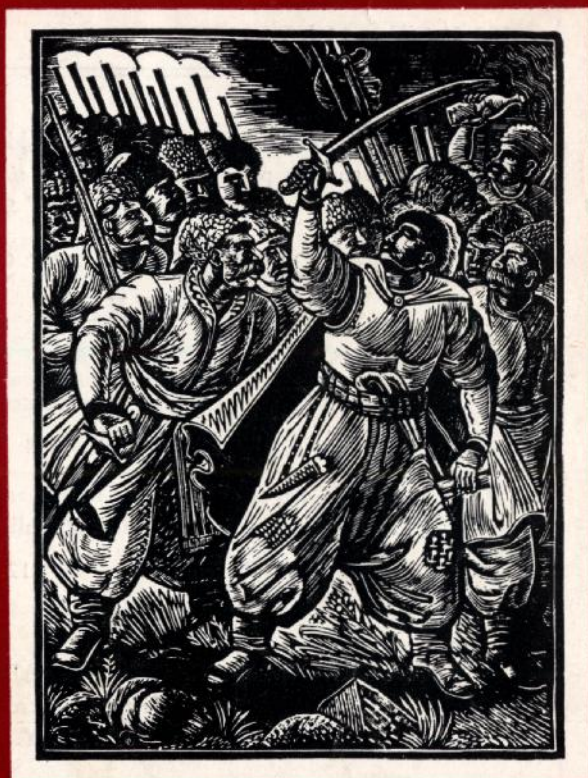


The UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY



Vol. XI. No. 4

Autumn, 1955

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Watson Kirkconnell

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THE CAUSE OF OUR INTERNATIONAL FAILURE

Editorial

In the last weeks and especially since the futile conference of the Four Foreign Ministers in Geneva, a number of the most prominent American statesmen have written and stated that the American international position is steadily deteriorating and that the Soviets are gaining. In a quite alarming article in the *New York Times Sunday Magazine* for November 27, 1955 entitled "The Crisis that Faces Us Will Not Wait," Hon. Chester Bowles, our former Ambassador to India, politically one of the most sensitive countries of the world, wrote: "Among authorities on world affairs there is increasing concern over the steady weakening of our international position. The new Soviet tactics can be successfully met, they say, only by a fundamental switch in some of our present policies."

Some of the signs of this weakening are: the failure of German unification for a long time and the resulting consequences, the strengthening of East Germany as an independent state, the Soviet entrance into the Middle East, and the enthusiastic welcome of the Soviet leaders in India, Burma and Afghanistan on their provocative propaganda tour.

Mr. Bowles did not indicate clearly what this switch to a more successful method was to involve. Like other writers, he agrees that the balance now achieved in atomic developments makes a military showdown between the Free and the Communist world less probable; that the weight of our foreign policy must be directed toward the economic support of the undeveloped countries and that stress must be laid on the political and ideological struggle. Thus he writes: "The events of the last few months indicate that Moscow understands this historical development better than we do."

But in the same issue of the *New York Times* we read about the explosion in the Soviet Union of the most powerful H-bomb ever defonated there, and this is a good proof that the Soviet Union despite its talk will not give up the use of atomic weapons in the final showdown with the capitalistic world. Secondly, we have spent billions in the undeveloped countries and we can hardly admit that the Soviet economy

can match this. Their sensational promises to Egypt to build the Aswan Dam with their own resources or to help India to the extent of one and a half billion dollars to fulfill the new Indian Five Year Plan cannot endanger our international situation, because it is evident that such promises are fantastic and cannot be realized by the weaker Soviet economy.

The Soviet international successes are in the field of political and ideological manoeuvring and in that they are masters. Unfortunately we are unable to compete with the Communists in this, although we have all necessary means and weapons to triumph in it. We cannot exploit the situation, for we are refusing to use those resources in our political and ideological arsenal which we have inherited from our forefathers and which our present American leaders have refrained from using.

WE ARE NOT FOLLOWING IN THE PATH OF CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

First our foreign policy is conservative and lacks all political vision. This nation was born from the revolutionary ideas of the 18th Century. The American Declaration of Independence was a highly idealistic document on behalf of free men and free nations. The American Constitution embodied the ideas of Montesquieu on a free government controlled by the people. Only after the American Revolution, the Great French Revolution proclaimed similar ideals of "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité." These two revolutions commenced the movements for national liberation in Europe and in South America. Greece and the Balkan nations won their liberty from foreign domination. The idea that each nation has a God-given right to be master of its own fate and of its own soil permeated every day more strongly all the subjugated nations of Europe which were sufficiently enlightened to understand their national identity and their past. The Central European Revolution of 1848 (the Spring of the Nations) was not successful, for the Hapsburg Monarchy and Tsarist Russia were too strong. It did however, result soon in the unification of Germany and Italy and the revolutionary movements for liberation of the Poles, Ukrainians and other peoples of the Russian Empire.

America for the second time through her President Woodrow Wilson proclaimed this sacred right of all nations to be free. In his speech on the Self-Determination of Peoples, he like a statesman and a scholar set out clearly the contemporary historical current. His definition of international justice and democracy was accepted as a new gospel by all the people in the world who were fighting for liberation.

As the result of this American political doctrine, Poland and Czechoslovakia were established as free nations after World War I.

The peoples of the fallen Russian Empire in 1917 also proclaimed their independence: Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Few in this country can imagine how highly the moral position of America was regarded in Europe and Asia at that time.

But the idealistic program of President Wilson went no further than the liberation of Poland, Czechoslovakia and the three Baltic states. The American government refused to apply this American doctrine to the other nations of the former Russian Empire. Instead it joined the other Western powers which for their own selfish interests were endeavoring against the course of history to rebuild the rotten tsarist reactionary Russian Empire. The attempt was hopeless and it profited only the Communists who skilfully exploited "the capitalistic hypocrisy." They assented to the principle of self-determination but they gave to the peoples of the fallen Russian Empire Communistic governments "by their own will" and eventually the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics "from which they can secede" at every opportune point.

The Soviet Union quickly became the worst type of colonial empire ruled by the bloody methods of the Kremlin, but the facade of a union allowed the new Red Russian Empire not only to deceive the world but to proclaim itself the champion of the general movement for liberation from colonialism in Asia, Africa and even America. Moscow understood the trend of contemporary history, the desire for liberation of all peoples who had achieved even the minimum of national consciousness, and exploited it for its own benefit against the Western World.

At the very moment when it was subjecting the formally free nations of the Soviet Union to the worst type of colonialism, the Kremlin organized a world conspiracy to dominate Asia and Africa on the ruins of the old colonialism so as finally to possess the entire world. It established in Moscow in the twenties an Academy for the Study of Asiatic and African Languages and Cultures. It brought to its Academy of Marxism-Leninism thousands of talented individuals from all nations and these included the best patriots of the non-Communist Asiatic and African peoples and prepared them to become the leaders of liberation movements with a Communist background. It is almost impossible to find any Communist leader of the satellite states or of the Asiatic and African peoples who has not passed through this Moscow Academy.

It is a crass oversimplification to call these individuals merely Communists or fifth columnists. Leaders of the former colonial peoples are often real patriots who have become disillusioned because their countries cannot win independence with Western aid and they have turned to

Communism in despair. Many of them are more nationalistic than Communist.

The movement for liberation has now swept over the entire world. What is happening in India, Pakistan, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, the Middle East and North Africa is the same as what is going on in Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Turkestan, Cyprus, the Saar and Germany. Every nation in the world wishes at the present time to be free and independent, the master of its own fate, its own soil and its own wealth and to build its own way of life. That is the meaning of the modern enlightened nationalism which is synonymous with patriotism. Just as the Americans, the French and the English wish to live in a country which includes their kin and to have their own way of life, so do the Germans desire the unification of the German lands, so do the Greeks, the Ukrainians, the Turkestanians, the Moroccans and even the members of African tribes. But this idea finds no full comprehension in the country of Washington and of Wilson who initiated and proclaimed these ideals. That is the tragedy of America and the cause of the failure of the American foreign policy.

Several American journalists of high repute have blamed the results of the voting in the Saar on nationalistic passions, irresponsibility, etc. (*New York Times*, Oct. 25, Editorial) or as "new Nazi-like tendencies" (the Childs column in the *Evening Bulletin*, Philadelphia, Nov. 14). Why is it wrong that the Saarlanders want to be masters of their own soil and united to their kinsfolk in Germany? If we understood the trend of modern history, we would certainly not be surprised at the result of the voting.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION LEADERSHIP BELONGS TO US

With this movement for the national liberation of all peoples growing steadily, we blame the Communists for studying and exploiting it. We do not realize that we are ourselves to blame for neglecting it and giving the impression that we are supporting by our own will the oppression of colonial peoples, our valued allies. It is our task to convince our Western allies that they are following a doomed policy and that it is to their interests to make such agreements with their former colonial peoples even at this late moment as will be to the benefit of both sides.

We must unbind our own hands and strike for the friendship of these former colonial peoples. We must not allow that leadership to pass to the Communists by default. We have a great advantage in our long tradition of a liberal political system. We have our economic strength, but without a true appreciation of the problem, we cannot

use that to the best advantage, especially if we believe that our only task is to distribute money. *We cannot buy with gold the favor of these people struggling to be free and equal nations of the world.*

Yet America is strangely passive. That nation which produced the Declaration of Independence and declared for the rights of man, is allowing Red Moscow, the greatest oppressor in the world, the acknowledged master of genocide, the worst colonial power enslaving several nations within the Soviet Union to take the lead in the movement for liberation.

The Chicago speech of our Secretary of State on December 8, 1955 (*N.Y.T.*, Dec. 9, 1955) was most inspiring; he quoted Lincoln saying that our Declaration of Independence was not exclusively for us but giving the "hope for all world for all future time." Why therefore do our foreign officials in their practical work understand that only the satellite countries are nations held captive by Red Moscow?

The world cannot understand this enigma and America is therefore losing the confidence of its former friends. How can we at all do such? How can the American delegate in the Human Rights Committee of the UN vote against the self-determination of peoples? Of course, he was defeated. (*New York Times*, Nov. 30, 1955, p. 13). Why have we not ratified the Genocide Convention? Red Russia has done so. There can be no convincing explanation, unless there exists in this country an unparalleled and hopeless ignorance or there is an influential group which is deliberately working for the preservation of the Soviet Empire against the interests of the United States, the peoples of the Soviet Union and all humanity.

The whole world knows that during the Russian Revolution several peoples of the former tsarist Russia not only proclaimed their independence but heroically took up arms and fought for it. They have continued to do so. The so-called Kersten Committee of the House of Representatives has made clear the extent of this anti-Russian and anti-Communist movement in the USSR. It is equally clear that it is the Ukrainian people who are heading this struggle.

More information has been brought by the German prisoners who have recently been released from Soviet imprisonment. They have reported from their own knowledge that the Ukrainians are still resisting Moscow domination and that therefore they form the majority of the prisoners in the Soviet prison camps.

After the propaganda visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev in Kabul, a treaty with Afghanistan was made on Dec. 18, 1955, paragraph 2 of which states: "*The Government of the Soviet Union and the Royal Government of Afghanistan are convinced that those peoples and nations that are still deprived of freedom and national sovereignty have*

the right, based on the United Nation Charter, to determine their future fate without pressures and stress from abroad."

The only country having such oppressed nations is the Soviet Union. Those nations, members of the USSR, and the satellite countries are nations enslaved from abroad, from the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic, the real ruler of the Soviet Union. Why do we fail to unmask the shameless hypocrisy of Red Russia? Why does not our delegate in the United Nations demand realization of this point of the Soviet-Afghan treaty in accordance with the Charter of UN? Inside the Soviet Union and on its Western borders there are our faithful allies, yet we make no move to help them.

Instead we force the leaders of our own *Voice of America* not to mention the fight for the liberation of the Soviet peoples from Moscow. The same restriction is put on *Radio Liberation* and *Radio Free Europe*. Why is this?

MYSTERIOUS AFFAIR OF THE C. I. A. HEAD, ALLEN W. DULLES

We have evidence which proves that some governmental agencies are deliberately hiding from the American people the fact that there are several nations in the Soviet Union fighting for independence. These same agencies even hide from the American people the very name of our archenemy, the Soviet Union, so as not to suggest that there are different nations in the USSR and that it is purely a Russian state.

The *Congressional Record* of the House of Representatives on August 2, 1955 printed a speech of Hon. Michael A. Feighan of Ohio which presents an unusual story involving Mr. Allen W. Dulles, the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Mr. Dulles wrote for the July 4 issue of the *Washington Post and Times Herald* an article "Let's Look at Russia Honestly." He speaks in it only of Russia and he calls the inhabitants of the Soviet Union Russians. Mr. Dulles, the foremost American intelligence authority, as the head of the American intelligence system found only three weaknesses in the Soviet Empire: agricultural troubles, industrialization and the satellite areas. He made no mention of any tensions inside the Soviet Union in the republics of the non-Russian peoples, although this revolutionized majority of the population of the Kremlin Empire is its Achilles' heel.

Congressman Feighan in a letter dated July 6, 1955, asked Mr. Dulles why he had given such defective and incomplete information to the American people. According to the *Congressional Record*, Mr. Dulles failed to give a written answer and proposed an oral conference. The Congressman demanded that there should be a written answer and given as much publicity as there had been given the incorrect article.

Mr. Dulles did not answer the second letter of Congressman Feighan. This made Congressman Feighan realize that the Director of the C. I. A. was working intentionally along the lines of the Russia-Firsters as described in the article by Americus in this periodical in the Summer, 1953 number. There it was said that the Russia-Firsters are strongly entrenched in the American government. Accordingly the Congressman inserted that article in the *Congressional Record*.

This Dulles-Feighan incident reveals the cause of the failure of the American foreign policy. For reasons that cannot be understood, it appears that our foreign policy is working for the preservation of the Empire dominated by the Red Russians and approves the enslavement of the non-Russian nations, the majority of the population of the USSR. If we made clear the true situation in the Soviet Union and exposed the oppression of the non-Russian nations, we would be able to unmask the hypocrisy of the Kremlin leaders in Asia and Africa.

We have some aversion which again cannot be understood to the Bandung Conference, although at that we could have exposed the real face of the Red Russian oppression of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union and could at least have neutralized the Soviet apparent anti-colonialism, if we did not succeed in condemning it before the peoples of Asia and Africa. Apparently the influence of the Russia-Firsters is still so strong that they are able to endanger the interests of our country. The fall of the Red Russian Empire will inevitably mean the breaking up of it into a number of independent states. Why do we not support this natural liberal trend of modern history?

IN WHAT DIRECTION IS OUR FOREIGN POLICY TO SWITCH?

To switch the American foreign policy on the right tracks, the American people must insist upon the following: 1. American foreign policy must be sincerely based on the ideals of the American Declaration of Independence; 2. It must take the initiative and be dynamic; 3. We must be as strong ideologically as militarily; 4. We must realize that our economic aid to undeveloped countries must have a subordinate and not a decisive role; 5. American foreign policy must unmask the hypocrisy of the Kremlin's claim to be the liberator of colonial peoples and expose the Red Russian oppression of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union; and 6. America must openly declare her advocacy of the liberation of the non-Russian nations from the colonial rule of Moscow.

If our policy continues its endeavor to save the Red Russian colonial Empire it must be condemned to full failure. The only way to turn the tide and win the Asiatic and African peoples, as well as the world opinion — is to unmask the real face of the Soviet Union.

INTEGRITY IN FOREIGN POLICY

By WATSON KIRKCONNELL

(An address at McGill University, November 8, 1955)

Canada is allegedly a Christian country. Sometimes our traditions are even described as founded on the highest principles of Greece, Rome and Judea, blended together in a laudable synthesis of moral principles. The ethics of Aristotle and the moral earnestness of the Hebrew prophets are assumed to be a part of our heritage. The simplest version of that inheritance is perhaps to be found in the book of *Micah*: "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

As I survey Canadian foreign policy, and that of our close allies, during the past twenty years, I have profound misgivings as to our fidelity to any point whatever in that spiritual duty. We may indeed have paid lip-service to morality but in actual practice we have wandered far from the straight and narrow path. We have done those things which we ought not to have done, and have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and there is precious little health in us.

Twenty years ago, one of the world's two most evil systems was taking shape in Central Europe in the regime of Adolf Hitler. Its program of conquest was brazenly set forth in the pages of *Mein Kampf*. A million of its victims were in concentration-camps, modelled after the far vaster ones of the Soviet Union. The men at the head of this sinister conspiracy were bold and exceedingly evil. Yet what did I find in the Berlin Zoo in July 1938? Some sleek Canadian bison presented by Mr. MacKenzie King to that obese scoundrel, Herman Goering. The assumption of our policy was that by "sweetness and light" we should woo the evil-doer into honest ways. Of all the victims of Nazi brutality it was not polite to speak. It was forbidden to "love mercy" lest one should endanger our foolish courtship of the devils of injustice. The same madness that has marked Western policy since the Geneva Conference of July 1955 was equally prevalent in our dealings with Hitler as he prepared for his kill.

But, you may urge, the Nazis are not the Communists and our mistakes that brought disaster in the case of Nazi Germany might pay off in the case of Soviet Russia in 1955.

Let me protest every atom of that assumption! Every accusation of evil that could be brought against Hitler can be brought with equal justice against the regime of Khrushchev, Bulganin and Molotov. Their victims are far more numerous. Their lying agents play the traitor on a vastly greater scale throughout the world. Their administration is just as ruthless and criminal from top to bottom. If we "love mercy," why do we stop our ears to the voices of their victims in campaigns of mass murder and slave camps torment? If we seek justice, why do we pose and primp in "good will" posturing with these evil men?

We are in the early stages of the repetition of a tragedy that endangered our survival at the close of World War II. Like spectators at the cinema, we may say: "This is where we came in." But unlike those spectators, we shall find, if we continue through the second show, that the cycle of folly will carry our destruction a long way further, perhaps beyond hope of recovery...

So relevant is that earlier orgy of good-will forwards Moscow that I must remind you of its malign record.

When the War ended in 1945, the Western Allies, and especially the United States, stood on an incomparable pinnacle of power. Their navies and air forces were by far the strongest in the world. Their armies, while perhaps numerically smaller than those of Russia, were overwhelmingly superior in equipment and striking power. Yet within less than two years all of these advantages had been poured down the drain and almost every logical objective of the War had been lost. By 1954, we had only slowly crawled back to a point where our survival was not a bad risk. In 1955, driven mad by "Geneva Fever," we are again in danger of cutting our own throats.

The disasters of 1945 and the years following were due to simple dishonesty in our policies during the War. On June 22, 1941, one honest Canadian newspaperman blurted out editorially that "now the world's two most evil regimes are at each other's throats;" and then the iron hand of government was laid on every editorial mouth. Henceforth all agencies of propaganda were instructed to portray Soviet Union as a noble democracy. After four years of universal lying on this subject, all of our leaders, both civil and military, had been deluded into thinking that our Soviet allies were friends and good fellows who could be trusted to bring in a brave new democratic world after V-day.

The contrary was substantially true. The peoples of the Soviet Union were indeed human beings like ourselves, but Russians, Ukrainians, Georgians and the rest were all innocent victims of the Communist police state — all, that is, except that three per cent minority, the Party members, who exploit the other ninety-seven per cent and instigate reptile minor-

ities in all non-Communist countries to inaugurate there the same system of murder and serfdom.

The chief basic fact of contemporary politics is the world-wide revolutionary conspiracy that was organized in and from Moscow in 1919 and the years immediately following. The Soviet Union and its ardent tools, the Communist parties of all countries, have in the past thirty-six years been wrought together into a vast, closely co-ordinated machine for propaganda, recruitment, espionage, subversion, revolution and war. Article I of the Comintern Constitution states quite clearly that the objective is world revolution and the absorption of all countries into the Soviet super-state. Article III of the Constitution subjects every Communist in the world to the iron control of the Kremlin.

When Khrushchev assures us with a smile that the Communists, while foreswearing war, remain faithful to Marx-Leninism, he assumes quite correctly that scarcely one Canadian in ten thousand has read through Marx's *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 and through Lenin's 1919 *Program of the Third International*. "Marx-Leninism" sounds like an abstract political philosophy or Party platform, Western style, to which you would expect a good Communist party member to remain loyal. Actually it is a program of political dynamite, calling for the violent overthrow of all non-Communist governments and the extermination of whole strata in our national populations. "Marx-Leninism" is a world-wide program of bloody revolution, pledged to our destruction.

The real cold war is this revolutionary conspiracy against the free world. "East-West tension" is entirely the creation of that conspiracy. When journalistic agents and dupes keep hammering at us to relieve that tension, they are really urging the intended victim to make himself still more vulnerable to an inexorable killer. We are assured by Moscow that Marx-Leninism, with its active program for our destruction, is still the gospel for every Communist in the world.

We should remember that there is neither justice nor mercy in the Soviet regime. Bolshevik socialism in practice has produced a slave state. The industrial worker is a serf who cannot leave his factory yet can be shifted anywhere by the state; he is savagely punished for lateness, unauthorized absence, or even accidental breakage; he cannot bargain over wages or hours; the factory bosses can cut off his rations and turn him out of his home; and the highly propagandized benefits of his social security system are reserved by law for a minority of shock-brigaders. The peasant is likewise a serf, tied to his Kolkhoz, overtaxed with burdens and penalties, and shot for any pilfering from his own crop. Beneath the suffering masses of workers and peasants lie the fifteen million victims of the forced labour camps.

All this was perfectly well known to Franklin D. Roosevelt when on February 10, 1940, he stated: "The Soviet Union, as everybody who has the courage to face the fact knows, is run by a dictatorship as absolute as any other dictatorship in the world." How did it happen then that during the next five years he gambled away the freedom of a dozen nations and jeopardized the future of the world by embracing that dictatorship as a virtuous and gallant friend? Some of the blame may be ascribed to the confidence he placed in the opinions of ignorant, foolish or dishonest advisers. Some of it may have come with that blurring of judgement that sometimes afflicts men in high places. At any rate, Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins seem to have concocted a plan to convert Stalin to liberal Christian democracy:

(a) By giving Stalin without limit everything he asked for, without conditions of every sort.

(b) By getting Stalin to commit himself to fine general propositions like the Atlantic Charter.

(c) By using all his influence in the United States and other countries to push a propaganda campaign representing the Soviet cobra as a snow-white lamb.

(d) By using the famous Rooseveltian charm, in personal meetings, to convert the bloody despot into a Christian gentleman.

When his former ambassador to Moscow, William Bullitt, presented him with a reasoned memorandum against this folly, Roosevelt merely replied: "Bill, I don't dispute your facts, they are accurate. I don't dispute the logic of your reasoning. I just have a hunch that Stalin is not that kind of a man. Harry (Hopkins) says he's not and that he doesn't want anything but security for his country, and I think that if I give him everything that I possibly can and ask nothing in return, *noblesse oblige*, he won't try to annex anything and will work with me for a world of democracy and peace." In defiance of every sane argument, F. D. R. proceeded to play this hunch and drag the world down to disaster in his mad gamble.

Glowing pro-Soviet propaganda now swept the country with White House instigation. The President aided and abetted Joseph E. Davies, who had spent only a few weeks in Moscow, in publishing and filming a propaganda book called *Mission to Moscow* and in stumping his country and Canada with the text: "In my opinion the word of honour of the Soviet government is as safe as the Bible."

The campaign of official mendacity spread to Great Britain, where in 1943 the so-called "Minister of Information," the Honourable Brendan Bracken, now Viscount Bracken, assured the public that "Soviet Russia has never broken its word." William Henry Chamberlin pilloried this

lie in the *New Leader* for September 18, 1943, by surveying a whole series of Soviet treaties with neighboring countries regarding which the naked fact of history was that "Stalin broke every one of these treaties that it was physically possible for him to break." A fuller list of Stalin's treaty violations, compared in detail with those of his nearest rival in iniquity, Adolf Hitler, will be found in an appendix to William Bullitt's book, *The Great Globe Itself*.

