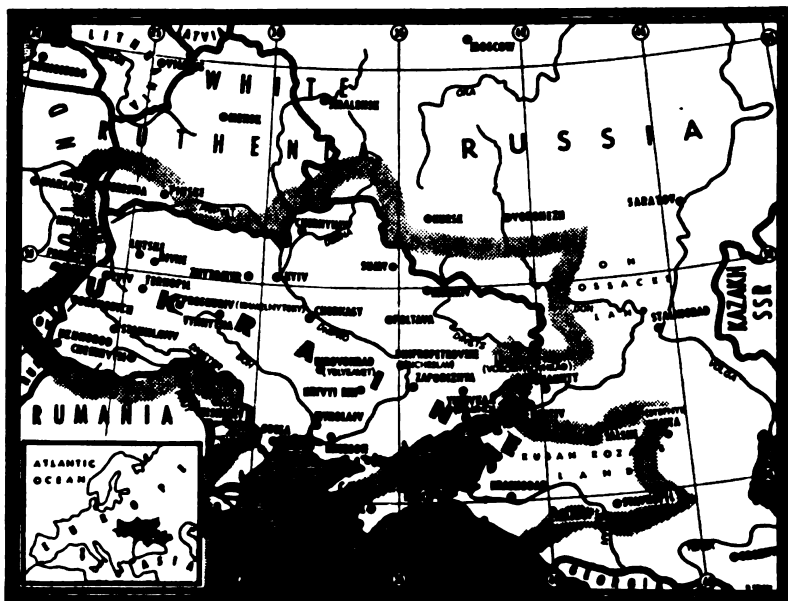

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SCULPTOR OF THE MODERN UKRAINIAN NATION

(On the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Ivan Franko)

Editorial

In January, 1956, one month before the historical XX Congress of the All-Union Communist Party, the *Red Banner*, a local Communist paper published in Rivne, Western Ukraine, printed an appeal of the Republic Government of Soviet Ukraine to the members of the Ukrainian Underground, bidding them return to legal life, for "the Fatherland will forgive them." In April of this same year, after the Congress, Radio Kiev made a similar appeal a second time. During the last 12 years since the ending of military operations in the Ukrainian lands the Soviet government eight times has asked the members of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Underground to lay down their arms and has promised its members a complete amnesty. All of these offers have been unsuccessful. The United Press in a report from Vienna on June 8, 1956 reported that on May 20 near Shepetivka on the railroad line Lviv-Kiev, Ukrainian insurgents blew up a Soviet military train carrying troops and ammunition to the West after a pitched battle between the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and regular troops of the MVD (*New York World Telegram*, Sunday, June 8, 1956). That is, twelve years after the end of World War II, the greatest military power in the world, the USSR, is not able still to cope with the revolutionary forces which champion an independent Ukraine.

In the well-known speech in which Khrushchev desanctified Stalin, he devoted a short paragraph to Ukraine. He said that Stalin had planned to deport the entire Ukrainian nation from Ukraine, so as to have peace in the revolting Ukraine, but he had no place to settle such a mass of people, about 40 million in number. The enormous spaces of the USSR, the size of two Europes, seemed too small and the well-known Siberian frosts too weak to extinguish the fires of revolutionary Ukraine.

Throughout thirty years Stalin (and Khrushchev is now following his example) kept sending millions of Ukrainians to the concentration camps of Soviet Asia but with results of doubtful value, for the Bulletin of Information of the International Committee against the Regime of

Concentration Camps in Paris reports that the Ukrainians have made revolutionary the concentration camps of the USSR. The first revolt was in the concentration camp in Vorkuta and was chiefly the work of Ukrainian prisoners. This Bulletin No. 5 for December, 1955 reported on the basis of statements of liberated Japanese prisoners that the Ukrainians had been dispersed by the administration of the Soviet camps everywhere they were found together, even in small groups, and had become a ferment which turned revolutionary the Soviet camps composed of non-Ukrainians.

ANTI-COLONIAL WORLD FRONT

Although revolutionary Ukraine is now the leader of the revolutionary movements in the entire USSR, Khrushchev in his speech and also the other leaders of the collective dictatorship of the Kremlin mentioned only in passing the revolutionary Ukrainian nationalism fighting for independence, as if they were afraid to reveal to the world the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian people against the colonial domination by Moscow. It is not only the leaders of the dictatorship behind the iron curtain who are afraid to speak of this anti-colonial struggle of Ukraine against Moscow but on this side of the iron curtain, especially in the United States, there are secret unexposed and undeclared forces which also are concealing the struggle of Ukraine against the colonial domination by Russia not to the profit of America.

There is no doubt that Ukraine is now the leader in the anti-colonial struggle of the peoples of the USSR against Moscow in the Soviet sector of the universal anti-colonial front. *The struggle of the peoples of Asia and Africa against colonialism and the struggle of Ukraine and the other non-Russian peoples against Moscow colonialism are ideologically one and the same struggle. This is a hurricane of the national striving for liberation as President Sukarno of Indonesia spoke intelligently and positively about it before the American Congress on May 17, 1956: "For us nationalism means the rebuilding of our nation; it means the effort to provide equal esteem for our peoples; it means the determination to take the future into our own hands. For us nationalism is the love of the country and the determination to improve it."*

"We do not equate nationalism with chauvinism, and we do not interpret nationalism as meaning the superiority of our peoples over others" (*New York Times*, May 18, 1956). The Ukrainian liberation movement can not add to or subtract a single word from this definition of nationalism by President Sukarno. The Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism cultivates esteem and friendship for all the peoples of the

world, including their neighbors, the Russians, the Poles and others on the single condition that they stop their efforts to be the colonial masters of Ukrainian land, the sacred property of the Ukrainian nation.

"It was this very America which was in fact the first product of nationalism, of anti-colonialism and of the principle of independence," — continued President Sukarno. Therefore the peoples enslaved by the Russians as well as the others under colonial domination have at least the right to ask that America understand the liberation movement also within the Soviet Union not only because of the American ideological heritage but also for their own vital interest at the present time.

POET OF NATIONAL DIGNITY

If the Ukrainian people during the last forty years have been carrying on without interruption an active struggle against the colonial slavery of Moscow and against all the claims of their smaller opponents, the Poles, Romanians, Hungarians and Czechs, it is due to the dynamic national rebirth of which the architect at the turn of the XIX and XX centuries was Ivan Franko, the centenary of whose birth the entire Ukrainian people is celebrating this year. He was the sculptor of the modern Ukrainian nation, the poet of national dignity.

Ivan Franko occupies in the rebirth of the Ukrainian nation a position second only to that of Taras Shevchenko. Taras Shevchenko, the greatest Ukrainian poet (1814-1861), became the awakener of the Ukrainian people. He woke them from the lethargic sleep into which Russia had tried to plunge them. He reminded the Ukrainian people of their past glory, their thousand years of history and their right to throw off the hostile Muscovite domination of Ukraine. But the Ukrainian people, thus aroused from their lethargy, were still too weak for a direct struggle for liberation. They had to stand on their own legs as a newly revived European nation. They had to strengthen their spiritual powers. They had to pass through all the bloody vicissitudes and nervous crises of a national organism. This took place during the next fifty years.

In the last two decades of the XIX century and the first decade of the XX century *Ivan Franko was the architect of the national Ukrainian struggle for independence.* He found the Ukrainian people already awakened, with a national consciousness spread among the millions of the masses but there was still lacking the revolutionary pathos of struggle, the technique of the struggle of a modern nation for liberation. The Ukrainian intelligentsia was conservative and loyal to the occupying countries, Russia and Austria. They were Ukrainians but not revolutionists. The people were economically exploited and artificially kept by the oc-

cupying forces in the role of political pariahs. So Ivan Franko had to undertake a struggle against the majority of the Ukrainian national leaders who were incapable of a revolutionary fight for liberation. Misunderstood by the older generation, Ivan Franko placed his hope on the youth and he placed it on a good card; the new generation came out "*with the seal of his spirit*," so that on the eve of the first world crisis of our times, the eve of World War I, these were ready to enter actively into the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine. In 1914 with the outbreak of World War I, after hundreds of years when there were no Ukrainian armed forces, there was organized a Ukrainian Legion on the side of Austria and this was intended to fight only on the Russian front for the liberation of Ukraine from the domination of Russia.

ETERNAL REVOLUTIONIST

Franko appeared as a public figure in the last quarter of the XIX century, when the European spiritual world was undergoing the crisis of scepticism in regard to all those spiritual values which had been treasured for centuries: positivism and materialism dominated philosophy, Darwinism dominated the exact sciences, rationalism and agnosticism opposed religion, and socialism usually with the Marxian approach ruled in sociology. The young Franko had been educated in the Western European University of Vienna and was thoroughly acquainted with the literature and spiritual streams of the Western world and he fell into the cross currents of all these spiritual streams.

They suited him because of their revolutionary character, for he was well aware that the liberation of Ukraine was possible only by the coming of a spiritual revolution to liberate them from the conservatism of their own soil and of a social revolution to throw off the colonial exploitation of the Ukrainian masses by the Russian, Polish and other representatives of agrarian and industrial capitalism in Ukraine, and finally of a political revolution to form an independent Ukraine.

Ivan Franko set out his spirit of revolution as a means for the progress of the Ukrainian people in his famous hymn, *The Eternal Revolutionist*:

*"The eternal spirit of revolt
The spirit which moves men to fight
For progress, liberty and right,
Still lives, nor has it shot its bolt,
The Inquisition's rack and boot,
The mercenaries trained to shoot,*

*The tyrant's guns and cannon balls,
The tsarist bans and prison walls,
The traitor and the spy — all they
Have failed to take its life away."*¹

This hymn of the young Franko, written in 1886 was the guiding star of his entire life, although he later had to tone down his conception a great deal when he took into account the actual position and spirituality of the Ukrainian people, who did not have to adopt completely all the slogans of the then Western Europe as their own. The spiritual liberalism of Franko led him to clash with the Ukrainian spiritual class which during the nine hundred years of the historical existence of the Ukrainian people had had nothing in common with spiritual violence but on the contrary had given a bright picture of social solidarity with the Ukrainian masses apart from the colonial exploiters of those masses. In his later work *Noble's Jest*s, Franko idealizes the Ukrainian village priest, the leader of the peasant masses and a man condemned with them to slave at the compulsory labor of the Polish lord. Franko later came to understand that religious rationalism and agnosticism would not stir these Ukrainian masses to struggle for the liberation of their country and toward the end of his life in his masterpiece *Moses* Franko acknowledged the existence of Divine plans for whole nations and their historical mission and took as an example the Biblical tale of the liberation of the Jews from slavery in Egypt and their winning of the Promised Land.

The young Franko was convinced by the then fashionable socialism, for he saw in the new doctrine the best means for the social liberation of his oppressed people. But in studying more deeply the socialism of the time, almost exclusively with a Marxian trend, he came to realize that Marxism, while promising social liberation, carried with it the enslavement of the individual and the taking from him the basic rights of a free man. Franko thereupon condemned Marxism and quit socialism, although he never gave up his leftist social and progressive views as an essential part of his political program. He understood that national liberation could not take place without the social liberation of the Ukrainian people, especially in Ukraine, where all the representatives of agrarian and industrial capitalism were non-Ukrainians, Russians and Poles. Franko reflected the fine deep sense of order of the Ukrainian masses, when he called for the broadest possible agrarian reform in the Ukrainian lands but rejected expropriation of the great properties and declared for purchase of the land on moderate terms with the aid of state credit.

¹ Ivan Franko. *Poems*. Translation by Percival Cundy, ed. by C. A. Manning, New York, 1948, p. 97.

SPIRITUAL LEADER OF NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION

At the same time when in his ideologico-philosophical and social views Franko moved from a radical to a more moderate position, in his political program, on the contrary, he abandoned his youthful views on the possibility of a federative solution for the liberation of Ukraine and the possibility of the cooperation of the Ukrainian democracy with the Russian and Polish democratic forces. He adopted the irreconcilable position of the complete political independence of the Ukrainian people. These views he expressed in his new national hymn for the Ukrainian people. This in its first stanza rejects all rights of Russia and Poland to rule over Ukraine:

*"No longer, no longer should we
The Russian or Pole meekly serve!
Ukraine's ancient grievances lie in the past —
Ukraine doth our whole life deserve.*

*No longer, no longer should we
Shed blood for an alien throne,
Show love for a Tsar who oppresses our kin —
Let love be for Ukraine alone."*²

The question of the complete liberation of Ukraine from alien domination became the centre of the whole philosophy of Ivan Franko and acquired a kind of mystical religious character, and he expressed this in his masterpiece *Moses*. A free Ukraine was to become for the Ukrainian people a Canaan, a Promised Land. He believed in the realization of this with all the dynamic force of his genius, as he prophetically put it in his prologue to *Moses*:

*"Yes, I believe in spiritual power
And in the day when thou wilt rise reborn.*

*The time will come when with a fiery form
Thou wilt take up thy place mid nations free,
Wilt shake the Caucasus, the Beskids storm,
And on the Black Sea raise the freeman's call
And shalt appear as full and lawful master
Upon thy fields and in thy cottage hall."*

But before the national liberty of Ukraine could come, Franko saw the tremendous obstacles that existed as the results of the century-long

² Op. cit., p. 114.

slavery of the Ukrainian people — the servility toward the occupying powers despite the secret hate, the lack of harmony and anarchy of the destructive elements, the lack of sincere idealism and the lack of the understanding of great ideas by the Ukrainian generation of his own time. He described all these lacks among the Hebrews who had not understood Moses as the Prophet of God and still did not grasp the idea of the Promised Land.

In the *Moses* of Franko, the younger generation, born after the departure from Egyptian slavery, were able to start a successful battle and victoriously enter the Promised Land. In the same way Franko was convinced that the older generation of Ukrainians had to perish and that the new generation reared on the ideals of a free Ukraine, with a developed sense of national value, would be able finally to free Ukraine from Russian and any other alien domination. In accordance with this during the forty years of his public activity, Franko laid great importance on the training in ideals of an independent Ukraine of the younger Ukrainian generation with a high sense of national honor, able to make the greatest sacrifices for the liberation of their country, even including the sacrifice of their own lives. He aimed to inspire in them a feeling of responsibility at every moment for the liberation of Ukraine.

The road to the liberation of Ukraine led through that terrible barrier, the granite mountain, which the Ukrainian patriotic pioneers had to break through by their efforts, their labor and the sacrifice of their own lives so as to pave a way to the sun of freedom.³ He held up before the eyes of the pioneers of the liberation of Ukraine the hard road of sacrifice of themselves and their lives for the happiness of the new free generation of Ukrainians.

Franko called the Ukrainian youth to an exceeding serious treatment of the question of the liberation of Ukraine and a sense of their responsibility for every step that they took in life:

*Let each one think that on him rests the fate of millions
And for the fate of millions he must give account.*

With the blazing fire of his criticism and satire he burned the servility out of the soul of the young Ukrainian generation and excluded every possibility of compromise in the questions of a free Ukraine.

We must recognize that Franko had a tremendous influence directly upon the young generation of Ukraine at the time, especially the intelligentsia, who transmitted to the masses of the ordinary Ukrainian popula-

³ *The Pioneers*, Op. Cit., p. 104.

tion these same moods of patriotism and national character. Franko seemed to feel in his wise soul that new periods of basic changes were coming in Eastern Europe. With his own eyes he saw how these young people trained in his ideas in 1914 enrolled by thousands under the banner of the Ukrainian Legion formed to fight for the liberation of Ukraine from the domination of Moscow. But Franko, worn out by severe illness, died on May 28, 1916 on the eve of the great Russian Revolution when the question of the liberation of Ukraine moved from the sphere of dreams and became a question of practical politics by the proclamation of Ukrainian independence on January 22, 1918. Franko did not live to see that day but like Moses he died on the threshold when he might have seen a Ukraine independent, if only for a short time. 1918 was not the year of entering the Promised Land but it did open the period of the titanic struggle of the Ukrainian people for the complete freedom of their own land.

FALSIFIED FRANKO IN THE USSR.

The entire Ukrainian people are celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ivan Franko everywhere where there exists the possibility of cultivating freely the great ideas of the pioneer of modern Ukrainianism and the forty years of his social work of self-sacrifice for the cause of the liberation of the Ukrainian people. The respect of the Ukrainian people for Ivan Franko is so general that it has put Soviet Ukraine in a bitter position. If it forbids these celebrations, it thereby assumes an anti-Ukrainian attitude. If it takes the lead in arranging these celebrations, it means an approval of his national and political ideas expressed in *Moses* and the hymn:

*No longer, no longer should we
The Russian or Pole meekly serve.*

The Soviet government has found the way for escaping from this dilemma — it is falsifying Franko and presenting him as a foe of "bourgeois nationalism" and as a Communist. The All-Union Communist Party of the USSR has become expert in falsifying the ideology of the leading personalities of the Ukrainian independence movement. Since it could not deny the greatness of Shevchenko and his popularity so great that his chief book, *The Kobzar*, is the most popular book among the Ukrainian people, Moscow set itself by a widely disseminated propaganda to falsify the ideas of Shevchenko. Shevchenko spoke of the struggle of Ukraine against the Muscovite domination and against the

imposing of Russian culture and the economic exploitation of Ukraine by Moscow but in the official Soviet literature, he has become a friend of Moscow and a supporter of its domination of Ukraine. The Russian leftist writers, the forerunners of Moscow Bolshevism, who looked disapprovingly at the work of Shevchenko and the introduction of the Ukrainian language into literature, are now painted by the Bolsheviks as the friends of Shevchenko and supporters of the literary work of the awakener of the Ukrainian people.

The greatest woman writer of Ukrainian literature, Lesya Ukrainka, a dynamic spokesman for the liberation of Ukraine from alien rule, and one of the ideologists of the modern Ukrainian spirit for national independence now has been presented in Soviet literature as an advocate of the domination of Moscow over Ukraine.

On the occasion of the centenary of the birth of Ivan Franko, the time has come for Moscow to falsify his ideas on a worldwide scale. Ivan Franko, the foe of every form of domination by Moscow over Ukraine, is now in the Soviet Union painted as a supporter of the union of Ukraine and Moscow. Franko who was reared on Western European literature and who was foreign to the Russian literary world is now presented in the USSR as an author brought up on the ideas of the Russian pro-Communist writers. Franko, a definite anti-Marxist, is presented in his works published in the USSR on the centenary of his birth as a Marxist and Communist.

More than that, the present red Moscow of Khrushchev has determined to use the centenary of Franko for falsifying the opinion of the entire world on the present Ukrainian-Russian relations, which are really a state of war between Moscovia and Ukraine. The world wide Peace Movement inspired and protected by the Kremlin has received instructions to use this one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ivan Franko, the genius of the Ukrainian people and their spokesman for national liberation, to present him to the whole world as a standard-bearer for the assumed idyllic coexistence of Ukraine and Moscow.

It is hard to say whether the Kremlin will succeed in deceiving world opinion. One thing is certain, that for millions of the Ukrainian people in oppressed Ukraine, for the thousands of Ukrainians in the Underground Organizations, in concentration camps and in exile in the free countries Franko is presented as he really was for the Ukrainian people, their spokesman for the political and social liberation of Ukraine from every alien domination, a great progressive and the bearer of pan-human ideas, true freedom and true friendship between the free and equal nations of the entire world.

RUSSIAN SOVIET COLONIALISM AND THE WEST

by DMYTRO ANDRIEVSKY, *Munich*

We have already pointed out in the *Ukrainian Quarterly* two phenomena of historical importance, of which the present generation of international statesmen have been witnesses. They have seen the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian monarchy; Holland and France have lost and are losing their colonies and the British Empire is being changed into a Commonwealth. On the other hand this same generation has seen the appearance and the slow development of the conception of international unions resting upon the voluntary participation of their members. This is the basis for the creation of that United Europe, which is now taking shape.

The Russian Empire was another example of a colonial empire of the old type. Its dissolution took place in the years 1917-1918, when all the nations included in it created or renewed their own states which became separate from ethnic Russia. Ukraine proclaimed its independence in January 1918, the Baltic states in February, Byelorussia in March and the Caucasian peoples in April of that year. During the war of 1914-1918 Poland and Finland also separated from Russia. This process of the dismemberment of the Russian Empire as of Austria-Hungary, was in no small degree aided by the proclamation of President Woodrow Wilson on the self-determination of peoples and this doctrine from that time has become the norm of international democracy resting upon the will of the majority of the population.

The fact of the self-determination of the peoples of the Russian Empire was accepted by the Great Powers which recognized *de facto* or *de jure* some of the newly arisen states. But after the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia, some of these Great Powers began to give help to the Russian Generals, Denikin, Wrangel and Kolchak, who, besides fighting the Soviets, also opposed the independence of the newly freed nations and tried to renew the Russian colonial Empire. France, in landing troops in Odesa in 1919, demanded that the Ukrainian National Republic subordinate its army under Chief Otaman Petlyura to the Russian Generals. The United States, though recognizing the independence of the Armenian Republic, refrained from all help to the nations which were acting in accordance with its own slogan of self-determination.

This attitude of the Western power favored the Soviets which in their fight against the reactionary Russian Generals simultaneously attacked the newly established national states. The war against these lasted until 1921 when a forcibly Communized Ukraine and red Russia concluded with Poland the Peace of Riga. Through war Russia again came to dominate Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Caucasus and Turkestan, but it had to give up the reconquest of Finland, Poland and the Baltic states which were aided by the Western powers. After securing control of these states, Communist Russia did not venture to wipe them out but it imposed upon them a Communist regime and joined them with Russia by a federation in the Soviet Union. So at the end of 1922 through treaties with the puppet Communist governments of these states there was formed the Soviet Union and the constitution of this was adopted June 6, 1923. This was the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics until 1939.

On the outbreak of World War II the Soviets attacked the neighboring nations and succeeded in securing control in 1939 of the Baltic states and that Ukrainian territory which before 1918 had not been in the Russian Empire (Galicia, Bukovina and Carpatho-Ukraine) and thus realized the old dream of the tsarist Russia to control all the Ukrainian lands and extend the borders of the Russian Empire to the south of the Carpathians.

During this war, however, the process of disintegrating the empire was resumed. The nations of the Soviet Union hoped that Germany would help them to free themselves from the supremacy of Moscow, took the side of the attacking German Army and formed for it national Baltic, Caucasian and Turkestanian legions and also the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

As a result of the stupid policy of Hitler toward these peoples and with the help of the Western Powers, the Soviet Union emerged whole from the war and even extended its territories. Thanks to the policy of President Roosevelt, the Soviets secured for themselves a sphere of influence in the lands of Central and Southeastern Europe. They occupied with their troops the area up to the Stettin-Trieste line and by securing firm positions in the entire area, found it easy to impose upon the region Communist regimes, which through political treaties linked these lands with the Soviet Union. The so-called people's democracies of Central and Southeastern Europe entered the orbit of Moscow and became its satellites. After including them in its system, the Soviet Union by the force of facts changed into a broadened Soviet colonial Empire and its frontiers embraced half of Europe. The basic centre of this Empire is Russia which is now the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and covers

17,117 million square kilometres with a population, according to the date of 1952, of 110 millions, of which more than 20 millions are various national minorities. Beside the RSFSR the Empire includes the 15 so-called Union Republics of the USSR — Karelia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Moldavia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, Kirgizia and Turkmenia which together cover 5,600 million square kilometres with a population of about 90 million people. In addition the Soviet Union has the people's democracies outside the USSR — Poland, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Albania and East Germany, which together take in about one million square kilometres with a population of about 88 millions.

Thus the present Soviet Empire includes Eastern Europe and Northern Asia with its centre in Moscow. It is thoroughly artificial both by its nature and structure, both from the standpoint of physical geography and ethnic character. Each of the 22 countries which form separate states or union republics or people's democracies are at the same time separate units differing from Russia both geographically and in their language, culture, historical traditions, social structure, political aspirations, etc. The one thing that unites them and holds them together is the oligarchic dictatorial government of Moscow and the Communist regimes which have been imposed upon them and blindly serve the ambitions of Moscow. Russia plays the role of the metropolis and is carrying on a colonial policy toward these 22 countries based upon the old Russian imperialism and the Communist ideology.

The Soviets relying upon force and the right of the conqueror have imposed upon both the Union Republics and the people's democracies a political system and a socialist order which is assimilating them to the metropolis. The constitutions of the republics of the USSR scarcely differ from that of the RSFSR and are based upon the constitution of the USSR. According to these constitutions the Union Republics are supposed to be sovereign states and their governments should handle even their own foreign policy and defense, but at the same time, they have been deprived of the right of decision in questions of internal security and higher education. Practically in all these fields the control is exercised only by the All-Union government. Actually the sovereignty of the Union Republics is a fiction and their governments are more dependent upon the Moscow centre than is the administration of some colonies upon London or Paris.

