repatriated returned to Ukraine, however, while about three millions disappeared in the wilderness of the Soviet Union.

UKRAINE IN A SWISS ENCYCLOPAEDIA

In the newest edition of the *Lexicon Suisse*, published in Zurich in seven volumes, we find a large article on Ukraine. It concludes with information on the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and its fight against the Nazi and Soviet occupation, conducted under the command of General Taras Chuprynka. The slogan of the fighters is: "Freedom to Nations! Freedom to Man"! — We would not have mentioned this article if The New International Year Book 1948 had not termed the Ukrainian Insurgent Army a "band"...

A GESTAPO DIGNITARY — CHIEF OF IRO POLICE

Last December the chief of DP police for the III Area in Germany was recognized by the inmates of former concentration camps as a former high Gestapo-man in Lviv who caused the death of several prominent Ukrainians. Among them were the leader of Ukrainian underground Ivan Klymiv and one of the most talented poets Oleh Olzhych. Both were shot by him personally. His real name was Wilhelm Wirsing, and he possessed the false papers of a Baltic refugee. It took a long procedure to have him arrested, as the German police declared it had no right to arrest a DP, and the American authorities said that all prosecutions of former Nazis are already ended... The former inmates of concentration camps filed a suit against Wirsing, but only after three months of red tape was he finally arrested.

IN THE COUNTRY OF RED DEMOCRACY

La Voix de l'Ukraine (Brussels No. 7, 1950) publishes, as an example, precise figures on the Soviet police forces located in the Western Ukrainian town of

Kalush and its district. The entire region has a populace of 40 thousands, and in its 14 communities 3,794 Soviet guards are stationed. This means the Soviets need almost 10 guards to a hundred Ukrainians. The national composition of these guards is as follows: 1456 Russians, 765 Georgians, 497 Usbeks, 654 Mongols, 421 Ukrainians.

"THE SOVIET MINORITY POLICY"

An article under the above headline was published in "Soviet Russia Today" (April issue) by Mr. Corliss Lamont, American philosopher, university lecturer and a great enthusiast for the Soviet slave state. The author still believes that the Soviet constitution really is of practical value. He neglects to mention that when Ukraine was independent she had her own ministries and foreign legations, and he makes much ado about the fact that Moscow allowed Ukraine to have her own ministry of Foreign Affairs (but without legations abroad). To him it is a proof of Stalin's "enlightened minority policy." The folly of the entire philosophy of Mr. Corliss Lamont is due to the fact that he regards the Ukrainians and other nations under the Soviet Russian yoke as minorities, when in reality on their own territory they are the dominating majority, and the Russian occupants are the minority.

A PRAGUE AFFAIR

The Czech communists are circulating a brochure entitled "A Plot Against the Republic," directed against Archbishop Joseph Beran for his alleged connections with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. He is accused of maintaining a union with a Ukrainian Catholic priest who supported the Ukrainian anti-Soviet partisans in their fight against Soviet Russia.

FURTHER DEPORTATIONS OF UKRAINIANS

The German press reports that, according to a Kiev radio broadcast, some 50,000 Ukrainian peasants from Carpatho-Ukraine, Galicia and Volhynia were scheduled to be "resettled" to Asia this spring. The Kiev radio stated that these peasants refused to join the collective farms and "requested" their resettlement in Asia on a "voluntary" basis.

UKRAINIAN BISHOPS ON VATICAN STAMPS

On the occasion of the Holy Year special stamps have been issued containing the pictures of Cardinal Mindszenty, Archbishop Stepinac and two Ukrainian Metropolitans: Andrew Sheptycky and Joseph Slipy. The last is still alive in a Siberian labor camp.

UKRAINIAN BANDURIST CHORUS IN WASHINGTON

The Ukrainian Bandurist Chorus gave a special performance before a group of senators, congressmen and invited guests in the Senate Building on April 19 in Washington, D.C. The American Anthem was sung to the accompaniment of banduras, followed by a series of Ukrainian folk and historical songs. The sponsors of this concert were Sen. Harley M. Kilgore, Sen. Homer Ferguson, Repr. Joseph Martin, Leslie L. Biffle and Sen. Cain, who was the principal arranger of the group's appearance.

22nd CONVENTION OF U.N.A.

The 22nd Convention of the Ukrainian National Association held May 22-28 in Cleveland, Ohio, was a manifestation of Ukrainian solidarity. 447 delegates representing over fifty-eight thousand members of the Association were

present. Dmytro Halychyn, former Secretary of the U.N.A., was elected as the new President. During the banquet Governor Lausche of Ohio spoke in behalf of the Ukrainian national liberation movement and addressing himself to the Ukrainian youth, called it to have the courage of their immigrant parents who founded the organization. Messages were sent to President Truman and Secretary of State Acheson.