The propaganda front was little better in Canada. The campaign opened with the spectacular organization meeting in Toronto in June 1943 of the National Council for Canadian-Soviet Friendship, with the Prime Minister of Canada as chairman and with Anglican and Roman Catholic archbishops cheek by jowl with Communists and crypto-Communists on the huge roster of patrons. This particular racket gradually petered out to an unmistakable Red nucleus; but the corresponding mendacity of the Canadian Film Board continued for a long time to supply the Canadian public with films on Russia that were a lie from start to finish. A good example is one called *Our Northern Neighbour*. It begins by stating that in 1914 "scores of millions of Russian serfs" were toiling under Tsarist despotism — although serfdom had been abolished in 1861. It then represents the Tsarist war effort as hamstrung from the start by social discontent — although Tsarist labour legislation was in advance of Canada's and the Tsarist armies fought with greater unanimity than the Soviet armies. (In the so-called Vlassov Army, some 800,000 surrendered Soviet troops enlisted with Hitler for service against Soviet tyranny; and five autonomous Soviet republics were liquidated by the NKVD for mutiny. There were no such defections to the enemy in Tsarist times). The film then shows Lenin and Trotsky at work in Russia organizing wartime revolution against the Tsar — although both Lenin and Trotsky were abroad until after the Tsar abdicated in March 1917. It shows the Red soldiers' attack on the Winter Palace in November 1917 as an attack on the power of the Tsar — whereas the Tsar had been gone for eight months and the Bolsheviks were overthrowing the free republic that had Kerensky at its head. And so the procession of gross and palpable lies marches on.

Canadian radio was also not immune to the spirit of the time, and the CBC had Rudolf Shohan, a veteran Communist and official of the "Labour Progressive Party," giving evening broadcasts all the way from Moscow into millions of Canadian homes, at the taxpayer's expense, for two long years. Canadian Clubs were subjected to addresses by Leftists like Anna Louise Strong, Leopold Infeld and Raymond Arthur Davies; and even the Canadian Institute of International Affairs was sent

by London a pro-Soviet lecturer in the person of the late Sir Bernard Pares.

The sequel to this campaign of lying instigated by Roosevelt throughout the Western World was disastrous in every way. In Europe, the Western armies were held in leash in Central Germany in order to give the Russians occupation of Berlin, Prague and Vienna. European boundaries were drawn that left ten countries at the mercy of Communist armies and political commissars. The freedom of China was given away by concessions that would have been quite unnecessary if Roosevelt, unlike Stalin and out of deference to Stalin, had not insisted on "unconditional surrender" in the East and the West. The Moscow conspiracy, which (according to F.D.R.'s blind optimism) was "not going to annex anything," proceeded to absorb a dozen free countries and a quarter of the human race.

And now in 1955 we seem to be getting back to the old insanity, when every iniquity is condoned in the blessed name of peace. When I was in England last summer, all of the churches were praying for a divine blessing on the Conference at Geneva and public sentiment was being whipped up by pulpit and press to such a state of exaltation that no Western politician would dare to come back from that diplomatic poker-game without proof that he had helped to "relieve East-West tension"—even if he had to crucify justice and mercy in order to do it. An occasional editor might express some misgivings as to the sincerity of the Communist smiles, but, by and large, the sentiment of propaganda's mass media was saturated with fatuous good will towards the greatest butchers on human history.

On my return to Canada, I found similar trends in public propaganda. To the downright alarm of some departments of government, the blessing of External Affairs seemed to have been given to the New Appeasement; and press and radio, in most cases, had promptly fallen into line.

About six weeks ago, an interesting case arose where Mykyta Khrushchev, who holds Stalin's old post as secretary of the All-Union Communist Party, was sufficiently liquored at a reception in honour of an East German delegation to boast over the air that the Soviets would remain true to Marxism-Leninism "until a shrimp learns to whistle" and that Western diplomats who thought that Soviet smiles were a sign of compromise were due for a shocking disappointment. The CBC newscast gave the episode in full on Saturday night and on Sunday morning, but certain powers of censorship then seem to have swung into action and I sought in vain for any mention of the matter on Monday in the news columns of several large Canadian dailies. The managing editor of

one Toronto paper explained his action to me in interesting terms: Khrushchev's speech was not a formal policy statement and therefore his paper had not regarded it as significant.

The CBC had its turn in connection with Mr. Lester Pearson's visit to Moscow. Daily bulletins recorded the stages in his progress towards that Holy City of Communism, and in each case he was quoted as looking forward to sincere cordiality and an easing of East-West tension by his visit. Further daily bulletins covered his red-carpet reception by the world's masters of trickery. When he left by air for the conference of Colombo Powers at Singapore, one might have assumed that the theme would change. But no! His plane stopped at Karachi and his bevy of reporters cabled home that Mr. Pearson was deeply impressed by the sincere cordiality of Moscow and was sure that East-West tension had been eased by his Russian visit. Next day, he was at Colombo, and again the only CBC message was that Mr. Pearson, at Colombo, had been deeply impressed by the sincere cordiality of Moscow and was sure that East-West tension had been eased by his Russian visit. Still another day brought him to Singapore and one might have expected that the CBC would at last have had some comment on the conference there. But we were only told over the air, with damnable iteration, that Mr. Pearson had been deeply impressed by the sincere cordiality of Moscow and was sure that East-West tension had been eased by his Russian visit.

Equally culpable has been the series of articles sent from Moscow to Canadian newspapers by an awkward squad of visiting Canadian journalists. They were commissioned to aid in cultural interchange but they were obviously babes in the woods. What would we think of a roving Chinese reporter who undertook to write a series of articles on London if he knew no word of English and was totally unacquainted with English history and English institutions! Yet that is precisely the sort of thing that these Canadian journalists have done in visiting a government that has been practising the fine art of deceiving foreigners for nearly forty years. A chatty series in the *Toronto Globe and Mail* is rhapsodically entitled "A Country of Wonders;" while the calibre of a series in the *Montreal Gazette* is obvious when the Communists are given credit for the magnificent Bolshoi Theatre, built in 1824. These reporters are presumably honest but their state of total ignorance makes them ideal victims of the Communist propaganda machine, and their illusions are then passed along to their innocent Canadian readers.

It seems obvious that the chief result of "cultural interchange" at the journalistic level is (1) to have Canadian journalists go to Moscow and tell Canadians what a wonderful country Soviet Russia is, and (2)

to have Soviet journalists come to Canada and tell Canadians what a wonderful country Soviet Russia is.

Self-deception of this sort is not confined to visiting Canadian journalists.

About seven weeks ago we had a sample of what happens when well-meaning but uninformed visitors go from Canada to the Soviet Union on cultural interchange. A very eminent Montreal neurologist was invited to Moscow to deliver a couple of scientific lectures. All the Russians whom he met were full of knowledgeable conversation regarding Canada. He was deeply impressed and was reported in the Canadian press and on the Canadian radio as wishing that Canadians knew even half as much about Russia as Russians knew about Canada. The general impression was that the Russians were a friendly people who were kept far more fully in touch with Canadian affairs than our unfriendly or indifferent Canadian nation was with Russian affairs. It might have been added, by way of corroboration, that the Canadian Press has no representative in the Soviet Union while TASS, the Soviet press agency is very active in Canada. In fact, Ottawa friends who live in the same neighborhood there as TASS, have told me that the TASS office seems to work most of the night as well as all day, for the lights in their office are blazing brightly till the small hours of the morning.

But what are the facts? Seven years ago, as a subscriber to *Pravda*, I made a careful day by day check of all news items on Canada carried in Russia's chief newspaper during the space of one entire year. As *Pravda* is published seven days a week, my survey covered 365 issues. For the entire year, just fourteen items appeared. They totalled, in fact, 323 lines, less than an average of one line of type per day for the twelve-month period.

From these items, the Soviet citizen learned that nearly all Canadian newspaper-men were liars; that our political parties were reactionary; and that our Government was leading us into war at the bidding of Wall Street. They also learned that there was a virtuous Communist Party in Canada upholding the cause of truth and peace; that the Red Dean and others had gone up and down the country preaching peace and the glories of the Soviet Utopia; and that Colonel Zabolin's successor at Ottawa had, in honour of the Red Army, thrown a big party at which Ottawa's top brass had joyfully gathered round the cocktail-trough. Of the normal news of a normal year in Canada there was not a syllable. In the Soviet press, as on the Soviet radio, the free institutions, parties and leaders of Canada were either vilified or ignored.

It seems clear from the Soviet press that the Russian people either know nothing about Canada or know only a perversion of the truth that

is even worse than ignorance. The delightfully conversational people met by our visiting Canadian neurologist were clearly coached for propaganda purposes and did a very good job of it, for the false impression that they created echoed and re-echoed charmingly through our press and radio.

But what is the TASS agency doing as it toils day and night? We get a hint from the mail-register pages brought from the Embassy by Igor Gouzenko, where it was plain that dozens of spy reports were being sent to Moscow every day in the year.

A startling example of a good will visit at its worst was the recent tour of Canada by a team of so-called Soviet "farmers" — actually a team of high Communist officials headed by Vladimir Matskevich, who served in the NKVD in the 1930's in the Ukraine when three million peasants were liquidated as *Kulaks* and another five millions were starved to death as a matter of Communist policy. Matskevich shared in the blood-guiltiness of that appalling time, but was greeted in Canada with bouquets of flowers (from the Communist Ukrainians) and with bouquets of adulation from our own bourgeois press. When relatives of Ukrainians who had been murdered by Matskevich in the Ukraine staged protest marches, they were loudly denounced by capitalist editors for showing discourtesy to guests of Canada.

How can one explain elementary facts to such people? Let us suppose that England has been conquered by the Nazis and that millions of Englishmen have been murdered by Nazi S. S. guards. A stooge government rules in London and the work of tyranny and suppression still goes on. Canadians of English origin are bereaved by the hundreds of thousands in the murder of parents and grandparents, brothers and sisters, children and cousins. Then to Canada, at the misguided invitation of our Minister of External Affairs, comes a delegation of Nazi officials, headed by a veteran Schutzstaffel officer who had personally shared in the torture and death of myriads of Englishmen. His identity and record are known to the Canadian relatives of his victims, who to their dismay see him honored by our Government and presented with bouquets by Nazi organizations in Canada. Who would blame them for staging a protest over this preposterous welcome to so evil a man? And what shall we say of editors who take the part of the butcher as against his innocent victims?

What also shall we say of the morality of those Canadians who keep agitating for the acceptance of Red China into the family of nations and for the suppression of an independent Chinese Nationalist government in Formosa? The rise to power of the Chinese Communists came as a result of broken treaties and the folly and treachery of officials in the

West. By 1952 the American Federation of Labour estimated that fourteen million Chinese had already been bloodily executed by the Communist regime, and the slaughter has steadily continued. Another twenty-five millions are in Red slave-labour camps. It is significant of the bitter hostility of the Chinese people towards this wicked regime that three out of every four Chinese soldiers captured in Korea, where they were allegedly serving as volunteers against the decadent Americans and South Koreans, refused to accept repatriation to the mainland and insisted instead on joining Chiang in Formosa. When the Tachen islands off the coast were abandoned under dishonest Western pressure, almost their entire population insisted on going to Formosa. Why must Canadian politicians and churchmen continually take the part of Mao's butchers as against the hapless, suffering masses of the Chinese people? Will none of these men ever speak on behalf of justice and mercy? The politicians are allegedly Christian and so are the clergymen. Have the first principles of Christianity been abandoned by them?

I sometimes wonder if these Canadian apostles of immorality have ever read the preamble to the charter of the United Nations, to which they would have Red China hypocritically subscribe as a profession of faith. Let me quote: "We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of nations great and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained..."

Red China demonstrated its devotion to "the rights of nations great and small" by invading and conquering Tibet. It showed its zeal for averting "the scourge of war" by sharing in the wicked assault on South Korea, in its persistent violation of the truce agreement, and in its assistance to rebellion in Indo-China. It showed its love for fundamental human rights by setting up a vicious and absolute dictatorship. It proved its belief in "the dignity and worth of the human person" by massacres and brutality without parallel except in Communist Russian Empire. These are the thugs whose bloody-handed hospitality was accepted this year by the Honourable Mr. Sinclair and whose welcome into the United Nations was envisaged last August by the Honourable Mr. Pearson as a possible matter of Canadian government policy. Mr. Pearson may protest that international relations have nothing to do with moral principles. Either the Charter of the United Nations refutes that claim or the United Nations organization is a gigantic piece of hypocrisy and falsehood.

Let me remind you of a trenchant truth proclaimed in 1951 in the so-called *Uppsala Appeal* of the Liberal International: "No Government

that holds down its people by force can be said to have secured internal peace, and no Government which is at war with its own people can be trusted to be at peace with the rest of the world. No lasting and real peace is possible as long as undemocratic regimes usurp the freedom of other nations and keep millions of men reduced to slavery."

Nearly a score of nations are held in subjection today by a power of this unholy sort. Not only do Communists enslave a group of captive nations in East Central Europe — Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, East Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Jugoslavia, Rumania and Albania — and the recently conquered countries of the Far East — China, North Korea, Tibet and Viet-Minh. Even closer to the spider-web's black centre in Moscow are such martyred nations as the Ukrainians and the Byelo-Russians. Even the Russians themselves were the first victims of the conspiracy. From the Elbe to the Pacific Ocean, these peoples are held down by as brutal and merciless a tyranny as the world has ever seen. Imprisonment, torture, murder, deportation, slave labour — these are all commonplaces of the monstrous despotism.

Two vital points were urged by President Eisenhower at the last summer's "summit conference" at Geneva: the self-determination of the peoples of Eastern Europe and a cessation of those Communist activities throughout the Free World which constitute the cold war. Bulganin blocked both proposals. Self-determination would have robbed the tyrants of all the prey that they had seized in nearly forty years of craft and violence and would have caused dismay to all the far-flung sections of the Party. To ask the fifteen million Communists of the world to give up their victims and cease from plotting further violence would be to ask a man-eating tiger to live hereafter on turnips. Not only did Bulganin refuse to yield on such momentous issues. In the fantastic setting of a world conference before microphones and countless reporters, he jockeyed the Western delegates into offering the Communists a security system that would mean the recognition by the West of the Bolsheviks' hold over half of Europe. The West itself would shut and lock the iron door of the prison-house of nations and doom a dozen captive peoples to despair. Yet until these nations have been freed, there cannot be co-existence. There can only be co-surrender.

How immoral can Western public opinion and Western diplomacy become? As I watch the dishonest propaganda and manoeuvrings of the past eight months, I seem to see the fat cats of a decadent West purring and squirming in delight at the catnip of an appeasement that will lure them into a sack for drowning. To condone the permanent enslavement of a third of the world is not only immoral. By that act, we ourselves shall perish, and we shall deserve to perish.

THE REPERCUSSIONS OF SOVIET AGRICULTURAL POLICY IN POSTWAR UKRAINE

By MICHAEL BILOZ

The Soviet system of collectivized agriculture has had a tremendous impact upon the social, political, and economic institutions of the USSR. The repercussions of this impact which followed the Revolution of 1917 were clearly evident in the period following World War II and have continued up to the present day (1955).

Since Ukraine has always been the chief agricultural region of the Soviet Union, it is natural that collectivization would affect this area to a greater extent than elsewhere.

The word "Ukraine" has a double meaning. It refers to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic which was set up by the Soviets and included in the USSR under the first Union Constitution of 1923 and the Stalin Constitution of 1936; and secondly, it implies the larger geographic region which includes a large portion of the black earth or chernozem belt, often called the "bread basket" of the USSR and is inhabited chiefly by Ukrainians. This area which has always been a source of unrest in the Soviet Union is unique in the fertility of its soil and the industry of its people. Although it comprises only one-fiftieth of the total area of the Soviet Union, it includes one-fifth of the total population and cultivated land and produces two thirds of the sugar beets, one fourth of the wheat and millet, one half of the iron, and one third of the coal of the USSR. No other area is as highly collectivized as Ukraine, the population of which numbers over forty million.

AGRICULTURAL COLLECTIVIZATION IN UKRAINE

When the Soviets came into power, they abolished private property and large-scale mechanized agriculture began to replace the small-scale peasant enterprises. Under the direction of political commissars, the peasants were pressed to form collective farms to carry out the program of the planned economy.

The rigorous collectivization which marked the 1930's resulted in the widespread destruction and confiscation of peasant property and

brought on a severe famine in Ukraine. The famine of 1933 destroyed about six million people and was so severe that cases of cannibalism and ghoulishness occurred.

After the forced collectivization of the 1930's the total area in crop acreage decreased considerably, and livestock had to be imported to replace the animals slaughtered by the peasants opposing collectivization. By 1941 the collective farm (kolkhoz) was permanently established in Ukraine. Then, suddenly, World War II broke upon the Soviet Union and brought with it serious problems affecting the collectivized agriculture in Ukraine.

The German drive eastward was directed toward Ukraine and the Caucasus which were the chief centers of food, industry, and petroleum. The German advance into Ukraine was welcomed by the peasants who hoped that collectivization would be ended and Ukraine would become a free nation. To their dismay, the Germans chose to continue the Soviet system of kolkhozes in an effort to insure prompt grain deliveries to the German Army. In some areas the peasants had greater freedom of action and were allowed to organize themselves into smaller units as long as they could furnish the German troops in their area with sufficient food. In many such areas of Ukraine, the peasants had more food to eat than they had had under the Soviets, in spite of the lack of draft animals, equipment, and the requisitions of grain by the Germans.

Many of the collectives in Ukraine were liquidated during the war on the peasants' initiative. Others became "peoples' property" and each peasant householder became the owner of a piece of land while the machinery remained communal property. It was hoped by some that this type of voluntary agricultural cooperative might form the new basis for agriculture after the war. These hopes were shattered by the westward advance of the Russian armies.

Every village under German control was combed rigorously by the MGB, and those who had participated in the liquidation of collectives were either shot or sent to concentration camps. Thousands of Ukrainians fled with the Germans to escape the fate awaiting them at the hands of the Soviets.

In the process of reestablishing the collectives, the Soviets carried out mass movements of the population from Ukraine to Kazakhstan, Siberia, and the left bank of the Volga River where they hoped to increase the yields on submarginal lands. From the interior regions settlers were brought in to replace the dispossessed Ukrainians. Despite all the efforts of the Soviets after the German occupation had ended, there was still evidence that the Ukrainian peasants had very little desire to continue the kolkhoz type of agriculture. In fact, they tried to bring about the col-

lapse of the system in the hope of having it eventually abolished. It is this situation which has presented the Soviet leaders with one of their most acute problems since the war.

RELAXATION OF THE KOLKHOZ DISCIPLINE AFTER WORLD WAR II

With the cessation of World War II hostilities, the Soviets faced the arduous task of restoring the rich agricultural region of Ukraine to capacity production. The damage to the farmlands and the widespread destruction of machinery presented the peasants with a formidable obstacle difficult to overcome.

On the other hand, in their attempt to restore collectivization to its pre-war status, the Soviet planners were faced with the problem of dealing with a peasantry which had been toughened by the rigorous demands of modern warfare. Many of the peasants were reluctant to accept their former positions; this had to be considered in instituting the post-war policy.

In the newly annexed territory of West Ukraine, formerly a part of Poland, the additional problem of subjecting peasants to their baptism in collectivized agriculture had to be overcome. Displaced persons who fled from this area tell of the early efforts of the Russians to collectivize the peasants after the fall of Poland. Resistance was fierce and the efforts had to be abandoned in the face of the Nazi threat. After the war, this area became the scene of a concerted Soviet effort to impose their policy of collectivization.

In September, 1946, an effort was made to tighten up the discipline of the peasant workers. A joint decree issued by the USSR Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party established the fact that "the Charter of an Agricultural Artel is seriously violated by the collective farms." The violations cited by the decree included improper waste of labor days, pilfering the collective lands of the collective farms, plundering collective farm property, and misconduct of district Soviet and party officials in their use of authority.¹

Violations of this sort were common throughout the collective system as well as in Ukraine. It was evident that many of the peasants who had prospered during the war found it more profitable to devote their energies to the individual plots allotted them under the kolkhoz system rather than the collective fields which utilized the "labor day" principle. Many cases were reported of peasants illegally increasing the acreage of their individual plots at the expense of the kolkhoz.

¹ Meisel, J. & Kozera, E. *Materials for the Study of the Soviet System*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, The George Wahr Publishing Co., 1953, pp. 388-394.

The party journal, *Bolshevik*, commented on the joint decision of September 19, 1946, saying, "The Decision notes that the misappropriation of communal lands in the collectives has once more become a mass phenomenon." The kolkhoz is either arbitrarily seized by individuals to increase the area of their private garden plots or illegally allotted to them by the kolkhoz management or chairman to augment individual holdings to the detriment of the collectives' economy.²

In spite of these deficiencies and violations, the collective system was still considered to be the most advanced and most progressive of all systems. To establish a more rigid system of supervising the charter of an Agricultural Artel, a Council of Collective Farm Affairs was set up with A. A. Andreyev as its chairman.³ This group consisted of 39 members who were directed to work out regulations and a plan of work for the kolkhozes up to the year 1950.

ANDREYEV'S LINK-SYSTEM AND KHRUSHCHEV'S BRIGADE - SYSTEM IN AGRO - CITIES

Andreyev's policy was instituted in 1947 to bring the collectives into line with a minimum of resistance. The peasants were allowed to continue the link system which permitted groups of 5 to 10 people to work together at their assigned tasks. The link system was initiated in 1941 and continued throughout the war. Many of the links were composed of family members who used their initiative to increase their labor days and improve the yields of their subsidiary plots. In many instances they became prosperous through the sale of their produce on the free market. This fostered a spirit of private ownership and individualism which was contrary to Soviet policy.

Since Andreyev was opposed to giantism, he permitted the link system to exist because he felt that this would speed up the recovery of grain and livestock production which had suffered greatly during the war and the drought of 1946. By setting up a new system of inspection and forbidding permanent links, he hoped to maintain the collective spirit of Soviet agriculture.

An additional incentive was added in 1948 by a bonus system which gave progressively higher payments for labor in excess of the days required. This still was not incentive enough to transfer the peasants' energies from their individual plots since the Soviet press noted that 20%

² *Bolshevik*, Sept. 1946, p. 33.

³ Meisel & Kozera, *op cit.*, p. 395.

of the total agricultural production was accounted for by the individual plots which averaged one-third of a hectare.⁴

In January, 1949, at the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Nikita Khrushchev launched a vicious attack upon the "Ukrainian German nationalists" who served as agents of the wealthy peasants and were responsible for the lag in the collectivization of West Ukraine. Efforts to instill the socialistic spirit of collectivization in this area were not very popular with the peasants, and the Soviet efforts met with repeated setbacks. Khrushchev's attack was the first of a series which marked the shift in policy in 1949. It was necessary in view of the growing trend toward individual labor which the link system had fostered. The party leaders feared that it would lead to a breakdown of the collective farm system; therefore, measures were taken to remedy the situation by announcing a drive for bigger and better kolkhozes.

Since the favorable grain yields of the 1948 grain harvests in the Ukraine had restored the agricultural base to its previous level, the Soviets were able to make this shift. *Izvestia*, the official government newspaper, announced that the problem of grain farming in the main had been solved. However, it also voiced concern over the serious lag in animal husbandry and livestock production, two of the leading enterprises in the Ukraine. Other problems were also mentioned as milk production, mechanization, storage, soil fertility, and feed preparation.⁵

Khrushchev continued his attacks upon the kolkhozes in Ukraine and wiped out thousands of small collectives on the grounds that they were operated poorly. In their place he proposed a number of "agro-cities" which would serve as the basis for future giant developments making for increased efficiency and production. At the end of 1949, construction had started on the first "agro-city" located in the OGPU Kolkhoz near the town of Cherkassy in the heart of Ukraine. It covered 15,000 hectares (37,050 acres) and was to house all the workers of the former kolkhoz. The proposed agro-cities were to include "two thousand beautiful homes having from one to four stories, electricity, radio, water supply and bathrooms. A central square with a statue of Stalin. Next to each house an orchard."⁶

Khrushchev replaced Andreyev late in 1949 after his transfer from Ukraine to Moscow. After his nomination as secretary of both the Central Committee and the Moscow Committee of the Communist Party, Khrush-

⁴ Moore, Barrington, Jr., *The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Soviet System*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University, Human Resources Research Institute, 1952, p. 55.

⁵ *Izvestia*, April 19, 1949.

⁶ Zavalani, T., *How Strong is Russia?*, New York, Praeger, Inc., 1952, p. 189.

chev started a new drive to consolidate the old kolkhoz units. It was apparent that he had become the spokesman and executor of the new party line in agriculture favoring the super-kolkhoz.

Pravda carried the Party views in an article "Against Distortions in Collective Farm Labor Organization," possibly written by Stalin himself. This proclaimed the brigade to be the basic and chief unit for the organization of labor in the kolkhoz production of grain and all other farm crops. This was in direct opposition to Andreyev's system of links which had raised grain production above that in 1940. The article stated further that the "links retard the use of large-scale technique in grain farming; therefore an appeal to establish them is contrary to the interests of the organizational and economic consolidation of the kolkhozes."⁷

Shortly afterwards *Pravda* published an article by Andreyev in which he apologized for his advocacy of the link system for grain crops and acknowledged the brigade as the basic labor organization.⁸ It was obvious that pressure had been exerted by the higher party officials to bring about this reversal of policy.

