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GENEVA SPIRIT—A ROAD TO PEACE OR DISASTER

Editorial

On September 3rd of this year, that is six weeks after the opening of the Summit Political Conference in Geneva, came the opening in Rome of the International Congress of Historians. Present at this opening was a large Soviet delegation of Russian historians led by Mme. A. Pankratova, a member of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party. In addition to 28 Russian and one Ukrainian historians from the USSR there were also scholars from the Soviet satellites, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria. On orders from Moscow, there were mobilized also Communist intellectuals from the Western European countries. This Communist mobilization of historians showed to the free world of scholarship the solidarity of the Communists also on the scientific historical front and the parallelism between their political and scientific activities.

The Soviet delegation had a huge setup for scientific Communist propaganda. An exhibition of Russian historical works from all branches of Russian historical literature at the Congress was designed to show that Communism in the field of history is setting the standard for the world. The official Soviet scientific propaganda did not stop there. In the opposite wing of the palace used for the Congress, a London company selling Soviet literature had another gigantic exhibition of Soviet historical works. This was merely a reduplication of the first official Soviet exhibition. It is clear that business played no role in this but the propaganda was certainly paid for by the Moscow government.

The Soviet scholars, contrary to past practice, were very pleasant and polite. Their answers in the discussions were not aggressive, but conciliatory, although they constantly emphasized the great superiority of the Communist system and emphasized that the future of the world lay in the final victory of Communism.

The scholars of Western Europe treated the historians of the Communist world with cautious courtesy. The chairmen of the different sections allowed them complete freedom of propaganda, and in the discussions they tolerated complete wandering from the subject at issue.

For example, in the discussion on the report "The Polish Historiography," a Hungarian Communist was allowed to speak freely on the achievements of Hungarian Communist historiography, and a Czech Communist on the accomplishments of Czech Communist science, but when a spokesman for Lithuania, a nation enslaved by Moscow, unexpectedly made a similar degression and began to speak of the destruction of Lithuanian culture, a non-Communist scholar and a world-known professor protested energetically against a discussion which was not connected with the theme. One involuntary felt the truth of the words of the American Bishop Sheen as to the dynamic spirit of Bolshevism and the lack of that same spirit in the Western world, which is even losing the sense of self-preservation.

Si parva cum magnis comparare licet (If it is allowable to compare the small with the great), there was repeated in Rome in the first days of September, the Geneva spirit. Lenin's basis of tactics intended to pave the way for the triumph of Communism in the entire world, was employed at both conferences.

When it was advantageous, Lenin taught that it was necessary to set up a strong smoke screen of peace-loving Communist propaganda throughout the world, so as to disarm morally the rotten capitalistic world. The Bolsheviks have put out this smoke screen of pacifist propaganda now and not without success. During several years the propaganda of the Committees for peace, which had been formed by the Kremlin and in which the Moscow patriarchal Orthodox Church has played no unimportant role, has achieved its purpose. The West has come to believe in what it would never credit by the use of its common sense and has prepared a soil favorable to the Geneva spirit.

Lenin taught his pupils that to overcome the capitalistic world it would often be necessary to make small retreats: "One step back — two ahead." And the Kremlin is applying this doctrine in a masterly manner. The peace with Austria which is scarcely important, the retirement of Soviet troops from the Finnish harbor of Porkkala and the reduction of units in some unneeded Soviet divisions are intended to change the great German nation into an undefendable Austria and to liquidate NATO and all American bases throughout the world.

Thus was born the "Geneva Spirit," a spirit of fine phrases, empty assurances of friendship intended to conceal the ghastly Communist reality, which has engulfed a third of the world.

The object of red Moscow is clear: to disarm morally the democratic West, so that when the favorable time to Moscow comes, it can conquer it with atomic weapons. The ultimate goal of world Communism is

sung in the hymn of the Communist International: "It will be the last and decisive battle."

What are the reasons for the Soviet flirtation with the West? There can be no doubt that the Kremlin has its own reasons for this. The idea of the possibility of a "collective government" in the Soviets for a long period is naive, and the Kremlin understands very well that red Moscow is facing the battle for the inheritance of Stalin and so the Soviets need a respite for some period.

The collective gang in the Kremlin knows far better than the West that the domination of the non-Russian peoples is insecure, that the movements for national liberation are the most menacing force which could violently overthrow the Soviet Union, and so red Moscow must gain time for the further weakening of the several non-Russian peoples, so as to approach the idea of the formation of a single Soviet people, i. e. the Russification of the Red Empire. The national movements are still too strong. They have even grown sharply with the weakening of the NKVD machine after the destruction of Beria, and the Kremlin wants some years of quiet. In fact the Kremlin has a much deeper appreciation of the dynamics of these movements for national liberation than has the democratic West. And so the Kremlin is successfully using this against the free world abroad of the Soviet Union.

The several years of the cold war and the economic blockade of the Soviet Union have sorely struck the Communist regime not only in the Soviet Union itself, but also the stooges of Moscow, the governments of the satellite states, and therefore, the Bolsheviks need a respite of several years to consolidate their regime in the Soviets and the satellite states by lifting or at least softening the economic blockade.

Despite the development of Soviet military industry and the progress in atomic research, the Communist world is technically much weaker than America and the West. The Bolsheviks are obviously far from rivalling America in the field of atomic inventions. Hence, their insistent demand in all discussions for the banning of the use of atomic weapons. They are doing this deliberately because of their own weakness. They understand very well that such a ban would be observed only by the "rotten" West, and in the meanwhile the atomic industry in the Soviets could advance still further. These are the actual reasons for their peace flirtation with the West. Their only object is to secure a rest for themselves and to disarm the West. Has red Moscow achieved this goal? Yes, in part.

The West has a sincere longing for true peace and so the peace tactics of the Bolsheviks find a favorable soil, not only in Europe but also in America. It is not strange, therefore, that a month after the Geneva

Feast of Friendship, President Eisenhower, alarmed by the growth in moral disarmament, was compelled in his address of August 25th at the Congress of American Lawyers to warn the American people against the illusion of a speedy just peace with the Bolsheviks. He emphasized the American program of liberation for all peoples in the world, if the world is to arrive at a true peace.

The interpretations of the President's address by certain American commentators weakened the understanding of the need for the liberation of all the peoples of the world. They referred only the words pertinent to the liberation of the satellites and left the peoples of the Soviet Union and Asia in the claws of the Communists. This again shows how very timely was the warning of the President.

The Kremlin, yielding in some unimportant details (Austria, Porkkala, the reduction of the army units in the Soviets and the satellites) is not only not thinking of yielding in important questions, but is, on the other hand, trying to strengthen its own position in all key situations.

The question of the unification of Germany, the decisive factor on the continent of Europe, is in the view of Soviet realism a question of its international position. The Kremlin is even unwilling to discuss the liberation of its satellites, its wartime booty, and constantly repeats the phrase about the existence in these countries of "people's democracies" by the will of the people. Then red Moscow has added to its already existing satellites a new one — Eastern Germany — by proclaiming after the visit of Adenauer to Moscow, a state status for Eastern Germany as an independent state.

No one in the West is even thinking of raising the question of the enslaved peoples of the Soviet Union, although the Western powers have a complete right to do this, since the Soviet Union is a member of the United Nations and is consistently breaking all the basic points of the Statute of that organization. There is now going on the liquidation of the Kazakh nation in Soviet Asia. Moscow is constantly striving to bring into the United Nations other breakers of the Statute of that same organization.

The Kremlin is not for a moment yielding in the question of the liberation of the Korean people and Indochina. On the contrary, Communism is making obvious advances in Indonesia and Africa. In a word the Kremlin is not only not retreating at all key points but is not even willing to discuss these. Molotov stated so definitely and unambiguously in his "friendly and peace-loving" speech in the Assembly of the United Nations on September 23, 1955.

Moscow is skilfully using the difficulties of American policy in the Near East, especially in Syria and Egypt, and spreading its own

influence. Moscow, the greatest oppressor of nations of old civilizations, is standing out in the defense of colonial nations beyond the Soviet borders and taking advantage of the false illusions of some Western states, that colonialism has not already perished. Molotov at the Assembly of the United Nations expressly said: "As for the Soviet Union, it remains, as heretofore, a consistent champion of peace and progress. Peoples standing up for national independence, freedom and the interests of peace among nations will always find active and wholehearted sympathy on its part" (*New York Times*, Sept. 24, 1955).

This speech is cynicism of the highest degree, for the Soviet Union is the greatest foe of the independence and freedom of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, the Baltic and Caucasian peoples. But such a "peaceful" speech of Molotov, a Great Russian chauvinistic Communist, clearly was intended to convince even some American journalists and statesmen to pass over in silence the enslavement of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Knowing the realism of the Russian Communists, we have a doubt for the success of the conference of the four ministers of foreign affairs of the Big Four in October. It is hard for us to believe in the success of the conference on disarmament, for the political goals of red Moscow exclude all disarmament; to them it is only a question of the physical and moral disarmament of the West, so as to deal it a mortal blow at an appropriate time. The West must learn that the Geneva spirit is leading it not to peace but to a catastrophe against which it must diligently work. *America and the Western nations and not the Kremlin, the evil oppressor of nations, must take over the moral leadership for the final liberation of all the peoples of the world — colonial and especially those enslaved by red Moscow.* The West must not dare to give the weapon of colonialism into the hands of red Moscow. It must realize that colonialism is a thing of the past and that no physical force can halt the movement for liberation of the new peoples of Asia and Africa. The fostering of further dreams of the possibility of colonial possessions at the present time is only furnishing water for the mill of Communism and the giving of material and possibilities for red Moscow to play a false role as the defender of enslaved nations.

A dynamic cold war which would take into account the weakest side of the Bolsheviks, the underbelly of the Soviet Union, the liberation of the enslaved nations of the satellite states and the peoples of the Soviet Union, will gradually erode the Soviet regime and not allow it to grow strong. It is the only way at a favorable time for the internal collapse of Kremlin to bring the Soviet regime, the enemy of humanity, to its final ruin without a great destructive atomic war.

A further economic blockade of the Soviet Union and the other countries dominated by the Communists will have the additional goal of economically weakening the states of the Communist bloc, will increase the poverty and dissatisfaction of the masses under the red rule and will become a powerful factor in bringing down the Soviet regime without war.

The basis of the international policy of the Western democratic states and especially America must in this situation be a *policy for the peaceful liberation of all the peoples of the world*. America and the Western democratic nations must be morally and physically strong and must be ever on guard. America need not start the horrible atomic war. If, however, the Bolsheviks would risk the start of the terrible atomic war, the Western world will be in a better position, for it will have on its side the masses of the enslaved peoples, even some of the Russian people deprived of their primitive rights to freedom and a personal life.

It would be a real tragedy for the democratic West, if the nations enslaved by red Moscow in that last decisive battle between the world of democracy and of Communism did not see in the Western world their clear allies for complete national independence, for this would give red Moscow, as at the time of Hitler's attack, the opportunity to play again the interests of the enslaved peoples against the democracies. Geneva and its spirit will lead the Western world sooner to a catastrophe than to peace, and therefore, the Western world must get out of its illusion of a peaceful coexistence with the enemy of our civilization and work clearly for the downfall of that amoral system, in which coexistence for a long term goal is impossible.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND UKRAINIAN LIBERATION IDEAS DURING THE LATE 18TH CENTURY

By OLEXANDER OHLOBLYN

During the last quarter of the 18th century when, on the other side of the ocean, the American Revolution was successfully being waged, most of the lands of Ukraine (with the exception of Galicia, Bukovyna and Carpatho-Ukraine) found their way into the Russian Empire.

Along with this, there was a continuation of the process of liquidation of the autonomous Ukrainian State—the Hetmanate. Its autonomous order was repealed in 1781 by the liquidation of the “Little Russian Collegium” and the territory of Ukraine was divided into 3 governorships (gubernias): Novhorod-Siversky, Chernihiv and Kiev, where the structure of the administration and the judiciary was in no respect different from that of the ordinary Russian gubernias. Even more significant was the abolition (in 1783) of the Ukrainian Kozak Army, which was changed into 10 rifle regiments, and although their composition remained Ukrainian and their territorial location was mostly the same as that of the old Kozak regiments, they constituted a part of the regular Russian Army. In 1786 the Russian government secularized the land holdings of the Ukrainian Church which thus automatically lost the economic basis of its existence. All this was accompanied by deep changes in the social structure, economic relations and cultural life of Ukraine. By the ukaze of Catherine II of 1783, the Ukrainian peasants of the Left Bank (“pospolyti” — common people) previously legally free, became transformed into serfs, the townspeople lost their traditional forms of self-government (Statutes of Magdeburg), the Ukrainian nobility was changed into common Russian courtiers (dvoryanstvo) with a loss not only of their political rights, but also part of their privileges of nobility (noblemen’s law courts, etc.). Adding the fact that at this time the entire educational system of the Empire was being unified with a russification of the Ukrainian cultural and educational processes, a total destruction of Ukrainian “rights and liberties” guaranteed by the Treaty of Pereyaslav of 1654 and affirmed under subsequent treaties between Ukraine and Muscovy was accomplished; the basic objective of Russian imperialism in Ukraine had been achieved.

I.

These changes were taking place in Ukraine at a time when, far beyond the ocean, the victorious struggle of the American States for their independence had just ended, and when the great American Revolution had set forth to all the world the ideals and principles of the inalienable rights of men and nations. Did Ukraine respond to the American Revolution? Was the voice of trumpets heard here, in the once free Kozak land, from far, far away, that prophesied to nations liberation from an alien yoke and the victory of ideals of human and national truths? And finally, with what force was the voice heard there of the new and better world? In order to be able to answer these questions, we must first take a close look at Ukrainian political life and national thought of that period.¹

During the course of the second half of the 18th century Ukrainian patriots waged an incessant great ideological and political struggle which had as its objective the defense (and subsequently restoration) of the autonomous life of the Ukrainian state along the statutes of the Pereyaslav Treaty of 1654. This was not only a natural reaction against the centralistic policy of the Moscow government, but at the same time a continuation (albeit in changed form) of the ideological activities of the Ukrainian political emigration which had been working in Europe almost until the 1760-s, beginning with the liberation attempts of the times of the Hetman Ivan Mazepa (1687-1709) and Pylyp Orlyk (1710-1742) and which maintained some ideological and organizational contacts with the autonomist movement in the Ukraine of the Hetmanate. The activities of the Ukrainian autonomists gained in force in the 1780-s. Ukrainian political thought abandoned the tradition of legal autonomism which had deemed possible a political symbiosis of Ukraine and Russia under the sceptre of the Russian Czars on the condition of keeping in force all rights of an autonomous Ukrainian State — and went over to a position of its complete national-state liberation of Ukraine from the alien rule and a complete rupture with Russia.

Whereas in the early 1780-s Vasyly Kapnist in his "Oda na Rabstvo" (Ode against Slavery) of 1782, or the anonymous author of the so-called "Promova Polubotka" (Polubotok's Speech), still cherished hopes that the Russian Tsarina would, in the words of Kapnist "with her gracious hand lift the humiliating weight of chains from my dear fatherland" (Oda na Rabstvo); subsequent activities of Ukrainian patriots, and particularly of the very same Kapnist, provide convincing evidence that such illusions

¹ N. Chubaty. "The Ukrainian Independence Movement at the Time of the American Revolution." *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 3, 1949, pp. 226-237.

no longer influenced Ukrainian political thought. The literary and political activities of the patriotic circle of Novhorod-Siversky of the 1780-s and 1790-s, and particularly such monuments as "Promova Mazepy" (Mazepa's Speech) by an anonymous author (written no earlier than 1788), or History of Ukraine by Arkhyp Khudorba, "very bold and against our (Russian) government" written in the 1790-s, or the renowned *Istoriya Rusov* and such undertakings as Kapnist's secret political mission to Berlin in 1791 and the propaganda of the Ukrainian cause in France in the 1790-s, indicate that there was a serious break on the threshold of the 1780-s and 1790-s — from legal autonomism to full national independence, from reform to revolution.

In our opinion, it was the American Revolution that influenced this.

II.

The daughter of the talented poet and great Ukrainian patriot of the late 18th century, Vasyl Kapnist — S. B. Skalon, relates in her recollections of her father, how Kapnist often told members of his family that he wanted to settle in America.²

In his famous "Oda na Rabstvo" Kapnist painted a vivid picture of the horrible oppression of his homeland, Ukraine, by Russia. He compared Ukraine to a widow in tears, despaired about the land being engulfed in sadness, the hard rule of the alien authority pressing its weight upon the people. Where the people were happy before, now slavery reigns, replacing their beloved liberties. The wanton rule is full of terror and people are afraid to lift their heads, living not a life, but a living death. The powers from above are always ready to punish for the least resistance.

Such was the picture of political sentiments in the Ukrainian community in the early 1780-s. The most recent research proves that Kapnist's "Ode" was an expression of Ukrainian patriotic protest against the final liquidation of the Ukrainian Hetman State by Russian centralistic imperialism.³

Russian research literature (V. Semennikov) pointed out a close proximity of ideas between Kapnist's "Ode" and the well known ode

² S. Skalon, "Vospominaniya" (Recollections), *Istoricheskiy Vestnik*, 1891 Vol. 44, p. 343. Reprinted in a collection "Vospominaniya i rasskazi deyateley taynykh obschestv 1820-kh godov" (Recollections and narratives of leaders of secret societies of the 1820-s), No. 1. Moscow, 1931.

³ G. Sacke. "V. V. Kapnist und seine Ode 'Na Rabstvo'". *Zeitschrift fuer slavische Philologie*, Bd. XVII, Heft 2, Leipzig, 1941, pp. 291-301.

Cf. O. Ohloblyn, "Vasyl Kapnist (1756-1823)." *Literaturno-Naukovy Zbirnyk*, Vol. I, New York, 1952, pp. 184-190.

"Volnost" (Freedom) by Radishchev. As is well known this work by Radishchev was written in connection with events of the American Revolution of 1776.⁴ Hence there was an even closer connection, not only by reason of events, but primarily by ideas and the spirit of the American Revolution, with Kapnist's "Ode," a work in which each line is a protest against the national-political oppression and a hope for national-state liberation. Along with this, the work is inspired by deep-felt and sincere democracy.

There is every reason to believe that the example of liberation of the United States of America from English rule was the picture to which Kapnist turned his spiritual eyes. Kapnist not only thought, pined and dreamed. *He acted.* His Russian friends called Vasyl Kapnist "Vaska Pugachev" (a revolutionary) not without good reason.⁵ Kapnist worked on plans for establishing a military force of the Ukrainian "irridenta" (the 1788 project of reviving the Kozaks), and relying on the military potential of the Ukrainian rifle regiments, on orders of the Ukrainian patriotic circle (probably of Novhorod-Siversky), he went abroad in 1791 to find allies for the future struggle against Russia. He visited Berlin and tried to enlist the aid of the King of Prussia who was, at that time, in opposition to Russia. When these projects were not realized, and discussions abroad disclosed an indifference of foreign countries (particularly Prussia) to the Ukrainian cause of liberation, Kapnist wrote his renowned comedy (in reality a tragedy) "Yabeda" in which he painted vividly, almost documentally, the deep moral-social disintegration brought to Ukraine by Russian rule and by the bureaucratic system which the Russians introduced.

Even when the irresistible course of history brought all plans, attempts and dreams of Kapnist to naught, he did not abandon his ideals and continued to do for the Ukrainian cause whatever he could under the existing circumstances. But even then he always gazed at the free American Republic whose fascinating picture attracted this great writer and patriot next to the eternal fascination of his own great and enslaved homeland.

III.

The influence of the ideas of the American Revolution was probably most marked on *Istoriya Rusov* that enduring monument of Ukrainian

⁴ V. Semennikov. "Radishchev. Ocherki i Issledovaniya." (Radishchev. Sketches and Research). Moscow-Petrograd, 1923, pp. 7, 299, 446-448.

⁵ "Sochineniya G. R. Derzhavina" (Works of G. R. Derzhavin), published by the Russian Academy of Sciences. Ed. II, Vol. V, Kiev, 1876. p. 679, edited by Ya. Grot. (Letter of H. A. Lvov to Derzhavin, Kiev, March 23, 1787).

national-political thought of the latter part of the 18th century. At the foundation of the political ideology of this work lies the principle, frequently reiterated both in the foreword and in the text: "Every creature has a right to defend its life, property and liberty . . . and for this reason it has been endowed by nature itself or by its Creator with appropriate tools or means" (p. III)⁶ and "All nations living in the universe have always defended and will always defend their life, liberty and property" (p. 62). These words, which the author puts into the mouth of the great Hetman-Liberator, "the Father of his Homeland," Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the beloved hero of *Istoriya Rusov* are very reminiscent of the monumental manifesto of the right to "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" contained in the Declaration of Independence of 1776.⁷

True to his democratic principles, the author of *Istoriya Rusov* considers the struggle of a nation (or nations) against tyranny its sacrosanct right and perpetual duty. Every nation must stand "by its truth." (p. 71). "What kind of a nation is it which does not take care of its well-being and does not forestall a clear threat to its security? Such a nation by its lack of foresight can be truly likened unto animals without feeling, held in contempt by all other nations." (p. 204).

Istoriya Rusov declares war on all tyranny. Every nation has a right to hold its government accountable when the latter abuses its power to the detriment of that nation. "Every government which suspects its people of any intentions hostile to it, gives itself to this people a means or tools wherewith to demand what the government has as yet not undertaken or not thought about." (p. 164). It is clear that here *Istoriya Rusov* is echoing the Declaration of Independence of 1776 which teaches that "whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." The idea of "free people" with which is imbued not only *Istoriya Rusov* but the entire Ukrainian political thought of the latter part of the 18th century,⁸ is undoubtedly related to the same idea of "free people" of the American States in the Declaration of Independence.

⁶ "Istoriya Rusov ili Maloy Rossiyi" (History of the Rus' or of Little Russia). Moscow, 1846. Quotations are from appropriate pages of this edition.

⁷ The formulation of *Istoriya Rusov* reminds us of the Virginia Bill of Rights (June 12, 1776): "the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety."

⁸ Cf. B. Olkhivskyj. "Vilnyj Narid" (Free People). Warsaw, 1937.

It can be stated that all political and ethical principles of *Istoriya Rusov* are closely related to the great charter of the American Revolution.⁹

Even more pronounced is the great similarity of *argumentation* of the American patriot, the author of *Istoriya Rusov*, and the argumentation of the American Declaration of Independence. It has been noted long ago that the argumentation of the American Declaration is preponderantly of a *juridical* nature, commensurate with and evident in the English awareness of order under the law.¹⁰ The German scholar Otto Vossler is right in his statement that "the order of the Declaration is that of a juridical document: first the preamble then the citation of the law, then the statement of facts with enumeration of specific occurrences by which the accused has violated the law, and finally the pronouncement of judgment. . ."¹¹ This very type of argument had a special appeal to the Ukrainian autonomists of the latter 18th century whose political thought, according to the apt remark of a Ukrainian author (Borys Olkhivsky), was "deeply steeped in essentially juridical elements."¹² "When we analyze the Ukrainian memoranda to "Komisiya ob Ulozheniyi" (Commission on the Charter) and other Ukrainian petitions of the 18th century to Petersburg, we can see that they are constructed in the style of petitions to courts of law of the time" — states the above named author, and calls this phenomenon a Ukrainian "juridical patriotism."¹³ This "juridical patriotism" was a characteristic feature of *Istoriya Rusov*, the treatise of Hryhory A. Poletyka and the "writings" of Ukrainian noblemen-patriots of the latter part of the 18th and early 19th c. as well as of other monuments of Ukrainian political thought of that period.

But *Istoriya Rusov* is characterized by, and thereby related to the Declaration of Independence by yet another "argument of the American Revolution" (O. Vossler) — the idea of *natural law*.¹⁴ The author of *Istoriya Rusov* speaks of natural rights of nations, individuals, lands and classes. The idea of a "free nation" which he is wont to apply in

⁹ Cf. O. Ohloblyn. "The Ethical and Political Principles of 'Istoriya Rusov' in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.*, Vol. II, No. 4 (6), 1952, pp. 388-400.

¹⁰ O. Vossler. "Die Amerikanischen Revolutionsideale in ihren Verhaeltniss zu den Europaeischen (Untersuch an Thomas Jefferson)." (The American Ideas of Revolution in their Relation to the European (a research on Thomas Jefferson). Muenchen and Berlin, 1929, p. 11 ff.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 79.

¹² B. Olkhivskyj. *op. cit.*, p. 58.

¹³ *ibid.*, p. 61.

¹⁴ O. Vossler. *op. cit.*, p. 18 ff.

particular to Ukraine, has a typical foundation in natural law. *Istoriya Rusov* uses again and again terms like "intrinsic" and "natural" in application to the Ukrainian land, Ukrainian princes and the Ukrainian nobility.¹⁵ Obviously, the idea of natural law was peculiar to the entire rationalist viewpoint of the 17th and 18th century, but the similarity of its role in Ukrainian and American political argumentation is impressive.

