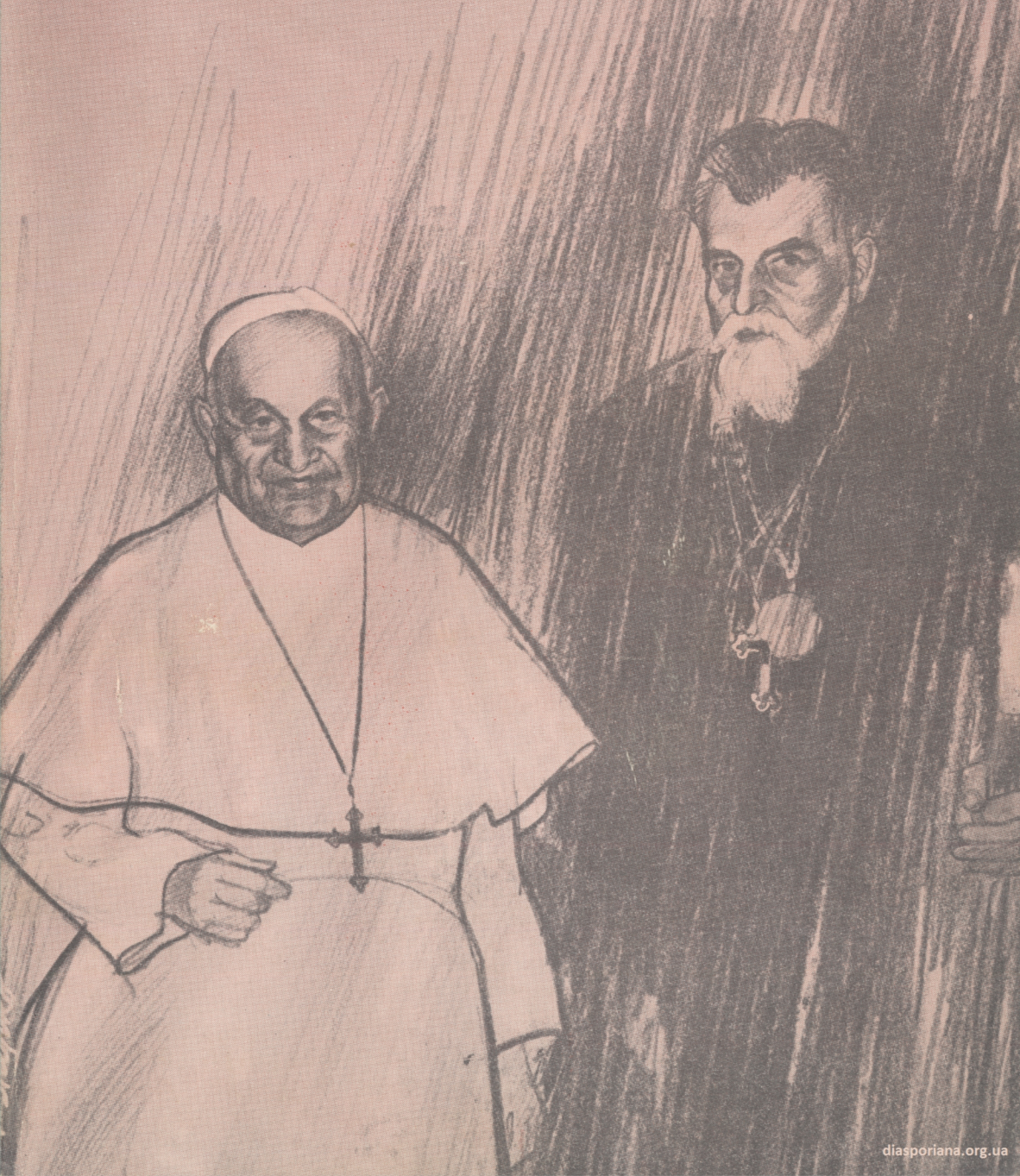


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SPRING, 1963

UKRAINIAN QUARTERLY

EDITORIAL —

UKRAINE LIVES AND FIGHTS ON



**THE CAPTIVE NATIONS
NATIONALISM OF THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS
IN THE SOVIET UNION**

By

Roman Smal-Stocki

With a Preface by Lev E. Dobriansky
Institute of Ethnic Studies, Georgetown University

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**THE CRIMES OF KHRUSHCHEV
PART 2**

Consultations with:

Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, Mr. Petro Pavlovych, Prof. Ivan M. Malinin,
Mr. Nicholas Prychodko, Mr. Constantine Kononenko, Mr. Mykola Lebed,
Dr. Gregory Kostiuik, Prof. Ivan Wowchuk, Mr. Jurij Lawrynenko.

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

Eighty-Sixth Congress, First Session

(September 9-11, 1959)

Washington, D.C.

(Including Index)

**PERSECUTION AND DESTRUCTION OF THE UKRAINIAN
CHURCH BY THE RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIKS**

By

Gregory Luznycky, Ph.D.

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PICTURE ON THE COVER: This memorable and historic picture of the late Pope John XXIII, "a man of peace and goodness," and the Most Rev. Joseph Slipy, Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and martyr of the Ukrainian people, was taken in the Vatican on February 11, 1963 immediately after the arrival of Metropolitan Slipy in Rome from Soviet concentration camps in the USSR, where he spent 18 long and excruciating years.

Making the first public announcement about Metropolitan Slipy's release, the Pope stated:

"Yesterday evening we received from Eastern Europe a stirring consolation for which We humbly thank the Lord. We regard it as a part of the secret Providence of God which can prepare a new impulse of sincere faith and of peaceful and fruitful apostolate for the Holy Church and for honest souls..."

There have been consistent rumors that Metropolitan Slipy had been made a Cardinal "*in pectore*" in 1960, and that he would be proclaimed a Cardinal at the consistory which was supposed to be called by the Pope this spring. While on his deathbed, Pope John XXIII summoned Metropolitan Slipy to his chamber along with other Cardinals and high-ranking Catholic prelates.

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UKRAINE LIVES AND FIGHTS ON

Editorial

Despite the unceasing efforts of Moscow to obscure the plight of the captive nations and to reduce them to a faceless and amorphous "Soviet people," and despite the West's policy of extending "no help" to these staunch allies of freedom, the irrefutable fact is that the captive nations continue to remain one of the greatest deterrents to major Soviet aggression in Europe and elsewhere. Even the latest American-British slap-down of the Cuban freedom fighters cannot detract from the overwhelming reality that the captive nations—in their restlessness, constant agitation, protests, and resistance to the despotic and alien rule of Moscow—constitute a factor of great weight and importance which cannot be and is not ignored by Khrushchev and his government.

The importance of the captive nations is exemplified by the events and developments regarding Ukraine and the aspirations to freedom of the Ukrainian people, events which wholly justify the undying struggle of Ukrainian patriots in Ukraine and of Ukrainians and their descendants in the free world.

1. EIGHTH CONGRESS OF AMERICANS OF UKRAINIAN DESCENT

Let us go back a half year to the impressive Triennial Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent, which was held on October 12, 13 and 14, 1962, at the Commodore Hotel in New York City. The overriding theme of the congress was the "Liberation and Emancipation of the Captive Nations," thereby marking perhaps the first time that an ethnic group in the United States deemed it proper and imperative to raise its voice in defense of all the captive nations, rather than just its own. The congress was greeted by 180 U. S. Senators and Congressmen, 23 state governors and hundreds of prominent Americans. It was addressed by a number of high-placed American and international notables and diplomats, including the Hon. Nelson A. Rockefeller, Governor of New York State; the Hon. Jacob K. Javits, U. S. Senator from New York; the Hon.

Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania; the Hon. Edward J. Derwinski of Illinois; the Hon. Carl T. Rowan, high-ranking State Department official (who recently was appointed U. S. Ambassador to Finland); the Hon. Tingfu F. Tsiang, Ambassador of the Republic of China to the United States, and Prof. Herminio Portell-Vila, outstanding Cuban historian and scholar.

Above all, the Congress was honored by our Chief Executive, the Hon. John F. Kennedy, President of the United States of America, who sent a warm message of encouragement and moral support to the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America in its effort to help the captive Ukrainian nation.

In his penetrating address, Governor Rockefeller, among other things, stated:

This convention is a sobering reminder to all the world that the cold war at many times and places is not cold at all. It costs the lives of men like Lev Rebet and Stepan Bandera, the Soviet-murdered Ukrainian underground leaders... But Ukrainian deeds, and your people's dedication, remind the world that no price is too high and no fight is too long in the cause of freedom that this congress has pursued for a quarter of a century. In this cause, you have the heartfelt allegiance of everyone who believes in men's right to govern themselves... Ukraine's oppression makes a great difference to you who are here tonight, and to all of us who share your faith in Ukraine's liberation, your belief in man's right to be free, your dedication to man's brotherhood under God...¹

In his message to the Triennial Congress of the UCCA, President Kennedy stated:

The convocation of the Eighth Triennial Convention of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America is an inspiring reminder that a major source of our strength as a nation, and a cornerstone of the American democratic system, is the diversified contribution to American life made possible by the heterogeneous nature of our national, ethnic, religious and racial origins. It is both natural and desirable that, while entering wholeheartedly into their responsibilities as members of the American community, those of our citizens who share a proud common heritage should voluntarily join together in free association to honor that heritage and to advance shared interests. It would be surprising and also contrary to American traditions if our citizens of Ukrainian descent failed to retain interest in their former homelands or to show concern for the fate and future of Ukrainians there. Similar evidences of a humanistic and solicitous approach to the problems of others in foreign countries are typical of the attitudes of those groups of our citizens who feel strong historical or spiritual bonds with particular areas of people abroad. In accord with such sentiments and expressing the will of the American people, the United States Government strongly supports just aspirations and right of all peoples to national inde-

¹ "Ukraine's Right to Freedom and Independence," Remarks by Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, *The Ukrainian Bulletin*, November-December, 1962, p. 84.

pendence, governments of their own choosing and the enjoyments of fundamental rights and freedom. The eventual fulfillment of these just aspirations and the achievements of these rights are and will remain a basic goal of U. S. world policy. Please accept my personal wishes for a successful convention.²

In accord with President Kennedy's message, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, in one of its resolutions adopted at the same congress, stated:

...The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America has consistently and tirelessly pleaded with the U. S. Government and the U. S. Congress to extend all possible assistance to the enslaved Ukrainian nation and all other captive nations through an enlightened policy of liberation, a policy which if applied to the captive non-Russian nations of the USSR would greatly impede the drive of Communist Russia for world conquest, and would strengthen and solidify the aspirations of the captive nations to freedom, self-determination and national independence...³

Other speakers at the Eighth Congress of the UCCA, notably the Hon. Tingfu T. Tsiang, Ambassador of the Republic of China, and Prof. Herminio Portell-Vila of Cuba, stressed the organic unity of the captive people of China and of Cuba with the enslaved peoples, such as the Ukrainians, in Europe. Thus at its convention the Ukrainian Congress Committee, in becoming the common voice of all the captive nations in their undying struggle for freedom and national independence, demonstrated humanity, wisdom and foresight.

2. THE STASHYNSKY TRIAL IN KARLSRUHE

At the same time that the Eighth Triennial Congress of the UCCA gathered in New York City, the German Supreme Court in Karlsruhe concluded its trial of Bogdan N. Stashynsky, a trained Soviet KGB agent, who on the orders of Moscow had murdered two Ukrainian leaders and freedom fighters: Stepan Bandera, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and Dr. Lev R. Rebet, noted Ukrainian nationalist writer.⁴

The Stashynsky trial confirmed anew many things that Ukrainians outside their native homeland have been telling the free world. The first and most compelling fact is that Ukraine continues to be one of the weakest elements of the Soviet totalitarian structure. The Ukrainian anti-Soviet underground was powerful enough in

² "President Kennedy Greet's Ukrainian Congress," *The Ukrainian Bulletin*, November-December, 1962, p. 82.

³ "Ukrainian Independence Day," Remarks of the Hon. Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania, the *Congressional Record*, January 24, 1964, Washington, D. C.

⁴ "Moscow on Trial in Karlsruhe," Editorial, *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, Winter, 1962.

the years following the end of World War II to have caused great concern to the Kremlin rulers. From 1945-47 partisan units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) tore into the flimsy structure of the USSR at its western peripheries, inflicting heavy losses upon the Soviet armed forces and security police. Bandera, as head of the OUN, was singled out by the Soviet government as the one most responsible for the drawn-out resistance of the Ukrainians to the Soviet Russian domination of Ukraine. In 1946 the Soviet government was forced to send in crack Soviet combat divisions under the command of General Ryassny to liquidate the UPA. In the spring of 1947 Moscow compelled the puppet regimes of Poland and Czechoslovakia to conclude a special "defense treaty" for the sole purpose of jointly combatting the Ukrainian resistance. It was only in 1950—fully five years after the end of World War II—that the Ukrainian underground resistance was finally broken with the slaying in ambush of General Taras Chuprynka, Commander-in-Chief of the UPA. But strong evidence indicates that as late as 1954-55 Ukrainian partisan units still operated in Volhynia, and the Soviet press reported Soviet military tribunals to be busy as late as 1962 trying Ukrainian resisters and partisans.

Bandera was marked then for "liquidation." The Soviet government, self-vaunted nuclear power, was insecure so long as he and others like him remained alive and worked for the cause of Ukrainian freedom.

Stashynsky testified that he was ordered to kill Bandera in 1959 (he slew Dr. Rebet in 1957) by a "high authority" in Moscow. For this "important commission" he was awarded "The Order of the Red Banner" by General Alexander A. Shelepin, then chief of the KGB, who held ministerial rank and who was an important member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

It is to the credit of the German Supreme Court that in passing sentence upon agent Stashynsky it pointed to the Soviet government as the real murderer of Bandera and Rebet. Unfortunately, the Court stated, the real culprit was beyond reach in Moscow.

Thus the Karlsruhe trial, although specifically concerned with killer Stashynsky, was in reality the trial of Moscow and its criminal government.

It is to be recalled that the past history of the Russian oppression of Ukraine contains similar murders by Soviet trained agents.

In a chapter on "Khrushchev's Eyes and Ears Abroad," Allen Dulles, former Director of the CIA, gives a brilliant analysis of the Soviet intelligence machinations directed against anti-Soviet emigres:

It thus became at an early stage a political intelligence service with a militant mission. To achieve its aims, it engaged abroad as well as at home in violent brutality, in kidnapping and murder, not only against the "enemies of the State" but against its own people whom it did not trust or found a burden.

In Paris in 1926 it murdered General Petlura, the exiled leader of the Ukrainian Nationalists. In 1930, again in Paris, it kidnapped General Kutepov, the leader of the White Russian War Veterans, and later, in 1937, the same fate befell General Miller, Kutepov's successor... The mysterious deaths in Munich, in 1957 and 1959, of Lev Rebet and Stepan Bandera, leaders of the Ukrainian emigres, were managed with cyanide spray that killed almost instantaneously. This method was so subtle that, in Rebet's case, it was long thought that he had died of a heart attack. The truth became known only when the KGB agent Bogdan Stashynsky gave himself up to the German police in 1961 and acknowledged that he had perpetrated both killings. For the first murder, Stashynsky reports he was given a fine banquet by his superiors in the KGB; for the second he received from them the "Order of the Red Banner."⁵

Yet another victim was Colonel Eugene Konovalets, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), who was blown up in May, 1938, in Rotterdam, Holland, when a Soviet agent slipped a time bomb into the pocket of his trench coat.

"Communist leaders in Moscow view political murders as something quite honorable and proper for a government," commented Dr. Heinrich Jagusch, the presiding judge at the Stashynsky trial in Karlsruhe.

During the Cuban crisis last fall President Kennedy disclosed how Soviet leaders, such as Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, brazenly lied about the armaments sent to Cuba. The Karlsruhe trial revealed, in addition, that the Soviet government thrives on political murder, political rape and wanton aggression.

As in Stalin's time, so it is in Khrushchev's: Ukraine is ever a vulnerable component of the Soviet totalitarian edifice. By persecution and murder of Ukrainians, *en masse* and individually, the Kremlin seeks to sink Ukraine under the heels of its despotic government, and eventually to obliterate it.

3. RUSSIAN RAGE AT 45TH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINE'S INDEPENDENCE

The extreme sensitivity of the Russian communist leaders as regards Ukraine is vividly demonstrated by the violent and savage reaction of the Soviet press this past January over the observances of the 45th anniversary of Ukraine's independence on January 22 and January 24, 1963, in the U. S. Senate and the House of Represen-

⁵ "The Craft of Intelligence," by Allen Dulles, Former Director of CIA, *Harper's Magazine*, April, 1963, p. 137.

tatives in Washington. In previous years, too, Soviet reaction to such observances of Ukrainian independence was marked; but this year the Soviet press surpassed itself for virulence and sheer hate.