The brigade system of work provided for greater numbers of people to organize in carrying out their tasks. These groups, numbering from 100-150 people, had a brigade leader at the head of each. The purpose of this new policy was to destroy the last vestiges of individualism within the peasantry. It hoped to eradicate the economic and social structure of the rural areas through the integration of peasant and kolkhoz enterprises. In this way the peasant had to subordinate his own interests to the large group or suffer the consequences. Even this did not seem to stop the kolkhoz members from pilfering kolkhoz property in the Voroshilovgrad district in Ukraine.⁹

Nikita Khrushchev continued to emphasize the need for still further consolidation. His plan called for the relocation of the poorly arranged peasant villages. *Pravda* expressed his views on the subject in April, 1950, when he addressed the Moscow Provincial Soviet. He mentioned the necessity of retaining some of the small links in jobs such as vegetable cultivation where mechanization was not yet possible.¹⁰

It is difficult to understand these shifts in agricultural policy when we read how successfully the post-war Five-Year Plan ending in 1950 raised the grain crop yield 16% above that of 1940 by employing the link system.

⁷ *Pravda*, Feb. 19, 1950.

⁸ *Ibid*, Feb. 28, 1950.

⁹ *Izvestia*, Sept. 7, 1949.

¹⁰ *Pravda*, April 25, 1950.

Khrushchev's policy of fostering "agro-cities" was reasserted in *Pravda* in 1951. He discussed the progress made in changing farm work into a form of industrial labor through the measures advocating the consolidation and mechanization of the collective farms. He proceeded to enumerate the benefits which had been gained, and predicted further progress through new efforts to increase collective settlements similar to the Cherkassy project.¹¹

There seemed to be some disagreement among the hierarchy in regard to Khrushchev's proposals, because *Pravda* issued a statement the next day saying that Khrushchev's article was published as material for discussion. It is interesting to note that the number of kolkhozes shrank in 1950 from 252,000 to 123,000.¹²

A further stage in the drive for fuller integration of the peasants was indicated in an article in *Bolshevik* (Dec., 1951) criticizing the payments in kind to kolkhoz members over and above their requirements. This had a tendency to strengthen the principle of private property and to impair labor discipline. The party journal suggested cash payments to limit the produce which could be used by the individual members for speculative purposes.¹³

In an effort to maintain stricter labor discipline among the Ukrainian peasants, the Communist Party initiated a new campaign to form a party cell in every kolkhoz and thereby to control every peasant village. By the end of 1951 it was reported that 80% of the kolkhozes in the Ukraine had party cells.¹⁴ The effectiveness of these cells was seriously hindered by the peasants who were reluctant to become party advocates.

MALENKOV'S REPORT AT THE 19TH CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE SUBSEQUENT CRISIS IN SOVIET AGRICULTURE

The 1952 report on agriculture delivered by Malenkov at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party expressed concern over some of the recurring problems of Soviet agriculture which continued to plague the people. One of these dealt with the rapid merging of the smaller collective farms which caused undue hardships for the peasants and disrupted agricultural production. He stated that there were then 97,000 amalgamated collective farms instead of the 254,000 small collective farms in existence on January 1, 1950. The grain problem, formerly considered

¹¹ *Ibid.*, March 4, 1951.

¹² Meisel & Kozera, *op. cit.*, p. 575.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 577.

¹⁴ Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

the most acute and gravest problem, was considered solved successfully, once and for all. In 1952, the total harvest of the most important food crop, wheat, was 48% greater than in 1940.¹⁵ Ukraine was the leading producer of wheat in the Soviet Union.

The Fifth Five Year Plan adopted on October 11, 1952, set the agricultural goals for the next five years. The main task of agriculture was: to insure an increase in the harvest yields of all agricultural crops, a further increase in the community-owned livestock with a simultaneous substantial rise in its productivity, an increase in agricultural output through further consolidation and an improvement of the work of the state farms and machine-tractor stations through the introduction of modern machinery and agrotechnics in agriculture.¹⁶

Grain yields per hectare were to be increased in the districts of South Ukraine up to 20-22 centners, while in the Black Earth areas of Ukraine sugar beets were to increase to 255-265 centners and potatoes to 155-175 centners. The gross harvest of wheat was to be increased by 55-65%. This ambitious program was necessary to meet the demands of the rapidly increasing population and to fulfill the goals of socialist agriculture.

Indications of the successful achieving of these goals are not very favorable in the light of succeeding events. In 1953 it was announced that there was a serious shortage of livestock throughout the country. Apparently, the Party tried to hide these shortages, but the critical condition of the consumers' market necessitated some explanation. Stalin's death in March enabled his successors to shift the emphasis to more consumers' goods. They may have felt that it was better to reveal the truth rather than try to conceal the shortages in agricultural production.

To remedy this situation, it was necessary to appeal to the private initiative of the peasant. This meant a temporary abandonment of the plan to abolish the peasants' individual plots. This accounts for the important concessions made to the peasants in 1953 in an announcement by Malenkov before the Supreme Soviet. The new policy was announced in the following words:

... the Government and the Central Committee of the Party have found it indispensable to accept a notable reduction in the quotas of compulsory contributions from subsidiary establishments of the collective farmers and decided ... to change the system of the agricultural tax levied on the collective farmers, to reduce by half the cash value of that tax for an average homestead of a collective farmer, and to forego completely the arrears of that tax due for the past few years.¹⁷

¹⁵ *Pravda*, Oct. 6, 1952.

¹⁶ Meisel & Kozera, *op. cit.*, p. LXXIV.

¹⁷ *Pravda*, August 9, 1953.

These concessions did not have any visible effects on Ukraine. Although the new policy seemed to foster agricultural productivity, the desired result did not materialize. Shortages were still widespread despite the recognition given to the individual. It was clear, however, that the Soviets did not intend to let things drift towards a return to private agriculture. The statute stipulated that collective farmers who did not fulfill the minimum number of labor days in collective work would be penalized by a 50% increase in the amount of tax from the individual's establishment.¹⁸

Article 12 of the statute goes on to say that the last remnants of the peasants who had not yet joined the collective enterprises and still maintained their own independent husbandry would have their tax increased by 100%. This applied particularly to those areas, such as West Ukraine, which had been annexed since the war. The peasants in these territories were advised to make up their minds quickly and to join the collective farms or suffer the consequences.¹⁹

The full seriousness of the agricultural situation became more apparent after Khrushchev's report on agriculture to the Central Committee of the Party on September 3, 1953.²⁰ In his report Khrushchev acknowledged the general lag of agriculture in comparison with industrial production. Since 1940, the latter had increased two and half times while agricultural production increased by only 10%. In view of the 20% population increase from 180 to 215 million, this meant that the standard of living was lower than before the war.

Several branches of agricultural production were cited as being extremely bad; particularly of potatoes, vegetables, and livestock products. The Soviet newspapers repeatedly mentioned these critical shortages and pointed out the reasons for the major agricultural crises.²¹ Among the reasons given were the failure to recognize the subsidiary peasant plots and the amalgamation of collective farms with the subsequent problems.

The failure to recognize the individual plots and the high quotas of compulsory contributions exacted from them were responsible for the reduction of cows, hogs, and sheep. The number of collective farmers' homesteads without a cow increased to 45%, although the right to own a cow was granted in the Charter of the Collective Farms.²²

¹⁸ *Pravda*, August 10, 1953.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Pravda*, September 15, 1953.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

The amalgamation of collective farms brought with it several serious problems. One was the need for adequately trained personnel in a highly mechanized enterprise such as collective agriculture. The method of selecting personnel to be trained was severely criticized. Another result of amalgamation was the drift of trained personnel to the industrial centers where the wage scale was much higher. The practice of the state recruiting officers who selected the most capable peasants to work in industry was also hurting agriculture because it left few capable individuals to carry out the agricultural program.

There were many cases reported where the responsibilities were so diffused among the various farm officials that no one could be held accountable. This was especially true in districts where one official was placed over another to keep check on him.

EMERGENCY CONCESSIONS TO COLLECTIVE FARMERS

In view of the continuing lag in production, further concessions were granted to the peasants in conjunction with their work on the collective and individual enterprises. One of these raised the price of farm products supplied through compulsory contributions which were exacted in kind from both enterprises. This permitted proportionately larger quantities of products to be distributed among the peasants as a reward for collective work. The second concession lowered the quotas of compulsory contributions to the state and thus allowed the peasants to have greater amounts for themselves and for free sale at higher prices to state and public institutions. Both of these concessions provided greater opportunities for the peasant to acquire larger quantities of products and dispose of them at the highest possible price to the city consumers.²³

Additional steps were taken to stimulate production by: exempting collective farmers who did not own any livestock from the obligatory meat contribution in the second half of 1953 and 1954; cancelling arrears on compulsory contributions of livestock products for the year ending with January 1, 1953; new bonuses in kind; more socialist competition in agriculture; and increased efficiency in the operations of the Machine Tractor Stations. These measures recommended by Khrushchev and the Central Committee were embodied in a joint decree of the Central Committee and the Council of Ministers of the USSR.²⁴

These efforts did not solve the problem as production continued to lag in 1954. Following Khrushchev's report before the Central Committee in March, 1954, the Central Committee adopted a resolution presenting

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Pravda*, October 1, 1953.

a complete picture of the sad plight of agriculture. All branches were mentioned with particular emphasis on the grain shortage. It was evident that the collective farms had failed to meet the expectations of the Party. The resolution included the shortages of fodder, orchards, vineyards, livestock, animal products, potatoes and vegetables as well as grain. These indicate a definite failure of the Soviet rural economy. In Ukraine it was mainly due to lack of enthusiasm on the part of the peasants and the shortage of qualified managerial personnel.²⁵

Measures were initiated to return qualified personnel to the collective farms and MTS. As a result, some 50,000 mechanics returned from industries and other branches of the economy to the MTS, while over 100,000 agronomists and animal technicians were also recruited with a resultant effect on the rural economy. Further measures to ease the crises included increasing the yield of the existing acreage and enlarging the acreage itself through the cultivation of virgin and abandoned soil.

CULTIVATION OF NEW VIRGIN SOIL

This venture in agricultural pioneering had serious consequences for the Ukrainian peasants, as it involved the mass transfer of thousands of young Ukrainians to bear the brunt of the expansion program. Under this plan, it was hoped that 13 million hectares of virgin and abandoned soil would be transformed into productive fields. The major pioneering areas are located in the Volga Region, the Northern Caucasus, and especially Northern Kazakhstan and Southern Siberia where agriculture has definite limitations because of extremes in temperature, poor soils, and inadequate rainfall.

In Ukraine plans were formulated to increase acreage through the development of a large irrigation system (Khakhivka Irrigation System) which was to add 14,000 hectares by the spring of 1955. The South Ukrainian sections in the vicinity of Kherson, Nikolayev, Zaporozhe, and the Crimean provinces were scheduled for irrigation.²⁶

Izvestia, the official state newspaper, cited the lag in livestock production and fodder in Ukraine and emphasized the need of assigning a sufficient number of tractors and harrows to meet the collective farm requirements.²⁷ In the Rostov Province it pointed out the better organization of livestock raising on the open ranges but criticized the peasants for not attempting to replenish their seed supply for fodder.²⁸ There was

²⁵ *Pravda*, March 28, 1954.

²⁶ *Pravda*, January 14, 1955.

²⁷ *Izvestia*, September 23, 1954.

²⁸ *Izvestia*, January 12, 1955.

constant agitation by the Soviet press to spur production and remedy the numerous violations of collective farm labor.

A decree issued by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet "On Responsibility for Damage to Fields of Collective and State Farms," attacked the widespread damage which was being tolerated by the local agencies. It applied especially to areas like Ukraine sown to winter crops where livestock and poultry were causing excessive damage to the state and collective farm fields.²⁹ To discourage this destructive practice, a fine was levied on livestock found in sowings, plantings, or hayricks. The system of fines was graduated to cover all livestock. Sheep, goats, pigs, and calves were fined 25 rubles per head; full grown cattle, horses, and camels, 50 rubles per head; and poultry, 5 rubles per head.

The owner of the livestock was also required to pay a fine for all damages. This was to be set by a commission of the collective farm and collected by militia agencies. Second offenders paid double fines while those guilty of deliberate damage causing major losses were subject to six months or a year of corrective labor or deprivation of freedom from one to two years.³⁰

There are many indications of passive resistance throughout Ukraine published in the Soviet press. *Pravda* criticizes the Kharkov Refining Trust for the excess wastage in the sugar refining process. At the same time it expresses concern over the portion of the harvested beet crop which never reaches the refineries. Ukraine produces two-thirds of the country's sugar beets.

In the Don region *Pravda* claims that:

"only fine speeches are delivered on grass-sowing and on increasing fodder resources. In actual fact, not even an attempt to replenish seed stocks is evident. The purchase of grass, melon, and potato seeds, now in short supply, has not yet been organized either in or outside the province."³¹

In West Ukraine, in the region of Pomoryany, district of Lviv, on the Shevchenko Kolkhoz, it was reported by *Pravda Ukrainy* that there had been an organized resistance by the heads and officials of the kolkhozes against the new forced labor imposed upon the peasants. The kolkhoz head, Malomuzh, was removed "by the decision of the meetings of the members of the kolkhoz" and replaced by Communists from the regional Communist organization.³² It is obvious that the Party plays a leading role in enforcing collective farm policy.

²⁹ *Izvestia*, January 19, 1955.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Pravda*, January 5, 1955.

³² *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XI, 1955, p. 81.

Further announcements in February, 1955, continued to stress the critical grain and livestock shortages. The reasons for the present shortage of grain were listed as the rising standard of living, the increasing population, the need for large state grain reserves and for an increased output of fodder for animal husbandry. A gross yield of 10 billion poods was considered essential to meet all needs.³³ To meet this grain shortage which was largely responsible for the crisis in animal husbandry, it was proposed to expand hybrid corn sowings in the American style. The chief area of corn production, Ukraine, would become the center of pork production in the USSR. The Soviet press called upon all Komsomol members and other rural youth "to start actively growing corn in every corner of our country."³⁴

The latest change in agricultural policy emphasizes the necessity of allowing for greater freedom of planning on the lower levels. Excessive centralization is condemned because it leads to irrational management in view of the existing local soil conditions. The demand for the sowing of spring wheat in Ukraine despite the local officials' arguments for winter wheat was cited as an example of such irrational decisions. This latest effort by the Soviets is aimed at increasing food production by permitting the peasants to use their own initiative in utilizing the land they work collectively and individually. Undoubtedly it will help somewhat, but the unfavorable weather in 1955 has already limited production to some extent.

* * *

Soviet agriculture is in a precarious position. Malenkov cited his failure in the field of agriculture as one of the main reasons for his resignation as premier on February 8. Beria, too, was held responsible for contributing to the failures of agriculture. Only Khrushchev has escaped the fate of the others, although he is the man who has been largely responsible for agricultural policy in the past five years. He is well acquainted with Ukraine and knows that there is the heart of the agricultural problem. If peasant opposition can be overcome with a significant confirmation of faith in the collective farm system, it will certainly ease the current food situation. However, even if Ukraine discontinued its policy of passive resistance, it is doubtful whether the Soviet Union could ever hope to feed its rapidly increasing population. Nature has imposed definite limitations upon it. These, superimposed upon the limitations fostered by man-made collectivization in Ukraine and other regions,

³³ *Pravda*, February 3, 1955.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

place the Soviet Regime in a precarious position not only on the domestic but the international scene as well. A return to individual free enterprise in the agriculture in the USSR means large scale breakdown of Communism in the Soviet Union. Overall Soviet policy might well be determined by the outcome of the current agricultural crisis.

It remains to be seen how the Soviet leaders will cope with this glaring weakness in their planned economic system which has continued to plague them since the upsurge of Soviet power.

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MY DISCOVERY OF THE UKRAINIAN NATION

By P. SCOTT-MONTAGU

It is probably no exaggeration to say that prior to the late war very few people in Great Britain had any knowledge at all of the story and history of Ukraine, and one can qualify this statement by adding that it includes the majority of the people of the highest education. Our knowledge of historical truth stopped short at the frontiers of the Muscovite Empire. Allowing for the ordinary limitations and national prejudices of men, most people of education in Great Britain had at least a fairly accurate superficial knowledge of Western European history, but when one came to the story of the former Russian Empire, few people indeed had any authentic knowledge of it at all. It is true that a minority of persons, particularly in the post 1914-18 war period, knew that Finland, and the other Baltic nations, were free states once enslaved by Russia, and further, Poland was for many years even prior to 1914 looked upon with sympathy by great numbers of people in Britain. For several generations Polish patriots had very skilfully made the cause of Polish nationhood widely known in the West. The rest of the nationalities enslaved by the Great Russians were not so fortunate, and little or nothing was known of them at all. The writer of this article sincerely sympathizes with all states and nations which have a natural desire to preserve their own particular traditions and culture, and are struggling for freedom, and the human and Christian right of independent statehood without which their legitimate aspirations cannot be properly safeguarded or developed. Since this article is primarily concerned with Ukraine, any lack of reference to other states which are in a similar unfortunate position should not be taken to mean that their case is overlooked. In one sense the case of Ukraine can be taken as an example of what has happened to most of the other states that have been subjected all too long to the Great Russian yoke.

In common with the majority of my educated fellow countrymen, whatever political, or historical, or cultural knowledge I possessed of Russia, i.e. the Russian Empire, came generally from Great Russian sources, or through persons, who though belonging by blood and birth to non-Great Russian nationalities, had in course of time become practically Russianized. Russian literature contains many Great Russian names, it is true, but it also contains many other great names which are by no means

of Muscovite origin. The same thing may be said in the spheres of music, and the other arts, as well as in the realms of scientific, philosophical and religious thought. It would not be untrue to say that much of the glory that has come to the Great Russian people, has been the result of the intellectual eminence of many who were not Muscovites at all, but rather members of one or other of the more cultured peoples who had been forcibly enslaved by the Muscovite Emperors.

This truth, however, was not known or realized by Western European people in the majority, and even today there are still very great numbers of Western Europeans whose view of what is now the Soviet Union, is still seen through Muscovite eyes.

My own sojourn as a young man in pre-revolutionary Russia, particularly St. Petersburg, did not teach me a great deal about the true national aspirations of the subjected peoples. The court and official society with which I mixed socially, was composed of persons from all over the Empire, but to the foreigner they all gave the impression that in sentiment and loyalty they were quite content to be regarded as Russians. In fact, even aristocrats from Finland and the German-speaking Baltic lands, with Swedish or Teutonic patronymics, were all Russian Imperialists, in which respect they were totally indistinguishable from their Great Russian colleagues and friends.

During this time I travelled fairly extensively throughout Russia in Europe, and even into Siberia, but since my knowledge of the Muscovite tongue was very slight, and my knowledge of the other languages of the Empire nil, I was naturally not competent to form any very accurate opinion about the true state of affairs — nationally speaking — in the Tsar's dominions. Superficially, however, it seemed that there was little noticeable difference between the people one saw and met in the streets of the Great Russian cities, such as St. Petersburg and Moscow, and the citizens of the lovely city of Kiev or of Odesa. In the country the distinction was more marked, but even there it appeared not so very different from the same characteristics which distinguish northern people from southern in most other lands, including England. Speaking as a Scotsman, there did not seem to be so great a difference between the Ukrainians and the Russians, as for example between the Scottish people and the English. The writer confesses, however, that all these impressions were purely superficial but they had been confirmed by the teaching which he and most other Western Europeans had absorbed from Great Russian sources. It was true that after World War I when the Empire of the Tsars was breaking up, there appeared to be many fragments of that vast dominion which demanded recognition of their statehood, and some like Poland, Finland, and the Baltic States, gained their liberty.

But what of Ukraine, this gallant nation of over forty million souls, with a civilization of greater antiquity even than that of Poland herself? Most of us knew practically nothing about her simply because her noble history had been approximated by the Great Russians to themselves, and to us — I speak of the average Anglo-Saxon or Briton — Ukrainian history and Russian were indistinguishable. Again, whilst furthering her own cause with great zeal and no little success, Poland too had given the impression that nationally speaking, Ukraine did not exist, and never had done so. To most Western Europeans then, including the present writer, Ukrainians were simply Southern Russians and no more different from the Great Russians than are Englishmen from Sussex, Dorset and Devon from other Englishmen of Yorkshire, Lancashire or Durham. It must not be forgotten that in this respect Russian Tsarist emigre propaganda is in full accord with Soviet propaganda. The imperial idea is shared equally by both, and so is the idea of the messianic mission of the Great Russian people.

The writer himself was brought up in an environment of imperialism, and so he was for many years an ardent believer in the 'imperial idea.' This no doubt inclined the writer to sympathize with the views and beliefs of imperialists in other countries. One always feared what was then called the danger of Balkanization in other parts of Europe, and the breaking up of the Russian and Austrian Empires into many different self-governing and sovereign states would, it was thought, increase the danger of war and not make for harmony in the world. A strong central imperial government was believed to be more conducive of peace and stability, a sort of 'Pax Romana.' With modifications due to the changing circumstances of the times in which we live, the writer still believed that in Eastern Europe, providing Communism could be got rid of, a great Russian Empire, or Union of Slav States, under Russian leadership was of vital importance to the welfare and protection of Western civilization in the face of the growing power of Asia, and particularly of China. The writer had been thoroughly educated, though quite unconsciously of course, in the Russian point of view, and quite honestly and naively believed that but for a handful of fanatics, the vast majority of the peoples of Russia's Empire were loyal Russians at heart and had no wish to be different.

After becoming a member of the Roman Catholic Church, the writer became acquainted with many Ukrainian Greek Catholic refugees in Gt. Britain, and from them he began to learn the truth. He was able to get in touch with the cultural and social societies organized by the Ukrainian people in Britain, and from a friendship with a priest who was himself formerly a colleague of the great Metropolitan Sheptytsky, he was per-

suaded to study the history of Russia afresh and in the light of new knowledge. The writer studied the whole question afresh, and as a result he was bound in honesty to change his point of view completely on the Russian problem. There appeared now irrefutable historic evidence of the fact that for generations the Muscovites had completely and successfully falsified the history of their relations with the other states of the Russian Empire, and had tried to destroy the distinct national and cultural identity of the Ukrainian people, yet here was a people who had saved Europe from the Tartar Horde, and refused to submit to the Mongol yoke, when the Princes of Muscovy had bowed to the head to the Tartar Khans. Here too in Kiev, was the cradle of all that was best and most glorious in the ancient civilization of the Realm of Kievan Rus' (translated into English — Russia). The very name Russian had in fact been stolen from the Ukrainian people and misappropriated by the Muscovites. The most civilized and cultured of the Slavonic peoples had been raped by a more numerous and more barbaric neighbor, but the latter, frequently aided and abetted by other peoples, who coveted the rich and prolific Ukrainian land, forged and falsified history with satanic ingenuity to cover up their evil deeds and deceive the outside world.

When one realizes that one has followed a wrong course, it is the duty of any honorable man to frankly own up to his mistakes and make whatever amends are possible. In the writer's case there is little enough he can do, but he can, at any rate, proclaim the truth of these matters whenever the opportunity presents itself. He can pay his humble tribute to a great people, a gallant people, and a people which has contributed greatly to the culture of Europe. He may also express a heartfelt wish that this great people may one day take its rightful place in the family of nations as a free and independent state, and he is convinced that the cause of peace will not suffer but be greatly strengthened by the addition of so peace-loving a nation to the councils of the free world. Certainly it is to be hoped that the nations now subject to Soviet Russian domination, whether they be of the great Slav family or otherwise, will agree to cooperate and stand together as free and equal members of an Eastern European Confederation, and in such a grouping Ukraine would certainly play a vital, leading and important role. Traditionally such a leading role is one which the Ukrainian nation by reason of its ancient history and culture is eminently suited for.