A fact of the greatest interest is that even in the text of *Istoriya Rusov*, this declaration of rights of the Ukrainian nation and of the Ukrainian man is very similar to the Declaration of Independence of 1776. From this standpoint it would be very interesting to compare such marked passages of *Istoriya Rusov* as the so-called "Speeches" of Hetman Mazepa and Polubotok with the Declaration of Independence. Regardless of whether these "Speeches" were a product of the author of *Istoriya Rusov* and came into existence simultaneously with the book (this is the prevalent opinion of students of *Istoriya Rusov*), or whether they had appeared and existed prior to and independent of *Istoriya Rusov* (this is the opinion of this author),¹⁶ they were not only in ideas, but in composition and occasionally even textually close relatives of the Declaration of Independence. When the American Declaration consecutively enumerates the oppression and misdeeds committed by the government of King George III against the American States, the "Speeches" of Mazepa and Polubotok accuse with no less vigor of judgment and protest the Russian government of Peter I of excesses and enslavement which the Ukrainian people experienced under Russian rule. In particular, the entire "Speech" of Polubotok is reminiscent of the appropriate part of the Declaration of 1776. "You, Ruler, have placed yourself above the law, you are abusing us in your sole power and turn us into eternal servitude, having appropriated to your treasury our own property . . . We have asked and are asking in the name of our people have mercy on our heritage, unlawfully seized and unmercifully dispersed, we plead for a reinstatement of our rights and privileges affirmed by solemn agreement, which even you, Ruler, have many times affirmed . . . (we) instead of blessings and happiness have been turned into unending slavery, paying tribute which is unbearable and insufferable, and we are forced to dig trenches and canals and to dry impassable swamps, all this being paid for by our dead bodies which

¹⁵ B. Krupnyckyj. "Beitraege zur Ideologie der 'Geschichte der Reussen' (*Istoriya Rusov*)" ("Notes on the Ideology of '*Istoriya Rusov*'). Berlin, 1945, pp. 2-4.

¹⁶ Cf. O. Ohloblyn. "Annales de la Petite Russie," by Scherer and "*Istoriya Rusov*". *Naukovyj Zbirnyk Ukrains'koho Vilnoho Universytetu* (Scientific collections of the Ukrainian Free University), vol. V, Munich, 1948, pp. 87-94.

fell by the thousand from epidemics, hunger and cold. All these miseries of ours are finally topped by frustrating our own government. The Muscovite officials who exercise power over us are ignorant of our laws and customs and are mostly illiterate, they know only one thing, and that is that they are permitted to do anything with us, not even leaving our souls alone..." (pp. 229-230).

Quoting side by side the words of the Declaration of Independence — "The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of unremitting injuries and usurpations... but all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States." The Russian Tsar — quoting *Istoriya Rusov* — "by his autocracy and usurpation of unlimited power has likened himself unto the most terrible despots" (p. 202), "Relegates nations into slavery and rules over serfs and slaves, and this is the work of an Asiatic tyrant, not of a Christian monarch whose duty it is to really be, and enjoy the glory of a true supreme father of the people" (p. 230) — these words of *Istoriya Rusov* (Polubotok's Speech) again remind us of the Declaration of Independence: "...to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy unworthy of the head of a civilized nation... A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a people who mean to be free."

In spite of the great difference of the concrete contents of accusations (although practically every point of the indictment of the British government contained in the Declaration of Independence of 1776 could have been returned by the Ukrainians against the Russian government), not to mention the different circumstances of the times and the fact that there was a difference between the *autocracy* and despotism of the Russian Tsar and the *constitutionality* of the English monarch, the composition of "Polubotok's Speech" and of the other passages of an analogous nature in *Istoriya Rusov* (Mazepa's Speech, some "speeches" of B. Khmelnytsky, the "letters" of Hetmans Bryukhovetsky and Petro Doroshenko, etc.) clearly indicate that the author knew the Declaration of Independence and was in ideological affinity with it.

IV.

This affinity of ideas, thoughts, argumentation and even of the text of some formulations in *Istoriya Rusov* and the Declaration of Independence had deep national-political roots. The American Revolution had another peculiarity: this *Revolution* was of a *conservative*

nature.¹⁷ It was the idea and deep conviction of its leaders that it was only reinstating the lawful rights of the American States which had been violated by the English government illegally and by revolutionary methods. On the other hand this Revolution was not introducing any violent social changes, but keeping intact the social-economic order which had been developed throughout the 150-year history of the American colonies. This is particularly vividly apparent from the Declaration of Independence. As stated by O. Vossler: "Throughout the entire document, there is apparent the endeavor to absolve the former colonies of any revolutionary intentions and any revolutionary guilt. A full two-thirds of the text are dedicated to this proof that it was England which violated the constitution, that England was the aggressor and England the revolutionary . . ."¹⁸

These peculiarities of the American Revolution were best understood and most acceptable to the Ukrainian autonomists of the late 18th century. They were also against any social revolution. They only desired a renewal of a Ukrainian national state and its lawful liberties violated and trampled by Russian imperialism; they justly perceived a shaking of all foundations of the Ukrainian legal order in the centralistic policy of the Russian government. It is precisely for that reason that the entire ideal and legal-political argumentation of the American Revolution, an argumentation par excellence conservative, fully corresponded with the argumentation of the Ukrainian patriots in their struggle against Russian centralism and imperialism.

But from the viewpoint of the *Russian* government (just as *mutatis mutandis* from the viewpoint of the British government on America) the very fact of the existence of such argumentation and such demands on the part of Ukrainian leaders was an act of *revolution*. Besides it became clear to both parties that the realization of Ukrainian national-state postulates was only possible through revolution, through a war of liberation waged on Russia. The leaders of the Ukrainian political movement did not embark on this road immediately, just as the American leaders did not take up arms against the British government with light heart, although they justly accused that government of being the first to start the war.

There is no doubt that the example and experience of the American war of liberation was the most brilliant beacon for the Ukrainian autonomists of the late 18th c. In their imagination and awareness the picture of George Washington merged with the picture of the Ukrainian na-

¹⁷ Cf. O. Vossler, *op. cit.*, p. 29 ff.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 80.

tional hero, Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The idea of armed rebellion against Russia gained the upper hand in Ukraine. And when the American government turned for help to England's enemy — France, the Ukrainian patriots (in the person of V. Kapnist) looked for similar help from Prussia, at that time the only powerful enemy of Russia. An *idea* united the Ukrainian and American liberation movement, and this common idea had to bear fruit in a similar *deed*.

The Ukrainian autonomists planned the same development of action as that shown by the American Revolution. They were not the cause of history denying them that road. The idea did not turn into deed, but it continued *active*.

We have found that the influence of the American Revolution reached Ukraine, and that its repercussions were quite strong. It is difficult to ascertain whether there existed any organizational or personal contacts between Ukrainian political leaders of the late 18th century and America. This problem demands special research. In our opinion, such a possibility should not by any means be excluded (both through Petersburg and Paris, and even directly with America). But first was the spiritual and ideal contact between the American revolution of liberation and the Ukrainian national-liberation movement both of that period, as well as of the next century.

ECONOMIC AND STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF THE KAKHIVKA IRRIGATION SYSTEM

By MYKHAYLO PAVLYUK

The building of the Dniproges was undoubtedly determined by purely economic motives — to furnish cheap hydro-electric power to the industry of the Donbas, Kryvy Rih, Nikopil, Dnipropetrovsk and other smaller industrial centres.

It is true that this economic purpose was not achieved on the scale that had been provided in the plans of the Kremlin. We need only mention that in the beginning the capacity of the Dniproges was set at 600,000 kilowatts. Later this was reduced to 300,000 kilowatts and after the plant was put into operation, it proved impossible to secure even 300,000 kilowatts of power. To see how great was the difference between reality and the planned and propagandistic assertions of the Soviets, we need only to mention that immediately after the plant of the Dniproges began operations, difficulties arose in the use of its power. The plant never produced 300,000 kilowatts and more than that the operation of the Dniproges was marked by great variations in the amount of power produced. During the spring floods, the output of hydro-electric energy amounted to 240,000 kilowatts but after the flood it quickly dropped to 80,000 kilowatts.¹

In the light of these facts the news came as a surprise of the hurried construction of the electric plant of Kakhivka and of a great network of irrigation canals at a time when the regulating of the flow of the Dnieper in its central stretch had been postponed by the Kremlin to an indefinite future. The works at the Kakhivka dam can use only that water which passes the Dniproges, for the Dnieper has no important tributaries entering it below the Dniproges and above Kakhivka.

There is no doubt that purely economic consideration would advise the regulation of the Dnieper in its upper and middle course and not in its lower, 106 kilometres from its mouth (lyman).

Soviet propaganda constantly cites as the basic motive for the speedy construction of the Kakhivka water-net, the need for irriga-

¹ A. M. Gavrilov and I. V. Popov — *The Dnieper flows into the steppes*. Leningrad, 1951, p. 51.

tion of the meadows on the right and left bank of the Dnieper in the area west, south, east and north of Kakhivka and the northern part of the Crimean peninsula. It is generally known that these regions are not so deficient in rainfall as the steppes of the lower Volga and Ural. The northern part of this area has a yearly average precipitation of 300-400 millimetres. Only the northern part of the Crimea and a strip from the Dnieper lyman, 50 kilometres in breadth, extending along the shore of the Black Sea and the Syvashi to the Sea of Azov have a yearly precipitation from 150 to 300 millimetres.² Naturally these areas need irrigation, and especially the Crimea. But it is also generally known that the northern part of the region of Melitopol is famous for its large harvests, especially those of the German colonists who have lived here since the time of Catherine II. Thus the overwhelming part of these lands do not urgently need artificial irrigation.

We must also remember that it was only in the first five-year plan that the Kremlin made important capital investments in Ukraine. Beginning with the second five year plan, it confined its investments almost entirely to the Moscow district, the Urals and the western part of Siberia. So it is surprising to learn of this sudden decision of the Kremlin to build the Kakhivka water-net along with work on an irrigation system of a colossal scale. Even the chief canals alone, according to our calculations from the plan, must have a length of not less than 800 kilometres, along with electrical pumps to carry the water to the high right bank of the Dnieper into the region east of Kakhivka and to the south of the North Crimean canal.

To secure an appreciation of the technical difficulties in building the dam at Kakhivka, we need only cite a passage from the book of A. Lebed and V. Yakovlev — *The Importance for Transportation of the Hydrotechnical Construction of the USSR*: "We can say in advance that the Kakhivka water-net serves very costly and economically unintelligible objects. As the former technical director of the Kakhivka plan, V. E. S. writes: 'Kakhivka is one of the very costly projects. Great difficulties will be met, and the project will cost a great deal, for what people usually do not know' . . . The fact is that there is no good bottom there in the bed of the Dnieper. There are small 'soft spots' and limestone in the banks, filled with 'casts,' which will have to be pressed together."³

It is also necessary to move 250 kilometres of railroad lines and build a series of earthen dikes not only near the dam but to protect

² *Ukrainian Encyclopedia*, Munich-New York, 1949, p. 86.

³ A. Lebed and V. Yakovlev, *The Importance for Transportation of the Hydrotechnical Constructions of the USSR*, Munich, 1954, p. 67.

Nikopil from being flooded by the waters of the Kakhivka reservoir. This makes the construction of the Kakhivka water-net an extremely costly work.

These great difficulties and the material expenses for the building of the Kakhivka electric station and the irrigation system of the canals cannot be justified from their economic effect. The Kakhivka electric plant, which has been "planned" to produce 250,000 kilowatts of electric power with 1,200,000,000 kilowatt hours with the river at middle flow,⁴ it can be predicted, will not give the planned amount of electric power, exactly as the Dniproges did not. The conditions for the use of the Kakhivka electric plant will not be better than those of the Dniproges, for the Kakhivka station will run only on that water which passes the Dniproges. This is true also of the ditches of the Kakhivka water-net.

At the same time we cannot foresee any great effectiveness of the irrigation system, about which Soviet propaganda shouts so vehemently. Only when the flow of the upper and middle course of the Dnieper is regulated, can we expect a constant and sufficient flow of water into the system of canals. To accomplish this there must be built the dams marked on the map of the "Great Dnieper" near Dnipropetrovsk, Kremenchuk and the smaller dams on the upper course of the Dnieper, Prypyat and Seym. The Kakhivka and Zaporizhzhye dams, taken together, will be able to give water for the system of canals only during the spring floods of the Dnieper and during great rainfalls in the basin of the Dnieper. At other periods of the year the irrigation system of the canals will be deprived of water from the Kakhivka and Zaporizhzhye reservoirs, for there will not be even enough water to operate the electric plants. So the irrigation system will supply water only in the early spring, when the soil is moist from the melting snows, and it is very doubtful whether there will be enough water in the canals when irrigation is most needed — in the heat of the summer.

We know that the kolhosps refused to use the irrigation system of the Volga-Don canal, for this was not profitable for them.⁵ There is every reason to assume that the kolhosps of Tavriya and the Crimea will find the irrigation system of the Kakhivka water-net still more unprofitable, for the maintenance of the Kakhivka water-net will cost infinitely more than the maintenance of the Volga-Don irrigation system.

In summing up this brief analysis of the economic value of the construction of the Kakhivka water-net, we must especially emphasize that

⁴ *Pravda*, for Sept. 21, 1950. "The Resolution of the Soviet of Ministers of the USSR."

⁵ *The Ukrainian Word*, Paris, Feb., 1955. Article of S. Yu. Protsyuk.

the economic factors have never in any way argued for the continuation of the basic regulation of the Dnieper in the region of Kakhivka. As we have seen, the Soviets admitted bitter mistakes in the construction of the Dniiproges because of the fact that the construction was carried on without a preliminary regulating of the upper and middle course of the Dnieper.

The Soviets recognized this mistake and began the regulation of the Volga in its upper course. They plan to regulate the middle course by a whole series of hydrotechnical works in the Gorky, Cheboksary, Kuybyshev, Saratov and Stalingrad water-nets. The Soviets are endeavoring to carry through this great amount of construction at least according to one plan, to avoid the great waste of water power and losses from the silting up of the reservoirs.

This raises the question with what objects in mind the Kremlin after World War II, other than those of an economic character, has carried through at an accelerated tempo the building of the Volga-Don canal and then the Kakhivka water-net?

The answer to this question can be found in the general strategic situation which was brought into being after World War II. Prior to that war, the Soviets had built the White Sea-Baltic canal, with the strategic purpose of joining the White and Baltic Seas to transport between them small warships and especially submarines. At that time the Black Sea offered to the Soviets no serious road for the attack of the probable enemy, Germany. After World War II the Black Sea, particularly the Crimean peninsula became the most sensitive point in the Soviet system of defence. The Kremlin was able to advance its land frontiers to the west as far as the Elbe-Vienna line but in the basin of the Black Sea the key strategic positions did not fall into its hands. So the Black Sea became one of the most dangerous sectors in the Soviet defence system. In a terrible hurry they began to build the strategically important Volga-Don canal. Sometime, during the war, perhaps in 1944, the project of this construction was given the first priority. In 1947 the plan was approved and construction started in 1948.⁶ It is characteristic that in connection with the attack of North Korea on South Korea and the accompanying complications of the international situation, *Pravda* on December 28, 1950 printed a resolution of the Soviet of Ministers of the USSR which shortened the period for the construction of this canal by two years; the completion was set for 1951.⁷ The strategic importance of

⁶ A. Lebed and V. Yakovlev, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

⁷ *Pravda* of December 28, 1950.

the Volga-Don canal lies in the fact that it gives the Soviets the power to move submarines from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

On September 21, 1950, *Pravda* published the official order to build the Kakhivka water-net and the South Ukrainian canal. There is every reason to assume that the work on the South Ukrainian canal had begun much earlier. It is not excluded that this canal also has strategic importance and above all, its filling with water does not depend upon the state of readiness of the Kakhivka dam, for it carries water from and begins at the Lenin reservoir of the Dniyproges. The average width of this canal is 120 metres. In places this increases to 600 metres. The water flows through it by gravity. To insure this in places, the canal was dug to a depth of 100 metres.⁸ This data raises the suspicion that this is not so much an irrigation canal as a second artificial bed of the Dnieper. A breadth of 120 metres is not needed for irrigation.

A careful analysis of this project allows us to make some quite interesting observations on the possible strategic significance of the system of canals and reservoirs of the Kakhivka water-net.

If the Volga-Don canal gave the Soviets the power to manoeuvre their submarines and send them into the Black Sea to defend the shores and also the possibility of penetrating the Mediterranean Sea, this system of canals represents as it were a deep system of defensive lines. Several of these defensive lines can be calculated and they all rest on water barriers, formed by the main canals of the irrigation system.

It is not hard to see that the North Crimean canal is a sort of a defensive line covering the approaches to the Perekop Isthmus and the bridges across the Syvashi near Henichevska and Oleksiyivka. We might think that this first land defensive line was to serve as a temporary obstacle to bar the advance of an opponent to Perekop and the Syvashi, if the attacker was able to make a bold landing on the Crimean peninsula and from this beachhead launch a decisive attack to occupy the entire Crimea.

The natural defensive line of Perekop and the Syvashi has many advantages for defending the mainland, and by the system of main canals of the Kakhivka water-net it can be significantly strengthened and become a very serious obstacle for an advance north of the Crimea. The fact is that the Perekop-Syvashi line has a real defect. The Perekop Isthmus is about 10-15 kilometres in width and a series of salt lakes called the Syvashi, extend from Perekop for 80 kilometres and near Henichevska joins the Sea of Azov. But the lakes of Syvashi are quite small and when a wind of moderate velocity blows from the west to the

⁸ *Great Construction of the Stalin Era* (a collection), Moscow, 1951, p. 204.

east, it drives the water from the Syvashi into the Sea of Azov. In such cases even the Sea of Azov in the small bay of Henichevska overflows its banks for a space of 1-1.5 kilometres to the east. Under these conditions the Syvashi with their small amounts of water offer not a few crossings. This is a very serious defect in the defensive line of Perekop-Syvashi.

By the system of main canals and reservoirs the Soviet have the power not only to remove this weakness but even in case of defensive necessity to make the Crimean peninsula an island.

The South Ukrainian canal with an average width of 120 metres runs through the Syvashi. As we have seen, this canal is really an artificial and quite broad bed of the Dnieper, the waters of which after the blowing up of the concrete bed of the canal through the Syvashi will be sufficient to raise the level of the water in the lakes so that there will be no danger, even with a strong wind from the west of a catastrophic loss of water. In addition we must state that the Kakhivka reservoir can hold 19 billion cubic metres of water.⁹ The reservoir on the river Molochna can hold 6 billion cubic metres and finally the reservoir of the Dniproges, about which we have no information, more than that of the Molochna river.

This supply of water in the three reservoirs makes it possible to fill the Syvashi with water so that it will be possible for a certain time to flood not only part of the northern Crimea but also Perekop. Naturally to flood Perekop some previously prepared earthworks would be necessary. Such earthworks under present Soviet conditions do not offer great difficulties. In this short description of the role of the reservoirs and canals for strengthening the defensive power of Perekop-Syvashi line, we can see a defensive aspect which can be given by the Kakhivka irrigation system, if it is needed for this purpose.

It is hard to assume that the Soviets, under their propagandistic talk of the great economic advantages of the Kakhivka system of irrigation canals, have not silently built a number of purely military works to strengthen the water obstacles. It would seem that there are all the grounds for such an assumption.

After this brief analysis of the strategic importance of the Kakhivka water-net, we can find the answer to the question why the Kremlin, without considering measures of an economic character, has speeded up the construction of the Kakhivka water-net. Perhaps strategic motives are also playing their part in addition to the economic advantages of the irrigation of the semi-arid sections of southeastern Ukraine.

⁹ *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, Vol. 14, p. 572.

THE ART WORLD OF ARCHIPENKO

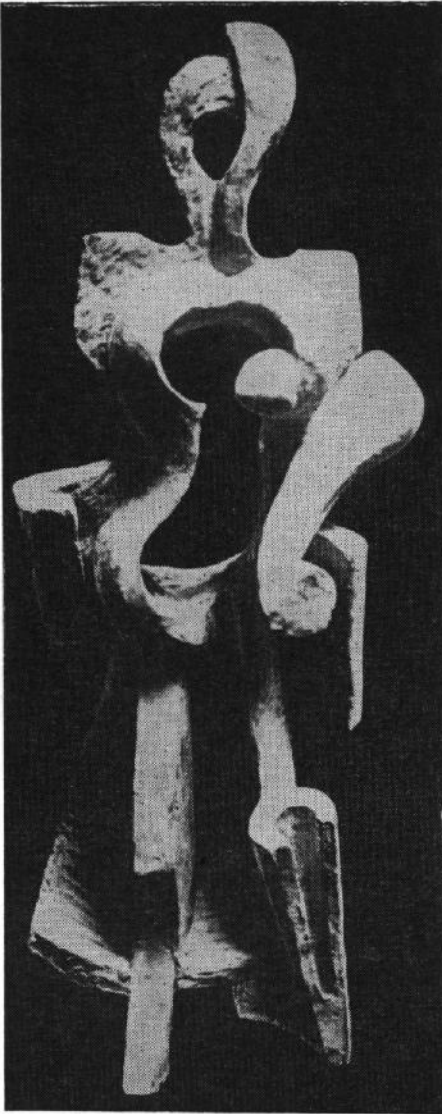
by SVIATOSLAV HORDYNSKY

When in 1908 young Archipenko went to Paris, the dominating master of sculpture was Rodin. The entire young artistic generation followed his psychological impressionism. Archipenko, however, did not imitate him, nor did he follow the official trends of the Academy of Fine Arts, — in fact he left the Academy in two weeks. He brought with him the idea of an entirely new and different art. His goal was not that of the recognized masters of his time.

He was convinced that art should not be an imitation of the things already created by God, and this became the basis and essence of his work. The result of this theory was a long and arduous period of search and experimentation and the discovery of new forms and possibilities of formal expression. This search inevitably led the artist to the great works of the past, works of the archaic type, which represent not so much the immediate imitation of reality as the formal idea of things. Here Archipenko's quest for new and modern forms merged with those principles which stood at the very fountainheads of artistic creation. The primeval artist, called rather inaccurately "primitive", had a more or less conscious feeling that sculpture consisted of a certain correlation of forms, placed in space according to some geometrical order. He subordinated all detail to this order, the expression of which he considered his main function.

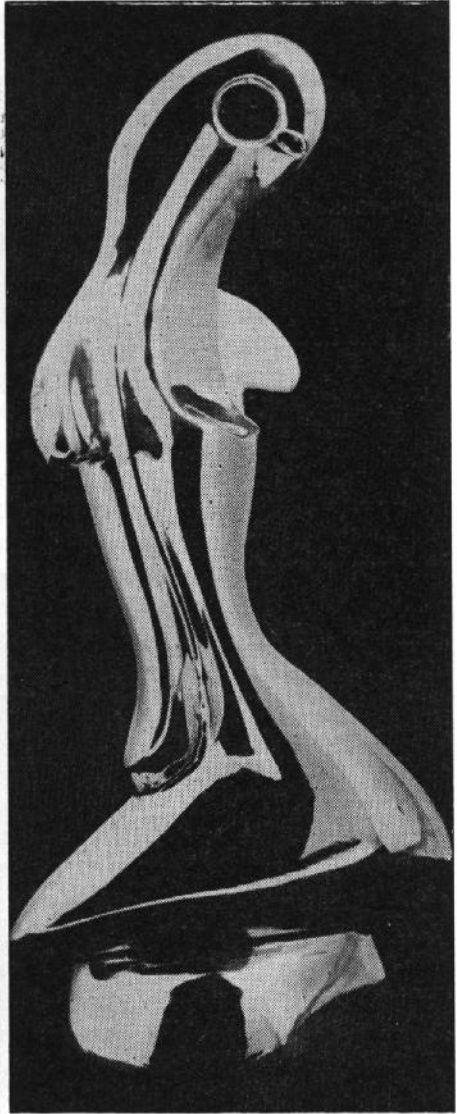
This is the principle that unites the art of the past with that of our time. The great discovery of modern art was the recognition that in his work the artist should express not the reality of the world around him, but the basic elements of things united by a constructive rule. The spirit of our time finds its strongest expression in mechanics, and the modern artist can not ignore its efficiently constructive, always functional laws. Only in mechanics is the whole subjected to the laws of necessity and usefulness, and machines are not constructed merely for purposeless movement. Art is different; the usefulness of a work of art is not the question; its purpose and aim are of a spiritual character. A work of art should be the medium in the transcendent mystery which is the essence of art.