As in a push-button war, a concerted howl of rage arose from all major communist newspapers in Ukraine. It included the strident voices of *Radyanska Ukraina* (Jan. 24, 1963), *Radyanska Kultura* (Jan. 24, 1963), *Molod Ukrainy* (Jan. 26, 1963), *Literaturna Ukraina* (Jan. 25, 1963), *Robitnycha Hazeta* (Jan. 26, 1963)—all in the Ukrainian language—and the Russian language *Pravda Ukrainy*, all of which appear in Kiev, as well as the voices of *Izvestia* (Jan. 24, 1963) and *Pravda* (Jan. 26, 1963), official organs of the Soviet government and the Central Committee of the Communist Party, respectively, which are published in Moscow.

All these organs violently attacked Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York, Mayor Robert F. Wagner of New York City and Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, as well as the entire U. S. Congress for taking part in the observances of the 45th anniversary of Ukraine's independence.

In castigating the American leaders the communist organs in unison brayed that Ukraine needs no American help, that the Ukrainian people live in a "free and sovereign Soviet Ukrainian state," and that the United States should first "liberate" its Negroes and Puerto Ricans before looking at other countries to see whether they need "American liberation" and help.

To recite the Soviet lies and distortions regarding the United States and its alleged enslavement of "minorities" is needless and profitless. But what is important to us is the fact that Moscow is more panicky than ever over its rule in Ukraine; apparently, any reference to captive Ukraine in Washington sets off a chain reaction in the shaky structure of the communist dictatorship in Ukraine.

In his incisive article, "Ukraine and You," Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain of the U. S. Senate, wrote on the theme of Ukrainian independence:

Now what is the truth regarding Ukraine—a territory a little larger than Texas? This fair land, with its face always toward the West, richly endowed with natural resources, with a favorable climate conducive to the raising of various crops, has long been called the granary of Europe... But the salient historic fact is that the Ukrainian people are not Russian and their country never belonged to Russia except by physical force. A thousand years ago their culture and commerce were at high levels but always these fiercely independent-minded people had to fight predatory neighbors. In 1709 Czar Peter I, by military might, annexed Ukraine as a conquered province. When at long last the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution pulverized the sovereignty of the Czar, a new day of glorious emanci-

patation seemed to gild the long darkened sky: In the ancient city of Kiev, as bells of freedom rang out, the Independent National Republic was proclaimed...⁶

Significantly, Dr. Harris was promptly attacked by a Russian professor at Princeton University, namely, Prof. Gregory Tschebotarioff, who despite his adoption of America as a homeland, hotly defended tyrannical "Holy Mother Russia." It was about such "Americans" that Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, President of the UCCA, wrote:

The interesting aspect of my endeavors has been the discovery that a common denominator of an imperialist "Holy Mother Russia" complex exists between Soviet Russian propagandists and numerous Russian or Russianized emigres and their unknowing friends, who, despite the privileges of American citizenship, would misguide us in not exploring this whole new non-Russian dimension in the USSR.⁷

Despite the efforts of both White and Red Fifth Columnists in this country, some 83 U. S. Senators and Congressmen recognized the importance of captive Ukraine by making appropriate statements on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of Ukraine's independence. Their statements have been published in booklet form as a testament of American concern for captive nations everywhere.⁸

On the other side of the Iron Curtain, the Ukrainian Congress Committee, this review (*The Ukrainian Quarterly*), and Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky have been savagely assailed in a pamphlet written by a former Ukrainian defector and published by the "Association of Cultural Liaison with Ukrainians Abroad" in Kiev. The function of this Soviet propaganda and espionage agency is to woo back into the Soviet fold the Ukrainians abroad—that is, those Ukrainians who are apparently deemed not important enough to murder.⁹

4. RELEASE OF METROPOLITAN JOSEPH SLIPY

At the same time the Soviet government was fulminating against the U. S. Congress over its observance of the 45th anniversary of

⁶ "Ukraine and You," By Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Chaplain, U.S. Senate, *The Sunday Star*, January 27, 1963, Washington, D. C.

⁷ "Captive Ukraine and 'Holy Mother Russia' Complex," by Lev E. Dobriansky, Professor of Economics, Georgetown University, *The Evening Star*, February 14, 1963, Washington, D.C.

⁸ *45th Anniversary of Ukraine's Independence: A Special House Committee on Captive Nations; A Select Bibliography on Ukraine and Other Captive Non-Russian Nations in the USSR. Speeches of Hon. Daniel J. Flood of Pennsylvania and Hon. Edward J. Derwinski of Illinois, et al. in the House of Representatives and in the Senate of the United States.* United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1963.

⁹ B. Ryvak: *Zhyttia perekonuye (Life Proves It)*, Kiev, Ukrainian SSR, published by the "Association of Cultural Liaison with Ukrainians Abroad," 1962.

Ukraine's independence, the Kremlin suddenly freed the Most Reverend Joseph Slipy, Archbishop of Lviv and Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine, after 18 long years of detention in Soviet slave labor camps and prisons.

The release of this venerable Ukrainian Catholic prelate instantly gained world-wide attention. Much speculation has been advanced as to the motives which prompted Khrushchev, not a man to be accused lightly of sentiment, to unfetter the Ukrainian martyr and allow him to travel to Rome, where he was received with open arms by His Holiness Pope John XXIII, who said on greeting Metropolitan Slipy:

Yesterday evening we received from Eastern Europe a stirring consolation for which We humbly thank the Lord. We regard it as a part of the secret Providence of God which can prepare a new impulse of sincere faith and of peaceful and fruitful apostolate for the holy Church and for honest souls... You see the emotion and tenderness of the moment which is in Our heart, and will excuse Us from the further effusions to which We are inclined...¹⁰

Probably the best guess is that Khrushchev, like the thugs of gangland who claw their way to supremacy and find themselves desiring the respectability of the society they had combatted, now needs to win in the West a degree of respectability for himself and the Soviet Union, particularly in the eyes of the universal Catholic Church.

But Khrushchev has a long way to go before he may remotely be considered a civilized human being. Metropolitan Slipy was one of the highest Ukrainian Catholic prelates who were brutally arrested in 1945 and condemned to slave labor on trumped-up charges and accusations. It was Khrushchev, then Secretary General of the Communist Party of Ukraine, who was wholly responsible for the wanton destruction of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine. Over 6,000,000 Ukrainian Catholics were persecuted, tortured and forcibly compelled to accept the spurious communist-controlled Russian Orthodox Church. All five Ukrainian Catholic dioceses were eliminated, and 3,000 diocesan priests, 520 regular clergy, 1,100 nuns, 1,500 monks, 540 seminarians—all were arrested, deported or killed. Over 3,040 Ukrainian Catholic parishes, 4,400 churches and chapels, 127 monasteries, a theological academy, five spiritual academies and hundreds of Ukrainian Catholic schools, printing shops, social, cultural, youth and women's organizations in Western Ukraine—all these instrumentalities of peace and human brotherhood were ruthlessly destroyed by Moscow in 1945-46. For all this that arch exponent of the "new Soviet man," Khrushchev, is eternally accountable. We

¹⁰ An NCWC News Release, February 11, 1963, Rome.

have not the slightest doubt that the Vatican will never forget the crimes he committed in Ukraine against both the Ukrainian Catholics and the Ukrainian Orthodox.

Upon their arrival in Buffalo, N. Y., a group of Russian Orthodox churchmen, who were invited to the United States by the World Council of Churches, made some daring accusations against Metropolitan Slipy. One of them, Bishop Philaret of Vienna, stated at the press conference at the Statler Hilton Hotel, that the Ukrainian prelate was punished "not because he was a religious man, but because he committed a crime against the Soviet Union."¹¹

This is another example of how the Kremlin manipulates facts and fiction to suit its political objectives.

But Metropolitan Slipy has become an international *cause celebre* and a symbol of the vitality of the Ukrainian nation. In resisting unrelentingly Russian communist pressure, barbarism and inhumanity, he eminently demonstrated the power of faith. As a Ukrainian he personifies those national characteristics which have enabled the beleaguered Ukrainian nation to sustain its faith in God and its faith in its national destiny. To this martyr the Catholic Church and the world at large are eternally indebted. To this rare mortal the Ukrainian nation extends its boundless admiration and gratitude for ennobling their unending struggle against Russian communist colonialism and imperialism, and for their liberation and genuine independence.

**
*

Such are the recent events and developments testifying to the vitality and dynamism of the Ukrainian people, and to the importance of the Ukrainian problem for the world at large.

Distracted and overawed by sensational nuclear weaponry, the Western world and, especially, the United States have tended to forget that the ultimate values and sources of strength are spiritual, not material. For this reason the captive nations, as exemplified by Ukraine, merit and must be given encouragement and assistance by the West. For the battleground today is man's spirit: it is here and nowhere else that the future of mankind will be decided.

¹¹ *The Courier-Express*, March 7, 1963, Buffalo, N. Y.

NIXON AND THE CAPTIVE NATIONS RESOLUTION

By LEV E. DOBRIANSKY

Conflicting stories about former Vice President Richard M. Nixon and the Captive Nations Week Resolution will undoubtedly be told for many years to come. Since 1959, when the Vice President made his famous tour to the Soviet Union, numerous versions of his negative attitude toward the resolution have been given. In the 1960 presidential campaign, for example, Senator J. W. Fulbright demanded the release of the official text of the Nixon-Khrushchev conversations on the historic resolution which Congress had passed in July, 1959. It was rumored then that the disclosure would have been devastating to Nixon. Many wonder today why this text hasn't been disclosed.

Another example is the account offered in 1962 by the columnist Drew Pearson. On the basis of his interview with the Russian dictator, Pearson maintains that Nixon "actually apologized to Khrushchev for the action of the American Congress..."¹ The questionable story Pearson related goes as follows:

"Naturally I knew about the resolution," Khrushchev said, "but did not plan to mention it since Nixon was our guest. However, much to my surprise Nixon mentioned it himself and said that Congress was foolish to have passed the resolution."

"Do you mean to say that members of Congress are fools?"—Khrushchev said he asked Nixon.

"Oh, this is just a private conversation between us," Nixon said quickly.

One cannot but suspect the validity of this story when it is recalled that even before Nixon's plane landed in Moscow, Khrushchev had already brought up the resolution. In a stadium rally at the time he bellowed and railed against the resolution and its sponsors. However, part of Pearson's story appears quite plausible. As far as I know, Nixon has never denied his apologizing to Khrushchev for the passage of the resolution. And it is this point that continually emerges in the many different stories.

¹ Pearson, Drew. "Faked Photos in Golden State," *The Washington Post*, November 2, 1962, p. D11.

THE NIXON STORY

For an American to gauge the damage that was done in Moscow, it isn't at all necessary to depend on these many shifting stories of Nixon's behavior. Nixon's own qualified account is sufficient for this purpose. Whether the former Vice President has realized it or not, his story is a portrait of self-indictment.

Richard Nixon didn't know what struck him when he arrived in Moscow for the American Cultural Exhibition in July, 1959. As his book on *Six Crises* attests, he still doesn't understand what happened when Khrushchev unleashed his attack against the Captive Nations Week Resolution.

It is not, of course, my desire or intention to indulge in personalities or to cast any ill-light on their motivations. That unconstructive course never makes for objective discourse. I have the highest esteem for Mr. Nixon as I do for all public servants who have duties to perform and responsibilities to discharge in behalf of our national interest. I single out Nixon not because of Nixon but rather because of his direct official involvement in and his subsequent testimony to an event which continues to bewilder most Americans. Nixon's errors, omissions, and deficiencies may be viewed as a particular personification of the trained capacity for such behavior as demonstrated by the Kennans, the Bohlens and other well known Russian experts. As Nixon himself tells us, he was briefed extensively by such experts in the State Department, the U. S. Information Agency, the Central Intelligence Agency, and other government bodies. What's more, his heavy entourage to Moscow consisted of top-level advisers.

The chapter on Khrushchev in Nixon's book demonstrates clearly the limitations and flaws in the understanding of too many of our leaders with regard to the Soviet Union and the nature of the threat facing us. The concepts and conceptions shown by Nixon reveal only too plainly some of the reasons why the United States has been losing the cold war since World War II. Throughout the book Nixon is under the illusion that the Soviet Union is populated only by the Russian people. The main prison house of nations is non-existent for him. He seems to gloat over the fact that he was given the opportunity to speak directly to the "Russian people," although he is thoroughly unaware of the additional fact that the several things he had to say couldn't but have had an adverse effect on the majority of non-Russian nationals in the USSR. Adding imprecision of thought to factual inaccuracy, if Nixon is not talking about the

"Russian people," he is employing the equally misleading notion, "the Soviets."

As to ideology and reality, Nixon exudes similar confusion. He reveals to us that "the most important single purpose" of his mission was to convince Khrushchev "that he could not hope to convert the United States to Communism..."² This is a rather fantastic conception of the problem. The Soviet Russian totalitarians haven't converted any nation to "communism," including the entire Russian nation. So why place the United States as an unwary, lamb-like object of mythical conversion?

If, instead of concentrating on the myths of communism and conversion, Nixon had viewed the problem in its true light, he would have regarded as his most important single purpose the conveyance of our knowledge to Khrushchev about Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism and also our determination to beat it in its tracks. This could have been done diplomatically and with knowledgeable resolve. Khrushchev would have respected Nixon for it. For respect from the Russian bear is not obtained by falling prey to his disseminated myths.

THE MAJOR SOVIET RUSSIAN IRRITANT

When it comes to the "major Soviet irritant" throughout Nixon's tour, as he himself phrases it, the limitations and defects come into full bloom. The evidence provided by the participant himself, and reflecting the advice and judgments of countless others, clearly shows how unprepared and short we are in coping with the claws of the Bear. By this evidence Nixon confirms the fact that he fared rather poorly and feebly when he was confronted by Khrushchev's explosion over the Captive Nations Week Resolution. The reader will recall the passage of this measure by our Congress immediately prior to the Vice President's departure.

Consider carefully the evidence supplied in Nixon's book. He reports that upon his arrival Khrushchev "was lambasting the United States generally and me personally for the Captive Nations Resolution" which, according to him, "called for prayers for those behind the Iron Curtain."³ He goes on to say how difficult it was for him to imagine "that the resolution truly disturbed the Soviet Premier because it was simply the expression of a well-known opinion in the United States, and not a call to action."

After reading this, one wonders whether Nixon himself had ever read the resolution. First, it should be pointed out that he had noth-

² Nixon, Richard M., *Six Crises*, New York, 1962, p. 244.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

ing whatever to do with its passage. If he was lambasted, it obviously wasn't personal but official. Second, the resolution does not explicitly call for prayers. It authorizes public observances which, in practice, include prayers in addition to numerous other activities. Moreover, the unique element in the resolution is its specific reference to the main prison house of nations and its inmates, namely the captive non-Russian nations in the USSR. It is this element that stunned Khrushchev, then and ever since. Contrary to Nixon's assertion, the emancipation of these nations is certainly not "a well-known opinion in the United States."

Finally, the whereas clauses leading up to and predicating the resolve in Public Law 86-90 unquestionably constitute a call to action. It is action for a cold war strategy to be pursued until all the specified and other captive nations become free and independent. It is a form of action that Nixon himself called for in his acceptance speech before the Republican National Convention, but never concretely spelled out.⁴

By no means is this all. Another highlight in Nixon's testimony of American bewilderment is his "pure protocol courtesy visit" to Khrushchev. He gives a vivid account of how the Russian leader immediately lunged into the resolution.⁵ You can visualize the setting. Nixon tells us that the Russian jailer developed "a long harangue" and spoke in "a high-pitched voice," and frequently pounded the table.⁶ Khrushchev is quoted as saying that "the Soviet Government regarded the resolution as a very serious 'provocation.'" He is also quoted on its supposed negative effects upon the Geneva Conference, a peace treaty for Germany, and a "general improvement in relations between our two countries," as though the USSR is a country in the national sense.

Khrushchev, according to this testimony, set the stage for all that was to follow during Nixon's tour. He couldn't understand why President Eisenhower issued a Captive Nations Week Proclamation if he wanted Nixon "to have a good reception" in Moscow's main prison house of nations. Furthermore, the Russian leader suspected a plot by the U. S. Congress. Evidently, for his conspiratorial mind all of this was too neatly timed. As to be expected, he warned that it would mean war if we intended to "change anything in the USSR or in any other country." He then brought out the warped fiction on "how the Russian people had repulsed what he called United States

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 457.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

intervention at the time of the birth of the Soviet regime, during 1919-21, and certainly would do so now."

NIXON AT A DISADVANTAGE

In the course of this first meeting how did the Vice President present our case? First, from his account, he was apparently misinformed on the time Congress passed the resolution. It was not passed on July 6—the day it passed the Senate—but on July 9. Second, Nixon again was taken aback by Khrushchev's fury over the resolution. He didn't expect him to bring it up during this "pure protocol courtesy visit." As he puts it, "I had to make a quick decision of how to react to his attack." He actually thought that Khrushchev "was going through an act—that he was using the resolution as a pretext for taking the offensive against me, and that had it not been for this resolution, he would have found some other excuse for doing so." Why so?