It is sometimes said that a nation that has been unable to maintain its independence for so long is one that is not fitted for self-government and sovereignty. In some quarters this criticism has been levelled at the Ukrainians but it is a criticism which demonstrates that the critics themselves are ignorant of the facts of Ukrainian history. In Russia, and

Austria-Hungary — in the days of the Hapsburg monarchy — the two Empires had many very eminent and distinguished leaders of Ukrainian nationality, as statesmen, diplomats, churchmen, soldiers and men of affairs generally, as well as in the spheres of the arts, letters and the sciences. Any thinking person who takes the trouble to study the map of Ukraine will find little difficulty in understanding how this country so richly endowed by nature, has become the victim of more powerful neighbors. Ukraine is a country with practically no natural protective boundaries, a country that is wide open on all sides and naturally speaking, completely defenseless. It is a country completely the antithesis of Switzerland whose magnificent natural fortifications, the Alps, have kept her people immune from invasion for so long, or of Britain surrounded by the sea, or of the United States with 3,000 miles of ocean between her and the powerful states of Europe and Asia. There is no country more vulnerable, militarily speaking, than Ukraine and it is no reflection upon the courage of her brave people, or the ability of her statesmen, that she became the victim of predatory neighbors. On the other hand, the Ukrainians have a right to the admiration of all freedom-loving people because in spite of centuries of oppression, persecution and misrepresentation, their courage has never faltered, their hopes have never dimmed, their people have maintained their sturdy individualism, and they have never lacked thousands of patriots who are ever ready to lay down their lives for their country.

There are plenty of human qualities to respect in the Ukrainian people, and those who realize the truth about them are compelled to concede that from many an angle their nation is much more ready and fitted for the dignity and status of a sovereign state than some of her nearest neighbors. Psychologically the Ukrainians are not excitable, or easily inflamed, for by nature they are solid, reliable and balanced. They are a hard-working and peace-loving people of the soil with no desire to dominate their neighbors, but they are also a brave and indomitable people whose spirit is unbreakable and dauntless. St. Paul, when speaking of the city of his birth, Tarsus, claimed that he was a citizen of "no mean city" and so may every Ukrainian with equal truth proclaim that he is a national of no mean nation.

SOVIET DOMINATION OF SATELLITE EDUCATION

By JOSEPH S. ROUCEK

Although, in international relations, the satellite countries are treated as "independent" states, actually the satellite states of Central-Eastern-Balkan Europe are more than satellites; they are but colonial outposts of the Soviet empire. Without going into specific details of this imperial framework, for our purposes it is only necessary to notice that in all these states the position of the communist parties is that of branches of the Russian Communist Party and it is impossible for them to take a decision in opposition to Moscow's policy. In fact, in every Ministry a representative of the secret branch of the Interior was put into power as a Deputy Minister; this secret branch later became the independent Ministry of State Security, the most important Ministry of all. The Deputy Ministers keep direct contact with the personnel branch of the communist party.¹

The network is cemented by the system whereby each communist party of a satellite state has representatives in Moscow, usually unknown to the official diplomatic representative and known only to the Ministry for State Security. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has its representatives in the capitals of the satellite states also. The party representative makes the final decisions in all matters.

This arrangement also explains the operation of the educational and cultural machinery of the satellite states, which has been operating, especially since 1948, more and more on behalf of the Russian-Soviet cause. We shall be concerned here with three aspects of pro-communist policies developed in recent years in regard to education and culture: (1) The revisionism of historiography; (2) the Russification of all of the satellite educational systems, and particularly in the Slavic states; and (3) the use of the perverted Pan-Slavic ideal for the pro-Russian and pro-communist aims.

¹ Bedrich Bruegel, "Methods of Soviet Domination in Satellite States." *International Affairs*, XXVII, 1 (January, 1951), pp. 32-44.

REVISIONISM IN HISTORIOGRAPHY

All satellite nations, whether Slavic or non-Slavic, have experienced, in the past, many centuries of foreign rule and foreign domination; before the arrival of the Soviet masters, they had been able to keep their cultural traditions intact and their sense of national history as well as their national language alive. For that reason, they had been able to survive as nations. But, today, Moscow's viceroys are laying down in these satellite countries educational and cultural policies designed to do away with the national cultural traditions of the countries they are ruling, by blunting the sense of national history of the nations they are exploiting, and by even trying to change their spoken and written language. While mass arrests, summary executions and deportations are often heard of by the Americans, comparatively little is known about the communist policies in the realm of culture, the arts, and education.

Above all, all children in the satellites are taught the "proper appreciation" of Russia's historic role; the nations under the Russian heel are always reminded that the Russian armies freed them from the "fascist" tyranny. Thus Poles, Czechs, and Bulgarians are subjected to a perpetual reminder for perpetual gratitude.

Furthermore, the right of national originality has been claimed for, and reserved to, the Russians alone; the other Slav nations, Poles and Ukrainians, together with the Bulgarians, Macedonians (and including the Romanians) have to adapt themselves to Russian nationalism—which hardly distinguishes, if at all, between "Russian" and "Soviet."

How these two irreconcilable concepts are identified is seen from the claims of an official Bulgarian publication, discoursing on "The Roots of a Great Friendship":²

"Of the entire campaign of slanders against the People's Republic of Bulgaria, carried on by the Titoites and other town criers of the imperialists, the most pitiable are the attempts to destroy the friendship and love existing between the Bulgarian and Russian peoples. It is built on foundations of granite. Bulgarian-Soviet friendship does not rest on empty government declarations and agreements; it is the work of the age-long history of the two brother peoples... The Soviet Union is the support and guarantee of the national independence of our country; the fraternal hand without whose aid the construction of socialism is impossible in Bulgaria. In the course of 70 years the Russian people twice liberated our country — from the Turkish yoke and from fascist oppression. But the Bulgarian people also feel deep gratitude towards the Russian people because the Russian proletariat and its party, the great strategists of the proletarian revolution and of social construction, Lenin and Stalin, helped to build the Bulgarian Communist Party, beloved of the entire population..

² "The Roots of a Great Friendship." *Free Bulgaria*, VI, 16 (August 10, 1951), p. 244.

How glaring is the ideological juggling of "Russian" and "Soviet" concept! Although in the 1870's, no Soviets existed, somehow the "Russian people" are now tied up with the Soviets in liberating the Bulgarian people, and into the "Russian-Soviet" melting pot is also thrown Stalin, a non-Russian.

The leaders of the present Slav satellite countries, under orders from Moscow, are well aware of the memories of the Slav people and their fondness for such statesmen as Masaryk and Benes; most Slav intellectuals had visited the "West" during the years of post-war independence and have retained their western orientation. To deal with this heritage, the satellite educational systems and their propaganda have developed two lines of attack: (1) the attempts to eradicate the memories of the pre-war leaders by accusing them of all the sins which the communist propaganda machinery can dream up; and (2) the efforts to induce moral subservience of the leaders and masses to the new regimes by reminding them perpetually how they must be grateful to the Russians for the liberation and, above all, appreciate everything Russian. Thus, for instance, the pro-communist government of Czechoslovakia has made special efforts to stigmatize the political principles and western orientation of Masaryk and Benes.³ When Czechoslovakia was formed, "it became clear that the development of the Republic was going in a direction fundamentally at variance with the desires which had inspired our working population in its struggle for national liberty." After following this theme, the "revised" history of Czechoslovakia proclaims that in 1948 "the reactionaries did attempt a putsch — and exactly in the manner predicted,"⁴ and the communists had, therefore, to carry through a "putsch" of their own, and "finally after five days of wavering the President of the Republic, Dr. Edvard Benes, recognized that his duty lay with the people" and appointed Gottwald as Premier. "Reaction, which had been preparing a blow against the people was completely defeated and crushed, and it was the people who by their watchfulness and alertness had inflicted this defeat."⁵

With the ground prepared for the "re-writing" of Czechoslovakia's history, the communist regime began to defile that of Masaryk and Benes in earnest in 1953. The publication, in 1953, of a book entitled "T. G. Masaryk's Anti-Popular Policies," was the official notification of the pro-soviet regime that Czechoslovakia was no longer "Masaryk's Republic.

³ Ministry of Information and Public Culture, Czechoslovakia, *Czechoslovakia on the Road to Socialism* (Prague: Orbis, May, 1949), p. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

These ideological jugglings of the historical background of all satellite states are taking place in all the states within the Soviet empire.⁶

THE RUSSIFICATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Lenin believed that it was undemocratic to establish one official language — in this case Russian — in a multi-national country like the Russian Empire; but he was convinced that the economic factor can always be expected to bring about the use of one common language.⁷ Stalin developed further Lenin's idea about the one world language of communism: "The dying of national languages and their fusion into a single common language is not an internal state question, a question of the victory of socialism in one country, but an international question, a question of victory on an international scale."⁸

Soviet jurists and writers have been giving more and more praise to the Russian language as a language which "enjoys vast affection among all peoples of the USSR as the general property of the Soviets,⁹ and which attracts not only the peoples of the USSR, but all the toilers of the world."¹⁰ The famous directives of Stalin on the question of language in 1950 aimed to make clear that the "international" language of communism was Russian.

Today, in all satellite states the courses in the Russian language are a medium for the glorification of Soviet deities and the Russification of the masses, especially of the children.

The Bulgarian press admits, however, that the people are not especially too keen to attend the courses in Russian: "In conducting some courses there are certain weaknesses such as poor organization, decrease in attendance".

⁶ For the re-writing of the Polish history, see: Joseph S. Roucek, "The Soviet Yoke of Education in Poland," *The Educational Forum*, XVIII, 3 (March, 1954), pp. 305-311, and "Education in Post-War Poland," *Teacher Education Quarterly*, XI, 1 (Fall, 1953), pp. 34-40, and "Recent University Trends in Sovietized Poland," *College and University*, XXIX 1, (October, 1953), pp. 53-64.

⁷ For an extensive treatment of this whole problem, see: C. C. Gecys, "Present Russian Nationalism," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, IX, 2 (Spring, 1953), pp. 141-155.

⁸ Stalin, *Marksizm i Natsionalno-Kolonyalny Vopros (Marxism and the National and Colonial Question)*, Moscow: Partizdat, 1935, pp. 256-257, 264-266.

⁹ A. Vishinsky, *The Law of the Soviet State*. New York: The MacMillan Co., 1948, p. 603.

¹⁰ B. Volin, *Veliky Russky Narod (The Great Russian Nation)*, Moscow: Ogiz., 1938, p. 18.

KREMLIN SIMPLIFIES SPELLING TO MARX-LETTERED PHONETICS

George Bernard Shaw's dream of a reform in spelling to make it simpler and easier has been coming true in the satellite countries — but according to the blueprint supplied by Stalin. On orders from the Kremlin in 1952, the theories of Stalin's "Marxism and the problems of linguistics" were applied first in Romania, then in Hungary, and later in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. In June of that year, the order went forth that Stalin's thesis must be reviewed in the satellite press; thereafter in Romania and Hungary, the linguistic theories of Stalin's pamphlet were being put into force. The main principle is that while the old national language has much in it which was useful, it has to be revised by the communists to make it a better medium for conveying the ideas of Marxism. Cosmopolitanism — meaning the use of western words — has to be eliminated.

A new learned council was set up in Romania by the academy to prepare this reform which was deliberately modeled on Russian spelling reforms since 1918. Romanian spelling is a welter of contradictions. The language was in the main Latin by origin, but it has absorbed so many Slav and Magyar words that it was often difficult for educated people, who had learned the literary Romanian language, to follow the peasants. The academy council found that to understand the present etymological spelling would demand a knowledge of Latin and French as well as some acquaintance with Slav languages.

A reform of Hungarian spelling is on the way also. An event of outstanding importance was the publication, in 1951, of the Russo-Hungarian dictionary of Hadrovics and Galdi, which made possible the exact translation into Hungarian of the specific expressions of socialism. Apart from some simplification of spelling, the Hungarian language is being changed most by the elimination of all words of western origin and the substitution either of Hungarian-invented words or of Russian expressions. Hundreds of Russian words have been adopted, but western words such as "gentleman" and "good form," have been dropped.¹¹

THE USE OF PAN-SLAVISM IN PRO-COMMUNIST EDUCATION

The Slav nationalities were always conscious of the affinity of their languages and the close connection of their historical past.¹² Attacked

¹¹ "Kremlin Simplifies Spelling to Marx-Lettered Phonetics," *Christian Science Monitor*, September 12, 1952.

¹² Without analyzing here the historical role of Pan-Slavism, let us refer the reader to such substantial introductions, as: Walter Dushnyck, "Stalin's Pan-Slavism in the United States," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, VI, 1 (Winter, 1948), pp. 67-71; Clarence A. Manning, "The Myth of Slavic Unity," *Ibid.*, VI (1950), pp. 206-213; Hans Kohn, *Pan-Slavism* (Notre Dame, Ind.: Notre Dame University Press,

from the northwest by the German *Drang nach Osten* and from the southeast by the aggressive Islam of the Turks and Tatars, the Slavs saw their only salvation in Slav solidarity, which transcended their tribal differences and in an ideal of a Pan-Slav federation of equal nations.¹³

The first step towards a separate Slav cultural tradition was taken by the Slav apostles Cyril and Methodius, who in the middle of the 9th c. invented the Slavonic alphabet and translated the Bible into the Old Slavonic (actually Old Bulgarian). Kievan Rus' (the old Ukrainian State) accepted the alphabet and the Bible at the end of the 9th century; thus Old Bulgarian or the Church-Slavonic language became the link between the 3 branches of the Slavs as early as the 9th century. The Church-Slavonic was accepted from Kiev by the Northeast Europeans of present day Russia.

Although the Czechs later adopted the Latin liturgy and joined the Western Church, the memory of the Slavonic origin of their Christianity was revived by the reformation movement of John Hus and Jerome of Prague. Jerome even went to Muscovy and visited Vitebsk and Pskov in search of Slavonic links in the East-European Orthodox Church. Hus and Jerome were executed and became national heroes of the Czech nation.

Among the Serbs and Bulgars, the Church-Slavonic language survived all the vicissitudes of the Turkish conquest and Greek supremacy in religious matters. They looked towards Russia — the only great and independent Slav country — for their liberation.

When at the beginning of the 19th century, the Slavonic nationalities were awakened from long passivity by the revival of the Slav languages and literatures, their nationalism originally had a Pan-Slavic orientation. The first Ukrainian secret political organization "The Sts. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood" dreamed of a Slav Federation of equal nations with Kiev as its capital. Safarik's rediscovery of the treasures of Slav literature aroused enthusiasm in all Slavonic lands. Each nationality concentrated its efforts on the education of the rising generation in a narrow nationalistic tradition. The Southwestern Slavs were favorably inclined toward Russia. Only the Ukrainians and Poles hard oppressed by Slav Russians abstained from participation in the pro-Russian Pan-Slavic enthusiasm.

1953), is a systematic survey of the literature concerned, showing how the original idealistic aspects of Pan-Slavism have been transformed into a Soviet weapon; Joseph S. Roucek, Ed., *The Slavonic Encyclopedia* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949), has numerous subjects dealing in numerous ways with the whole area of Pan-Slavism.

¹³ "A Ukrainian Plan for the Organization of Europe One Hundred Years Ago", by N. Chubaty. *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 4.

The Russian government became soon acquainted with the attractiveness of the ideological aspects of the movement. Although most of the time, it was looked upon with contempt, use was made of it for purposes of convenience and when it related to Russian messianism.¹⁴

The Soviets were not interested in Pan-Slavism after World War I, and "in 1930 it seemed a dead issue."¹⁵ But during World War II the idea was revived by Soviet Russia. The Comintern was dissolved, and Stalin now looked upon the war not as a contest of rival imperialist powers, but as a war of "national liberation" in which Russia was fighting the battle of her Slavic brothers against the "German Nazi Fascist beasts." Although there is no record of any communist-inspired national liberation movement among the Slavs of German-occupied territory prior to June 21, 1941 (when Hitler attacked Russia), a far-reaching network of organizations was founded subsequently for such agitation. On August 10-11, 1941, an All-Slav Conference was held in Moscow; a manifesto to all Slavonic nations was read to the gathering by Alexander Fadeyev, and the keynote speech was delivered by Alexei Tolstoi, an outstanding Soviet writer. Other speakers were Professor Zdenek Nejedly (a member of the Ministerial cabinet of pro-communist Czechoslovakia), and Wanda Wasilewska, a Polish communist leader resident of Moscow. Out of an executive committee of 20 selected at the conference, 10 were Russians.¹⁶ The Slav Congress was a success and exploited all the tendencies favoring it to the hilt.

The tone of the great Slav Congress in Belgrade, held on December 8, 1946, was already expressing the triumph of Slavism over the Balkans and Central-Eastern Europe. Belgrade was scheduled to become (temporarily only, however), the permanent headquarters of the pro-Soviet Pan-Slav movement, which published the Cominform newspaper, *For a Lasting Peace and A Peoples' Democracy*. The speeches and program of the Congress stressed that the Slav peoples not only lead the world in the struggles against war and for peace and democracy, but in cultural achievements as well. The Congress also created the usual organizational bodies to further Slavic cultural cooperation.

But, just about the time when Pan-Slavism was to be realized, Tito's Yugoslavia deserted the "Pan-Slavic" camp, breaking the one world of

¹⁴ Hans Kohn, *op. cit.*, Chapter 2: "Pan-Slavism and Russian Messianism 1860-1905," pp. 101-180.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

¹⁶ A valuable review is: Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, Report on the American Slav Congress and Associated Organizations (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1949).

Slavism under the supervision of the powerful Kremlin government supervision.

This ill-defined movement has not been buried, but has continued in various forms — politically, economically, and educationally. The Slav connotation of the communist work has been continued in all Slav countries under the Kremlin's domination.

For instance, on May 24, 1951, "The Day of Slav Literature and Culture," the Council of Ministers for awarding the Dimitrov Prizes for outstanding achievements "in the sphere of science, literature and art" granted awards ranging from 100,000 to 400,000 leva, designed to be "a powerful stimulus for the creators of our material and spiritual culture."¹⁷

The purpose is to have "all workers by hand and brain intensify their efforts to bring prosperity to our homeland, to introduce Soviet experience still more persistently and deeply, to pass over their methods of work to a broader circle of working people."

The historical figures of Sts. Cyril and Methodius stand high on the list of the heroes praised by the "Pan-Slav" communists. Says an official Bulgarian spokesman:

"Almost eleven centuries have passed since the time of Cyril and Methodius, but their work stands ever higher in the estimation of following generations, who are ever more deeply aware of its exceptional significance . . .

"Thanks to the community of the languages of the Slav peoples, the rich treasury of the great Russian people is easily accessible in the original to millions of working people in all Slav countries. The political art, scientific and technical literature of the Soviet Union is an inexhaustible source of knowledge, experience and example for all the Slav peoples in their fight for freedom and social progress."¹⁸

What an irony of history! Two religious men, monks, interested in promoting Christianity in the 9th century, whose main accomplishment was not only the elaboration of the alphabet for the transcription of the Slavonic language, but what is even more important, — and what is thoroughly hated and persecuted by the Soviet masters— the Christianization of the Slavs in their region of work.

How the "Soviet" brand of Pan-Slavism is integrated with the "revised" history of the satellite countries can be seen in the case of Bulgaria. An official Bulgarian publication reported in 1950:

"*Holiday of National Culture*". — On May 24 this year the Bulgarian working people celebrated one of their greatest holidays — the Day of National Education

¹⁷ "The Dimitrov Prizes," *Free Bulgaria*, VI, 11 (May 25, 1951), p. 163.

¹⁸ Professor Velcho P. Velchev, "Creators of Our Alphabet," *Free Bulgaria*, V, 10 (June 1, 1950), p. 151.

and Culture, the Day of Slav Literature and Culture. On this day they celebrated the great cause of the brothers Cyril and Methodius who created the Slav alphabet. This celebration is not only a tradition from the past. It is connected with the triumph of the historic cause of the Bulgarian people who came out a victor in the struggle for the safeguarding of their national independence and culture."¹⁹

The revision of the national histories of the satellite countries, together with the Russification of the educational and cultural systems, has by no means exhausted the possibilities offered to the Russian masters to dominate the educational weapons of the satellite countries.

SOVIET FILMS AS A PROPAGANDA WEAPON

Except for a negligible number of Czechoslovak, Polish and Hungarian pictures, the population sees only Soviet films. To facilitate the pro-Soviet propaganda by means of the motion pictures, the government made available, during 1951, 100 mobile projectors to tour the villages.²⁰

In Czechoslovakia, the nationalized industry, "Czechoslovak State Film", is run by the Ministry of Information and a Film Council composed of film specialists and trade union representatives. Today most film imports come from the USSR, while the films from the U. S. are allowed to be shown when showing the "imperialist" side of the American life. Educational films, along the pro-Russian line, are being produced now, and schools are provided with projectors to show them; in 1950, 1 in 8 of the primary schools were equipped with a 16-mm projector. (Efforts to satisfy the Slovaks have been made; in film matters, distribution and censorship is carried out separately, and a small proportion of production is devoted to Slovak films).

In Poland, the "*Film Polski*," a state company, is in charge of production and distribution of commercial films, educational films and newsreels. Educational films are the responsibility of the Polish Film Institute, a section of "*Film Polski*."

In Romania, "*Romfilm*" is the publicly-owned company set up to produce and distribute films, and regulate their import and export; Romfilm is responsible to the Minister of Arts and Information which controls censorship, and provides training for film technicians.²¹

¹⁹ *Free Bulgaria*, V., 10 (June 1, 1950), p. 145.

²⁰ *Vecherni Novini*, December 20, 1951.

²¹ The use of TV for educational and cultural propaganda has only been started in the satellite countries. For details, see: UNESCO, *Television, A World Survey*, (Paris: UNESCO, 1953).

THE WESTERN HABIT OF THINKING IN STATE TERMS

HANS DE WEERD, AMSTERDAM

One of the main reasons why the West has been so painfully slow in understanding the Ukrainian cause and the structure of the Soviet Union lies, in the humble but firm opinion of this author, in the Western habit of thinking only in terms of states and of defending this as part of the democratic mentality. Since it is vitally important for the West to understand the real nature of the Soviet Union and it is equally important for the former and present inhabitants of that prison of nations, it may be worth while to look at this mode of thinking a little more closely.

The human mind works slowly and despite all modern technical advances, the great masses of the population are not easily influenced. They find it far more easy to understand the workings of a state as a clear cut juridical conception than to grasp the idea of a more intangible object, an ethnic nation.

There are two modes of thinking that confirm them in this. One is the Anglo-Saxon sense for the concrete. This is shown by the English proverb that a fact is more reliable than a lord mayor. There is also the French (really Latin) longing for a clear and logical conception which can often be satisfied with a formalistic answer. We will speak later of the German tendency.

It requires little consistent thought to show that the consideration of history merely in terms of the state cannot be defended logically. Poland, for instance, did not cease to exist, when her government was wiped out and her land divided. In spite of Metternich's haughty remark when he was Prime Minister of Austria, that Italy was only a geographical conception, no one can deny to-day that the Italian nation did exist during Metternich's time as well as it does exist at the present time. It is nonsense to claim that a Norwegian can become a real Bulgarian by only changing his citizenship. It is equally untrue to say that the influence of the environment automatically creates a national consciousness. (*Nationalbewusstsein*). The Flemings and Walloons have been living under the same rule for almost one thousand years but their "nationality problems" are still unsolved. It took twice that time, some two thousand years, for the Jews

to win back a state of their own, but they did conserve their national character.

The remark has been often made that it would lead us nowhere, if we were to create states for "every single nation" and that it is better to keep the large, existing states intact. As a result, Ukraine, a large nation which has definitely declared its independence and been in part recognized, is rejected and barred from acceptance but petty republics as San Marino and Andorra and minute principalities as Monaco and Liechtenstein with populations that do not differ in culture or language from their neighboring large states are still regarded as something quite natural. To these people the fact that Ukraine is of the size and population of England, France and Italy and has had its own independent history and culture means nothing.

This thinking in terms of states is not only quite illogical. It is insufficient to solve the most vital and explosive problem of the present day, the nationality problem. In spite of all one world propaganda and phrase-mongering, nationalism is on the march from the Mau-Mau to Mao, from the Arabs to the Argentine and from Ukraine to Indonesia.

The person who thinks only in terms of states can never understand why an ethnic people conscious of its identity can resist the government of the state in which it lives. His comments on all such cases reveal his irritation and his confusion. How often have I heard people say that the Flemish fight for the use of their own language and culture in Belgium was mere infantile nonsense! That the Slovaks and Sudeten-Germans were merely Czechoslovak separatists! That there never existed a Ukrainian language, etc.!

On the other hand, once a person bases his thinking on other than state grounds, he can speak without rancour about the state and environmental influence on the minds of an ethnic group included in a state. I have never heard a better, more humorous and clearer expression of this than the one given by a Western Ukrainian peasant, when he applied in a camp in Western Europe for an emigration permit from an IRO official. Some Ukrainian friends told me the anecdote and gladly gave me the time and place where it happened.

This peasant stated that he had been born in Galicia in Western Ukraine. So the IRO official wanted to list him as a Pole. The peasant objected and the official answered that if he had been born in Galicia and Galicia was in Poland, he was obviously a Pole. He was willing to concede, perhaps for the sake of peace, that the man was a Ukrainian but he stressed the fact he had been "born in Poland." Then the Ukrainian peasant stood up straight and energetically but politely told the official that in his home in Western Ukraine he had had a cowbarn.