And so in modern art, the principles of which began to take shape before the First World War, problems of a constructive character arose. The turning point came with cubism. Archipenko was in reality the first cubist in sculpture, for he created his first sculptures in abstract



Terra cotta, 1912.

Example of modeling space and concave.



Leda with Swan.

Gilded bronze, 1935.

geometric forms in 1909.¹ But for him this style was only one stage in his development. He took from cubism what he needed, but the pure abstractionism of this style did not satisfy him, because it was inadequate to express spiritual values. Archipenko searched for higher spiritual aims, and there not accidentally his geometric principle met the mathematics of Albert Einstein. Einstein broadened the conception of our world, parabolically transferring our thought and feeling beyond space and time. Archipenko strove to express this higher order of the universe in his art. He himself wrote:

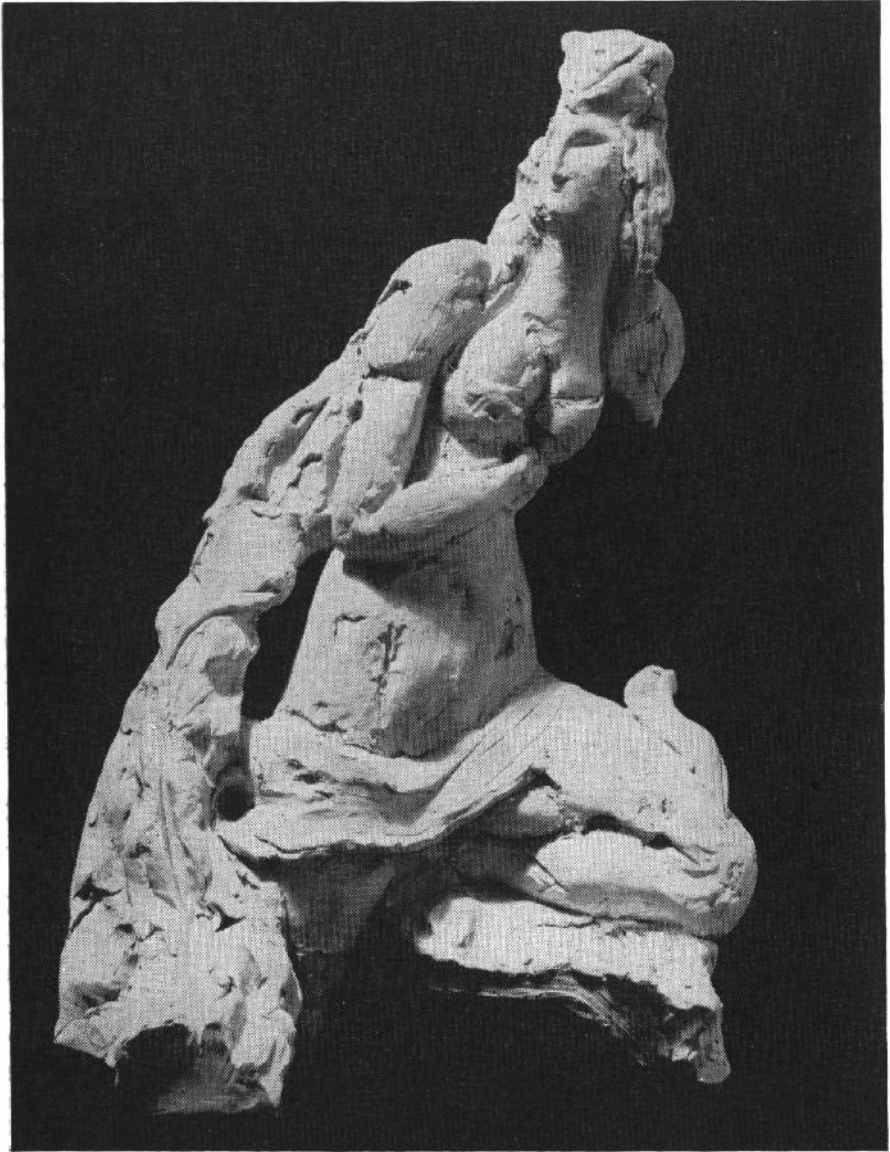
"I know that my knowledge of science is not adequate to understand fully Einstein's theory, but its spiritual implication is clear to me. I am convinced that life reflected through the prism of art offers us a panorama into otherwise unaccessible depths. I think that the theory of relativity was always hidden in art, but the genius of Einstein defined it, expressing it in words and numbers. I am convinced that due to him art may be spoken of as something concrete. I do not have in mind works of art, but the mysterious process of creating."

These are the basic elements on which Archipenko builds his art. Thirty years ago the French critic Maurice Raynal noticed them in Archipenko's work, and in connection with them aptly quoted St. Augustine: "In art the number is all."

Still the knowledge of these foundations does not suffice to give a total comprehension of Archipenko's art. They are only so to say the bony structure which Archipenko covers with the living flesh of vital problems. The purpose of his constructive and logical rules is to bring unity and order into the intuitively emotional sphere from which his art emanates. He creates his refined forms always as a function of rhythm — the constant discovery and expression of which is his unceasing labor. Here Archipenko realizes the primary law of all arts for which rhythm is the basic regulating element. Archipenko is infallible in his mastery of rhythm. He weaves his rhythm from the simplest geometrical forms to the most complicated symphonic harmonies; he endows his lines with a true classical simplicity, but he also flings them out in spirals beyond time and space. Rhythm is the life blood of Archipenko's

¹ The introduction into sculpture of pure geometric form and abstract principles by Archipenko was acknowledged by both European and American art critics. "It was Archipenko's vision as a poet that led him to apply cubism and expressionism to sculpture. He was the first in that field, as a comparison of dates will show. A year before even Duchamp-Villon, and quite a while ahead of Epstein, Brancusi and Zadkine." (C. J. Bulliet in *Chicago Daily News*, June 17, 1933).

sculpture — the current which enlivens it. And when today we consider the works of his numerous followers and imitators, very often more sophisticated and refined than his own, we realize wherein lies the lack of that life blood, the vital current which makes a thing created



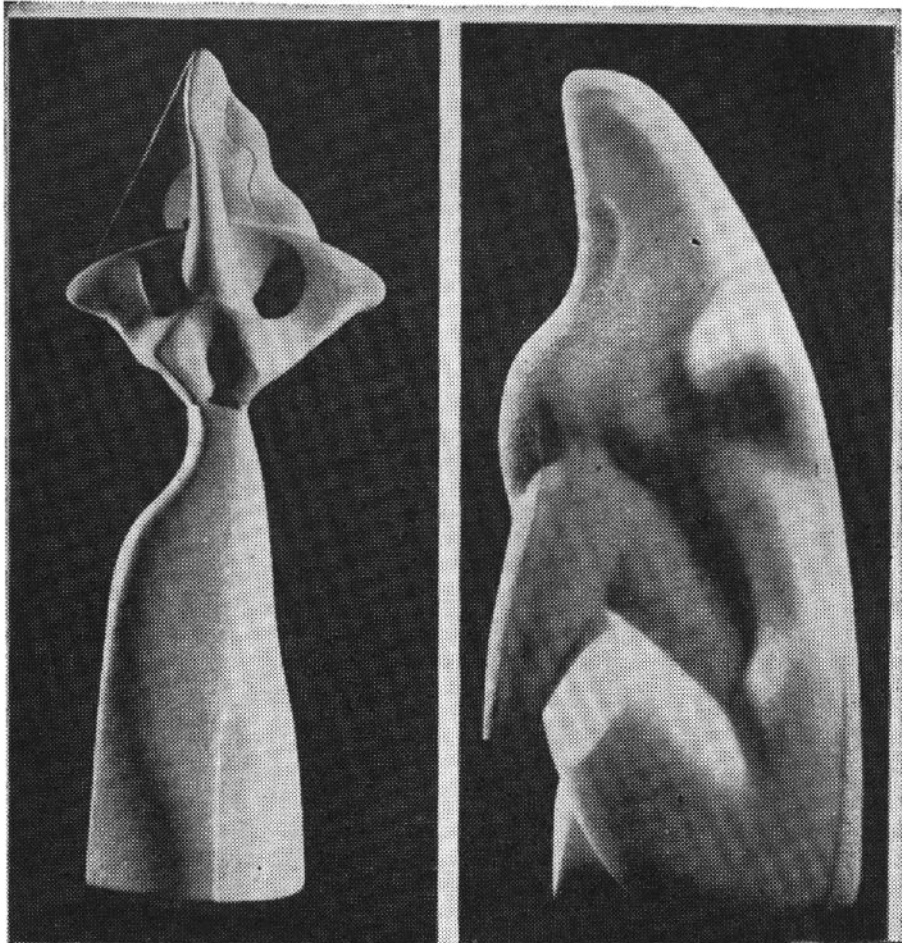
Heroica I. Terra Cotta, 1930

from dead material a work of art. C. J. Bulliet rightly pointed out that the main characteristic of Archipenko's art is vitality: here everything is alive — eager, dynamic, flaming upward. That is the essence of his work, the flavor, the distinctive quality that counts. (Introduction to the catalogue of Archipenko's New York exhibit, 1927).

It is not by accident that Archipenko chose the female figure as the primary subject of his sculptures. The exquisite grace which he bestowed upon it in countless works, fascinated even those who refused to accept his principles of modern form. We wish to emphasize particularly this element of purely esthetic content in comparison with modern sculpture which is so often seen at art exhibitions: that clumsy and vulgar rendering of the feminine figure, where the deformation is not directed by the process of esthetic sublimation, but merely by the wish to produce something "modern" at any price. One of Archipenko's great achievements is a series of sculptures with two or three essential lines. They are chiefly torsos without arms and heads, and Prof. Hans Hildebrandt in his Archipenko monograph called them masterpieces of spiritualized beauty. One of them is now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, perhaps the best piece of modern sculpture in that museum.

All this leads to the conclusion that Archipenko's artistic outlook is unusually intricate and many-sided. In his art he combines tradition with the modern spirit and bold projections into the future. Christian Brinton in his preface to the catalogue of one of Archipenko's New York exhibitions compared his art to Euphorion, born from the union of the spirit of antiquity and the modern spirit, from the magic marriage of Faust and Helen of Troy. Thus when we consider the revolutionary aspect of Archipenko's art, it is difficult to agree with Ivan Goll who wrote in the catalogue for an early exhibition of Archipenko in Berlin that "this entire revolution in the field of sculpture could have been achieved only by a blunt and cultured barbarian — one who is not burdened with tradition, and being free, starts from the very fountain-heads of Europe." — Surely there is no need to prove that these words are unfounded; the question of a "cultured barbarian" does not arise, if only for the reason that Archipenko came from the Ukrainian soil and her cultural traditions which lived in her folk art on a permanent high level. His freedom was not due to the lack of roots or traditions, but to an inborn cultural and spiritual complex, developed on a territory with more than 5,000 years of artistic tradition. In Archipenko's art the constructive elements of the West blend with the mystic elements of the East; his artistic world is the result of this blending until the real and transcendent become a single entity.

In what relation does Archipenko's art stand to the whole of Ukrainian art, and where should it be placed? This is a complicated question, and the artist himself returns to it again and again. Once he said that his art is no more Ukrainian than Chinese; an argument over this would be about the same as an argument over the question whether Einstein's theory of relativity is German, American or Jewish. When in 1934 the American Ukrainians sent Archipenko's sculpture 'Ma' to the Ukrainian Museum in Lviv, the artist gave some of his opinions on the subject of national art. He wrote in the *Bulletin* of that museum:



Aluminum, 1931

Marble, 1934

“Without doubt every nation has its typical psychological traits; and as art is the image of spirit, it is, therefore, clear that national art exists.

The traits of national art are not in subject matter. Many non-Ukrainians have used as their subjects Ukrainian women in their national costume and Ukrainian life.

The character of national art comes from the inner creative sources of the artist. Art is not what we see, but what we have within us.

If we have creative sources, art will come of itself. Creative sources do not necessarily have to be inborn, — they may also be developed, if the individual is capable of creation.

Creative sources are only hidden conceptions, such as lyric feeling, mysticism, beauty — all conceptions within the individual being, born of emotions and states of the soul. They may be changed, developed or destroyed, under the influence of life.

However, in nature there are forces which cannot be confined within the limits of national feeling and thought, for example, Beethoven expressed in his *Ninth Symphony* such a cosmic wealth of energy and emotion that it moves all nations for ever.

I accept the national art, but for other purposes — art for art. Who knows, if I should think the same, had not the Ukrainian sun kindled in me a longing for something, I know not what . . .”

So much for Archipenko's words. Whether one wishes it or not, Archipenko led Ukrainian art and culture into the highway of universal problems; this means, his art is not only Ukrainian, but it has become also European and American, a universal achievement.

In conclusion let us characterize Archipenko's art in the words he himself used to characterize his allegoric figure 'Ma':

“She knows and feels both infinity and eternity, because she herself is a part of them.

“Her instinct and intuition are without limit.

“In her wisdom she sees things hidden in the future.”

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF ALEXANDER ARCHIPENKO

1887 Born in Kiev, Ukraine.

1902-1905 Studied painting and sculpture in the Kiev Art School.

1906 Went to Moscow, where he worked and participated in many exhibitions.

- 1908 Went to Paris and studied for a short time at L'Ecole des Beaux Arts. He continued the study of art in museums, and showed his works in many exhibitions.
- 1910 Held his first one-man show at Hagen, Berlin, and in other cities in Germany.
Opened his own school in Paris. Introduced into sculpture new esthetic elements — the modeling of space, the concave, transparency. He also introduced new materials for sculpture.
- 1919 Made an extensive tour, exhibiting in many European cities.
- 1921-1923 Lived in Berlin. Opened his own school.
- 1923 Came to the United States. Opened a school in New York.
- 1924 Invented movable painting, *Archipentura*.
- 1928 Became an American citizen.
- 1910-1950 Held a series of 95 large individual shows in European capitals and in various cities in the United States.
- 1935-1936 Taught in Washington State University.
- 1935 Took up residence in California.
- 1937 Established a school of creative fine arts in Chicago and was associate instructor at the New Bauhaus School of Industrial Arts.
- 1939 Returned to New York City and reopened his school of sculpture. He added a summer school in Woodstock, N. Y. These schools are still in operation and considered among the best in the United States.
- 1948 Opened seventy-eighth one-man exhibition in the New York Galleries of the Associated American Artists, featuring his new invention in sculpture — that of modeling light (carved plastic).
- 1950 Taught at the University of Kansas City, Missouri.
- 1950-1951 Tour of Exhibition in Southern cities of USA.
- 1954 Organized his 110th one-man show in the Associated American Artists Galleries.
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POSTWAR IDEOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES IN THE SOVIET UNION

JACOB SHUMELDA

The creators of Marxist doctrine often call it "Scientific Socialism" and claim that it is based upon the discoveries of modern science. Every student of this subject must face the question as to whether or not this is true. If the answer is in the affirmative, there is the further question as to whether its scientific backgrounds are in harmony with the trends of contemporary science.

If there is a conflict between Marxist doctrine and modern science, there will be a permanent outbreak of controversies in the Soviet Union. There can be only three solutions:

1. The Soviets must suppress all scientific progress that undermines the scientific backgrounds of the Marxist doctrine.
2. They must revise the false or onesided theories and principles of the dominant doctrine.
3. They must adopt artificial means to conceal or hide the conflict between modern science and Marxist doctrine.

A study of this problem involves far-reaching research on the Soviet Union from many angles. Among these we must consider to what extent Bolshevism has deviated from the original Marxist doctrine, the scope of the principles and theories applied to the various social, economic and cultural fields and the results of this application.

THE FOCAL POINTS OF THE DIFFICULTIES

A revelation of these new difficulties was made in the Report of G.M. Malenkov to the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in October, 1952. In this the reader will find such significant remarks as the following:¹

"In many Party organizations there are instances of underestimation of ideological work, with the result that this work lags behind the task of the Party, and in some organizations is in a state of neglect.

¹ G. M. Malenkov: *Report to the Nineteenth Congress on the Work of the Central Committee of the CPSU*. Supplement to the *NEW Times*.

Ideological work is the primary duty of the Party, and underestimation of this work may cause irreparable damage to the interest of the Party and the State. We must always remember that any weakening of the influence of socialist ideology signifies the strengthening of the influence of the bourgeois ideology.

In our Soviet society there is not nor can there be a basis for the domination of the bourgeois ideology. Dominant in our country is the socialist ideology, the unshakable foundation of which is Marxism-Leninism. Nevertheless, we still have survivals of the bourgeois ideology, hangovers of private property psychology and ethics. These survivals do not die away of themselves; they are highly tenacious and capable of growth, and resolute struggle must be waged against them. Likewise we are not insured against the penetration of alien views, ideas and sentiments emanating from without, from capitalist states or from within, from remnants of groups hostile to soviet rule and not yet completely eradicated by the Party. It must not be forgotten that the enemies of the Soviet State seek to spread, foster and fan all kinds of unhealthy sentiments to corrupt ideologically unstable elements in our society.

Owing to insufficient leadership in ideological work and lack of control over its content, serious errors and distortions often creep into books, newspapers and magazines and into the work of scientific and other establishments in the ideological field. As a result of intervention by the Central Committee of the Party habits and traditions alien to the Soviet people have been disclosed in many branches of science, instances of caste exclusiveness and intolerance towards criticism have been brought to light and diverse manifestations of bourgeois ideology and all kinds of distortions by vulgarizers exposed and rooted out."

A study of the developments in the Soviet Union in the years 1946-52 shows that G.M. Malenkov did not overestimate but rather underestimated the clouds which had gathered on the Soviet horizon.² The author of this article, after analyzing the available sources for this period in Russian as well as in the languages of some other nationalities of the USSR, realized the serious difficulties that existed in many fields and were spread over the entire country. Some branches of science as philosophy and linguistics showed signs of complete stagnation or decay. In political economy, biology, physiology and medicine ideas and theories in opposition to the concepts on which Marxism is based, were spreading rapidly. The Soviet magazines and newspapers were hampered by different interpretations of the basic theories of Marxism-Bolshevism.

² The current issues of *Pravda*, *Izvestiya*, *Radyanska Ukraina*, *Literary Gazette*, *Questions of Philosophy*, *National Economy of the USSR*, *Questions of Economics* and all available works on the spiritual, social and economic life of the Soviet Union have been consulted.

In literature especially in Ukraine, Turkestan and other non-Russian territories of the USSR ideas and concepts hostile to the ruling doctrine, the Soviet regime and the postwar tactics of Moscow were developing. The main sources of these were the national independence movements in the Soviet Union, social groups discontented with the regime, and the influence of Western ideas which were penetrating the country from many directions. General distrust, remarkable ideological indifference and apathy toward the value of Marxist-Bolshevik doctrine, even among Party members, seemed to be an undeniable reality.

THE BACKGROUNDS OF THE ONESIDED DOCTRINE

Some Western students of the Soviet Union are inclined to see these difficulties as the result of the rapid increase of Party membership during the war since this is assumed to have brought into the Party ranks unprepared cadres and speculative elements. Others lay them at the door of the changes in the tactics of Moscow in both foreign and internal affairs after the end of the war. There are many other explanations also.

All of these explanations may contain a germ of truth but a deeper and more comprehensive study of them will connect them not only with the entire series of causes and conditions created during and after the War but also with the defective crystalization of the Marxist doctrine and its further complicated evolution. We will consider these latter first.

In the creation and further development of Marxism certain factors and circumstances exercised a negative influence. Marx and Engels were only in their twenties when they constructed the basic principles of their doctrine. At that early age they did not have the proper experience or the time to make proper observations of the social phenomena over a sufficiently long period to create a "Scientific Socialism" with scientific objectivity.³ In addition their blind and onesided absorption in party politics made them consider the different branches of science as means for the construction and realization of their party program.

The stormy industrialization of Western Europe and especially England, at the very same time temporarily overshadowed for Marx and Engels the important factors of the processes of the history of the day. The feverish pursuit of industrialization gave a false emphasis to the technical and economic factors in social and political life. The many new discoveries at the beginning of the nineteenth century, especially in the exact sciences, some of which were brilliant and epoch-making

³ This is evident from a study of the lives and environment of K. Marx and F. Engels.

but still in their infancy and far from perfection, gave them the strong impulse to create onesided and materialistic theories in history, philosophy, economics and other fields.

The weight of all these factors and circumstances contributed to the fatal defects in the creation of Marxism. The doctrine, ingenious in some respects and reflecting many tendencies of the industrial era, contained basic weaknesses. It was founded upon philosophical principles which overestimated the material and technological factors and artificially slurred over the religious, personal, psychological, cultural and national factors. The political aim of the doctrine and its mechanism were in many fields a reflection of transitory phenomena of Western industrialization. Both the philosophical system and the political program rested upon theories of biology, physics, economics and history which in the light of later discoveries were shown to be very often onesided or even wholly false. It was not rare that the correct scientific theories were misused or misinterpreted to serve the political doctrines of the founders of "Scientific Socialism." Thus Marxist doctrine, from its inception, entered upon a real or potential conflict with natural law, science and life in the broadest sense of the word.

LENIN'S REVISIONISM

The great Russian Communist leader, N. Lenin, took over the Marxist doctrine along with its defects. He succeeded in covering the latter up but he could not remove them.

Lenin realized that many of the Marxist theories were not applicable to conditions and that their prophecy of the spontaneous transformation of capitalistic society into a communistic one did not materialize as expected by the founders of "Scientific Socialism."⁴ Since he wished to conceal the failures of Marxist predictions and to increase the chances for the seizure of power in Russia by the Communist Party, he developed a new set of concepts and especially of tactics.

The basic innovations of Lenin were:

The theory of imperialism which authorized the Marxist movement in any country to seize power regardless of the existing social and economic conditions.⁵

⁴ Many interesting suggestions are to be found in the article of G. F. Aleksandrov, "Under the Banner of Lenin-Stalin" in the *Izvestiya* for Jan. 22, 1946. The author here stresses the need for various changes in Marxism felt at the beginning of the 20th century.

⁵ Lenin's *Imperialism as the Highest Stage of Capitalism*.

The stressing of the necessity for a centralized and rigid organization of Communist Parties to form a "quasi-military" party to carry on a "proletarian revolution" from above.

The emphasis on the role which the peasants and the national independence movements should play in the struggle for the illegal seizure of the sovereign power in Russia by the "proletariat."⁶

It is the author's opinion that the works of Lenin have not been adequately evaluated by the students of Communist movements. Through the theories of Lenin, the greater part of the Communists in Eastern Europe adopted the program of bringing about the "proletarian revolution" from above, rather than advancing it by the laws of Marxist materialism. In the course of time that platform has been adopted by many socialistic groups all over the world. So, in the fight for power in each country, the Communist movements transferred the centre of their attention from social economic conditions to conspiratorial practices, tactics and the seizure of governments by brute force. These methods were used in the Russian Empire, China, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

Lenin's teachings and his application of it had another effect. He injected into the well rounded elements of the Marxist materialistic system the opposing element of subjectivism without fusing both into a single unit. As a result we can cite the dispute among the Soviet economists who for many years after World War II could not agree upon the nature and relative importance of the economic laws governing the development of the USSR. The head of the State Planning Commission, N. Vosnesensky, with his comrades, maintained that such a law existed in the USSR under the form of the Soviet state, the Communist Party and the Economic Plan. Other groups derived their point of view from Marxism and asserted that the supreme Soviet economic law was incorporated in the means and ways of production or in the social-economic factors.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE OFFENSIVES AND RETREATS OF MARXISM IN THE USSR

The decision to carry on the "proletarian revolution" by force in the economically underdeveloped countries made another outcome certain: sooner or later the Communist party, which assumed supreme power, would use every means to bring a conquered country by force into the

⁶ Stalin in *Questions of Leninism* clearly describes Lenin's conception of the "proletarian revolution."

Marxist model program, and this would cause an unprecedented opposition not only because of the defects of the model but because an underdeveloped country was hundreds of years away from the social-economic conditions that Marx and Engels considered necessary for a "proletarian revolution." Such a clash occurred in the Soviet Union. The stormy offensives of Marxism on the territory of the USSR between the years 1918-21 and 1928-33, by which it tried to introduce and activate its program, were in many points unsuccessful. In the years following these periods, the new front lines were in many respects far from the original plans and were sometimes even directly opposed to them.⁷

In the years immediately preceding World War II the Kremlin introduced into the fields of cultural, social and economic life some principles that could hardly be explained by Marxist theory and indeed were often condemned by it. In the economy there was a retreat from the former principles of collective leadership and such obviously capitalistic elements as the "control of production by the ruble" or highly differentiated wages were introduced. In the social and spiritual life there were changes in the school system especially in the teaching of social sciences, especially history, and in the new directives for literary productions, the spirit of Imperial Russian tradition and practice was obviously returning.