Regarding our question, Nixon offers no logical explanation as to why this would have been so. Nor could he. Eisenhower's Paris experience in 1960 doesn't at all apply to his. It is perfectly sound for one to hold that had there been no resolution in July 1959, the Vice President would have been wined, dined, and swayed by typical Russian cold war hospitality. There is no reason to believe that a pretext was necessary at that time. Moscow was at its peak in its deceptive peace offensive, and Khrushchev himself was planning to visit the United States. Thus, the pretext argument used by Nixon is more of a post-rationalization for an unexpected attack than anything else.

Worse still is Nixon's admission of the two points he emphasized to Khrushchev. One point is that the resolution "was a decision made by the Congress over which Eisenhower had no control." The other point reads, "The resolution did not call for our intervention, or even for our support of a revolution in the satellite nations..." Here are perfect examples of how not to approach a Soviet Russian totalitarian, even in the rarefied realm of diplomacy. It is hard to believe that Nixon had to grovel with such low apology by intimating that Congress was wrong in passing the resolution. Equally incredible is the further apologetic note about our intervention. Despite his many assertions about a cold war offensive, this type of feeble behavior spells the complete defensive in the presence of the prime cold war instigator.

Again by Nixon's testimony, Khrushchev opened himself wide for some pointed retorts. The fiction about U. S. intervention in

1919-21 was a topic which could have been chewed on with particular reference to the re-establishment of the Russian prison house of nations. The jailer's ears could have been pinned back on this one. Concerning the resolution itself, the tactic that was made to order by Khrushchev's numerous utterances and should have been seized upon by Nixon is one of stressing competitive ideals and ways of life. Why this awful fear of a congressional resolution? But such an offensive presupposes knowledgeability. As Marx said, the Russian bear will continue to claw the other defenseless animals.

To be sure, as Nixon attests, Khrushchev kept clawing in this first meeting. He shook his finger at the Vice President, he threatened that Nixon would hear about the resolution for the duration of his stay, he shouted and pounded, he dubbed the resolution, and then "he spelled out what he meant in some earthy four-letter words..."⁷ Even Troyanovsky, his interpreter, had to blush "bright red." Still, at the close of this first meeting, Nixon was in the dark about all this. He completely misjudged the hospitable Moscow keeper and never understood the full import of the resolution.

Khrushchev also kept his word on Nixon hearing about the resolution during his tour. The frightened sought to frighten the innocent. To take a few instances, at the American Exhibition in Sokolniki Park, where the superficial "kitchen debate" occurred, the Russian leader again denounced the resolution. He embraced a workman nearby and declared for all to hear, "Does this man look like a slave laborer?"⁸ While Nixon was concerned with irrelevancies, such as the comparative merits of "the Soviet system" and our economy, his political climb and Khrushchev's, the jailer was very much obsessed by the meaning of the resolution for his compound of imprisoned nations.

THE RUSSIAN JAILER POTEMKINIZES

Later, at Khrushchev's *dacha*, the resolution came up again. The native Russian (Khrushchev isn't a Ukrainian nor is he, like Stalin, an adopted Russian) suggested a boat trip for the Vice President and his party "to see how the slaves live."⁹ The two hour trip turned into a trip about captives. Mikoyan, according to Nixon, characterized it as "fine river rallies." On eight occasions Khrushchev ordered the boat to be stopped so that he could shake hands with the bathers in the Moskva River and ask them, "Are you captives?"

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 253.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

Are you slaves?"¹⁰ Naturally, the shouted reply was *nyet, nyet*. Whereupon Khrushchev would turn to Nixon, rib him a bit or two, and shout "See how our slaves live!" Nixon was informed later by Ambassador Thompson that the only bathers allowed to use the river are the elite of the New Class.

The typical Potemkin village tactics of fraud and fear as shown here by Khrushchev are modes of Russian political behavior which we shall observe time and time again in other contexts. The Potemkin village characterization goes back to the time of Catherine the Great in the eighteenth century and is synonymous with false appearances. The sorry aspect of all this is Nixon's almost naive interpretations of the clawing he received from the bear. He rationalized that protocol had to be maintained, that Khrushchev was his host and the like. This is no excuse for not demonstrating, ever so politely and shrewdly, one's own knowledgeability about the USSR, its make-up, its uncementable cracks.

When Nixon repeatedly speaks of the USSR as a nation and groups the different national entities of this imperium into the mythical category of "Soviet people," the Russian totalitarian cannot but instantly scent his prey. When he regards Khrushchev as a "cold, hardheaded Marxist," the prime jailer cannot but recognize the solid effects of his smoke screening propaganda.¹¹ And when he publicly testifies that he was bewildered by Khrushchev's reaction to the Captive Nations Week Resolution, we have a fair measure of the validity as well as the gravity of Marx's wisdom about the Russian bear and its victims.

From the viewpoint of psycho-political impact there were many other errors committed by the Vice President. At the request of Herbert Klein, who was Nixon's press secretary, I submitted a memorandum citing several of these errors. Nixon's exclusive concentration on Russia as against the non-Russian countries in the USSR, his mythical monolithic terms, such as "Soviet nation" and "Soviet people," his reference to Ukraine as the Texas of this "nation," his comparison of Novosibirsk, long the hub of slave labor in Moscow's empire, with our free western frontier towns, and his rags-to-riches attribution to Khrushchev's rise to power, which was actually accelerated by genocide and other crimes in the 30's and 40's—these were some of the inexcusable errors pointed out.¹²

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

¹² Memorandum to the Vice President, October 30, 1959.

We Americans might have contented ourselves with the superficialities of the "kitchen debate," but those in Moscow's primary empire who have long suffered the injustices and indignities of Soviet Russian domination over their homeland, must have been hurt deeply by the words and thoughts of America's second-ranking leader. Yes, the official text of the momentous Khrushchev-Nixon affair has yet to be released to the American public. As mentioned before, in the 1960 presidential campaign Senator Fulbright urged its release when he accused the Vice President of expressing regrets to Khrushchev on the timing of the resolution.¹³ Its release now should make for some interesting and instructive reading. After all, other texts on U. S. prestige abroad and other subjects have since been released.

The Nixon testimony of American bewilderment is only a meager parcel of the misunderstanding and misconceptions held in this country with regard to the Captive Nations Week Resolution. As emphasized earlier, Nixon simply gave high-level expression to this misunderstanding or lack of understanding. Innumerable examples can be cited from other spheres of our society. To mention one, in 1961 Stewart Alsop wrote an article in *The Saturday Evening Post* in which he stated: "When I was in Moscow during the October Party Congress, Khrushchev once again violently denounced the innocuous Captive Nations Week Resolution which Congress passes every year to attract minority votes."¹⁴

It's strange, to say the least, that this popular writer can compress into one sentence the admixture of truth, illogic and factual inaccuracy. It is a significant truth that Khrushchev has not ceased to denounce the resolution. He's been doing it since 1959. But logically, if this is so, then how could the resolution be deemed "innocuous"? And, in the realm of fact, Congress does not have to pass the resolution every year. Public Law 86-90 is on the books for an indefinite future. Moreover, the resolution, which was passed in a congressional off-year, was done so with far greater objectives than to attract minority votes. As a matter of fact, this consideration didn't even enter into it.

Evidently there's considerable room in this area for proper information and some education. The Nixon case is an excellent starting-point for lessons to be learned. No area of our society is exempt in this regard.

¹³ "Fulbright Cites Nixon Regrets," *The Evening Star*, Washington, D.C., October 19, 1960.

¹⁴ Alsop, Stewart, "The Berlin Crisis; Khrushchev's Weakness," *The Saturday Evening Post*, December 16, 1961.

THE TRIAL IN KARLSRUHE: DOCUMENTS AND TESTIMONIES

EDITOR'S NOTE: Following are a series of documents and testimonies pertaining to the trial of Bogdan N. Stashynsky, a trained KGB agent, who assassinated on orders of Moscow two Ukrainian nationalist leaders, Dr. Lev R. Rebet in October 1957 and Stepan Bandera, in October 1959. In August 1961, a few days before the erection of the infamous wall in Berlin, Stashynky and his German-born wife escaped to West Berlin where they surrendered to German and American authorities and where Stashynsky confessed the killing of the two Ukrainian leaders.

During the trial of Stashynsky from October 8 to October 13, 1962 in Karlsruhe, Germany, the German Supreme Court ascertained beyond a doubt that the murders of Dr. Rebet and Bandera were conceived and planned by the Soviet government, and that in fact the principal criminal bearing responsibility for these heinous murders is the Soviet government. The legal responsibility of the Soviet government in these crimes has been proved at the trial in Karlsruhe, when Stashynsky testified that for the assassination of Bandera he was awarded the "Order of the Red Banner" by an *ukase* of the Supreme Soviet signed by its president, Marshal Klementi Voroshilov, and bestowed upon him by General Alexander A. Shelepin, then the chief of the KGB.

On April 23, 1963 the government of the Federal Republic of Germany sent a protest note to the USSR regarding the assassination of the Ukrainian leaders, which read as follows:

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has the honor to notify the Embassy of the USSR of the following:

"In October, 1962 a trial was held in the Federal court against Soviet citizen Bogdan Stashynsky. Stashynsky assassinated Lev Rebet in October, 1957 and Stepan Bandera, in October, 1959 with a gas pistol which was handed to him by those who ordered him to commit these murders. Stashynsky was sentenced to eight years of hard labor. According to the findings of the Federal court both crimes were committed upon instructions of official Soviet organs. Therefore, the Federal Government is compelled to call the attention of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that such conduct is sharply contrary to the generally accepted rules of law, especially international law. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany is hereby requesting the Government of the USSR to undertake the necessary measures and guarantees to prevent similar actions from occurring in the future."

Following are the text of the opinion of the German Supreme Court, and the testimonies of two American attorneys representing Mrs. S. Bandera, the Hon. Charles J. Kersten of Milwaukee, and Dr. Jaroslaw Padoch of New York, and that of Miss Natalia Bandera, the daughter of the late head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Stepan Bandera:

Sentence and Oral Opinion of the Court
in the criminal case
against

the Soviet subject

Bogdan S t a s h y n s k y, of no fixed abode,
born in Borshevychi near Lemberg on November 4, 1931,
at present in custody on a charge of murder.

pronounced by the President of the 3rd Court of Criminal
Appeal of the Federal High Court on Friday, October 19,
1962 (7th day of proceedings), on the strength of the main
hearing on October 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 15th and 19th, 1962,
in which the following took part:

President of the Senate, Dr. Jagusch
as President of the Court,
Federal Judge Weber,
Federal Judge Dr. Wiefels,
Federal Judge Dr. Hengsberger,
Federal Judge Dr. Schumacher
as advisory judge,
Federal Attorney Dr. Kuhn
and
Judge Oberle of the provincial court
as representatives of the Federal Attorneyship,
Chief Clerk of Court Hatz
as certificating official of the court.

IN THE NAME OF THE PEOPLE

- I. The accused is found guilty on two charges of aiding and abetting a murder and on a charge of treason.
- II. He is sentenced to a total punishment of
eight years penal servitude.
- III. Allowance will be made for imprisonment pending trial.
- IV. The costs of the proceedings will be borne by the accused.

By order of the Court

The main arguments on which the sentence is based are as follows:

The accused comes of a peasant family in a village of Western Ukraine near Lemberg. This region in which he spent his youth is characterized by conflicts between hostile national groups for supremacy, against the background of the long political fight of the Ukrainian people for political and cultural self-determination. The son of Ukrainian parents, he was also to

a certain extent on the side of the strong Polish national group in the village. His youth—and he has given the court a credible and realistic account of this period in his life—was over-shadowed by fierce, political, and at times bloody conflicts between the long-established Ukrainians and the Poles, to whom this territory was ceded after the First World War. He himself experienced in his own family the results of forcible pressure and counter-pressure. At the end of 1939, when Poland was divided between Hitler and Stalin, the Soviets invaded this territory. This resulted once more in acts of violence between the Ukrainians, Russians and Poles. In 1941, when Hitler waged war on the USSR, the Ukrainians' hopes of the restoration of their state independence were very soon shattered. During this period, so the accused told the court, there were, to begin with, fierce clashes between the Ukrainians and the Poles, and soon also action against the German occupation, and subsequently against the Russian partisans. In 1943-1944, when the German troops retreated to the west, the fight was directed against the Soviet troops who were once more advancing. For years both an open war and a partisan struggle in the underground were waged against the renewed Soviet rule. In 1946 after the war ended, the accused was only 14 years old.

What a childhood! What a degradation and disparagement of human life he must have witnessed! What a disparagement of human rights, of the fundamental claim to an existence free, at least externally, of struggles between national groups, war, Nazi and Communist dictatorship! But that is not all: one must visualize this more or less local picture as part of the already historical, eventful, political fight of the Ukrainian people in their various forms for their cultural and state independence and for the realization of their own political ideas against the various political rulers—a fight which still continues today, a fight which in the first place was waged against Czarist Russia and Austria, then against the Soviet Union and Poland, subsequently against the German occupation, and finally against the Soviets again.

In spite of the dismal picture of his youth, the accused has shown in the main proceedings of this trial that he learned to have morally sound feelings and thoughts; the warped materialism which very soon got him in its clutches only partly covered up his fundamental moral structure and was unable to eliminate it altogether. In 1950 when he was 19 years old and a college student, the state power already seized hold of him and turned this inexperienced and docile young man into a political tool. The reason was apparently an insignificant youthful prank. The Soviet secret police, the MGB, won over this susceptible youth, who, confused by the grim events of his childhood, was not yet capable of discriminating and judging for himself, as a spy and informer against Ukrainian underground groups. The MGB threatened him with reprisals against his family and in this way won him over as a renegade and alienated him from his family and his fellow-countrymen. Since he was naive he did not suspect the cunning methods of the secret police. His family would be spared, so he was promised, in return for his services as an agent. What a thing to expect of a young man! However, he "proved his worth" in clearing up a political plot and became an MGB agent whose task it was to expose Ukrainian underground groups. In this respect, too, he was, as he himself has testified, successful.

From now onwards he lived exclusively in the sphere of influence of the Soviet MGB; he became a Communist and was trained as an agent. And from now onwards he was under the pressure of the political system which a co-

plaintiff has described so aptly: the absolute negation of human values, the negation of man as a creature in God's image by the Soviet sham religion of a degenerate, anti-human materialism: man as a mere product of albumen and water, who can be drilled in automatic reflexes, man as the interchangeable tool of social utopias, fundamentally worth only the sum-total of his reflexes that are useful to society. For two reasons we in particular must show especial understanding for the scars and damage which such drill leaves on the human soul—we, Goethe's and Lessing's fellow-countrymen, in the heart of Europe, in the course of twelve years under the criminal influence of the likes of Hitler, Goebbels and their clique became the scourge of civilized humanity—and we are the people of whom 18 million members are at present still obliged to live in the Soviet sphere of power. For an almost equal period, namely for eleven years, the accused was the tool and subject of the MGB-KGB.

In the autumn of 1954 he realized that he was being trained as an agent against the German Federal Republic. From now onwards he became the German national, Josef Lehmann. He was thoroughly instructed in all the details of Lehmann's life. At the end of 1954 he was sent to East Berlin where, as this court has experienced, the intelligence services of the Soviets, of the Poles, and of the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany all work hand in hand. He was to become accustomed to the life and conditions here. At the beginning of 1956 his first tasks as an agent were assigned to him. He became the liaison-man of the KGB to the latter's agent Nadishtshyn, alias Besaha, in Munich. The idea of abducting the Ukrainian emigre politician and writer Rebet was now discussed with Nadishtshyn. From spring 1956 to February 1957 he was set the task of winning over a certain person, whom I shall designate as X, for the KGB and he did his utmost to carry out this task. From 1956 to 1958 he carried out various commissions as an agent against the newspaper editor Borys and the Ukrainian politician Stetzko; he was sent to Rotterdam to make observations, and he also carried out several tasks as a spy against the German Federal Republic and against the U.S. forces. But I have partly anticipated certain details of his career.

April 1957 brought the beginning of an inner and external catastrophe as far as Stashynsky was concerned. He had been instructed to spy on the emigre politician Rebet, the spiritual leader of a group of Ukrainian emigres who were politically active in Munich. In the summer of 1957 he was suddenly ordered to murder Rebet. A weapon with which he was to squirt prussic acid in his victim's face was demonstrated to him, and a special agent from Moscow showed him how to use it. He was told that he need have no misgivings about the effects and consequences. This weapon, so it was stressed, had already been used most successfully against human beings, and would cause instantaneous death and leave no traces behind. The weapon was then demonstrated on a dog which was tied to a tree. The animal—and Stashynsky described this scene realistically and haltingly in court—raised its muzzle towards him inquisitively and trustingly as he pressed the trigger of the weapon. This was the first time in all his life that he killed a living creature. Sergey (a Soviet agent—Ed.) carefully took the leash with him, but left the dog's carcass lying. Truly a symbol for what was to happen later!