The constitutions of the people's democracies are patterned upon the Stalin constitution of 1936. It is characteristic that in some of these there is emphasized the role of the proletariat (Hungary) and in others is emphasized the importance of mutual relations with the Soviet Union

(Romania). In reality in all these colonies of Moscow the actual power belongs to the Communist Parties which are above the governments and which control the armed forces and the police. The Communist Parties put forward candidates and secure their election to organs which on the model of the Supreme Soviet rule as parliaments. The Soviet of Nationalities of the Soviet Union marking the federal structure of the USSR is of no importance.

Following the traditions of the Moscow tsardom and the tsarist empire, the Soviet Empire is closely centralized, as is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This party is unitary and its Central Committee appoints the general secretaries for the Communist Parties of the Union Republics, and names to these posts its obedient stooges. The national origin of these persons is of no importance. The Communist Parties of the people's democracies are also closely dependent upon the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

By keeping through the Communist Parties the political control in its own hands, Moscow disposes of the human and material resources of its colonies. Moscow has imposed upon these colonies a system of planned economy and the plans of the people's democracies are closely fitted into the Five Year Plans of the Soviet Union. In accordance with the political, economic and military plans of Moscow, these economic plans stress heavy industry. There are heavy investments of capital in industrialization and these often pass the limits of fulfillment. Thus the first Five Year Plan of Czechoslovakia provided for a capital investment for the years 1949-1953 of 5800 million dollars and Hungary was to invest 2200 million dollars, more than 20% of the national income. This imposes a heavy burden upon the population and lowers its standard of living, but the metropolis does not bother about this. To what a degree Moscow controls the material resources of the Union Republics is shown by the budget of the USSR for 1941. According to this budget the All-Union government financed the organs of the national economy of the Soviet Union to an amount of 86.3%, the governments of the Union Republics provided 6.3% and the rest of the expenditures was provided by local organs.

The history of the so-called mixed enterprises is very instructive for the mutual relations between the metropolis and the national republics. On taking over after World War II the shares of Germany in the enterprises of the satellite states, the Soviets placed a very high value on these shares. Thus although Moscow did not invest more than 5% of the value of the Soviet-Romanian Transportation Co., it secured 51.2% of the shares. On the demand of the Soviets these mixed enterprises were freed from taxes, and were thus in a better position than those which

had been nationalized. Until the liquidation of these mixed enterprises in 1955 the Russians held the controlling positions in them. When the Soviets seized Poland, they compelled the Polish miners to furnish them coal for a price ten times less than the price that Denmark offered. This is the way in which Moscow exploits its colonies.

The Soviets are doing everything possible to bind the colonies economically to the metropolis. Thus the half-finished metallurgical products of Ukraine are rewrought in Russia, although Ukraine furnishes 60% of the pig-iron of the entire Soviet Union. Yet it manufactures only 25% of the machines. The metallurgical combines of Czechoslovakia and Hungary are using Ukrainian iron ore. While before World War II the exports to the Soviet Union from the countries of Central Europe did not exceed 4.2% of their total exports, now the Soviet Union absorbs from the separate countries from 50% to 80% of their exports. After carrying through the so-called financial reform of 1949, the Soviets linked the value of the money of Poland, Romania and Bulgaria to the Soviet ruble, although they were superior in dollar exchange. This lowered the value of their money by 2/3. The economic policy of Moscow is using the material resources of the colonies for its own purposes.

In attempting to include the Asiatic and African lands in the sphere of its influence, the Soviets are ordering the subordinate governments of the satellite colonies to sign various commercial treaties. So since 1952 seven treaties have been signed with Indonesia, five with Pakistan, four with Burma, and one with Ceylon. Czechoslovakia has furnished India factory equipment and sent arms to Egypt. This last example speaks much of the political importance to the economic policy of the Soviets of the resources of their colonies.

The Soviets are not limiting their interference to the political and economic life of their colonies but they are extending them to the field of the culture of these peoples. The policy of russification practiced by tsarist Russia, is being applied by the Soviets to the satellites.¹ Thus the Russian language has been made a compulsory subject in all the schools of the people's democracies. Scholars and artists are compelled to follow the methods and apply the theories approved in the Soviet Union and Soviet films are compelled to be shown in all these lands. The press in all the languages of the Union Republics and the "people's democracies" must publish the despatches given by the Soviet agency TASS. The so-called Societies for Friendship with the Soviet Union which have millions of members in the people's democracies and thousands of branches, support courses in the Russian language for adults and care for the

¹ "Soviet domination of Satellite Education," by Joseph S. Roucek. *The Ukr. Quarterly*, Vol. XI., p. 331.

introduction of Russian culture. The Institute of the Russian Language, Culture and History in Budapest supervises the science of Marxo-Leninism in the whole of Hungary.

The policy of Moscow meets with opposition in all its colonies. During the revolution and the formation of the Soviet Union, Russian imperialism started a whole series of wars which lasted for four years. Georgia revolted again in 1924 and the armed struggle in Turkestan continued until 1931. During World War II Ukraine formed the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and this, resisting the German occupation, continued the struggle against the Soviets and in 1947 forced them to conclude a treaty with Poland and Czechoslovakia to suppress the opposition movement; however, it still continued. In February and April 1956, the Soviets appealed to the Ukrainian insurgents in the press and over the radio to lay down their arms. The colonial policy of the Soviets is arousing opposition even among the nationally minded Communists of the enslaved countries. For this there were liquidated in 1938 13 members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, including a member of the government of the Ukrainian SSR. After World War II several criminal trials were held in the satellite states for prominent Communists accused of "nationalistic deviations" and opposition to Moscow. We need only mention the names of such leaders as Rajk in Hungary, Kostev in Bulgaria, Gomulka in Poland and Klementis in Czechoslovakia. Jugoslavia under the leadership of the Communist Tito was the only one able to throw off the yoke of the Soviets and free itself from colonial dependence upon Moscow and this happened only because Jugoslavia was not occupied by the Red Army. This last example illustrates the conditions in the countries enslaved by Russia.

The movement for liberation among the nations of the Soviet Empire is only a part of the world movement from the liberation from colonial regimes of the enslaved peoples of the world. In recent years this movement outside the USSR has led to the liberation of India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, the Sudan, Libya, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia. According to the declaration of Eisenhower and Eden on February 2, 1956, 600 million people have been liberated from foreign domination since the ending of World War II. Khrushchev at the XX Congress of the Communist Party declared that 1200 million people had secured liberty. Even small units as Cyprus, Malta and Singapore are trying to change their colonial position. It is becoming obvious that the movement for liberation has grown to be a cosmic phenomenon and that no power in the world is able to resist it.

Under such conditions Moscow also will not be able to avoid the emancipation of its colonies. This is clear from the fact that the Soviets

are being compelled to make concessions to national Communism. They capitulated before Marshal Tito and agreed to the rehabilitation of the satellite leaders mentioned above who had been condemned and in some cases shot. If the nations of the far-flung Soviet Empire have not so far succeeded as the nations of the Western colonial empires, it is only because the terroristic regime of Moscow is far more severe than the colonial regimes of the West.

The struggle for the liberation of colonies is growing in intensity along with the struggle between the two systems, the Communist and capitalistic, between the eastern and western blocs. These two conflicts are interwoven and the Soviets are gaining ground in Asia and Africa by exploiting the slogan of anti-colonialism. The chief weakness of the Western powers is the fact that they are burdened with the colonialism of the past. Even such powers as the United States, which was itself once a colony and was the first 181 years ago to raise the slogan of anti-colonialism is not now without reproach in this connection. It bears the responsibility for the political actions of such organizations as the Committee for Free Europe, which is preaching in Eastern Europe the return of the frontiers of 1939, which contradict the principles of national unity and the right of peoples to self-determination, and also the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism which is working for the overthrowing of the Communist regime but not explicitly for the national liberation of the nations of the Soviet Union. The position of the first and especially of the second favors rather Russian imperialism. The division of the peoples of the broadened Soviet Empire into two categories by the American usage lacks all political sense, for both groups are in the same position of colonies; both groups are seeking freedom and have bases for their existence as national states and independence. The majority of them are seeking integration in a United Europe and are defending themselves against an aggressive Eurasian Russia.

Facing the problem of the Soviet Empire, the West hesitates before the perspective of the disintegration of this continental bloc. But the example of the Ottoman Empire and Austria-Hungary which were social and economic blocks must stop these hesitations. The more so as the Soviet Empire, as none other, is an artificial creation. Certain people make a mistake in comparing the multi-national Soviet Empire to the United States. The difference is basic. The United States is a new nation which has been formed on the virtually empty territories of North America out of a mixture of various ethnic elements. The peoples of the Soviet Empire are old historical nations, have their own territories,

histories and cultures and separate languages, a situation completely lacking in the United States.

The dissolution of the Soviet Empire is a historical necessity. Various far-sighted Russians are coming to this conclusion. Among them was G. Fedotov. In his study, *The Fate of Empires*, he asserts that imperialism harms the Russian people themselves, for it devours their energy which is needed for the development of their natural wealth and their spiritual culture. Kemal Pasha probably had the same idea when he renounced the Arab lands and thus liberated the Turkish people.

The efforts for the emancipation of the colonies in the entire world is closely connected with the world struggle between the two social and political systems, Communist and capitalistic. However this struggle may end, neither solution will check the movement for liberation of the colonies. The nations and peoples are more permanent and more enduring than any political construction or social institution. The fall of either of these systems will not decide the question of the liberation or enslavement of the peoples. It may happen that the fate of one or the other system will be decided as a result of the circumstance that it knows how to satisfy the efforts of the peoples to obtain their freedom. We want to believe that the Western system, based upon the idea of freedom, will succeed in doing this.

"And over that people's head there pass
The tempests of world history,
And kingdoms, empires rise and fall
Like phantoms born of mystery."

(From "Moses" by Ivan Franko. Song XVIII.
Ivan Franko. Poems. New York 1948, p. 243).

THE LITERARY WORK OF IVAN FRANKO

by CLARENCE A. MANNING

There is almost complete unanimity among Ukrainians of all classes including the literary critics, that Ivan Franko stands second only to Taras Shevchenko as a poet, prose writer and dramatist. Yet no two men could be more diverse in character, in training and in fate.

Shevchenko was in a real sense a poet by the grace of God, although we must not underestimate the care that he bestowed upon his writings and the opportunities which he made for himself to familiarize himself with the outstanding works of world literature. As a serf, he gained his earliest impressions of life on an estate on the right bank of the Dnieper. He was taken by his master to St. Petersburg and won his freedom thanks to influential friends whom he had made. He was free only nine years and then was arrested and sent to a disciplinary battalion in Russian Central Asia and was released only after he had been broken by hardships. His entire life was tragic. His fate like his talents was out of the ordinary and in his successes and his failures Shevchenko was a man of the people but a man apart.

The life of Franko presents none of those vicissitudes. It was the drab and really uneventful life of a hardworking writer, journalist and popular leader. Franko really knew no period of leisure from the moment when he had embarked upon his career until failing health forced him to lay down his pen. Yet he had the satisfaction of seeing his people turn from a silent and voiceless multitude to an alert citizenry and he could feel that he had had no small part in the development.

Ivan Franko was born one hundred years ago in the little village of Nahuyevychi in Western Ukraine which was then included in the Hapsburg Empire. His father was the village blacksmith but he was willing to give his son the best education possible despite the family poverty and after his death, Ivan's stepfather showed the same interest in his career. He first went to a school in a neighboring village. Then he was sent to a German school kept by the Basilian Fathers in the city of Drohobych, and on completing this, he went to the state gymnasium in the same city. Then at the age of nineteen he entered the University of Lviv.

From the beginning of his formal education, Franko was forced to learn both Polish and German in addition to his native Ukrainian (or Ruthenian, to use the terminology of the time). Even as a boy Ivan was made aware of the many strains and tensions in the province. He felt the sufferings of the Ukrainian population and the haughtiness of the Polish landlords who controlled almost completely the administration and economy of the province. Yet he also came to realize the persistent, if vague, influence exerted by the authorities of Vienna, the basically German capital of the Hapsburg Empire. The action and interaction of these forces placed a heavy burden on those students who aspired to an education and then sought for a place in the responsible life of the day.

It was in the gymnasium that Franko first became seriously interested in literature. He read almost everything that he could secure in either Polish or German translations. He went over especially the great writers of the Western literatures and became familiar with the works of Shakespeare, Dickens, Klopstock, Schiller, Goethe, Heine and Victor Hugo, not to mention the outstanding Polish authors as Krasicki, Mickiewicz, Krasiński and Slowacki. It is needless to add that he was familiar with the leading works of Ukrainian literature from the time of the revival under Kotlyarevsky and knew Shevchenko's *Kobzar* almost completely by heart. When he went to Lviv, he carried with him not only hundreds of Ukrainian folksongs that he had collected himself but also translations of the *Antigone* and *Electra* of Sophocles, a considerable portion of the *Book of Job* and of *Isaiah*, long passages from the *Nibelungenlied*, two books of the *Odyssey*, two acts of *Uriel Acosta* by Karl Gutzkow and the *Kralovedvorska Manuscript*, a Czech Romantic forgery.

This was an enormous achievement for a boy still in his late teens and it indicated that Franko had already formed those habits of concentrated work that were to dominate all the rest of his life. Neither poverty nor opposition could break those habits and they colored all of his life and thought.

Franko was introduced to literature in the better sense of the word by two of his gymnasium teachers. One was Ivan Verkhratsky, later to be a distinguished Ukrainian ethnographer and philologist who gave the young Franko a keen appreciation of the folk speech. The other was a Pole, Juljusz Turczynski, who was himself the author of not a few stories in the Polish late Romantic style. These two very different influences were to be seen later in much of Franko's independent work.

We notice here another difference between Shevchenko and Franko and this difference is noticeable in many other fields between Eastern and Western Ukraine. Shevchenko from the East knew Russian and Polish in addition to Ukrainian but he secured almost his entire knowl-

edge of Western literature through inadequate Russian translations. Franko had a command of both Polish and German and hence it was far easier for him to acquaint himself with Western authors in adequate versions and his wide reading at an early age steeped him in an appreciation of the achievements of Western literature and thought and definitely placed him in the Western literary world.

It did more than this for like most of the Ukrainian intellectuals, he realized the role of Vienna and of the German officials in the direct service of the Emperor. They were the only persons who could, if they would, mitigate the arrogance of the provincial Polish administration and as in *The Noble's Jest*s secure justice for the people and punishment for their oppressors. This reverence for the Emperor and Vienna comes out strongly in many of Franko's writings.

In Lviv, Franko not only attended the lectures at the University but he took an active part in the Ukrainian literary life in that city. He edited or contributed to many of the journals and almanacs published there and again and again ran afoul of the Polish censorship. He continued to interest himself in Western literature and in one of his publications, the *Little Library (Dribna Biblioteka)* he included his translations of Byron's *Cain*, Zola's *L'Assommoir*, and works of Goethe, Heine, Hood, Shelley and Moore. Translations of Lermontov were almost the only Russian works included and we can perhaps explain this by the close connection between Byron and Lermontov. He also started but did not complete with friends a translation of Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* from a Polish translation and he put into Ukrainian Goethe's *Faust*.

Franko's liberal political views were greatly influenced by Mykhalo Drahomaniv who had been expelled from the University of Kiev for his radicalism and was now the leading Ukrainian representative in Western Europe. It was he who stressed to Franko the necessity for the use of the vernacular language for the education of the people and led him to break both with the Moscovophiles who wanted to remodel Ukrainian on Great Russian and the Populists (Narodovtsi), a conservative Ukrainian group.

From the very beginning of his activity Franko placed himself in opposition to that school of thought common to all parties which stood for the maintenance of the *status quo*. He realized too well the hardships and the poverty of peasant life and the ignorance of the peasant population and he set himself to work for an improvement of social conditions. Many of his early and most popular poems as the *Eternal Revolutionist* and the *Pioneers (Kamenyari)* stress his determination to implant in Ukrainian soil those ideas which were then stirring in the West. They became almost the slogans of the university youth and be-

cause of them Franko was labelled a socialist and was three times arrested for his ideas. Yet the socialism which they preached was really the aspirations of every human being to a good life and these poems are striking examples of the world literature of freedom.

On the other hand in 1883 he published his historical novel *Zakhar Berkut* for which he won a prize offered by the Ukrainian journal *Star (Zorya)*. This is ostensibly a story of the Mongol invasion of the Carpathian Mountains in 1241 and it pictures the opposition of the old Ukrainian villagers to the arbitrary demand of Nobleman Tuhar Vovk, an autocratic despot who denies the rights of the village community and prefers to enter the service of the invaders rather than allow the peasants to exercise their traditional rights of freedom. Old Zakhar Berkut, the patriarch of the village and the natural leader of the peasants, is a splendid figure of the ideal patriarch and democratic leader. The novel offers a highly idealized picture of old Ukrainian life in the traditional Western form of the historical novel but it is in its essence a plea for those ideals of democracy and freedom for which Franko was constantly striving. Franko shows in it his knowledge of the Ukrainian past but even the cursory reader will recognize in it the late Romantic elements which Franko had absorbed from the teachings of Turczynski and his own reading.

The majority of his short stories from this period are in the regular realistic style. They cover all aspects of Ukrainian life in Galicia from *Little Miron*, the poor boy who is abused by the arrogant and haughty teacher who despises peasants and only teaches them under compulsion, to *Boa Constrictor* which shows the special hardships inflicted upon a depressed agricultural community by the introduction of industrialization into Western Ukraine. Many of them hark back to Franko's own experiences as a young boy and they picture often in sombre colors the condition of the peasants. Yet this is not overdone for Franko was interested in presenting life as it was and not in the mere piling up of misery and evil for its own sake.

Franko wrote but one really narrative poem in the true sense of the word, *The Noble's Jest* (1887). It is a picture of the liberation of the peasants from serfdom in 1848. The owner of the estate, Pan Migucki, arrogant to the end, forces even the old priest to go out to hard labor in the woods, because he is trying to teach the peasant children to read and write and is preaching against drunkenness, and thus causes the death of the old spiritual leader. He turns his wild dogs on the Emperor's commissioner who brings the message of liberation from serfdom, and then is himself arrested by the same commissioner who returns to the village with an armed force and seizes him on Easter Day. Migucki

goes to prison but once his power of tyranny is over, he collapses and dies and his widow is forced to sell the estate for a song. The tale is well told and the old priest is one of the most sympathetic and vivid characters in all of Franko's writing.

Franko's longer poems as a rule were more philosophical than narrative. Thus the *Death of Cain*, while it is obviously a refinement on Byron's *Cain*, is more important for its content than its narrative. The story of Cain's wanderings after the murder of his brother and his subsequent death at the hands of his great-grandson, the aged and blind Lamech is far overshadowed by Cain's attempt to return to the Garden of Eden to see the Tree of Knowledge and the Tree of Life and his meditations on what he saw. Byron had transformed Cain into a modern man with an insatiable love of knowledge. Franko goes further. He refuses to admit that knowledge is hostile to life, for it is merely a blind implement which may be used for good or evil alike. True life is the life of love which transfigures a man and makes him willing to die for his fellows or at least to die without cursing. It is the innate seed of goodness which is hidden in the heart of every man.

In 1893, Franko republished one of his early collections *From Heights and Depths* and added to it many scattered poems. The collection startled the Ukrainians by the wealth of its forms and the sincerity and seriousness of its content. The collection revealed Franko as a major poet and brought clearly to the attention of the public the meaning of what he was trying to do with his work for freedom and for the improvement of the individual and society. It showed how he had become the real intermediary between Western culture and the Ukrainian population and a leader of every field of endeavor.

His poetic talents reached a still greater height in the collection *Withered Leaves* which appeared in 1896 and formed a sort of autobiography of a sensitive soul, culminating with a submission to fate reminiscent of the teachings of Buddha. There were some critics who spoke of Franko's adherence to the decadents. This was an extreme statement but the collection brought into Ukrainian literature that new spirit of poetry which had sprung up in France and other countries. In a sense this collection marked the climax of Franko's lyrical efforts by stressing the personal rather than the social notes which had dominated in his earlier work.

During all this time Franko had made his living by working for various Polish journals and papers. In his own words, he had hired himself out to his neighbors and to various journals in Lviv he had contributed an endless series of articles of a political character, literary criticism, serious sketches on Ukrainian and Polish history, etc. He had

taken in 1894 a doctorate in philosophy at the University in Vienna and had hoped for the chair of Ukrainian literature in Lviv but his application, while approved by the faculty, was rejected by the government which had looked with disfavor at his efforts to organize the Polish and Ukrainian progressives. Stung by the injustices done him, he published in German in Vienna an article on the *Konrad Wallenrod* of Mickiewicz and called the poet a poet of treason. The Poles resented his article and dropped him from their publications. It was a bitter financial blow and one that the poet could hardly stand but by indefatigable and unceasing labor, he succeeded in keeping up his scanty income and found new opportunities for social and literary work.

By 1898 when there was celebrated the twenty fifth anniversary of his entrance into literature, he was enthusiastically greeted in a tremendous celebration. Speakers from all fields of work paid tribute to him as a writer, a reformer, a scholar, and a patriot. From this moment Franko steadily withdrew from active political work but his prestige and influence grew steadily and he became as Shevchenko had been before him the actual spokesman of his people, the elder statesman, in whose honesty and integrity all believed.

Franko continued his scholarly work, his studies of Ukrainian and foreign authors and he became for the Ukrainian public its outstanding authority on the progress of literature in the Western world. He edited the *Literary-Scientific Herald* published by the Shevchenko Scientific Society of Lviv, the outstanding Ukrainian publication both in Western and Eastern Ukraine, and he became more fully than before the conscience and the university of the Ukrainian people.

Yet he did not cease his own creative work. A seemingly endless series of plays, stories, novels, and poems fell from his pen. These works struck few new notes except in so far as they mirrored the changes that were taking place in Western Ukraine, the improved conditions of the people and their increasing national awareness. Yet there was something different about them. Franko was at the peak of his powers. He had fully matured, he had risen above the petty struggles of the growing political parties and this gave his words a deeper authority and a wisdom that he had learned from personal experience.

Thus his novel *Crossed Paths* (1900) described the misunderstanding over the taking over from the master of village land which he was willing to sell to the peasants but which they were unwilling to buy on practical terms, no matter how much they needed it. Franko could see the faults on both sides and he realized not only the long way that the Ukrainian peasant had come since he started his work but how far he still had to go before the ideal of Ukraine could be fully realized. He

shows also the misunderstanding and difficulties of the young lawyer who was really trying to aid the village.

It was the same in his later poems. The themes and the appeal were the same as those which he had made over thirty years before but he was now looking back on his own efforts and using his own personal knowledge. He was not speaking out of hope but out of experience and it added something new to such collections as *Semper Tiro* and others. It was the sense of accomplishment, of success that inspired him to further work.

It was in this period that two of his greatest philosophical poems were written. The first was *Ivan Vyshensky*, the story of that monk who in the beginning of the seventeenth century had been the leader of the Ukrainian Orthodox in their contest with the Poles and then had retired to Mount Athos. Franko had studied his career for his doctoral dissertation in Vienna. Now in a poem rich in philosophy he pictures the aged monk in seclusion and sworn to solitude at the moment when a Kozak delegation arrives to beg him to return to Ukraine and once again to lead his people. It is the old question of personal versus civic responsibility and it only ends when Vyshensky repenting of his dismissal of the envoys, walks blindly off the precipice in which his small cell is located, in the belief that he is making his way to the boat of the envoys as it disappears in the distance.

In 1905 he published *Moses*, his most important contribution to Ukrainian poetry and philosophy. It is in a sense an apologia for his own life and work. Moses, the great leader who has led his people for so many years is tortured, when the people refuse to follow him, by the thought that perhaps his efforts in their behalf had been only the yielding to his own vanity and pride. He perishes with his cause apparently lost and then Joshua and the young men suddenly are inspired by the ideal to which Moses had given his life and rouses the multitude to pass on to the promised land. This is but a brief summary of the poem which explores to the full the obligations and responsibilities of the man who would aspire to lead others along the way to success and prosperity.

By 1908 even the splendid constitution of Franko began to break under the burden of work and his memory and judgement began to show signs of a coming breakdown. Nevertheless he still continued at almost the same speed to publish articles and books of a scholarly character. His condition became worse after the outbreak of World War I when Lviv was occupied by the Russian army and for several months he was in a very difficult material situation and it aggravated his already serious condition. This grew still worse after the liberation of the city in 1915

and on May 28, 1916, he finally passed away and was buried with an enormous funeral amid the general mourning of the Ukrainian population.