This retreat naturally produced difficulties in reconciling Soviet reality and Marxist theory. This struggle between mandatory principles and contradictory practice gained great impetus in the years after World War II. As an illustration we have the controversies among the Soviet economists in the years 1946-51. Some economists at this time argued that Soviet society was bound to have the reappearance of the economic principles of capitalism as "labor power as a commodity," profit making, etc. They supported their views by data from Soviet life but Stalin condemned their ideas as inconsistent with the socialist economy.⁸

These offensives and retreats of Marxist doctrine in the Soviet Union created a very strange situation for scientific work in the country. During the years of Militant Communism (1918-21) and in the early twenties, Soviet scientists were directed to develop and advance theories based on Marxist dialectic materialism. In the late thirties and during and after World War II, many of the Marxist concepts proved a barrier to

⁷ Much has been written in English on this. The most valuable works are: N.S. Timasheff, *The Great Retreat, the Growth and Decline of Communism in Russia* and Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed*.

⁸ Stalin, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*. Foreign Language Publishing House, Moscow, 1952, p. 22.

scientific progress or were inconsistent with the new tactics of Moscow. A reversal of the program was necessary in many branches of science and directives for the adjustment were made in Russian history and linguistics.

THE MERGING OF MARXIST DOCTRINE AND RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

The weak points of Marxist doctrine opened the way for an amalgamation of Marxism and the traditional Russian Imperialism. The origin and evolution of this trend is a most complicated sociological and historical phenomenon—in fact one of the most complicated in many decades. After a careful evaluation of all the elements of this process, the forces animating it, and the conditions under which the unification was carried on, we can but conclude that it was a natural process wherein two separate but similar elements were melted into one unit and that is Russian Imperialistic Socialism.⁹

This amalgamation of Marxist doctrine and Russian Imperialism created a new ferment in the ideology of the ruling doctrine. Russian Imperialism, although it tolerated its partner, could not be indifferent to those theories, ideas and concepts in the fields of linguistics, history, the arts, letters and doctrine which had formerly been directed against itself. While it used the Marxist doctrine to serve its own purposes of expansion, Russian Imperialism quietly commenced to remove the objectionable concepts and theories. Yet the Central Committee of the CP of the USSR, to do this, advanced other and often artificial theories and so it was unable to avert the tensions that are usually connected with any major spiritual adjustments.

The forceful adjustment to the requirements of this Marxist-Russian Imperialist "alliance" created a very peculiar situation, especially in the arts and letters. It was certainly not easy for a poet, artist or cinema director under the former Marxist control but it was a superhuman task to create something that would satisfy both partners. Since "errors" and "deviations" became the rule rather than the exception, even the best trained followers of the Party directives often found themselves among the "sinners."

The resulting situation was especially hard for the writers and artists of the non-Russian nationalities of the USSR, the Ukrainian, Jewish,

⁹ The amalgamation of Marxism and Russian Imperialism can be proved by many statements of prominent Soviet leaders as well as by the facts and the trends of development in the Soviet Union. A particularly clear proof is the Russification by force on the territories of the non-Russian peoples of the USSR since the beginning of the Five Year Plan period.

Byelorussian, Georgian and others.¹⁰ They had to adjust themselves to a political line which was not rarely self-contradictory and which was opposed to their most intimate individual and national aspirations.

THE IMPACT OF THE SPECIFIC CONDITIONS AFTER WORLD WAR II

All of these complications of opposing ideas and activities in science, the arts, literature and ideological work reached a peak during the years subsequent to World War II. This crisis was a result of the specific conditions and circumstances in the USSR during and after the World War.¹¹

During the war and postwar years there was a rebirth and a strengthening of the independence movements of the different nations in the USSR. These were hostile to both the Moscow Imperialistic traditions and the Soviet regime. This was the case in Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Caucasus, the Baltic countries and Soviet Asia.

The spiritual and political aspirations of the different nations of the USSR were encouraged by many factors. First, it is an undeniable fact that World War II created an atmosphere favorable for strong nationalistic tendencies everywhere in the world including this country. The Soviet Union, a country with many nations with different cultural, economic and political backgrounds—many of which had enjoyed political independence for several centuries and reestablished free states during the revolutionary period of 1917-20, was the most favorable ground for the revival of these tendencies. Second, during the war years many outstanding refugees from Eastern Europe had succeeded in returning to their native countries when they were under German occupation. They helped their countrymen to form strong underground organizations, equipped not only with modern technical weapons but also with the

¹⁰ The difficulties encountered by Ukrainian literature during the years 1945-51 are obvious. Crisis after crisis developed. Many of the Ukrainian authors were at this period accused of such sins as "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism," "the failure to pay enough attention to the most advanced culture in the world—the culture of the Russian people" or "omitting the Marxist and Soviet problems from their literary work."

The Soviet opinion of the difficulties met by Ukrainian literature, the major issues and contradictions in the years 1944-47 were outlined in a condensed form by the well-known Ukrainian writer, O. Kornychuk, in his article "The Literature of Soviet Ukraine before a New Jubilee" published in *Soviet Ukraine* for August 2, 1947.

¹¹ The literature in English on the postwar conditions in the Soviet Union is very rich. The readers should note especially the article in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 263, May, 1949.

anti-Communist and anti-imperialistic ideas spread by the democratic powers even before the War. These underground movements which at first fought the Nazis, turned against the Soviets after the retreat of the German armies from Eastern Europe.

The nationalistic ideas and forces which were against any form of collectivism, Sovietism and atheistic materialism, attracted a large part of the peasants in the USSR, especially in those sections as Ukraine, the Caucasus and the Baltic countries which had long had a tradition of individual agriculture. The collective farmers of the Soviet Union, who hated the Soviet regime, linked up with the organized underground movements which they aided in many ways and prepared new difficulties for Moscow after the end of the war.

There were other factors active in these years; the influence of Western ideas and concepts of a way of life penetrated under many forms into the Soviet Union. The temporary alliance between East and West raised to a certain extent the former iron curtain and Soviet scientists were allowed to use and quote more liberally from the journals and books of foreign countries. Frequently these sources stimulated them to develop "errors" and "deviations" from the theories and concepts mandatory in the Soviet Union. The huge mass of laborers taken by force to Germany and Austria-Hungary during the war discovered the falsity of Soviet propaganda about the misery and starvation of the peoples under the capitalistic system.

Under these conditions the weaknesses of the official doctrine and its detrimental effect upon the arts, letters, science and its many contradictions became evident. This revelation further complicated and magnified the already existing ideological and spiritual crisis.

COMBATting THE CRISIS

The Central Committee of the CP of the USSR analyzed the dangerous situation and began a counter-attack. The first step was to divert the attention of the Western Powers, the foreign countries and its own population from the internal difficulties. So the USSR renewed an aggressive foreign policy and the Cold War against the capitalistic countries. At the same time it took steps to suppress and destroy the revolutionary independence movements within the USSR. It sent large units of the Soviet police and army to combat the underground organizations and insurgent groups which were concentrated in the western districts. The widely known treaty between the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia was concluded to annihilate the revolutionary forces in the three countries.

The "machine" of oppression was tightened up in all spheres of social, economic and cultural activities. A new code of penalties and punishments for the resisting collective farmers was drawn up. All available political and professional organizations were directed to suppress in literature, science and other cultural fields any trends that were inconsistent with the official doctrine or the post-war policies of Moscow, both internal and external. The censorship and the critics under Party control received orders to combat all "deviations" and "mistakes" in the newspapers, magazines and books.

THE DISCUSSIONS ON THE SCIENCE IN THE USSR

The second step of the Central Committee was the arranging of discussions and debates. These were held between 1947 and 1952 in philosophy, biology¹², physiology, linguistics and economics and were far more interesting and original than administrative regulations.

The session of biologists held in the summer of 1948 furnishes a good example of the attempts to eliminate ideas contrary to Marxist doctrine. At this meeting the theories of Mendel, Morgan and Weissmann were attacked because they undermined some of the views of Lamarque which were needed by Marxist materialism. The principles objected to were indicted as "unscientific," "reactionary" or "bourgeois." For the same reason in the field of physiology, the so-called "Clinicists" or the opponents of some concepts of Prof. Pavlov, were rejected. In economics the "subjectivistic" opinions of N. Vosnesensky, E. Varga¹³ and others were found to be in disagreement with the materialistic theory of determinism.

The main stress in concealing the weak, distorted or false theories in the mandatory attitude toward the sciences was laid on the discussions in the fields of linguistics and economics.

¹² The controversy on Soviet biology (which is typical for the discussion in other sciences) has been presented in three books in the United States: *Death of a Science in Russia* by J. S. Huxley; *Heredity East and West* and *The Situation in Biological Science*, a Complete Stenographic Report published by International Publishers, New York.

¹³ For the Prof. Varga controversy, see the article of F. C. Baghorn "The Varga Discussion and its Significance," in the *American Slavic and East European Review*, Vol. VII, No. 3, October, 1948.

The "sins" of N. Vosnesensky, at that time the head of the State Planning Commission, are discussed in the article of A. Sobolev, "We shall conquer to the end the subjectivistic errors in economic science," *Pravda*, Jan. 12, 1953.

STALIN'S REVISIONISM

The discussion on linguistics gave some reason to suppose that the Central Committee of the CP of the USSR had decided to revise its position on the basic principles of materialism and to improve or change false theories. This supposition was based on such facts as the condemnation of the linguistic theories of Marr which were constructed strictly on the principles of Marxist dialectics. Stalin stated during this linguistic discussion that the law "of an explosion" (the so-called quantitative dialectic) not only does not refer to the evolution of a language but also to other phenomena of human history, and he stressed in the same discussion the theory that the cultural and political forces (called the "superstructure" by the Marxists) play a very important role in the history and transitional periods of a society.¹⁴

A different tendency appeared in the controversy on economics. In this field an effort was made to prove that almost all of the laws and theories of Marxism were correct and that the development of the Soviet Union was based upon them and supported by them.¹⁵

This sudden reversion to the strictly Marxist viewpoint in economics offers somewhat of a puzzle to the student of the USSR. The great contrast between the position taken in linguistics and that in economics may have been influenced by the fact that the main attention of the Central Committee was this time concentrated on the very difficult task of removing the evident disparity between the Marxist program and Soviet economic practices. The difference may also be explained by the fact that Stalin's linguistic theory was intended to be an excuse for the Russification policy inside the Soviet Union and in the territories of the oppressed nations.

CONCLUSION

The primary cause of the postwar ideological difficulties in the Soviet Union can be traced into the past to the founders of Marxism, Marx and Engels, who constructed their ideology in such a way and on such a basis that from its inception it was engaged in actual or potential conflict with natural law, science and life in the broadest sense of the term.

Lenin's innovations which quickly increased the chances for the Marx-

¹⁴ J. Stalin: *Marxism and Linguistics*. International Publishers, New York, 1951, p.10.

¹⁵ This is the purpose of the articles of J. Stalin on the economic controversy — later collected under the title *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*.

ists to seize power in any state, did not change the philosophical basis of the doctrine and its political program which still retained the former defects.

These defects forced both Lenin and later Stalin, who tried to build a society on the Marxist pattern, to disregard many of the principles of that pattern. The reintroduction of some capitalistic principles into the economy of the Soviet Union, and the reestablishment of many Imperial Russian concepts in the cultural and social institutions and organizations created difficulties in reconciling Soviet reality and Marxist doctrine. As a result of this same process, some theories of Soviet science and the working of the Party became obsolete or contradicted the existing reality.

The second group of reasons for the postwar ideological difficulties arose from the specific conditions and circumstances which existed in the Soviet Union during and after World War II. The rebirth of the strong revolutionary independence movements of the different nations of the USSR, the influence of Western ideas and the Western way of life upon the citizens of the Soviet Union at home and abroad, the resistance of the peasants to returning to the collective farms and the devastation of large areas of the country during the war complicated the already existing difficulties.

We must give credit to the Central Committee of the CP of the USSR for its ability to realize the extremely dangerous situation and to regain control of it. The ways and means that they adopted certainly reduced the tensions and brought them under Party control.

It remains to be seen whether and how far the Central Committee has succeeded in removing the original causes of these contradictions in the intellectual sphere. A strict objective evaluation of the ways and means used by the Kremlin leads to the conclusion that the "surgery" practiced upon many branches of science, arts and letters, did not purge the Marxist doctrine of its deepest defects. These were only once more hidden by the prestige and authority of the coercion exerted upon science and culture. The deep conflict between the Marxist-Bolshevik ideology and the Soviet reality has merely been artificially suppressed and withdrawn from the vision of the casual observer.

AN ANGLO-DUTCH VOICE ON UKRAINE AND THE RUSSIANS

(A document of 1734)

By HANS DE WEERD, AMSTERDAM

The great Flemish geographers of Amsterdam, Holland, Mercator and Ortelius made the Netherlands one of the main centres of knowledge of foreign peoples in Renaissance Europe. When Flanders was left unliberated after the Eighty Year War of Independence against Spain, Amsterdam took the place of Antwerp and it was there that several famous maps, atlases and books were printed to inform the citizens of the free states on countries near and far. At this period there was no talk of a United Europe but international cooperation flourished, especially in the cultural field. The best map and the first detailed description of Ukraine were made by a Frenchman, Beauplan, serving in Ukraine under the Polish Kings. A Dutchman, under the same sovereign in the city of Danzig, engraved the maps and also made two famous portraits of Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

Even after the Golden Age of the Netherlands was over, Amsterdam remained a centre for scientific publishing. Thus in 1734-5 a book seller on the Nieuwendyk in Amsterdam, Isaak Tirion, published a Dutch translation by M. van Gooh of a large English series: *Contemporary History or Present State of All Nations*, written by Th. Salmon. The first part of the seventh volume contained "the Present State of Muscovia or Russia." I happened to find the title in an antiquarian's catalogue and when I learned that it also contained material on Ukraine, I secured the book and went through it. Here is the information that it contained.

"As to the division of the Muscovite Empire methinks that the most proper way to do so is to divide it into Russia proper and its annexed countries," says the English author in the very beginning of his chapters on Russia. During his lifetime the Moscow tsars had introduced the unhappy names of "Great Russia," "Little Russia" and "White Russia." Salmon also uses the second of these names when he says "Little Russia or Malaja Russia, consists of Kiow, Czernikow and the whole Ukraine" (P. 327).

On p. 376, however, he is far more clear, when he says: "The Russian Ukraine, having Zeringof (Chernihiv) to the North, Belgorod and

the Don Cossacks on the East, Little Tartary and Podolia on the South, the Polish Ukraine on the West, from which it is separated by the River Nieper, or Borysthenes. The capital is Kiow or Kiof, situated on the Borysthenes at 51 degrees north latitude, 700 (English) miles southwest of Moscow. The Poles ceded it to the Muscovites in 1686. This country is inhabited by the Cossacks, who are called Ukrainian Cossacks; Ukrain means frontier because it borders the frontier of Little Tartary, with which there is seldom peace." This description clearly shows that the English author realized that Ukraine was an organic whole, divided between two foreign states. He was well aware of Ukraine's political position in his own time: "But as the Tartar Khan is tolerated by the Turks, so a compromise with Ukraine is sought by the Poles and Russians" (p. 376).

This statement is the more interesting because at the time of Salmon and his Dutch translator (who also "considerably extended" the book as it is announced), the hopes for Ukrainian freedom had been buried after the tragic defeat of Mazepa.

Though this same volume deals also with Scandinavia, Salmon omits all references to Charles XII and Mazepa in either the Scandinavian or Muscovite sections. His picture of the Pereyaslav Treaty however deserves close attention. It is contained in the following:

"The Cossacks, as mentioned before, inhabit Ukraine situated between the Rivers Don and Nieper, over the falls in the latter river, because of which they are called Zaporowsky Cossacks; for Za means over and Porogi-rapids. Formerly they were under the Poles, but as they thought they were not treated properly, they went under the protection of the Turks and afterward that of the Muscovites. For the Hetman, or General Chief, formerly had obtained the following favorable conditions; i.e. that they were not bound to pay tribute or taxes; that they were to be ruled by their own authorities according to their own laws; that no Russians or foreigners should be given to them as authorities against their will, and especially that they would have freedom to brew and make their own drinks without paying any taxes on Beer, Brandy, or Apple Wine. On these conditions their General Chief bound himself to mobilize sixty thousand horse whenever the Tsar wanted him to do so. But I am of the opinion that the Russians treated this nation harshly by quartering their army on its soil, etc. which finally brought it about that they after the death of Tsar Peter I, were ready to consign their country to another feudal power. But the Tsarina found ways and means to pacify them, promising to them the restoration of their laws and privileges" (p. 486).

Salmon deals with some of the results of this "pacification" on pages 481-2. He then takes up the still vital question of forced labor in the Muscovite Empire. He explains that when Petersburg was built, workmen, etc. were not drawn from that area only but "from all parts of the Empire." It is not difficult to guess from what parts, even though he uses the collective "Russians" for all the Tsar's subjects in the following account of Muscovite slave labor practices in his own time: (p. 482) "It is hard to realize the great numbers of Russian peasants and workers who lost their lives in these works. During the strengthening of the bastions of Tagan-Rock at the Black Sea alone, it is said, more than one hundred thousand peasants died of hunger and illness, the latter springing from lying in the moors and swamps in the vicinity. And during the work at Petersburg and the Crown Castle more than twice this number perished. I have said a good hundred thousand perished there and though this seems incredible, I have been assured since then that not less than one million of these poor people lost their lives at the work of Petersburg and the Crown Castle."

The next paragraph opens with the statement that "The Government does not need to spend much money for the maintaining of armies of workmen." The same paragraph speaks of the severe suffering of the peasants from the system of compulsory delivery of grain, etc. which nearly ruined them and how "Commissars" (that is the word used) were appointed to secure what we call the "full execution" to-day. The commissars, however, enriched themselves "and the peasants were treated so unbearably that many were forced to run away and to leave behind their farms." As a result of this the desired goal was not reached and a sort of "purge" was necessary in 1715 (pp. 482-3).

Another "purge" is to be found in the pages dealing with religion in the Muscovite Empire: "one of the Bishops, speaking somewhat frankly about the power the Tsar arrogated to himself, was deprived of his office... whereupon the Tsar appointed a Bishop after his own heart and he made no objections to deconsecrating the Bishop who had misbehaved, by taking the mitre from the latter's head." Salmon also gives the full text in translation of the "New and Very Extraordinary Regulations" with which Peter I reorganized the Church in a caeseropapist and imperialistic way. The first of the series to introduce the new order in the Church was aimed at Ukraine; newly arranged Akathists and the other Church services and forms of prayer in "Little Russia" were made subject to a severe Muscovite control and "purge" (p. 525).

Pre-Petrine Russia is described as follows: (p. 508): "Until recently the Russians do not seem to have gathered any knowledge of Science and the Free Arts. No other nation ever made stronger efforts

to surpass others than this one to remain in ignorance. They were afraid of all foreigners who visited them, fearing that they wanted to introduce something new into their country. For the same reason they did not want their subjects to travel."

Conditions were scarcely improved, however, after the Petrine reforms and "imports." "It will not annoy the reader (Salmon inserts in brackets on p. 390) that I give a short picture of the Russians here, who through travelling and better education since the reign of Peter I, did not become civilized; for the greater part they are full of lies and treachery, they do not care much for perjuries and deceiving; and when their disloyalty is proved, one cannot get other satisfaction than I have done wrong. They are of a slavish nature, want to be treated harshly and laugh at those who believe they can win them with kindness. In addition to all this they are very haughty, proud and stubborn. They fancy they are the wisest of all nations and excel others in everything; they like scolding and swearing at their fellow men. In company their behavior is clumsy and beastly." After giving more of such details, Salmon concludes by citing another foreigner who had had similar experiences in Muscovy His Danish Majesty's Ambassador Jacobus, who travelled in Russia in 1579 (p. 391).

After saying: "It is true, they say, that they have good qualities, and that they are able to imitate everything they have seen. But they are deceitful as well and unbearably arrogant and lazy; they can scarcely be brought to the learning of arts or sciences without the use of the rod" (pp. 384-5). Salmon quotes another Westerner, this time a Frenchman, who describes the Russians as follows (p. 385). "They are the most conceited, overwhelming people on earth. Not long ago they believed all other nations uncivilized. They thought that they were the only mortals in this world who dared call themselves civilized." This conceit, says the Frenchman, handicapped the educational efforts of the foreign teachers imported by Peter, who himself used to call part of this people beasts in human form and almost despaired of their ability to improve. This opinion of Peter "the Great" of his own people is far more severe than that of the Frenchman, who merely tells us that the Russians "have no idea of honor without self-interest" and that "they are dominated only by selfishness" (p. 385).

It appears from this book that the first plans for a Volga-Don Canal were made by an Englishman, Captain Perry, by order of Tsar Peter I. (p. 374). This Englishman who certainly had no reason to complain of his career under the Tsar says that "the Russians" when making the greatest manifestations of sincerity and friendship, are to be disturbed most for their intention of doing evil." He explains this as follows:

"They generally are so far from having any feeling of shame at doing evil, that they boast of deceiving one another. In their opinion an honest man and a fool are words of the same meaning" (p. 386).

My only comment at the end of these quotations from Mr. Salmon and his contemporaries is the expression of the hope that the stern judgement of Peter the Great on his compatriots will be suppressed by the Kremlin censors. After the nearly complete merging of Russian chauvinism and Bolshevism, who in Russia could endure the unmasking of Peter I as a villainous and perfidious tool in the hands of the enemies of Eternal Russia? After World War II a Dutch "plenny" now safely in Western Germany, got into the most serious trouble with his Soviet interrogators when he told them their great Tsar after all had learned to be a carpenter in little Holland... It was in that same country that a Ukrainian visitor wrote a note on slave labor at the building of Petrograd in the small "Tsar Peter's House" guestbook in Saandam.

Source:

Hedendaagsche Historie of Tegenwoortige Staat van Alle Volkeren; VII. Deels. Eerste Stukje. Behelzende den Tegenwoordigen Staat van Muskovien of Rusland. Opgehelderd met een Naauwkeurigen Kaart van Rusland, en Platte Grond van Petersburg. Eerst in't Engelsch beschreven door Th. Salmon. Nu vertaald en merkelyk vermeerderd door M. van Gooh, M.D. Te Amsterdam, By Isaak Tirion, Boeverkooper op den Nieuwendyk, by den Dam, in Hugo Grotius, 1734. Met Privilegio.

THE UNION FOR THE LIBERATION OF UKRAINE: ORGANIZATION AND IDEOLOGY

*(In Commemoration of the 25th Anniversary of
the Mass Political Trial of Ukrainian Intellectuals).*

VASYL PLYUSHCH

The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU) with its affiliated society, the Union of Ukrainian Youth (SUM), was the one, well documented, widespread, political, anti-Communist, all-national movement of the Ukrainian people in Soviet Ukraine. Under the conditions of the totalitarian, terroristic Communist Soviet system, there was no possibility for any legal activity offered those elements which were opposed to the government. The wideflung Soviet police machinery with its tens of thousands of secret collaborators (the so-called seksots) excluded the possibility of any compactly formed underground organization. The movement of the SVU-SUM was rather ideological than based upon a rigid organization.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SVU, ITS SYSTEM OF ORGANIZATION AND ITS METHOD

The foundation of the movement was connected with the so-called Brotherhood of Ukrainian Statesmen (BUD). So at the trial S. Yefremov the Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences and leader of the SVU, testified that in 1919, in view of the insecure position of the Ukrainian state, the BUD was founded in Kiev. This had adherents in all the larger cities of Ukraine and was in contact with various revolting bands which were active during the first years of the Soviet government in Ukraine. Along with the New Economic Policy and certain concessions of the Soviet government in the national question, the activity of the BUD diminished. As Yefremov testified, the question then came up as to the formation of a widespread ideological movement in a different form: "If the armed struggle between the government of Ukraine and the Soviet authorities had really stopped, if the BUD was actually dissolving, I and persons close to me, raised the question as to whether we should entirely lay down our arms in the struggle for the independence of Ukraine or could continue it."

During 1924-25 the preliminary work for creating a new movement for liberation was carried on. Serhiy Yefremov and a number of other persons who maintained uncompromisingly the idea of combatting Communism and rejected any compromise with the Soviet government, exchanged ideas as to the basic principles and forms of the future opposition. This was testified by the defendants Yefremov, Holoskevych, Hermayze and others and is confirmed by the memoirs of some Ukrainian civic and political workers in the emigration as Prof. Vashchenko, Dolenko and other former members of the SVU.

In June, 1926, an organizational meeting was held in Kiev by S. Yefremov, V. Chekhivsky, V. Durdukivsky, Y. Hermayze, A. Nikovsky, O. Hrebenetsky, and L. Starytska-Chernyakhivska. This meeting assigned different functions to separate persons as: S. Yefremov, the head; V. Chekhivsky, the vice-head; V. Durdukivsky, treasurer.