At this point the following facts must be borne in mind: the days of the two eras of murder under Stalin, when the dictator still raged against his former co-fighters and against the Soviet peoples and had millions of persons killed, the days of the bloody Yezhovshchina up to 1938 and of arbitrary murders

between 1945 and 1953, were, it is true, over. Even Khrushchev, according to his own words in public, had at that time feared for his life. Of the members and candidates of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as many as 112 were liquidated in the course of the years up to 1953. With Khrushchev's notorious speech the 20th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union ushered in the restoration of the so-called socialist lawfulness. What that meant as far as the home policy of the Soviet Union was concerned, is of no interest in this trial. Externally this murder trial has unfortunately definitely proved that so-called coexistence and so-called socialist lawfulness by no means exclude so-called individual terrorism—all being terms that are used in the Communist vocabulary. Stalinism is dead. But individual murderous terrorism still lives on. The real change which has taken place thus has not the least connection with lawfulness: the Soviet secret service no longer commits murder arbitrarily and of its own accord. Murder is now only carried out at the explicit orders of the government. Political murder has now, as it were, become an institution. A co-plaintiff has very aptly quoted Djilas' *Conversations with Stalin*: "Stalin's world has not disappeared, its character... has been preserved unchanged." Individual terrorism now threatens those who are an obstacle to the repatriation plans of the Soviet regime. And Rebet was such a person.

THE MURDER OF REBET

Moscow's orders to murder Rebet completely changed the life of the accused. Hardly anyone who has been present during this lengthy trial will be of the opinion that Stashynsky was the very man to kill off the political enemies of the Soviet Union. He is intelligent and gifted and more inclined to be soft-hearted—a person who by nature is peaceable. Without the Soviet system, which, like the National Socialist system, regards political murder by the state as justifiable and necessary, he would probably now be a teacher somewhere in Ukraine. But unfortunately he belongs to that large group of persons who at the command of their own state, to which they are subordinate, commit crimes. He personifies the individual who is first of all trained in the doctrine of hatred and propaganda and is then degraded to the rank of a deliberate killer. This does not exonerate him from punishable guilt. He knew: thou shalt not kill! The task expected of him was repugnant to his nature. The victim and the victim's family, all of whom he had never seen, stirred his pity. On the other hand, however, the method by which the murder was to be committed did not demand any special effort or skill. And at that time he was still trained to unquestioning obedience. He has given the court a clear account of his inner conflict. His wrong training politically made him regard Rebet as a traitor to and an enemy of the Soviet Union. And with this thought he finally appeased his conscience, at least for the time being. He obeyed the orders he had received, travelled to Munich with the weapon concealed on his person, and on October 12, 1957, found an opportunity as directed, even though an inner voice told him again and again to avoid this opportunity. He kept exactly to the instructions he had received to lie in wait for Rebet at the office where he worked, No. 8 Karlsplatz. True, he knew that he might perhaps find a better opportunity to commit the deed somewhere else, but he said to himself: orders are orders—if he comes, then I shall have to do it, if he doesn't come, then my orders for today are finished and perhaps finished for good. But at 10 o'clock Rebet approached the building. Mechanically the accused went towards him in the hall

and fired a large quantity of the deadly poison in the face of his unsuspecting victim. He held the weapon—a short tube, only as thick as a finger—wrapped up in a piece of newspaper. It was all perfectly simple. There was no need to take careful aim; there was no struggle, no screaming, no blood, merely a low smacking sound as he pressed the trigger. Rebet immediately reeled forward and a little while later was found dead farther up in the building. Stashynsky left the building, went to the Hofgarten, where he threw the weapon into a brook, travelled back to East Berlin and reported that he had carried out the deed successfully. In the prescribed language of the KGB the term used on such an occasion is: to greet an acquaintance!

There is certainly something depressing about the facts established from this first evidence in the trial. The political leadership of the Soviet Union, the leadership of a world power which is wont to be proud of its history and civilization, and moreover the present leadership of the country that has given the world a Pushkin, Gogol, Chekhov, Leo Tolstoy and Fyodor Dostoevsky and, in more recent times, Mayakovsky, Sholokhov and Pasternak—the political leadership of this country, a member of the United Nations which entertains correct diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic, considers it expedient to have a murder by poison, decided at least on a government level, committed on the sovereign territory of the German Federal Republic as a state order. On the certain assumption that this deed would not come to light, this same leadership acts in defiance of all international rules of decency, of the German penal laws and of its own laws in order to liquidate a political opponent. But every political murder, like a political lie, is in the end directed against its instigator. The Federal High Court knows from a previous trial that the Soviet Union used a member of its embassy in Bonn for espionage in the German Federal Republic. This court is now obliged to ascertain with regret that the political leadership of the Soviet Union also officially orders and has murders carried out on German territory.

But to return from the high-ranking wire-pullers to the accused. He was completely responsible for his actions when he committed the deed. Apart from his understandable state of excitement in view of the nature of the deed he was about to commit, on the morning of the day in question he took a tablet as a protection against prussic acid vapors. Whatever this tablet may have contained, the convincing opinions of the experts, Professor Mueller and Professor Rauch have shown that this tablet could not have diminished the accused's responsibility for his actions in the legal sense. And in spite of the fact that Rebet was suffering from a complaint of the coronary arteries, it has been ascertained that the action of the accused caused his death. Rebet was ascending the stairs. Immediately after the weapon was fired, he reeled and fell and died shortly afterwards. He must have inhaled a fatal quantity of prussic acid. According to expert opinion, a single breath under the circumstances in question contains up to ten times the fatal quantity. In addition, there is also the possibility of death having been caused by a convulsive contraction of a coronary artery as a result of shock at the assault. But this possible cause of death, too, would have emanated from the accused. By convincing experiments the expert has definitely proved that prussic acid, applied in the manner ascertained, has a fatal effect on human beings, that it can actually be applied in this manner, and also that there are such protective drugs or antidotes as the one described by the accused. Indeed, they are already used in cases of accidents with prussic acid.

After this first killing Stashynsky was assigned to a different kind of agent activity for some months. In 1958 the special agent Sergey instructed the accused to watch the memorial service for Colonel Konovalets, who championed the idea of an independent Ukraine and was assassinated in Rotterdam in 1938. Sergey asked Stashynsky whether it would be possible to carry out a plot by planting a bomb at the grave after the memorial service. But Stashynsky, who now already felt himself burdened by guilt as an accessory to murder, pointed out that in that case women and children would be the victims. As regards Rebet's death no suspicion that he had been murdered had so far been voiced, since it was assumed that he had died of heart failure due to a complaint of the coronary arteries.

THE MURDER OF BANDERA

Thereupon the KGB, at the instructions of the same Moscow government department, in the autumn of 1958 set the accused the task of watching the movements of the emigre politician Stepan Bandera, who as the leader of a big, active OUN group likewise lived in Munich. Stashynsky spied out all the circumstances of Bandera's life and it was not long before he learned that he was to murder Bandera. In April 1959 the accused was summoned to Moscow. There he received authoritative orders to carry out the murder. Stashynsky pointed out that Bandera had a body-guard who usually accompanied him. Thereupon he was given a double-barrelled pistol of the same type with which to carry out the murder. Stashynsky now experienced the same inner conflict which he had felt the first time he committed a murder. He realized and felt the moral and legal reprehensibility of such deeds; he was repelled by the idea, but he was still incapable of detaching himself from the servile obedience which had been drilled into him, and for the time being he appeased his conscience again with illusions of his political usefulness. But this time the inner conflict was already much harder, and at first good even triumphed over evil. In the middle of May 1959 a favorable opportunity presented itself. Bandera drove into his garage alone. Stashynsky, who was watching him and was holding the weapon in readiness, was suddenly seized by doubts and pity; he felt the pressure of the orders he had received and at the same time seemed to hear voices which allayed the pangs of his conscience. But he was still bound by the political discipline that had been instilled into him. Western conditions, so remote and different from the way of life and from the mentality that he had known so far, were still something strange to him, even though his fiancée had already made him acquainted with them. For a brief moment he thought of fleeing. But how was he, the murderer of Rebet, going to start life anew in the West? He was still dominated by the KGB. But he had not the heart to commit the murder. "He doesn't know how near death he is... Let him live," he said to himself and ran away and threw the weapon into the Koegelmuelbach. At first he felt a certain relief. But very soon he once more felt the pressure of the orders that he had received. He now resorted to camouflage methods. He examined the lock on the door of the house in which Bandera lived in order to be able to produce some evidence of his activity as an agent and thus mollify Moscow. While doing so, he broke two key-bits, which were found two and a half years later in the dirt and dust that had accumulated in the large chamber of the lock.

In October 1959 he again received orders from Moscow to commit the murder, together with another weapon. Once again the accused travelled to

Munich. He was back again in the old vicious circle: spying on Bandera, postponing the deed, and breathing with relief until the next morning, spying anew, waiting and looking at the clock; will Bandera come by one o'clock, or won't he? Can I go away, or will I have to kill him? It was the old conflict between discipline, the pressure of orders, and his better feelings. The "old authority" triumphed. As the psychiatrist so convincingly said, the urge to turn over a new leaf and to abandon crime was still too weak.—Bandera came home shortly before 1 o'clock. Stashynsky went into the house unnoticed, and from then onwards acted in a kind of cunning automatism. Unexpectedly he heard the charwoman, Mrs. Huber, leaving the flat above and coming down the stairs, while Bandera was likely to enter the house at any moment. The accused, pretending he was going to use the lift, let Mrs. Huber pass. Meanwhile Bandera, who had opened the entrance door of the house, was trying to get his key out of the lock. Again there was an unexpected delay. But Stashynsky fiddled about with his shoe. Then he walked towards Bandera, who obviously did not suspect him and was still standing by the door. He went past Bandera, took hold of the outside door-knob with his left hand, saying something to his unsuspecting victim, fired the contents of the double-barrelled pistol into his face. Turning his back on Bandera, he pulled the door to and hurried away. He threw the doorkey down a drain and the weapon, as on a previous occasion, into the Koegelmuehlbach. That same day he travelled back to East Berlin and reported on the achievement of his mission. In the language of the KGB, he had now "greeted" Bandera successfully. Cuts, made by glass splinters, were found on Bandera's face. A post-mortem examination which was carried out immediately revealed prussic acid in his stomach. He had inhaled prussic vapors and, in addition, had also swallowed drops of this poison. Death by violence was immediately suspected.

A celebration was held in Stashynsky's honor in the prohibited Soviet zone of Karlshorst. There are still people in that sphere of influence who regard the idea of committing a murder by poison for the Soviet Union as an honor and a distinction. Stashynsky was summoned to Moscow. There the then chief of the KGB, Shelepin, *not* a trained agent himself, conferred the "Order of the Red Banner" on him for the successful execution of an important governmental task. The diploma which he received was signed by Voroshilov, head of state. The conferment, however, was kept a secret and, contrary to the usual custom, no mention of it was made in *Pravda*. But Stashynsky later received a testimonial from the KGB which in veiled terms confirmed the task he had carried out and the conferment. Stashynsky produced the original testimonial in this court and it is undoubtedly genuine. Stashynsky had to give Shelepin an account of the murder. He was surprised at various questions that were asked regarding insignificant details—as for instance, the exact spot in the house where he had fired the weapon, and whether Bandera was really carrying some red tomatoes in his hand. He did not know that Shelepin had meanwhile read certain press reports which did not tally with his own report of the deed as regards these details. In the meantime, however, it was ascertained that there was a simple explanation for these deviations. To his horror Stashynsky now learned that he was to be employed as a professional murderer—his own expression—in the future, too, once the Bandera case had been forgotten. But now he was firmly determined to prevent this from happening. He used this opportunity to trick his superiors: he began to talk about his fiancée whom he had known since 1957; he described her as pro-Soviet, and asked for permission

to marry her. It was his plan—though at this stage it was still somewhat vague—not to return from some task in the West at a later date. Shelepin as a KGB man now committed a cardinal error; he gave Stashynsky permission to get married on condition that his fiancée passed the test in Moscow as trustworthy.

THE METAMORPHOSIS OF THE MURDERER

Thus matters now took a decisive turn. A change had meanwhile been gradually taking place in the mentality and attitude of the accused. The "old authority" had begun to totter. The thought of the murders that he had committed sickened him and troubled his conscience greatly. His fiancée had shown him an entirely different world and mentality. A "new authority" was gradually taking root in his soul. He has told this court objectively that his fiancée on one occasion, referring to his way of thinking, said: "How can you be so blind, seeing that you are not stupid in other respects." A little while previously Stashynsky, who lacks imagination, saw a picture in East Berlin which showed Bandera lying in his coffin. For the first time he saw the consequence of such a deed, his deed in this case, with his own eyes. This, so he has told the court, was the moment when he definitely decided to turn over a new leaf, for he now clearly realized the level to which he had sunk. He was determined at all costs not to be forced to kill anyone else. But he needed help to carry out this decision. And he hoped for and expected this help from a permanent union with his fiancée. For this reason he was astute and tenacious of purpose when it was a question of obtaining permission to marry. As he himself has said here in court, this permission involved his own soul. He felt that he had come to a parting of the ways.

From now onwards he began to apply the methods that he had learned *against* the KGB. It was decided that for the present he should tell his fiancée that he was an agent of the Soviet Occupied Zone in order to observe her reaction. Moscow would then act accordingly. Instead of which, however, he told her who he really was, with the exception of the murders that he had committed, and informed her about the intentions of the KGB and about his own intentions. His fiancée's visit to Moscow was a success inasmuch as she passed muster as trustworthy from the political point of view. In April 1960 Stashynsky and his fiancée were married in a church in East Berlin and then moved to Moscow according to instructions. They told their relatives that they were in Warsaw on business. Once in Moscow, they began to deceive the KGB systematically. For various reasons, however, Stashynsky felt repulsed and insulted. In spite of his "services" and the order that had been conferred on him, he discovered a secret tape-recorder concealed in his apartment. The mail which he and his wife received from their relatives was also checked. He and his wife were refused permission to undertake a joint trip to East Berlin at Christmas, as had been promised them, to visit his wife's parents. Obviously one of them was always to remain behind in Moscow as a hostage. He was informed by his superiors that his wife, who was three months pregnant, must have an abortion performed, since a child was a hindrance to anyone employed in the service of the KGB. Other signs of distrust were also evident. Stashynsky was no longer on good terms with the special agent Sergey. In January 1961, after a lot of fuss, Stashynsky's wife was finally given permission to travel to her parents, but the accused was not allowed to accompany her. He gave her certain instructions. Since she had strained herself lifting during her pregnancy, she was

in need of special care. In this way she managed to postpone her return until the birth of the child in April 1961. But Stashynsky was not allowed to visit her.

On August 9, 1961, the child died unexpectedly. The new special agent suspected that this might be the work of some Western secret service. Stashynsky, however, seized this opportunity to tell his superior that in view of his wife's overwrought state there was danger of her revealing his activity as an agent to someone or other. And he pointed out that he was the only person who could prevent her from doing so. The new special agent wanted to eliminate the distrust harbored against Stashynsky. The latter was allowed to travel to Berlin with an escort and his movements were then constantly watched in East Berlin. And this constant surveillance continued even after it was ascertained that the child had died a natural death. He and his wife thereupon decided to flee a day before their child's funeral, August 12, 1961, since it would be too late to do so afterwards. In spite of the fact that they were being watched from three automobiles in the streets nearby, they managed to escape unnoticed across a stretch of land planted with trees and shrubs, from Dallgow to Finkenkrug, and from there to East Berlin and then by electric train to West Berlin. On arriving there, they reported to a U.S. official department through the mediation of the German police headquarters.