Franko thus did not live to see the beginning of the active Ukrainian struggle for liberty which began in Eastern Ukraine after the Russian Revolution of 1917 and in Western Ukraine after the dissolution of the Hapsburg Empire on November 1, 1918, when for a short time Lviv was the capital of the Western Ukrainian National Republic. Yet perhaps more than any other single man of the twentieth century, he had prepared the way for this struggle.

Ivan Franko's original contributions to literature and his more scholarly articles are themselves no small legacy to his people. They give us the picture of Franko the man, the scholar and the artist. They reveal the breadth of his range of interests, the sincerity of his patriotism and his love for his people and they make clear the reason why his work was received with such favor by Ukrainians the world over.

The rebirth of the Ukrainian spirit in Western Ukraine came largely as the result of his labors. He was the great intermediary between Ukraine and the West. He interpreted to his people the ideals and spirit of the West and he did it without losing his own individuality or weakening the basic Ukrainian spirit. He was never an imitator, never a mere conformist to the whims and passions of the moment; he worked for eternity with sound judgement, true appreciation of the virtues and defects of his people, and his ideals and the works in which they are best expressed still have a message not only for his fellow countrymen but for the entire civilized world.

Ivan Franko was a man of whom Ukraine and the world can well be proud. His works are worthy of translation and many of them have appeared in almost all the languages of Europe. He was a great spirit which flourished and came to maturity under difficult conditions. Yet these did not conquer him or check him on his way. He remains a great figure. His merit may seem to be concealed at times by his unceasing toil but he was no mere plodder. He was a man of the highest moral and artistic character and his fame and his works will remain as long as there is a free world to value and admire a man who dares to proclaim the superlative human qualities and the due claims of the individual and of society to reach their maximum development in conditions of freedom, of justice and of happiness. He was undoubtedly next to Shevchenko the man who represents most fully the virtues and aspirations of the Ukrainian people and with them of the civilized world with its eternal faith and hope for a better future for mankind.

POLITICAL VIEWS OF IVAN FRANKO

by ILLYA VYTANOVYCH

*From the depths of ignorance,
Out of the gloom of slavery's night,
I did desire to lift them up
To where I stood — to truth, to light.*

(“Moses”, Song XII)

Translation by Percival Cundy.

The ideology of the modern Ukrainian national efforts shows the clear stamp of the spirits of the two great awakeners, Taras Shevchenko and Ivan Franko. It is not only because the generation of the leaders of the modern Ukrainian idea and action for liberation has been reared in the ideology of these two men, but thanks to the inspired power of their poetic words, this ideology has penetrated the broad masses of the people and inspired them to struggle for national liberation.

If Shevchenko from the depths of the historical traditions put at the basis of this ideology the elemental longing for the rebirth of the glory and the freedom of the Ukrainian nation, the views of the much younger Ivan Franko took shape under the influence of the newer, rationalistic period of the end of the XIX century and in a sensing of the nearness of the “great change” of our days.

Franko not only as a poet but as a social and political thinker set forth his conclusions often in sociological outlines that were less accessible to the broad masses, more frequently in publicistic discussion and polemical articles, at times in short notes in the form of reviews, criticisms, pamphlets on the then contemporary social and political literature or on definite political events. These appeared especially in the *Literary and Scientific Herald*, in the Polish *Przegląd Społeczny* and in the liberal Viennese journal, *Die Zeit*, etc.

Franko formulated his social and political views under the influence of the many controversial ideas and trends of the Western world of the second half of the XIX century as liberalism and democracy, individualism and socialism, federalistic conceptions and the modern theories of national sovereignty, the ideals of humanism, Darwinism, rationalism and positivism. Impressed by the progress of the Western

world, Franko began to struggle against the obscurantism of the aristocratic, bureaucratic machinery of conservative Austria-Hungary and despotic Russia but in the development of this protest he struck out at the authorities of the day, the state, the Church and other social institutions as a whole.

In the beginning the young Franko, like many of his contemporaries, was led astray by the *fata morgana* of ideal progress. Even Mykhaylo Drahomaniv who was much older than Franko, an extreme liberal populist and a cosmopolitan, was not free from these optimistic preoccupations and he exercised a great influence on the early views of Franko and his young associates of the seventies and eighties.

Some biographical details of the life of Franko and his conflicts with himself and his own society have very close analogies to the biography of that other great Slavic thinker of about the same age, Thomas G. Masaryk.

After maturing and drawing the consequences from the bitter personal experience of his youth, Franko in his search for the ideal of social and political synthesis still more critically devalued the slogans of this intellectual revolution and opposed them to the realistic conditions of his own people.

In the multinational Austro-Hungarian and Russian monarchies the national and political factors were intertwined with the social and gave the opportunity for sharper clashes than were possible in uninational states. It was hard for Franko to defend the interests "of an agrarian nation", socially impoverished and politically enslaved with its territory under Russian and Austro-Hungarian occupation and reduced to the status of exploited colonies. Industrial capitalism was rudely breaking in from the outside without having produced first a strong local middle class. The economically passive great landed aristocracy, almost exclusively Polish, was defending its historical positions and political and class privileges as well as its own understanding of national sovereignty. The socially and nationally enslaved masses of the Ukrainian peasantry in their efforts at self-protection had no ally in their fight against this great landed alien aristocracy in the cities which were rather aristocratic and bureaucratic centers than industrial towns with a working population.

Ivan Franko in his enthusiasm tried at first even against the older generation of the Ukrainian intelligentsia to find a common language and a common mode of struggle for democracy and the social interests of the masses with the progressive Polish and Jewish intelligentsia in Galicia. He also eagerly followed the efforts of his young contemporaries to achieve the same ends in Ukraine under Russian control. Yet, the

intelligentsia, the Polish and the Russian in the ethnic Ukrainian lands, were mostly connected with the reactionary circles of their ruling nations.

Great was the disillusionment of the young Franko when he saw that even the progressives excepted the whole of Ukrainian life, whether in the cultural, social or even the religious and ritual spheres, from the rights of general human courtesy. The Polish democrats and even the Social Democrats often went hand in hand with the nobility from "national motives" both in the struggle for the introduction of universal suffrage and in the parcellation of the great landed properties and in questions of education, emigration, etc. Since the progressive neighbors in the name of "national Polish solidarity," never tolerated changes in the Polish privileges (status possessions) nor admitted the local majority of the autochthonous Ukrainian population to equal voting and the administration of the area, they actually supported the claims of the Polish landed aristocracy in the Ukrainian lands and its bureaucracy, and accepted them without protest.

Franko followed with a critical eye how the Russian liberals, while criticizing the most valuable leaders of Western Europe, at the same time quietly came to terms with the incredibly savage and cruel facts of the reality that surrounded them. "Out of the companions of liberal Hertsen there emerged reactionary Katkovs and the Western ideas when transplanted to Russian soil lost their living power and became either empty phrases or hopeless doctrines."¹

Franko when older often expressed his fears in reproofs to the leading Ukrainians in Russian Ukraine and worked so that the ardent Ukrainian youth would not yield to Eastern mania and fall into a revolutionary mysticism which led them under Russian dictatorship to rash acts and to self-annihilation without any practical benefit for their people or their social and national liberation. He saw later how "around him there was being broken that world of ideas or illusions, for the realization of which he was working." He gave up experimentation with work in two armies and resolved to devote all his work exclusively to his own people.²

He revised his cosmopolitan doctrines and the results of cooperation with those who preached them and this led the critical Franko to the conclusion that "Whoever sets too high ideals for himself, shows that he has none in the stress of life. How is it possible to accept great universal ideas, when at home it is necessary to struggle for one's own language, the

¹ Cf. Franko's article: "Breaths of Spring in Russia," L. S. H., 1904.

² Cf. article: "The Ruthenian-Polish Agreement and the Ruthenian-Polish Brotherhood," L. S. H. 1906, pp. 152-166.

right even to read the Holy Scriptures in one's native tongue, the right to spread literacy in the Ukrainian language."³

Franko made special efforts to show to the young Ukrainian intelligentsia the broad horizons of the world to lead them out of their ethnographic primitivism and to fill his native soil with the progressive content of a broad world and a social and political national organization of the great masses of the people.

At the time the situation was such that the village in Ukraine offered the best field of work for the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Franko himself had come from the people. He loved them without limits but he soberly weighed the possibilities and he did not share the belief that the preservation of the primitive national wisdom and principles would rebuild the nation as the primitive populists believed.

At the basis of his rebirth Franko placed not a blind "healthy popular instinct" but a demand for progress, education, the organization of political and economic self-defence, the raising of the intellectual and ethical level of the broad masses of the people, the spreading among them of a consciousness of their national and social interests, the preparation of leaders for them out of their own class. He said: "That democracy is primitive where the people are only peasants and workers. If the Ukrainian intelligentsia should accept this democracy, a grave — mound would be heaped upon hope."⁴

Franko did not share the faith in any "mystical will of the people" and its instinctive ability for the attainment of truth in social questions and he often emphasized his negative position to the transplanted regimentation of the whole of life, as the Social Democrats planned it in their schemes.

The Ukrainian conservative society was afraid of the youthful radicalism of Franko but it did not realize his later evolution and the balancing of his social and political views. Again the partisans of the socialist political views of the young Franko usually passed over his later critical ideas on his own youthful preoccupation, as he said himself, with "unbaked ideas."

At present the Bolsheviks, taking advantage of the ignorance of the broad masses of the people as to the true thoughts of Franko and making use of his poetical works, would like to make out of him a Marxian Communist and a Russophile. They conceal his strong criticism of Marxism and his extraordinary vision of the fatal results brought by Marxism. They are taking advantage of the popularity of Franko

³ L. S. H., 1905, p. 119.

⁴ Cf. *The Criticism by Franko of the Social and Political Views of Mykhaylo Drahomaniv* in L. S. H., 1906, pp. 226-240.

and falsely counting him one of the advance guards of their kind of socialism, while in reality Franko even in his early youth took a thoroughly negative attitude toward Marxism and often in his writings warned of its destructive character and visualized its danger to the Ukrainian national aspirations and human progress.

In the same way Franko rejected any kind of dependency of Ukraine upon Russia and Poland as was expressed vigorously in his popular poem "It is not time to serve Muscovite or Pole," which the Ukrainian masses elevated to the dignity of a second national anthem. Concerning socialism Franko said in one of his later works, that he and some of his collaborators became better informed in detail about the socialist theories, when in 1878 they were condemned for socialism. After studying in detail the course of Western Social Democracy, in 1886 he characterized the German Social Democracy by saying that this "organization had worked out its program on the doctrine of Marx and Engels but despite its assumed freedom of speech, there is basically the idea of despotism and the enslavement not only of the bodies but still more of the souls and the thoughts of men."⁵ He also studied carefully the labor organization by Lassalle, the criticism of Marx and Engels by the revisionists, the development of the trade unions in England, the movement of the Christian socialists and the socialists of the Fabian movement. Franko valued the practical side of their activity, social legislation and the organization of the laboring class for social and economic self-defence more than the doctrine of Marx.

Franko also devoted a series of articles to the criticism of Marxism in *Life and Word* and the *Literary and Scientific Herald*. "The socialist movement" — he says in one place — "proclaimed first as philanthropy, as a principle of Christian love and justice to the poor and wronged, is becoming in the XIX century the philosophy of the extreme left wing of the Hegelians — for some the highest ideal, the goal of progress, the achievement of which will mark really the end of history; for others it is a threatening danger, a synonym for revolution and the victory of barbarism and a new despotism, the greatest enemy of individual freedom and general progress."⁶ In the socialistic camps socialism is taking on, especially for its less enlightened adherents, the character of a religion based upon unbreakable dogmas and a cult of personalities. It is intolerant not only toward "the unbelievers," that is the "non-socialists," but also to "heretics and the heterodox." He naturally realized

⁵ Cf. article: "On the History of the Labor Movement in Austria." Lviv 1886. Vol. II, pp. 458-460.

⁶ Cf. the article: "On the History of the Socialist Movement." *Literary and Scientific Herald*, 1904.

as nonsense the necessary and inseparable connection of socialism and the materialistic point of view.

In checking the accusations brought against Marx and Engels that their Communist Manifesto of 1848 was a plagiarism made by them (without reference and source) and merely a reworking of the ideas of the French Fourierist V. Considerant and his work of 1843, *Principes de Socialisme*, Franko compared the text and accepted to a large degree the justice of the accusations although he made certain concessions and came to the conclusion that "the historian of the social development of the second half of the XIX century must admit that the enthusiastic Fourierist Considerant, basing his ideas as he admitted on a 'True Instinct' better envisioned the future than the cold doctrinaire Marx." Truth in Franko's opinion was rather on the side of Considerant for a sense of more than one's personal interest and of a broader justice and humanity play in the development of socialism a larger role than economic automation.

"The program of 'state socialism' " — Franko wrote in 1904 — "smells too much of state despotism and uniformity which, once introduced into life, could become a great barrier to development or the source of new revolutions." Marxism was repugnant to Franko, for he believed in organic development not only in the economic and material spheres but in that of the spirit. He did not agree with that point of view which sees as the base for the development of human activity unknown material forces and ignores the spiritual forces which "move the cart of human civilization."

In seeking for the ideals which might be able to help in the solution of the needs of the present and the immediate future, Franko could not tolerate and in fact rejected as reactionary slanders the view of the Marxists who opposed every attempt to organize the masses for the improvement of their economic and living conditions, the conditions of work or organization, for struggle in the legal forms of parliamentarism, for such means — in their opinion — checked the definite and the only possible salutary process of proletarianization and ripening them for progress and socialism.⁷

Franko especially attacked the position of the Marxists on the peasant question and was closer to those western thinkers and social reformers who favored agrarian emancipation. His acquaintance with the actual conditions in his native country and among his people strengthened him in his convictions that the question of social justice and other further possibilities for economic development and the solu-

⁷ Cf. Franko's remarks on the book of A. Faresov: "Populists and Marxists", L. S. H. 1899.

tion of the social and political problems in the Ukrainian lands had to be sought within the framework of the solution of the agrarian problem. As a result he carefully studied the agrarian problems of his day in all the countries of the world.

In 1887 Franko published his study on *Land Ownership in Galicia* and illustrated it with vast actual statistical material. To this study he added his plan for agrarian reform in Galicia which included the nationalization of the land with compensation to the owners.

Franko was critical of the Messianic ideas of the Russian Slavophiles and populists, who pretended to find "an assumed national" form of the Russian social organization in the *mir* which was based upon a land commune and patriarchal rule and their dreams for remodelling on this basis the entire social life of the world although the primitive communal land ownership, the *mir*, was exclusively a Great-Russian institution.

In political affairs Franko called for such an organization of government as would have as a guarantee of legality the functioning of the will of the people, their natural and moral sense of good order and human justice. The will of the people is determined not only by their economic needs and the collective feelings developed from the historic past, but also by subjective and objective elements as attachment to one's native land, language, cultural traditions, in a word, by national patriotism. The life of every nation is rightly self-determined in the economic, cultural and political fields and this is the goal to which "the work of human civilization is unfaillingly progressing."

In the time of Franko there was a struggle going on in Austria-Hungary for a broadening of the rights of autonomy and for a federal reconstruction of the monarchy. In Russia there was a struggle for the broadening of the rights of the territorial self-government of the *Zemstvos*. In Western Europe there had been vocal federalistic slogans and various ideas of international cooperation since 1848. Franko, regarding nationalism as a historically necessary and organic phenomenon, indestructible and above all traditional territorial organizations, defended the wisdom and rationality of national autonomy — the national principle both in the organization of each state and in international relations. He always understood that all federalism presupposed the existence of free nations endowed with full rights, for a healthy international cooperation is possible only between politically organized nations and every pretence of a nation to be a Culture-bearer (*Kulturtraeger*) he considered harmful to the progress of international cooperation and a sound international structure.

Free federative unions will attract and not repel free national societies. The use of force to retain these nations in an artificial and compulsory whole as Russia and Austria-Hungary were doing, meant the holding up of civilization and the progress of the peoples.

As for liberalism, then a doctrine preached widely and widely attacked, Franko as a mature scholar taught by bitter experience, learned also that it could not be realized merely by idealistically humanitarian theories without deeds and without concrete content. He called for a real liberalism in the form of national freedom for all peoples.⁸

On the border between the XIX and XX centuries Franko had a vision of the coming world events and often insisted that the Ukrainian leaders in national and social work on both sides of the Austro-Russian boundaries had to prepare their own, well discussed common social and political program in the struggle for the full independence of Ukraine.

Crossed by fate and disillusionment in his own private life, amid conflicts with his own conservative society, in a struggle with himself and people's dishonor, Ivan Franko is a historical figure in the history not only of the Ukrainian people but of all enslaved nations which are aspiring to the attainment of their "national mission" to secure their own states, their own promised land. It is not for nothing that he chose the theme for his greatest work *Moses*, (prophesying the resurrection of free Ukraine) from a Biblical theme, the enslavement of the chosen people of Israel in Egypt, and their wandering for forty years through the wilderness to the promised land of freedom where Israel would be its own master and lord of its own house.

⁸ See his article: "The Ukrainian Tribune in Russia," L. S. H., 1906, pp. 335-340; also: "Social and Political Views of M. Drahomaniv," L. S. H., 1906, pp. 226-240.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IDEAS OF IVAN FRANKO

by MATTHEW STACHIV

The many-sidedness of the genius of Ivan Franko is shown in the broad range of his activity; he was a poet, novelist, short story writer, scholar, publicist, public speaker, an organizer of community life and a political leader. His spiritual interests, as Academician Bahaliy properly noted, were of an encyclopedic character. Yet all of his creative work had one root and one common basis from which it sprang and by which it was nourished and that was his social and ethical point of view.

With all the greatness of his creative spirit, Franko was the child of his period and he worked in and for his generation. In 1873, when Franko took his first steps in literature, Ukrainian literature under Russia had been almost completely banned for ten years. Under Austria, in Western Ukraine where Franko was born and began his work, there were on paper really quite broad constitutional freedoms, but in reality they were denied in practice to the Ukrainian people by the potent Polish noble minority. By the Polish agreement with the German-Austrian central administration, this Polish minority had secured in its own hands, contrary to the constitution, an undivided control based upon the regional statute accepted for Galicia. The Ukrainian majority in Eastern Galicia had to struggle hard to secure in practice their rights as citizens and the constitutional guarantee of equal rights for the two peoples.

In the social field, as a result of the earlier conquest of Ukraine by Russia and Poland, society in Ukraine did not form an organic whole. It was a mosaic in which the different parts were separated from one another. The dominant classes, the nobles and the majority of the bourgeoisie, were Polish or Muscovite. The peasants and the urban workers in Ukraine had completely different attitudes toward the ruling classes not only on the basis of social differences and contradictions, but also of national (there were also differences in language, culture, historical tradition and their efforts to create the future social and economic, political and state life). The social structure of the Ukrainian people in all their lands was marked by the fact that the great majority of the population were peasants and only a small part was composed of the bourgeoisie (artisans, merchants and business people), workmen and intelligentsia.

In Galicia, when Ivan Franko was middle aged, the Ukrainian community was divided into 93.3% peasants, 2.5% artisans and tradesmen, 1.7% merchants, and the rest were workmen and intelligentsia. However, the Ukrainian peasants were not farmers in the American sense, as these statistics might indicate at first sight. After the abolition of serfdom the Ukrainian peasants owned so little land that the village economy could be maintained not by the normal profit from this work but by a half-starvation mode of living, caused by the lack of land and of the possibility of utilizing free hands in urban industry, and at the same time by excessive public burdens. The small holdings after the abolition of serfdom, in 1848, grew constantly. In 1848 there were only 27% of small holdings under 2 hectares in Galicia but in 1890 the number of these had increased to 46.6%, almost half, but they embraced only 9% of the tillable space. 33% of the holdings were between two and five hectares, and these under the conditions of the time were not sufficient to furnish a decent living. Thus the number of landless, small and weakly held homesteads was more than 80% of the peasant holdings. At the same time the millions of small peasant holdings were confronted by the latifundia of the Polish nobles and 3,235 landowners owned almost half of the entire territory of Galicia. On the abolition of serfdom the Austro-Hungarian central administration aided the nobles illegally to secure all the community servitudes of forests and pastures and this made the village economically dependent upon them. The Polish nobles in the egoistic interests of their own class, did not favor the industrial development of the region so that the free peasant laborers would not be induced to drift to urban industry and that they themselves could thus maintain a source of cheap labor for their palaces and their estates. The extent of the exploitation of the peasants by the nobles can be seen from the fact that the peasant received for labor from sunrise to sunset only 15-20 Austrian hellers or about four to five cents in American money.

Franko had to work in this environment. By the will of fate the first political emigrant from the Russian Empire, Prof. Mykhaylo Drahomaniv, came into close relations with young Franko as a university student. Drahomaniv, as a Ukrainian political worker, had been faced even earlier with the same question as to what should be done to help his people. In his wide correspondence with Franko and his friends and in his Geneva publications, he developed a complete theory of methods for political and social work to liberate them and he gave in 1880 a complete new program for liberation. Drahomaniv was a socialist of an ethical trend but he did not base his work upon the economic doctrine of Marx or his materialistic philosophy and proletarian messianism but upon ethical idealism. Franko was swept up in the ethical school of Drah-

maniv and with him went through the mutation of the ideas of his youthful views on social and economic questions and then in his mature age he formulated his own views.

Drahomaniv was in general an advocate of the development of a healthy peasantry and he stressed this especially in the case of the Ukrainians. His slogan which he often repeated in various forms was that "the strength of every nation lies in its peasantry."

Proceeding from his basic ethical principles and an analysis of the then social life in Ukraine, Drahomaniv in 1876 phrased his program in this way: "In Ukraine the greater part of the producers, agriculturists and workers are Ukrainians. But the greater part of the foreigners, Poles, Jews, Germans, Hungarians and Muscovites, are the so-called higher, non-laboring classes, who utilize the work of the laborers. At the present time these foreigners who have been sent into Ukraine by the states which conquered it in ancient times and those renegades who have joined them, dominate the Ukrainians in the economy, as being the richer people, and in politics, as the authorities. Every people is injured by slavery under aliens and on the other hand, the communities cannot tolerate the non-laboring classes. So it is the same thing either to free Ukraine from foreigners or to free the communities of Ukrainian producers from the non-laboring classes. Under either policy the lords of all kinds must either all become workers or leave Ukraine" (Program of 1880).

Franko was moved to the depth of his soul by this social point of view and all of his creative work was inseparably connected with it. At the height of his activity in 1897 Franko emphasized in his autobiography very definitely: "If I feel myself a Ukrainian and to the best of my powers and strength work for Ukraine... it is not for reasons of a sentimental character. A feeling of a doglike obligation forces me to it. As the son of a Ukrainian peasant, reared on black peasant bread, by the work of rough peasant hands, I feel myself bound to repay by the labor of my entire life those small coins which a peasant hand expended so that I could rise to the heights, where the sun can be seen, where liberty can be smelled, and where pan-human ideals are to be discerned. My Ukrainian patriotism... is a heavy yoke laid by fate upon me. I can shudder, I can quietly curse the fate that has laid such a yoke upon my shoulders, but I cannot throw it off... For I would be ignoble in my own eyes. If there is anything which makes it easier for me to wear that yoke, it is that I see that the Ukrainian people, although they have been oppressed, kept in ignorance and demoralized for long centuries and even to-day are poor, unaided, and perplexed, yet are rising and feeling in broader

and broader masses a longing for light, truth and justice and are seeking ways to attain them..." Franko considered this obligation to his people an outflowing of Divine justice. So he declared: "God himself cannot give release from obligations to one's people; Satan boasts that he can."

Along with this obligation Franko from his student years was permeated with the ideal of ethical socialism. He worked this out for himself, deepened it and held it to the end of his life. In the preface to his largest collection of poems *My Emerald* in the last decade of his life Franko declared himself "an adherent of the old, broadly human socialism, based upon the ethical, general human training of the masses of the peoples, upon progress and the general spread of education, knowledge, criticism and individual and national freedom." Franko believed in this ethical socialism and as a result he was constantly an opponent of the Marxo-Engels socialist doctrine, which was based upon historical materialism, the class character of a proletarian government and indifference to pan-human ethical principles. Although he valued Marx for his economic studies, he combatted his social and political doctrines both in his writings and in his political life. Among other examples, in his work entitled "What is Progress?" Franko in a definite and aggressive manner criticized the form of social order which the Communists were proposing, for he foresaw a quarter of a century before the events took place that a Communist system would be "only a prison" for all members of society, and especially for the workers. He no less strongly condemned the ideal plans for the new order which the Marxists of the day were preaching. The omnipotence and totalitarianism of the state would be the inevitable result of the state organization of the Marxists, despite their theory that in time the state "would wither away." In contradistinction to this, Franko's socialism rested only on ethical principles and on the ethical progress of the people. The individual is the bearer of these ethical values and ideas and he must be at the same time free to the maximum degree and also bound to society for the good of the whole community. The freedom and value of the individual and at the same time the freedom of the united citizenry and nation are decisive for the true social and cultural progress of the people. This was Franko's conception of the individual and the social interrelations of the individuals and their communities.