In that barn he raised rabbits. One day he had a new litter. He asked for a simple answer whether the official considered these rabbits as cows, since they had been born in a cowbarn.

Needless to say, the story soon spread throughout the DP camp. Yet the narrow-minded way of state thinking may also produce tragic results. One of the great tragedies of the repatriation period in Europe after World War II was that of 60,000 Cossacks who were forcibly returned to the Soviet Union by British officers from the Austrian Drava valley. One of those British officers, who according to his own confession was responsible for the carrying out of this policy, Lt. Col. Oswald Stein, gave for nearly two years one of the most shocking examples of narrow state thinking without regard to the cost of human lives.

Almost a year after Dean Acheson, the United States Secretary of State, had declared forcible repatriation incompatible with Western democratic moral standards, Col. Stein, in the October, 1953 issue of the representative British military periodical, the *Army Quarterly*, wrote the following in an article on "The repatriation of prisoners of war":

"In any case the spectacle of men returning from war chained to the seats of railway coaches is repugnant to freedom-loving people, who will, I think, agree that in these cases, provided there have been no other crimes committed, mercy is better than the letter of the law.

"Finally there is the unhappy case of those who took up arms and fought on the side of the enemy against their own country and her allies. They may have been actuated by local patriotism taking the form of separatism; by racial, religious or political ideologies; or merely by a desire to save their skins under enemy pressure, or even by greed of gain. Whatever their motives, it is hard to see how in such cases forcible repatriation can be avoided, or, indeed, why it should be avoided. Even when their motives were pure, these men fought against their own country and against their country's allies. Their action may well have prolonged the war, cost extra lives and caused untold suffering. Moreover, the obligation of a country to its allies seems here to be paramount and inescapable."

This statement of Col. Stein, one of those men responsible for the suicides, deaths, tortures, starvation and expulsion of untold numbers of fighters for freedom "even when their motives were pure" and failing to see "why it should be avoided" will naturally arouse some bitter comments in those Western countries where attempts are being made to secure parliamentary investigation of this forcible repatriation. In this article we are however only interested in the nature of his arguments for they reflect the very essence of the crimes produced by thinking only in terms of states.

There is first the dangerous identification of a government infamous for its proved record of untold mass murder from its very origin with the "country" and the inhabitants it is oppressing. Self-liberation is impossible, for the Soviet government is "legal". Resistance to Soviet Russian colonialism is prohibited; it is merely "local patriotism taking the form of separatism." Americans may reflect with interest that they gained their own freedom for such a separatist local patriotism, and that they are in no way isolated in history.

The great threat to the free West is not the Communist minorities in the West or the Soviet bloc. It is the people who call themselves democrats and echo Soviet propaganda because of their lack of imagination and of clear and logical thinking. Even Lenin and Stalin had to admit that Ukraine was a different nation but there are "progressive" democrats in the West, who by referring to the Ukrainians as "Russians" show themselves as tory as the Tsarist Russian reactionaries, if not more so.

Thinking in terms of states is, in fact, always tory. The German princes, who refused to support the "rebellious Netherlands" against their "legitimate Spanish King" during my country's Eighty Years War of Independence, did poor service to the German Reich by their reluctant attitude. So do some Germans of to-day who prefer the traditional cake-on-Sunday and a brand-new scooter to thinking of their compatriots who are being oppressed by Russian Bolshevism in the Soviet-controlled East German People's Republic. When I gave some revelations on D.D.R. President Pieck to the editor-in-chief of a large German illustrated weekly, he told me that it was against the tradition of his paper "to attack foreign chiefs of state." He thus put Pieck, the willful tool of the archenemy of both East and West Germans, on the same plane as the monarchs and presidents of the free Western states.

More than that, once a state has shown itself able to exist, it is accepted by the statist as entirely normal. Even in the period of the closest American-Soviet cooperation, the United States never ceased to recognize the independence of the Baltic countries, established only after World War I. Masaryk, that great Czech revolutionist and statesman who in 1914 had said: "It is our damned duty faithfully to betray Austria-Hungary," was later regarded in the West as a great statesman. This proves the truth of the English saying:

"Treason does never prosper.

What's the reason?

Well, WHEN it prospers

None dare CALL it treason."

This brings us close to the basic error in Western thought on the state. Somewhere in their subconsciousness the Western democrats seem

to believe that the existence of a state is always the result of the free will of the inhabitants. This is, however, not necessarily true. The fact that Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland emerged from the chaos of 1917 as independent states and that — to take only some — Ukraine and Turkestan did not, although they also declared their independence, when the Tsarist Russian Empire collapsed, does not imply in any way that the will for freedom in Ukraine or Turkestan was weaker than in Finland or the Baltic countries. Their failure was due to other causes too involved for a superficial listing here. It is also ridiculous to imagine that the Germans on the two sides of the Iron Curtain have become so different in the postwar years that two different countries, a democratic and a Communist state, had to arise. Contemporary and older history can endlessly lengthen this list of cases.

When they think of the movements for liberation in the Soviet-dominated areas, Western democrats will do well to remember that many of the stable states and nations of the West took their rise in revolutions. They may also reflect that the state is but a means to an end and not an end in itself, for that is the beginning of state totalitarianism. The fact that the modern state is more or less a product of Renaissance Italy where people commenced to regard it as a sort of apparatus to maintain "peace, law and order" does not compel us to support every existing state as "legal", especially if it murders its inhabitants by the millions like Soviet Russia.

If colonialism is passed for Indonesians, Indians, Pakistani, Arabs and Liberian negroes, it is hard to see why it is still not necessary for large European nations with rich cultural backgrounds like Ukraine. It is bad enough that Ukraine and many other nations are still under foreign oppression, but there is no need to encourage this by telling them that they are Russians and therefore have to be loyal citizens of their "own", "legal" government.

This thinking in terms of the state is not only fully outdated, narrow-minded and dangerous. It is not only insufficient to understand the course of history. It is one of the main obstacles to clear, political thinking and prevents free men from taking a firm stand in the world today when the existing freedom is in danger not only from outside but also from within the free world.

THE TENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES AND THE COMMUNIST HISTORIANS

By HISTORICUS

On September 4-11, there was held in Rome the Tenth International Congress of the Historical Sciences attended by 1550 historians and some hundreds of journalists and guests. It was larger than any previous Congress and especially interesting because historians from behind the Iron Curtain took part and added a great sensation to it.

The participation of the historians from the communized countries came unexpectedly only a few months before the Congress which had been normally in preparation for about two years. As everything in the communized lands, the participation of their historians in this international congress was a part of the Communist world peace propaganda, and the appearance of these historians in Rome only a month after the Great Conference in Geneva, had the character of a carefully prepared attempt to present the "Geneva Spirit" in an international scientific meeting.

There was at the Congress a large Soviet delegation (about 30 in number) composed almost entirely of Russians, for the three non-Russians (a Ukrainian, a Balt and a Mohammedan) played no active role and were obviously brought along only for show, if it became necessary.

The Soviet delegation arranged a larger display of Soviet historical literature than those of other countries; it became a real proof of the colonial control by the Russians of the non-Russian peoples and the almost complete ruination of the historical science of the non-Russian peoples. Among the several hundred serious scholarly historical books in Russian at the exhibition it was only possible to find a few non-Russian (Ukrainian, Georgian, Armenian, etc.). The Roman exhibition of historical literature published in the USSR showed clearly that Soviet and Russian science were 95% one and the same thing. Besides the historical books written in non-Russian languages were pitiable attacks of the Kremlin on the freedom of the historical science of the non-Russian nations. Contrary to the truth, they were intended to confirm the domination of Moscow over their countries.

The Soviet delegation of historians came with a staff of prominent interpreters, who were ready at any moment not only to repeat completely the ideas of the Soviet historian but in some cases to correct them, if the historian happened to say a word contrary to the political policy of the USSR.

The members of the Soviet delegation were carefully schooled in the "Geneva Spirit," excessively polite, conciliatory and even ready to make concessions in the discussions, with the stipulation that the historical Russian Communist scheme of the history of the world was infallible and that Communism was the natural consummation of the history of humanity.

The Soviet delegates had prepared 14 papers for the Congress and only part of these could be on the program. The most important was that of Prof. A. L. Sidorov on *Soviet Historiography* and that of the leader of the Soviet historical delegation A. M. Pankratova on *Historicism*. These two had a Communist ideological basis; the others treated interesting problems of Soviet archeology and the history of other countries of Europe and Asia.

There were also delegations from the communized satellite countries, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. But only the historians of communized Poland succeeded in finding a place on the program. The Polish historian B. Lesnodorski gave a report on a subject similar to that of Prof. Sidorov, *Polish Historiography in the last ten years*.

The Soviet historians definitely accentuated their Communist materialistic point of view in lectures and discussions but at the same time the old internationalism was permeated by notes of the deep sentiment of Russian patriots and attachment to the Russian "fatherland". It appeared that Communism is still only the official facade but that the Russian reality at present is the Russian nationalistic Messianism.

The most lively discussion was of the paper of Prof. Sidorov of Moscow University on *Soviet Historiography*. Some 15 participants who had previously declared themselves were divided between supporters and opponents of the views of the lecturer. The Soviet historians were greatly surprised to have a Ukrainian opponent, a historian from the United States, the editor of this journal, Prof. Nicholas Chubaty, take part in the discussions.

Prof. Sidorov stressed the rosy aspect of the development not only of Russian historiography in the USSR but also the historiography of the non-Russian nations. At this statement the Ukrainian historian from the USA spoke. He asked what the term "Soviet historiography" meant, if the exhibition of the historical literature from the Soviets showed

that it was a question of Russian historiography. In that case where was the historiography of the 40 millions of the Ukrainian people and where was the historiography of the other non-Russian peoples which were often older culturally than the Russians? In the years 1922-1930 historical studies flourished in all the non-Russian republics of the USSR. The scientific historical institutions of Ukraine issued at that time several hundred volumes of solid historical works; where were they?

It is well known that at the order of Moscow there were liquidated in 1930 all Ukrainian historical institutions; the patriarch of Ukrainian historiography, Prof. Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, was banished and many Ukrainian historians were physically liquidated. This was after the ideas of the authoritative Russian Communist historian of the years 1920-1930, Michael Pokrovsky, which were favorable to the culture of the non-Russian peoples, had been condemned by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the new imperialistic Russian views became dominant in the leadership of the Communist Party.

Now except for Russian history no history of any non-Russian people can develop freely and there has been a rewriting of the histories of all the non-Russian peoples to suit the interests of the Russian colonial empire. The voice of the Ukrainian historian from the USA was in fact the voice of the historical world of the non-Russian peoples which had been stifled by Red Moscow.

It is natural that beside the reports with a definitely Soviet Russian setting there was a number of reports by Russian historians on purely scientific and interesting subjects. The most interest was aroused by the archeological excavations in Novgorod the Great, the northern commercial metropolis of the old state of Kievan Rus' of the X-XIV centuries. The East European papyri written on birch bark and discovered by Prof. Artsikhovsky were really of great scientific value.

In summarizing the general contribution of the Soviet historians to the Tenth International Congress of the Historical Sciences in Rome, we can say that the Soviet historians did not succeed in convincing the historians of the free world that free historical research was possible in the USSR. It was likewise made clear that the Soviet historian at present is hampered in his studies less by the Communist-materialistic ideology than by the decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party which reflect the interest of Russian Soviet Empire.

Still by the tacticts of the "Geneva Spirit" the Soviet historians succeeded in some degree in arousing the interest of the historians of the free world in the scholars of the Soviet Union and in opening relations with them.

THE SPIRIT OF GENEVA, UKRAINE AND THE CAPTIVE NATIONS IN THE USSR

*A memorandum submitted to the Secretary of State by The Ukrainian
Congress Committee of America relative to The Big Four Foreign
Ministers' Conference in Geneva, Switzerland, October 1955,*

by LEV E. DOBRIANSKY, Georgetown University.

*The Honorable John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State
U. S. Department of State, Washington, D. C.*

Mr. Secretary: ,

Since the Summit Conference in Geneva this summer the phrase "the Spirit of Geneva," has received through divers media worldwide circulation and, in many quarters, uncritical and even readied acceptance. This spirit is generally interpreted to materialize progressively or, as some put it, through evolutionary change in lessened tensions between the free world and the Russian Communist Empire, in some sort of peaceful coexistence between these broad areas, indeed, in the very culmination of the cold war itself. As a procedural effect of the spirit of diplomatic cordiality that prevailed at the summit, the Big Four Foreign Ministers' Conference is evidently purposed to translate this spirit into concrete agreements and courses of action aimed at the eventual elimination of the basic causes of conflict between Moscow and the West.

On this occasion the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, in its united representation of all non-communist American organizations of Ukrainian background, expresses its most fervent hopes for the success of your mission at this crucially important meeting. We wish also, on the basis of a direct reflection of the views and thoughts of a million and a half citizens regarding the relations of our country with the Soviet Union, to take the opportunity of this occasion to present several founded observations on "the Spirit of Geneva" in its true application to Ukraine and the other captive non-Russian nations in the USSR. Unless the phrase is to bear only hollow significance and to serve as a barren utterance for the frustrated hopes of millions throughout the world, in our judgment, as well as in the grounded opinion of all informed observers of the Soviet Union, it is unthinkable that "the Spirit of Geneva" could be repressed from any direct application to one of the most fundamental and certainly efficient causes of conflict, namely the original captivity of 120 million non-Russians in the Soviet Union.

Applied Pressures for Freedom and Independence

At the time of the Summit Conference it was our privilege to set forth in systematic exposition the just cause of national freedom for Ukraine and the other captive non-Russian nations in the USSR in a detailed memorandum presented

to the President on *the Summit of Freedom: Its Indivisibility*, a copy of which was transmitted to the Department for studied analysis. It is surely not our purpose here to reiterate the views and reasoned interpretations contained in that memorandum or to reproduce much of the historical evidence and contemporary experiences upon which they are firmly based. Instead, in line with the permanent contents of the preceding memorandum, our paramount aim in this instance is to focus attention on the real possibilities and opportunities that "the Spirit of Geneva" might invite in behalf of the advancement of freedom and national independence in the slave half of the world. In short, this memorandum supplements the previous one in calling for applied pressures at this conference and subsequent ones for the freedom and independence of all nations, including the large and populous non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, as was stated by our President in his illuminating address to the American Bar Association August 24, 1955.

Nothing that has occurred on the international scene since the Summit Conference causes us to alter in any way the analytic contents provided in the original memorandum. In point of fact, the outstanding events and developments of this period brilliantly confirm the generalizations and conclusions drawn in it on such essential subjects as the necessary abolishment of the Russian Iron Curtain, controlled relative disarmament, and the wholesale exploitation of the anti-colonial challenge, directed especially at the Russian Communist Empire. The skillful Russian exploitation of the weapon of nationalism in Africa and Asia, the preferred shipment of communist arms to Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia and elsewhere in Africa and Asia, the further penetration of conspiratorial communist influence into Indo-China and Indonesia, and deceitful Russian sponsorship of the anti-colonial challenge in the United Nations, leading to the withdrawal of France from the current sessions of the Assembly as well as to a pronounced depreciation in the overt power of our moral and political leadership in the world, clearly constitute stubborn facts of recent occurrence that fully justify our stated position on the trained chicanery of Moscow and now, more than ever, necessitate positive American action poised on certain applied pressures for national freedom and independence.

The prodigious irony of Communist Russia successfully pretending to be the defender of dependent and colonial nations in their struggle for national freedom and independence is in itself serious cause for grave concern to all informed Americans. In the face of a long and bloody record of Russian communist conquest and imperialist colonialism since 1917, destroying the independence of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Cossackia and a series of other non-Russian nations down to present date, Mr. Khrushchev freely exercises an unopposed mendacity in declaring lately that "the position of the Soviet people is the position of moral support and sympathy for the aspirations of the national liberation movement of the peoples. This has long been known throughout the world." (*N. Y. Times*, Oct. 4, 1955). Unfortunately, this fiction has made significant inroads in the thinking of countless freemen and in great measure we are responsible for this by our relative inactivity to take full advantage of the unsurpassed record of Russian Communist imperialism and colonialism since 1917. During the recent Algerian issue in the U. N., once again our delegate missed a golden opportunity in failing to press debate on this complete Russian Communist record and to persuade France to retaliate with us in a maneuver that bears all the earmarks of a cold war phenomenon and one in which our success would be guaranteed by the factual record itself. This would have magnificently exemplified positive American action generating pressures for national freedom and independ-

ence which, after all, form the kernel of the American democratic tradition and the very negation of traditional Russian totalitarianism.

Briefly, these several major developments since Geneva in July point unmistakably to the predominant fact that "the Spirit of Geneva," instead of becoming the dissolvent of the cold war, has itself been transmuted by unchangeable Russian Communist intentions and objectives into a deceptive tool of the cold war. The present phase of the cold war represents, as a consequence, the most perilous one yet. It places Moscow in a most advantageous position to wage behind the facade of good will frills, staged to the tune of the "Spirit of Geneva," an intensified psychological warfare campaign which capitalizes on the problems harassing the free nations and, as on the issue of colonialism, produces almost paralyzing dilemmas for the United States. Also, as we stressed in our previous memorandum, it enables Moscow to purchase the necessary element of time to overcome the known weakness and problems in its consolidation of empire and own political structure, to advance further its armament build-up, to realign and strengthen its world conspiratorial network, and in deflecting moves to undermine the structure of allied unity. There is no substantial evidence of Russian sincerity in "the Spirit of Geneva" nor is there likely to be any while time works in their favor. Unless our passivity is also to be permitted to work in their favor, Geneva in October should with all urgency provide strong expression for pressures for freedom and independence consonant with the tenets of our policy of peaceful liberation and its dynamic force of innovation as against wishful evolution.

The Freedom Force of National Self-Determination

Undoubtedly the most powerful pressure for freedom in the context of this century is the moral and political force of national self-determination, a product of American Spirituality, defined by President W. Wilson. The Congress recently underscored this truth by its unanimous passage of House Concurrent Resolution 149, opposing colonialism and communist imperialism, and of Senate Resolution 127 which supports the right of once independent nations to self-determination again. It is highly significant and of creditable importance that both of these carefully prepared resolutions do not restrict the compass of national freedom and independence, in so far as concerns Europe, to the poorly classified satellite countries. They accommodate, and properly so, the once independent non-Russian nations now enslaved within the nominal framework of the Soviet Union. They accurately reflect in thought and meaning the indivisibility of freedom.

In fact and principle, the freedom force of national self-determination, which logically means the exercise of independence and principled opposition to empire, cannot possibly be circumscribed within the limits or area of any single sector of the present Russian Communist empire. Formerly independent non-Russian nations now in the Soviet Union are as much the proper object of this force, in several respects even more so, as the countries loosely referred to as satellites. All unhappily share an essential captivity under the yoke of imperialist Moscow and, in historical truth, all are by nature captive states and countries, despite the nominal and legal sham of the framework of the Soviet Union. Thus, as many commentators and journalists are notoriously wont to do, to speak or write of any real distinction between the two captive groupings of non-Russian nations evinces either a striking lack of historical understanding or an inadequate grasp of the meaning of indivisible freedom as expressed by the force of national self-determination.

This intrinsic quality of indivisibility and universal scope has been effectively underlined by our President in several of his recent addresses. Speaking to the West Point graduating class of 1955, for example, he stressed that "militarily and materially we are strong. More important, we are strong in the partnership of many allies. But above all, our nation is strong in the support of principle: We espouse the cause of freedom and justice and peace for all peoples, regardless of race or flag or political ideology" (*N. Y. Times*, June 8, 1955). Mr. Secretary, your own address before the U. N. this past June gives eloquent expression to this prime quality in these words: "The peace of the Charter is a peace of justice: it is a peace which will assure all nations, great and small, the right to be genuinely independent..." (*N. Y. Times*, June 25, 1955). It is therefore evident, in the light of these statements and the known facts of Central-Eastern and East Europe and Central Asia, that any publicized attempt to seek the freedom of only the so-called satellite countries is patently inconsistent with both objective fact and declared principle.

The freedom force of national self-determination finds its most fertile ground in the areas of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union. For most of them, despite thirty-five years of Russian Communist domination and genocidal oppression, the ineradicable mark, of national consciousness shows itself persistently in their unbroken resistance, both passive and armed, against the alien despotism of Moscow. The monumental reports and hearings of the Select House Committee on Communist Aggression, particularly its official record on the *Investigation of Communist Takeover and Occupation of the Non-Russian Nations of the U.S.S.R.*, brilliantly relate the relentless drive of these captive nations and peoples for the restoration of their national freedom and independence. In the most authoritative and finest official account yet, they demonstrate the series of imperialist aggressions upon which the Soviet Union itself was founded and the thoroughly illegitimate character of this spurious voluntary union of states. In what is really an empire built upon acts of imperialist aggression and characterized by the worst colonialism in history, constitutional terms, such as secession and separation, become only additional instruments of characteristic Russian Communist deception serving to delude the Western mind with suggested but unfounded parallels elsewhere.

Both scholarship and official experience attest to the fundamental truth that the real enemy behind the mask of communist ideology is traditional Russian imperialism, an autocratic phenomenon that for centuries has deprived the Russian nation itself of opportunities for democratic growth, economic advancement, and amicable relations with neighboring non-Russian nations. The compatible ease with which the grandiosity of communist ideology has been fitted into the psychological pattern of traditional Russian imperialism may readily be reduced from a typical account furnished by a close witness of this institutional phenomenon in the last century. Our Minister to the Russian Empire, Mr. Neil S. Brown, observed in 1852 that "A strange superstition prevails among the Russians, that they are destined to conquer the world, and the prayers of the priests in the church are mingled with requests to hasten and consummate this 'divine mission,' while appeals to the soldiery founded on this idea of fatality and its glorious rewards are seldom made in vain." Many knowledgeable and perceptive witnesses at close hand have followed since, and also have attested to this in similar vein. To quote a contemporary one, Admiral William H. Standley could not help but observe that "over the ancient skeleton of Russian imperialism, Lenin and Stalin threw a cloak of communist ideology, but the bones of the skeleton show through. Even as in

Czarist times, when the Russian Bear stands on its hind feet with its front paws held up as if in prayer, we must 'beware of the Bear that walks like a Man'" (Ambassador to Russia, p. 508).

U. S. Utilization of Ukrainian and Byelorussian Membership in the U. N.

It is obviously one thing to understand, to resolve and to witness, but it is another to apply, to implement and to utilize, as steps in pressures for freedom and independence would demand. At this stage the channels for prudent action are open to us and, fortunately, they are being increasingly recognized by many observers. As one analyst described it subsequent to the Summit Conference, "Serious American thought also must be given to the nationally conscious Soviet components such as the Ukraine and Byelorussia. The fact that these two nations have their own representatives in the U. N. has never been properly utilized by the United States. To encourage their independence and to strive for the decentralization of the Soviet Union into its separate though not necessarily unfriendly components is likely to become one of the chief U. S. objectives" (Edward Weintal, *Newsweek*, August 29, 1955). Most appropriately, this objective might well now be reflected in the discussion at Geneva.

Numerous measures utilizing these representations may be taken directly in the United Nations, such as we have advocated in a number of Congressional testimonies (e. g. Review of the United Nations Charter, 1955). However, the Foreign Ministers' Conference affords an excellent occasion for certain concrete steps that would give ample evidence of our intention to translate "the Spirit of Geneva" into a reality for all peoples and nations. These steps may now be pitched to the classic statements made by Molotov and Stalin at the Yalta Conference. As reported by Edward R. Stetinius, Jr., "The Soviet Union, Molotov announced also for the first time, would be satisfied with the admission of three or at least two of the Soviet Republics as original members. The three were the Ukraine, White Russia, and Lithuania. The Soviet attitude, Molotov explained, was based on constitutional changes of February 1944, whereby, he said, the Soviet Republics have achieved control of their own foreign policy. Furthermore, not only were these three republics heavily populated, but, he said, they had borne the greatest sacrifices of the war, particularly the Ukraine" (Roosevelt and the Russians, p. 161). Reporting on Stalin's significant observations, Stetinius writes, "In reviewing the entire matter of additional seats for the Soviet Union, the President told me that evening at Yalta that Stalin felt his position in the Ukraine was difficult and insecure. A vote for Ukraine was essential, the Marshal had declared, for Soviet unity" (p. 169).