Anyone who hears this story without having heard the evidence or having spoken to the accused will probably doubt its truth. All such doubts, however, have been eliminated during this trial. The accused is a credible witness. During the main hearing he gave the court a detailed confession. It tallies in every detail with the earlier detailed confessions, which he made over a year ago to the police and to the judge who conducted the preliminary hearing. The accused has obviously an excellent memory but shows no tendency or ability to invent or embellish facts. In addition, he has mentioned details which only the perpetrator could know. He knows what the weather was like on October 12, 1957, and compares it to the weather on the day that he was interrogated four years later. His statement is corroborated by the meteorological office. Shortly after he had murdered Rebet he saw a police patrol car stop in front of the building, No. 8 Karlsplatz, and a crowd of people there. Both these details have been confirmed. On the day that he murdered Bandera he had watched the latter drive away from his office with a woman at twelve o'clock. This fact has also been corroborated by witnesses. He knows the exact time when the deed was committed, he knows what Mrs. Huber said as she left the flat upstairs, and he heard her go past him. It has been ascertained that at the time in question there was only *one* young man standing in the narrow corridor in front of the lift-door. The fact that he was waiting in front of the lift-door has also been confirmed. The two broken key-bits have been found in the dirt and dust in the chamber of the lock, where they must have lain for years. Stashynsky is able to describe them in detail. His information about plane trips and hotel rooms that he used two to four years ago has been proved correct. The registration slip of the Stachus Hotel, dated October 9, 1957, and confirmed by a graphological expert, was obviously written by him. The name D which he used on this occasion has been investigated. He has given an exact description of the position of the flat in which the person who is really called D lived. The same applies in the case of the name B. It has been proved by documents that he really called himself Josef Lehmann, that he stayed at the Hotel "Helvetia" under this name at the time in question, and that he also got married

under the name of Lehmann. The pictures taken at his wedding have been confirmed by the witness Villkow. He has identified an named Besaha, alias Nadshtshyn, and also Shelepin from a photograph. He had already been photographed in 1957 while together with this person whom we have designated as "X" without being aware of this. The hiding places which he has mentioned have been located by the police. He has given a correct account of the memorial service in Rotterdam and he has also given a correct description of the color, type and number plate of Bandera's automobile. He recognized the house in which Mr. Stetzko lived from a photograph that was shown him. His statements about the Soviet prohibited area of Karlshorst are correct. So, too, are the facts he has stated regarding the locality of Munich. The news of the birth and death of his child is confirmed by genuine and dated telegrams of the Moscow post office, which he has submitted as evidence to this court. The date on the two train tickets, which he handed over to the U.S. official department in West Berlin, is that of the day on which he and his wife fled from East Berlin. It has been ascertained that the Russian identity papers which he possessed and has submitted to this court as evidence are all genuine and that they corroborate his statements. It can be seen from a genuine Soviet exit stamp that he actually left the Soviet Union on August 10, 1961. Intercepted and decoded after his flight were two wireless messages from the Soviet intelligence service, which inquired whether the East Berlin press conference with Lippolz, in which the German intelligence service was accused of having killed Bandera, had been a success and which were sent to a former Soviet agent, who has meanwhile confessed his activity. The state assignment and the order conferment have been confirmed by a genuine certificate of the so-called "Scientific Research Institute," which, as the expert proved convincingly, is really a KGB institution. The exact details given by the accused about the construction of the weapon, about its application and effects, as well as about the ampoules containing a liquid which resembled water and about the two antidotes that were used—all have been confirmed by scientific experiments. Whenever prussic acid is used, the fatal results can be ascertained. The use of antidotes to counteract prussic acid is in keeping with medical experience. The post-mortem examination of Bandera's body revealed the presence of prussic acid. These facts alone constitute overwhelming proof.

The possibility of a provocation by the Soviet Union must be excluded. In that case Stashynsky would have received Soviet instructions to pretend that he was the perpetrator. In view of the above-mentioned proof, such a provocation, which incidentally would have had little purpose, would already have had to be prepared in 1956-57. But in that case Stashynsky would not have received instructions to make statements about the Soviet Union which compromised it most seriously. He would not have dared say that the plan to transport the weapon in the luggage of a Soviet diplomat was considered, that the orders to commit the murder were issued by the highest Soviet authority, that they were state assignments and that they were rewarded by the conferment of a high-ranking decoration. Nor has the accused been instructed to make false statements by any other authority. He is not the person to do so. He obviously knows what he wants, speaks the truth and does not allow himself to be dissuaded from doing so. Moreover it is significant as regards the validity of his statements that the authorities in the Soviet Occupied Zone definitely manifested a stop-thief reaction. Whereas the Soviet Union kept completely silent both after Stashynsky's flight and during the whole of this trial, Ulbricht, its most faith-

ful satrap, hastened to have a press conference convened and tried to blame the intelligence service of the German Federal Republic for Bandera's murder. As everyone knows, the daily propaganda of the Soviet Occupied Zone is characterized by the fact that it simply reverses every event which might be of disadvantage to itself or to the East with obstinate monotony and thrusts the blame on the West. The propagandists of the Soviet Zone have not yet realized the fundamental psychological error of this method: by accusing the other side of thinking and doing what they are wont to do they are unintentionally exposing their own methods of action. Hence the East Berlin press conference with its alleged revelations about the murder of Bandera is to be regarded as an incident which exposed the KGB.

Finally, the entire conclusive evidence is in keeping with the character of the accused. He is lacking in imagination, is dispassionate, unaffected and reserved. He has feelings but keeps them to himself. He shows no inclination to resort to fanciful embellishments. He does not try to produce an effect. He does not try to take the center of the stage in any situation. Indeed, he is incapable of play-acting. Those who have heard his account and have observed his general behavior and, above all, his reactions during this trial are hardly likely to doubt the correctness and truth of his statements. And the expert has also assessed his character in the same way.

In view of all these facts, the evidence produced has convinced the Federal High Court beyond all possible doubt.

I now come to the legal arguments.

The Court of Criminal Appeal of the Federal High Court agrees to the indictment inasmuch as the two crimes constitute murder by poison. According to the law, a murderer is a person who kills a human being unlawfully with malice aforethought. From the moment such a person begins his activity the judicature of the Federal High Court which is applicable in such cases is irrevocable and unswerving. According to this judicature, murder with malice aforethought is committed if the murderer intentionally takes advantage of the fact that his victim is unsuspecting and defenseless. It is not a stipulation of the law that the murderer himself should have caused the victim to be unsuspecting, or should have influenced him in this respect. A person is unsuspecting if he is not on his guard at least *at the time in question* against an attack by *the perpetrator in question*. This view is also held by the Chief Court of Criminal Appeal of the Federal High Court. It is therefore of no legal significance in this case that a person such as Bandera, who had every reason to be careful, carried a weapon on his person and had a body-guard. At the time of the murder Bandera was completely unsuspecting towards the accused, as his behavior showed. In view of the conclusive evidence of this case, the Court of Criminal Appeal sees no reason to query the judicature applied hitherto. Incidentally, these carefully planned murders would still be acts of murder even according to an amendment of the law. A person who squirts deadly poison into the face of another human being at close range and in doing so takes the latter completely by surprise and thus attacks him in such a way as to make all reasonable defense impossible, is rightly regarded as a murderer if he intends to commit the deed on his own initiative and as his own deed.

In this connection the Court of Criminal Appeal, after a careful study of the judicature and the views of jurisprudence, agrees with the opinion of defense counsel: in neither case was the accused the perpetrator of a murder though he carried out the acts of killing alone, but only a tool and an assistant.

The perpetrators, that is to say the murderers, are those persons who were responsible for planning and plotting the murders down to the last detail as regards the victims selected, the place, time and method of murder, and who instructed the accused to carry them out within a limited space of time, and who gave him the instrument and means with which to carry out the murders. Stashynsky followed their instructions implicitly. They must therefore be held responsible for his entire action in the legal sense as murderers. Since they hold high-ranking offices in the sovereign territory of a foreign power, they are withdrawn from our efforts to ensure that justice is done, although in the long run no one can escape his just punishment. As far as the accused is concerned, many legal experts hold the opinion that a person who commits a deed entirely on his own must without exception always be condemned as the perpetrator. This argument sounds plausible, but on closer consideration gives rise to serious misgivings. The main misgiving has actually already been indicated with remarkable unanimity by all those involved in this trial, including the co-plaintiffs, who are not legal experts: since there are prison-like states able, as regards all actions, to order that they shall be carried out and that ideologically train certain of their subjects to do so, the individual who is obliged to live in such a prison atmosphere is certainly in a strange and unusual position, inasmuch as *his* state may designate as meritorious and necessary, actions which all civilized states condemn and punish as crimes. This holds good internationally, not only amongst states but also likewise in the case of a change of regime in Germany. I am referring to national socialist Germany and men like Eichmann. Those who morally resist such negative forces, stand alone within the masses when confronting them. Those who succumb to these forces, succumb to a skillful, overpowering, officially controlled mass influence; they do not succumb to incentives which come under the general category of criminology. The above-mentioned objective theory regarding the perpetrator does not take these facts into sufficient consideration. It is moreover confined to the presupposition that we are still living in a morally uniform and stable world. And for this reason we cannot agree with this theory.

Nor has the Federal High Court agreed with this theory. On the contrary, all the Courts of Criminal Appeal have always decided that even a person who commits a crime alone can nevertheless simply be the assistant of some other person. This was the decision reached by the 1st and 4th Court of Criminal Appeal in 1961 and 1962. The 5th Court of Criminal Appeal has added an important amendment, which has also been approved by us; namely that the fact that a crime is committed alone must be taken into consideration as an important indication that someone else is the real perpetrator. This applies in this case, but does not incriminate the accused any further. In short, he is not the Eichmann type who joyfully obeys his "Fuehrer" and carries out the orders he receives with even greater emphasis. As a co-plaintiff aptly said, the accused was at the time in question a poor devil who acted automatically under pressure of commands and was misled and confused ideologically. In his innermost heart he was repulsed by these crimes which had been planned down to the smallest detail; he was not part of them; he had no personal interest in them like a hired assassin has; he only appeased his conscience with difficulty and temporarily; he was not eager to commit the murders, even though he was, unfortunately, successful. He was a typical example of an abused tool of high-ranking wire-pullers, an assistant and henchman in the truest sense.

For this reason it is just and fitting to condemn him only as an assistant. This does not, however, imply a fundamental mitigation of the judicature applicable in cases of murder.

The conclusive evidence has, however, also shown that Stashynsky's action cannot be excused on the legal grounds of a state of compulsion. At the moment of committing the murders he was not threatened physically and compelled to commit these acts. It is true that in view of the rigid pressure of commands exercised by the KGB such a state of compulsion might have ensued in the course of similar situations in the future. But one must wait and see whether such a threat will be forthcoming. It is quite possible that the KGB in its own interests will refrain from such a threat. One cannot, as it were, stare at the arbitrary methods of dictatorships like a rabbit stares at a snake mesmerized and find reasons to excuse a person on such grounds in advance. For that would mean that all such crimes are sanctioned automatically.

I now come to the sentence to be imposed. Upon instructions the accused himself killed two persons. But in doing so, he was only the tool of ruthless forces. He has finally realized and admitted this fact and repents of his deeds. From the outset he has confessed fully and without sparing himself and has made no attempt to gloss over facts. Of his own free will he has taken the legal consequences of the murder of Rebet, which had aroused no suspicion whatever, upon himself in order to have a clear conscience. Under extremely difficult circumstances and at great risk to himself he has broken with the past. He gave himself up to the police, and was certain of being accused of murder and of having to suffer all the consequences for his deeds, even though he may, in keeping with human nature, have hoped that there might be some way out. Under difficult moral conditions and external circumstances and in spite of his grave guilt, he has made a great effort to mend his ways and has not relaxed his efforts in this respect. Indeed, one can say that he has *finally* fought a good fight and has stood the test. At great danger to himself he has brought forth the extremely reprehensible methods of political conflict, which are a mockery of every form of civilization, to the notice of the public. Though he has burdened himself with heavy guilt as a result of the political deformation of his moral ego and under the pressure of orders from his superiors, he is now, however, prepared to atone. There is no reason to burden him with the guilt of his wire-pullers. They will not escape from their guilt, for in the long run no one can flee from his guilt. The sentence pronounced by this court is not intended to destroy the accused. As far as humanly possible, it is to help him to atone. The separate sentences for each of the two cases of murder are 6 years penal servitude; the sentence for treachery is 1 year penal servitude. A total sentence of 8 years penal servitude, allowance to be made for imprisonment pending trial, suffices for atonement.

Plea of Charles Kersten

As a member of the American Bar I appreciate the courtesy granted me to appear in association with my colleagues, Mr. Neuwirth and Mr. Padoch, in behalf of Mrs. Bandera, the widow of one of the victims of the defendant.

The High Court has done the free world a great service particularly by bringing the facts of the Stashynsky case to public attention in the democratic tradition of Western civilization, especially in its objective questioning.

The Court brought out clearly that *any* Free World nation could be the hunting ground for the Soviet KGB.

The mystery of the cyanide gun that makes murder look like death from a heart attack has been exposed. Operations of the Russian Communists on foreign soil are not likely to be successful elsewhere.

It was proved that the defendant after killing Mr. Bandera and Mr. Rebet was to have a wider scope of action in the future. Stashynsky was graduated to a lifetime job of high level professional killer of "enemies of the Soviet Union." He was a brilliant product of Russian Communist training. He was to learn English. Eventually, his field would probably be Great Britain and the United States.

If Stashynsky had not defected, some stubborn anti-Soviet UN delegate, for example, might one day be found dead in New York, victim of a "heart attack" produced by this masterpiece of Soviet science.

The Court has inquired about the motives for his killings.

The motive for killing Bandera, told the defendant by his KGB masters, was that Bandera used terror to prevent the return of immigrants from Germany to the Soviet Union. In this respect the smear of Bandera was a complete fraud. The widow of Bandera, to save the good name of the deceased, for which she has the legal right, desires to remove this fraudulent smear.

The killing of Mrs. Bandera's husband was no ordinary murder perpetrated by an individual. It was not just a gang killing.

The evidence shows that the murder of Bandera was decreed by the government of the Soviet Union. Soviet Russian science was enlisted to fabricate a new weapon for which the West did not have a defense. The perpetrator was put through a long period of government training. He was assisted in the careful preparation for the crime by a large section of the KGB. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet awarded the perpetrator the "Order of the Red Banner."

The reason the Soviet government, headed by Khrushchev, decided to kill him was because Stepan Bandera was the leader of the widespread underground resistance in Ukraine to the Russian Communist occupation. Bandera was a symbol of the struggle for a free and independent Ukraine, a non-Russian nation of 45 million people with their own traditions, culture, language and civilization.

Ukrainian national resistance to every foreign occupation—particularly the Russian Communist occupation—has been proven over and over again.

Russian Communist methods of suppressing Ukraine's never-ending struggle for freedom are as ruthless as any in the recorded history of tyranny. In the years 1932-33 the Russian Communists removed all the food and seed produced in the country, creating a man-made famine that took the lives of over 5 million people. In the vicinity of Vynnytsia some 10,000 Ukrainian prisoners were murdered by the NKVD during the years 1938-40, at the time when Khrushchev was the first secretary of the Communist Party in Ukraine, i. e., the Russian Governor in Ukraine.

At about the time when Khrushchev was meeting with President Eisenhower in Geneva in 1955 his tanks were crushing the bodies of over 500 Ukrainian women—political prisoners—into the ground when to protect them from the NKVD they had formed a ring around their men in a concentration camp in Kingir.

As the Soviet Russian secret service killed Bandera in 1959 and Rebet in 1957, so they killed the Ukrainian leaders, Petlura in Paris 1926 and Col. Konovalts in Rotterdam in 1938. It was their plan to take the life of Mr. Stetzko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and former Prime Minister of Ukraine.

On this occasion I would like to point out that the American Committee on Communist Aggression of the U. S. House of Representatives issued the Special Report of the Congress entitled, *Communist Takeover and Occupation of Ukraine*. This Report was submitted to the House of Representatives on Dec. 31, 1954 by the Committee on Communist Aggression, of which it was my honor to be chairman. Massive Ukrainian national resistance to Communist rule is described on page 31 and elsewhere in this Report. The accused testified to this resistance during the trial.

Our Committee held extensive hearings—the sworn testimony of hundreds of witnesses—in the United States and Europe, including Germany, in 1953-54 with regard to all the Captive Nations. The Committee issued 26 Reports on the Captive Nations. It was our conclusion that the internal resistance of the enslaved nations to Russian Communism was the greatest deterrent to war.

Not until resistance to the Communist occupation is finally liquidated can the Soviet Russian imperialists safely launch military operations for world conquest.

The escape of Stashynsky was a shock felt at the Russian Communist summit. Stashynsky held state secrets involving criminal action in the free world by the highest echelons of the Soviet Government.

Communist propaganda spread the false story that a Ukrainian, Myskiv, had poisoned Bandera at the direction of federal Minister Oberlaender under orders from General Gehlen.

Also in connection with this trial, the press services of the satellites made the same false charges, spreading the story that the German intelligence, of which the expert has given testimony here, organized the murder. Unbelievable, but true, there were assertions in this false propaganda that the highest Court of the German Federal Republic is acting according to instruction. To all these false charges I can say as an American that this trial was held in the highest traditions of democracy and justice.

I was deeply impressed by the objective and human way in which every opportunity was given to the accused during the Court trial proceedings.

The Communist felt safe in thus trying to smear Oberlaender, General Gehlen and the German government by using Myskiv's name because Myskiv had died in the meantime. But this story exploded when it turned out that Myskiv was in Rome on the day when Bandera was murdered and was seen there by many people.

The stark facts of Stashynsky's revelations were confirmed in every respect by overwhelming documentary and other evidence, in the trial before this Court—even to the Communist radio's frantic efforts to locate Stashynsky after he fled, admitting, thereby, that Stashynsky was their agent. This was a very painful affair for the Communists. It involved Shelepin and more.

This much must be said for Stashynsky. He was formed in the de-humanizing mould of Communist training from youth, so well described by the Communist theoretician, Lunacharsky, "We hate Christianity and Christians. Even the best of them must be looked upon as our worst enemies. They preach the love of our neighbors and mercy, which is contrary to our principles. Christ-

ian love is an obstacle to the development of the revolution. Down with the love of our neighbors. What we want is hatred. We must learn to hate and it is only then that we shall conquer the world."