Franko considered socialism only as a directing idea, an ideal for work and not as a direct program for action, for he often declared that humanity would not fully reach this ideal, if people did not reach a full ethical ideal.

In accordance with these basic ideas Franko took part in working out the program of the projected Galician Laboring Community, which, however, did not become fully a reality (1881). This program included a plan for a reform of the most pressing question in Galicia — that of the land, by providing that the land should be taken over by the appropriate communities. Within the limits of an agricultural community the program foresaw a joint cultivation of soil and the produce secured was to be divided according to the needs of the members of the community and the amount of labor each contributed. A similar reform was projected for industry; the plants were to become the property of those who operated them.

After long publicistic preparation Franko with his supporters founded a separate political organization — the Ukrainian Radical Party — at a congress in Lviv (October 4-5, 1890). Franko himself took the lead in drawing up the political, economic and cultural program for it, and he was himself elected to carry it out as the head of the party. The program stressed in its preamble that it was the purpose of the party to struggle for socialism. The statutes of the party stressed the fact that the party was aiming not to produce a social revolution but definite social and economic reforms. It was striving "for the material well-being of all laboring people and the elimination of all economic exploitation." As an early step for improving the economic order, the program called for the "elimination of all indirect taxes and also land taxes, and the introduction of a single progressive income tax, the removal from the levy of such an amount of peasant land and implements as were necessary for the introduction of a consumers' economy; the levy was to be made only on pure income from the soil; the organization of agricultural producers' cooperatives, able to buy and sell, industrial, credit, cooperatives, etc. were to be rendered easier. There was to be the legal introduction of the 8 hour working day, the protection of labor, the widening of social security in case of illness, fire, and incapacity for working." After listing the specific needs of reform in the immediate future, the economic program ended with this general thesis: "In general we are for the broadest possible organization of the working people without difference of their occupation with the object of self-help against exploitation by capitalism and for their own support". The method of social and economic reforms through cooperation which Franko's program proposed, shows his deep faith in the self-activity of the people, their free cooperative initiative and also their democracy in social matters as in political affairs.

Especially in its land program, Franko's proposal sharply and definitely rejected the Marxian theory of the proletarianizing of the

village as an unavoidable step and one of a positive character, for that claimed that like the concentration of industry in the hands of a few capitalists, so the concentration of land in great latifundia facilitated the transfer to the nationalization of the entire economy. Franko's program was against the proletarianizing of the village, and it offered the conceptions, methods and ways for the preservation of a small peasant economy. It definitely emphasized that it was necessary to use all means to "prevent the formation of a proletariat in the village." For this various devices were mentioned (the reform of the taxes, the minimum existence for the peasant, free from levies, and the support of cooperatives). We must add also the call for a speedy parcellation of the great landed properties among the peasants and the formation at that time of community, cooperative agricultural units, which would buy the land from the landowners with the aid of a proper state credit institution. Franko was well aware that the possibility of a radical land reform without compensation was at this time unrealistic; the village could not stand the lack of land until it became possible. So in this program he proposed the purchase of the land from the landowners through a public credit institution and its distribution among the peasants and their cooperatives.

In December 1899 Ivan Franko and Prof. Mykhaylo Hrushevsky and some other prominent Ukrainians planned to create a new Ukrainian political organization comprised of nationally conscious Ukrainians of all classes which joined politically the yet not organized national democrats (*narodovtsi*) and some members of the Radical Party. In December 1899, this organization was formed under the name of the Ukrainian National Democratic Organization.

Franko wrote the economic program for the new party and it shows the further development of his views on the social and economic questions. In the explanatory introduction to the program, Franko said among other things: "Incomes do not fall from heaven, but come from the labor of people." And again: "There are cases when an entire people can come into the position of a fly in a spider's web. That is a people which does not have its own state, which does not have the keys to its own house; it cannot decide about its income or its expenditures." In the program itself Franko made this general statement: "We are striving to make our people free in production, credit and trade from dependence upon other peoples and lands, so that they may have in their own hands the necessary means of production, first of all its land, and can develop its own industry, trade and credit." In the explanation of this program Franko wrote in addition: "When private rights and privileges are replaced as the basis of state life

by equality before the law and freedom, then efforts for society will begin to triumph, for only in society and friendship can community equality appear. . . . We must unite our strength, we must, where it is possible, form unions of our people, our own banks, funds, our own trade, our own businesses, etc." In another passage of this explanation of the program, Franko emphasized again the importance of work and the well being of society. "The basis of the economic prosperity of our people is their own labor, the energy, initiative and frugality of each individual. Where the situation is difficult for one man, there we must unite into societies, unions, whether agricultural, for artisans, trading, banks, etc. All these together mean organic work." As the ideal for the new political organization, Franko inserted in its program in a changed phraseology ethical socialism as he conceived it. "Our ideal" — says the program — "Ukraine without a slave and without a lord." In its individual practical points the economic program of the new party is almost entirely identical with the corresponding postulates of the former Radical Party Program. Really in a dispute with the leadership of the new party over the more accurate execution of the program which Franko had drawn up, he wrote publicly in 1904 a statement in the party organ *Dilo* and declared his withdrawal from it, and after that he returned to his old organization.

But the program of Franko for the National Democratic Party with its slogan of "organic work" won great popularity among the masses and became for years the practice of the great majority of the Ukrainian people in Galicia. It was inspired by a love for friendship, i. e. for cooperative economic social action and aroused great sympathy in the masses which had succeeded by their own efforts in building their national economy by working like ants in all the villages and cities.

In his scientific work Franko paid much attention to economic questions. Some of these were archival studies in the sources and some were publicistic reworkings of the printed sources. In these he laid chief weight upon the history of the economic position of the Ukrainian peasantry and the descriptions of its present economic exploitation. If we should collect all his works on economic themes, they would fill a large number of volumes. They are still for the research student the definite source of the history of the economic development of Galicia and especially of its peasantry. Having a basic knowledge of the co-operative form of economic organization, Franko in the then terrible need of the Ukrainian peasantry saw as one of the best methods of struggling with exploitation not only professional unions but the most varied forms of cooperatives, as can be seen from all the programs of which he was author or co-author. We know that the cooperative

idea in Western Europe was developed before the literary and practical activity of Franko in this field. He found it already prepared and he only adapted it to the regional conditions in Ukrainian Galicia. But in one field of cooperation Franko was completely original. He was the first in Galicia to urge a cooperative for agricultural production, to work out the idea of it and to plan for its practical forms. He wrote many articles on this subject and carried on extensive discussions with the more alert peasants.

Franko devoted many of his articles and sketches to another aspect of the protection of the peasant labor against the noble owners of the great latifundia. This was the strike. Peasant agricultural labor is distinguished by the fact that it is carried on by communities widely separated by economic situations, and distant one from another, making it difficult to organize farm-workers professionally. But in view of the fact that in Franko's time, the exploitation of the peasants' hired labor was so obvious when a man for a full day's work in the harvest received on the average five American cents, Franko considered it necessary to try to realize this ultimate method of struggle — a general agricultural strike in Eastern Galicia. After a long propaganda for this through the press and by word of mouth at peasant meetings, the question of an agrarian strike in Galicia became definite. This initiative of Franko produced its full results some years later, during the harvest of 1902. Then with the solid backing of the two chief Ukrainian parties, the Radical and the National Democratic, and with the help of the newly organized Social Democratic Party, a general agrarian strike started in Galicia. It spread through 24 districts of Eastern Galicia. Although it had its first source in the social oppression of the nobles, it also had an inseparable national character, for the owners of the latifundia were exclusively Polish nobles and from national antagonism they treated the Ukrainian peasants heartlessly, when we compare their relations with the Polish peasants in Western Galicia. The entire Polish chauvinistic bourgeoisie supported the Polish nobles in this strike and on the other hand the Ukrainian community solidly supported the striking peasants, especially the democratic lay intelligentsia and the village clergy. The local government, as we know, was in the hands of the Polish nobles and under their pressure the central Austro-German administration sent into the villages Hungarian regiments for forced quartering, so as to compel the peasants by this pressure to end the strike. Judges under the influence of the nobles made mass arrests and showered merciless sentences upon the heads of the striking peasants who were only using their constitutional freedoms. All the repressions of the government came to nothing, for the Ukrainian

peasants showed such consciousness, organizational ability and solidarity that no governmental power could break them. The village laborers triumphed and the nobles had to yield and increase their pay. The victory of the first agrarian strike and the preceding repressions became a turning point in the history of the Ukrainian peasantry. From this time it won for itself a consciousness of its own power and value, and the Polish governmental minority began to deal seriously with the demands of the entire Ukrainian population in Galicia. Franko in his many articles had not only previously raised theoretically and for propaganda purposes the question of the organization of this extremely difficult agrarian strike, but during the strike, in the press outside the area he raised the alarm against the official repressions on the peaceful striking peasants. These Galician "pacifications" like the "Galician elections" which the Polish nobles carried through on the Ukrainian people became by the efforts of Franko "famous" not only in the whole of Austria but in the whole of Western Europe. Franko saw to it that the Austrian Parliament held a sharp debate condemning these "usages."

Although Franko in his Ukrainian social and economic activity devoted most attention to the Ukrainian peasantry, he none the less directed his scholarly and publicistic work also to the general social problem and especially to the preparing of equal rights for the "fourth estate" — the urban proletariat and the winning for them of their human and citizenship rights. We have to remember that at the end of the eighteen seventies, when Franko's activity began, it was not easy in Austria and especially in Galicia to raise the social problem of the working class. Every one who tried to speak on a program of solving this problem was threatened with prison during investigation and even a trial for "secret organization." Franko himself had to stand trial for it and on the demand of the Polish nobles was sentenced to six weeks of arrest with clearly no basis for the charge. The then prevailing official opinion on the social problem was very primitive; whoever spoke of the national economy was charged by the ruling nobles and their spokesmen immediately with atheism, as Franko definitely testified in the eighteen nineties. The Polish noble official circles then tried to convince the Ukrainian political leaders that the mere raising of the social question in Eastern Galicia "compromised the Ukrainian national question." In 1890 the Austrian Minister Falkenheim in his speech before Parliament declared that no social legislation was necessary in the state, because the Ten Commandments of God were sufficient and especially the Seventh, which, he claimed, solved all social problems. Franko devoted to the social question in general and to the labor ques-

tion in particular many articles and speeches. He fought for the full personal value of the working men, for a just payment for their labor, for their electoral rights and for full social security for them and their families.

At first his voice was that of one crying in the wilderness in the land but with each year his circle of friends and pupils among the intelligentsia, workmen and peasants grew and with them grew the movement for the positive solution of this problem by state legislation. With especial ardor Franko approved Metropolitan Andriy Sheptytsky, when he stopped the previous practice of the pastoral appeals of his predecessors and issued one of his appeals especially "On the social question."

We must note that Franko recognized two kinds of property: social property and private, individual property. If a factory enterprise was essentially social property even under private capitalism, in Franko's opinion, all objects of private personal use and the means of production for laboring use without the constant hiring of workers should always remain individual private property; thus Franko taught in accordance with his economic and social views. In these views the leading place was taken by friendliness and respectful love for one's neighbor and so the social ethics of Franko were fully in accord with the basic Christian morality.

"For forty years I've labored, taught,
With all my mind upon Thee bent,
Out of these slaves to make a folk
According to Thy prime intent."

(From "*Moses*" by Ivan Franko, Song XII.
Ivan Franko. Poems. New York 1948, p. 226).

IVAN FRANKO AS A SCHOLAR

by VOLODYMYR DOROSHENKO

Ivan Franko was a universal writer. He was not only an outstanding poet, a belletrist, a critic and a publicist. He was a no less prominent scholar.

His friends, aware of his unusual capacity and the range of reading which he showed even in the gymnasium (secondary school), hoped that he would become a learned professor in a university. But an unkind fate destroyed these hopes. The unexpected arrest of Franko in July, 1877, struck him, as he said himself, like the blow of a brick on the head and shattered his own personal life and his hopes for a scholarly career.

For long years he was compelled to work as a journalist without the possibility of devoting himself to that systematic scholarly work which he so ardently craved. Only now and then was he able to spend a few moments in scientific research or to publish some ethnographical, literary or historical materials. Yet Franko never stopped thinking about a scholarly career.

In 1892, he went to Vienna and registered in the Philosophical Faculty of the University. There he worked under the guidance of the well-known Slavist, Prof. V. Jagich. In 1894 Franko received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy for a thesis on Ivan Vyshensky. On October 29, 1894 Prof. Omelan Ohonovsky died and thus the chair of Ukrainian Language and Literature in the University of Lviv became vacant. Franko began to make efforts to become Ohonovsky's successor. On March 18, 1895 he gave the prescribed colloquium for habilitation and on March 22 he gave a trial lecture on the *Hired Woman* of Shevchenko. The Faculty accepted this lecture as satisfactory and requested the Viennese Ministry of Education to confirm the habilitation, but the Ministry under the pressure of the Galician Governor General, Count Badeni, refused to grant it for political reasons. In the eyes of the Galician administration, which was controlled by the Polish nobility, Franko was an unreliable agitator, a radical and a socialist, who could not be trusted to instruct the youth.

This failure wounded Franko deeply, as we can see from his letter to Prof. Agatangel Krymsky on August 8, 1895. "The sorrow that

I felt" — he wrote, — "was not because I did not receive the appointment, but because it deprived me of the possibility of scholarly work and condemned me to continue in journalistic slavery by the way in the Polish harvest field. When I thought of the university, I was primarily thinking I could get out of these fetters and devote myself to work which appealed to me and which now and in the future I shall be able to busy myself with it only in my spare time."

Later Franko did secure the possibility of doing scholarly work, when he became in 1898 a close collaborator with the Shevchenko Scientific Society at the invitation of Prof. Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, the then head of the Society. Franko was put in charge of the Philological Section of the Society as its Director, and it replaced for him a university chair. He was now set free from journalistic slavery and became one of the pillars of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and of Ukrainian scholarship in general and he guided the Section to the end of his life. The great majority of the scientific works of Franko appeared after the year 1898 in the publications of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, in its *Memoirs* and other organs, the *Collections* of the Philological and Historico-Philosophical Sections, the *Monuments of Ukrainian Language and Literature*, the *Ethnographical Collection*, *Materials on Ukrainian Ethnology*, the *Ukrainian Archives* and the juridical and economic journals.

Thanks to these works Franko not only became an outstanding Ukrainian scholar but he joined the group of world famous scholars. In 1906 the University of Kharkiv recognized his scholarly accomplishments and conferred upon him the degree of Doctor *honoris causa*.

Let us look at his scholarly achievements. They were, we may say, imposing. Franko became outstanding in almost all fields of Ukrainian studies both as an investigator of the history of Ukrainian literature and a publisher of its monuments, as an ethnographer and folklorist, as a historian and economist and as a student of onomastics and bibliographer. In each of these fields he left outstanding works. But Franko did not confine himself exclusively to Ukrainian studies. He worked on themes that extended far beyond its borders and touched the literature, ethnology and history of other peoples, especially the Poles and the Jews. Yet since his chief interest was in Ukrainian literature and ethnology, we can begin with these.

FRANKO AS A STUDENT OF LITERATURE

In reviewing Franko's works in the field of literature, we must obviously begin with his general outlines of the history of Ukrainian literature. We notice first his famous survey of the history of Ukrainian

literature contained in Volume 41 of the Russian Encyclopedia of Brockhaus and Efron. In a short sketch (pp. 300-326) Franko succeeded in giving the readers a compressed but meaty survey of the development of Ukrainian literature from its beginnings in the princely state of Kiev of the Ukrainian people to the present time. This was based upon a series of lectures which Franko had delivered at Ukrainian courses held in July, 1904, in Lviv and intended primarily for auditors from Eastern Ukraine.

Franko wrote a survey of Ukrainian literature under the title, *Outline of the History of Ukrainian Literature*, Lviv, 1911, pp. V + 444 which was published by the Ukrainian Publication Society.

His special sketches of the different periods of Ukrainian literature were also excellent. These were: "The Characteristics of Ukrainian Literature of the XVI-XVIII Centuries," printed in Polish in the Polish historical journal *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, (Lviv, 1892) and "The Literary Rebirth of South Rus," published in the Viennese collection dedicated to Jan Kollar in 1893.

A great role was played in the old period of Ukrainian literature by the so-called apocryphal literature which reached Ukraine-Rus from Byzantium and Bulgaria and circulated in many copies. Franko was much interested in this literature, did a great deal of work on its monuments and problems and published his studies in the scientific journal *Kievskaya Starina* (1891, 1894, 1906), *the Memoirs of the SSS* (1900), *the Archiv fuer Slavische Philologie* (1913, 1914), *Zeitschrift fuer oesterreichische Volkskunde*, (1904), *Zeitschrift fuer die neutestamentische Wissenschaft* (1906), *Collection in Honor of V. Jagich*, Berlin, 1908.

Yet the crowning work of these studies in the field of the Ukrainian apocryphal literature was his *Corpus of the Apocryphal Writings and Legends in Ukrainian Manuscripts*, which he published in 1896-1910 in 5 volumes under the title *Apocrypha and Legends* (1896-1910).

Another valuable contribution on the old literature was his study "Varlaam and Joasaf, an old Christian religious novel and its history" — printed in 1895 in the *Memoirs of the SSS* and published separately in 1897 (pp. 202 + XVI).

Then came a monograph on "St. Clement in Korsun," dealing with an old Christian Clementine tradition popular in Ukraine. He printed this in the *Memoirs of the SSS* (1902-1906).

His studies on the disputed question of the activity of Sts. Cyril and Methodius — "New Polish Cyrillo-Methodiana" appeared in the *Memoirs of the SSS* (1905) and "Beitraege zu Quellenkritik der Cyrillo-Methodianischen Legende" in the *Archiv fuer Slavische Philologie* (1906).

His most important work on the middle period of Ukrainian literature was his doctoral dissertation "Ivan Vyshensky and his Works," Lviv 1895, pp. VII + 536 in which he treated all aspects of this celebrated polemist and his literary activity and acquainted us with the studies about Vyshensky.

Closely connected with these studies and materials devoted to the apocryphal writings is Franko's monograph "The Carpatho-Rus' Literature of the XVII-XVIII Cent." connected with the collection of materials which the author had found in Carpatho-Ukraine. This monograph first printed in the *Memoirs of the SSS in 1900-1901*, appeared as a separate book entitled "Carpatho-Rus' Literature of the XVII-XVIII Cent.," (pp. 162 + 2).

Franko paid much attention to the Ukrainian drama-verse literature and vertep drama (Christmas puppet shows) of the XVII-XVIII cent. His studies and materials on this topic he began to publish in the *Kievskaya Starina* in the nineties. In the *Collection of the Kharkiv Historical and Philological Society*, in vol. XVII which appeared in 1908, Franko published his work the "Intermedia of the Jew with a Rusin." Other studies of Franko dealing with the middle period of Ukrainian literature are: "Notes for the Study of the Ostrih Bible" in the *Memoirs* (1907) and the "Chronicle of the Pidhirsky Monastery" and "Yosyf Shumlyansky, the Last Orthodox Bishop of Lviv and His Birth Certificate" in the *Kievskaya Starina* for 1890 to 1891.

Franko's studies on the Ukrainian literature of the old and middle periods and the materials which he published greatly increased our knowledge of the literature of those times to which earlier historians of Ukrainian literature had been indifferent.

Franko accomplished much also as a student of the Ukrainian literature of the Modern Period — the XIX cent. and the beginning of the XX cent. We have first his series of articles on the works of Shevchenko. Franko had first become acquainted with the *Kobzar* in the gymnasium and he knew it by heart. He showed his great interest in it in his first articles entitled "Notes for the Evaluation of the Poetry of T. Shevchenko," printed in the journal *Light (Svitlo)* 1881-1882, but these articles were more publicistic than scholarly and Franko toward the end of his life "found it possible to revise only one of them" ("The Kingdom of Darkness," Lviv, 1914). Later Franko gave a very fine and living characterization of the works of Shevchenko which appeared in Ukrainian in the *Star (Zorya)* 1891 and in Polish in the *Kurjer Lwowski*, 1893. Toward the end of his life Franko gave a very brilliant characterization of Shevchenko in German in the Viennese papers *Ukrainische Rundschau* and *Die Zeit*. Ten years later this appeared in English in the

Slavonic Review and in 1925 in Ukrainian in the organ of the Historical Section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, *Ukraina*, edited by M. Hrushevsky in Kiev.

In addition to these Franko prepared also separate studies on Shevchenko: "Shevchenko as the Hero of Polish Revolutionary Legend" in *Life and Word* for 1894. In 1904 he printed in the *Literary and Scientific Herald* an article "Shevchenko to the Poles." After his death the *Memoirs* of the SSS published his study on Shevchenko's poem *Maria* (Vol. 119-120, — 1917). Franko also left a publication of Shevchenko's poems, *Perebendya*, Lviv, 1890, with a preface by the editor and Shevchenko's *Kobzar* with accents.

Franko devoted to the contemporary Ukrainian literature an entire series of separate sketches printed in various Ukrainian journals, the *World* (*Svit*), the *Star* (*Zorya*), and the *Literary and Scientific Herald* or as prefaces to collections of poetry which he edited for publication (of Ol. Kozlovsky, U. Kravchenko, Ivan Tobylevych, Lesya Ukrainka and Vol. Samiilenko).

Franko was interested in foreign literatures and published sketches of the writers and surveys of the news of Slavic, Western European and American literatures in the *World*, 1881-1882, the *Star* and especially in the *Literary and Scientific Herald*. There is no room to list these but we must speak of his edition of the translations of Shakespeare's drama by Kulish, which were published by the Ukrainian Publication Society in Lviv in 1899-1902.

Another important item is his study on the great Italian poet Dante Alighieri which consisted of articles printed in the *Literary and Scientific Herald* with translations of fragments of the "Divine Comedy" and Dante's minor poems and appeared under the title "The Middle Ages and Their Poet." We must mention also his works on the great Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz, whose poetry he had translated in early life for the use of Ukrainian school readers.

FRANKO AS AN ETHNOGRAPHER

Franko did a great deal in the field of Ukrainian ethnography as a researcher and publisher of monuments of Ukrainian folklore and ethnology. While still in his teens, he had memorized at home many songs, proverbs, tales and other folklore material and while in the gymnasium he had commenced to collect and write down this material and he never ceased doing it, even during his terms in prison, as he mentions in an autobiographical letter to M. Drahomaniv printed in the collection *In the Sweat of the Brow* (Lviv, 1890). He also describes this in great detail

in the preface to the "Galician-Ruthenian Tales," (*Ethnographical Collection* of the SSS, Vol. 16, Lviv, 1905). He also began very early to publish the material that he had collected. In the student journal *The Friend (Druh)* 1876, he gave the text of a tale and in the *Light* 1881-1882, "Children's Words in the Ukrainian Language" and "Methods for Studying the Language and Ethnography of the Ukrainian People." From that time Franko almost constantly published his notes in various Ukrainian and foreign journals *The Star*, *Kievskaya Starina*, *Narod (The People)*, in the Polish *Wisla* and *Lud*, the Czech *Lid*, the German *Aus fremden Zunge*, *Zeitschrift des Vereines fuer Volkskunde* and *Zeitschrift fuer oesterreichische Volkskunde*, etc.

The crowning work of Franko's studies on Ukrainian folklore is the great three volume collection of proverbs written down in Galicia and published in volumes of the *Ethnographical Collection* of the SSS between 1901 and 1910 under the title "Galician-Ruthenian Proverbs."

Another imposing work of Franko in the field of Ukrainian folklore is his "Studies on Ukrainian Folksongs" which kept appearing during the years in the *Memoirs* of the SSS and came out as a separate work in 1913, (pp. VIII + 532). In these studies Franko showed himself to be not only a good student of Ukrainian song but a historian for he appended to his study much historical material. He set himself the task of showing how much historical truth there was in the monuments of the Ukrainian folk creation — songs, dumsy and verses.

FRANKO AS A HISTORIAN

Now we come to Franko the historian. Although he did not concern himself specially with history, yet he was well acquainted with the events in the past of his own people and he left many valuable sketches on the history of Ukraine and especially of Galicia.