In view of the obvious importance of Ukraine — the largest and richest non-Russian nation in Eastern Europe — not only to the maintenance of empire by Moscow but more so to the advancement of peace with freedom by the United States, we strongly recommend for your studied consideration at this time the following steps in peaceful pressures for freedom and independence:

- (1) a demonstrated interest by our delegation to Geneva in the progress achieved by Ukraine, Byelorussia and others in "the control of their own foreign policy" since the reported statement made by Mr. Molotov over a decade ago. Implying overt sovereignty, this alleged condition of national control should prompt very significant inquiries into the existence of distinct Ukrainian and Byelorussian military forces, their diplomatic establishments

in other countries, and the means by which such control of foreign policy reflects the will of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples;

(2) as a demonstration of the true spirit of Geneva, transporting peace with freedom and justice, the submission of a proposal by our delegation for free elections not only in the so-called satellite countries but also, of logical necessity, in countries such as Ukraine and Byelorussia which are recognized by all members of the United Nations and, which, as Mr. Molotov reportedly argued, enjoy "control of their own foreign policy." It is crystal clear, on Mr. Molotov's terms, that this proposal cannot be construed as a contravention of the legal norm of non-interference in the internal affairs of any state.

(3) in the true spirit of Geneva, promoting friendship and understanding between nations, the proposal by our delegation for American publication and distribution of newspapers and periodicals in the native languages of Ukraine, Byelorussia and others to be read by the peoples of these nations; and

(4) in the peaceful interest of understanding Russian communist institutions, an open request by our delegation to send an official mission, headed perhaps by Mr. George Meany of the American Federation of Labor, to visit freely chosen parts of the forced labor system in both the European and Asiatic regions of the Soviet Union and "particularly the great cultural center at Vorkuta."

No Trade Without Political Extractions

Related to those recommendations is our vigorous support of the foreign economic policy of no trade without political extractions in connection with the Soviet Union and other parts of the present Russian Communist Empire. Utterly naive statements made this past summer by individuals who should know better impels us to place great emphasis on this formula in dealing with Moscow. "Business as usual," aimed at pecuniary gain and spuriously rationalized as a medium of intentional amity and understanding, is completely inapplicable to the Soviet Union and the framework of "the Russian Communist Empire." The ethics of behaving with relative passivity toward an avowed enemy gaining time to implement his designs for our destruction as a nation is questionable in itself, but to assist him in this in the delusion of furthering peace through normal trade borders on criminality. Moscow needs expanded trade in order to overcome its present economic weaknesses and to keep its empire intact. As was stressed by this Committee in testimony before the House Committee on Ways and Means early this year, considerable volumes of even consumer goods traded to the Russian Communist Empire are of strategic significance in a warlike totalitarian economy (Trade Agreements Extension, Part 2, 1955). We must preserve our economic leverage for political gains in behalf of peace with justice and freedom. Calculated trade may be had but not without compounded political concessions from Moscow.

Once again we are confronted by politically naive utterances on the shipment of American surplus foodstuffs as a gift to the Soviet Union. Various motivated, this proposal is likewise garnished with superficial slogans. Once again we wish to repeat the necessary conditions for such an offer as stated in our letter of March 8 to the President: "(1) a verbal stipulation of our desire to witness an equitable distribution of the gift among all the affected nations in the USSR,

(2) in the effectuation of this desire, the admission of carefully selected neutral distribution teams, and (3) the offer of a limited supply measured according to terms not offsetting the basic effects of resistance in the USSR and not overlooking the needs of many impoverished areas in the free world itself." America is known for its warm humanitarianism, but even this can be perverted by Russian communist duplicity.

U. S. Initiative for True Spirit of Geneva

"The Spirit of Geneva" as conceived by the Summit Conference will remain only a hollow phrase for those who sincerely have placed their faith and hopes in the possibility of a historic turn of events. It will continue to be a successful instrument of the cold war for Moscow, aimed at the psychological isolation and paralysis of the United States. These are the logical results of the current situation unless the United States, unbeguiled by the perilous doctrine of evolution concerning the conversion of imperialist Russian Communism to civilized norms of political existence, commences now to exercise dynamic initiative for a true spirit of Geneva in application to the whole world and especially to the entire Russian Communist Empire, including Ukraine and the other captive non-Russian nations in the USSR.

Such initiative now requires applied pressures for freedom and independence. Truly expressive of our policy of liberation through peaceful means, it would harness the freedom force of national self-determination in application to all enslaved nations in the Russian Communist Empire and in splendid vindication of the principle of indivisible freedom. Such initiative can only be based on the secure doctrine of innovation and its dynamic processes of creative development in the expansion of freedom and the positive encouragement of national independence in the captive areas of this empire.

It is in the great hope cherished by the extensive membership of this national body in the supremacy of American idealism and its realistic defense of the innovating principle of national self-determination for all peoples and nations, as well as in a true translation at this meeting of "the Spirit of Geneva" that the undersigned respectfully submits this memorandum.

THE PEOPLES OF TWO WORLDS

By GEORGE TENET

One beautiful afternoon in the fall I was walking along one of the broad boulevards of Vienna. The beautiful deep blue of the sky, the white cloudlets, the rows of trees in their dress of gold and brilliant red formed a fascinating picture. However, I was unable to enjoy the beauty. Nothing could scatter my uneasy thoughts about the uneasy future, the unknown tomorrow.

There was no way back. I had been trapped in this city since the end of the war. The barbarian deluge from the East which had overrun half of Europe was menacing. I felt miserable — a refugee without a home, a prey of the Russian scavenger.

Any bad news made me unable to work and only an aimless roaming through the streets could bring me some relief and interrupt my disturbing thoughts. I wandered without a definite goal and came in sight of the resplendent white of the gothic spires of the Votive Church, a white embroidery on a blue background. As I passed the university, lost in my thoughts, I looked up.

Two dazzling blue eyes turned on me and a beautiful face smiling charmingly. A familiar face . . . but who could it be? Ah! the world was small and Vienna, a tiny town. This was Irene . . . I hadn't seen her for five years.

"You haven't changed after those awful years," she said smiling, "I have. You didn't even recognize me."

She had really changed, but the change had made her only more lovely. We exchanged all the most important news in a few words and as we strolled on, we told of our adventures and journeys since we had left our homes. We recounted the moments of danger. The fate of those who remained or had been deported, imprisoned or scattered over Europe, Asia and God knows where.

"I'm married," she said and looked somewhere in the distance as if to avoid my gaze.

"Who is the lucky man?" I asked after a short silence, thinking how unpredictable were men's fortunes, and how unfair the fates. One

falls the victim of bombs, another of totalitarian inquisitors and others marry, enjoy life or even acquire wealth.

She mentioned a name. I seemed to vaguely remember him as a friend from school or even as a distant relative. But I did not have the boldness to ask her if she was happy and I could not stand to hear her talk about her husband.

She was not a glamorous beauty; she was a sweet, intelligent young lady. Perhaps her main charm was her seriousness, her friendly attentiveness without a trace of self-consciousness, a trait almost indispensable in a beautiful woman.

"We are nearing some sad end," she said with a startling pessimism as we discussed our uncertain futures as refugees. Some strange foreboding, however, forced me to connect those words with her marriage. But this could be only my imagination. Her face was the expression of inner peace and she was all harmony.

As we neared the steps of the Parliament she looked at her wrist watch and declared there was no reason to go further. Her aunt, whom she had intended to visit, must have already gone. So we walked back.

I told her that I was studying geology in the Vienna University to help realize my youthful dreams of travels in exotic countries. She was continuing her studies in medicine, but for some unknown reason had failed to register and was much worried about this. We talked about the different faculties, scholarships, professors, fellow students, books and libraries.

After passing the university, we crossed a broad and busy street and reached the trimmed hedge of the garden before the church. Suddenly Irene who was telling another story of her student days grasped my arm and called in horror.

"Look! Look!"

I immediately turned and saw an old gentleman running on the opposite sidewalk and shouting with a faint voice: "Help! Help!" while two rogues in Russian uniforms were chasing him. Young and strong, they caught him easily, hit him on the head to silence him and dragged him into a car that was following them.

This brutal assault was over in two minutes. The car disappeared and a moment later nothing betrayed the fact that one more victim of the Stalinist oppression had been liquidated. Only the dark hat of the victim lay on the sidewalk and a small group of passersby were discussing this latest arrogant violation of the freedom of innocent citizens in the centre of the largest Central European city.

"It is horrible," she said. "That scream, that last scream of a person murdered in a big city before the eyes of hundreds of helpless onlookers. Tomorrow it may happen to me or to you."

She said it with such despair and I saw how it moved this young and exalted woman. I took her trembling hand in mine to console her.

"Oh, don't worry," I said, "nobody will kidnap you. They only kidnap men."

"Last week they dragged a woman with two children from a trolley, the wife of one of my acquaintances."

"This happened in the Russian zone?" I asked, wondering why I was defending Russian brutality.

"Do you know the story of Countess Tarakanova?" she asked with a faint smile. "She was kidnapped in Livorno in Italy, deported to Russia and murdered."

"That was in the year 1770, if I am not mistaken."

"It doesn't matter. They have but one policy, one method, then and now. As you see the method is almost perfect, a method of merciless liquidation of undesirable persons. Kutyepov was kidnapped in Paris not so long ago; others have been assassinated by their agents, by infernal machines..."

"You know everything like an expert, not like a woman," I said smiling, still trying to console her.

"All my knowledge is useless... if only I could help, if I at least knew that man's name. I could go somewhere, even to the American commanding general... Wait a minute, he dropped his hat on the sidewalk. Maybe his name is in it.

I rose automatically to go for the hat, though I believed that our efforts would be useless. Even the generals were as helpless as we were. But her good will was moving and I would not disappoint her. She rose too and we went to the place where we stood before. But we saw no trace of the hat. People were now walking along the sidewalk without any idea of what had happened there.

I remarked that if there was a name in that hat someone else would do as she intended. But she wanted to go nevertheless, because it was possible that the authorities didn't know what was happening on the streets.

"I think they will not throw me out," she said, and at that moment she was speaking as a woman conscious of her charms.

But I warned her. Probably a general would have no time for such an interview. She would first have to tell her story to a secretary. There were many pro-red secretaries who might betray her to the Russians. What would happen then...?

"I will not tell them my name, or I will give a false name," she said and smiled because she knew that she was talking nonsense. "But the poor man, what will happen to him?"

"If he is fortunate, ten years in a concentration camp," I said, but it was only my guess. "For an older person it means death."

"How horrible! I am afraid now to go home," she said looking at me. "You must accompany me. But don't mention the story to my husband; he would be terrified and remain out of our home in his hiding place, somewhere on the top floor."

Her husband, however, was not at home. A tall darkhaired woman opened the door, and, because it was quite dark in the hallway, mistook me for the husband. Irene told her the whole story immediately with much excitement. How we met, what we had seen, and she asked her not to mention the kidnapping to anybody in the house.

She was not at all impressed by Irene's story, because in her own words, she was already used to it. Every other day somebody was kidnapped. What was the difference between arrest and kidnapping? Both ended in a concentration camp in the white bear's land. Beside, the Russians are savages used to kidnapping, and they kidnapped because they had no right to arrest foreign citizens in the American sector. They even kidnapped their wives. But now everything will change. The Americans will end this Russian brutality, and maybe the third world war will begin soon . . .

She spoke fast and with energy. I liked to listen to her and with her picturesque way of talking, no matter the subject — political news, ordinary gossip or her own fantasy — she held us spellbound until late into the night.

I got up to leave when I saw two gentlemen enter the room. We were so interested that we had not heard them enter. They were the husbands of the ladies.

Irene's husband had a familiar face, with a remarkable forehead and his blond hair combed back. It seemed that we had really met once. He even recognized me and knew my name though I couldn't remember where we had met. He was rather short and heavy. I had pictured another type as the husband of Irene, and was a little disappointed. But who can know the reasons for a woman's choice in a husband? Feminine logic, feminine ideals are incomprehensible to men.

We parted soon as good friends and they invited me to come again. I accepted the invitation with real joy, but strangely enough some time passed before I saw Irene again. I liked her, I was very eager to see her.

The aunt's illness lasted more than a month, and Irene was not to be seen. One evening, however, we met in the University Library and had a nice chat, walking through the long corridors, and, reminiscing about old times. We recalled even the day of our first meeting, the dances, the excursions we attended later. All this brought back my efforts at courtship which had not been appreciated by the very young girl.

I got a book for her in the large library hall and she prepared to leave. I tried to detain her but she insisted she must leave.

"I can't stay here any more, I don't like this library," she said. "The huge hall is three stories high, all filled with books, thick tomes from the floor to the ceiling. I feel so small and unimportant here among so many books. In my whole life I cannot read a thousandth part of them. So many books, so much wisdom and for what?"

"Oh, Irene..." I tried to interrupt her, but she was in a talkative mood.

"So many books and everything is as it was before, a thousand years ago, before these books were written, the same medieval barbarism, the same destruction, killing and pillaging. Every day we walk past ruins, where people are living in cold and hunger. Nobody has yet written a book which could abolish barbarism and murder and bring peace. Maybe the more books written, the more destruction!"

"Multitudes of books have been written against barbarism, every religion has books." I tried to object cautiously.

"Who cares today for religion, and besides every barbarism uses religion to cover up its black deeds. And the newest religion from the East is the most barbaric since Genghis Khan. A triumphant barbarism is advancing and will swallow the whole world. We are coming to a sad end."

"Irene, you are wonderful, the most wonderful woman I ever met."

"Don't make fun of me."

"I can only admire you! Tell me, Irene... Why didn't you marry me?"

"How could I? You didn't like me, and you seemed to me so proud, so reserved, so distant. I wanted warmth and love."

"Oh, you were mistaken. I never was proud, I was rather shy."

"I don't know. That was my first impression of you, and first impressions last a long time."

"And have you found warmth and love? Are you happy now?"

"Don't ask such questions. Everybody has what he deserves."

"If I was ever proud, I'm not now."

"Too late, sir, I must go. I will come back here some day."

She didn't come, although I spent every day in the reading room, always in a seat near the entrance, so as to be able to see her at once. We met unexpectedly only before Christmas Eve and I spent that in her home with friends. So passed the winter.

I supposed that she was intentionally avoiding me. She was, of course, a married woman and my visits might embarrass her.

One evening, however, the first warm evening when spring was already in the air, I took a walk through the park. To my surprise I saw Irene and her darkhaired friend seated on a bench, with a third unknown lady between them. From the melodious sound of the stranger's voice I recognized her as a Ukrainian from Poltava. She abruptly interrupted her conversation, however, as she saw me approach, and I heard only the phrase: "and they came again and took all the nails from the house."

Her name was Vala. She silently acknowledged the introduction and remained silent during my conversation with Irene and her friend. There was something like suspicion in her sad eyes. A Soviet woman, just from there, I thought, and her regulation coat was a proof. But she was pretty and young though she looked like a provincial school-teacher in this part of the world. Nevertheless she was far different from the usual type of Soviet woman, for she lacked the toughness and hardness that makes any one of them a fighter. Everybody there must be a fighter, everything must be fought for, even such insignificant things as a herring or a potato, not to mention such rarities as shoes or dresses which must be fought for during long hours of queue standing only to learn that no more shoes are to be had.

She resumed her story only under Irene's persuasion. It was a sad story about a child who died, most probably during the horrible government-organized starvation. Maybe she was even the mother of the child. I could not guess from the few sentences I could hear. It was only evident that Irene had won her confidence and this was extraordinary, because the people from behind the Iron Curtain very seldom make a sincere confession.

After a time I left the women, feeling that my presence was embarrassing to Vala, the Soviet woman. She felt uneasy, I didn't know why. I promised to come soon when Irene asked me why I had stayed away for so long a time.

"I am always at home now evenings," she shouted to me as I walked away.

I kept my promise and this time had the unexpected luck of finding her at home alone. After some chatting she commenced to play the piano. Everything was wonderful, just as at home in the good times

before the war. But the piece was soon interrupted and the sentimental mood destroyed by the intrusion of the darkhaired energetic friend. We had no desire for more music and so we started to discuss the political news. Meanwhile I learned who the Soviet woman was.

They had met her at a black market. Actually it was she who had approached them after listening to their Ukrainian conversation. She was helpless there and lost in a big city for she did not know a word of German. They helped her several times to buy what she needed and so they became friends. She was here with her husband, a colonel in the Soviet army.

I was a little surprised and remarked that caution was needed in meeting people from the Soviet Union. Even though they were Ukrainians, as we, they might betray us. They were forced by all means to inform their secret police about everything, whether they liked it or not. Irene was, however, very confident, and assured me that Vala was a most honest and straightforward person, her best friend.

"If you knew all the stories she has told me, and what stories, you would believe her completely. It is almost incomprehensible to us how they have suffered."

I had no reason to disbelieve Irene, and could not expect her to be naive or careless, but she always had to take care of somebody poor or unhappy.

A few weeks later on a beautiful spring day I was again at Irene's. Spring in Vienna is always so beautiful, and this year it seemed to bring us some hopes of a better future.

Irene's husband opened the door. The two women were seated at a table covered with sewing implements and doing some tailoring. Irene told me they were making some dresses for Vala and they would like to finish them before Sunday.

"My wife is now a professional tailor," said the husband. "She has a passion for turning Soviets into Europeans."

"I must do this," Irene apologized, "Vala is so poor, she has almost nothing to wear except some old rags. We poor refugees are much better off than she, the wife of a colonel."

From this I knew that the husband already knew of the Soviet woman. He was not at all pleased, because according to the latest news, after a period of inactivity, the Russians two days before had again seized two of our refugees. What it meant we didn't know. Still not free from fear, we were glad to see that the allies had now some knowledge about the true nature of the Russians and their bolshevism.

I left after the usual session of political speculation, and we arranged to meet again on Saturday to take the ladies through the park.

Saturday was a beautiful day. I came late in the afternoon and found Irene and her friend pressing and putting some finishing touches on the dress. Vala was to come at five o'clock to try it on. Her husband, the colonel, would come too.

"Her husband? exclaimed Irene's husband. "Why didn't you tell me about this? How could you invite a Soviet colonel into our home? This is virtually putting ourselves completely into their hands!"

"Really how could it happen?" asked the other woman's husband.

"We couldn't tell Vala to come alone without her husband. We are friends now and we like her. You have no reason for your fears, not all Soviet citizens are spies and informers. Vala is as much an enemy of bolshevism as we are. She has told us everything about herself... She was nine when the Communists murdered her father. She was sixteen when her mother died from the government's organized famine. She and her brother were saved by an aunt from certain death. Ten years later her brother, a student in an engineering college, was arrested for alleged nationalism and she still doesn't know what happened to him. If he is alive, he is in a concentration camp."

The lady's husband, however, couldn't be so easily convinced. "You forget that she has a husband," he said in a raised voice. "And the fact that he is a colonel speaks for itself. He may not share his wife's views.

"Of course not," echoed Irene's husband. "We cannot suppose that he would endanger his position for his wife's sake. He must be beyond all suspicion."

"It is hard to believe," said his friends in the same vein, "that anything like love can exist in those conditions... in slavery, persecution, where husbands inform political police on their wives, children and their parents."

"On the contrary," Irene interrupted, "I believe that the truest love exists in poverty, under persecution and terror. We were only one year and a half under Russian occupation and in that time I learned the real value of sympathy, compassion, and all the nobler feelings. That was when I married you."

The silence after Irene's words was embarrassing. We all were buried in memories, even the husband who lowered his head and couldn't find a word to answer. Only the energetic lady didn't lose her composure and hurried to begin a longer speech.

"The people under the Soviet regime learned quickly to masquerade their true feelings. They all know how to simulate loyalty, even patriotism, and nobody knows their true opinions..." She was, however, interrupted by her husband.

"Is it possible that they would play the game with you rather than with their political police?"

"You heard Vala's story about the dead child?" — the energetic lady asked me. "Wasn't the story sufficient to show what she feels, and how she thinks?"

"Alas," I said, "I listened to only a part of the story. My impression was that everything in it was true and Vala was relating it with heartrending affection. But..."

"But what," she asked, disappointed.

"Vala is not alone, she has a husband; she has, of course, some friends," I tried to apologize. "They may even think as she thinks; I believe millions think so behind the Iron Curtain, but they may become suspicious. Seeing Vala in her new dresses, they may ask some embarrassing questions. For instance — where she got this dress. They may then come to you."

"We have anticipated this," Irene said smiling. "Vala knows a German tailor who made something for her. She will give them his address. But there is no such danger; they leave Monday for Leipzig or Dresden."

At this moment somebody rang the bell and we all rose. Nobody doubted that this was Vala and her colonel. The woman hurried out and we left the room, gathering in a smaller room around a chess table. We even tried to play, with no enthusiasm, however. We listened rather to the voices, and I could distinguish Vala's melodious tones and a manly baritone. Her first words seemed to be:

"Where are your husbands? We should like to meet them."

Irene said something and then all was silent. They went to another room evidently to see the dresses. We made some movements in a slow chess game, and then Irene appeared.

"Why are you men hiding here?" she said. "Come, don't be afraid, don't be stubborn. The colonel is a nice fellow. It will be so embarrassing for me if you refuse to meet him. I really have no excuse to offer. They really can think that we despise them."

I remarked that I was ready to meet her guests and then the two husbands concurred. We followed Irene into the dining room where Vala and the colonel were admiring the talents of Irene and her friend as tailors.

The colonel, a man of athletic stature, in his late forties seemed rather an intellectual than a soldier. His wife, though she was only two inches smaller than Irene, looked small in comparison to him. We shook hands with them, and for the first time in my life I held a woman's small hand that was really hard. The women in the Soviet

Union work hard in their homes, but have been often regimented by their government and sent to work like men — as ditch diggers, carpenters or bricklayers.

The women left with their tailoring. We remained with the colonel unable to start a conversation. We were members of one nation divided for long years by an 'iron curtain' and at the same time representatives of two hostile worlds. Mutual suspicion and resentment were obstacles not easy to break through. I started to ask colonel the simplest questions. How did he like Vienna? What impressions did he have of Europe? I asked him about the big cities in the USSR like Moscow, Leningrad, Kharkiv, Kiev. About the devastation caused by the war. About the life there.

The colonel answered with reserve, as if he feared some hidden tricks. His voice was soft and agreeable and he looked like a sympathetic fellow with good manners though he spoke like a lawyer in court who is cautious lest he say too much. He seemed to belong to the pre-bolshevist generation which knew something about manners. His answers, however, were so cautious, so tactful and colorless, the stereotyped answers of a Soviet official, who is deprived of his individuality and who uses patriotic and optimistic rhetoric to camouflage his true face. Surely he was a veteran of too many screenings during all the innumerable purges, where he fought for his life and freedom.

We couldn't extract anything from him, no essential information, except the usual cheap rhetoric and lies of a propagandist that everything in the Soviet Union was the best and unsurpassed. Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev were more beautiful than Vienna. Perhaps more than all other cities in the world. The Moscow Metro was a work of art and the city subway in Vienna an old and poor caricature.

Then we who were almost starving in Vienna asked him about the food problem in the USSR. He answered promptly that there was no scarcity of food and that the "kolkhozes" worked wonderfully in spite of the fact that almost all the men were in the army.

Our conversation was uninteresting and tiresome. I started to ask the colonel questions about the Germans who were our common enemies. There we were more at ease. The colonel spoke almost with fervor. He spoke about the victories of the Red Army and was skeptical of the abilities of the German generals and the qualities of the German soldiers. He praised the Red Army and the inspired leadership of comrade Stalin, just as though attending a communist meeting. He even said:

"I am an old bolshevik who fought against Denikin in Tsarytsyn, against the Poles at Minsk, and against the Germans at Stalingrad."

At this moment the door opened and his small wife entered the room in her new dress, her hair combed and styled, and she herself beaming with delight like a young girl. She was really sweet and I wondered how such a change was possible.

"Did you ever see me so beautiful?" she asked with a sweet smile that made her really charming.

The colonel was astonished as we all were. He stared for a moment . . . something was going on in his mind; he tried to smile, but his lips trembled and . . . two big tears ran down from his eyes. He hurriedly covered his face with his hands, but his wife saw this reaction. Her gracious smile faded, she reached for a handkerchief in her new bag, but couldn't open the complicated lock and ran out to Irene. In a while we heard her loud sobbing.

The colonel rose to go to his wife, but stopped half way and after a short wait turned back to us. He felt that he owed us something. Resting both hands on the back of a chair he said:

"Citizens! Almost everything I told you today was a lie. We are forced to lie and listen to lies every day. There is very little to eat in our country, almost nothing to wear and there has been nothing since the revolution."