UKRAINIANS IN BRAZIL HOLD THEIR SECOND CONGRESS.

Ponta Grossa, Parana, Brazil. — The second Congress of Ukrainians in Brazil took place on February 11-12, 1950, attended by delegates from several Ukrainian organizations. Held under the auspices of the Association of Friends of Ukrainian Culture, the Congress represented over 80% of all the Ukrainians in this South American country. A special Congress Secretariat was elected, which assumed the representational functions and which is to cooperate with the sponsoring agency.

UKRAINIANS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

The number of Ukrainians in Great Britain before the recent war was practically negligible, and except for scattered individuals there was only a small community living in Manchester, which had settled there in the early part of the century prior to the First World War. During the recent war there was a "temporary" influx of Ukrainians from Canada who were serving in the armed forces, but all these returned to Canada after the cessation of hostilities. A fair number of Ukrainians also arrived in this country with the Polish Forces and most of these have remained and settled here. The really large influx of Ukrainians to Great Britain came in 1947-1949 when thousands of "European Voluntary

Workers" were recruited for labor in Great Britain under the well known "Westward Ho" scheme. As a result, the total number of Ukrainians in Great Britain grew to an estimated number of about 40,000.

UKRAINIAN AMERICAN VETERANS

On May 6-7 in New York City the Ukrainian American Veterans held their third Annual Convention. It was attended by persons of high rank in American military and civilian life, including General Frank I. Howley, former American Commander of Berlin; Admiral (retired) Paulus P. Powell and Edward Shaughnessy, director of the Immigration and Naturalization section of the Department of Justice.

The newly elected chairman of the UAV is Walter Th. Darmopray of Philadelphia.

ARCHITECTURE OF OLD KIEV.

The Free Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, organized its first inaugural lecture in the building of the New York Historical Society, Central Park West, on May 12. The theme of this lecture was the architecture of old Kiev. It was delivered by the architect O. Povstenko, director of Sophia-Museum in Kiev before the war. The lecture was illustrated by slides of the famous structures of the XI-XII centuries, torn down by the Soviets.

UKRAINIAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

On May 28 thousands of Ukrainians gathered in Washington, D.C., to assist the breaking of the ground ceremonies for the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary of St. Josaphat. The Most Reverend Amleto G. Cigognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, was present. During the ceremonies the Most Rev. Constantine Bohachevsky, Bishop of the American

Ukrainian Catholics, was named by the Holy See as the Assistant to the Papal Throne and Count of Rome. This distinction before was held only by few Ukrainian Prelates: Metropolitan Venyamin Rutsky and Count Andrew Sheptytsky.

The total cost of the Seminary will be about 450,000. The construction is built on the plans of the architect J. Jastremsky of New York.

METROPOLITAN POLICARP IN PARIS.

The Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church Most Rev. Policarp, transferred his seat from a refugee camp in Germany to Paris.

Not long ago the Russian Metropolitan Michael, appointed by the NKVD as the "Exarch of All Ukraine," characterized Metropolitan Policarp as a man who would rather sell Ukraine to the devil than to Moscow.

UKRAINIAN LIBRARY IN PARIS

The Ukrainian Library of Simon Petlura in Paris, France, has once more begun to augment its collections. Opened in 1929, in 1937 it had already 14 thousand valuable volumes, large archives and a historical and art museum. During the occupation of Paris the Germans carried away all the archives and books and left only 57. Their whereabouts are still unknown despite the official investigation of the French Government.

The address of the Ukrainian Library in Paris is 24, rue de la Glaciere, Paris 13, France.

THE HOUSE OF UKRAINIAN SCHOLARS IN FRANCE

With the assistance of the Most Rev. Bishop Ivan Buchko, the Apostolic Administrator of the Ukrainians, a large house near Paris has been bought, as a working base and a retreat for Ukrainian scholars. The legal owner is the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

RIISING NUMBER OF UKRAINIAN STUDENTS IN CANADA

The number of Ukrainian students in the Canadian universities is steadily rising. The University of Alberta, Edmonton, can serve as an example. This year 167 Ukrainian students completed there their studies, several being awarded gold medals.

DISCOVERY OF OLD UKAINIAN FRESCOES

During the recent restoration of the so-called Batory Chapel in the Polish Cathedral on the Wawel, Cracow, several Byzantine frescoes of Ukrainian painters from XIV-XV cent. were discovered. Among them is an image of Christ. The Chapel of the Holy Cross in the same Cathedral is well known to art historians as a remarkable monument of Ukrainian painting from XV cent.