Y. Hermayze and later O. Chernyakhivsky, H. Ivanytsya, H. Kholodny, V. Udovenko and A. Bolzovych were assigned to work among the students and to organize circles of the SVU in the higher educational institutions (VUZ). S. Yefremov with the help of workers in the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (VUAN) was to form a net of the SVU in the various institutes of the VUAN and other scientific institutions. V. Durdukivsky and later M. Pavlushko, B. Matushevsky, D. Kokhta and Yu. Vynohradov were to work among the youth in the schools. A. Nikovsky and L. Starytska-Chernyakhivska and later M. Ivchenko and K. Shylo were to operate among the writers and artists and set up a net in the Soviet publishing houses. V. Chekhivsky was to maintain contact with the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAPT).

In the first period, the organization of the SVU worked through conspiratorial cells of five in the various institutions, organizations and higher schools. These cells were later formed in cities, towns and villages throughout Ukraine. The members of the fives, it was planned, were to have no connection with one another and to know only the leader of the cell. The leader was to know only that member of the SVU of another cell of five who connected him with the organization and maintained contact only with him.

Unfortunately, the attempt to maintain this conspiratorial system in practice was not successful. Some time later some of the cells of five turned into unique organizing centres which had knowledge not only of the members of their own cell but of a number of other cells. In 1927 the SVU gradually accepted a team (group) system of work, and began to form provincial and district branches for the control of the movement.

About this change in the form of organization, M. Pavlushkov testified:

Procurator: "Was the SUM a component part of the SVU?"

Pavlushhkov: "SUM had a structure similar to the SVU and the BUD before it, i.e. a cell of five. In the autumn of 1927 there was a general reform and these organizations adopted a group (team) system and so did the SUM."

The transition to this new team form of organization was undoubtedly a mistake of the leaders of the SVU-SUM. Under the conditions of Soviet rule the best method of action for an underground movement was that planned in the beginning, without any organizational structure. In 1927 because of this change in organization, an opposition arose in the ranks of the SVU-SUM and a certain part of the members severed their connection with the leadership of the movement, for they were unwilling to give up the conspiratorial technique. This was not an ideological but an organizational split. Naturally neither the leadership of the SVU-SUM nor the police organs of the Soviet government (the GPU, later NKVD-MVD) could know how that part developed which had kept the old system of isolated cells of five. We too can say little of their work. There are some data to show that this section continued to function even after the blows of 1930, as we shall see later.

Much more successful was the individual work of the members of the SVU-SUM in the various legal organizations and institutions. This was because the member working in some institution, cooperative, publishing house, professional organization or literary, dramatic or even sports group or school could very cautiously direct the work of the group toward the ideological position of the SVU. In these cases almost no form of organization was employed.

By these and other methods the propaganda for the ideas of the SVU, (by individuals, cells or groups) spread through hundreds of intermediate schools and dozens of the higher educational institutions in Ukraine.

So, only on the basis of the testimony at the trial and the material gathered by this author, circles of the SVU-SUM were organized in the Medical, Agricultural, Polytechnique, Veterinary, and Cooperative Institutes in Kiev, Kharkiv, Odesa, Dnipropetrovsk, Nizhin, and Vinnytsya, in the Ukrainian Agricultural School in Poltava and the Kuban, the Berezhniov Agricultural School, the Ukrainian Industrial Technical School in Kherson and in dozens of others.

In other intermediate schools and higher educational institutions there were circles for the study of the history of Ukraine, literary, dramatic and other groups with a clearly nationalistic purpose, headed by members of the SVU-SUM. The greater part of the members of these circles did not know of the existence of the SVU or that the ideas

which circulated among them and for which they were ready to fight were the ideas of the SVU.

This ideological work was very successful in scientific, pedagogical, literary and artistic circles.

In fact almost without exception, the scientific institutions of Ukraine and especially the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (VUAN) were deluged with influences from members of the SVU and the adherents to its ideas. The fruitful and deeply nationalistic work of these institutions, commissions and sections of the VUAN was the result of the activity of the SVU and its adherents. Thus for example, according to the *Systematic Catalogue* of the publications of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences for the period 1918-29, there were published 888 scientific works by over 1,000 scholars. There appeared under the editorship of S. Yefremov 6 volumes of a Russian-Ukrainian dictionary, and 20 volumes of a terminological dictionary. The chair of M. Hrushevsky put out 68 volumes of scientific works. This work was so obvious that the assistant procurator of the Supreme Court of the UkSSR Akhmatov declared at the trial that the SVU had turned the Academy of Sciences into a centre of nationalistic activity.

To train young scholars in a national spirit there was organized a semi-legal society called the "Young Academy" and the older scholars were united in the "Ukrainian Hromada," which is mentioned in the memoirs of a member, Professor Petro Kurinny. During these years the VUAN and other scientific institutions in Ukraine put out thousands of very valuable works in all branches of Ukrainian science.

The SVU laid great stress on publishing. Its workers knew very well that the printed word could spread most easily the appropriate national education and ideological work. It paid special attention to influencing the textbooks for the intermediate and higher schools. In spite of the Soviet censorship they were able to publish dozens of text books permeated with the national spirit which gave correct knowledge of the past of Ukraine and emphasized the trend of the Ukrainian efforts for liberation from Moscow. These textbooks had a similar effect upon tens of thousands of pupils. The authorities of the Soviet Union only much later understood the ideological purport of these publications and almost all of them, after the breaking up of the SVU, were withdrawn from circulation and destroyed.

Special emphasis was given to the propaganda for the ideological principles of the SVU in belles-lettres. The SVU was fortunate in bringing under its influence the largest publishing organizations of Ukraine as Knyhospilka, Slovo, Rukh, and Syayvo and it had considerable influence in the State Publishing House of Ukraine (DVU).

The SVU paid great attention to the circulation of the best examples of European and world literature and also to the classics of Ukrainian literature for the Ukrainian population.

Through its pedagogical group the SVU carried on a resolute struggle for the Ukrainization of the elementary schools. Here too it had certain successes. Thus in 1929 in 28.9% of the institutes, 36% of the technical schools, 6% of the robotfaks (workers' faculties) and 59.1% of the professional schools, the language of instruction was Ukrainian. If we compare these figures with those for 1939, when Ukrainian was used in lecturing in only 4 of the 30 higher schools in Kharkiv, we can see what had been achieved.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church (UAPTs) was started in 1921 as a result of the religious revival of the Ukrainian people. At the first All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council, the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Church was proclaimed and the archpriest Vasyli Lypkivsky was chosen and consecrated as Metropolitan of Kiev and all Ukraine. After the Council, the UAPTs began to grow. After two years it had in Ukraine 26 bishops, 2,500 priests and deacons and 2,000 parishes. Many groups of the Ukrainian intelligentsia took an active part in this ecclesiastical movement. There were many highly educated persons in the ranks of its priesthood, and teachers, students and scientific workers played an active part in the brotherhoods and sisterhoods in the parishes, in the church choirs and the various charitable organizations.

In the first period of its development the SVU formed a strong church group headed by the well-known political, civic and ecclesiastical worker, Volodymyr Chekhivsky. This group as the general members of the SVU and the SUM played a prominent role in the activity of the UAPTs and strengthened the power of this ecclesiastical movement. The members of the VUAN took part in the special commission organized in Kiev to translate the religious books into Ukrainian.

In spreading its ideas and in making nationally conscious and enlightened the peasant masses, the SVU played a great role in the villages. It paid especial attention to securing the cooperation of the population. We must emphasize that during the years of the New Economic Policy the cooperative movement was very widespread and enjoyed a certain freedom. In 1928 the Vukospilka had 40 district alliances with 9636 cooperatives and 2,333,000 members. The Silsky Hospodar had 22,116 cooperatives and 2,947,000 members and the Ukrainbank had 17 alliances and 5,800 cooperatives. There were also the Industrial Cooperative, the Bee Cooperative, the Beet Union, the publishing cooperative Knyhospilka etc. The influence of the Communists in these cooperatives was at the moment very insignificant, even in the central bodies, and especially in

the lower units the nationally conscious elements, members of the SVU and its adherents had great influence.

Another way in which the SVU spread its ideas in the villages was through the schools. These in the villages were not only an active force for Ukrainization but also for developing national consciousness. We may add that the school net spread rapidly in these years. In 1928 there were in Ukraine 17,488 four year schools and 2545 seven year schools. In the villages all the schools were Ukrainized and had over 50,000 teachers. It was much harder for the Soviet government to control the kind of education given here than it was in the cities. The members of the SVU-SUM and the adherents to its ideology took advantage of this and introduced systematic work to produce national consciousness. At the same time there was a campaign to induce the young people to go to the higher schools and the members of the SVU-SUM did everything possible to further this.

It was much harder to influence the workers, for they were more Russified and also at that time were quite kindly disposed toward the Soviet regime, which had just proclaimed "the dominant role" of the workers in the building of the Soviet State and had given the workers certain privileges.

It was very difficult to organize the work of the SVU in the army. The morale of the army was strictly controlled by the Communist Party and the organs of the Soviet government. Special attention was given to Communist propaganda in it. The Soviet government did everything possible to keep a strong alien element in the army on Ukrainian territory. Thus, according to the data of the Central Statistical Administration in 1925 there were only 42.5% of Ukrainians in the Ukrainian territorial units, i. e. they were a minority in the local army (this after the "Ukrainization" of the army in 1923).

In 1926 a secret order was issued that nationally conscious Ukrainians could not receive posts higher than a regimental commander (Prof. Robert Paklen, *Bila Knyha*, published by "Ukrainsky Polityk"). Despite the difficulties and the danger of the work in the army, the SVU did succeed in establishing some centres in military units. Thus members of the SVU-SUM were in the School for Red Officers in Kharkiv, in the garrisons of Kiev, Vinnytsya, Poltava, Chernihiv and even in the School of the Officers of the VTsIK in the Kremlin.

THE IDEOLOGY AND PROGRAM OF THE MOVEMENT

What were the basic ideas of the fighters of the Ukrainian resistance in the years 1924-30?

The movement of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine was first of all anti-Communist and national. The members of the SVU were sharply opposed to Communism as a philosophical and social and economic system. Academician S. Yefremov testified without any ambiguity at the trial that "The Ukrainian intelligentsia could not fail to be in conflict with those who maintained the position of October and created a 'proletarian state'." Mykola Kovalevsky, who studied the movement of the SVU, definitely writes: "Ideologically the SVU took the position for national liberation and rejected the principles of Communist internationalism."

It was clear to the workers of the SVU that the Moscow Communist government was working for a world revolution, and the complete elimination of the separate nations and first of all the economic, national and political enslavement of Ukraine.

Hence came the first postulate of the movement, which can be summarized in this way: The basis of the life of the Ukrainian nation as of every other nation is the primacy of its national way of life over all other problems, political, economic and social. The national way of life and consequently the full development of the nation are possible only with the formation of its own national sovereign state. Political, economic and social reforms are possible and effective only with the creation of its own national organism.

A second principle of the SVU was the impossibility of compromise with an alien government imposed from without. Any compromises with a foreign government of occupation, whatever concessions it might make in the national question or social benefits it promises the people, are inadmissible and destructive to the nation.

Thus, for example, V. Durdukivsky at his examination said: "The definite ideal of foreign policy, the ideal which really united us, was the independence of Ukraine, i.e. a Ukraine independent of all other nations."

These ideological principles were made clear at the trial of the SVU-SUM. In answer to the presiding judge Antin Prykhodko, "What was the purpose of the SUM?", Pavlushkov answered: "As the older citizens, the creation of an independent Ukrainian state," and to a question of the citizen's prosecutor Panas Lyubchenko, "Did you form your organization for a struggle for an independent Ukraine?" he answered, "We considered the present Ukraine as a colony of Russia." The leading figures of the SVU-SUM as all the members considered the Soviet government as one of occupation. To the question of P. Lyubchenko "Whom did you consider the occupying forces?" Pavlushkov without wavering answered: "The Soviet government" and he added that this government has been formed by "Soviet Russia."

H. Holoskevych testified: "The Ukrainian intelligentsia cannot and has no right to refuse the struggle for its national political ideals—Ukrainian statehood."

In organizing and carrying on the trial of the SVU-SUM, the representatives of the Soviet government in Ukraine tried in every way to prove that the SVU-SUM was trying to tear Ukraine from the USSR to place it under the protection of another country. All these efforts of the court, the procurators and the government as a whole were futile. Despite the tortures to which the accused were subjected, all the accused firmly defended the principles of the movement and rejected the allusions of the court to desires for intervention or the linking of the movement with any other state. Thus, for example, to the question of the prosecutor, "Is it true that the SVU is in the pay of the bourgeoisie?" Serhiy Yefremov answered: "No, the SVU was fighting for a democratic republic and not for the bourgeois and I personally believe in the strength of the Ukrainian masses and not in intervention." To the provocative question of the procurator: "Whether Yefremov admitted that Petlyura and his adherents fought not for an independent Ukraine but for its subordination to Poland," Yefremov answered: "Petlyura fought for a free Independent and Separate Ukraine."

(Here and elsewhere we are quoting the stenographic report).

The accused Starytska-Chernyakhivska in answer to a question of the procurator, "For what did you fight?" answered: "The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine fought not for only an independent but a united Ukraine." This answer of Starytska-Chernyakhivska best showed the absurdity of the efforts of the prosecutor to link the SVU with Poland, for all knew that Poland opposed a united Ukraine. Others of the accused likewise categorically denied the orientation of the SVU toward any foreign intervention.

The original basic conception of the SVU-SUM was the creation of a state based upon respect for the individual, for the will of the people, true democracy and liberalism.

So, for example, Serhiy Yefremov in his admissions testified that the SVU was against the Soviet system, because it did not give the freedoms of citizens to the population. H. Kholodny testified that all the members of the SVU were enemies of the Communist government, the totalitarian system and were people with their faces turned toward the West.

The SVU clearly showed its anti-Russian attitude. A. Zalisky at the trial declared that in his opinion: "We should pile up high mountains on the northern borders of Ukraine and by them protect Ukraine from the political and cultural influences of Moscow." He was naturally thinking of spiritual and not physical "mountains." To the question of the prosecutor Lyubchenko, "Against what external forces would you protect

Ukraine?" Pavlushkov answered quite clearly "Against those from the north." Later he added: "We consider Ukraine as an enslaved and stifled colony of Russian imperialism." Later these principles of the SVU toward the Moscow political and spiritual influences on Ukraine even penetrated the Communist Party of Ukraine and found its echo in the well-known slogan of the Ukrainian Communist writers, headed by M. Khvylovy, "Away from Moscow."

From the majority of the statements of the leaders of the SVU, the literature circulated under the name of the SVU-SUM and the depositions at the trial, it is clear that the form of government in the future Ukrainian state and its social and economic structure were to be determined by the people themselves in a normal democratic manner.

The majority of the leaders of the SVU favored a republican form of government (the testimony of Nikovsky, Yefremov, Holoskevych, Ivchenko, A. Zalisky, etc). But there were also partisans of the hetmanate and for the first period of the construction of the state, even of a dictatorship. Thus, M. Pavlushkov, testified: "We thought of the carrying out of our dream—a Ukrainian National Republic" and later: "I personally believe a regime of a strong dictatorship in the form of an elected hetman to be necessary; other comrades have been more to the left and for a dictatorship in the UNR."

This tolerance and even a certain vagueness as to the state form in the SVU-SUM are very typical. The movement unlike the parties of the period of the efforts at liberation 1917-20 considered secondary the question as to the form of the future Ukraine. Its members were fighting not for a hetman, socialist or liberal democratic Ukraine but for a free national united Ukrainian state in whatever form the citizens wished.

The SVU had in broad outline a program for social and economic measures. Their basic idea for a solution of the land question was the recognition of private ownership of land. The land was to belong to those who worked it. There were to be no large estates; the land during the Soviet period had been distributed to the peasants and they were to keep it. Private ownership was to be restored in industry and trade, but all large enterprises, ways of communication and mines were to be the property of the state. Private agricultural initiative was to be welcomed. Cooperation was to play a large role in agriculture.

As for religion, Yefremov stated that this was a personal matter for each person, but the SVU believed it proper to secure the dominant position to the Ukrainian Church (Testimony of Yefremov, Hermayze, Pavlushkov, etc.).

THE UNION OF UKRAINIAN YOUTH

The Union of Ukrainian Youth (SUM) was a component part of the SVU, but since its methods somewhat differed from those of the SVU, we must dwell a little upon some principles and activity of this organization.

The SUM took shape as an organization before the SVU. It took its rise from the personal initiative of three men: S. Yefremov, the head of BUD, V. Durduktivsky and M. Pavlushkov.

The first members of the SUM were: Mykola Pavlushkov, Borys Matushevsky, Diodor Bobyr, Yurko Vynohradov, Fedir Durduktivsky, Leonid Denysenko, Vasyl Matushevsky and Danylo Kokhta. They were soon joined by many students of the Kiev Institute of Popular Education (INO) and the Kiev Medical, Polytechnique and Cooperative Institutes. From statements published in the press, we know some ten of the leaders of the SUM: Dubrovsky, Solodovsky, Nechytaylo, Slobodyanyk, Dyvnych, Kokot, Kurinny, Zerov, Shemet, and Sakydon. When we remember that each member of the leadership of SUM had his own cell of five, we can visualize the spreading of this organization. We must remember that the organs of investigation uncovered only a part of the members of SUM; the actual number of those organized and connected with the centre ran in the last years of the existence of the SUM into hundreds and its adherents into thousands.

The ideological principles of the SUM were the same as those of the SVU. The first article of the statute stated that SUM was a free semi-society of the youth of Ukrainian nationality which recognized the program of the union and agreed to work in its organization. The statute also stated that SUM was a fighting conspiratorial organization. New members were admitted only on the recommendation of two members, after a preliminary observation of the candidate.

In the first period of its existence it worked through cells of five. The Central (first) five performed the functions of the leadership of the organization. On principle it was assumed that the leadership was to be elected. But temporarily, "while we are at the front, we cannot permit the democracy of an election," testified Pavlushkov at the trial. "And so we decided that the first centre until the change of the general situation would be regarded as the Central Bureau."

Each member contributed one tenth of his income to the SUM. This money was used for printing, travel and other organizational purposes.

The basic task of the SUM was the preparation of cadres for the overthrow of the Soviet government and the organization of a new

Ukrainian national government. Like the SVU, the SUM also carried on work in national enlightenment and education. But as an organization of youth, it could not limit itself to passive opposition to the Soviet government. In the first years of its existence it discussed military training, the making of diversions and even terror against the Soviet government.

As Pavlushkov and Matushevsky testified at the trial, the SUM attempted to distribute handbills and two cases were cited at the trial: one in St. Sofia Cathedral, during a requiem Mass for Symon Petlyura, the other in Kiev INO. Actually there were many more such cases. Thus V. Ost in his work *Repatriation* (Germany, 1945-6) writes: "One summer morning in 1927 in many neighboring villages people found scattered handbills. They were directed to the militia, sirads, and the school. They were written cleanly in chemical pencil. The peasants who found these proclamations collected groups of people and read them aloud. They said: 'Ukrainian people! You are fooled! Your fathers, brothers and sisters fought for land and freedom for the Ukrainian people and this does not exist... Let us take up arms and drive the Bolsheviki from our land'."

Other former members of the SUM in the emigration have said the same things (*Archive of Materials of the Administration of the SVU Abroad*).

Still more active work was done with illegal literature, reprints from the *Literary-Scientific Herald* (LNV) and other emigre publications, a collection of the verses of O. Oles, the brochure of M. Mikhnovsky — *Independent Ukraine*, etc. At the trial Pavlushkov and Matushevsky testified to it.

Procurator Mykhaylyk: "You remember your confession that in 1925 Matushevsky gave you a handbill appealing to the peasants and signed by the SVU?"

Pavlushkov: "It was true, but I did not consider it a mass phenomenon. On the whole we had little literature."

Mykhaylyk: "Which was reprinted and circulated?"

Pavlushkov: "Yes."

To the question of the procurator Mykhaylyk to Matushevsky, what literature was distributed, Matushevsky answered: "Various verses, which went from hand to hand, articles of Dontsov from the *Literary-Scientific Herald*."

The question is less clear as to the attitude of the SVU-SUM toward terror. As Pavlushkov and Matushevsky testified at the trial, the members of the SUM had no doubts as to the need of terror to be applied to prominent agents of the Soviet government of occupation.

Thus, to the question of the procurator at the trial, M. Pavlushkov without hesitation answered: "We welcomed every terroristic act against the Soviet government."

Likewise to a question of Procurator Mykhaylyk: "You have no doubt that you approved the position on terror?", Matushevsky answered: "None."

Yefremov on the contrary, as Pavlushkov testified, was on principle against it, and probably his influence and that of other members of the SVU were the reason that the members of the SUM committed no acts of terrorism before the period of collectivization.

The military training was for the purpose of preparing men for military action in case of an uprising. There were three basic versions of the role of the SUM in this. The first foresaw the SUM acting at the decisive moment with its full membership as a company or battalion with specialized missions. The second was that the members would enter the regular military units as politkoms or unit leaders. The third urged the members to form military units in the Vuzes (Higher Schools), where they were students. The SUM reached into dozens of higher schools, and hundreds of intermediate and pedagogical schools of Ukraine.

MYKOLA KULISH AND THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNISTS

By CLARENCE A. MANNING

In the confused war not only of arms but of ideas (1917-1919) there was a certain group of Ukrainians that were in a way won over to Communism and came to believe many of the promises of Lenin.

Once the victory was won, these Communist or semi-Communist groups, the "Borotbisty" and the "Ukrainian Communist Party," were forced into the general Communist framework. At the same time the Russian Communist leaders did not yet venture to destroy all that had been gained by Ukrainian nationalism and so they established the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as an ostensibly separate state which they controlled through stressing the unity of the Party and later by including Ukraine in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in which the dominant force was the Russian (now the All-Union) Communist Party. This gave them the power at any moment to crush the opposition.

Yet to win the Ukrainian masses, they gave lip service to a process of Ukrainization and for nearly a decade the People's Commissariat for Education was in the hands of men who were loyal to Communism but were still Ukrainian at heart. This situation produced what is often called the Ukrainian Renaissance. Open anti-Communism was suppressed but many of the younger writers were able to speak freely on behalf of Ukrainian ideas and culture and to develop a new and flowering literature. The same was true in history and in science.

The leaders of this movement as Khvylovy were in a difficult position. They sensed rather than felt a constantly growing opposition to their work and they tried to counteract the deadening influences of the Russian bureaucratic leaders of Ukraine. It was obviously a losing struggle. Yet many of them only slowly came to realize the forces against which they were contending and by then it was too late.

One of these men was Mykola Kulish, who had become in the meantime the outstanding Ukrainian dramatist of the twentieth century and the chief dramatic writer for the Ukrainian Berezhil theatre of Les Kurbas.

Kulish, the son of poor Ukrainian parents, (born in 1892) had been an officer in the Russian imperial army and in the fall of 1917 he was

already quite far to the left. His experiences with the regimes of Hetman Skoropadsky and Petlyura and his participation in the warfare against Denikin finally swept him into the Communist Party. He was soon disillusioned with the Russian role in it, and he refused a chance to become a military or political figure and returned to his old fondness for drama. At the same time he clutched every opportunity to strengthen the Ukrainian forces in the Party and this led him into the group of Khvylovy. He was elected the head of the VAPLITE, the group of the more able and serious younger Ukrainian writers who sought Ukrainian values and were not averse to learning from Europe in preference to Moscow. It was this group that was certain to become the victims, when once the Russian policy of fostering Ukrainianism would be changed. This fact colored all of his work.

It is idle to speculate at what point, if ever, Kulish gave up the idealistic side of Communism but he clearly realized that Communist reality in Ukraine had little in common with those ideals for which he had fought in the civil wars. He saw very soon the complete separation that had taken place but under Soviet conditions continued membership in the Party was necessary, if he was to be allowed to publish anything and make a living for himself and his family from writing.

It comes as a shock to realize that all of his early writings have vanished. Of his 14 plays, only 6 were printed, and only 7 produced, one of these the *Sonata Pathetique*, only in Russian in the Russian Soviet Republic and never in Ukraine. Of this number only 5 are known at the present time to exist. The others have vanished or are preserved only in the secret files of the NKVD. This is typical of the Ukrainian literature of the twenties. We have as pitiable remains of this period as we have of the ancient Greek literature. Fortunately the five of Kulish include his three greatest on Ukrainian themes, *The People's Malakhy*, *Myna Mazaylo* and the *Sonata Pathetique*, and they give us a good example of his thoughts and ideas on the application of Communist ideals to Ukraine.