"I am not young and remember something of the old times; but my wife has grown up under the Soviet regime. I have known her since her childhood. During all her twenty eight years she has suffered hardships and privations you can hardly imagine. Her parents died early, killed by the government. She has been forced to work since childhood in the most distant parts of our country, as a teacher, farm worker, even as a miner. More that once she was starving; she couldn't even dream about clothes like those you prepared for her."

"You have lived a really peaceful, happy life in freedom and security. We never were free, we never had a night's rest without fear, we were starving, dying in prisons and in concentration camps. I myself spent years in prison and banishment. All my family perished . . . and for what? For a happy life under socialism? Happiness is not the Kremlin's aim, but the conquest of the world. Human life means nothing in our country. An invalid soldier must beg at the crossroads because the government gives him nothing. A happy life is only for career seekers and for thieves . . ."

The door opened and Irene slipped in. We rose and she nodded to us to go to another room. It was only her goodness and sweetness that had forced the old hardened bolshevist to denounce his idols.

JOHN HODIAK

(OBITUARY)



On October 19, 1955 John Hodiak, a famous Ukrainian-American actor both on the stage and in the films, died suddenly at his home in Tarzana, California at the early age of forty one. His death was a great loss both to the art world of the United States and to the Ukrainians in America.

John Hodiak was born in Pittsburgh, April 16, 1914 of Ukrainian immigrant parents. At the age of eleven John and his family moved to Detroit and there he followed the example of his father, a talented amateur actor, and took part in the plays sponsored by the local Ukrainian parish. This was his first step for his

his success later won him a scholarship in dramatics at Northwestern University in Chicago.

He had previously been rejected for work in Detroit radio station for bad enunciation but by the hard task of securing a post in a factory where he was required to read clearly and rapidly, he so improved that he found the access to the professional stage.

A ruggedly handsome man, he found his first roles as villainous characters in radio sketches but he soon rose above them. In 1940 he originated the role of Li'l Abner in Chicago.

It would take too long to list all of his important roles. He was hailed by Brooks Atkinson of the *New York Times* for his presentation of the part of Lieut. Maryk in the *Caine Mutiny*. Atkinson said of him that his performance had "strength, charm and candor and had the stamp of a human being."

He had not apparently been ill and was just preparing to go to work when he was stricken. He leaves behind him his parents and a young daughter.

He was not only a great artist but he was one of those who never denied his Ukrainian origin and was always ready to aid his associates in advancing the cause of Ukraine. He was a true Ukrainian and true American and he will be sadly missed both by his friends and by all who are truly interested in art and in the cause of Ukraine.

QUARTERLY CHRONICLE OF THE UKRAINIAN LIFE

I. UKRAINE BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

MOSCOW'S DIFFICULTIES WITH THE KOMSOMOLS OF UKRAINE

The *Komsomolska Pravda*, the official publication of the organization of the Komsomols, on October 5 gave this judgement on the Komsomols of Ukraine: "The Komsomols of the district building-trust of the region of Vinnytsya in Ukraine have had their meeting for reports and elections. There could have been considerable discussion, for the life of the Komsomols is very unsatisfactory. The causes of the poor work of the Committee needed discussion. But there was no clear businesslike talk. The Secretary of the Committee, Comrade Medvid, made a report in which there was no mention of living people, no analysis of errors and mistakes, no interesting plan for the future leadership of the organization. The members of the Committee did not try to discover the defects of the Committee."

Radyanska Ukraina, a Kievan newspaper, on September 27, 1955, reported that beginning January 1 and throughout 1956 there will be in Ukraine a replacement of "Komsomol documents," the second since 1938. The object of this is according to the Soviet press, "the organizational and political strengthening of the Komsomol organizations, the improvement of discipline and of organization in the ranks of the Komsomols of Ukraine." In plain language this means the purging of the Komsomols of undesirable elements. We may imagine that it is a question of removing "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists," who keep infiltrating the Communist organizations of Ukraine.

THE DISTRICT OF SUMY STILL DISTURBS THE REDS

The district of Sumy in Eastern Ukraine, which in the spring of this year gave the Bolshevik government a great deal of trouble, part of which had the character of an open revolt, this autumn is still not satisfactory to the Red government. The Soviet press criticizes the Sumy region for not completing the digging, cleaning and moving of sugar beets to the sugar refineries.

THE DISTRICT OF LVIV IS THE WORST IN THE REPUBLIC

According to the Kievan correspondent of the *Radyanska Ukraina*, the Lviv district is the worst in the Republic in the production of corn, vegetables and potatoes. The correspondent explains this by the lack of party discipline. The author does not give the reason for party discipline in the capital of Western Ukraine.

THE MESSAGE OF THE UKRAINIANS IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS OF THE USSR TO THE UKRAINIANS IN THE FREE WORLD

Germans returning from the Soviets, where some had very close contacts with the Ukrainian prisoners, who fill the Soviet camps at compulsory labor,

have brought this message for the Ukrainians in the free world: "At our departure, your fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters, have asked us to give you in their name their most sincere greeting... and to tell you that they are standing firmly for their Ukrainian Fatherland and believe in its liberation and they ask you not to interrupt abroad your work for this cause. They are certain that the enemy will not mislead them. They warn you not to believe in any amnesty and not to return to the USSR. Although a hard period has come for Ukraine, they all believe firmly that the Soviet regime will be destroyed and the hour of liberty will come for Ukraine. We Germans, former Soviet prisoners, thank your countrymen and will never forget the spirit of brotherhood and friendship, which they showed us in the savage camps to keep up our spirit." (*Ukrainian Samostiynyk*, October 30, 1955).

A GERMAN OFFICER WHO TOOK PART IN THE UPRISING IN NORILSK ON THE UKRAINIANS

The Germans returning from the Soviets are now telling a great deal about life in Soviet concentration camps. One high military officer gave an interview to a representative of the journal *Shlyakh Peremohy* in a camp in Friedland. He said that the Soviet concentration camps in Siberia are now over 50% filled with Ukrainians, largely from Western Ukraine. This German officer told of the intense patriotic spirit among the Ukrainian prisoners who act solidly and stick together. They are most frequently the leaders not only of passive resistance but of definite uprisings as in Norilsk. Thanks to their opposition the Soviet administration has been compelled to correct life in the camps and to improve the food and sanitary conditions. The Ukrainians now in the USSR are the hope for liberation for all the non-Russian peoples of the USSR.

BISHOP MYKOLA CHARNETSKY IS STILL IN A CONCENTRATION CAMP

The Ukrainian-Canadian weekly *Homin Ukrainy* reports that a German war prisoner who has just returned to Germany, brought news of Bishop Mykola Charnetsky, Apostolic Administrator for Ukrainian Catholics of the Eastern Rite in Volyn. He was arrested in Lviv in April, 1945 along with 7 other Ukrainian Catholic bishops. On July 12, 1954 this prisoner had seen Bishop Charnetsky in Concentration Camp No. 385/7 near the city of Potma. The same day this German was transferred to another camp and so does not know where Bishop Charnetsky now is.

GENERAL M. HREKOV IS ALIVE IN SIBERIA

German prisoners returning recently to Germany have reported that Gen. M. Hrekov, Chief Commander of the Ukrainian Galician Army in 1919 and former Minister of War of the Ukrainian National Republic, seized by the Bolsheviks in 1945 in Vienna, is alive in Siberia in the Irkutsk district. The German prisoners last saw the aged general in March, 1955, in Camp O11 east of Tayshet near the River Angara.

UNDESIRED CULTURAL HELP

In science, literature and art there is constant talk in the USSR of the "cultural help" of the Russians to the non-Russian peoples, but this in fact means

intensive russification. In October, 1955 the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine together with the Ukrainian Section of the Union of Soviet Writers arranged a seminar for the scenario writers of Ukraine, Moldavia and Byelorussia. Among the lecturers there was one Ukrainian, O. Dovzhenko. The others, S. Vasilev, G. Aleksandrov, and V. Petrov were Russians.

VARIOUS COLORED MARBLE IN CARPATHO-UKRAINE

The newly established Soviet Ukrainian journal *Ukraina* in its first number gives a report of the Ukrainian geologist O. Solonko on new discoveries of marble in his home Novoseletske in Carpatho-Ukraine. These are of various colors: white, red, rose, light rose and yellow. Among the specimens brought to the Geological Institute of the Kiev Academy, the scholars paid especial attention to a white marble like Italian Carrara, small grained and translucent and so adapted for works of sculpture.

A NEW INSTITUTE OF METALLURGY IN THE KIEV ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

In August 1955, there was opened in Kiev under the control of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR an Institute of Powder Metallurgy and Special Alloys.

THE ELECTRICAL STATION IN KAKHIVKA IS NOW IN OPERATION

Harry Schwartz, a reporter for the *New York Times*, who has been reporting from Moscow on his travels in the USSR, wrote on October 19 that the previous day, i. e. Oct. 18, one turbine of the electrical station in Kakhivka on the lower Dnieper had been put into operation, one year before the date previously set. Much was printed in the Soviet press of the Kakhivka electric and irrigation plan and we have given two articles on it in our publication. From the correspondence of Harry Schwartz from Moscow it seems that his report was not based upon his own observation but on the reports in the Soviet press which is fond of exaggerating the economic accomplishments of the Soviet government.

The Soviet press now publishes that the Kakhivka electric station is to be a source for electric power for the mines of Kryvy Rih, the industrial region of Zaporozhe, and even the Donbas. There is talk of using the great reservoir of the Kakhivka plan for a fish hatchery, but nothing is said of irrigation, although the plan once was praised by the Soviet press as a large predominantly irrigation project for southern Ukraine and northern Crimea.

THE PRODUCTION OF OIL IN MYRHOROD HAS BEGUN

After the discovery and some years of drilling for oil in the neighborhood of Myrhorod, Poltava district, in Ukraine, according to the Soviet press, on Sept. 28 of this year the actual production of oil in the Myrhorod oil wells commenced. The discovery of an oil producing region in Eastern Ukraine is very important for the Ukrainian economy for before 1939 the region, though rich in other underground wealth, had no oil. At the annexation of Western Ukraine to Soviet Ukraine, the oil fields of Galicia were included in Ukraine but these did not satisfy the Ukrainian needs. So the discovery of new fields in Eastern Ukraine is important for the economic self-sufficiency of Ukraine.

KIEV-PEIPING SPORT CONTEST

On Oct. 10 there was a contest in the Kiev stadium between the combined football team of Kiev and their Chinese guests from Peking. The game, according to the Soviet press, had a fine sporting atmosphere. The Ukrainians won 4:1.

TRANSIT CONCENTRATION CAMP IN LVIV

The Austrian weekly *Die Wochen Presse* (October 29, 1955) published the memoirs of Dr. Rudolf Spann, who stated that in Lviv there had been established a transit concentration camp, where he was an inmate.

II. UKRAINE ABROAD — OUTSIDE THE IRON CURTAIN

ONE THOUSAND YEARS OF CHRISTIANITY IN UKRAINE

Ukrainians outside of Ukraine have celebrated on a large scale the thousand years of Christianity in Ukraine. This commenced with the baptism of Princess Olha, the ruler of old Ukraine, the first Kievan-Rus state, in 955. Olha was the first Christian ruler on the throne of Ukraine. The size and the enthusiasm of these manifestations has been due to the strongly anti-Bolshevik feelings of the Ukrainians in Western Europe and America and their hatred for the atheistic red Muscovite rulers of Ukraine. The Ukrainian Catholic bishops in the free world gave official approval of these manifestations and the celebration of this national jubilee.

ANDREW TULLY ON UKRAINE

Andrew Tully, a Scripps Howard staff writer, during his travels in the USSR stopped for a considerable time in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine. In his reports he emphasized the beauty of Kiev, its rapid reconstruction and also the special features in the entire life of the Ukrainian people, who are more sympathetic for him than the Muscovites of the north. He found in Ukraine more cheerfulness, more sincerity and straightforwardness, although all the Ukrainians carefully concealed their political hopes for independence from foreigners, since for years they have had bitter knowledge of the terroristic Bolshevik regime.

AN AUSTRALIAN JOURNALIST ON PRESENT DAY KIEV

The Australian periodical *Herald* in Melbourne has published several reports of the well-known Australian journalist Ridge Leonard, who has been traveling in the USSR. He wrote of Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, as follows:

"Kiev is a city of beauty which strikes the eye and not only in its external aspects. The Kievan women are more beautiful than the women in Moscow.

The beauty of Kiev is its main avenue, the Khreshchatyk, which now has an almost completely new aspect. This broad, charming, three-lane street forms a long arc with new cream painted buildings on the sides."

"The very fine opera house, which bears the name — as do a park and two museums — of the greatest Ukrainian poet and painter, Shevchenko, is the cultural centre of the city. I saw there a fine opera *Taras Bulba*, which speaks of the old heroic history of Ukraine. The opera is known for its beautiful songs and music, but it is filled with tears and tragedy. In the Shevchenko opera house (as in the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow) I noticed a "bourgeois" custom; the director of the

60 piece orchestra wore a white swallowtail and the members of the orchestra had black tuxedos and ties. From the opera *Taras Butba* and other signs I gathered that atheism in Ukraine was not widespread. In one scene it was necessary to show a religious rite. This was done with the appropriate accent. There was a cross and ikons of Christ on the wall and the actors crossed themselves very ardently.

THE OPENING OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM IN CALIFORNIA

In the city of Ontario near Los Angeles, California there was opened on October 15, a Ukrainian National Museum to preserve valuable monuments of the past now scattered outside Ukraine, which is at present occupied by red Russia. The founder of the museum is a Ukrainian retired businessman, Kalynyk Lesiuk, whose collections and material aid have been the basis for the new museum.

RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH EDITIONS OF THE *BOOK OF GENESIS OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE*

The Research Program on the USSR in New York has published the Russian text and an English translation of the work of Mykola Kostomarov: *The Books of Genesis of the Ukrainian People* written in 1846. This work formulated the ideology of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, the first political society of the seekers for Ukrainian independence and marked the role of Ukraine in a free Slavic federation. Kiev was to be the District of Columbia of a free Union of Slavic nations. The publication of this work in English will enable English students to understand the political program of the Ukrainian leaders in the time of Taras Shevchenko (1845-1846).

THE LATE CARDINAL INNITZER AND UKRAINE

Theodor Cardinal Innitzer of Vienna, who died on October 9 of this year, was known in Vienna not only for his independent attitude toward the Austrian and Nazi governments during the Austrian crisis of 1937-1938, but also he was the first in the Western world to have the courage to protest against the preparation of the Russian Communists for the artificial famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933, created to compel the Ukrainian peasants to accept collectivization of their farms. This famine claimed about 6 million Ukrainians. At the request of the Lviv Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytsky, Cardinal Innitzer, the first in the West, protested at this genocidal act of the Soviet government in Ukraine. This appeal of the Cardinal to the civilized world was published also in the *New York Times*, but the Western world did not believe in these barbarities.

YAROSLAV STETSKO IN FORMOSA

The *Shlyakh Peremohy* announced on October 13, that Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the TsK of the Anti-Communist Bloc of Nations, had flown from Madrid to Formosa at the invitation of the Anti-Communist League of Nations of Asia, which consists of Nationalist China, South Korea, the Philippines, Japan, Thailand and Viet-Nam. He met the anti-Communist leaders of the Asian Bloc and Chiang-Kai-Shek.

Yaroslav Stetsko was the former Prime Minister of the short-lived government of Ukraine proclaimed June 30, 1941 in Lviv and soon after arrested by the Germans.

BOOK REVIEWS

DIE UKRAINISCHE LYRIK, 1840-1940. Ed. by Hans Koch, Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH. 1955, pp. XVI+116.

We can only welcome the appearance of this volume, since for almost the first time it presents in one of the languages of Western Europe a comprehensive collection of Ukrainian lyric poetry and thus it opens to the reader who does not know Ukrainian the opportunity to judge in free German translations some of the Ukrainian masterpieces. These are adequately rendered, although they are far from reflecting all the musical beauty of the originals.

The translations are preceded by a brief survey of the history and development of Ukrainian lyric poetry. This brings out many of the salient features of the Ukrainian genius and deserves careful study.

Like any anthology, there cannot fail to be criticism of the author's choice. There is a certain disproportion in the selections chosen. Shevchenko is well represented, although one wonders why the author regards the second part of *Ivan Pidkova* as lyric and draws the line very strictly for some other poets. Thus he gives only two pieces of Lesya Ukrainka, although they are among her best known works. Tychna, whom he calls "the most significant poet of the revolutionary period and the Civil Wars," is represented by only one selection, whereas Rylsky, Majk Johansen and Oleksa Vlyzko are represented by several works.

It is more amazing why the author uses in the title the period, 1840—1940, for he gives a song from Kotlyarevsky's *Natalka Pottavka* (1819) and includes Shashkevych (1836). At the other extreme he gives a poem of Malanjuk (1943), two of Ivan Kovaliv (1942) and the final piece is by Stefanovych (1946). Although he has avoided poems praising the Soviets, he might with interest have inserted Sosyura's *Love Ukraine* from the 40's if only for the political turmoil that it aroused as an example of "cosmopolitanism" after it had received a Stalin Prize.

Yet these are after all minor criticisms which cannot hide the real value of the work in making accessible some of the better works of Ukrainian poetry. We can only wish that a similar collection could be prepared and published in English in which specimens of Ukrainian poetry are far more rare than they are in German. If this could be done, we could hope that the book should not be restricted to a narrow interpretation of the term lyric, but could present a broader view of short narrative poems and ballads and that it would cover as this volume actually does, the entire modern Ukrainian literature from its rise at the end of the eighteenth century to the present time. That, however, is for the future and this is a competent presentation in the present and already available.

Columbia University, New York.

CLARENCE A. MANNING

SAINT VOLODYMYR THE GREAT. Sovereign and Baptizer of Rus'-Ukraine, by Rev. Ireneus Nazarko, OSBM. Rome, 1954. Pp. 202 & 7 illustrations. (In Ukrainian).

There is a large literature about Saint Volodymyr the Great but there has been no concise history with a modern biographical treatment of his life and work. Reverend Nazarko has tried in this book to fill the gap. The book consists of eleven chapters. Three discuss the growth of Christianity in Rus-Ukraine, the first national state of the Ukrainian people, before the time of St. Volodymyr and the other eight deal with the life and work of Volodymyr himself who became the Baptizer of Ukraine and of Eastern Europe.

In this volume Volodymyr appears not only as a wise political leader but as a far-seeing monarch endeavoring to assure the future of his country throughout the centuries. Without doubt the most fascinating aspect is the formation of his decision to pass from the leadership of the pagan party in Kievan Rus' and to become the Christian leader and baptizer of his people and later to be regarded as a Saint. The author has presented this convincingly and has shown the real greatness of Volodymyr.

Father Nazarko is well aware of the many still unsolved problems concerning Volodymyr and has therefore written modestly. He has gone over the great mass of studies on the subject and while pointing out the conflicting accounts, he has tried to present as his own views what seems to be the most natural and probable.

To make his work accessible to the West he has added two summaries in French and English. He has also inserted seven illustrations from Vatican manuscripts. Since these have been rarely reproduced, they add a great deal to the book.

Father Nazarko's book is a valuable contribution to the historical literature on Rus'-Ukraine. The work is published by the press of the Basilian Fathers in Rome who are publishing the valuable sources on the history of Ukraine preserved in the Vatican archives.

N. D. CHUBATY.

THE GREAT PRINCESS ST. OLGA, 1000th Anniversary of Christianity in Ukraine. New York 1955.

This is a publication commemorating the millenium of the baptism of the Kievan ruler, St. Olga. This very fine and carefully prepared publication is composed of several historical articles on this historical event and its cultural effects.

The opening article "1000 Years of Christianity in Ukraine" was written by Rev. A. H. Velyky, the editor of the Vatican archives concerning Ukraine. The Ukrainian woman scholar and historian, N. Polonska-Vasylenko prepared an article on "Saint Olga-Princess of Ukraine." The article presents a new view on this talented woman ruler on the Ukrainian Kievan throne. Dr. V. Sichynsky's article on "Ukrainian Culture in the Age of the Princess" analyzes the different influences on Ukrainian culture of this pre-medieval period of Ukrainian history.

The second part of the publication contains several articles on women's activities in the national life of the Ukrainian people.

Almost every page of this book is decorated with skilfully selected pictures from Ukrainian culture in the past and present.

N. D. CHUBATY.

THE MONGOLS AND RUSSIA, by George Vernadsky. New Haven, Conn. Yale University Press, 1953, pp. XI + 462 and maps.

This new volume in Vernadsky's large series, *The History of Russia*, has many interesting new approaches. The author has made skilful use of his widely scattered sources. Unlike other Russian historians he does not reject the use of the word Ukraine and especially in the second part of the book he makes also frequent references to the works of Ukrainian scholars.

The book would have been clearer, if the author had not used the terms "Russia" and "two Russias" for this period. The differentiation between Rus'-Ruthenia, Ruthenians for the Kievan Rus'-Ukraine and the Grand Principality of Moscow, Muscovites for Russia, etc. would have been of assistance in understanding the period and the events that took place.

The Chinese as well as the Mongols used "Oros" in the sense of "Rus." Pelliot adds also that the Chinese used special characters for Ryazan—"Ye-li-tsan" and "Wo-lo-seen" for some other place and they probably had different names for the other principalities. We have evidence for this in the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689), while the name of the Empire Muscovy was given only as Russia.¹

The author states in regard to the titles of the Tsar of Muscovy that "Alexei made all three names official by including them in this title" (1654). In fact this was true even earlier. The titles of the Muscovite tsars had contained many attributes which had no connection to their real domain, as Tsar Feodor did in his letter to Queen Elizabeth of England when he also called himself "King Gruzinsky" (King of Georgia) etc. (1593).

The author discusses "the decline of the Golden Horde and the resurgence of Russia." He notes correctly that the Mongol rule had different effects upon the different peoples in their realm. We can add to this that Muscovy and the later Russia had and still has very important and deep rooted marks of this influence.²

On the other hand, Kievan Rus'-Ukraine and the later Ukraine in most fields quickly forgot the Mongols and returned to its own system of administration which had been influenced by the West because it had never broken its connections there. D. Doroshenko in his *History of Ukraine*, (Warsaw, pp. 88-89) discusses the difference in the Mongolian influences in Muscovy and Ukraine, while V. Ivanov treats Muscovy-Russia as the successor of the Mongol Empire of Chingis. We may add that the portrait of Chingis was widely circulated in China in 1926-35 and the Japanese likewise wrote about him and tried to prove that he was from Japan (Hokkaido).

Prof. Vernadsky touches lightly, without dwelling upon details, on the very important Mongolian influences on Muscovy, its administration, laws and customs. "The Russian princes continued to act as they were accustomed to and asked each new Khan to renew their patents" (p. 250). Many of the present conditions and laws are due to this Mongolian cultural influence.

1. René Grousset, a good authority on the history of the Far East speaks definitely of the different peoples whom the Mongols conquered after the occupation of Kiev (1240) "among them were Comans or Polovcy, Turks, the semi-nomads of Ukraine..." (René Grousset, *Histoire de l'Extrême Orient*, Paris, 1929, p. 422)

2. Prawdin, Michael. *The Mongol Empire. Its Rise and Legacy*. Macmillan. This book is a mine of information on Mongolian influence, especially in Russia and China.

The Mongols were not barbarians in the full sense of the word for they had a deep interest in all forms of life. Thus they questioned the Roman missionaries about the Western religions, customs, trade, etc... We may cite the case of Ch'ang Ch'un, a wise and learned Taoist monk whom Chingis sent as a special envoy to study Samarkand. The Mongols sent another intelligent envoy, Puland Chingsang, a Mongolian prince, to Tavriz and he was probably the adviser and informant of Rashid-ud-din in compiling his famous *History of the Mongols*.

The book gives also an interesting and very important explanation of the Ukrainian (Kievan) military theory, which was well illustrated in the battle of Kulikovo by the strategy of Bobruk as contrasted with the attitude of Prince Dimitry who did not participate in the battle but remained in the woods. (Kostomarov, Gen. Piragov, O. Pereyaslavsky, "Tabor" pp. 45-65). The Muscovite chronicles of the day tried to emphasize the heroism of the Muscovites Dimitry and Vladimir, whereas the real planner of the battle, Bobruk, and his warriors were pushed into a subordinate position. They thus set the standard for the Russian account of this important and decisive battle.

A study of the military theories of Bobruk and of Moscow can also be aided by the facts in Solovyev's theory of the North and the South and his characterization of Prince Dimitry as "unstable, feeble, without will and an uneducated man." His retreat from Moscow at a time of danger (p. 265), his lack of interest and trust in the boyars and veches are further proofs of this theory.