His first historical work was in Polish "Z Dziejów Synodu Brzeskiego" ("On the Synod of Brest") and it appeared in the Polish historical journal *Kwartalnik Historyczny* in 1895. We must mention also his "Materials on the History of the Koliyivshchyna, a Polish poem on the massacre in Uman" in the *Memoirs* of the SSS in 1904. In his *Life and Word* he published quite a lot of material on the history of the Ukrainian national revival in Galicia.

While working in the spring of 1883 in Vikno in the archives of Vol. Fedorovych on materials for the biography of the latter's father, Franko became interested in the events of 1848 in Galicia, especially in Lviv and he never ceased to collect material on that year and later this interest resulted in a series of articles in the *Memoirs*, the most

complete of which was "Notes on the History of 1848 in Galicia" (*Memoirs*, 1909).

A number of his works deal with the economic history of Galicia. Such are the "Land Estate Hrymaliv," published in Vol. 1. of the *Legal and Economic Journal* (1900) and the "Community Grain Stores in Galicia (in the years 1748-1840)" in Vol. 2 of the *Ukrainian Archive* for 1907.

Shortly before his death Franko began to prepare for print a selection of his most important article printed in various journals. In 1914 during the Russian occupation of Galicia he published the first collection of these, "Hired out to the Neighbors," Lviv, 1914. Here he published in Ukrainian translations of his articles chiefly on economic subjects printed in the Polish daily *Kurjer Lwowski*. They offer valuable sources for the study of the economic life of Galicia in the nineties of the 19th century.

Franko also devoted considerable attention to the cultural history of Ukrainian Galicia, especially in the works which he published in the *Collections of the Historical-Philosophical Section* of the SSS in 1902 under the title "Materials for the Cultural History of Galician Rus' in the XVIII-XIX cent."

The historian of the Ukrainian democratic movement in Galicia will find very important Franko's sketch on Ostap Terletsky in Vol. 50 of the *Memoirs* of the SSS for 1902. The historian of Ukrainian Bukovina will also find valuable his sketch of Lukyan Kobylitsya, the leader of the Ukrainian peasants in Bukovina (*Memoirs* of the SSS, Vol. 49, 1902).

Towards the end of his life Franko also became interested in the early history of Ukraine-Rus and published in 1911-1912 his articles in the *Teacher*, 1911: "Traces of the Ruthenians in Transylvania"; 1912 "Studies on the History of Ukraine," and in the daily *Dilo* an article: "Bruno of Querfurt as the guest of Volodymyr the Great." In *Dilo* also he printed his "Critical Remarks on the Historical Works of M. Hrushevsky," which he republished with the other articles we have mentioned in a single volume entitled *Notes on the History of Ukraine-Rus* (Lviv, 1912).

The Bolsheviks are now much interested in Franko's criticism of the apparently "false theories of M. Hrushevsky," for they are trying to undermine the authority of the great historian through the words of the Pioneer of Western Ukraine. They wish to depreciate the view of Hrushevsky presented in the *History of Ukraine-Rus'* as to the separate character of the historical processes in Ukraine and Muscovy, a view which is founded on his well-known study "The Usual Outline of Russian History" and the question of the regional basis of the history

of Eastern Slavdom published in the *Collection of Articles on Slavic Studies* by the Russian Academy of Sciences (St. Petersburg, 1904). Both red and white Russians as imperialists do not accept this outline and they wish to use Franko's authority to cover their own return to tsarist centralism which the Imperial Academy of Sciences was not afraid to oppose. But Franko did not attack this view of Hrushevsky, for he entirely agreed with it. His criticism of Hrushevsky concerns other problems. To the end of his life Franko was an uncompromising foe of the Russian unifying centralism.

The historical interests of Franko extended beyond the borders of Ukraine. Thus in the *Memoirs* of the SSS, for 1901 he printed "New Studies on the Oldest History of the Jews," etc. (See Vol. 42).

Franko was also first student of Ukrainian onomastics. In 1906 he printed in the *Scientific Collection* dedicated to M. Hrushevsky "Notes on Ukrainian Onomastics," a study which combined history with ethnography and linguistics.

This brief review of Franko's scholarly work in various fields will show the man's amazing versatility and breadth of intellectual interests. When we combine it with his original literary work and his journalism, etc. we can only marvel how he was able under the hard conditions of his life to accomplish so much and to reflect glory upon so many aspects of the Ukrainian genius.

"I have given you my life and all it meant
With an unshatterable zeal;
You will progress through centuries to bear
The imprint of my inner seal."

(From "Moses", Song X.

Moses by Ivan Franko, transl. by W. Semenyina. Jersey City 1938, p. 59).

MOSES, THE CONSCIENCE OF HIS PEOPLE

by SVIATOSLAV HORDYNSKY

In 1905 Ivan Franko wrote *Moses*, a work that is regarded as his greatest poetic achievement and worthy of being compared with the finest poems of world literature. The poet was then on the eve of the fiftieth year of his life; he had already gained tremendous experience in his incessant struggle against the forces opposing progress and of course also in that inner strife with himself that is the everlasting lot of every inspired poet. He had won the strength and the perspective to review the past, to see both his successes and setbacks and to reconsider the entire course of his life. He knew that he was at the moment the uncontested spiritual leader of his nation, especially of its western part, and he felt the inner necessity of expressing his feelings and telling to his people everything that during the long years of his struggle had weighed upon his heart. He wanted to do this without the venom of his former writings, where his pen was sharpened by the fighting spirit of a people's tribune; he wanted to express his ideas on a more universal, all-human level, and he turned to the eternal Biblical theme, the figure of Moses. The poet saw many points of similarity between Moses and himself as both Prophet and Poet. Both in the name of their spiritual leadership were guiding their peoples toward an unknown and uncertain future. Both faced that eternal problem that confronts every true leader; for he sees his people as the possible instrument of God destined to great things and at the same time he has to struggle against his compatriots because they are submerged in their earthly affairs and are not grown up enough to become that spiritual instrument. The tragedy of greatness starts here.

Behind the framework of the Biblical theme, the actions and words of Moses are the incarnations of the poet's own thought. So we must make a digression and consider the incentives that led the poet to this theme, which involves problems from the realms of religion and philosophy, sociology and morals — problems that were common to both men, the Biblical prophet and the modern Ukrainian author.

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We must not forget that *Moses*, a poem on an explicitly religious theme, was written by a revolutionist who had been for a long time the

advocate of the so-called scientific socialism. In the seventies of the nineteenth century when the young Franko was studying in the University of Lviv, socialistic ideas seemed to him to be the only possible key to untangle the complicated and confused situation that existed at the time in Galicia, a remote Austrian province inhabited by a Ukrainian population but ruled by Polish landlords. The western branch of the Ukrainian people presented at the time a truly deplorable picture. The common people were peasants and small landowners compelled to work for the greater proprietors and workers who were being mercilessly exploited in a new way because the drilling for oil in Galicia had just started and had all the aspects of a stark economy. They were almost completely illiterate and unaware of even those rights which they possessed under the Austrian constitution. The higher classes of society, the clergy and chiefly lower state officials, both conservative, were torn by a bitter internal feud that now seems ridiculous to us. Instead of uniting to assist the great undeveloped masses of their compatriots, they expended their energies in quarrels as to whether the Ruthenian language (for the Galician Ukrainians were at that time officially called Ruthenians) was distinct from Russian or was merely a dialect of it. The party of the Moscovites wanted closer ties with Russian culture, while their opponents, the narodovtsi (the nationally oriented) championed a distinct Ukrainian national identity and wanted a free Ukraine of which they had a rather romantic idea without any conception of how they could realize their dream. There was a complete chaos even in Ukrainian orthography. Several forms were in use. Serious literature, written in a language filled with Old Slavonic, Polish and Russian words as well as localisms unused in other parts of Ukraine, seemed unthinkable. What was needed at the moment was the national and social awakening of the broad masses and this was possible only by "black labor" as Franko, himself of sturdy peasant stock, called it. However he had to struggle not only with the alien forces that hampered the arousing of the masses but also with the backward traditionalism of his own society. Franko was quite well versed in all the socialist literature of the time and he himself wrote many articles on socialist themes, but he never became an orthodox socialist who regarded all human activities only from the definite doctrinal economic standpoint and emphasized hatred for the possessing classes. In later years Franko wrote himself of his relation to socialism: "I confess that I was never one of the believers in that religion which was based upon the dogmas of hate and class struggle, and I had the courage, despite the jeers and outrages of its adepts, to carry bravely my banner of the old truly human socialism, based on the ethical, broadly human education of the masses, on the progress and expansion of universal enlightenment, science, criti-

cism, and national freedom, — not on party dogmatism, not on the despotism of the party bosses, not on the bureaucratic regulation of the entire future of humanity, not on the parliamentary swindle that was to guide the way to this happy future."

The democratic ideas of Mykhaylo Drahomaniv had a great influence upon the young Franko. The Austrian regime regarded Drahomaniv as a dangerous revolutionist, and his relations with Drahomaniv caused Franko his first arrest in 1877. This was a major blow to the poet, because the higher society started to regard him as a social outcast and literally to boycott him. He found his only support among the young students. This imprisonment was but one of three and each of them embittered the loyal Austrian subjects who surrounded him. In 1895 these arrests cost him a professorship at Lviv University.

A separate chapter could be written on Franko's attitude toward religion, or to put it better, the clergy. In Franko's youth the clergy formed the larger half of the Ukrainian educated circles and like the other groups of this generation they too were divided by political strife. In Franko's eyes, their numbers did not correspond to the cultural possibilities which they could have rendered to their people. Here Franko was not always right, because the national revival in Galicia had been started and mainly pioneered by the priests. Perhaps the real fact was that the representatives of the more conservative classes saw in him a socialist and a potential revolutionist aiming to destroy the three sacred cornerstones of their society: the church, the family and private ownership. The socialism of the time was not what it is to-day — a party of really bourgeois working classes; it was a fighting doctrine which because of its materialistic ideas had been condemned by the Papal Encyclicals.

As we know, socialism was not only an economic theory but also a philosophy which intruded into religion and ethics, and even the Catholic scholars regarded it as the most serious adversary to Christianity. In the case of Franko, the paradox was that he had a dual personality. He was a typical product of rationalistic scientific socialism, a publicist and a politician, a propagandist for the materialistic point of view and at the same time he was the son of a deeply religious people and a poet who firmly believed in the overpowering force of the spirit. When in 1880 he wrote his revolutionary hymn, it began not with the call to a class struggle but to the idealistic praise of the Spirit:

*The Eternal Revolutionary,
The Spirit, which moves the body to fight,
Moves for progress, happiness and freedom,
It is living, it has not died.*

The struggle between idealism and rationalism is the most characteristic feature of Franko's poetry and here he was only the regular son of his century torn by contradictory ideas. The cycle *Withered Leaves* contains poems which proclaim that only matter is immortal, because no single atom of it can disappear and these atoms are more durable than all the gods of the past and present. Yet the poet is fully conscious of the duality of his soul and he makes this a target for his own irony and mockery. In the moment of despair and suffering, he calls on Satan for help (as Baudelaire did in his *Flowers of Evil*). Satan appears only to laugh at the mere fact that he could have been called: "Ha, ha! Here's a curiosity, a phenomenon of Nature! A sire, a rationalist, an atheist — and he calls the Devil! And even bids his soul. . . Did you not say that the soul is merely the movement of the nerves? How have you now forgotten this?"

Out of the meditation comes the long poem *Ivan Vyshensky*, a Ukrainian monk on Mount Athos, whose ascetic ideas of personal salvation are in conflict with his duties as a patriot. Here the primacy of the Spirit is placed high above all possible materialistic doctrines, and this poem gives us already a foretaste of the soul-shattering disputes between Moses-Jehovah and Moses-Azazel. In *Moses*, the ideal world of the eternal God is pictured with a poignant insight into its philosophical and psychological aspects and the old positivistic doctrines disappear when they are confronted with the eternal problems of the Good and Right.

According to the Bible, Moses left his people and went into the desert for forty days to face God. Franko condensed the series of events into two days. The poem begins with the scene where Moses, after forty years of wandering, faces his people who have been incited against him by Dathan and Abiram, two destructive individuals able to successfully influence the desperate Hebrew masses. Under the threat of stoning him, these men forbid him to speak to the people about the Promised Land and Dathan directly accuses him of being an Egyptian agent and traitor who has brought the Hebrews into the desert in order to destroy them. Despite the prohibition, Moses takes the stand anew and castigates the people for their small-mindedness and cowardice which makes them revolt against their own good. In his anger he threatens them and says that God chose them from all humanity and that it will be their own fault if this gift becomes their curse. Towards nightfall he leaves the encampment for the solitude of the desert, and here under the glimmer of the stars, he asks Jehovah to give to some one else the burden of carrying the terrible majesty of His word. Desperate doubts as to the rightness of his cause commence to assail him and it is at this moment of temptation that Azazel, the dark Demon of the wilderness, appears. He tries to persuade Moses that the fire on Mount Horeb was only his own burning

heart and Jehovah's voice was only the voice of his own pride. All night and all day Moses vainly awaits the comforting voice of Jehovah. When another night comes, Azazel appears again, this time in the form of Moses' mother who unfolds before him the vision of the Promised Land as the scene of bloody and endless fighting. On seeing this, Moses falls down with the cry: "Jehovah fooled us!" The thunder follows and then in the complete and absolute stillness, Jehovah begins to speak—about the primacy of the Spirit:

*Whoever gains all treasures of the world
And gives them all his love.
The same will become their serf,
He will lose the riches of the Spirit.
He who gives you only bread to eat,
He will go to the dung with the bread,
But he who will feed your Spirit,
He will be united with me.*

The poem ends as does the Biblical story: Moses is doomed never to enter the Promised Land because of his momentary lack of trust in God. He dies before the gates to the Promised Land, but the people, awakened by his ideas, rise for the battle. Abiram is stoned to death and Dathan is hanged, and the Hebrews once more start toward the unknown future "to pave the highway for the Spirit."

The poet thus has transformed the Biblical theme and given it a metaphorical meaning. In the Biblical scenes he shows his own life experiences and sufferings, his own struggle with his environment, unconscious of its historical destiny, and finally his own doubts and loss of faith. Here from the ancient theme, he looks forward to the Ukrainian present. In the Prologue to the poem, he reaches his highest note on a tone which had not been uttered since the time of Shevchenko. He shows the vision of the tortured nation, a paralytic lying at the cross roads but destined to rise under the force of the Spirit, to become master of the Ukrainian land from the Carpathians to the Caucasus and to take its rightful place among the free nations.

The novelist M. Kotsyubynsky, a friend of Franko, recalled the unforgettable impression which this poem made on him: "I cannot forget one picture. . . . In his miserable house, he was sitting barefooted behind the table. He was making a net and writing *Moses*. I do not know whether he caught any fish in his net, but he captivated my soul forever with his poem."

The services that Franko rendered to his country were immense. Prof. Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, later the President of the Ukrainian Re-

public, once called the last decades before World War I "the heroic age," because in that period a colossal work was done in Ukraine. The Ukrainian masses were awakened from their lethargic non-existence and became a factor in history. Beside Shevchenko, it was Franko who forged the image of the real Ukraine which was soon to come. It was his ideals that created the first Ukrainian military units at the start of the war, the Sichovi Striltsi (the Ukrainian Legion) which became the nucleus of the future Ukrainian armies. When in 1913 the fortieth jubilee of Franko's literary activity was celebrated everywhere in Ukraine, Hrushevsky certainly had *Moses* in mind when he wrote:

"For forty years of a great feat given to the people, country, nation, Honor and Salute.

"To the great force, immortal and invincible, like the elements of nature, not checked by obstacles, unbroken by blows, unbound by troubles and disappointments, by the sufferings and misfortunes of life.

"To the great spirit, full of treasures of thought and feeling, brilliant, manysided, polished on the grindstone of all-human culture, that reflected all the misery and torments, all the passions and hopes of the native country.

"Looking into the future he dragged his contemporaries along with him. The sadness of his personal life he dissolved in the griefs of his people as they called for the solidarity of the victims and the sufferings. And his song, full of despairing melancholy in the sphere of individual feelings, sounded like a marching song, like a war-cry when he turned toward his people. . ."

Moses, in Franko's poem, bestowed upon his people "the Seal of the Spirit" which was to guide it through the ages. In Ukrainian life, the seal of Franko's spiritual force is still a tremendous creative power, moving the masses to newer and newer hecatombs of sacrifices with the vision of a Promised Land — a free and independent Ukraine.

RED JIM CROWISM—A WEAPON FOR THE WEST

by EDITH KERMIT ROOSEVELT

While the Communist press in this country attacks attempts by Southern states to evade the Supreme Court decision eliminating racial segregation in the schools, inside the Soviet Union itself the Reds are waging the world's most vicious campaign against this basic principle of democracy.

Russian segregation is not limited to racial separation in schools but includes wholesale extermination of non-Russian peoples. Because of this bloody persecution, the several nations and over one hundred smaller racial groups who are victims of Red Jim Crowism constitute the greatest single revolutionary force inside the Soviet Union. The derailment of a Soviet troop train by Ukrainian rebels on May 20 near Shepetivka and the student demonstrations in Tiflis, capital of Georgia, are the most recent evidence of Russian failure to solve her racial and colonial questions. The destruction of the Stalin myth by the Soviet government gave Ukraine, Georgia, and other once independent areas a pretext to express again their smouldering nationalism.

What should be the attitude of the United States towards the oppressed nationalities within the Soviet borders? To date, while the U. S. has opposed colonialism by allies — Great Britain and in the case of the Dutch and Indonesia, this government has ignored the colonialism practised by the Soviet Union, her enemy in the cold war. In view of the political unrest inside the Soviet Union, some politicians and western intelligence officers are calling for a more consistent policy. Plans have long been under wraps to champion the cause of the non-Russian peoples who compose about 50 percent of the population of the USSR. Some strategists even urge a scrapping of the traditional U. S. Policy of non-intervention in Soviet internal affairs in order to effectively counter Russian subversion in the West.

Who are these oppressed peoples and what do they seek from the West? One of the many Soviet colonials agitating for independence is the Ukrainian, Mikola Lebed. His picture was plastered by the Nazis on trees and bulletin boards throughout the Ukraine as one of Ukraine's most wanted "criminals." After the defeat of the Nazis he turned against the

Red Russians. Now Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, the stocky, blue-eyed Lebed was a leader in the Ukrainian Nationalist army that fought both Germans and Russians in World War II. As a leader of nationalist resistance, the now balding guerilla leader still remains a headache to the Reds. The East German Communists placed a price on his head. For within the Soviet borders these



The nationalist fighter Mykola Lebed wanted by Nazi authorities.

colonial peoples stall the Red plans for world conquest by continual revolts and unrest, while outside the Iron Curtain their documented testimony disproves Communist claims to racial equality and leadership of the anti-colonial front.

At his Riverside Drive office in New York City Lebed recently raised a question frequently voiced by escapees.

"Why is it that millions of us, anti-Communist patriots, many of us shoveling the tundra in remote Arctic slave camps, remain the world's forgotten people?"

Lebed pointed out that while Communists attack Western colonialism — a relatively benign and vanishing form of world imperialism — the West is "strangely silent" about Russian colonialism.

"Never forget," he insists, "that we colonials have been waging a fight against Soviet imperialism for 39 years. You Americans would be smart if you would keep Russia busy at home. Then she wouldn't be able to pick a fight."

And how can Russia be kept busy at home?

"By an aggressive propaganda campaign of liberation by the West and funds to the people who want 'home rule' just as American colonials of Great Britain did less than 200 years ago."

Lebed's cause and that of other "forgotten peoples" of the USSR are at last beginning to get a public hearing. Robert F. Kennedy became an ardent champion of Russian colonials after his trip last year to Soviet Central Asia. Kennedy, chief counsel of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, said he believes it is "high time that we in the West understood and spotlighted in the United Nations and in our own propaganda throughout the world this Russian aggression against human freedom."

Rep. Michael A. Feighan (Dem.-Ohio) has introduced congressional resolutions calling for diplomatic recognition of the non-Russian republics of the USSR.

"Communists realize," Feighan said, "that nationalism is the most effective weapon if not the ultimate weapon in the 20th century arsenal. The Reds are using this emotion to create anti-western attitudes. They declare the United States is supporting British suppression in Cyprus and Kenya and French "slaughter" in North Africa in order to draw politically naive areas into their orbit. To offset this Soviet policy," he maintained, "the West must show these countries what happens to non-Russian peoples under Russian communist rule."

However, the State Department has been cool to the idea of exploiting Soviet Russia's nationality problem. Recently the Voice of America dropped two of its nationality language broadcasts while the United States refused to ratify the United Nations genocide convention which opposes racial murder.

The American press, traditionally the protagonist of the underdog, has largely ignored the fate of the Soviet nationalities and racial groups. Sen. Kennedy, in a letter to the *New York Times* January 2, protested its Dec. 23 editorial which singled out Russian imperialism in the Baltic

states and Central Eastern Europe, but skipped Soviet liquidation of four nationalities after World War II,—the Chechen Ingush, the Volga Germans, the Crimean Tatars and the Kalmuks. The Communists disposed of these peoples over the vast expanses of Soviet Asia. Some were sent to develop virgin territory in slave camps in the far North — many thousands perished in cattle cars enroute.

Kennedy chided the *Times* for not mentioning the brutal Communist imperialism practiced in the 1,500,000 (M) square miles which comprise the five republics of Soviet Central Asia. He wrote:



For United Independent Ukrainian State!

This cartoon by Bey-Zot, Ukrainian underground artist is widely circulated in Ukraine. On the national flag, which bears the Trident, the national symbol of Ukraine, is another inscription: — *For Freedom, For Better Life!*

“The peoples (of Soviet Central Asia) are denied local autonomy, for all sources of income, all means of livelihood, all social and political activity are controlled by Moscow.”

In short, the Russian is lording it over the brown and yellow-skinned people — the slant-eyed Turk, Persian and Mongol; he is also domineering over the old civilized peoples of Ukraine, Caucasus and others. And it is logical that the colonial subjects hate their Russian Communist oppressors.

To take advantage of Russia's inept colonial policy, Rep. Charles Kersten (Rep.-Wis.) has called for not only extension of diplomatic relations with these colonies apparently “independent nations” but for

"material aid and moral support to active fighters now struggling for the liberation of the peoples of the Soviet Union... including nationality organizations and groups whose members have an origin or particular interest in the Soviet Union."

During the 83rd Congress, Rep. Kersten headed a committee which investigated Russian acquisition of non-Russian nations.

Prof. Clarence A. Manning of Columbia University, in a magazine article last spring, wrote that Soviet imperialism can be blocked only by "a policy of liberation of the oppressed peoples and the seating of their freely elected representatives in a revamped United Nations."



Excavations of victims of the Russian-Bolshevik terror in Finland.

Under such a plan, the answer to the Soviet request for a UN seat for Outer Mongolia or its other colonies would be then "Certainly, if your representatives are freely elected by the colonials themselves — not their Russian Soviet rulers in Moscow."

Rear Adm. George E. Mentz, for many years a teacher of naval strategy at Annapolis, stresses the strategic importance of Russia's colonies. He said recently "we must never lose sight of the fact that the Moslem countries of the Soviet Union border on the Middle East. These people are loyal to Islam — not Russian Communism. This would be Russia's weak underbelly if war should come."

The Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon's psychological warfare branch should have plans for knifing into this underbelly to prevent an attack on the West. Spokesmen who necessarily must remain anonymous say these include autonomy for the Ukraine, the peoples of the Caucasus, Central Asia and the Far East. Also in the cards is an announcement by the West of the return of land to farmer ownership and a transfer of wealth from the Russian ruling clique to the natives. With such a platform, it is expected the oppressed nationalities would fight for independence. Russian commissars look back in horror to the disintegration of the Russian empire of 1917. During the revolutionary



Ukrainian Women in Lviv Zamarstyniv-prison recognize their husbands and sons murdered by Bolsheviks in 1941.

years, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia and other areas of the USSR set up their own governments.

The ever-present possibility of revolt is a nightmare to red rulers. Even in official Communist newspapers, Soviet leaders continually express concern over their discontented subjects. A. I. Niyazov, head of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, complained recently in *Pravda* that among Uzbek writers and scholars "nationalist survivals were reflected in idealization of the Uzbek people's feudal past... in the desire to overlook and underestimate the great role of the Russian people... and in the attempt at any cost to weaken the inviolable friendship of the peoples of our country."

Only a year ago, Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan admitted love of "nationalism" in Armenia was as strong as ever and as recently as Oct. 20, 1951, the State Department radio reported that a revolt in the Soviet Central Asian republic of Kazakhstan was probably the most serious outbreak in a decade.