This was the milieu in which Stashynsky was trained. But even then he fled and brought to the West the facts with which to unmask Soviet Russian Government criminal action that is more deadly than the assault of a rattle snake which, at least, warns before it strikes.

Stashynsky, as a member of the KGB consciously carried out the orders of the Soviet Council of Ministers. Mrs. Bandera does not seek vengeance but justice for Stashynsky, recognizing that he was not arrested in the course of his crimes, but fled to the West and voluntarily told the full story of the Soviet Government's crimes and his part in them. This has helped the free world and he should be given credit for it.

Mrs. Bandera points to Voroshilov's signature on the "Order of the Red Banner" awarded to the perpetrator as a signed confession of the first degree murder of her husband by the Soviet Government itself.

Mrs. Bandera seeks justice against the real murderers of her husband. Surely this is not the forum in which Mrs. Bandera may sue for financial damages against the guilty Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union. But it is our intention, in the proper tribunal, to seek judgment in her behalf for actual and punitive damages against the Soviet Government.

It is also true that this Court cannot impose a criminal punishment upon the real culprits. But the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Shelepin and Mr. Khrushchev, should be hailed before an international tribunal for this murder and for any other crimes.

They have ruthlessly destroyed her husband and her family life and they should be made to pay. If any money is ever collected from the Soviet Government either by attaching their property in the Free World or otherwise, it is Mrs. Bandera's wish to turn it over to the Ukrainian Red Cross.

But, more important to Mrs. Bandera is to ask this Court's judgment and declaration that it was the Soviet Government that is guilty of the murder of her husband.

I have said that this was not a gang murder. But in a very real sense it is a gang murder. The Soviet Council of Ministers entered into a criminal conspiracy to take the life of Stepan Bandera on foreign soil and ordered Stashynsky to carry out their mission.

This was the conspiracy of a gang to commit a crime.

It may be said that this Court's judgment holding the Soviet Government guilty of the murder of Stepan Bandera in Munich, Germany on the 15th of October, 1959—three years ago today—would be without adequate precedent.

But the heart attack weapon used in this case is without precedent. Awarding the highest State honors for perpetrating murder is without precedent. Training agents for clandestine killing on foreign soil in peace time is without precedent. A government using murder as an instrument of policy is without precedent.

I believe the judicial process of this Court is not powerless to protect the sovereignty of its own government from such contemptuous and flagrant acts. The West must develop unprecedented means to cope with unprecedented dangers.

The Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, in this case, has been proved guilty of murder in the first degree. This Court may not be able to prescribe the punishment for the real culprit. But it can render a historic judgment and declaration finding the Soviet Government guilty of murder, a judgment that will hearten a large part of mankind that is afflicted with the Russian Communist conspiracy.

This Court's judgment that it considers the Bolshevik government in this case to be a party in a conspiracy to commit murder, will be heard around the world.

Such a judgment will be like the sword of St. Michael the Archangel to help unmask the Soviet Russian leaders and show them before mankind for what they really are. It will reduce their power to hold nations in slavery and their power to make war.

If this becomes the result of the Stashynsky trial, then the cause of Freedom and Peace has been advanced and Stepan Bandera has not died in vain.

Legal Arguments by Attorney J. Padoch

Stepan Bandera's widow and children have requested Mr. Kersten and me to represent them in this trial in which charges have been preferred not only against Stashynsky, present here in this court, but also against those who having trained him as a murderer, ordered him to carry out the crimes.

We have been instructed by Mrs. Jaroslava Bandera not to represent her "interests" and those of her now fatherless children, since no material compensation could make good the loss that she and her children suffer, but rather and above all to defend the good name of her husband and the noble historic mission in the service of which he was killed, as well as the just cause of his native country before this court and the whole world.

It is an honor and a responsibility for both Mr. Kersten and me to assume this task, even though our role in this trial is only a subsidiary one compared to that of the main representative of the co-complainant, Mr. Neuwirth. We are well aware of the fact that our official position in this trial before the highest German court is based not only on the standards and regulations of criminal law procedure but also on the international affinity and friendship which exist between the Western peoples and which are becoming closer and more and more productive outside the courts, too.

We are also well aware that we are indebted to the Federal High Court for being able to appear here. It is also a great honor and pleasure to us to be able to act as legal representatives with our experienced German colleagues in this court.

I am aware that the main burden of representing the co-complainant lies with Dr. Neuwirth, yet, with the permission of the court, I would like to add some remarks to his convincing arguments.

In order to judge the extent of the crimes and the guilt of the accused Stashynsky, it is essential to know still more of the object and aims of his crimes. For then only shall we know why Bandera and Rebet had to die?

In order to ascertain these facts this case has been heard by the court for five days, and I am completely convinced that the trial has established the following beyond all doubt:

1) that the formal object of the crimes of the accused was the life of Dr. Lev Rebet and of Stepan Bandera, as well as the fate of their widows and their young children, who were thus robbed of their father and provider, but

2) that the crimes of the accused were in reality directed against the fight for the freedom of Ukraine, against its immediate and future development.

Dr. Lev Rebet, the first of Stashynsky's victims, was a leading champion of the cause of freedom of Ukraine and one of the ideologists of this fight.

Stepan Bandera was the leader and symbol of this fight for freedom. Long before his death, those persons who on both sides of the Iron Curtain fought for the freedom of Ukraine, or supported this fight, were known as "Banderivtsi," an appellation deriving from his name. This fight was conducted by three organizations which are known under the following designations: UVO, OUN and UPA, that is to say, the Ukrainian Military Organization, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

Stashynsky has spoken a great deal of these organizations and their activities, but it is significant that he did not once mention them by these designations, as though he were afraid to do so. As the evidence in this trial has shown, he had no compunction about fighting against these organizations.

This was the object of Stashynsky's crimes. But what were their aims? The evidence in this trial has undoubtedly shown that the aims were the following:

a) the suppression of the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people by the systematic extermination of their leading groups and leading personalities, on the same lines as the extermination—unfortunately so well-known in our century—not only of individuals but of entire peoples (genocide).

b) A further aim of Stashynsky's crimes was the endeavor to force the numerous Ukrainian emigres living in the countries of the free world to abandon their efforts for the restoration of state independence in their native country and thus to deprive them of the great opportunities and protections afforded to them by the democratic laws of the free countries.

c) Even in this courtroom Stashynsky tried to use his crimes for a third aim: namely, to defame the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people, as well as their personalities before the public of the free world.

It is very significant that the accused knew nothing about the aim of the fight for freedom of his fellow-countrymen, or, to be more correct, refused to know anything. He stated that he had never heard of the murder of Petlura, the head of the Ukrainian state, and that he did not even know the name of Taras Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which he commanded from the time it was founded in 1942 until his death in 1950, although Chuprynka was killed in action in the vicinity of Stashynsky's native village. And Stashynsky at that time was already 19 years of age. On the other hand, however, Stashynsky has intentionally magnified and generalized certain incidents in his younger years and has used them to defame the fight for freedom of his own fellow countrymen.

Has the double-murderer Stashynsky the right to disparage the fight for freedom of his fellow countrymen against the powerful occupant of his country? Has he any right to excuse his own ruthless deeds by the ruthless combat of this fight? He deliberately referred to this struggle. We recall that he did not mention a single word about one important fact, namely the murder of his uncle by the Bolsheviks in 1941. It was only when the question was put to him directly that he admitted that his Uncle Peter was arrested in 1941,

but even then he maintained that he did not know what had happened to his uncle. It is hard to imagine that a Soviet agent would not know what must have happened to someone who still has not returned from Soviet imprisonment 21 years later!

The accused has endeavored to extenuate his guilt by referring to the Ukrainian-Polish conflicts in the 1940's, which are a thing of the distant past. He can remember these conflicts, but, on the other hand, he maintains that he knows nothing whatever about the fact that in 1944 the Polish-Ukrainian disputes receded into the background completely. Yet it is an established fact that numerous joint campaigns were conducted by the Ukrainian and Polish underground movements against their common Russian enemy.

It is difficult to weigh the significance and the extent of inhuman crimes on the scales of justice and of eternal moral principles and values. But from the point of view of human moral principles it would appear that Stashynsky already committed a monstrous crime when he abused the confidence given by his younger sister to him, her only brother, by denouncing her friend, a Ukrainian underground leader, who perhaps would have become her husband and the father of her children, to the Russian secret police, thus dooming him to death.

At that time Stashynsky was still a youth and he had not yet completed his training as a Soviet Russian agent. Nor was his life at that time in any way endangered, although he now uses this factor and embellishes it with epic details in order to attempt to justify his murder of Bandera and Rebet.

For several years before his marriage Stashynsky was already intimately acquainted with his future wife, who, as far as her origin and her views were concerned, belonged to the freedom-loving West. For years Stashynsky spent certain periods of time on this side of the Iron Curtain. Hence one could really expect Stashynsky to have been influenced in a positive sense by the democratic freedom-loving West. But of those who have taken part in this trial or are present here as spectators, who can really believe that this has been the case?

For hundreds of years the conscience of the world has been burdened with such tragedies, regardless of which peoples and ideas such hostile powers sought to destroy and irrespective of the reward the physical perpetrator of the crime received—whether it would be thirty pieces of silver, or the "Order of the Red Banner..."

I know the day will come when Stashynsky and those other traitors who serve foreign aims and not those of their own peoples, thus becoming the slaves of foreign powers, will realize the extent and folly of their crimes against their own fellow countrymen. Perhaps they will then repent and return to their own people.

On behalf of the victims of Stashynsky's foul crimes, Mrs. Jaroslava Bandera and her three children—of whom the eldest, her daughter Natalia, is present here in court and is now living through the tragedy of the loss of her father a second time, I wish to state that they do not seek revenge but a just punishment for Stashynsky.

Neither the accused Stashynsky nor the persons from whom he received his orders have achieved their aims by these two murders. Political murders prove to be injurious to the murderers themselves in the end. The murder of Abraham Lincoln, the greatest American next to President Washington, can be cited as a striking but by no means an isolated example in this connection. The application of violence against the laws prescribed by God and human nature

can only result in a very brief temporal success. In the long run truth and justice always triumph. Although the mills of God seemingly grind slowly they produce exceedingly small chaff.

The loss of these two great Ukrainian freedom fighters who were killed on the long and thorny path of the Ukrainian people in their fight for freedom and sovereignty will not halt the triumphal march to liberation either in Ukraine nor in lands beyond the borders of Ukraine. In this era of the rebirth of the ideas of national self-determination and independence—which is the birthright of all peoples—no sinister force can ever succeed in preventing the Ukrainian people, who are almost equal in number to that of the French nation, from fulfilling their right to freedom and independence. Every individual is born with this right, which is bestowed by God and constitutes one of the profoundest purposes of life. And all mankind is likewise entitled to this right.

It is our sincere hope that the death of Bandera and of Rebet and this historic trial, which has been conducted with exemplary correctness and fairness before the highest court of free Germany, will help not only the cause of right and of justice of the Ukrainian people but also all other freedom-loving nations to be victorious in their fight against violence.

Only then will the world comprehend the profound meaning of the death of Bandera, Rebet and many other known and unknown fighters for the freedom of Ukraine, and the firm though painful belief of their widows and children will be vindicated, namely that their husbands and fathers did not die in vain, for the deeds and the life's work of those who have been killed will live on as shining examples.

Statement by Miss Natalia Bandera

I wish to express my sincere thanks to the court for permitting me to speak here as a member of the family of my late father Stepan Bandera, and on behalf of my mother Yaroslava Bandera. Since the accused has affirmed that he was convinced during his KGB activity that my father was a traitor to Ukraine, I should like to describe my father as I remember him.

It is exactly three years ago today that my father died on the way to the hospital. According to the account given by the accused, he was murdered with the aid of a poison-pistol.

This is not the first and only murder that has occurred in our family. Practically the whole family of my late father and of my mother was murdered by enemies. Both my parents came of Ukrainian Greek Catholic clergymen's families. At that time the priests and teachers in particular contributed a large share towards arousing the national consciousness of the Ukrainian people (above all of the rural population). My mother's father, Vasyl Oparivsky, did his duty as an army chaplain during the First World War and was killed in action fighting against the Poles. My grandmother, at that time barely 20 years of age, was left a widow with two small children, my mother and her brother Lev, and was obliged to eke out a meagre living as an elementary school teacher. As a teacher she also did a great deal towards fostering the national consciousness of the Ukrainian village inhabitants.

Both my grandmother and my Uncle Lev were killed during World War II. In connection with the discovery of a plot, my uncle, though innocent, was

shot by the Poles after they had kept him in prison for a long time. We never learned exactly how my grandmother died. We only know that she was murdered when returning to her native village from Poland.

My father also came of a clergyman's family. He had three brothers and three sisters. His mother died of lung trouble while still a young woman and left her husband, my grandfather Bandera, a widower with seven children. My grandfather Andriy Bandera, a clergyman, brought up his children in a religious and national spirit, and when they were still students they already actively supported the liberation cause of Ukraine. Two brothers of my father (Oleksa and Vasyi Bandera) were tortured to death in a most brutal manner in the concentration camp in Auschwitz during World War II, and his father and eldest sister were deported to Siberia.

Whilst my father was interned in the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen, my mother in the autumn of 1941 went to live in Berlin in order to be near him. She took me—I was three months old at the time—with her. Our family now began to live a nerve-racking life, which above all began to tell on my mother's health. As soon as my father was released by the Germans and started organizing the Units of the OUN Abroad, we were obliged to flee constantly from one place to another to avoid discovery. Berlin, Innsbruck, then Munich and Hildesheim, and finally a lonely house in the forest in the vicinity of Starnberg were the places in Germany and Austria where we lived until 1948.

In this lonely house our whole family in 1947—and by this time we were three children—lived crowded together in one room, without even electric light. We children were ill for a long time with measles and whooping-cough, and we also suffered from malnutrition. I was six years old at that time and I attended a village school in Soecking and had to walk nearly 4 miles through the forest every day to get there.

From 1948 to 1950 we lived in a Ukrainian refugee camp near Mittenwald under an assumed name. My father was not with us, but he visited us several times a year. And I can remember that on one occasion, when I was ill with a serious inflammation of the middle ear, I asked my mother who the strange gentleman was who had stood at my bed and stroked my cheek. I had completely forgotten my father.

From 1950 to 1954 we lived in Breitbrunn, a small village on the Ammersee, and my father came home several times a week and later on every day. My mother, however, lived in constant dread lest my father might be murdered, or that he might be killed in a traffic accident. But in spite of this anxiety, the four years we spent here were the most peaceful and happiest ones in the life of my mother, who felt at ease with the people of the village. It was only later that I realized that the Soviet repatriation commissions and agents were trying to hunt us down.

In 1952 we were in great danger and for some months we lived in hiding, together with my father, in Oberau, a small village near Garmisch-Partenkirchen. Unfortunately we three children all fell ill with mumps and were in bed for two months. During these four years we were entirely isolated from the Ukrainians and there was danger of our becoming estranged from the Ukrainian national element. In spite of his responsible and nerve-racking work, my father, however, made time to teach me Ukrainian history, geography and literature and also persuaded me to read Ukrainian books. At the ages of 4 and 5 my brother and sister learned to read and write Ukrainian before they began to attend a German school.

At that time I did not as yet know who my father really was, although I could not understand why we changed our family name. But I did not venture to ask my father the reason.

In 1954 we moved to Munich, mainly in order to save my father the daily and dangerous journey (50 miles) and because we children would be able to get a better education there. At the age of 13 I began to read Ukrainian newspapers and I read a lot about Stepan Bandera. Gradually and on the strength of my observations regarding the surnames of the many people who were frequently together with my father, I began to draw my own conclusions. On one occasion an acquaintance made a slip, and I was then certain that my father, was really Stepan Bandera. But even then I realized that I dare not let my little brother and sister into this secret, since it would have been highly dangerous if they had innocently and unknowingly divulged this fact.

From 1954 until 1960, the year after my father was killed, we lived in Munich. My father was tired of always having to have a body-guard and an escort, and he was often careless. He was convinced that God would protect him and he used to say: "If anyone wants to kill me, they will find ways and means of doing so and will get rid of both my body-guard and me." He used to drive by car to the Ukrainian Catholic church, and that was where the accused noticed him the first time.

The accused has affirmed that he did not carry out the murder in May 1959 because he had inhibitions and pangs of conscience. At that time, incidentally, those connected with my father knew that he was in danger and he was given additional protection. Today, three years after the death of my father, I am speaking here in the first place in the name of my mother, who has sacrificed the best years of her life for her husband and her children.

I should like to refer once more to the confession made by the accused, in which he mentioned the cynical way in which Sergey "reassured" him when he said that Bandera's children would some day be "grateful" to him for his deed. This cynical remark indicates that the KGB had planned to abduct us children and take us to the Soviet Union, where they would then have tried to break our resistance by the ruthless methods which prevail there and to turn us into Communists who would have condemned their own father. An attempt of this kind, namely, to turn him into a Communist, was also made in the case of the son of General Taras Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), who was killed in action near Bilohorshcha in Western Ukraine in 1950. Sergey must have realized that this would have been the only method by which to influence the attitude of us children in this respect.