In the later part of the book the author mentions the important role of the Ukrainian detachments in the fighting under Vytovt against the Mongol domination. He writes: "These Ukrainian frontiersmen became known as Cossaks too" (p. 289). In note 100, he cites Hrushevsky, Lyubavsky and Doroshenko for the remark: "From the late 1400's on the Ukrainian Cossaks were called Cherkasy by the Muscovites."

The author discusses the Russian Division in Mongolia on the basis of the article of Archimandrite Palladi (pp. 87-88) and decides as to their identity. We differ here for the question of this Division is still not solved, and Palladi himself did not believe in its existence, for he wrote: "from all these isolated statements there is no possibility of establishing concrete evidence as to a Russian colony (in the East)... where the Azi, the allies of the Russians, lived."³

We do have many statements about the Alans, in Chinese the A-su, regiments of whom were formed in 1272 and these still existed in 1330 or perhaps still longer.⁴ Bretschneider stated definitely that the presence of "Russian or German mercenaries is highly improbable, although a few stray individuals (mostly prisoners) were to be found in China in Mongolian times." This is a conservative view.

With the decline and disintegration of the Mongol Empire, it was possible for Muscovy to consolidate its administration by both learning practically from the Mongols and receiving some help from the former chieftains. The most important step was the *adoption* of a very Mongolian type of administration and the use of its tactics. In this we have the results of the Mongolian influence on Muscovy, the later Russian Empire and even the present Soviet Union which is not yet freed from it. Vernadsky's book contains much valuable information and has enriched the literature of the Muscovite-Mongolian period.

JOHN V. SWEET.

³ Archimandrite Palladi, *The Russians in China*, p. 50.

⁴ Moule, *Christians in China*, pp. 260-261.

RELIGION BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN. By George N. Shuster. The Macmillan Company. New York, 1954 pp. 281.

It would be useless to look in this book published by the President of Hunter College, New York, for a chapter on the persecution of the UAPC and the Ukrainian Catholic Church by the Moscow Communists. Only by reading the book page by page can we find a few pages devoted to the destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the section "Poland" (pp. 137-140). The author has no reason for including these in the section "Poland" for Poland had nothing in common with these persecuted people and even the Polish Communists who ejected the Ukrainian Catholic bishops from Peremyshl acted under the orders of Moscow. The Moscow persecutions which took place on the territory of Ukraine should have been discussed in a section "Ukraine." These persecutions are only a continuation of the efforts to liquidate the Ukrainian Catholic Church which Moscow, no matter what regime controls it, has been carrying on for whole centuries. They are different from the persecutions in all other countries, for in them Communist Moscow is planting atheism but the persecutions in Western Ukraine have been carried on to "unite" the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church, and so to achieve the political goal which has been the object of Moscow for centuries.

In mentioning this unfortunate inclusion of the pages on the persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in a section to which they do not belong, we cannot say that the author has objectively portrayed the tragedy of this Church. The author mentions, for example, that the Bolsheviks accused the Ukrainian Catholic clergy of cooperation with the German occupying forces and that "this has a certain basis" (there is some truth in this charge). The author adds at length that the Soviet police confiscated during a search of the Cathedral of St. George all the documents and, in a word, it is hard to denounce the accusations. We reply: there was no cooperation but there were strained relations between the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the German occupying forces which scarcely tolerated that Church. This was caused by the constant protests of the late Metropolitan Sheptytsky against the shootings, deportations, murders of the Jewish population, etc. and only the great authority which the late Metropolitan Sheptytsky enjoyed protected him personally against the Nazi repressions. Neither the Nazi nor the Bolshevik occupying forces dared to attack him personally. The best proof that there was no cooperation and that no "documents" of such cooperation were found is that the Bolsheviks did not dare to try in public Metropolitan Joseph Slipy and the other arrested Ukrainian Catholic bishops who, despite their tortures, did not confess their guilt and were condemned secretly in the NKVD chambers. In talks with German prisoners, Metropolitan Joseph Slipy told of the Bolshevik means of making him confess to non-existent crimes and the rewards promised him by the Bolsheviks, if he confessed and joined the Russian Orthodox Church.

Likewise the other statements of President Shuster do not correspond to the truth. He believes, for instance, that the cause of the recantation of Dr. Kostelnyk was a proof of the haughtiness which the Latin clergy showed toward the Ukrainian Catholic Church for "nationalistic reasons." Without denying this haughtiness on the part of the Latin clergy, we cannot accept this as the reason for the recantation of Dr. Kostelnyk. The fact is that the Moscow Bolsheviks knew how to break the moral and physical resistance of this priest by frightful tortures in the prison in which he was held. This was the true cause of the apostasy

of this Ukrainian priest, since he did not have the strength to stand the tortures applied. In addition we must say that during the first occupation of Western Ukraine by the Bolsheviks he was tortured with the same object in view (his son was brought before him in chains during night hearings and he was offered the choice of having his son released or murdered, depending upon Kostelnyk's willingness to accept Orthodoxy) but at that time Rev. Kostelnyk did not break down.

The most painful feature of this unjust presentation of the tragedy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine is that it is from the pen of a Catholic scholar. This consistent ignoring of the tragedy of our Church by certain Catholic circles in this country and the incomplete and incorrect explanations to which we have referred, is unintelligible. There is no answer as to why it happens.

L. SHANKOVSKY

THE IMPORTANCE FOR TRANSPORTATION OF THE HYDROTECHNICAL CONSTRUCTION IN THE USSR. A. Lebed and B. Yakovlev. Publication of the Institute for the Study of the History and Culture of the USSR. Munich, 1954. pp. 200 (in Russian).

The positive side of this work "*The Importance for Transportation of the Hydrotechnical Construction in the USSR*" lies in its collection of a great mass of various types of material on this interesting and important subject. We can assume that the authors have here collected almost everything that can be found in Soviet or foreign publications. This alone makes the work very interesting and useful for the study of Soviet conditions.

We must mention also the negative sides, for many of the Soviet rivers as the Amu-Darya, the Sir-Darya, Ural, Volga and Kura empty into closed inland seas. Other great rivers as the Lena, Yenisey, Ob, Pechora and Northern Dvina flow into the Arctic Ocean.

Besides this almost all the rivers of the USSR flow through vast plains and over soft soil and carry with them mud and sand. The sand in various places forms "sand-bars" which constantly grow and impede navigation. Since the end of the century the rivers of Russia have begun to show great floods in spring and excessive low water in summer. This is due to the destruction of the forests. The revolution increased this destruction. In addition, there was put an end to the small reservoirs connected with the separate mills owned by the kurkuls, and the water was let out from the many ponds, for the people wished to catch at once all the fish and a water storage economy disappeared completely.

After the revolution the rivers of the USSR began to show still greater floods in spring and droughts in summer. The Soviets made their first attempt to regulate the spring floods and to use the water power on the Dnieper in the Dniproges. The evidence of the exploitation of the Dnieper Hydroelectric Station showed that the Soviets had succeeded in using less than five per cent of the spring flow of the Dnieper. The rest was wasted in the sea. The electric station, which was planned for 300,000 kwh. gave in the spring only 80,000 kwh. for there was not enough water. The reservoir which had been built to hold 1.5 billion cubic metres of water in two or three years was so filled up that it became very small. The 25 billion cubic meters of the spring water of the Dnieper

contained so much mud that it filled a large part of the Dnieper reservoir and it needed only 2 years to choke it completely.

Even Soviet propaganda is ceasing to speak of the Dniiproges because of the proven difficulties in its exploitation and its miserable effectiveness in comparison with the money spent upon it. Since that time the Soviets have made attempts, as they say "to bind with iron and concrete" the great river in its lower course. The execution of the plan of the "great Volga" began however with the building of dams on the upper reaches of the Volga and not by Stalin-grad. To-day the middle and lower course of the Volga, according to plan, is to be barred by dams almost at once; by one plan there are to be five dams, to avoid the negative results of the great silting because of the rapid flow of the spring water and the consequent filling up of the reservoir.

From the work of the authors we also learn of the effort to let out through openings in the bottom of the dam these silt-filled waters held back by the dam. Unfortunately we do not learn from this book by A. Lebed and B. Yakovlev any remarks on the negative qualities of the Soviet rivers or on the unexpected difficulties which the Soviets had in harnessing the Dnieper.

We must also remark upon a point not too well emphasized in the book and this is that the Soviets have ceased to define what is being built and what is only planned. This applies especially to the large maps at the end of the book from which we cannot determine what is being done by the Soviets or is being planned. Construction is going on at the dam on the Dnieper at Kakhivka but the dams between Kremenchuh and Dnipropetrovske are still in a state of planning. This is true in the case of other rivers, especially in Siberia. Nevertheless, this interesting map can leave false impressions as to the actual condition of the hydrotechnical works of the USSR at the present time.

London.

MYKHAYLO PAVLYUK.

TAKING ROOT IN CANADA. An Autobiography by Gus Romaniuk. Winnipeg, Columbia Press, 1954.

This is the autobiography of a Ukrainian pioneer in Canada, Gus (Augustine) Romaniuk. He came from Western Ukraine as an eleven year old boy in 1912 and has devoted his entire life to the development of Canada, his adopted country.

The work is dedicated to the memory of the courageous pioneer settlers of Ledwyn, Riverton and other districts of northern Manitoba. The book is however more than the story of his own life. It is the history of the thousands of Ukrainian families who built up homes in their new fatherland at a great sacrifice and with indomitable courage. It is an important and vivid picture of the life of those Ukrainian immigrants who came to Canada to build their own future and that of North America.

The book contains 33 chapters and covers the period from 1912 to 1954 — from the time when Romaniuk's family came to Manitoba from the Western Ukrainian village of Myshkiv to the time when Gus Romaniuk became a hotel-owner and a councilman of the town of Riverton. This period passed quietly and quickly in the history of Canada, but it was not so calm and quiet for Gus Romaniuk and the Ukrainian immigrants.

We must remember that in 1912 this part of Canada was still virgin soil prairie and forests. Much was in those days a marshy, wild wooded area, filled with wild animals and other dangers to life. The Ukrainians had a hard time in

settling and civilizing it. They must have been impressed by the fact that they had left the mild Ukrainian climate and their neat and whitewashed houses in the Old Country to live in desolate forests in bare houses, built of logs with moss-chinked walls and roofs of hay and no floors. Yet they did not give up and little by little they improved their own lot and strengthened their new country. Their life was different from the life to-day, for there were no cultural facilities, no spiritual or medical care and no elementary education for their children. Their chief care was to work the new land and keep their families from starvation and death. No wonder that, as Romaniuk has mentioned (Chap. III), the person who had the opportunity to learn English became the chief contact between these people, the government and the immigrants of other origins. It was almost impossible to secure the opportunity to do this. Every one had to do hard manual work to secure those meagre sums necessary to sustain life. They had to build their new homes and make them habitable for winter and summer. At the same time they had to build roads through the dense forests and the water-sogged land. Later they had to link the settlements by railroads (The Canadian Pacific Railroad was built chiefly by the Ukrainian and Swedish immigrants) and to clear and fill the marshes for their food and living.

It was under such circumstances that Gus Romaniuk had to live. He had to try for success as a logger, a harvest hand, a driller, a fireman, a fisherman, a cattleman, a merchant, a furtrader and an innkeeper.

These different occupations gave him many social contacts with almost all the Ukrainians in northern Manitoba and the Icelanders and Swedes with whom he worked. But he learned the most important lesson, the real meaning of American freedom and democracy. Both, in the United States and Canada our settlers met face to face people of different races and creeds and found out that in such a "melting pot of nationalities" difference of origin could not erect social or economic barriers of any kind.

The work of Mr. Romaniuk emphasizes this great truth. The book in general is the interesting and inspiring story of our pioneers in Canada. Its clearness of expression, excellent style and vividness of description of the successes and dangers of life, make it a valuable piece of Canadian and Ukrainian memoiristic literature and useful to the future historian of Canada.

B. W. St.

UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"THE RUSSIAN MOOD: A CHANGING FORM OF DANGER," by Edward Weintal. *Newsweek*, New York, August 29, 1955.

The writer of this important column on international affairs in *Newsweek* is the publication's diplomatic correspondent. He has covered the diplomatic scene from the League of Nations to the Summit Conference. After the latter conference this year he interviewed the leading statesmen in the capitals of Europe and presents his observations in this authoritative periodical. One of his most striking observations is that "Serious American thought also must be given to the nationally conscious Soviet components such as the Ukraine and Byelorussia. The fact that these nations have their own representatives in the U. N. has never been properly utilized by the United States. To encourage their independence and to strive for the decentralization of the Soviet Union into its separate though not necessarily unfriendly components is likely to become one of the chief U. S. objectives."

One such attempt to utilize the representation of Ukraine and Byelorussia in the United Nations was the imaginative measure submitted to Congress by the Honorable Lawrence H. Smith — House Concurrent Resolution 58 — calling for American diplomatic representation in the capitals of both nations.

It is noteworthy that this observation is made following the Summit Conference and the author's interviews with leading European statesmen. It indicates that much thought is being devoted to the subject. It shows also an accurate grasp of the situation in the Soviet Union. As the writer demonstrates it, both Ukraine and Byelorussia are nations with representatives in the United Nations, despite their communist and thus, on the basis of historical evidence, unrepresentative character insofar as the populace is concerned.

"THE TRAGEDY OF WOODROW WILSON," by C. Hartley Grattam. *The New Leader*, New York, November 14, 1955.

As an admirer of Woodrow Wilson and his ideas, the writer expresses certain critical views regarding the action of this former American President. In his judgment the greatest mistake of Wilson was our intervention in World War I which prolonged it beyond 1916. This unloosened forces that today threaten to destroy the entire world.

The author accurately states that "Wilson was a moralist in politics, not a power manipulator" and that "Wilson knew nothing about Russia and cannot be held responsible for what happened there." But in this article he fails to recognize the fact that the moralist Wilson, proclaiming the fundamental law of international justice and freedom in the principle of self-determination of nations and peoples, applied it practically only to Austria-Hungary and not to the Russian Empire. In

a sense this flows from his ignorance about Russia, but it is a major point worth stating in the article. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was dismembered although its monarchy was comparatively just in the treatment of the many national entities under it. Unfortunately, Wilson did not admit the application of the right of self-determination to the non-Russian nations in the Russian Empire which have been tyrannically oppressed by centuries-long Russian imperialism and colonialism.

It goes without saying that any political moralist has the obligation to apply basic principles universally. For Mr. Grattam to advocate self-determination only for so-called satellite peoples or relatively poorly developed colonial entities in Asia and Africa without extending the same to large and culturally distinctive nations in the Soviet Union is not only a reflection of possible ignorance or poor judgment but also a grave compromise of principle, whether inadvertent or not. And in the current political scene this represents a major source of our troubles.

"BENTON BOGS IN MUD ON VISIT TO UKRAINE," letter by the Honorable William Benton. *Sunday Herald*, New Haven, Conn., November 20, 1955.

The current fad of visiting parts of the Soviet Union for what it is worth has also engulfed the former Senator from Connecticut, William Benton. In this interesting communication the former Senator, unlike some other Americans who visited the Soviet Union this past summer, presents a matter-of-fact description of his tour in Ukraine. There is no pretense at knowing the basic facts concerning the temper of the people and their opposition to the foreign yoke of Moscow. Instead, the former legislator simply describes his immediate impressions as carved out by daily experience with the people with whom he met. From his description one gathers that the roads outside of Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, are a far cry what we are accustomed to here in America. The facilities at the Stalin Collective Farm, which he visited, also do not seem to be at par. The writer relates his talks with several Ukrainian peasants and vividly describes their amazement and disbelief at the farm ownership of the average American agrarian family.

To what extent such visits and the impressions reported by the visitors are of value is a real question. Much can be gained by reading basic sources pertaining to all parts of the Union. However, it is to the writer's credit that, at least in this communication, he doesn't immediately set himself up as any expert on the Soviet Union, which hasn't been the case with several of his visiting predecessors.

"THE TIME FOR DECISION," by Joseph Schwartz. *Pace*, Toronto, Canada, October, 1955.

With the introduction of "Moscow, Moscow, Moscow, What grief you have caused us...", which are the words of a prisoner's song, this former political prisoner in the Russian Communist concentration system convincingly describes his experiences in Siberia and elsewhere along lines that form the usual pattern of Russian brutality and tyranny. About the Siberian camp in Mariïnsk we are informed that "Most of these prisoners were from Western Ukraine and from Byelorussia. There were many from Galicia, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and Poles from the Polish Army." At Volohda, during his second round of incarceration later, the writer, of Ukrainian background himself, came across many Ukrainian settlements made up largely of farmers from the Kuban and

Ukrainian regions. One cannot but wonder about the size of the Ukrainian migration from Siberia once Ukraine itself is liberated.

MY RETREAT FROM MOSCOW," by William Henry Chamberlin. *The Freeman*, August, 1955.

This prominent American author and journalist makes in a way a confession of his twelve years work as a reporter in the Soviet Union, covering the period of 1922-1934. Curiously, after all this time the Soviet Union is still known to him simply as "Russia." He came to Moscow, as the account goes, with his Russian born wife both as sympathizers of the communist regime, and returned as its strongest adversaries. The article does not shed any new light on the Russian Communist scene. Among some of the horrors of the Kremlin the writer mentions the man-made famine in Ukraine (1932-1933) which destroyed several million peasants of Ukraine. This Russian Communist genocide he witnessed in part himself, visiting in September, 1933, the area of Cherkasy where of some 2,000 inhabitants, six hundred died from starvation.

"SOVIET UNION — A MAJOR COLONIAL POWER," commentary. *Freedom's Facts Against Communism*, Washington, D. C., November 1955.

There can be no question of doubt that colonialism and imperialism are the important subjects of international discussion today. Moscow exploits them in every conceivable way to undermine the position and integrity of the West. Most people think merely of Asia and Africa when these subjects are raised. Many embrace the so-called satellite countries. Few informed people and circles point to the greatest and worst empire in the history of mankind, namely the Soviet Union itself.

As the commentator forcefully puts it, "While attacking the United States for supporting colonialism in Africa and Asia, however, the communists remain as the greatest colonial power in the world, and they are constantly trying to expand. Most of the 16 Soviet Republics, such as the Ukraine and Turkestan, as well as the 7 East European satellites are run as colonies from Moscow, while Tibet is a colony of Red China." The commentary ends on the note of taking serious stock of these major facts and using them incessantly in our informational activity throughout the world, especially in Asia and Africa.

"WAS GENEVA REALLY A FAILURE?," by David Lawrence. *U. S. News and World Report*, Dayton, Ohio, November 25, 1955.

The question of whether Geneva was really a failure is skilfully examined by this renowned writer. As he sees it, Geneva was a "failure" only for Moscow.

Actually his answer to the question appears to be formed exclusively on negative grounds. To the extent that Moscow failed in its objectives, such as disrupting the Western alliance etc., we gained, is the vein in which the author answers the question.

Nevertheless, Mr. Lawrence makes several sound observations in the course of supplying his answer to the question raised by him. On the matter of Moscow resorting to war he states that "the Soviet Union must be aware that, in any war, she would lose — primarily because the oppressed peoples would seize the opportunity to break away from their rulers, as they did in the middle of World War I." He obviously has in mind the non-Russian nations under the yoke of Moscow in the Soviet Union itself.

"This same craving for liberty must inevitably permeate also the enslaved peoples of Soviet Russia", he declares. The known fact here is that it long has, especially among the large non-Russian nations like Ukraine, Byelorussia and Turkestan. Numerically smaller non-Russian nations, like Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and others manifest equal passion for national independence and individual liberty.

"KIEV RISES FROM THE RUINS," by Edward Crankshaw. *New York Herald Tribune*, New York, October 11, 1955.

The urgent need of a continuous and unremitting sort to educate fellow Westerners on the national background of non-Russian nations held captive in the Soviet Union is best demonstrated by this article, penned by a writer who on numerous occasions disclosed keen perception into the contemporary political complex of this area. It is evident from the start that the author is conspicuously lacking in historical knowledge of Eastern Europe when in the first sentence he states, "Only a few years ago Kiev, the birthplace of the Russian people, was a forbidden city." Kiev is no more the birthplace of the Russian people than it is of the English, French or German. Mr. Crankshaw is apparently unaware of the radical changes now taking place in historical scholarship on the origins of Ukraine and Russia. He still clings, as indeed many other Western observers who received some elementary history on Russia in their training some ten or twenty years ago, to the old fabricated version of the origin of Russia in the Kievan State of early Ukraine.

From this gross inaccuracy naturally others follow in train, as, for example, the Cathedral of the Assumption being "the shrine of ancient Russia." Intermeshed with the inaccuracies are, of course, many valid general facts, albeit out of proper perspective, as, for example, the Dnieper "which brought civilization to Russia." True observation presupposes a knowledge of what one is looking for and this can only be acquired by patient and persevering study.

"THE MAIN GEAR IN THE UN," by C. M. Chen, *Freeman*, New York, Nov. 1955.

Great dissatisfaction is expressed in this provocative article with the role of the UN because the institution is still largely a propaganda tribune for the Moscow-led Communists. Only a short visit to the sessions of this body is necessary for one to appreciate the full import of Mr. Chen's remarks on the proceedings of this proclaimed peace agency. "Whenever Molotov, Gromyko, Malik, Sobolev speak," writes Mr. Chen, "the sessions are always jammed and the galleries packed. The *New York Times* will carry stories of their speeches on the front page and the full text inside."

The author rightly emphasizes that the UN knows only one form of colonialism, the Western type, but not the far worse Russian Communist form. But he himself falls short in understanding the latter when he views its application solely to the misnomered satellite states. This view is grossly defective inasmuch as the very base and character of Russian Communist colonialism are founded on the early captivity of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. Economic exploitation, cultural and religious and national genocide, administrative domination by Muscovite satraps feature a colonialism of the Soviet Union.

"HOW MUCH CAN WE EXPECT FROM RUSSIA?", by Louis J. Halle. *The New York Times Magazine*, New York, September 25, 1955.

The writer of this essay is now a professor of foreign affairs at the University of Virginia and was formerly a member of the State Department's Policy Planning staff. These data are important for one to keep in mind, for the essay is a typically Kennanist discourse based on a distorted knowledge of Russian history. They explain also, at this late date, the absence of any realistic policy toward the Soviet Union. For him the national Republic of the Georgian people is only a mere "quasi-Asiatic province of Georgia" from which Stalin came and thus appeared as the Eastern potentate. The Soviet Union is Russia for him and at that a nation. One could go on and on, but these should suffice for one to wonder what sort of teaching goes on at the University of Virginia, a prominent citadel of democratic thought, when an important segment of humanity, the 115 million enslaved non-Russian people in the Soviet Union, is not even recognized by one to whom the teaching of foreign affairs is entrusted. Differences of opinion can be executed, but never intellectual errors of elementary fact.

"MOSCOW THE THIRD ROME: GENESIS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF A POLITICAL-RELIGIOUS IDEA," by Cyril Toumanoff. *The Catholic Historical Review*, Washington, D. C., 1955.

By all measures this presentation is a fine scientific treatise prepared by a professor of history at Georgetown University. It deals with a subject which has played not only an important ecclesiastical role but also a strategic political one, covering centuries of the Muscovite Great Duchy, the Czarist Russian Empire and even the Russian Communist Empire, beginning with the Soviet Union.

As is known in trained circles, after the fall of Constantinople (The Second Rome, the New Rome) Moscow proclaimed herself the Third Rome and the Head of Christianity. This Messianistic role of Moscow as a leader of the world, created primarily in the ecclesiastical field, was transplanted to the political field and at present reflects itself in the politico-sociological area.

Dr. Toumanoff portrays quite skilfully the development of this ambition in the Byzantine Empire and its transplantation as a politically monistic idea to Muscovy. It could not find root in Kiev because in Kievan Rus' (which the author less accurately calls "Russia") the Byzantine influences were counterbalanced by strong western influences. The spirituality of Kievan Rus was more aligned to the western than the eastern spirituality.

The idea of Moscow as the Third Rome was defined by Pskovian Monk Philoteus in the early decades of the 16th century, at the time of the Grand Duke Basil III of Moscow, and successively developed into a sacerdotal political idea of Muscovite imperialism, especially by the time Peter I named his imperial realm Russia. The learned Georgetown professor ends his work with the observation that "Even today, the dominant Marxist ideology of Russia has not destroyed the ancient tradition. It has merely merged its own antagonism to religion and its expansionist materialistic millenarianism with the hatred of true Rome and messianistic expansionism inherent to the "Third Rome."

The scholarly, objective work of Dr. Toumanoff would attain to a more wider view if he would exploit the works of the Ukrainian historians O. Ohloblyn, V. Hryshko and N. Polonska-Vasylenko.

L. E. D.

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