Continuing reports of "voluntary deportations of Ukrainians to other regions of the USSR" show that decades of oppression have not broken the spirit of this proud people. On April 8, 1954, the Central Migration Administration of the Ukrainian Ministry of Agriculture announced a "voluntary" migration of the Ukrainians to the Maritime and Khabarovsk territories. The Soviet government hopes deported Ukrainians will mingle with other deportees and there share an interest in developing virgin lands for the benefit of Great Russia.

Unceasing resistance by the Ukrainian underground was revealed when *Red Star*, a Soviet army newspaper, announced May 20, 1954, the arrest and shooting of the agent, Vasily Okhrymovich, identified as "one of the chiefs of the so-called Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists."

Soviet Arctic expert M. A. Sergeev admits in his book on the Soviet Islands and the Pacific that occupying Russian soldiers get Roosky (Russian) go home treatment. Primitive Koryak tribesmen, he reports, pig-headedly refuse to develop proper class feeling against wealthier reindeer breeders. They counter Communist class war slogans with shrewd phrases as "rich and poor live together" or "rich are feeding the poor." Yet the Koryak National areas of the Arctic have political importance because they are near both the United States and Japan.

And no wonder Russian Communists are so despised. For outside of Moscow, in the hinterlands, the most ignorant Ivan as a member of the new Russian master race, is entitled to special privileges denied the natives. Sen. Kennedy told newsmen in October after his visit to Soviet Central Asia that the Russians treated the yellow and brown skinned peoples of Central Asia as inferiors.

"In every city we visited in Central Asia, the schools were segregated," he said. "The Russian school children in one school, the local children in another."

And according to Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, who accompanied Kennedy on his trip, in the Communist party ranks and in the professions, Russians get the best jobs.

Harrison Salisbury, former Moscow correspondent for the *New York Times*, described Soviet Russia's contempt for non-Russian races in an article Sept. 29, 1954:

"They always have a laugh or a sneer for Georgians and Armenians. They have special 'Armenian' and 'Georgian' jokes. . . How deep racial

pride goes you can easily see if you listen to the derogatory remarks of a Russian woman about a friend who has married, for example, an Asiatic Uzbek or a citizen of Azerbaijan."

Testimony of emigre leaders before the Kersten committee shows the Jews are the special whipping boys of *Homo Sovieticus*, this new master race. Mikola Abramchik, president of the Rada of the Byelorussian democratic government in exile, made available to the committee an MVD document which revealed the murder by the Soviet government of 13,325 persons, mostly Byelorussians. The document showed, however, that the Soviet government was still dissatisfied with the work of its diligent gauleiter, Brig. Military Jurist A. Kiselev. A report signed by the assistant military prosecutor of the Leningrad military district charged the luckless Kiselev with a "criminally irresponsible attitude toward the important work entrusted to him" because he had failed to prosecute six Jews who were allegedly "members of an espionage organization existing in Minsk among Jewish clerics."

The American Jewish League against Communism has completed research exposing the mass murder of thousands of Jews during World War II. According to the League, at least 78,000 Jews vanished in Vitebsk alone in 1942 before the Nazis entered the city.

Communist suspicion of Jewish disloyalty is apparent by their barring Jewish technicians from strategic plants in border areas of the USSR.

The Ukraine, particularly Western Ukraine with its strong separatist tradition, has been also a special target for Russianization by murder. A House Select Committee on Communist aggression in its report HR 2684, reported that at Vinnitsya alone 10,000 persons were put to death and buried in mass graves in a single year (1937-1938). An eye witness, Zenon Pelenskyj, produced atrocity photographs for the committee record.

One of these showed the remnants of a merry-go-round and park atop the graves. Pelenskyj testified:

"The Soviet government had a 'people's recreation park' or 'laughing cabinet' consisting of convex and concave mirrors over these graves. Over every one of these graves was constructed a laughing cabinet and over every two graves a platform for dancing and people danced there, not knowing there were corpses underneath."

Naturally, the Ukrainians don't join in macabre Communist humor at their expense. It's testimony like this that explains the Soviet Union's drive to get its emigres to return home. This explains the recent kidnapping in West Germany of Dr. Alexander Trushnovich and the murder of "Fatilibey," an employee of Radio Liberation. For the Soviet government is so terrified the West will learn the real truth about this system

that it does not stop short of murder, blackmail and kidnapping to silence witnesses of its crimes. But although the Red bosses have stamped it top secret the truth about race discrimination is gradually leaking out to the world at large.

Even Red China is viewing with jaundiced eye Russian treatment of Mongols and Chinese nationals within the USSR. In the light of Mongol unrest reported in *Pravda* it should be remembered that in 1936 Mao Tse Tung promised after the Chinese revolution "the Outer Mongolian Republic will automatically become a part of the Chinese federation." Yet today it is a Soviet Colony and as such a bone of contention between Russians and Chinese. C. L. Sulzberger wrote in the *New York Times*, Feb. 15, that the Chinese people still hope to get Outer Mongolia back.

"Despite police controls and censorship they (the Chinese people) still disseminate strange rumors. They even spread the crazy tale last year that Moscow planned to retrocede its maritime provinces." It is Peiping, the *Times* Correspondent noted, that has kept Kremlin out of the "Bandung bloc" of Afro-Asian nations, evidence of Chinese distrust of Russian imperialism.

The United States could have used the day designated by Communists as "anti-colonialism day" to bring up in the United Nations the question of Russian enslavement also of Outer Mongolia. Instead, this country waited for the Communists to denounce U. S. support of Goa pictured as belonging to India and Macao presented as belonging to China. At present neutralist nations are shocked by headlines about the young negro woman, Miss Lucy, and her gallant fight to remain at the University of Alabama. Would not U. S. diplomats do well at this time to publicize the Russian drive to create a White Soviet Far East? For Russia not only bars Asiatics from her Pacific coastline under her restrictive immigration policy but is even eliminating the Far Eastern races already there.

Victims of Soviet racism include the Koreans concentrated in the Vladivostok area, the Japanese of Kamchatka, Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands and the Chinese of the Amur and Ussuri regions. Chinese who have been Soviet colonials relate how abusive terms are used against them such as "Kitayeza" and "Chan-Kai-Shi" (the Russian version of Chang Kai-Shek). With official connivance Russians have lynched Chinese workmen in the agricultural machinery plants at Khabarovsk and the shipbuilding yards of Vladivostok. Soviet administration in the Far East as elsewhere in the USSR wages a ruthless war against native culture, religion and traditions. Soviet author I. M. Suslov in his book *Shamanism and the Fight Against It* writes how the Shamans or native

priests in Siberia are forced to register and answer such questions as: What sort of cult objects do you possess? Drums? Costumes? Are you a tamer of snowstorms? Do you hold collective seances? What is your social origin? Detailed dossiers on these "wreckers" are sent at least twice a year to the Central Council of Militant Godless, Moscow.

In order that U. S. propaganda can give wide publicity to such facts, six house members urged Feb. 21 that the U. S. information program be expanded to provide a "more dynamic" answer to Communist propaganda. Signing the statement were Reps. Alvin M. Bentley (Rep.-Mich.), Thomas J. Dodd (Dem.-Conn.), Michael A. Feighan (Dem.-O.), Patrick J. Hillins (Rep.-Calif.), Thaddeus M. Machrowicz (Dem.-Mich.), and Ray J. Madden (Dem.-Ind.).

Several high State Department specialists believe that the Voice of America should expand its language broadcasts to the USSR. They urge the resumption of broadcasts in Tatar and Azerbaijani and the scheduling of additional broadcasts in the Kazak, Tadzhik, Turkmen, Circasian and Kurdish languages.

Recently VOA initiated a 15-minute broadcast in Uzbek from Munich. But some officials believe the Soviet Union's 5 million Uzbeks should receive more attention in the information program. Said one official:

"The Uzbeks represent the largest non-Slav group in Soviet Russia. They have a strong separate state tradition. After their independent government collapsed in 1918, they formed the Basmachi movement, an organized bandit resistance which lasted for several years. Broadcasts to these people, should therefore receive equal priority with Russian languages from the Soviet radio."

Another official stressed the importance of these nationality groups to the political picture in the Middle East, the area where oil-rich Moslem countries are presently cool to the West. This official pointed out that the Kurds and the Circassians, two nationalities present in both the Middle East and the USSR can now receive only broadcasts in their languages from the Soviet radio.

Rep. Kersten has said repeatedly that the countries of Asia, Africa and the Middle East will be strongly influenced by Soviet Russia's treatment of her colonies. He insists it is up to the Voice and other USA agencies, private as well as public, to tell the world that Communism is in effect a twisted form of Russian chauvinism. In a speech at Georgetown University where he devotes full time to research on Soviet Colonialism, Kersten said:

"We must support the desire of Soviet colonials for self-rule and freedom if we wish to avoid a third world war."

PROF. BORYS KRUPNYTSKY

Obituary

Word has been received from Munich that on June 5, after a long illness, Professor Borys Krupnytsky, a collaborator with our journal and one of the most distinguished Ukrainian historians of this generation, passed away. Borys Krupnytsky was born in Medvedivka, county of Chyhyryn near Kiev. He completed his preparatory studies in Cherkasy and then entered the Historical-Philological Faculty of the University of St. Volodymyr in Kiev. He was there when the revolution broke out and like the rest of the Ukrainian youth, he put himself at the service of the Ukrainian National Republic. After the fall of the Ukrainian democratic state and the communization of Ukraine, he emigrated to Germany where he continued his studies in Berlin. He obtained at the University of Berlin the degree of Doctor of Philosophy on the basis of his thesis on Prussian-Ukrainian relations in the 17th century. His further historical studies revolved around the history of Ukraine at the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century. He studied especially the period of Hetman Mazepa and the first Ukrainian political emigration under the leadership of Hetman Pylyp Orlyk.

He soon became Professor of the Ukrainian Free University in Prague and later in Munich. Before World War II he was also a collaborator with the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin.

For his scholarly works he was named an active member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences and a member of the International Free Academy of Arts and Sciences in Paris.

Prof. Krupnytsky belonged to that Ukrainian school of historians which accepted as its basis the historical views of Prof. Mykhaylo Hrushevsky as to the three historical streams in the past of the three nations of the East Slavic group but added to these their own revisions as to the internal history of Ukraine. He was a historian of the state and studied the development of the ambitions of the Ukrainian people during the centuries to establish and defend their own state. He rejected and corrected the views of Prof. Hrushevsky on the role of the masses in the history of Ukraine. His scholarly sympathies were toward the traditional form of the Ukrainian monarchy, the hetmanate.

In his historical studies Prof. Krupnytsky showed great historical intuition and he wrote in an interesting manner. For several years he had been also a collaborator with *The Ukrainian Quarterly*; the preceding number of this journal contained his article on the Ukrainian-Swedish Treaties in the time of Ivan Mazepa. With the death of Prof. Krupnytsky, Ukrainian historical science has suffered a heavy loss.

N. CHUBATY

QUARTERLY CHRONICLE OF UKRAINIAN LIFE

I. IN UKRAINE BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY IS STILL FIGHTING AGAINST MOSCOW

The United Press under the date of June 5, 1956, reports from Vienna that Ukrainian Insurgents who have been steadily fighting for 12 years against the domination of Moscow over Ukraine, mined on May 20th a railroad track near Shepetivka, west of Kiev on the Lviv-Kiev line and destroyed a Soviet military train carrying troops and ammunition to the west. Later there was a pitched battle between regular troops of the MVD and heavily armed Ukrainian insurgents. Both sides suffered heavy losses.

AN AMNESTY IS OFFERED TO THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENTS

The *Kurier*, a monthly magazine in Vienna, reported that on April 28 several local radio stations in Soviet Ukraine issued appeals to the "Ukrainian dissidents," calling upon them to return to normal life in their localities. They would receive an amnesty for the era of Stalinism had passed and new life was now beginning in Ukraine.

THE NATIONAL ELEMENT IN THE SOVIET CONCENTRATION CAMPS

German eye-witnesses fully corroborate the argument advanced by the ABN *Correspondence* (April-May, 1955) that the ethnic Russian (Muscovite) element constitutes only a negligible minority in the Soviet concentration camps, around 10% of the concentration camp occupants. The actual figure seems to be even lower according to German testimony. On the whole the following list appears to be the most reliable:

Ukrainians 45%; Baltic nationals 15% (of whom the majority are Lithuanians); Caucasian 15% (of whom the majority are Chechens and members of other peoples victimized during the Soviet genocide in 1945); Turkestanians 17%; Russians 8%.

As regards the Ukrainian interests, it is generally estimated that they constitute 40 percent of the total number of internees in the Vorkuta camps (between the upper course of the River Pechora and Barents Sea), 50 per cent of the internees in the Karaganda concentration camps (North Turkestan) and 60 per cent of the internees in the Kingir concentration camps (likewise in North Turkestan). Internees from West Ukrainian districts predominate as regards numbers, but this, of course, does not imply that they represent an absolute majority among the Ukrainians.

THE DEATH OF A UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC MONSIGNOR IN SIBERIA

The Philadelphia weekly, *The Way*, reports that there has died in Siberia in a Soviet concentration camp Monsignor Omelyan Gorchynsky, Rector of the Cathedral Metropolitan Church of St. George in Lviv. Father Gorchynsky was one of the

300 prominent Ukrainian Catholic priests, who gathered in the Cathedral of St. George after the arrest of Joseph Slipy, Metropolitan of Halich and Western Ukraine with four bishops, and demanded in a memorandum to the Kremlin the release of the bishops and freedom of faith for the Ukrainian Catholics. All were arrested; some were immediately liquidated and others sent to concentration camps.

SOVIET MISUSE OF THE CENTENARY OF THE BIRTH OF IVAN FRANKO

Just as the Kremlin tried to use the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav which began the domination of Ukraine by Moscow, (not always with success) as a means of strengthening Moscow's control over Ukraine, so this year the Kremlin is attempting by grandiose celebrations of the anniversary of Franko, to create the illusion in Ukraine and the entire world that Ukraine has the opportunity to celebrate on a large scale the anniversary of this Great Ukrainian.

A Republic Franko Committee has been formed in Kiev under the leadership of M. P. Bazhan, the troubadour of the Kremlin. District committees have been formed in all the districts. The celebrations have included the scientific and artistic world of Ukraine. There is planned Jubilee Congress of the Union of Ukrainian Soviet Writers in Kiev, Lviv, and the native village of Franko, Nahuyevychi, district of Drohobych, the name of which has been changed to the "Village of Ivan Franko."

These official preparations show the colonial spirit of the celebration. These actual plans are set out in a propaganda pamphlet issued by the Soviet government and written by Denys Lukyanovych, a Polonophile during the period of Polish rule, and now a servant of Moscow. This pamphlet presents Franko as a Communist, a militant atheist especially opposed to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, which the Kremlin liquidated officially by force in 1946. Franko who was educated fully on Western European literature, is presented now as a disciple of the Muscovite writers, Herzen, Belinsky, Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov and Pisarev. Franko, the author of the second Ukrainian national anthem "It is not the time, not the time to serve the Moskal or the Pole" is presented as a friend of Russia.

THE WORLDWIDE COUNCIL OF PEACE IS USING FOR PROPAGANDA A SOVIETIZED FRANKO

The Soviet agency TASS early in May reported from Moscow that "the Worldwide Council of Peace," a well-known pro-Soviet organization with its seat in Moscow, has adopted a resolution to celebrate on a large scale the jubilee of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ivan Franko. Obviously it will be propaganda for the falsified "Sovietized" Franko.

THE PREPARATION OF A FILM IVAN FRANKO

On the occasion of the centenary of the birth of Ivan Franko, the greatest Ukrainian poet after Taras Shevchenko and the ideologist of Ukrainian independence, the Kiev movie studio is preparing an artistic film in color *Ivan Franko*, to represent his life from 1878 to 1905. The scenario was written by Leonid Smilyansky and the director is Timothy Levchuk.

The Ukrainian free world is awaiting impatiently this film for it will show how heavy the hand of imperialistic Moscow is still weighing in the post Stalin period on Ukraine in the realm of its spiritual life. A similar biographical Soviet film *Taras Shevchenko* from the Stalin period was a scandalous perversion of the ideology of the greatest Ukrainian poet and the awakener of the Ukrainian people.

THE CONGRESS OF UKRAINIAN COMPOSERS IN KIEV

At the end of March, 1956, there was held in Kiev the Third Congress of Composers from the whole of Ukraine. The journal *Soviet Ukraine* emphasizing in this connection as satisfactory the creative work of only some composers as B. Latoshynsky, S. Lyudkevych, M. Kolessa, B. Homolyaka, A. Shtoharenko, H. Veryovka and a few others, expresses dissatisfaction that the composers of Ukraine are not composing works which glorify the socialist revolution in Ukraine and the establishment of the Soviet government. The paper lays the blame on the Ministry of Culture in Kiev, and expresses the hope that the resolutions of the XX Congress of the Communist Party will give the Ukrainian composers more inspiration.

THE DEDICATION OF A MONUMENT ON THE GRAVE OF K. H. STETSENKO

In the village of Vepryk, not far from Kiev, a monument has been unveiled on the grave of the Ukrainian composer K. H. Stetsenko at the expense of the Society of Ukrainian Composers. The head of the Society K. Dankevych opened the gathering. The well-known composers S. Lyudkevych of Lviv and P. Kozytsky of Kiev delivered addresses.

A MONUMENT ON THE GRAVE OF THE PAINTER IVAN TRUSH

A monument was dedicated on the grave of the outstanding painter Ivan Trush in Lviv on the 15th anniversary of his death. Ivan Trush was a friend of Ivan Franko, and Vasyl Stefanyk and was through marriage related to Lesya Ukrainka.

BULGANIN RECEIVES PATRIARCH ALEXIY AND METROPOLITAN NIKOLAY

On March 26, the Premier of the Soviet government Bulganin received in a special audience Patriarch Alexiy and his representative Metropolitan Nikolay. The press does not mention the topics discussed but we must imagine that the subject was the intended journey of Soviet clergymen to England at the start and to the United States in June of this year.

THE SEMINAR OF ATHEISTS IN KIEV

There was held in Kiev a six-day seminar of propagandists of "scientific atheism." The methods of atheistic propaganda were discussed. It is to be noted that the Kremlin has increased the propaganda of atheism more in Ukraine than in the Russian republic of the USSR., hoping by atheism to disrupt morally the Ukrainian people and thus destroy the unconquered "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." On the other hand the Kremlin is protecting the Russian Orthodox Church, a fact shown by the many trips of representatives of the Moscow Patriarch outside the borders of the USSR.

UKRAINE THE CENTRE OF CORN PRODUCTION

On March 25, 1956 a Corn Research Institute for the whole of the Soviet Union was opened in Dnipropetrovske.

THE UKRAINIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES IS STUDYING ATOMIC ENERGY

On March 5 there was opened in Kiev a meeting of the appropriate institutes of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences for preliminary studies in the peaceful use of atomic energy in the economy of Ukraine.

II. UKRAINIAN LIFE ABROAD OF UKRAINE

THE DAUGHTER OF IVAN FRANKO WILL SPEAK IN WINNIPEG

A Congress of the Ukrainians of Canada will be held in the first days of July in Winnipeg to celebrate the One Hundredth Anniversary of the birth of Ivan Franko. The daughter of the great poet who is now living in the emigration in Toronto, Canada, will speak on July 6 at the Congress. We hope that the daughter of Ivan Franko will revive in the free world the ideas and memory of the creator of modern Ukrainianism now perverted in the official celebrations in Kiev by order of the Kremlin.

PROF. M. HLOBENKO ON THE FALSIFICATION OF IVAN FRANKO IN THE SOVIETS

In connection with the centenary of the birth of Ivan Franko the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Sarcelles, France, arranged a Scholarly Conference in honor of its Active and Honorary Member and long time Director of the Philological Section. The address of Prof. M. Hlobenko on the "Crisis in the Study of Franko" was especially interesting. He gave a detailed analysis of the way in which official Soviet science is falsifying the ideological views of Ivan Franko. A proof of this is the new 20 volume edition of the works of Ivan Franko in which anti-Russian passages are omitted as "inorganic mistakes of the poet."

It is to be noticed that in this Soviet edition of the works of Franko there are passages where the word "Russia" has been replaced by "Austria" when there is a reference to the oppression of the Ukrainian people by Russia.

A UKRAINIAN DAY IN DETROIT UNIVERSITY

Under the sponsorship of the International Institute of Students a Day of Ukrainian Culture was arranged in the early part of June with a performance of Ukrainian choral singing, music and Ukrainian dances. A special exhibition of Ukrainian folk art illustrated the Ukrainian national creative spirit. The celebration was opened by the head of the Institute, an Indian, P. Pushparay. Prof. Kasiyamori arranged the program. Rev. Prof. Horoshko of Windsor, Canada, gave an address on "Soviet Imperialism." The artistic selections were rendered by local Ukrainian talents.

MANIFESTATIONS AGAINST THE VISIT OF SOVIET CLERGY TO AMERICA

The Soviet delegation of Soviet clergy who came to the United States in the beginning of June to repay the visit to the USSR of representatives of the World Council of Churches were met by stormy demonstrations especially by emigres from the USSR, whose churches have been savagely persecuted behind the iron curtain. These manifestations took place in New York at the Idlewild Airport, in New Haven, Cleveland and Philadelphia. The larger part of the demonstrators were American Ukrainians; also various American Protestant organizations which were opposed to the visit of the Soviet clergy, the emissaries of the Kremlin, took part.

Archbishop *Mstyslav* of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the United States celebrated a special Requiem in New York for the souls of the tens of bishops of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Greek Catholic Churches

who had been murdered by the Kremlin. He also published in the newspapers a letter on this as the archbishop of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

The New York Times (June 9) published a letter of the editor of this publication to the Editor of *Times* discovering the role of Metropolitan Nikolai, the leader of Soviet clergy-delegation to the U. S. in the persecutions of Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox as well.

AN APOSTOLIC LETTER OF POPE PIUS XII ON THE 1000TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BAPTISM OF ST. OLHA, PRINCESS OF RUS'-UKRAINE

At the end of the Jubilee Year of the 1000th Anniversary of the Baptism of St. Olha, the first Christian princess of Kievan Rus'-Ukraine, His Holiness, Pope Pius XII issued on February 20 an Apostolic Letter addressed to all bishops of the Eastern Catholic Rite of the Ukrainian people — in exile in the Soviet concentration camps and in the prison of the Communists and the bishops in the United States, Canada and Jugoslavia. His Holiness emphasized the severe persecutions of the Ukrainian Catholics at the present time and predicted the great mission of this long-suffering people in the future appointed by the Providence of God.

A SCHOLARLY CONFERENCE IN SARCELLES DEVOTED TO QUESTIONS OF THE RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS IN UKRAINE

The Shevchenko Scientific Society in Sarcelles, France has held in two sessions in January and April a scholarly Conference devoted to scientific research on the religious policy of Moscow in Ukraine. 15 scholars, chiefly historians, interested in the life of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Catholic Churches, presented reports. The majority of these were on a high scholarly level.

AN EXHIBITION OF THE WORKS OF ALEXANDER ARCHIPENKO IN GERMANY

After 25 years of work across the ocean, Alexander Archipenko, the world-famous Ukrainian sculptor, had an exhibition of his works in several cities of Western Germany and in Berlin in the castle Charlottenbourg. The exhibition was organized by Erich Bize, the Director of the Museum in Darmstadt. Archipenko showed more than 100 of his statues and gave the art world the possibility of comparing his work of 25 years ago in Germany and his work in the United States.

A CONFERENCE OF THE NON-RUSSIAN PEOPLES OF THE USSR IN THE USA

Through the initiative of the Ukrainian Congress Committee there was held in New York on May 26 at the Hotel New Yorker a gathering of representatives of the non-Russian peoples enslaved by Moscow to draw up a permanent incorporated organization of American citizens originally from the non-Russian peoples of the USSR. The organization will undertake to help the liberation of the countries of their ancestors from the colonial domination of Moscow. In the conference were representatives of the Armenians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Idel-Uralians, Cossacks and Ukrainians. It is hoped to include also representatives of the other nations of the USSR.