He paid the penalty for it. After the suicide of Khvylovy on May 13, 1933 and of the Commissar Mykola Skrypnyk a few months later, it came his turn. A sick man, he was excluded from the Party on June 14, 1934 for the nationalistic character of his works and his failure to devote more time to party work. He knew what that meant. On December 7 of the same year, he was arrested on the street by the NKVD. He was taken to Kiev from Kharkiv, forced to confess his crime and his anti-Communist activity and then sentenced to ten years of imprisonment in Solovki in the far north. Here he was kept isolated. His wife heard from him spasmodically until June 15, 1938. Then she received a mess-

age with a returned package: "Returned, for there is no such person." Was that the end or not? The rest is silence.

The position of Kulish in Ukrainian and world literature rests upon the memories of the people who knew him, and on the plays which were saved during World War II and were taken to Germany and later to the United States where they have been published and made really available for the first time.

Each of these plays deals in a special way with the problem of the impact of Russian Communism on Ukrainian life. They are a commentary on all that we read to-day of life under the Soviets, whether in the USSR or in the satellite states of Europe and Asia. Kulish had a keen mind with a sarcastic and ironical twist which endeared his work to the theatre-going public of Ukraine and which is lost abroad only because the Western world cannot grasp the reality of which he is speaking. There is a pathos in his works and a pathos the deeper, because he was unable to express himself fully and clearly as to the evils that he saw around him. Every Ukrainian, every victim of Communism will appreciate in his own way what Kulish was trying to say despite the censorship and they will understand his hatred for the sordid and petty regimentation, the rigid adherence to meaningless details, the efforts not only to control the present and the future but to rewrite the past for the purposes of the regime. Communist reality does not know truth or history as the world has long known it, and this hampers and makes impossible any real peaceful coexistence which requires a common language so that the necessary frictions between men and nations can be peacefully solved by impartial judges and arbitrators.

It may pay then to look more closely at these three plays and see the light that they throw not only on Ukrainian literature and culture under the Soviets, not only on the Ukrainian hopes for the future but on the meaning of Communism for the world.

The first of the three, *The People's Malakhy*, passed the censorship and was produced by the Berezil in March, 1927. It was soon suppressed and Kulish toned it down and it appeared again with permission in the autumn of 1928. Again there came attacks upon it and a third time the artist revised it, and in 1929 it appeared not only in Kharkiv but also in Kiev and Odessa. That was the end. It still hit too much the vested interests of the bureaucrats and the play was finally banned without recall.

What is the subject? *Malakhy*, a harmless minor functionary in the post office, was so shocked by the successes of the revolution that he hid for two years in his own attic. Then he came to appreciate its greatness and its ideals. His family and his friends in a little village are still

living as well as they can in the old way, the traditional life, still trying to respect their religion. Malakhy goes beyond them. He has read of what Communism is going to do for the world and he has come to believe in it. So after painful thinking he has written an outline for the reform of humanity and sent it to the high Commissar in Kharkiv, that Olympus of the revolution and of the new Ukraine. He has received bureaucratic replies and postponements and he finally decides that he must go in person to see these great idealists and leaders and secure those decisions on which the future of humanity depends.

He goes despite the wishes of his family and he arrives finally before the seats of the mighty. Kharkiv is the same old place. The bureaucrats make fun of him and regard him as a crazy man. He sees the same abuse of the poor and the down-trodden that he has seen at home. There are the same sordid happenings that he knew before and all that he has gathered from the revolution is his own gift of incoherent thought. He is sent to a mental hospital and he escapes from there over the walls to a walled factory. The workers are equally oppressed. Then he loses what little sense he has and he proclaims himself the People's Narkom (literally the People's Commissar) for the reform of humanity. The play ends with the suicide of his faithful daughter who has tried to save him from himself and the final recognition of everyone that Malakhy is hopelessly insane.

It is once again the tragic conflict of the commonplace and the idealist. Kulish seems to be asking: "What good is a revolution, if it is to change only individuals and not the system, if it is not to do good to humanity and inaugurate a better world?" In this play Kulish has not touched essentially the relations of Ukraine and Russia. He is hitting merely that deadening bureaucracy that can exist under any system and has been developed to the fullest extent under the Soviets where the regime under the guise of progress has taken from every man except an insane one the right to think and to control his own destiny. It is small wonder that it was the higher bureaucrats that led the fight against it. They saw at every turn the skill of Kulish in striking at their own weak points—but where is the menace to Communism? Malakhy gives them full credit for their ideals. He parrots all the propaganda that they have sent him and at each moment he twists it just enough to cut them to the heart. *The People's Malakhy* made Kulish a marked man but in 1927 the final die had not been cast and at the moment he escaped punishment, probably thanks to powerful friends in the Commissariat of Education.

Then in 1929 he published *Myna Mazaylo*. Again the play was successful. The Berezil produced it also in Kiev, Odessa, etc., and other

theatres put it on the stage in various cities. In the middle of 1930 the play was banned.

It is an amusing comedy of a satirical character. The Ukrainian Soviet regime had in the preceding years issued decree after decree for the study and use of the Ukrainian language by all the higher officials who had been "lent" to the republic by Moscow. Under the leadership of Skrypnyk, Ukrainian newspapers had almost completely replaced Russian in the Ukrainian cities. The Komsomols and the students were talking Ukrainian and boasting of their contact with the Ukrainian peasants and workers. There still was a hard core of Russianized Ukrainians who looked back to the olden days when the speaking of Ukrainian had been banned in schools, etc. by the Russian government and they sought in every way to turn back the clock. Yet few of these people spoke Russian or if they did, it was with a marked Ukrainian accent. They really did not understand Russian and used it only as a source of false pride and distinction. Of course they had the support more or less openly of all the Russian Communists and workers who swarmed into the capital to dominate the republic, and so in ridiculing the Russianized Ukrainians, Kulish was keenly hitting a very powerful block.

Myna Mazaylo is one of these Russianized Ukrainians who cannot speak Russian. He speaks as good Ukrainian when he is not thinking as his son, Moky, who has gone heart and soul with his fellow komsomols into the Ukrainian cause. Moky in fact carries his Ukrainianism so far that he even measures the girl he loves to make sure that she has Ukrainian proportions as opposed to Russian. Myna's wife and daughter sympathize with the father. Finally to end the unpleasant situation, Myna goes to the Soviet Bureau of Statistics to change his name to Mazenin and thus give it a Russian form. To secure backing he sends for an aunt from Kursk whose Russian is a little better, and to make himself worthy of his new nationality, he takes lessons from a Russian lady. In inimitable scenes Kulish shows these lessons with Myna thoroughly unaware that with all his work he is still pronouncing Russian G as a Ukrainian H. A thoroughly ignorant and unreconstructed Ukrainian of the old school, Uncle Taras, turns up with his pseudo-knowledge. The Komsomols add their part to the confusion and at the final scene Myna wins his way but is removed from his post for bourgeois sentiments, while the Komsomols give their aid and support to the Ukrainian son and emphasize that under the ideals of Communism, the Ukrainian people will never revert to their own dark past when they were ashamed to enroll under their own colors and for their own nationality. It is all orthodox Communism. It is what Lenin preached. It is

what the authorities of the USSR were saying but it was not what they were doing or intending to do as the wave of Russian domination under Stalin rose higher and higher.

In a separate article in *The Literary Fair*, Kulish showed Myna writing to Skrypnyk to beg that the radio should not be put into Ukrainian. How can "culture" be saved, if even in his free time a Ukrainian has to hear Ukrainian in the capital of Ukraine "for Ukrainian nationalism is both a basic threat and an actual right danger, as I was told Prof. Shpundt proclaimed it in the Institute of Marxism."

The same year, 1930, Kulish wrote the *Sonata Pathetique*, his most original work. It was at once banned in Ukraine but its artistic value was recognized. The play was translated into Russian and attracted enthusiastic audiences in the Kamerny Theatre in Moscow in 1930-31 and it was later carried to Leningrad and other Russian cities before the blow fell and the play was banned for good and all. It was condemned in a long article in *Pravda* signed "Ukrainian" who called it Fascist and Nationalist. Whether it was L. Kaganovich, who had fought for years against Ukrainianism or the Communist Party itself that issued this blast has never been determined but the effect was instantaneous. The *Sonata Pathetique* was never again produced.

The play deals with the constant raids and counterraidings made in Kiev during the civil wars, when all parties, Russian whites, Communists and Ukrainian patriots tried to seize and hold the capital city with its large population of high Russian officials and army men. Its form is unusual for it is based on the Ukrainian traditional puppet show which represented various levels—heaven, earth and hell. Kulish draws a cross section of the population on the three stories of a single house which is owned by a Russian general, Perotsky.

In the cellar are a group of Bolshevik workmen preparing a revolt. On the first floor live a girl Maryna and her father Stupay-Stupanenko, a comical Ukrainian who has learned nothing by events and has forgotten nothing. He is living in the past. He sees nothing good but things Ukrainian and when his daughter plays Beethoven's Sonata Pathetique with its varying moods, he is sure Beethoven was a Ukrainian expressing the feeling of the Kozaks galloping over the steppes. On the floor above lives the owner Perotsky, a retired Russian general who can see nothing but tsarist Russia. He has two sons, Andrey an officer and George, a silly young man dreaming of the time when he too can become a Russian officer like his father. Then in the attic there is the supposed author and writer Ilka, a dreamer and somewhat to the left, also a bedraggled prostitute Zinka of leftist sympathies.

Both the weak writer and Andrey love Maryna who is the strongest character in the play (should we say the heroine?). She is a talented musician, she realizes her father's folly and is living in the present. She is also the secret leader under the pseudonym of the Gull of a Ukrainian nationalist group. When the Communists stage their uprising, it is she who sends Andrey to rouse the peasants. They arrive and capture the city but somehow they are supplanted by the Russians and General Perotsky and his crowd execute a number of the Communist leaders. Old Stupay-Stupanenko is killed by the Communists who return (perhaps under a comrade from Petrograd) and recover the control of the city. George Perotsky is killed for shooting a Bolshevik in a foolish gesture and at the end the writer definitely throws his lot in with the Communists. Maryna is captured and carried off, while she proudly confesses her role as the mysterious Gull who has caused them so much trouble. Ostensibly the play ends with the discomfiture of all the non-Communist factions. We can well understand why the audiences in Moscow went wild over its Communist praises and its laudation of the way in which they triumphed over all difficulties for they never say a word of their Ukrainian feelings but stress the solidarity of the proletariat of all lands. Kulish does not deliberately attack the Communists, but any one familiar with the Ukrainian situation as the great famine of 1932-33 was being prepared might interpret the play differently and that was why it was never shown in Ukraine and finally stopped in the RSFSR.

This play marked the practical end of the career of Kulish. He did a little more but the authorities were on his path and within two years he was in their toils for good.

What do these plays show? They show the steady hardening of Kulish against the regime. His venom against a stupid bureaucracy and pro-Russian Ukrainian snobs turned into a symbolistic questioning of the entire system to which Ukraine was subjected. In the *Sonata Pathétique* he brought to its perfection those new devices which Kurbas had introduced into the *Berezil* and had thus made it one of the finest theatres in the entire Soviet Union.

Kulish reveals in these plays as it has perhaps never been done on the stage or in writing the spiritual emptiness that lies behind the Communist slogans and their claims to be helpful to the common man, the proletariat. At the same time he shows the ideals and the aspirations of the Ukrainian patriots, chiefly those who in the early days had turned toward Communism. He makes it clear why in every country taken over by the Communists there has been such a tremendous destruction of the native leaders who prepared the way for its success. Kulish and his fate

both emphasize that Communism is alien to the spirit of Ukraine, to the spirit of free men and he does it not by open denunciation but rather by indirection, by hints, by innuendoes that speak louder than emphatic statements. Poor Malakhy, the pompous Myna, the stupid Perotsky, all show that Communism is as alien to the Ukrainian spirit as was the old tsarist regime.

To-day, when once again there is talk of peaceful coexistence, the world should think over these works of Kulish who paid with his life for his brilliant contributions to Ukrainian literature. It should mark, read, learn and inwardly digest the sense of these plays for they would banish immediately any neutralist sentiment in any free country. It makes no difference that for years Kulish was a card-carrying Communist, living in Communist homes for writers, and bowing to their decrees. He penetrated to the essence of their teaching, and regardless of his belief or not in the ideals which they preached, he realized to the full that they were far from trying to carry them into practice. Khvylovy taught the same lesson. So did hundreds of Ukrainian martyrs to the cause of ideal Communism.

The time is long past when that list should be extended by victims from still free lands and regardless of the new peace offensive of the USSR, the free world must resolve that freedom is inseparable and that the world cannot exist half-Communist and half free. Freedom must triumph and with it there will come freedom for all individuals and nations working together for the good of mankind.

EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE'S JOURNEY IN THE CRIMEA

By V. SICHYNSKY

The transfer of the Crimean peninsula from the Russian Soviet Socialist Republic to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1954, finished, at least formally, the 171 year long Russian domination over Crimea, this very important peninsula in the Black Sea. Crimea for thousands of years was dominated by international commercial powers — Greek colonies, the Bosphorus State, the Byzantine Empire, the Republic of Genoa and the Crimean Khanate under a Turkish protectorate. Now it has reverted to Ukraine to which it geographically belongs, as the natural continuation of the Ukrainian mainland with a partially Ukrainian population. The thousands of years of Crimean history have made this small peninsula a real museum of Classic Greek, Byzantine, old Christian Slav and other cultures.

During the 15-18th centuries Crimea was a semi-independent state, the so called Crimean Tatar Khanate under the protectorate of Turkey, as a result of the Tatar invasion of eastern Europe in the 13th century. The Crimean Khanate played a sad role in the history of the Ukrainian people. Year after year Crimean Tatars invaded the Ukrainian mainland, devastated the rich Ukrainian steppes and prevented their settlement by peaceful agriculturalists. The continuous Tatar invasions robbed Ukraine of hundreds and thousands of men and women who were captured by the Tatar invaders and sold in Kaffa, the Crimean slave market, to all lands of the Mediterranean.

The attacks of the Ukrainian Kozaks substantially weakened the Crimean Khanate; the Tatar invasions were stopped and the Ukrainian agricultural population moved to the Black Sea and into the northern part of the Crimean peninsula. After the destruction of the Ukrainian Kozak Republic, the Russian Empire in 1783 liquidated the Crimean Khanate and annexed it to its own territory.

The first decades of Russian domination over the Crimea are vividly pictured by E. D. Clarke (1769-1822), a British traveler who was there in the crucial year of Russian history — 1812. Coming to Crimea from the east through the Kertch strait, the British traveler notices in his

book: *Travels in Russia, Tartary, and Turkey* (London 1816) the following:

Passing a structure on his way to Kertch, Clarke says:

"The Tartar peasant near it assured us, that its sides were those of a vast cylinder of marble, buried in the soil; but it was evidently a channel bored through the rock. The work must have required great labour, the depth to the water being at least fifty feet, without including the farther depth of the well, which we were not able to ascertain. The Tatars draw water from it for their sheep and goats, by means of a leathern bucket.

"The town of Kertch, standing on the site of the ancient Panti-capaeum, is now reduced to extreme wretchedness and insignificance. It was not long since, of considerable consequence. The Russians, according to the statements made by several of its inhabitants, destroyed no less than 500 houses. Even in its ruins, the regal seat of the Bosphorian kings, once the residence of Mithridates, will ever be considered an interesting, if not an important place, for the researches of the historian. Our first inquiry among the few Greeks settled there was for medals; and several were brought, but for the most part so much injured as to be scarcely worth notice.

"The traditions of Kertch are in direct contradiction of history; for they relate not only that Mithridates died here, but that he was buried a short distance from the town, where they still pretend to show his tomb. It is perhaps a Milesian work; but its height and size are so remarkable, that it is scarcely possible to believe it the result of human labour. Among the Greek inhabitants of Kertch, it bears the name of the Tomb of Mithridates. The Russians are not contented with showing his tomb; they also point out his palace, and conduct strangers for that purpose to the top of a natural hill or mountain above the town. They deceived general Suvorof to such a degree, when he visited the place, that being told it was the sepulchre of so great a hero, the veteran soldier knelt upon the ground and wept." (Vol. II., p. 87).

Mr. Clarke continuing his memoirs makes a long historical digression on the monuments of ancient times in the Crimea:

"The havoc made in all the towns of the Crimea, during the various revolutions, and the frequent change of inhabitants the country has sustained, has confused or annihilated almost every valuable document, for the illustration of its former history. But of all the people who have hitherto scourged this devoted land, none have proved so injurious to the interests of literature as the Russians. I dare not mention the high authority on which the traits of their national character were delivered to me,

at the time. I am conducting this part of my journal. It is sufficient to say, one, who best knew them, affirmed that there was no characteristic of a Russian more striking, than that of wantonly destroying whatever is prized by enlightened nations. In Kertch, after leveling to the earth 500 houses, they left about thirty poor shops in the midst of the ruins, whose owners it is their daily practice to defraud. False in all their public engagements, as well as in their private treaties, they issued an ukase, inviting Greek merchants to settle in the town; but no sooner had these deluded people fixed there with their families, than the soldiers pulled down the houses about their ears, using at the same time other intimidating measures to compel them to higher duties, than even the Russians themselves have paid, to whom no exemptions had been accorded. Thus insulted and plundered, the oppressed Greeks demanded permission to leave the peninsula, which was positively refused. It may be asked why so little has been hitherto made public concerning the real character of this very profligate people — to which the answer is, that there is no country where such pains have been employed to prevent it. There is nothing in which the late Catherine employed so much artifice, as in keeping secret the true history of her own people, and the wretched state of her empire.

“Could there be found a native of Russia, with a passion for literature, who to a knowledge of the Tartar language added also that of the modern Greek (and many of the Russians speak both these languages with fluency), the Crimea would not remain long in the obscurity which at present involves its ancient topography. Unfortunately all those whom Catherine employed to travel through her dominions for purposes of science, were either solely occupied in natural history, or employed, more politically, in preparing splendid statistical accounts of the most wretched provinces. Almost all of them were destitute of any classical information. Pallas’s first and favourite study was zoology, afterwards he cultivated mineralogy, botany, and entomology” (Vol. II, p. 88-89).

The Crimean capital Baktcheserai, appears in Clarke’s description as follows:

“To describe what Baktcheserai was, it would be necessary to convey ideas at least adequate to the present appearance of its ruins: and this is very difficult. The savage and wanton barbarity of the Russians found in the magnificence of this capital wherewith to exercise, in its full scope, their favourite passion for destruction. The city was divided into several departments, of which the Greek colony alone occupied one entire and extensive valley. This they entirely demolished,

not leaving one stone upon another. The palace of the khan, in the centre of the town, was that in which he usually resided; but he had a favourite and more pleasing retirement in a magnificent edifice, most delightfully situated beneath a mountain, upon the sloping side of a beautiful vale. This they so completely erased, that without a guide to the spot no one can discover even where it stood, of the rest of the city, not above one-third now remains. Were I to detail half the cruelties, the extortions, the rapine, and barbarity, practised by the Russians upon the devoted inhabitants of the Crimea, and their deluded khan, the revelation would exceed belief. I have the authority of one of their commanders, whom I dare not name, for asserting, that when the mullas, or Tartar priests, ascended the minarets at midday to proclaim the noon, according to their usual custom, the Russian soldiers amused themselves by firing muskets at them; and in one of these instances a priest was killed. The repugnancy with which every English reader will peruse an account of such enormities, may lead him to doubt the veracity of the representation, although given, as it was received, from an eyewitness of the fact.

“The capture of the Crimea was an event which excited the attention of all Europe; but the circumstances which led to the deposition and death of the khan are not so generally known. They have been artfully concealed by the Russians; and the brilliancy of the conquest of the Crimea, dazzling the imagination, has prevented a due inquiry into those dark and sinister manoeuvres by which the plot was carried on for the subjection of the peninsula. Potemkin, that arch-priest of intrigue and wickedness, planned and executed the whole of it; to fulfil those designs it was immaterial what laws were violated, what principles trampled on, what murders committed, or what faith broken. His principal favourites were swindlers, adventurers, parasites — unprincipled men of every description, but especially unprincipled men of talent, found in him a ready patron . . .

“If it is now asked what Russians have done with regard to the Crimea, after the depravity, the cruelty, and the murders, by which it was obtained, and on that account became so favourite an acquisition in their eyes, the answer is given in few words. They have laid waste the country; cut down the trees; pulled down the houses; overthrown the sacred edifices of the natives, with all their public buildings; destroyed the public aqueducts; robbed the inhabitants; insulted the Tartars in their acts of public worship; torn up from the tombs the bodies of their ancestors, casting their reliques upon dunghills, and feeding swine out of their coffins; annihilated all the monuments of antiquity; breaking up

alike the sepulchres of saints and pagans, and scattering their ashes in the air!

“There was something very emphatic in the speech of a poor Tartar, who one day lamenting in his garden the havoc made among his fruit-trees by a severe frost, said: ‘we never used to experience such hard weather; but since the Russians came, they seem to have brought their winter along with them.’” (p.95).

Arriving at Sevastopol and the near-by seats of the ancient city of Chersonesus, Clarke remarks on the ancient classic and early Christian monuments:

“After returning from our excursion to Inkerman, we endeavoured to investigate the ancient geography of the Heracleotic peninsula. It was a work of some difficulty; yet the materials indeed were ample. The ruins, as they still existed, with the assistance of Strabo, and an accurate survey of the country, might be deemed sufficient for the purpose; but the insurmountable difficulties created by the barbarity of the Russians were very intimidating. When they settled in the country, the remains of the city of Chersonesus were so considerable, that all its gates were standing. These they soon demolished; and, proceeding in their favourite employment of laying waste, they pulled down, broke, buried, and destroyed whatever they could find which might serve to illustrate its former history; blowing up its ancient foundations; tearing open tombs; overthrowing temples; and then removing the masses of stone and marble to Aktiar, exposed them for sale, by cubic measure, to serve as materials in building. If the Archipelago should fall under the domination of Russia, the fine remains of ancient Greece will be no more; Athens will be razed, and not a stone be left to mark where the city stood. Turks are men of taste and science, in comparison with Russians. Among other interesting antiquities, which the latter had removed from the city of Chersonesus, was a beautiful bas-relief, of white marble, exhibiting sculpture equal in perfection to some of the most admired productions of the art. It had closed the entrance to the tomb of a philosopher by the name of Theagenes. Any of the inhabitants of Aktiar might have purchased it, together with a ton-weight besides of other stones, for a single rouble. To us the sale was prohibited, because we were strangers; and, worse than all, we were Englishmen. Commodore Billings particularly insisted, that the consequences would be serious if it reached the ears of the emperor that Englishmen were allowed to remove any thing of this description; so the *cippus* of Theagenes was left to its fate. As a bas-relief, it represented Theagenes and his wife . . . From the style of the inscription written below, the late Professor Porson

affirmed that the date of it might have been at least 200 years prior to Christianity. I was afterwards conducted to the sepulchre from the mouth of which they had removed this marble. It was a family vault, hewn in the rock on the outside of the walls of the ancient city of Chersonesus. Within were recesses for the bodies of the dead. When it was opened, the soldiers found the bones still in a state of preservation, and they scattered them among the ruins." (Vol. II, p. 99-100).

We are in possession of other sources, both foreign and Russian, furnishing us with sufficient information to prove that Clarke's memoirs describing the devastation of the ancient Crimean monuments by the Russian administrative and military authorities were true and unbiased. Clarke's description made only 30 years after the Russian occupation of the Crimea contradicts openly the Russian Tsarist propaganda at that time in Western Europe that the Russian occupation of this land was beneficial to the inhabitants because Russia "liberated the Tatar masses" from the oppression of their own overlords.

QUARTERLY CHRONICLE OF UKRAINIAN LIFE

I. UKRAINE BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

ACTIVE RESISTANCE STILL CONTINUES IN UKRAINE

The Press Agency *Mitteilungs-Informationen Dienst* in Vienna reported on July 24, 1955, that strong detachments of Ukrainian anti-Communist partisans from Western Ukraine, members of the UPA, crossed at midnight near Koshitse in Slovakia the boundaries of the USSR and established contact with Slovak anti-Communist partisans. The frontier police could not handle them and the 8th Infantry Division stationed in Koshitse was sent against them.

THE DEPORTATION OF UKRAINIANS AND THE IMPORTATION OF RUSSIANS INTO UKRAINE

Correspondence of the underground mail from Ukraine reports that since the spring of 1955, despite the sham political concessions to Ukraine, the Kremlin has been continuing its plan for the genocide of the Ukrainian people by removing in masses the Ukrainians from Ukraine and settling the country with Russians brought from Russia, sometimes entire villages. The removal of the Ukrainians is veiled by the pretext of settling them in Kazakhstan on "virgin lands". In the region of Borza, this policy aroused the physical resistance of the population but this was put down with the help of units of the MVD.