My father, whose memory lives on with us, brought us up to love God and Ukraine. He was a devout Christian and he died for God and for an independent, free Ukraine—for the freedom of the whole world.

He personified this noble ideal and he will continue to be the guiding star of my life, as well as of the life of my brother and sister and of the entire youth of Ukraine.

THE ARMENIAN TRAGEDY

By JAMES H. TASHJIAN

The First World War tumult in Russia, which gave rise to many events whose decisive nature was hardly perceptible to a world at war (the ultimate establishment of Soviet power, of course, was the most fateful culmination of those events), brought forth both good and evil for the Armenian nation.

Positively, the fall of the Czar and the establishment of the Provisional Government nullified the terms of the amoral secret 1916 Treaty of London, signed by Czarist Russia, Britain and France, which agreed gratuitously to a partition of a defeated Turkey only among the signatories, leaving nothing to the Armenians.

Upon the assumption of its uneasy power, the Kerensky regime declared the Czarist compacts made at London as not binding on the new Russian state, and at the same time conferred "autonomy" on that section of historical Armenia conquered by the Russian forces in their Anatolian campaign. Although this autonomous region was to be under the direction of the central Russian government, autonomy, often promised but never granted by Russia, was at worst still a step forward for an Armenia which had not known self-rule since 1375.

Negatively, the withdrawal of the Russian forces from the Armenian territories — a movement, of course, not peculiar to the Caucasian front but part of the general "return home" alarm of the Leninist Bolsheviks—denuded militarily the entire sector, one of the more important areas of the Allied military effort. Armenia was left in the hands of ill-equipped Armenian battalions consisting of native and volunteer contingents from Russia and elsewhere in the world. Their task was one of grim consequence not only in terms of the Allied cause, but one which bore with the safety, security and survival of what was left of the Armenian nation.

It is, however, one of those historical anomalies that the Russian evacuation, and the concomitant isolation of the Armenian fighting men, was not without benefit for the Armenians.

Deserted once again by Russia, the Armenian now found that he had to fight for his own life and national aspirations *sans* the historically specious aid and potential of "co-Christian" Russia, on which the Armenian nation had too often and too tragically relied in the past. Although still suffering from the loss of 1,500,000 of the flower of the nation who had fallen in the Turkish massacres just two years previously, the Armenians knuckled down resolutely and without illusions to the task of national salvation.

It is unlikely that the Independent Republic of Armenia, proclaimed on May 28, 1918, would have been achieved with the presence of Russian forces, either friendly or inimicable. Had the Russian armies remained, Armenia would either have remained an "autonomous" territory of Russia (if the Provisional Government had prevailed and Kerensky's thinking in regard to Armenia remained unchanged) or, with the triumph of Bolshevism, would have been speedily incorporated into the federal Soviet state.

The Russian withdrawal was followed by the slow retreat eastward of Armenian arms. Beset by the German-trained divisions of Turkey, the Armenians regretfully evacuated Erzinga and Erzerum and withdrew to the line Sartarapat-Karakilliseh-Bash Abaran. There they finally rallied and, inspired by the resistance-wise Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the nationalist *Dashnakstakan* party, met the foe and defeated him, thereby preventing oil-rich Baku from falling into the hands of the Central Powers and setting the stage for the Declaration of Armenian Independence, which was immediately forthcoming.

The colossal task of the reconstruction of Armenia now confronted the Armenian National Council, which, after the dissolution of the Transcaucasian Diet, had declared itself the supreme governing body of Armenia. As Kachaznuni, the first Prime Minister of Armenia, said:

. . . The Government has not one connecting link with the past. It has not succeeded to a former government so that it could continue its labors. It has inherited no administrative machinery. It has to start from scratch. It must create everything from a heap of ruins and absolute chaos. The Government has found the country in a condition which may be described by one word — catastrophic.

One year after its establishment, the independent Armenian state was a well-organized entity. General nation-wide elections for parliament were held in June 1919, with Dashnakstakan party candidates winning 72 of 80 seats. Most Western powers recognized the sovereignty of Armenia and exchanged diplomatic representatives.

A delegation of the Armenian government arrived in Paris to participate in the Peace Conference. Industries were founded, agriculture was encouraged, a school system was established, and the national economy was considerably better.

On January 19, 1920, the Allied Supreme Council announced that recognition had been conferred on Armenia *de facto* and that the permanent boundaries of the state would be a matter for later decision. Armenians over the world rallied to the infant republic. Thousands returned to the motherland, and others gave of their material wealth to aid the state. The enthusiasm of Armenian Americans knew no bounds when on April 23, 1920, Secretary of State Colby informed the Plenipotentiary Minister of Armenia in Washington that official recognition had been accorded Armenia.

In terms of foreign affairs, the most pressing problem was the final determination of the frontiers of Armenia and the *de jure* recognition of the Powers. President Wilson manifested his favor of an American mandate over Armenia, a proposal which was welcomed by the Allies, who asked Wilson to render a final decision in this regard.

In January, 1919, the Big Four drafted a general formula defining the Allied War aims. This document carried the following paragraph:

. . . Because of the historic misgovernment of the Turks of their subject peoples and the terrible massacres of the Armenians and others in recent years, the Allied and Associated Powers are agreed that Armenia, Mesopotamia and Arabia must be completely severed from the Turkish Empire.

The long-delayed peace treaty with Turkey was signed at Sevres on August 10, 1920. It was during those interminable months of delay between the end of the war and Sevres that the nationalist Turkish movement of Mustafa Kemal, actively supported by France, Italy and Soviet Russia, became a power with which to contend.

Articles 88 and 89 of the Sevres treaty provided for the recognition of Armenia independence by Turkey and the delimitation of the Armenian-Turkish frontiers by President Wilson. The treaty was never enforced; and scarcely one month after Sevres, Kemalist Turkey, with the active collaboration of Soviet Russia, attacked the Armenian republic. Unaided by the Allied Powers, who were either searching for El Dorado or wooing the know-nothingness of "isolation," and unable despite valor to resist alone the combined Turko-Soviet assault, Armenia succumbed on Decemeber 2, 1920, and was incorporated into the Soviet Union.

THE TERRIBLE DRAMA UNFOLDS

Simon Vratzian, Prime Minister of Armenia at the time the Soviet-Turkish cabal forced Armenia to its knees, wrote:

. . . The eternal enemies of Armenia are the Bolsheviks and the Turks, and of these two the Bolsheviks must be ranked first, because without the encouragement and active support of Soviet Russia, Kemalists Turkey would never have dared attack Armenia.

Even in the earliest days of the Russian revolution, the Bolshevik leaders had adopted their now quite grotesque posture as champions of small nations. In 1917, Lenin had cried that Russia must follow a course of "no annexations, no indemnities." He had demanded that the Russian army be withdrawn from Turkish Armenia. "If we do not do this," he said, "there is no difference between us and the Czarist government."

The Russians withdrew their army — but there proved to be no difference between Communism and Czardom.

On another occasion Lenin said:

. . . We must at once satisfy the Ukrainians and the Finns and insure for them and all alien races of Russia perfect freedom, even the right to secede; and we must do the same in regard to the whole of Armenia; we must withdraw our troops from Armenia and from the occupied territories.

And again:

. . . If tomorrow the Soviets take over the government, we will say, call back the troops from Armenia, or it will be deceit.

Which it proved to be. The troops were pulled back, only to return some three years later in the garb of the "army of the proletariat."

Lenin pressed his case even more forcibly before the Soviet Congress of May, 1917:

. . . If that army which is now being kept in Armenia, which is forcible occupation, and which you endure, if that army were to convert Armenia into an independent republic, and if the funds which the capitalists of England and France are now taking from us were turned over to Armenia, it would be far better.

In the case of the Bolsheviks, there is always a vast, empyreal gulf between the spoken word and the deed. Even the Armenian Communist historian Borian, confessed that what interested Lenin was not the welfare of the Armenians in the best traditions of the "beneficent" Communist doctrinaire, but simply the advancement of the Communist aim of world conquest. "To Lenin," he wrote, "the Armenian question was but a means to an end . . . To Bolsheviks, the

interests of the whole are greater than the interests of the part. The Armenians were but a part and therefore they should be sacrificed on the table of the whole." Stalin later interpreted the Leninist perfidy as a great good brought to Armenia with the advent of Russia. "The Armenian question," he said, "has been solved thanks to the efforts of the Soviet government."

In other words, conspire with a nation's blood enemy for a joint invasion of that nation, utter lofty and idealistic words about respecting and defending the right of that nation to be free, then move in and destroy that nation's sovereignty — and finally interpret the whole maneuver as having solved that nation's problems!

In terms of history, the "piety" of the Communist leaders in regard to the supposedly sacrosanct state of Armenia was disproved by their undercover machinations with Turkey.

Soviet agent Karl Radek convinced Ittihadist Turkish leaders in Berlin, where they had convened to form the notorious "Union of Islam Revolutionaries," to transfer their headquarters to Moscow. Through the agency of these Turks, the Russians surreptitiously equipped the Turkish army of Khalil Pasha at Baku, which later was to take part in Kemal's attack on Armenia.

Kemal's emissaries got in touch with the Soviet representatives in Baku and the two groups jointly established the bases for closely coordinated efforts against Armenia.

Turkish-Soviet cooperative efforts were further cemented at the Congress of Eastern Peoples, held at Baku in 1920 and presided over by Red leader Zinoviev. One of the resolutions of the Congress was the repudiation of the Sevres Treaty, which had just been signed by Turkey, Armenia and the Powers.

The stage was thus carefully set for the direct and concerted military action of Turkey and the Soviet Union against the Armenian republic.

THE ROLE OF THE ARMENIAN COMMUNISTS—SOVIETIZATION

Armenian Communists, and indeed the leaders of the Soviet Union, today boast that the Sovietization of the Armenian state came about by virtue of the "popular demands" of the Armenian populace, that "the corruptions and inequities of the Dashnakstakan fascistic government" brought on a revulsion among the people and resulted in an invitation for the Soviets to come in and take over. As recently as May 6, 1961, Khrushchev, in a speech delivered at the long-delayed celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the communization of Armenia held in the Armenian capital city, said:

. . . The Great October Revolution brought freedom to all the oppressed nations of Czarist Russia. The working people of Transcaucasia, inspired by the heroic struggle of the October Revolution in Central Russia, launched a struggle for the establishment of Soviet power under the leadership of the Communist organizations. It was only due to the treacherous anti-popular policy of the bourgeois national parties and the foreign imperialists who helped them that the Soviets did not triumph until later. The Armenian people were oppressed and humiliated by the Dashnaks, and their foreign bosses. Armenia was a country of poverty and savage despotism in those times. But the working people of Armenia did not become reconciled to the rule of the Dashnaks, and the interventionists, they did not lay down their arms, but struggled until Soviet power triumphed. Staunch Leninists, true sons of the people, headed the revolutionary struggle.

The truth in this historical hodge-podge is that Armenia was so much the pawn of "foreign bosses" that it was deserted by the "interventionist" West; there were very few "staunch Leninists" within Armenia; there was a "revolutionary struggle," but it lasted only about three weeks, led as it was by a handful of imported Red agents; and the truth is that Armenia's Sovietization was not a result of popular discord, nor was it the result of "poverty and savage despotism." It followed pure and simple military aggression, prepared by diplomatic malfeasance, in the best traditions of the Soviet government.

The Communists first appeared in Armenia toward the latter days of 1918. Red fugitives, fleeing the persecution not of the capitalists but of their own Communist comrades of Azerbaijan and Georgia, asked, and were granted, sanctuary in the Armenian republic. These people were importuned and agreed, to refrain from subversive activities. Agreement was quickly abrogated, however, when contact was made by the fugitives with officials of the Armenian Division of the Soviet Commissariat of Nationalities.

In September, 1919, these fugitives, along with a few other Communists who had slipped over the Armenian borders, met with representatives of the S.S.R. Transcaucasian Regional Committee in a secret session held at a central committee, called the *Armenkom* (Armenian Committee of the Communist Party) was formed.

The Armenkom held a second secret conference in January, 1920, which, according to A. Hovanissian, its secretary, decided that:

. . . the Sovietization of Armenia was mandatory as far as Armenkom was concerned. The conference (decided that) *upon the approach of the Red Army*, and in the event of the Sovietization of the neighboring republics, the Sovietization of Armenia would be the first question on the agenda. The Armenkom presumed that the neighboring regions of Kazakh and Karabagh would serve as springboards for the revolution.

This was, of course, a call for the overthrow by force of the legal government. Supplied with funds, literature, orders and agents from Communist Regional headquarters in Tiflis, Georgia, the Armenkom busied itself with preparing the ground for the advent of the Red Army. Inside Armenia, the Armenkom waged an intensive campaign of anti-governmental propaganda, incited interracial passions, sabotaged to the best of its ability the government's reconstruction effort, and seized every occasion to discredit the government. The hand of the Armenkom extended among Armenians abroad who found themselves incited into displays of hostility towards one another by serum subtly injected into them. What is more, the Armenkom even took steps to cooperate outright with the Turks.

The lesson in this is that the Communists in Armenia, though a numerical handful, as in America today a proportional nothingness, proved their value to the Communist cause of Sovietization for which they worked. Although the overwhelming mass of Armenia's citizenry remained unimpressed by their operations, the contribution of the Armenkom to the successful Sovietization was simply that their active presence forced the government to divert its attention from the vital reconstruction effort, a *sine qua non*, of course, in a newly constituted state with Armenia's economic and other domestic problems. The government's inability to push reconstruction because of the problem of the burgeoning Turko-Soviet alliance, and the existence of a potentially dangerous nest of rebels in the heart of the country, hindered the amelioration of the heavy lot of the peasantry, a condition, of course, quite agreeable to the communizers.

Having contacted the Turks, and having established a Party branch in Armenia, the Soviets were ready to tighten the screws on Armenia. On May 1, 1920, the Armenian government received a wire from the headquarters of the Eleventh Red Army at Baku, handing down a 24-hour ultimatum for Armenian forces to stop all operations in Soviet Azerbaijan.

The interesting thing here was that there were no military operations in Azerbaijan at that time. The problem was the contest for Karabagh, the overwhelmingly Armenian population of which had refused to recognize the Soviet regime of Azerbaijan, and had petitioned to join Armenia. In Karabagh, the Armenian army had prevailed over the forces of Khalil Pasha, and at the time Azerbaijan was Sovietized, almost all of Karabagh was in the hands of Armenian General Dro.

On May Day, too, the Communists staged a demonstration in the city of Alexandropol, and issued an abortive manifesto. This was followed by similar demonstrations in Kars, Sarikamish, Basar

Kechar and Dilijan, stirred up by Turkish and Russian malcontents working on orders of the Armenkom. Faced with open rebellion, the government turned to suppressive steps and, on May 14, the rebels abjectedly surrendered. All Armenian political parties denounced the Communist demonstrations as acts of high treason.

Diplomatically, the Armenian government meanwhile was trying to ward off the impending danger of aggression. While the May revolts were taking place, an Armenian governmental delegation arrived in Moscow to finalize a peace treaty with the Soviets.

The American delegation presented the following conditions as essential to the sovereignty and safety of Armenia:

1. The Soviet government to recognize the independent status of Armenia;
2. The Armenian populated districts of Karabagh and Gulistan to be recognized as being within the boundaries of the Armenian state;
3. At least in principle, the annexation of those Armenian districts still held by Turkey to be accepted;
4. The Soviet government not to interfere in the internal affairs of Armenia;
5. Permission to be extended by the Soviet government for the return to Armenia of Armenian refugees found at the moment in the northern Caucasus and Soviet Russia.

The Soviet officials indicated their approval of all these conditions, but negotiations suddenly were called to a halt before the peace treaty could be signed. While the Armenian delegation was closeted with the Red diplomats, another delegation, consisting of Armenian and Azeri Communists led by the traitors Anastas Mikoyan and Avis Nurijanian, prevailed on the Soviet officers to transfer the Armenian negotiations to Yerevan. Mikoyan argued that procrastination of the legalization of the treaty would hasten the arrival of the Red Army in Armenia, and that, after all, Sovietization of that state and nothing else was the objective to the Soviets. Thus, back to Yerevan went the Armenians to resume negotiations with the new Soviet representative, Legran.

Meanwhile the Red armies had already moved. On July 5, 1920, elements of the Eleventh Army invaded the Armenian regions of Zangezour and Karabagh. A fortnight later other Red battalions struck from Kazakhstan as increased Turkish military activity along Armenia's western borders became evident.

Its forces pushed back by the Red armies, apprehension rising at the approach of the Turkish soldiery, and the allied interest in Armenia slight and specious, the Armenian government had no recourse but to appeal to the mediation of Moscow. On August 10, a temporary treaty was signed. As the price of armistice Armenia was forced to cede Karabagh, Nakhichevan and Zangezour to Soviet

Azerbaijan—on the very day, ironically enough, that the Treaty of Sevres, designed to ensure the safety of Armenia, was signed in Paris.