THE DEATH OF THE JOURNALIST IVAN NIMCHUK

In Edmonton, Canada, there died on May 1, 1956, the most prominent Ukrainian journalist, Dr. Ivan Nimchuk, a native of Western Ukraine. Ivan Nimchuk finished his studies in the University of Vienna and took part in the Ukrainian struggle for liberation in World War I. After the ending of the war he devoted himself entirely to journalism, chiefly as one of the editors of the largest Ukrainian newspaper *Dilo (Work)* in Lviv. With the coming of the Bolsheviks to Lviv in 1939, he was arrested and for two years was in the well-known Bolshevik prison Lubyanka in Moscow. He described the terrible scenes of those two years in his memoirs. Before the second advance of the Bolsheviks to Lviv (1944), he went to the West and later to Canada where he worked for the Catholic publication *Ukrainian News*. He was marked by his great journalistic ability, his industry and his deep attachment to the idea of the liberation of Ukraine.

UKRAINIAN EMIGRE AN INSTRUCTOR IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

On the recommendation of the Department of Mathematics, Volodymyr Petryshyn of Paterson, New Jersey, has been appointed Instructor in Mathematics at the Columbia University. Dr. Petryshyn commenced his studies in Lviv, completed them in Germany and came to the United States in 1950.

A FELLOWSHIP FOR THE STUDY OF UKRAINIAN-SWEDISH RELATIONS

A Ukrainian emigre, the historian Dr. Bohdan Kentrzhynsky, has received from the state "Swedish Humanities Fund" a fellowship for further studies in the archives of Western Europe of the Swedish-Ukrainian relations in the time of Charles X Gustave, a contemporary of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and an ally of Ukraine. Dr. Kentrzhynsky has already written a work on this subject on the basis of material found in the Swedish archives.

A NEW UKRAINIAN NEWSPAPER IN CHICAGO

On May 6, 1956 there appeared in Chicago a new biweekly paper in the Ukrainian language, *Ukrainian Life*, edited by M. Semchyshyn. It is published by the organization "Teachers Association in Chicago."

DUTCH AND PORTUGUESE FRIENDS OF UKRAINE

The fact that the Soviet leaders, N. Khrushchev and N. Bulganin, have been repeating over and over in India, in Burma, at the session of the Supreme Soviet and at the reception to Premier Mollet the hypocritical statement that the Soviet Communists will fight any kind of colonialism and stand for the national and social liberation and independence of all the peoples of the world, this in spite of their colonial oppression of Ukraine and the other peoples of the USSR, makes it necessary for the Free World to organize a moral crusade for the real liberation of all peoples, especially the century-long oppressed peoples of Soviet Russia and the satellites of Central and Eastern Europe. A good beginning in this has been made by the establishment in the Netherlands and Portugal of the Dutch Friends of Ukraine and the Portuguese Friends of Ukraine.

The former organization was initiated by a group of Dutch scholars and statesmen including Prof. Zacharias Antonisse of the University of Nijmegen, Very Rev. Ir. Bemelmans, the industrialist F. Cremers, Prof. Ir. Dewez, Rev. Jelsma, author and journalist; A. Th. Mertens, author and editor, Senator A. Roebroek and Mme Dra. Roebroek-Peltenburg, J. Timmermans, author of the book *Friends of East Europe*, and Mr. Voers.

The Dutch Friends of Ukraine announced that the purpose of their organization was "to cultivate friendship and good relations between the Dutch and Ukrainian peoples." The society was started January 14, 1956 by nine members and by the end of May had over 200 prominent Dutch enthusiasts on its list. Its sole purpose is to cultivate solidarity and to support Ukraine, the most oppressed nation of the Soviet Union, in its fight for national liberation and full independence.

The initiative for the establishment of the Portuguese Friends of Ukraine came from a group of outstanding Portuguese leaders in Lisbon including Rt. Rev. Msgr. A. Goncalves, director of the Lisbon daily *Novidades*, P. Correia Marques, a prominent columnist and commentator and editor of the Lisbon daily *Voz*, Dr. J. Ameal, historian and philosopher and a member of the Portuguese Parliament, Francisco Costa, poet and novelist, Silva Dias, director of the National Radio of Portugal, Dr. R. Valadao of the Secretariado Nacional da Informacao and J. M. de Almeida, journalist.

Mr. A. Kishka of Madrid, the author and promoter of the Associations of Friends of the Oppressed Nations, in commenting upon the establishment of the Portuguese Friends of Ukraine, declared: "In my contact with the Portuguese leaders I found that the approach by which the Portuguese initiated this work must be considered unique. When I was on my way to Lisbon, I realized that Portugal is far away from Ukraine and had never maintained relations with it; I knew of course that such outstanding personalities as His Excellency F. Cento and His Excellency H. Antoniutti, Apostolic Nuncios in Lisbon and Madrid respectively, had taken an active interest in my mission, but I also knew that the establishment of such an association in Portugal would be a difficult undertaking. On the other hand I trusted for help from Our Lady of Fatima. I consider that the establishment of the Association was a first step by Our Lady of Fatima for the salvation of Russia through the liberation of the peoples whom

it now enslaves. The establishment of the Association must be considered a powerful weapon in the struggle for the salvation of Russia. I told my Portuguese Friends of Ukraine that by creating the Association they showed that they possessed the traditional talent for discovery inherent in the Portuguese nation, because they had uncovered the real fact that the difficulties of the world had their root in the enslavement of Eastern Europe."

In our opinion Mr. Kishka's approach is absolutely correct because George Fedotov, the great Russian historian and philosopher and the ideologist of the new Russian Orthodoxy, had the same conviction that through the liberation of the enslaved nations of the Red Russian Empire the Russian nation would also itself be liberated from the burden of holding over one hundred million non-Russians in slavery and would thus find a favorable opportunity for developing its own talents and true Christian democratic liberties.

The purposes and aims of the Portuguese Friends of Ukraine were widely discussed in such Lisbon newspapers as *Voz*, *Novidades*, and *Diario de Noticias*, as well as over the Portuguese radio. Its purposes were summarized as follows: "To provide the world with true information on Ukraine; to contribute to the establishment of friendly relations between Portugal and Ukraine."

The plan of establishing associations of friendship between the free nations of the Western world and the nations enslaved at present by Communist Moscow and her associates is the beginning of an idealistic Christian crusade of truth so as to unmask the Red Russian hypocrisy. Moscow is endeavoring to pose as the liberator of the former colonial peoples which have already been liberated or are being liberated, while she is carrying on a worse colonial oppression of at least fifteen nations with a thousand year old tradition and culture.

We need only refer to Ukraine, a talented nation of southeastern Europe which has an old tradition of relations with the Greek classic world and is this year celebrating the thousandth anniversary of its own Christianity. That nation, which spread the Gospel to the whole of Eastern Europe, is today deprived by Moscow of even the most primitive possibilities for developing its own national life.

Ukraine, the richest country in Europe, is exposed to the most brutal exploitation by the central government of the Russian Colonial Empire.

The establishment of these two associations of friendship for Ukraine in the Netherlands and Portugal (the first of their kind) was cordially welcomed by Ukrainians throughout the world. The Ukrainian Catholic bishop, His Excellency Neil Savaryn of Western Canada wrote to the Dutch Friends of Ukraine: "Your program is idealistic and noble. In your great work, always bear in mind the great problem of the re-Christianization of Eastern Europe in which Ukraine holds the key position."

The same prince of the Church welcomed the establishment of the Portuguese Friends of Ukraine with the words: "In this great work can be foreseen our next mission in Eastern Europe which was so forcibly proclaimed to the world by the Mother of God in Fatima."

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, the central organization of a million Americans of Ukrainian descent wrote on the occasion of the establishment of the Dutch and Portuguese Friends of Ukraine the following: "You have expressed your conviction and political wisdom that your sympathy with the enslaved nation of Ukraine is a potent psychological weapon, which, when properly and wisely utilized, may prove to be an invincible NATO leading to a peaceful liberation of all nations enslaved by the Soviet Union." N. CHUBATY

BOOK REVIEWS

LITERARY POLITICS IN THE SOVIET UKRAINE, 1917-1934, by George S. N. Luckyj, Columbia University Press, New York, 1956, 323 p. \$5.75.

In the introduction to his book, Dr. Luckyj states that the purpose of his study is to "determine accurately the course of Party policy toward Ukrainian literature and also to assess the nature and the extent of the resistance to this policy." Thus the author places the emphasis "on the political rather than esthetic significance" of the works of the period which is usually called by Ukrainian critics the Ukrainian Literary Renaissance of the twenties.

The Revolution of 1917 in Ukraine liberated all the national forces developed during the nineteenth century despite the cruel oppression of Russian Tsarism — the "prison of nations." In the first chapter, Dr. Luckyj gives a brief outline of the spontaneous movement of the Ukrainians for their own independent political life. After the proclamation of its independence in 1918, the young Ukrainian state continued the unequal struggle against the Russian Communists, the true followers of the old-fashioned Moscow imperialistic policy as established by Tsar Ivan the Terrible and his successors. In the long struggle (1918-1921) Ukraine was plundered, devastated and finally occupied by the Russian Communists. In the new conditions Ukrainian efforts were directed to the cultural, rather than to the political, sphere. During the twenties, while the Communists did not have the power to become overwhelming masters, the Ukrainian efforts achieved astounding success. In chapters three, four and five Dr. Luckyj scrupulously gathers all literary facts and details into a structural scheme which shows how the relatively easy conditions of that time produced a remarkable Ukrainian Renaissance in all spheres of life. The literary organizations such as Pluh (1922-), Hart (1923-), VAPLITE (1925-), Lanka (1924-), Mars (1926-), VUSPP (1927-), Prolitform (1929-) and others grouped Ukrainian writers and poets. Dr. Luckyj discusses, frequently in detail, the aspirations of these literary organizations, their common aim to develop Ukrainian culture, their "deviations" and the reactions of the Party to these "deviations." He objectively looks at "rightists" and "leftists," even on those national Communists who, serving red Moscow, sometimes courageously defended the right of a free development of Ukrainian culture.

While the literary organizations Pluh and Hart attracted wide membership, and were less strong with regards to the qualifications of their writers, VAPLITE laid its emphasis on quality and artistic criteria, at the same time claiming for Ukraine equal rights with Russia. No wonder that VAPLITE found its natural allies in the Kievan Neoclassicists, true representatives of high poetical art.

The so-called Literary Discussion during the years 1925-1928 summarized the results of almost a decade of Ukrainian Literary Renaissance in the 1920-ies. Initiated by Mykola Khvylovy and supported by Mykola Zerov, this Discussion indicated the road to be followed by an independent and highly developed Ukrainian culture.

Khvylovy's views were definitely anti-Moscow. He stated:

"Since our literature at last can follow its own path of development, we are faced with the following question: "Toward which of the world's literatures should it orient itself?" On no account toward the Russian... Our poetry (literature — Y. S.) must run away as fast as possible from Russian literature and its styles... The point is that Russian literature has been burdening us for ages; it has been the master of the situation, who has trained us to imitate him slavishly. Thus if we try to feed our young art with it, we shall impede its development... Our orientation is toward Western European art, its style and its techniques." (p. 98).

Khvylovyi's main opposition to Russian literature lay in the fact that "the Russian literature is above all the literature of pessimism or rather passive pessimism" (p. 99).

Thus Khvylovy, a national-Communist himself, "had courage to speak and write about independence of Ukrainian culture" (p. 66).

Supporting Khvylovy and his policy, Zerov, a leader of the Kievan Neoclassicists, called *To the Sources!* By this he meant that the broad way of Ukrainian culture leads toward its traditional connections with the West and especially toward the yet unexhausted sources of classical literature, being a repository of the eternal spiritual values and the foundation of European cultural unity, of which Ukraine in the past had been a component part.

Perhaps the main figure of the twenties, Khvylovy influenced Volobuev, an economist, who paraphrased the slogan *Away from Moscow and her culture: to Away from Moscow's economy!* At the same time another leading Ukrainian national-Communist Shumsky, encouraged by Khvylovy's activity, demanded less dependence on Moscow's directives and quicker Ukrainization of the industrial areas of Ukraine. Thus, in all fields of life — cultural, social and even political — there prevailed a spontaneous movement — away from Moscow! Let Ukraine be independent!

Stalin and his associates tried to interfere in this movement but with no effect. Finally he gave the signal for a general attack upon the rapidly growing Ukraine. In 1932 all literary organizations were dissolved (some of them had been dissolved much earlier). In their place a single centralized Union of Soviet Writers was to be formed. This "great change," according to Dr. Luckyj's definition, stopped all free expression. Two years later, over two hundred Ukrainian writers were denounced by the Communist press, arrested and accused as "traitors" or "enemies of the people" and executed or deported to concentration camps. Khvylovy and others committed suicide. Now all authors in Ukraine under the Soviets are compelled to write and think only what and as Moscow dictates.

Dr. Luckyj's study is of great value. The author shows in it the wide range of complications and various tactical changes of the Communist Party towards a Ukrainian literature which had reached a high level during the twenties. This is a very useful book not only for sociologists and literary historians, but also for those who are trying to dissolve the Communist danger in our free world.

The book has an index and appendices — translation of documents and papers dealing with the Communist Party policy toward Ukraine and her culture.

Monterey

YAR SLAVUTYCH

LETZTE AUFZEICHNUNGEN by Alfred Rosenberg. Plesse-Verlag, Frankfurt a/M., 1955.

Last year there was a scandal at the Buchmesse in Frankfurt on Main when some publishers overturned the stand of their Goettingen colleague, K. W. Schuetz,

and compelled him to withdraw from the fair. The main reason was that his company, the Plesse-Verlag, had on exhibition the memoirs which Alfred Rosenberg, the former German Reichsminister, had written during his imprisonment in Nuremberg. Plesse had published these under the title *Letzte Aufzeichnungen. — Ideale und Idole der national-sozialistischen Revolution* (Last Notes. — Ideals and Idols of the National-Socialist Revolution).

Rosenberg, a German Balt by birth, was the chief ideological expert of the Nazi Party and during the German-Soviet War Hitler's Reichsminister for the Occupied Territories in the East. In his chief work, *Der Mythos des XX Jahrhunderts* (*The Myth of the XXth century*), 167-170 Edition, Hoheneiche-Verlag, Munich, 1941, p. 644) he had said of the multi-national character of the Soviet-Russian Empire:

"Besides the Ukrainian South occupy a very strong defensive position against the Great Russians and with their seven million in Poland form a remarkable autonomous group. To dismiss all these often very different blood-streams with the schematic word 'Eastern spirit' and to introduce this bloodless word into practical politics would mean the destruction of all organic efforts to develop a German foreign policy."

This was a frank statement. In other books he also stressed the fact that Germany had to cooperate with Ukraine. One of these was mentioned in the long memorandum which the leaders of the OUN (Bandera) presented to the Germans on the second day of their war with the Soviets (June 23, 1941). Rosenberg's advice was not followed and the alternative course which he condemned led to disastrous results for both the Germans and the non-Russian peoples of the European part of the USSR.

These *Last Notes* are a proof that Rosenberg had no influence upon Hitler (something already realized by Western scholars). They show also that the Russian emigre scholars are not correct when they say that it was Rosenberg who made and shaped Hitler's eastern policy. Some of these Russian emigres even complain that America has adopted the Hitler-Rosenberg policy of dividing "Russia" and issue "warnings" that in such a case the United States policy would suffer the same shipwreck as did that of Nazi Germany.

The memoirs of Rosenberg deal chiefly with the war period, his cultural activities and his plans to reform the Nazi Party and the Reich. Little attention is paid to his position as East Minister. The chapter on "Eastern Problems" covers only six pages out of 343. Yet even so, he stresses that the "self-determination of nations" offers the Western nations their solution for the Soviet problem. "This does not involve any injustice to the Russian people for they can keep their entire living space from Smolensk to Vladivostok but the other peoples would not have to tolerate the domination of the Russian people." Rosenberg adds however that this dictation by Moscow is the steady aim of all Russian emigres.

The volume adds nothing spectacularly new to the German East policy during World War II but it does contain some interesting details. Rosenberg says that Koch got his post as Reichskommissar for Ukraine with the backing of Bormann and above all of Goering. He indicates also that a mysterious memorandum by an unknown author whom Rosenberg could not identify may have changed Hitler's attitude toward Ukraine. Originally Hitler did not contradict "the conception of his Reichsminister" (p. 263). This memorandum appeared after Rosenberg, probably early in 1941, received orders to prepare a scheme for the reorganization of the East. It swayed Hitler and Rosenberg tried about eight times to change the Fuehrer's attitude.

"I twice heard from the Fuehrer an argument also spread by Koch: Germany had once before gone to meet Ukraine in 1918. The answer was the murder of the German Fieldmarshal von Eichhorn by Ukrainian nationalists. It was a danger to allow a political concentration during a war." Rosenberg knew that the murderer of von Eichhorn was not a Ukrainian nationalist but a Russian Social-Revolutionist named Donskoy who was later arrested and executed and he informed Hitler of this fact through Bormann (p. 214).

There are also interesting details of an earlier book by Koch (*Aufbau des Ostens* — Building-up of the East, — Breslau, Korn-Verlag). Koch called the conquered Soviet Union "the future of German youth."

Karl Kaufmann, Gauleiter of Hamburg, wanted to become Reichskommissar of Ukraine but Rosenberg turned him down, because "Hamburg's face was clearly turned toward the West" and the city "was already under attack by enemy bombers at the time" (Koch had been born in the Rhineland!). Kaufmann watched Koch's actions in Ukraine with horror and later said to Rosenberg: "If they had sent *me* there, Party Companion Rosenberg, we'd have built up something decent in the East" (p. 154).

In spite of the statement of the publishers that this book is for historical students, it contains no index of names and there are several omissions. The book ends with some remarks on Hitler: "Adolf Hitler in any case is entering history as a demonic figure of a monstrous form." Rosenberg shows that Hitler personally was one of the main causes for a destructive and not a constructive policy in Ukraine and that a constructive policy would have been possible even under the banner of the Nazi "Voelkisch" (Folk) ideology which Rosenberg was preaching.

Amsterdam.

HANS DE WEERD

SOVIET POWER AND POLICY. George B. de Huszar and Associates, New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1955.

This volume is a new attempt to present synthetically the factors influencing Soviet power and policy, their geopolitical basis, ideology and actual problems.

The collaborators are fourteen in number. They are students of different aspects of the Soviet problem with different preparations and studies. One, Harry N. Howard, a member of the State Department, discusses the question of the Near East in connection with Soviet policy in that area.

The largest number of sections have been written by the author and editor, Mr. Huszar. His ideas, when he speaks of the global situation, rest upon a careful analysis of the flexibility of Soviet policy and its showdown with the West, the methods of Russian expansion and the ideological propaganda and the sources of the strength and weakness of the USSR.

The weakest sections are those dealing with Soviet geopolitics and Eastern Europe. The author passes over the most important factor of the "strength and weakness" of the USSR, the problem of the enslaved nations, their colonial position and their efforts for independence, that is, the primal basis — the human element, and he does not separate that part of Europe which has been for a long while under the occupation of Russia as a conglomerate of diverse national units which have existed for centuries.

This section was written by William H. E. Johnson, a professor of the Carnegie Institute of Technology. He gives the "ethnographical composition" of the USSR, examines the geographical distribution of the population, its density, social structure and age groups. On p. 59 we find tables of the nationalities and we meet

a very unusual ethnic and territorial division of the USSR: Western European Russia (Ukrainians, Byelorussians), the Upper Volga (Udmurt, Mari), the Middle Volga (Chuvash, Tatar), the Caucasus (Ossetian, Karbadinian), the Northwest Caucasus, Transcaucasus, Central Asia, South Central Siberia, European Russia, Central Siberia, Siberia, Northeastern Siberia, Baltic Sea. It is to be noted that the Ukrainians and Byelorussians do not live in Ukraine or Byelorussia but in Western European Russia.

In giving the comparative data on the population of the Soviet Union for 1926 and 1939, Mr. Johnson does not analyze why the Ukrainians between 1926 and 1939 diminished by 10% and thus his article gives a very false picture of the national relationships in the Soviet Union. According to the census of 1926, the Ukrainians formed 21.2% of the total population of the USSR; they dropped in 1939, i. e. 13 years later, to 16.5%. The total loss of Ukrainians was then 10% (31,200,000 in 1926, 28,100,000 in 1939); in absolute figures they had a loss of 3,100,000, without taking into account the natural increase during the period. This should have been at least 7,000,000 and then the total loss would have been 10,000,000.¹

He presents no better the facts about the other non-Russian nationalities. During the same period the Kazakhs were reduced by 23% (4,000,000 in 1926, — 3,100,000 in 1939). There is no need to mention the fate of the Volga Germans, the Crimean Tatars, the Bashkirs, Ingushi, Chechens, Karachayivtsi and Kalmyks, for this is known.

The best proof of the Russian national policy is the unusual growth of the Russian population, which between 1926 and 1939 increased by 21,200,000 (from 77,800,000 in 1926 to 99,000,000 in 1939) that is by 23%.

These facts are very important for the planning of a double policy by the Western powers toward the dominant Russian nation and the nations which it has enslaved.

Another serious fault in the book is the omission in the geopolitical section which ends the book of the role and significance of the highly cultural, East European nations and the nationalities of Idel-Ural, Central Asia, the Caucasus and the Siberian colonies of the different non-Russian groups. They in this revolutionary period of the awakening of the Asian and African peoples, are indisputably the most important factor which deserves the attention of the Western world.²

The British Major General J. F. C. Fuller writes: "Because the USSR is the greatest prison in the world, it is a gigantic psychological bomb, which if detonated will blow the Soviet imperium into a thousand fragments... Russia must be attacked internally by offering liberation and selfdetermination to the vast

¹ Prof H. Lautensach gives the number of Ukrainians at the end of the first quarter of this century as 34,500,000 and of Russians 70,000,000, a proportion of 45 to 100 (*Laenderkunde, Gotha*, 1926, p. 42). According to the Soviet census of 1939 this percentage had dropped to the ratio 29 to 100. According to the data given by A. Ya. Borsky and P. P. Shusherik, (*Demograficheskaya statistika, Moscow*, 1955, p. 144) the coefficient of the natural increase of the Ukrainian population in 1926-27 was higher than in any other country (2.5% per annum).

² Col. George C. Reinhardt says in his volume, *American Strategy in the Atomic Age*, 1955: "The most sensitive area of the Soviets, both economically and militarily, is centered around the Black Sea, the region of the dissident Ukraine's rich granaries and Baku's oil wells. In the event of war it is only in this region that Russia could be defeated without long-drawn out attrition or a nuclear armageddon.

number of non-Russian peoples." *National Problems in the USSR*. Edinburgh 1953. In spite of these defects, the volume, *Soviet Power and Policy*, is a valuable work and an advance over other works of this type.

New York

W. KOŁODY

OXFORD REGIONAL ECONOMIC ATLAS, THE U.S.S.R. AND EASTERN EUROPE. Prepared by the Economist Intelligence Unit and the Cartographic Department of the Clarendon Press. Oxford University Press, 1956. London, pp. 134. Price \$10.

The volume under review is the first volume of the projected Oxford Economic Atlas of the whole world; it includes the USSR and East-Central Europe, here called Eastern Europe for the first time in a scholarly publication. This term first used for political purposes in the United States, and then transferred into scientific works can produce only confusion on the continent of Europe and especially in Germany for the word "Osteuropa" Eastern Europe, still means the European part of the USSR.

The book is divided into three parts: 1. General Reference Maps, 2. Topographical Maps, 3. An index of 5500 geographical localities. The *Atlas* contains maps and explanations in the text especially in the field of economics. The statistics are brought down to 1954.

The maps are both colored and in outline; all are carefully made by experts and are detailed and instructive. Beside general physical maps, there are geological maps, maps of soils, vegetation, climate and population. The short data on all fields of economic life make the publication very valuable as an easy source of reference. Scarcely any other book has brought together so much material in compact form and made such use of the economic literature on this part of the world.

The economic data on the USSR is given along with economic information on the satellite states and Jugoslavia, for the authors have taken the position that this entire area is one economic area. This part of the *Atlas* is detailed and we can see throughout the careful work of experts.

After the economic section the *Atlas* handles the population. The maps on the density of population and the growth of urbanization in the USSR are good. The weakest aspect of the *Atlas* lies in the Ethnography not only of the USSR but also of the satellite states.

The reader is greatly confused on the ethnographic map by the treatment of the three East Slavic peoples: Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians, which are marked with the same color. It is true that corresponding numbers show where each of the three lives, but it is unfortunate that they are represented in one color. The explanations of the ethnographic map of the USSR increase this confusion.

"Great Russians. Settled in south and central Russia since prehistoric times" (we read).

"Ukrainians or Little Russians. These are a branch of the Great Russians" but nothing is said as to when or how this "branch" originated or as to its character.

"Byelorussians are the Western Branch of the Great Russians" influenced by contact with their western Polish and Lithuanian neighbors.