In Western Ukraine, which has been recently annexed to the USSR, arrests are still continuing, especially of the intelligentsia who are being taken to Kazakhstan. Likewise in Carpatho-Ukraine there was recently arrested a whole group of grammar school teachers accused of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." Khrushchev, who at a picnic for foreign diplomats on August 6, 1955, wore a Ukrainian embroidered shirt to blind the eyes of the world but who is really a bitter enemy of the Ukrainian people, is carrying out the broad plan of the Communist Party of Red Russia, to russify Ukraine so as to make of Ukraine only a territorial unit without a majority of a Ukrainian population.

THE DROP IN THE POPULATION IN UKRAINE AND THE BALTIC STATES

The elections in the USSR to the Supreme Soviet of the Union, the Soviets of the Union Republics and the local governments are almost the only source of information as to the number of the population in the different parts of the USSR. The *Bulletin of the Institute for Studies of History and Culture of the USSR* (June, 1955) contains a study by Yu. Myronenko which confirms this.

Since in the USSR the entire adult population must vote, the figures show that in 1954, 120,750,816 persons voted and in 1955 (February-March) 123,177,915 voted, i. e. an increase of 2,427,099 or 2.01%. This gives the total of the increase of the adult population of the entire USSR entitled to vote.

But this increase is not identical in all the Union Republics, although approximately it should be, for the living conditions in the USSR are almost everywhere the same. The greatest increase is in the Kazakhstan Republic, which can be explained by the plan for ploughing up millions of acres of virgin soil and settling these with an appropriate population. However, the greatest drop in the number of voters, and so in the number of the population is in the following Union Republics: Estonia, 0.16%, i. e. a drop of 1.85%; Lithuania, 0.28%, a drop of 1.73%; Latvia, 0.31%, a drop of 1.70%; Azerbaijan, 0.43%, a drop of 1.66%; Ukraine, 0.70%, a drop of 1.31%. On the other hand, the Russian Soviet Republic showed a gain of 2.19% or a growth of 0.18%, an over-average increase of population of the entire USSR. The drop in the population of these Union Republics shows the extent of the deportation of the population to Kazakhstan and the Asiatic parts of the Russian SSR (Siberia).

IN THE VORKUTA CONCENTRATION CAMPS 50% ARE UKRAINIANS

The German physician Joseph Scholmer, author of the well-known book *Vorkuta*, in a conversation with a Ukrainian journalist Yuri Tarkovych in Germany asserted that in these camps which were the only ones to stage an open physical revolt against the Soviet regime of violence to the individual, 50% of the prisoners were Ukrainians; next in number were Lithuanians and Latvians and Russians were in the fourth place.

The prisoners of Vorkuta offer a cross-section of the internal opposition in the Soviets and in this the opposition of the non-Russian peoples to their rule by Moscow is the strongest factor. Our American "specialists" from the "Harvard Russian Centre" assert the very opposite.

AN INDIAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION IN KIEV

At the end of May a delegation from the Indian parliament visited Kiev; It visited the monuments of the Ukrainian past and with special interest looked at the St. Sophia Cathedral, a product of the old Ukrainian-Byzantine art, now turned into a museum. Was it not a matter of interest to the delegation of India, a nation with an old culture, that the oldest cathedral of Ukraine is no longer used for religious purposes but is merely a museum?

PATRIARCH ALEXIS IS HONORED IN RUSSIA AND ATHEISM IS SPREAD IN UKRAINE

According to the *Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate* for February 1955, in honor of the tenth anniversary of the election of Alexis the Patriarch of Moscow, the Committee on the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church, headed by G. G. Karpov, together with the Soviet of Ministers of the USSR, arranged a reception in honor of the Patriarch. There were present beside the well-known clergy, P. S. Tikhonov, head of the Committee of Partisans for Peace, A. S. Gundurov, head of the Slav Committee, I V. Polyansky, head of the Soviet for Religious Cults in the Soviet of Ministers of the USSR, a representative of Tass, the Soviet Information Bureau, and other Soviet officials.

At the same time it was reported from Kiev that another cycle of lectures was being delivered on the theme: "Marxism-Leninism on Religion," for the railroad men of the Kiev division in the House of Culture. Similar lectures were delivered for the railroad men of the Kharkiv division. An exhibition of atheistic literature was opened in the State Public Library in Kiev.

METROPOLITAN SLIPY HAS BEEN SET FREE BUT IS STILL CONFINED

The NCWC News Service, reports that Joseph Slipy, Ukrainian Catholic Primate of Ukraine, Metropolitan of Halych and Archbishop of Lviv, who was arrested in 1945 with 7 other bishops of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and sentenced to 10 years in a concentration camp, lastly in the infamous Vorkuta, has been set free, but has been forbidden to return to Lviv or to exercise spiritual functions. He has been ordered to live in Siberia, probably in Krasnoyarsk.

A LACK OF SCHOLARS IN UKRAINE

In May, the Soviet press announced vacancies for candidates for entrance to the Institutes of History, Archeology, Literature, Philology, Folklore, Ethnography and the other institutes of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. The candidates are offered a dispensation from their work in factories.

Apparently it is safer in Ukraine to work in a factory than in the Academy of Sciences, where the student, especially of Ukrainian subjects, is constantly exposed to the charge of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and to the danger of being liquidated.

ONE HUNDRED SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITIONS IN UKRAINE

Pravda on July 9, reports that during the 1955 vacation 100 scientific expeditions of the Academy of Sciences in Kiev are going to study the antiquities and present resources of Ukraine. *Pravda* promises from those expeditions great profits for science, but in fact there is not much to be expected, for the Ukrainian humanistic scholars cannot speak about the Ukrainian past without being charged with nationalism. The entire "truth" of the history and the past of Ukraine has been told by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party in its Peryaslav Theses of January, 1954; so all scientific studies on these themes are useless.

THE JUBILEE OF THE ARTIST O. DOVZHENKO

There was celebrated in Kiev the 60th birthday of the Ukrainian film artist, O. P. Dovzhenko. Among his best known works are: *The Arsenal*, *The Land*, *Zvenyhora*, *Ivan*, *Aerograd*, *Shchors*, *Michurin* and films from World War II. The film "Zvenyhora" released in the 20's, was bitterly attacked, condemned and banned for its "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism."

THE ALL-UNION CONGRESS OF PHYSIOLOGISTS IN KIEV

The All-Union Congress of physiologists, biochemists, and pharmacologists opened in Kiev on May 17. The Congress lasted until May 28.

THE CONFERENCE OF PLASTIC ARTISTS OF WESTERN UKRAINE IN LVIV

On June 6, 1955, there opened in Lviv a conference of the artists of the Western regions of Ukraine, painters and sculptors. An address was delivered by M. Derehus on the condition of art in Western Ukraine and its task in the light of the decrees of the Central Committees of the Communist Parties of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR. The object of the conference was to induce the artists of Western Ukraine to abandon their individual artistic methods and return to the contemporary requirements of Socialist Realism, i. e. to glorify the Soviet regime.

ARCHEOLOGICAL FINDS FROM WESTERN UKRAINE
ARE TAKEN TO RUSSIA

The Kiev *Literary Gazette* (No. 12) reports on the work of the archeological expedition organized by the Leningrad State Hermitage in 1954 to work in the districts of Ternopil, Stanyslaviv, and Vynnytsya, under Prof. M. I. Artamonov of Leningrad University. The chief excavations were made near Nezvyska on the Dniester, in the district of Stanyslaviv (Western Ukraine). The expedition uncovered there 8 cultural strata from 3rd millenium, B. C. to the 13th cent. A. D. The finds were taken from Western Ukraine, i. e. a province of the "independent" Ukrainian state to Leningrad and deposited in the Hermitage, a museum of Russia.

THE CONFERENCE OF COMMUNISTS IN LVIV AND DROHOBYCH

In June there were held full sessions of the members of the Executive Committees of the Communist Party in the districts of Lviv and Drohobych. The theme was the unsatisfactory work of the political and scholarly personnel and the question of the non-completion of the sowing. There was emphasized the unwillingness of the scholars to do political work. The non-completion of the sowing was the fault of the directors of the Motor Tractor Stations, who preferred to live in the city of Lviv rather than in their party dwellings in the provinces.

THE MINES OF KRYVY RIH ARE NOT FULFILLING THEIR PLAN

Pravda of May 31, 1955, charges that the manganese mines in Kryvy Rih are not fulfilling their quota. As a result many of the Ukrainian steel factories had to reduce their work for lack of raw material. *Pravda* blames this on the All-Union and Republic Ministry of Black Metallurgy, and also the scientific and technical institutions which are responsible for the progress of the metallurgical industry.

PEASANT DISTURBANCES IN THE SUMA DISTRICT

The Suma radio on July 5 gave scanty details of a conference of the leaders of the militia of the district of Suma with a representative of the MVD from Kiev. The commander of the militia Shypaylo was punished by removal from his post because of his inability to handle the disturbances in the district of Suma.

These disturbances were obviously on a wide scale. Hundreds of peasants were deported because of them to Kazakhstan and their places were taken by Moscow and Byelorussian peasants.

THE DEATH SENTENCE FOR THREE VETERANS OF THE UPA

The Polish Communist newspaper, *Zycie Warszawy* and the Warsaw radio on July 29 reported that on July 21-27 there was tried in Warsaw before a military commission "a spy ring" discovered by the Polish police. The prisoners were 8 former members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) who had been arrested with arms, radio transmitters and poisons in Poland. As a result of the investigation three, Mykhaylo Kaminsky, Petro Hoysan and Bohdan Lykholat were condemned to death and the sentence was immediately carried out. Two others were condemned to life imprisonment, and one to 12 years in prison. The others were set free. They had been in 1945-7 members of the UPA and had later gone west to Germany and in 1945 they had returned to Poland to carry on diversion.

II. IN THE FREE WORLD — OUTSIDE THE UKRAINE

THE SIXTH CONGRESS OF AMERICAN UKRAINIANS IN NEW YORK

On May 28-30, 1955, there was held the Sixth Congress of American Ukrainians, the central political organization of Americans of Ukrainian origin. This organization, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, elects for three years an executive body to handle questions of the American Ukrainians.

The Congress was quite large, for it included 457 qualified representatives of American Ukrainian organizations from 28 eastern and central states where the Ukrainian immigration is chiefly located.

The Congress became a great manifestation of the American Ukrainians for support of the American anti-Communist policy of liberation and the freeing of the Ukrainians from the rule of Moscow.

At the banquet on Saturday, May 28, the speakers were Governor Hariman, the former ambassador Mrs. Perle Mesta and other distinguished Americans and American-Ukrainians.

The program of the Congress also included the ceremony of conferring degrees of Doctor, *honoris causa*, by the Ukrainian Free University on Congressmen Michael A. Feighan and Charles J. Kersten for their services in making public the aggression of Red Moscow on the independence of the nations of the present Soviet Union.

A change in the statutes of the Ukrainian Congress Committee provided for the appointment, in addition to the Chairman of the UCCA, of a President to carry on the affairs of the Committee.

Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky was elected Chairman of the Committee and Dmytro Halychyn, President.

The Congress expressed special appreciation to Prof. Nicholas Chubaty, the editor and founder of the *Ukrainian Quarterly* for his ten years of successful work in making Ukraine known in America.

The resolutions adopted by the Congress emphasized that despite the formal existence of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as a member of the Soviet Union and even of the United Nations, the Ukrainian people in reality were enslaved by the tyranny of Red Moscow. The Ukrainian people formally in their own state were deprived of the most elementary rights to their own political, cultural and economic life. Actually, Ukraine is a colony of Moscow, and the Kremlin is trying to russify it culturally and exploit it economically in a brutal manner. The only security for a lasting peace in the world is the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the creation of at least 16 national democratic states, peaceful members of the international family of nations, according to the right of self-determination in those parts of the USSR where the non-Russian peoples asserted it in the years 1917-1919.

RADIO BROADCASTINGS TO UKRAINE

There are regular radio broadcasts to Ukraine in Ukrainian by the Voice of America, Radio Liberation, Radio Roma, the Vatican and Madrid radios. Other European stations make Ukrainian broadcasts from time to time. In recent months the Voice of America has begun broadcasts in Ukrainian from its stations in the Far East to serve the Ukrainians in Asia and the Far East. However, the influence of the American broadcasts is not great, because they fail to mention the highest aspiration of the Ukrainian people, their liberation from the rule of Red Moscow.

THE SECOND CONGRESS OF UKRAINIAN STUDENTS IN AMERICA

On July 10-12 there was held in New York at Columbia University the Second Congress of Ukrainian Students in American colleges and universities. The Congress was greeted by Prof. Lev Dobriansky of Georgetown University, chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Oleh Fedyshyn was elected the new President and Mishchynska — secretary.

FIFTH WORLD CONGRESS OF UKRAINIAN YOUTH ASS'N — SUM

Commemorating the Millenium of Christianity in Ukraine (955-1955) the World Association of Ukrainian Youth—SUM, arranged its Fifth World Congress in Toronto, Canada, Aug. 4-6. SUM (Spilka Ukrayins'koyi Molodi) is the most active Ukrainian group of new arrivals in the Western World. The association was recreated in exile in 1946 to uphold the ideals of the original Ukrainian Youth Association that existed illegally under the Russian Communist occupation of Ukraine in the late 20's.

Together with the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU) the Association in Ukraine was purged through a mock trial in Kharkiv in 1930. The Fifth Congress commemorated this tragic event. SUM has its branches throughout the whole free world, in Europe, USA, Canada, South America and Australia. In some countries the branches are organized as independent organizations (in America SUMA) but ideologically are closely associated. In this country the organization has 35 branches, in Canada 20.

Guest speakers at the Toronto rally were: Mr. Oleksa Kalynnyk, of Munich, Germany, head of the World Central Committee and Vasyi Omelchenko, president of the American Association. The organization of the Fifth Congress was in the hands of a special Canadian Committee headed by Dr. Nicholas Kushpeta, president of the Canadian Association. Mass was celebrated in the Canadian National Exhibition grounds, August 7.

The ideological aims of this Ukrainian youth organization are: — to keep alive the scene of belonging to the Ukrainian nation; to foster national culture; to live on a religious basis; to make the good name of Ukraine known throughout the world; to assist the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people at home and abroad; to combat Russian imperialism of all colors and every sort of totalitarianism wherever it may be in the world; to lead a strictly moral life personally and within the community.

THE FOUNDING CONGRESS OF THE UKRAINIAN CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

On May 20 and 30, 1955 there was held in Louvain, Belgium, a Congress of the Initiators of the Ukrainian Christian Movement. This ideological movement of the Ukrainian emigration outside Ukraine acquired the actual form of an organized institution.

The Ukrainian Christian Movement is ideologically close to the Christian Democratic Parties in France, Italy, Germany and other countries. In view, however, of the conditions of emigre life and the lack of their own national territory, it does not have the form of a political party but is an ideological movement above political parties. Its aim is to influence in the spirit of Christian ideology and ethics the work of all Ukrainian political parties and social and cultural institutions.

Like the German Christian Democracy, it unites Ukrainian Catholics and Ukrainian Orthodox who are working for the common goal among the Ukrainian emigres outside Ukraine.

This Organizing Congress consisted of 17 delegates from France, England, Germany, Italy and Austria. The chairman was Prof. Mirchuk, Rector of the Ukrainian Free University. The initiator of the movement, Prof. V. Yaniv, was elected President.

The Ukrainian Christian Movement, an organization of Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox, which in the last year has carried on wide activity among the Ukrainian emigration in Western Europe, has undertaken this year a large scale recognition of the 25th anniversary of the destruction of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the 10th anniversary of the destruction of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church by the Russian Communists. A working committee has been formed in Paris with Prof. Oleksander Shulhyn as Chairman and Eng. Melnykovich as Secretary.

THE DAY OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE IN BONN

The German-Ukrainian Herder Society in Germany arranged on May 24 a Day of Ukrainian Culture in Bonn, the capital of Western Germany. The program included an exhibition of works of Ukrainian plastic art arranged by the sculptor Gregor Kruk and the painter Severyn Borachok. The exhibition was opened by Dr. Mirchuk, Rector of the Ukrainian Free University.

The evening session was devoted to a discussion of Ukrainian-German relations. The chief speaker was Bundesminister Waldemar Kraft. The Chairman was the President of the Herder Society, Prof. Erwin Mittag.

THE FIRST UKRAINIAN SENATOR IN CANADA

Before the end of the Parliamentary Sessions, the Premier of Canada, Saint Laurent, announced the names of 13 new members of the Canadian Senate. One was the first Canadian senator of Ukrainian origin, William M. Wall of Winnipeg.

The new Senator, Hon. W. M. Wall, was born in Ethelbert near Winnipeg. At the age of 17, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Manitoba University, and three years later the degree of Master of Education. In 1952 he took a post-graduate course at Yale University. During World War II he was commissioned a Lieutenant Colonel in the Canadian Army. At present he is with the school administration of the city of Winnipeg. He was for many years the President of the Ukrainian Catholic Centre in Winnipeg.

THE XI SOBOR OF THE UKRAINIAN GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH IN CANADA

On June 29-30 there was held in Winnipeg, in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, the XI Sobor of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada. Reports were made by Metropolitan Ilarion, the Bishop of Eastern Canada, Archbishop Michael and Archpriest Ye. Hrytsyna, the Head of the Consistory. The most important decision was to select in the near future a candidate for a third bishop for Western Canada. About 300 delegates and 200 guests were at the Sobor.

THE NOMINATION OF BISHOP MAKSYM HERMANIUK AS COADJUTOR
WITH RIGHT OF SUCCESSION

The Apostolic See has named Maksym Hermaniuk, D.D., the present assistant bishop of the Winnipeg Exarch, Archbishop Vasyl Ladyka, assistant bishop with the right of succession on the death of the Ukrainian Catholic Exarch in Winnipeg.

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EXARCH OF WESTERN CANADA
BISHOP NIL SAVARYN

On June 19, in Edmonton, Canada, the exarchate of Western Canada observed the 50th birthday of its bishop, Nil Savaryn, not only for his ecclesiastical but also for his Ukrainian cultural activity. The bishop was given that same day a diploma in which the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Sarcelles (France) named him an active member.

A NEW COMPLETE TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE INTO UKRAINIAN

Ilarion (Ohienko), Metropolitan of the Greek Orthodox Church in Canada, has completed this year a translation of the Bible into Ukrainian, a work of many years. The book is to be printed by the British Bible Society. The previous translations of the Bible by Kulish-Pulyui has become antiquated because of the development of the Ukrainian language.

FIFTH SESSION OF THE PAN-AMERICAN UKRAINIAN CONFERENCE

During the weekend of September 23-25th, the Fifth Session of the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference was held in Toronto, Canada, at King Edward Hotel. In opening the Conference following a prayer, the Very Rev. Dr. Kushnir, D. D., President of the PAUC, told his auditors that there was complete unanimity in purpose and work of the members of the PAUC, which was founded in New York in 1947, and which is composed of duly elected representatives of American, Canadian, Brazilian, Argentinian, Paraguayan, Uruguayan and Venezuelan nationals of Ukrainian descent. — Those attending the Conference in Toronto, besides the already mentioned Very Rev. Kushnir were: from the Ukrainian Congress Committee delegation, Dr. Lev Dobriansky, D. Halychyn, Antin Batiuk, Michael Piznak, Hnat Bilinsky, Stephen Jarema, Stephen Shumeyko, retiring Secretary General of PAUC, and Dr. Vincent Shandor, Director of the PAUC; from the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, its president, A. Yaremovich, Very Rev. Dr. S. W. Sawchuk, Volodimir Kossar, I. H. Syrnyk, M. Pohorecky, Prof. Yuzyk, and W. Kokhan. The Brazilian Ukrainians were represented by A. Mudryk.

Dr. Dobriansky, of Georgetown University, gave an illuminating talk on the subject of the "Non-Russian Nations of the U.S.S.R. in the Current World Pictures."

Mr. Halychyn proposed a plan of consolidation of all Ukrainian organizations scattered throughout the whole world.

Lively discussions on the subjects presented by the three followed, and proper resolutions adopted after some debate.

Elected to office in the new Secretariat of the PAUC were the following: President, Very Rev. Wasyl Kushnir; Executive Vice President, Mr. Dmytro Halychyn; Secretary General, Mr. Michael Piznak; Secretary, Mr. Ivan Syrnyk; Co-ordinator, Mr. Volodimir Kossar; Treasurer, Mr. Antin Batiuk; Members: Mr. Stephen J. Jarema, Mr. Antin Yaremovich and Mr. Hnat Bilynsky.

BOOK REVIEWS

A PHILOSOPHY FOR OUR TIME, by Bernard M. Baruch. Simon and Schuster, Inc., New York, 1954, pp. 49.

The reviewer felt deeply privileged to receive this remarkable work as a gift from the president of Georgetown University who perhaps sensed that the ideas and perspectives of Mr. Baruch are a source of intellectual delight to any social scientist. And indeed they are. In this compact edition of a series of lectures and addresses, delivered before the student body of the Bernard M. Baruch School of Business and Public Administration in the City College of New York, the essential and significant thoughts of this unique citizen, in every sense a public servant, are systematically unfolded in a fulness of clarity and vividness of precise expression that punctuate an unmistakable certitude of intellect built upon an unusual accumulation of experience and reasoned insight. The fundamental problems of our time are clearly defined and incisively analyzed in the perennial light of anchored principles which constitute the certain guideposts of the writer's intellectual journey into the realm of contemporary confusion and unrest.

As one would expect, despite the confines of limited space, the journey is undertaken through all the major spheres of current thought, ranging from philosophy to economics and politics. In many respects the author's concise treatment and analyses presuppose a trained background on the part of his audience for the full value of his ideas to reflect itself in the minds of the latter. The first lecture, entitled "The Dominant Yearning of Our Time", brings out clearly the crisis and challenge of our period, namely "...to be freed of these cyclic spasms which have characterized man's history up to now." The pointed question raised, is: "Can we devise a system of sustained progress in place of the old averaging out of collapse and recovery?" Optimistic toward this real possibility, Mr. Baruch carefully proceeds to emphasize the necessity of our understanding the natural laws which govern our universe and human affairs, and soundly underscores the need for their utilization and our creative adaptation to them. With a philosophy of wisdom he convincingly demonstrates that this course of existence "neither clings to nor ignores the past."

Toward the end of his lectures the writer admonishes his listeners to abide by three rules or norms of action in their approach to any problem. The first of these is "Get the facts". The excursion of thought indicated in these lectures is doubtlessly to a large extent founded on the author's personal application of this rule. This shows up powerfully in his discussion on the control of atomic energy for military purposes where he reiterates his stand on a complete, enforceable system of international inspection and control. It is evidenced likewise in his balanced observations on the moderate relationship between government and society, on the destructive forces of inflation, on the differences between the economics of peace and those of war, and on numerous other topics about which, by training and experience, Mr. Baruch is extraordinarily competent and most qualified to discuss. His constructive criticism and judgments on our recent war experiences

and the conduct of our psychological warfare against aggressive communism are, as a consequence, solid interpretative conclusions based on fact.

There is one area of thought, however, where it is plainly evident that this celebrated statesman has not fully applied his own norm, and that is the field of American-Soviet relations. Needless to say, in order to best comprehend the relations between any two objects, be they inanimate, personal, national and the like, the qualities and properties of the individual objects must first be understood. Unfortunately, Mr. Baruch does not manifest this understanding of the Soviet Union, not even in elementary matters concerning the nations imprisoned in it, the tensions between Russian Communist overseers and the captive non-Russian peoples, and the different cultures compressed in this unnatural entity. Thus his weakly founded speculations on an improved Russian standard of living and more forceful public opinion for peace tend to detract from the solid thinking which characterizes the rest of this highly readable and quite penetrating work.

Georgetown University

LEV E. DOBRIANSKY.

DIE ORTHODOXE KIRCHE IN DER UKRAINE VON 1917 BIS 1945. Friedrich Heyer, Ost-Europa und der Deutsch Osten. Koeln, 1953, Pp. 259 — 5 Maps.

Friedrich Heyer has handled in this volume a subject that has been almost untouched by scholars concerned with Eastern Europe, i.e. the church problem in Ukraine during the stormy period of the revolution. The Church always played an important role in the national life of the Ukrainian people. Using its Eastern Slavonic rite, the Church with its Metropolitan See in Kiev formed the strongest bond of union between the splintered principalities of the old Ukrainian state of Kievan Rus'. After the downfall of that old Ukrainian state, the Church remained for centuries the most powerful autonomous organization of the Ukrainian people under the alien Polish and later the Muscovite domination. As a result of this fact the Ukrainian people saw in the Church the chief guardian of their cultural heritage and the foreign rulers did their best to exploit the Church for their own political interests.

The Ukrainian people themselves saw in their national Church a bulwark of their national identity, preserving the old cultural sources from Byzantium and later introducing the West European Renaissance culture. This is the reason why the Ukrainian Church maintained a precarious balance between East and West and nevertheless stoutly protected its national Ukrainian character.