This is the purely Soviet Russian interpretation of the ancient history of Eastern Europe prepared in the interests of the imperialism of Moscow. Although in the opinion of the authors, the Ukrainians and Byelorussians are only "branches" of the "Great Russians," they divide all the Slavs into five groups, (Great Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, the West Slavs and the South Slavs), and they thus place the Ukrainians and Byelorussians as groups parallel to the groups of

all the West and South Slavs. The Poles, Czechs, Slovaks and the smaller clans are not peoples but groups. The Bulgarians are not counted as Slavs.

The volume says of the three Baltic peoples, Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians, that they are "the descendants of Slavonic groups who settled in the Baltic area before the arrival of the Scandinavians or Russians." This is incorrect. The *Atlas* can scarcely give any information to the reader on the ethnic situation in this region, even the slightest.

The map, Growth of the Russian Empire, is entirely correct but the historical explanation of the beginning of the Russian or Moscow people is very confusing. There is no clear comprehension of the role of Kievan Rus', as the oldest state of Ukraine, of Novgorod and of the Moscow Principality as well, which grew out of the Principality of Suzdal and the peripheries of Kievan Rus' beginning in the first half of the XII century.

The author gives the tentative date for the foundation of the greater cities of the USSR and dates Kiev in the VIII century and Novgorod in 862. No proof is given of this but Kiev and Novgorod were already founded at that time. In comparison with the excellent economic section, the Ethnographic Section of the *Atlas* is striking for its lack of scholarship.

Finally the index of localities and their geographic location. This is a very valuable part of the publication and is well done except for the one detail of the names of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian places. The author accepts the principles of the American Geographical Society which gives the names of places in the forms used by the local population. But this principle is not applied to Ukraine and Byelorussia, for almost all the places are given in their Russian forms (which are perversions of those used by the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians). I will give a list of some places in Ukraine:

<i>In the Atlas</i>	<i>Correct Ukrainian form</i>	<i>In the Atlas</i>	<i>Correct Ukrainian form</i>
Artemovka	Artemivka	Gaysin	Haysyn
Azovskoye	Ozivske	Gornostayevka	Hornostaivka
Belaya Krinica	Bila Krynytsya	Gorodenka	Horodenka
Belaya Tserkov	Bila Tserkva	Krivoy Rog	Kryvyi Rih
Bolekhov	Bolekhiv	Lvov	Lviv
Chernovtsy	Chernivtsi	Novaya Ushitsa	Nova Ushytaya
Chernyy Ostrov	Chornyi Ostriv	Podgaytsy	Pidhaytsi
Chuguyev	Chuhuiv	Razdel'naya	Rozdilna — etc.

The authors have used sources from all geographic and economic literature on this region: they cite also two Ukrainian sources: *Ukraine and its People*, ed. by I. Mirtschuk, and *Nationalities of the USSR* by Martovych.

It is unfortunate that the authors did not familiarize themselves with the *Atlas of Ukraine* by Prof. Volodymyr Kubiyovych, which appeared in Ukrainian and English in Lviv before World War II. This would have saved them from twisting the names of the places in Ukraine.

Despite all these defects, the first part of the *Oxford Regional Economic Atlas* is a very valuable publication which in a brief and easy form gives all kinds of information on the economic life of the lands behind the Iron Curtain.

THE PERMANENT PURGE, by Zbigniew K. Brzezinski. Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1956. 248 pages. (\$4.75).

Among the many outstanding books on Soviet problems published yearly in the United States, *The Permanent Purge*, a dissertation on politics in Soviet Totalitarianism, certainly deserves careful attention by the American reader and critic as well. Mr. Brzezinski's study is a serious work which immediately shows the scholarly training of the author in his effort to handle his subject compactly with fairness and integrity. Guided by these principles, he tries to assemble and to analyze, in many instances, a completely new and invaluable collection of facts, the recollection of the atmosphere, the tensions, and the apprehensions of the people who lived under the Soviet system.

The information gathered and analyzed here by Mr. Brzezinski is wide in scope and convincing in value. Adhering to his main theme, the author treats, among many other problems, the purge and the totalitarian system as influenced by the setting in which they operate; the purge as a technique of totalitarian government, that is, its prerequisites and its characteristics; the Soviet concept of the purge, in which specific features of the Soviet purges are exposed and analyzed; the expansion and evolution of the Stalinist purge during the years of 1930-1936, with its historical background and numerical accentuations; the coalescence of the mass purge and terror; the violent stage, 1936-1938, which refers to the now famous blood bath following immediately after the purge of 1933-1935; the impact of the purges on the party and administration; the safety valves, or the processes of rehabilitation of state and regime which "almost purged itself to death" (p. 116); the delicate stage of 1946-1952 which marks the return to normality, to the reintegration and reconsolidation of the administration; the purge of the struggle for the Stalinist succession; and a summarized conclusion with a prediction of the future. Here we also find, probably for the first time, and in a favorable light, the much discussed problem of Vynnytsya, the Katyn of Ukraine, with its mass graves containing people arrested during the purges and shot secretly by the Soviet police. This and the question of Ukraine as a whole shows the thoroughness as well as the first hand knowledge by the author of the suffering and the political aspirations of the different nationalities of the USSR.

One of the most pleasing aspects of this book are the two interesting appendices, one on some important dates in the history of the Soviet purges, with a condensed list of fifty or so of the most significant purges in chronological order from 1917 through 1955, when Malenkov was replaced as premier by Bulganin; and the other on the much feared but less publicized 1937 Byelorussian and Caucasian purges. All this carefully presented material proves that the purge, as such, is a vital technique of the Soviet regime; it is a necessary process in order to maintain a despotic government in power. Mr. Brzezinski tries to convince us that a purge is not a signal of the collapse of the Soviet system, and that its effects are not entirely destructive. In doing so, the author, outside of this text, supports his material with fifty pages of remarkably edited notes (most of them from leading Soviet books and periodicals) in addition to a nine page list of specific bibliography. Although it is Mr. Brzezinski's first book of this kind, *The Permanent Purge* is a good, solid, and welcome book with a far broader outlook on the problem than the author himself has expected.

DEUTSCHLAND UND DIE UKRAINE (1934-1945). Tatsachen europaeischer Politik, by Roman Ilnytskyj. Ein Vorbericht. I Band. Osteuropa-Institut. Muenchen 1955, pp. 396.

This book (the first of planned four volumes) published by the Osteuropa-Institut in Munich, is a study by Roman Ilnytskyj on Germany and Ukraine (1934-1945). It contains much historical material, some of it really revolutionary, about the ways in which Hitler's Germany tried to solve the national problems in Eastern Europe. This question became very important for Germany, when its war with the USSR commenced.

The author of this book informs us that there were in Germany five plans for the solution of the Ukrainian problem. The German National Socialist Party which had all the civil and military power had only two solutions to this problem. Rosenberg was in favor of forming a Ukrainian state, completely dependent upon Germany. Besides he consistently worked out plans for the complete dismemberment of Russia into several national states. This was completely contrary to the desire of Hitler who at the outbreak of the Nazi-Bolshevik War took the position that the whole of the European east was to serve the colonial expansion of Germany, for the elite German people. The lower Slav race, including the Ukrainians, were to work for the Germans and under the Germans. So the Slavs had no need for any education and no higher or secondary schools. It was in this spirit that E. Koch, the Gauleiter of Ukraine, carried out his mission. This was the second political solution of the Nazis for Ukraine.

With the progress of military operations the trends of the German policy in Ukraine and generally in the East began to change but at no time, even after the breaking of German military power in the east, did the Ukrainian plan of Rosenberg appear upon the political horizon of the time. In the critical period for the Nazis, Germany began to take various half-measures to win over for itself the nations in the east of Europe which it had subjugated. Without any political concessions the Nazis gave permission for the formation of various military units from the young men of these nations so as to use them to increase its military forces in the East, but this was of little value to the Nazis for it was undertaken too late and without any political plan.

The author has used a great mass of material, especially German, which was at his disposal in various and numerous post-war publications on the war.

When the author touches Ukrainian affairs under Poland, it is clear that he did not have good sources. So he makes certain misstatements. For example, the law of the Polish Sejm (Diet) of September 29, 1922 he called a law for the autonomy of Eastern Galicia. This is not in accordance with the facts, for this law contained merely provisions for the autonomy of the individual *województwo* (regions) with a supplement providing for the foundation of a Ukrainian (state) university in at least two years. Further it is not correct that during the period of the so-called pacification (1930) the Polish government arrested 30 Ukrainian representatives and senators. After the dissolution of the Polish Sejm in the spring of 1930, Pilsudski ordered the arrest and imprisonment in Brest of 5 Ukrainian representatives, Volodymyr Tselevych, Dmytro Paliyiv, Ivan Lishchynsky, Dr. Osyp Kohut and Vyslotsky. This was several months before the pacification. During the pacification the whole presidium of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO) was arrested and also the former representatives Dr. Dmytro Levytsky and Dr. Lubomyr Makarushka. The representatives of the Ukrainian Left party, sympathetic with the Communists, the Sel-Rob, fled. All the other Ukrainian

representatives and senators were at liberty. I have no space to cite other mistakes or oversights.

I must also emphasize that in this volume all the Ukrainian legal parties are treated too casually and briefly. On the other hand the greatest stress is laid upon the revolutionary Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). In the author's opinion the legal parties played a less important political role in Ukrainian life under Poland. The fact that they were the creators of the entire educational and economic life and especially of the cooperatives, and that these achievements were legally defended in the face of steady Polish persecution was of no importance for the author. There was in Europe a Congress of European Nationalities which undertook the defence of the interests of all the so-called national minorities in the European states as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and the like. In this Congress of Nationalities, the Ukrainian leaders played a great role. For a long time the President of this Congress was Dr. Vileran, a Slovene and the secretary was the German Dr. Ammende and later Mr. Spede. This Congress published many valuable works on the position of the minorities, including the Ukrainians in Poland and Romania. Dr. Ammende prepared a large work on the famine in the Soviet Union in 1932 and 1933 with special consideration to Ukraine.

These omissions still do not deprive of great value this book which contains a great mass of historical material illustrating the Nazi German policy in central and Eastern Europe. We await with interest the appearance of the following volumes.

New York

VASYL MUDRY

UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

THE GREAT PRETENSE, A Symposium on Anti-Stalinism and the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., May 19, 1956.

Beyond question of doubt, the House Un-American Activities Committee, under the able chairmanship of the Honorable Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, has performed a valuable public service in sponsoring and publishing this symposium of thirty-nine national authorities on the significance of the recent Communist Party Congress in Moscow.

The work contains essays written by many nationally known writers and public leaders. George Meany writes on "Stalinism Continues"; James Burnham explains "The Kremlin's Call for Help"; William C. Bullitt elaborates on "A Talk With Voroshilov"; Harry Schwartz of *The New York Times* renders one on the "First of the Oligarchs"; Max Eastman comments on "The Recent News From Moscow"; Clarence A. Manning gives his observations on "Courting the Neutralists"; and J. Edgar Hoover submits a general summation.

Every conceivable aspect of the subject is treated in this symposium. The ideological, the cultural, the political, the economic and the diplomatic are expertly covered. The force of nationalism in the Russian Communist Empire is developed in the essay submitted by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University on "The Mounting Pressure of Nationalism." It appears also in the article by Dr. Manning. Both contributions furnish essential background material to one of the conclusions drawn by James Burnham that "It is apparent that most disturbances so far have taken place in the non-Russian regions (Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia etc.), and express the local nationalism that is never far from the surface."

The demand for copies of this symposium has been spontaneous and overwhelming. The work unquestionably deserves a place in every library.

TO ABOLISH FORCED LABOR THROUGH ILO. Hearings, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Washington, D. C., 1956.

At the invitation of the Senate Labor Committee, a number of witnesses appeared to testify in April on forced labor in the Soviet Union. This volume contains some of the latest data and information on this heinous institution. Testimony submitted by the representative of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America shows the heavy composition of Ukrainian political prisoners in the vast concentration camp system in the Soviet Union. Numerous cases in Vorkuta, Norilak, Magadan and elsewhere are provided to demonstrate Ukrainian leadership in the recent strikes and uprisings in these camps.

The purpose of the hearings was to obtain general opinion on S. Res. 117, sponsored by the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey and calling for the abolition

of forced labor through the International Labor Organization. The legal problems that have been raised in this connection are parallel to those encountered several years ago in the consideration of the Genocide Convention. Actually, they begot the issue which could only pertain to the Soviet Union since there is no similar institution in this country. To regard this issue as some mistakenly do, as one of domestic concern betrays an ignorance as to the real character of the empire known as the Soviet Union.

RELIGION WILL SURVIVE IN RUSSIA, by Dr. Walter W. Van Kirk. Collier's, New York, June 8, 1956.

The writer of this popular article is a prominent Methodist clergyman who was in the religious delegation invited to the Soviet Union. The publication of the article was apparently timed with the recent visitation of the Russian bishops to this country. It is, of course, complimentary and in good taste, but it fails to deal with all the important facts relevant to religion in the Soviet Union. As in so many other instances, the article is written by one who travelled to the Soviet Union and largely did not know what to look for. Observation alone is insufficient and this report demonstrates it.

In fairness to the writer, he reveals certain insights, nevertheless, in his treatment of the limited data he did accumulate, as, for example, on the traditional subservience of the Russian Orthodox Church to the state and the traditional imperialist craving for Mother Russia. However, he fails to understand the Communist utilization of the Russian Church as a tool in its empire structure. Communists in priestly garments are not even contemplated. And worst of all, especially for one dedicated to a merciful Christ, the author reveals absolutely no knowledge of the use of this ecclesiastical tool in the genocide of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches.

When one reads such popular renditions by people who have been there, the thought that perhaps the Kremlin encourages in its own interest visits by comparatively uninformed individuals, seems inescapable. The full truth is not an ally of this interest.

WHAT PRESSURED THE KREMLIN? — by Henry J. Taylor. Your Land and Mine, General Motors, Detroit, Michigan, April 23, 1956.

The commentator for General Motors gives his view in this periodic transcript of his broadcasts of the anti-Stalinist line pursued by the present dictatorship in Moscow. According to him the Stalin's desanctification program is the result of the pressure exerted by the Red Army and insofar as peace is concerned in the foreseeable future, this is good news for the free world. This is the essential theme of his presentation and the few facts he offers could very well be compressed into another interpretative framework.

It would do well for Mr. Taylor to scan *The Great Pretense*, issued by the House Un-American Activities Committee, and come to appreciate the general fact that the causal explanation is not so simple. First, he doesn't seem to realize that the top brass in the Red Army, from Zhukov down, are confirmed communists themselves. Moreover, he ignores the economic pressures at work, the widespread strikes and rebellions in the slave labor camps, the incessant pressure of nationalism in the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union, the internal struggle for individual leadership in the dictatorship itself, and the pragmatic utility of desanctification in the peaceful coexistence drive adopted by the present rulers

of the Soviet Union. Contrary to his sanguine belief, which unfortunately countless others in this country have adopted, the news is far from being good. Our period is more perilous than ever before and time works to the advantage of the enemy.

UKRAINE — A NEGLECTED ALLY, by Paul H. Hallett. *The Register*, National Catholic newspaper, Denver, Colo., December 4, 1955.

On the theme that "It is convenient to use the name 'Russia' to designate all those varied nations between Kiev and Vladivostok, but it is misleading," this article is one of the finest pieces of writing about Ukraine that one could find anywhere within the space allotted. The author skillfully presents all the essential facts that the poorly informed reader should know about this truly neglected ally. The long submergence of the Ukrainian nation, the man-made famine of the 30's, the decimation of the Ukrainian Churches, the fight of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and numerous other basics in the epic of Ukrainian liberation receive appropriate mention. The presentation is cogent and impressive and a veritable contribution to the enlightenment of the readers of this national Catholic organ.

KEEPING THE SOVIET UNION OFF BALANCE, comment. *Freedom's Facts Against Communism*, All-American Conference to Combat Communism, Washington, D. C., Dec. 1955.

Reporting on the address delivered by Myroslav Prokop, a member of the Supreme Ukrainian Council of Liberation, the editor of this publication aptly captions the section in the manner given above. The main points of the address stress the "uninterrupted struggle for national and social liberation" of the many captive nations in the Russian Communist empire and the need for the free nations "to declare their solidarity with them in their struggle for liberation." With this premise, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that in this period of anti-Stalinism and peaceful coexistence the West should be seizing the opportunity of creating pressures for freedom behind the Iron Curtain to the extent of rendering intensified liberalization that in itself would create a momentum of developments in the empire that might prove unmanageable for the Kremlin to control.

WHAT I THINK OF AMERICA?, by Dr. Mykola Cenko. *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine*, Washington, D. C., December 1955.

Dr. Cenko is a newcomer to these shores. He was given the opportunity to express his feelings and sentiments about America before the Robert Morris Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Philadelphia, and as a result of this his views were published in the society's national magazine. To make very interesting reading in that they disclose with obvious sincerity and earnestness the deep reaction of one human being to his new environment and surroundings.

The writer leaves no doubt that America is the "only one hope for all enslaved people in the whole world." He interestingly relates the chief features of Ukraine and his own difficult existence under foreign domination. His comparisons between Poland and the United States are glaring and informative, that is, from the point of view of economics. The description of his feelings is forthright and warm. In his view on the economic superiority of America, he bluntly states, "Maybe this is the reason that America is the only country, where not only women but also men are afraid to be too fat, while in other parts of the world all people

are afraid of hunger." In short, this essay reflects the marvelous adjustment that has been made by the vast majority of our most recent immigrants and we are thankful for this solid addition to our society — Americans all!

THE POWER OF PEOPLES, by David Lawrence. U. S. News & World Report, Washington, D. C., April 6, 1956.

The articles and addresses of David Lawrence are well known for their high quality of thought and solid content. In this one the writer strikes at the very core of what should be our constant target in the titanic struggle going on between Moscow and the free world. He rightly states in the very first sentence that "Too often our minds are focused on the power of governments — and not on the power of peoples." For him the Moscow government is a government of gangsters and criminals and we should not give way to it. Our target is the good will of the Russian people and the many non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. These are our allies through whom the gangster government in Moscow can be overthrown. The argumentation is sound and should be repeated over and over again for the benefit of countless Americans, especially so-called professional experts on "Russia," who are ready to acquiesce to the slightest deceptive move of Moscow in the interest of illusory peace.

The writing manifests a firm hold on the nationalist issue in the Soviet Union. The writer declares, "The urge to freedom and independence is just as strong inside Russia as anywhere else in the world. The Soviet Union is composed of many nationalities. Russian colonialism has deprived them of their freedom and frustrated their national aspirations." He continues in his striking way, "Let us hear less prating about Western 'colonialism' in Africa or in the Middle East or in Asia — at least, until the present war against a common enemy is over. The fight must first be won against Russian colonialism. For there is little use of holding out hopes for the independence of any new republic anywhere while the Communists keep in bondage countries that once enjoyed their independence." No true believer in the moral and political principles of Western Civilization could rationally reject this. Unquestionably, the author's column stands as a rich source of ideas and content in the field of literary output in this country, truly a mine of sound thought and clear enlightenment.

WASHINGTON NOTES, by Benjamin H. Williams. Social Science, Washington, D. C., April, 1956.

Over a year ago, in an address before the Buffalo Advertising Club, this commentator advanced and developed a general theory on The Communist Calculus for World Conquest. The theory was founded on three fundamental variables that, if allowed to materialize, would in time place the Soviet Union in a position seriously threatening the power position of the United States and therefore of the free world. This theory is being progressively validated by the facts, and this article, written by a member of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, lends further support to it.

The author's main point is that one of the chief factors contributing to our political position in the world is our industrial base. Victory in the last war was certainly achieved largely on this basis. However, our technological lead is now being progressively reduced by the tremendous strides made by the Soviet Union. True, statistical comparisons on an absolute scale show great superiority on the part of American industrial production as, for example, Soviet coal pro-

duction being 52% of American, steel ingots and castings — 29%, electric power — 23% and so forth. But such absolute comparisons between their output in certain fields and ours are misleading. Criteria of direction of production, into capital formation as against general final consumption, relative rates of growth, and time for conversion in the event of open hostilities are by far more determinative. These are the criteria used in the theory and the accumulated facts show that the advantage appears to be Moscow's. Our rate of industrial growth is about 3%, their's is between 5% and 6%. In 1928 we turned out 12 times as much steel as they; in 1953 it was less than three times. Their output of technical and engineering personnel already exceeds ours and it is an open secret that in many critical fields of armed output, they enjoy not only adequacy but superiority now.

Many may not realize it, but Moscow's skillful use of peaceful coexistence in the political and psychological fields and intense concentration on capital formation aimed at military prowess poses a real and frightening dilemma for the free world. Insular thinking on material power as the paramount deterrent to further Russian Communist aggression will be left without a basis by 1960, given the projected circumstances of the present. The only solution to this dilemma is an implemented policy of liberation aimed at the captive nations and enslaved peoples. It can be done, with imagination and courage.

BEHIND RUSSIA'S MASK, international special report. *Newsweek*, New York, April 2, 1956.

In the sub-caption of this report the reader quickly senses the main points that the report dwells on in its evaluation of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union and the subsequent anti-Stalinist program. A Kremlin struggle, Restive people, a Trap for us. It is true that the entire episode conceals an "inner struggle for supremacy in the Soviet Union's hierarchy," that it reveals "the greater power and influence of the Red Army in Soviet Affairs," and that it is "a trap for neutral and disarmament-hungry nations." Yet it is more than this. The point on restive people is not developed in this report as it deserves to be. The whole complex of international strife, whatever its forms, within the Soviet Union itself receives scarcely any justified treatment. The pragmatic significance of the entire affair, in furthering the ambitious aims of Moscow toward world domination and regardless of the many causal pressures responsible for the event, could have been developed beyond the sphere of chipping away the West's unity and attracting the uncommitted and disarmament-hungry nations. It entails also the dessication of anti-Communist fervor and dedication in the United States itself.

A NEW LOOK AT THE SOVIET "NEW LOOK," by Bertram D. Wolfe. *Foreign Affairs*, New York, January 1955.

A very sober and sound interpretation of the so-called new look of Moscow is presented in this clearly written and strongly factually based article. The author enjoys an esteemed reputation in this country. This article reflects it well, for its clarity of thought, power of informed background and keen judgment impress themselves immediately on the reader. Mr. Wolfe has no trouble in showing that the "new look" is really an old one, in the tradition of Lenin and Stalin.

He is on terra firma in his observation that Lenin's Marxism is radically different from the Marxism of Western Europe, that the members of the present oligarchical dictatorship in Moscow are substantially Stalinists, that the principle

of "collective leadership" is only a temporary medium and was used in the past, in fact operated even in the Stalin period, and that the apparent ascendancy of the army will not be permitted to develop into any Bonapartism. The frills and minuscule concessions staged by Moscow in this current circus of "peaceful existence" are cleverly placed against a screen of similar plays in the past. Khrushchev's personality performance is properly judged in the light of his bestial operations in Ukraine in the 30's and 40's. So is Malenkov's.

The writer strikes several vital points which should be borne in mind by every thinking American. One is the perverted use of the idea of peaceful coexistence by Moscow. Our idea is wrapped up in justice. As he suggests, it would be better not to use the term. Peace with justice or a just peace seems preferable. His discussion of the Khrushchev farm program in Kazakhstan is pointed and effective, showing it to be in direct line with Stalinist principles. He writes: "While they are at it, they hope to solve the nationalities problem in the Turkic areas by mass Russification, and present the incompletely calculable and incompletely plannable kolkhoz sector with a completely controlled sector of new state farms."

This article should be read by as many Americans as possible. Its well selected contents stand as a reminder of the real and true nature of the present Moscow dictatorship — Stalinist and in succession to Lenin.

WAGING THE COLD WAR, editorial. *Korean Survey*, Washington, D. C., February, 1956.

As one should expect, the views expressed in this editorial, appearing in the February issue of a nationally respected organ, stem from the hard experiences and wisdom of the Korean nation. There is no question that the cold war will continue and must be won by the free world. An enumeration of the main assets in this war shows that the free world is not winning it. The editors begin with the point of effective propaganda and conclude that the United States is far behind the Soviet Union in its utilization. On the point of infiltration and subversion we don't even compare. That of poverty and illiteracy, the lot of three-fourths of the world, favors Moscow. In the control of strategic trade we and the free world are greatly favored, but here signs of weakness are appearing.

When it comes to the power of ideas, it is not clear whether the editors share the view that the liberation policy is appealing but impractical, or not. It is inconceivable that they would. A sentence of clarification would have served its good purpose. The destiny of the Korean nation, one and undivided, is the same as that of the captive nations, toward full freedom and national independence, which only the policy of liberation can promise.

L. E. D.