Poland made especially strong efforts to implant in Ukraine Latin Christianity which was completely alien to the Ukrainian spirit. Furthermore in this area Latin Catholicism was definitely identified with Polish nationality. The Russian government used its political control of Ukraine to integrate the Ukrainian Church in the Russian Orthodoxy which centered in the Patriarchate of Moscow, "the spiritual head of the Third and Last Rome, the only true exponent of the doctrines of Christianity in the world," according to the claims of Moscow. It is obvious that the autocratic Russian domination forced the Ukrainian Church to become an agent for Russification. It suppressed with fire and sword any efforts of the Ukrainian Church to maintain under Russian rule any contact or communion with the First and Old Rome.

The Revolution of 1917 found in Ukraine no existing Ukrainian Catholic Church for this had long since been wiped out by the tsarist government. The Orthodox Church in Ukraine had been thoroughly Russified; all its bishops were Russians heartily in favor of the single and indivisible Russian Empire. The national

revolution in Ukraine could not ignore or tolerate this situation. The Ukrainian national movement demanded logically from the beginning the Ukrainization of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church; its full separation from all ties with the Moscow Patriarchate and the formation of a Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

The Church Council (Tserkovna Rada) established in Kiev directed the efforts to secure this and tried by peaceful means to come to an understanding with the local Russian hierarchy. When these efforts proved useless, the movement for a Ukrainian Church adopted some revolutionary steps. After the Soviets seized control, a Ukrainian Church Synod in 1921 proclaimed the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and instituted Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky in a revolutionary manner not customary in the Orthodox Churches.

As a result two churches were set up in Ukraine, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church and the Ukrainian Autonomous Church which remained under the Patriarchate of Moscow. The Bolshevik government at the time was favoring the newly formed Living Church which supported their regime. This became the third Church movement in the country and still more intensified the chaos.

The author also describes the life of the Orthodox Church in the Ukrainian territories controlled by Poland and he concludes with the situation under the German occupation during World War II. The author apparently worked with the German forces of occupation in Ukraine and stresses particularly the church relations in the district of Poltava.

This book is a valuable study. The author has assembled much material, some already known and other drawn from new sources; he gained still more from his travels in Ukraine during the late war. He tries to be critical and impartial. For example he shows in a sharp criticism that the Nazi church policy in Ukraine was atheistic and differed only slightly from the Communist religious policy.

In spite of that the author in general approves the Russian church policy in Ukraine. Unfortunately he shows no appreciation or understanding of the sincere and deeply religious attitude of the Ukrainian Church reformers. He does not realize that these men were really correct when they felt that they needed a Ukrainian Orthodox Church which was not under pressure from a foreign government urging its own political interests. He calls the Russian hierarchy in Ukraine at the beginning of the Revolution the Ukrainian Hierarchy, although they were completely hostile to the Ukrainian cause. He emphasizes all the uncanonical actions of the Ukrainian Autocephalous clergy and faithful, although he passes over in silence similar uncanonical steps taken by the Russian bishops to preserve the domination of the Russian Church. His industrious gathering of material and his careful quotations, make the work, as we would expect of a German scholar, a useful handbook. He has not known to capture the highly idealistic spirit of the Ukrainian Church revolution which had much in common with similar movements in earlier times in other countries. The development of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was hampered by the interference of the bloody Communist regime; in 1927-1931, the Ukrainian Orthodox movement might have led to a Ukrainian Orthodox Reformation. But the government of red Moscow suppressed it ruthlessly, for it feared the political consequences of such a reformation and development in the Ukrainian people.

DE CAPITULIS BASILIANORUM by Meletius M. Wojnar, OSBM. Romae, 1954
 Analecta OSBM, Section I, Vol. III.

This is the second volume of the work of this author on the structure of the Basilian Order during two centuries of its history in Ukraine and Byelorussia (1617-1795).

The first volume gave a general characterization of the development of the administration of the Order at this period. This volume examines the different institutions of the Order and in detail considers especially the chapters or monastic councils.

The Basilian Order had three types of chapters, graded hierarchically, local, provincial and general. The most important was the general chapter (to which the greater part of the work is devoted). This had in the "Ruthenian Catholic Church" a special importance not only for the Basilian Order but for the entire Church, since in addition to the monks the entire Catholic hierarchy of the Kievan Metropolitanate took part and the Metropolitan of Kiev presided. Since this chapter of the Order met every four years, it, in part, took the place of a church council, especially since the hierarchy was of Basilian origin.

The work consists of an introduction and three parts. The introduction which will interest the historian gives a brief outline of the history of Chapters in general and especially in the Basilian Order and then reviews the content and the resolutions of the general Chapters in chronological order, then of the provincial Chapters and finally the local Chapters.

In the legal section the author sets out the legal structure of the different sections on the eve of the general Chapters (1. the way of electing the Protoarchimandrite, 2. the ritual for the deliberations, and 3. for deposing the Protoarchimandrite); then the structure of the provincial and the local Chapters.

The whole is based upon documents chiefly from the Vatican Archives.

From the legal side the value of this book is to be estimated by the fact that it is on the whole the first attempt to set forth systematically the monastic law in the "Ruthenian Catholic Church."

There is no doubt that Rev. Father Wojnar is the outstanding historian of the Basilian Order as to its internal structure, i.e. the internal history of the Basilians. His work is based entirely on source material, printed or unprinted, in the Vatican Archives. His analysis of these sources is very careful and his results are clear and concentrated in style around the material which he has studied.

For our part we would only add that a certain vagueness is caused by the names of the Basilian provinces. The first and older province was called Lithuanian, not because it was composed of Lithuanians (we know the Lithuanians are Latin Catholics) but only because its territory took in the area which in the Polish Republic was called the Grand Lithuanian Principality, although the population was Greek Catholic with few exceptions and nationally was Byelorussian.

The second province was popularly called the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) Province, or of the Crown in contradistinction to the Lithuanian. The population and clergy of this province were Ukrainian and the name of Ruthenian Province refers to some historical attempts to separate Crown Poland and the Grand Ruthenian Principality (e. g. by the Treaty of Hadyach in 1658).

The work of Father Wojnar is a valuable addition to the literature of the Ukrainian-Byelorussian Church in the 17th and 18th centuries.

NICHOLAS CHUBATY

NOVY HRAD (The New City), by G. T. Fedotov. A Collection of Articles. New York, Chekhov Publishing House, pp. 377 (in Russian).

The thoughts of the late G.P. Fedotov, the ideologist of the New City, who died in 1951, are now published in popular form. We must hope that the voice of this "realistic idealist" from beyond the grave will be more convincing than during his lifetime, as some of his prophecies begin to come true.

He was a thinker, a historiosophist and a keen philosopher of Russian culture, a Russian patriot and unlike other Russian "Westerners," an undisguised admirer of Western culture. He was especially fascinated by the Greco-Roman classical culture in its continuation and consummation in the Christian synthesis of the Middle Ages. Fedotov by profession was a professor of theology and a lecturer in medieval history. But in his philosophical outlook he did not agree with the eschatological thought of his fellow countryman Berdyaev (to whom in this volume he devoted a critical article) or with the mystic V. Solovyev. He also opposed the historiosophical schematization of Spengler and Danilevsky and the philosophy of the hopeless existentialism and other fatalistic conceptions.

For, as this late thinker says: "Both body and nature and time and history have been made by God as spheres of activity and given on earth to man for his activity, salvation and creation." Man is given freedom of the "heavenly city" inseparable from religion and the vision of a just New City with a universal religious resurrection. This is the chief theme of Fedotov's philosophical works.

The 17 most important essays written by Fedotov during 30 years, are divided in this edition into 3 groups; the first and largest is devoted chiefly to historiosophical comparisons of the social and political relations between the West and Muscovy and the Russian Empire up to our time. The two other groups deal with various problems of the philosophy of culture and religion.

Fedotov devotes much thought to the problem of "the tragedy of the Russian intelligentsia in its different historical stages." According to him the Russian intelligentsia was "idealistic but unrooted" without any organic connection with the actual forces of its fatherland and the sources of its historical course. It went for a long time with the tsar against the people, then with the people against the tsar and nobility and finally against itself.

He devotes considerable space to the problem of the knowledge of the present character of the Soviet man and tries to predict his future development with his indifference to freedom. He thinks that "the new Soviet man is not so much trained in the Marxist school as a belated feature of the Muscovite tsardom with only a superficial touch of Marxism" (p. 167). He can be changed only by the spirit of freedom from the West, since freedom was unknown either to Muscovy or the Russian Empire.

The most important whole is formed by the articles, *The Birth of Freedom, Russia and Freedom* and *The Fate of Empires*. They most closely concern the problems of the New City against the background of the European East. In the opinion of Fedotov, the birth of freedom in the present Western sense, comes not from the revolt of Luther, as some think, but from the mediaeval system of Christian feudalism, when there was developed a pluralism of power, limited by class relationships, regional autonomies, and a division of power between the laity and clergy, factors which did not permit totalitarianism.

The root of this freedom is kept, in the opinion of the author, in the individualistic conservatism of the Anglo-Saxon tradition. Not the freedom of religion.

but the religion of freedom, inseparable from Christianity, has saved Western civilization. The ideal of freedom is not the liberalism of the XIX century nor the contemporary conception with its contradictions, for the latter lacks the religious element.

In the East of Europe parallel to the medieval Western movement there was born a freedom in the aristocratic Kievan Rus' where as in the West there was no tsar or emperor but similar feudal relations. The Byzantinization was not fully carried out. The church was not mixed with the state and stood high above it and the prince had to share his power with the boyars, the druzhyna and the viche. There were close relations with the West and a common struggle with the East caused the development of a special political freedom. Kievan Rus' did not listen too readily to its Byzantine hierarchy, when it warned them against the Western Latins.

Muscovy fell under the Mongol supremacy and turned away from the West and the pressure of the Tatar hordes influenced its organization when baptized and unbaptized Tatars alike entered its service, became prominent people, entered the nobility and introduced the Eastern mechanistic system and the spirit of steppe life (p. 146). The tsar on the example of the khans dealt with his subordinates. Those who opposed his autocracy were not protected by the laws, he carried through a nationalization of the church and forced it into the service of the state. These measures resulted in the "deformation of the soul of the people." In the Tatar school in the Muscovite period there was formed the type of the Russian man who made his choice between freedom and power.

The building of the Empire from Peter I to Lenin is, in Fedotov's opinion, an uninterrupted process of the denationalization of Russia. *The beginning of the violent Russification of the conquered peoples, is, according to Fedotov, the poison which destroyed imperial Russia.*

In Imperial Russia Fedotov sees the root of Bolshevism and its contemporary international tendency and says (p. 195) "It was unconditionally in the traditions of Great Russia that Bolshevism should grow there more than in the other lands of the Empire." It is not strange that the non-Russian peoples try to refrain from sympathy with Bolshevism. Fedotov acknowledges the fact that the Bolshevik revolution triumphed in basic Russia almost without resistance; he acknowledges also that the present hate for Bolshevism is not the same in Great Russia and the other peoples of the USSR and that for this reason it is hard to unite in a common struggle, for the non-Russian peoples seek independence from any Russia. He says that *the Russians mistakenly call the Ukrainians theirs* (p. 197). *Moscow with its eastern attitude is alien to them.*

Fedotov's understanding of Christian freedom carries him to his plan for the New City and allows the recognition of the individuality of the Ukrainian nation but he believes that for Russia itself a violent continuation of the imperialistic life would mean the loss of hope for its own freedom (p.198). The loss of the Empire, says Fedotov, means the liberation of Russian culture from the terrible burden which checks its spiritual vision and he appeals to the Russian intelligentsia to accept this view instead of following the dominant eagles of the old Empire (p.199)

Chicago.

DR. I. VYTANOVYCH.

UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"EXILE PANORAMA (Bird's Eye View on the East European Exile — Nation by Nation)." *Exiled Europe Review*, v. 1, No. 2, New York, April, 1955.

A remarkably accurate survey of current emigre positions and activities in different areas of the free world appears in this issue of what is rapidly becoming a very popular publication in many circles concerned with Eastern Europe. Although doubtlessly there are several points of interpretation that lend themselves to some measure of question and dispute, this survey is on the whole sound and constructively beneficial to the reader in its concise provision of a comprehensive view of groups and organizations dedicated to the liberation of the numerous nations enslaved by imperialist Moscow.

The presentation encompasses the Russians, Balts, Ukrainians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians and a number of other national groups. With regard to the Russian emigres one of the chief points made is that the "concept of 'Holy Mother Russia' is a living idol in their hearts — and Russian messianism is not dead." Evidence supporting this general observation can be had in abundance. The near tragedy of the situation in this country was that far too many well-meaning Americans were unable to understand this institutionally induced phenomenon, no less readily discern it, and consequently furnished inadvertent support to it. Some, however, posing as patriotic Americans and usually possessed with Russian backgrounds, have consciously abetted it and in some quarters continue to succeed at it. It is undoubtedly with this in mind that the writer in his remarks on the assistance extended to these Russian emigres by American foundations, particularly the Ford Foundation, states that "Support is going mainly to those who are partisans of an undivided Russia after the fall of the Communist dictatorship . . ." To the tutored mind, nothing could be more wasteful in the light of the tradition against colonialism and empire obsessions in our country.

In its treatment of the Ukrainians the survey emphasizes at the outset that the "Russians' most dangerous foes are the Ukrainians" who are "perhaps the most dynamic of all exiles." With equal validity it points out, too, that contrary to the Russians, the Ukrainian exiles are not isolated from their people and do maintain to this day important underground channels to Ukraine. This, to be sure, is steadfastly supported from the other end by the unbent activism of Ukrainian resistance for which, again, there is considerable supporting evidence. Only recently, as reported in the *New York Times* of August 18, William Piddington, the ex-British paratrooper who was incarcerated for four years in Siberian slave camps, testified on the strong Ukrainian resistance movement with which he was in contact.

As to the scope of influence exerted by the Ukrainian groups the study observes, "You find their most powerful allies among the members of the Congress of the United States—and in Germany." Indeed, no more powerful allies could be found than the elected representatives of the American people. It is noteworthy that the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, which is a national organization of Americans of Ukrainian ancestry, is singled out as the most

effective organization striving in the free world for the realization of an independent Ukraine. Concerning the disputable criticism offered by the writer that the supposedly excessive territorial demands of the Ukrainian groups damage their cause, in that they unfavorably affect the Poles, Czechs, Hungarians and Roumanians, the position of the Congress Committee would be guided chiefly by ethnographic criteria which, on clear analysis, should reduce the seeming potency of this criticism. At present no other criterion can be applied to achieve peace and democratic justice in delimitation of national states rather than the ethnographic principle.

"VIOLATIONS OF TREATIES, OBLIGATIONS AND AGREEMENTS BY THE SOVIET UNION," by Hon. Thomas J. Dodd. *The Congressional Record*. Washington, D. C., July 19, 1955.

For some time in this country the misconception prevailed that the record of Soviet violation of treaties and aggression commenced in the closing years of the 30's. Some uninformed persons still harbor this misconception. But, fortunately, this is being widely rectified as more and more responsible Americans take the pains to read the outstanding literature on the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. Beyond question of doubt, the greatest contribution toward this end of public enlightenment on this fundamental matter was made by the Select House Committee on Communist Aggression, led by its able chairman, the Honorable Charles J. Kersten, and on which Congressman Dodd of Connecticut served with marked constructive report. The official findings of this Committee constitute today the prime authoritative source of evidence and judgment of opinion on the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union.

In this instructive address Mr. Dodd admirably reflects the solid research work of the former Kersten Committee. He stresses the fact that during "the 38 years of Bolshevik rule in Russia, the Kremlin has not only violated 36 different nonaggression pacts but during this period of time 16 different, independent nations have been swallowed up by the Soviets." He continues, "This most tragic story of our time began when the National Republic of Byelorussia was overrun by the Red army on December 30, 1917." Following this, in systematic fashion the erudite Congressman and distinguished jurist enumerates the many successive aggressions committed in this period by the Russian Communists. Azerbaidjan, Armenia, Georgia and other independent non-Russian republics are treated expertly. "Next on the list," he declares, "was the Ukrainian National Republic, a government established on November 20, 1917, and recognized as independent by the major powers." By 1920, as he shows, the Iron Curtain of imperialist Russian Communism was thrown about this largest non-Russian nation as well.

Judging by such addresses and writings, it can be soundly stated that the work of the Select Committee is still being undertaken in an educational sense. The practical fruition of this work is manifold and will certainly produce even greater results in the near future. It was a source of great pride and achievement for the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America to collaborate and work closely with this famous Committee in uncovering the true facts about Russian Communist aggression against Ukraine and the other formerly independent non-Russian nations.

"'FREEDOM'S FACTS' HITS HARD AT COMMUNISM," an article. *The Elks Magazine*, Chicago, Illinois, April, 1955.

Bringing to the attention of its far-flung membership the excellent monthly publication of "Freedom's Facts Against Communism," which is issued by the All-

American Conference to Combat Communism, this magazine of a great American organization underscores two aspects of the communist problem which it finds "particularly informative" in a commentary reprinted from one of the issues of *Freedom's Facts*. The two aspects are cosmopolitanism and bourgeois nationalism, the foremost enemies of Russian Communism. As is well pointed out, what the communists refer to as "cosmopolitanism", the Western world understands as individualism, and what they dub as "bourgeois nationalism", we know to be national patriotism.

The selection of the passages in the reprinted commentary is noteworthy from the point of view of providing the Elks readers a full perspective on this communist problem. One, for example, is that "When the communists seized control of the Russian Empire in 1917, they began a campaign to gather all the non-Russian nations in the area into the Soviet Union, then began systematically to try to destroy the national patriotism of their peoples." Pursuing this well grounded thesis of the non-Russian nations in the USSR, which, incidentally, is generally accepted now in many institutions of higher learning and of public life, it is then observed that "The Ukraine, Byelorussia and Georgia took the brunt of this drive to destroy nationalism and replace it with Soviet patriotism." That Moscow has failed miserably in this respect is well emphasized in this writing.

"THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE," an appeal by Rusi Nasar. Bandung, Indonesia, April 1955.

Widely circulated among all delegates to the historic Asian-African Conference, now more popularly known as the Bandung Conference, was this well written appeal prepared by a former officer of the Turkistani Legion who attended the momentous proceedings of this event. The appeal traces the expansion of Russian imperialism and colonialism over the centuries and shows its substantial continuation in contemporary communism. With obvious propriety it concentrates on the colonial submergence of the once independent nations of Asia, such as the Turkistanis, the Volga-Ural Tatars, the Azerbaidjanians, Georgians, Kalmyks and Crimean Tatars. The significance of this is seen in the quoted words of Peter the Great who observed that "it is essential to come as close as possible to Constantinople and Eastern India — whoever possesses those will rule the world."

In response to this plea for moral support of the colonial nations of the Soviet Union, meaning the once independent non-Russian nations from the Baltic to the Black Sea and over to the Ural, several delegates reported superbly on the unprecedented nature of Russian Communist imperialism and colonialism. The courageous statement of Sir John of Ceylon will long be remembered. In point of fact, the Bandung Conference emerged as the prime moral and political force against imperialist colonialism anywhere. And the worst of these today is within the Soviet Union itself.

"NAZI OCCUPATION OF UKRAINE," by Lev Shankovsky. *The Ukrainian Review*, v.2, No. 2, London, June 1955.

The Ukrainian Review is a quarterly magazine published by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain. Although relatively recent in inception, it has already gained in literary status and reputation and may be likened in purpose and character to this publication which mainly serves the area of the United States. Its issues are replete with fascinating and absorbing articles and its

general presentation of problems relating to Ukraine, the Soviet Union and Russian Communism is definitely popular and attractive in mode. Needless to say, there is considerable room for many more of such periodicals in the free world to serve the function of public enlightenment on these vital issues.

In this particular issue the article on the Nazi occupation of Ukraine is outstanding. The author packs it with documented facts and clearly demonstrates the barbarity and utter stupidity of Nazi policy in Ukraine. His many generalizations are, of course, not new to informed observers in the field but his approach is refreshing and closely empirical, enough for the reader, even one who has covered the field, to reconstruct imaginatively the sordid conditions of the time. The report of Alvin J. Steinkopf, a correspondent of the Associated Press who witnessed the incredible barbarities of the Russian withdrawals from Ukrainian territory is quoted at length. "Who were the dead? The usual answer is that they were Ukrainians who either were, or were suspected of having been, agents of the Ukrainian independence movement." The fate met by hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian patriots at the bloody hands of the Russian Communists is shown in detail as being repeated under the Nazi totalitarians. As it turned out, the Ukrainians, led by the heroic Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), fought both Russian Communist and Nazi German totalitarianism. The writer could not possibly end his well written article on a sounder note than that "They chose a hard road, fully realising that freedom cannot be conquered without great sacrifice and suffering.

"THE SOVIETIZATION OF EASTERN EUROPE," by Alvin Z. Rubinstein. Social Science, National Academy of Economics and Political Science, Washington, D. C., April 1955.

The strides made by Moscow in the politico-economic domination of all Eastern Europe are clearly described in this effectively organized essay authored by a Naval lieutenant. The point of acceleration was, as the writer stresses, the implementation of the Marshall Plan and all sorts of techniques, political and economic, which includes the Cominform, were employed to hasten the realization of complete Moscow control. It is evident that the writer possesses a working knowledge of the Soviet Union and, more, it is commendable that nowhere in the article can one find any misleading terminology that confuses Russia with the Soviet Union. Furthermore, he cannot but draw full agreement from an informed reader with his observation that "It is vital that the West not permit itself the luxury of illusion. For though Soviet tactics may be modified to fit the exigencies of the moment, there are no indications of any change in basic Soviet strategy." The spirit of Geneva has almost produced the illusion of peaceful co-existence.

"DILEMMAS OF THE DOCTRINE OF LIBERATION," by Ivo Duchacek. Christian Democratic Review, New York, March-April, 1955.

It is, of course, not possible here to offer a full critique of this thought-provoking article prepared by a former member of the Czechoslovak Parliament and now a lecturer at the City College of New York. However, several points of criticism may be mentioned to furnish at least the general directions of such a critique, one that would certainly dispel what he considers to be the dilemmas of the doctrine of liberation. First, it is immediately evident that the empirical political framework of his analysis is a narrow and historically unrealistic one.

For the writer, as indeed for many who come from his area, it appears that the only nations who are enslaved by Moscow are those who lost their independence in the 40's. Thus he raises the misleading question, "However, when we say that Eastern European freedom is worth dying for, we cannot avoid the question: "how many should die in order to free one hundred million Eastern Europeans?" The fact is that there are even greater millions in the Soviet Union and in Asia for whom freedom is as valuable as for those in so-called satellite Europe. As one would expect, the writer in effect writes off the Soviet Union as merely Russia. Yet, to any sound observer, the lively presence of Western allies in the USSR itself is even more crucial to the success of a peaceful liberation policy.

Second, his classification of two schools of thought on the liberation policy — the optimistic and the pessimistic — is in fact unreal. Were the author familiar with the personalities involved in this issue, he would realize that those, like Mr. Kennan and his flock, fall into his description of the optimistic school which is scarcely representative of true liberation doctrine as espoused by Professor Burnham, Charles Kersten, Congressman Feighan, Dr. O'Connor and a host of others. The sweet evolution of the Soviet system, accommodating normal diplomatic negotiations, is no tenet of the liberation doctrine. Third, if one rightly identifies the liberation proponents with what the writer mistakenly classifies as "the pessimistic school," then his conclusion that preventive war is the outcome in the liberating process is subject to devastating attack. In the logic of things, it might surprise the writer to know that the liberation doctrine is being strenuously advocated to prevent a war which the position of his "optimistic school" surely invites. With a broader and more realistic political framework, had he taken into account such basic variables as genocidal consolidation, adequacy of arms, and time, his analysis would receive more serious thought in quarters where this issue is being fought.

"THE SUMMIT OF FREEDOM: ITS INDIVISIBILITY," a memorandum relative to The Four Power Conference in Geneva. The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, New York, July 1955.

This official memorandum of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America was submitted to the White House and the Department of State before the opening of the so-called conference at the summit last July in Geneva, Switzerland. In a logically integrated and lucid manner it sets forth the just cause of Ukraine and the other captive non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. The close argumentation is founded on solid historical evidence and is pursued in the twelve pages of the memorandum with a continuity of political logic that coherently concatenates the principle of national self-determination and independence, the advocacy of systematic relative disarmament, the abolishment of the Russian Iron Curtain and the peaceful policy of liberation. The initial section on "Some Concrete Measures of Real Success" advances several practical steps that could be taken to test the genuineness of present Russian Communist peace overtures, especially those on the abolishment of the Iron Curtain and a pressure for the application of the constitutional secession right of the non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R.

L. E. D.

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