With the arrival of Khalil's Baku army in Erzerum, Turkish dictator Kemal authorized General Kiazim Karabekir to move his combined army against Armenia rather than have it deployed against the Greek forces. On September 23 the Turks crossed the Armenian border and the already slim forces of the Republic, now called upon to oppose the Red army and its Turkish confederates, reluctantly fell into retreat. With the military situation hopeless for Armenia, Legran finally showed up in Yerevan with over "forty counsellors" and with vans full of propaganda literature. He issued an ultimatum to the Armenian government: 1. Armenia must renounce the Treaty of Sevres; 2. Soviet troops must be given free passage through Armenia to join Kemal in his fight against the Allies; 3. The Soviets would mediate Armenia's border dispute with her neighbors.

The Armenian government categorically rejected the first point, and agreed merely to discuss the latter two.

To Armenians, of course, the cardinal consideration was the fighting on the fronts. From the north, the multitudinous Red armies, like the Scythian hordes of yore, were swarming down into Armenia, while in the south Communist agents had infiltrated into the Armenian Army and were distributing leaflets among the troops exhorting them to lay down arms:

. . . Armenian soldier, when you see the Turk advancing, do not fire upon him. He is your brother, your fellow worker.

Outnumbered, beset by Communist perfidy, and unaided by a myopic free world, the Armenian Army fought doggedly but continued to yield valuable ground.

By the end of November the Turkish deluge was threatening to inundate the whole country. The moment had arrived for which Legran was waiting. He knew that he might now "humanely" propose that Sovietization "and the protection of the Red army" was the only alternative to new massacres which would spell the destruction of the Armenian people.

Under the circumstances, the terms of the treaty signed by representatives of the Armenian government and by Legran were the best for which Armenia could hope.

1. Armenia was proclaimed an *Independent* Soviet Socialist government; 2. A temporary military revolutionary committee would serve as the government of Armenia pending the calling of a congress of the Soviets of Armenia; 3. The Soviet government would accept

as indisputable the admission into the territories of Armenia of the Province of Yerevan, the region of Zangezour in the Province of Gandzak, a part of the Province of Kars, and those parts of the Province of Tiflis which were under Armenian rules as of September 28, 1920; 4. There would be no persecution or arrest of the command of the Armenian Army for anti-communist acts performed prior to Sovietization; 5. Members of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation and other parties in Armenia would not be persecuted either for being members of those parties or for having fought the Communists; 6. The military revolutionary committee would consist of five members appointed by the Communists and two "leftist" Dashnakstakans acceptable to the Communists; 7. The Soviet government would provide defensive military forces; 8. After the signing of the agreement, the Government of the Armenian Republic would step down, and pending the establishment of the revolutionary committee, a military government, headed by General Dro, with the participation of the Communist, Silin, would take over.

How well the terms of this treaty were observed by the Soviets is seen in this comment of Armenian Communist historian Borian:

. . . The revolutionary committee started a series of indiscriminate seizures and confiscations, without regard to class and without taking into account the general economic and psychological state of the peasantry. Devoid of revolutionary planning and executed with needless brutality, these confiscations were unorganized and promiscuous. Unattended by disciplinary machinery, without preliminary propaganda of enlightenment, and with utter disregard for the country's unusually distressing state, the revolutionary committee issued orders nationalizing the food supply of the citizenry and of the peasantry. With amazing recklessness and unconcern, they seized and nationalized everything — military uniforms, artisans' tools, rice mills, water mills, barbers' implements, beehives, linen, household furniture, and livestock.

What Borian neglects to add is that almost everything of value found and seized in Armenia, either privately or publically owned, was shipped off to Russia.

When testifying before a House Committee investigating the Communist seizure of Armenia, the late General Dro said:

. . . After the Soviets took over Armenia, with a brutality and persecution characteristic of the Middle Ages, the clergymen of Armenia, the intellectuals, the Dashnakstakans, and the former members of the government were thrown into prisons by the Communists, where the slaughter of these people was started.

While breaking each and every one of the articles of the treaty pertaining to internal affairs, the Soviets abrogated that agreement to which they had bound themselves respecting the disputed regions of Armenia, paid off their ally Turkey with Armenian lands, and further

dismembered Armenia by handing over to the Sovietized states of Georgia and Azerbaijan other historically Armenian regions. Former U.S. Ambassador to Germany, James G. Gerard, said:

. . . On March 16, 1921, the Bolsheviks entered into a treaty with Kemal whereby they ceded to Turkey a part of the Armenian Republic; two other parts to Azerbaijan and the remainder, labelled "Soviet Armenia," they annexed to Russia. They also repudiated the Wilson Award to Armenia, and proclaimed that Armenia had no case against Turkey.

By way of legalizing these monstrosities, the Soviet government compelled the new puppet government of Soviet Armenia to sign a treaty formally relinquishing these territories, the defense and inviolability of which the Soviets had contracted to guard. By such manipulations the Soviets reduced Armenia from 29,000 square miles, its size as an independent Republic, to its present 11,580. It is today the smallest Soviet component of the U.S.S.R.

All this brought about a sharp reaction. The Armenian people rebelled, actually expelled from the country both Communist civil authorities and military, and reestablished their independent status—the first and only time in history that a nation has successfully driven out a constituted Soviet government.

On February 18, 1921, indignant Armenian citizens, armed with whatever rude weapons fell to hand, converged on Yerevan and stormed the central prison where, only the day before, the Communist authorities had pole-axed a number of Armenian prisoners as part of their program to destroy all political prisoners in their hands. The people wiped out all vestiges of Communist authority in Yerevan and proclaimed the rebirth of the Independent Republic. The revolt was an elemental outburst, caused by the savage abuse and brutality the nation had had to endure.

The reestablished free government immediately appealed to the free world to help maintain the liberty of Armenia, and specifically to keep Armenia outside the Soviet orbit. All such pleas went unheeded and by August of 1921, with the return of overwhelming Red forces, all Armenian military resistance had come to an end. The Sovietization of Armenia had achieved finality . . .

SOVIETIZED ARMENIA

All peoples suffering today under the despotism of Soviet rule are being subjected to a "general uniform development pattern" consonant with Soviet objectives in regard to its captive peoples. To the scholar of Soviet affairs, then, it comes as no surprise that in general the experiences of Ukraine under Soviet Russian overlordship closely parallel those of, say, Armenia, or Byelorussia, or Lithuania.

The greatest danger today to Armenians, as indeed to Ukrainians and other captive peoples, is that Sovietization has unbarred the national gates to *Russification*. We might parenthetically remark here that this sharpest of knives held against the national jugular vein was shaped in Czarist days, and honed by the Communists.

Thus the Soviet Russians have been able to annex Armenia, a goal long cherished by the Czars as a step along the road to a "Russian world." The modern phrase for Russian imperialism is "international Communist revolution."

In annexing a state, Russian policy has found it to be a *sine qua non* to Russify the subjected people in order to insure the submission of the captive state to the Moscow directorate.

Whereas the Czarist Russification of captive lands was enforced by means of the naked sword, the Soviets are more subtle in their wielding of this dreadful genocidal weapon. The Soviet method is then the more dangerous of the two.

In regard to Armenia specifically, whereas the Turk thought he could destroy the Armenian by physical extirpation—and failed—the Soviet is systematically destroying the Armenian by assimilating him into *corpus Russia*—altering his traditions, weakening his mores, diluting and transfiguring his culture, watering down his language, harnessing his native genius to the cause of the "social revolution," wiping out the religious content of his Church and secularizing as an instrument of state service the Church institutions. At the same time, it tirelessly propagates the falsehood that Armenia is simply a part of Soviet Russia.

When the Czars found Armenian schools in Russian-held regions of the Caucasus to be crucibles of Armenian nationalism, they tried to end the services of these institutions to Armenians by crudely sending in troops and boarding them up, as occurred in 1904-06. The Soviets had actually broadened and expanded the Armenian school system—using the schools to Russify the Armenian youth. The youth of Armenia are thus herded together for convenient supervision under the guise of "education" and are being indoctrinated in Russian and Communist history and in Marxist dogma. The Russian language is a *required* course of study, the Armenian is not. Propagandistic distortions of Armenian history are inculcated into the youth; the life and indeed the intentions of the free world are subjected to misleading distortions; the concept of a one federal Russian state and one universal Soviet society is constantly drilled home.

Schools in Soviet Armenia, in short, are designed to produce citizens of Soviet Russia, not Armenians. The Marxist curricula of

these schools prevent the development of free thought and produce abject servants of the "Big Brother" state.

Graduates of Soviet Armenian institutes and universities are not allowed to seek positions of employment within their native land. They are assigned by Moscow to posts in the far-flung corners of the Soviet empire. Today there are Ukrainian graduates holding jobs in Armenia, and Armenians are working in Ukraine. Forty thousand Armenian young people labor in the fields of Kazakhstan. Students speak Russian, read Russian, for in the Soviet Union one must speak the Russian "mother tongue" to get ahead. Of what value is Armenian in Vladivostok?

The Czar confiscated the Armenian press and outlawed patriotic expression. The Soviets have expanded the Armenian press and publishing and have decreed that their output serve state interests. Important is not the volume but the content of these publications, which as a generality propagate the "Great Russian leadership of the Soviet peoples" and the world aims of the Communist Party. All derelictions from this single and narrow path are dealt with severely.

Since, then, Armenian literature is being subjected to the homogenizing influence of the Moscow churn, it is not surprising to note that a story written and published in Ukraine or in Tadzikistan says in essence what is being said by a story appearing at the same time in Soviet Armenia. What is developing in Soviet Armenia is simply an Armenian phase of "Soviet literature"—a local literary output devised to serve the "one federal Russian state" concept of empire. The Armanian's characteristic affection for the written word, as his love of education, is being used against him.

The Armenian language is being adulterated. The ancient Armenian tongue, which was spoken centuries before the advent of the Slavic, is now heavily larded with Russian words. Armenian terms used since time immemorial have given way to Russian equivalents. *Hanrapetiutium* (republic) is forbidden; the Russian *respublika* must be used. *Heghapokhutium* (revolution) has been revolutionized to *revolutsia*. Although such alterations betray political motivations, the real cause is Moscow's ultimate aim of one language for the whole Soviet Union—the language of the Russians of Moscow who control the Communist Party, the nations of the Soviet Union, the so-called (and badly termed) "satellites," and tomorrow (they hope) the world.

Under way is a parallel attempt to convert the Armenian national alphabet of St. Mesrob into something closely allied to the Russian. This job is being pushed through the agencies of the Scien-

tific Polygraphic Institute in Moscow. *One literature, one language, one alphabet . . .*

Like Ukraine, Soviet Armenia reserves the Leninist "constitutional" right to "secede" if it so wishes. Let Armenia try it and see what happens! The state law code of Soviet Armenia is identical with that of the Russian Federative Soviet Socialist Republic. Armenia may not handle its foreign affairs. Its ministry of the interior is permeated with KGB agents. Its agriculture has been collectivized, its industries are state projects. Its human and natural resources are exploited to enrich the new Soviet *Herrenvolk*; Armenia has twice within recent years been adjudged by prominent foreign visitors to be the poorest state of the Soviet Union.

Especially in regard to the Armenian National Apostolic Church has the Soviet Russification effort been pronounced—and tragically successful. The ancient Armenian spiritual center of Etchmiadzin, and its Church head, the Catholicos, have been made to serve Party interests. Etchmiadzin has declared itself in support of the infamous "Stockholm Peace Council." It has moved the Armenian Church closer to Russian Orthodoxy. The Catholicos recently sent an appeal to the Government of Greece to release from custody two notorious Greek Communists. It has tried to infiltrate Jerusalem, Greece, and Iran with clerical agents. It has interfered in free Armenian attempts to establish the authority of the Armenian Catholicos of Cilicia, now in Antelias, Lebanon, as the politics-free head of the Armenian Church abroad. And yet the Soviets have destroyed over 1,200 Armenian churches and have liquidated over 2,000 Armenian priests—while pretending that the existence of the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin is proof that there is freedom of worship in Soviet Armenia! This is a story of such compelling tragedy as to be told on its own.

If there is much in this account that is bitterly nostalgic to Ukrainians, it is only because Armenians and Ukrainians are in the same prison house of nations. Conversely it is incredible to conceive of a liberated Armenia and a Ukraine left in servitude, or *vice-versa*. If the 110,000,000 of the captive peoples of the U.S.S.R. constitute the great decisive force in whose hands lies the destiny of the U.S.S.R., then we of the free world, descendants and kin of those people, represent a great moral and numerical force abroad. The task is to find the means of more closely cooperating in the common cause of liberation and helping to tip the balance in favor of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in this world, all of which the Soviet rule has denied our folk in our parental homelands.

MODERN IMPERIALISM, OLD STYLE

By CLARENCE A. MANNING

The spontaneous torrent of abuse poured out upon the Congress of the United States and the leading individual members of that Congress as well as upon Governor Rockefeller of New York for their commemoration of the Forty-fifth anniversary of the Proclamation of the Independence of Ukraine has been a notable feature of 1963. It has had many interesting aspects and leads any thinking person to ask some serious questions about the background of this outburst.

One of the most interesting facts is the stereotyped character of the protests. Ukrainian independence was commemorated in Congress on January 22, and by January 24 *Pravda* and *Izvestia* were able to publish the protests of workers and officials from all parts of Ukraine as well as from Moscow itself. It is certainly a tribute to the efficiency of American methods of spreading its message within the Iron Curtain and it stands in marked contrast to the ignorance of the Russian Orthodox Soviet agents visiting the United States on what is evidently a well contrived mission of propaganda when they were asked even general questions about the release of Metropolitan Slipy. The inference is fair that the American government has ways of influencing and irritating the people within the Soviet Union which are not available to the Soviet authorities or those who claim to speak for the masses of the peoples of the USSR. Yet this is very obviously a *reductio ad absurdum* of the entire scheme of Soviet life, for we have the assurance of no less a person than Nikita Sergeyeovich Khrushchev that the "Soviet people" are the most advanced and enlightened people on the face of the entire earth and that they have no need of enlightenment from the American capitalists or from the bourgeois nationalist Ukrainian exiles who have apparently been resurrected as devils and are being employed again in that role to which they were assigned by the once genius and now the paranoid Stalin.

We have to assume that all of these accusations and protests were compiled from start to finish in the offices of the leading Moscow newspapers or even in the offices of the mysterious but omnipresent KGB. It is very possible that even some of the individuals

who signed the correspondence either did not know what they were signing or that they had signed, if they really existed.

Yet the interesting thing is that these attacks on American imperialism appeared in publications in the Ukrainian language and this is something that should be of interest to all those American statesmen and scholars who are inclined to sneer at the value of broadcasting within the Iron Curtain in any other language than Russian which is naturally the language of the one indissoluble and indivisible unity that succeeded to the Russian Empire of the Czars. It bears out the stories and the ideas of the bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists that however far the idea of Russian unity has been developed there exist in the non-Russian portions of the empire strong separatist tendencies which must be taken into account by the leaders in the Kremlin, if only to combat them. This again leads to some interesting reflections on the continued flourishing in the present as in the past of that special brand of Russian imperialism that has continually plagued Europe and the world since the Grand Principality of Moscow emerged from the rule of the Golden Horde in the middle of the fifteenth century.

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In its original form, the czars and autocrats of Moscow laid claim to control of all the lands of Rus, since the various branches of the family of rulers founded by Rurik were the princes of nearly all the East Slavic lands from the appearance in history of the state of Kievan Rus, but their mode of government was different for in Moscow full control was vested in the czar without any of the restraints imposed upon the ruler in other East Slavic lands. The culmination of this system was found in Ivan the Terrible and its methods of administration was fear, as it was expressed in such truly Muscovite works as the *Domostroy*, the guide to life of the sixteenth century, with its repulsive code of the complete control of the state by the czar and of the family by the father and master. In addition there was the overtone taken from the Mongolian Empire that Moscow was destined to be the ruler of the entire world.

When the Muscovite branch of the dynasty died out, Czars Michael and Alexis endeavored to clothe themselves with the aura of the old autocracy, while the extension of Muscovite power across the Urals gave them the inspiration to push on further and very soon their control reached to the Pacific Ocean north of the Amur River. From then on, depending upon the power and inclination of the individual czar, Moscow tried to broaden its holdings on the Pacific, to reach north into Scandinavia, to control the Baltic Sea,

the Black Sea and, more than all, Constantinople and to reach the Indian Ocean at some point. It was a land expansion with the Russian Muscovite forces annexing new lands with their populations and giving the minimum of rights to these populations, while they at various times exerted pressure upon them to abandon all of their native traditions and not shrinking from violent deportations and administrative punishments. It was the object of the regime to funnel everything from the outlying districts through Moscow and St. Petersburg.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the regime had idealized this process and in the introduction to his *History of the Russian Empire*, Nicholas Karamzin was able to write:

Outside of their special value for us, sons of Russia, its annals have universal interest. Let us cast a glance at this unique Empire: thought staggers! Rome in all her majesty, ruling from the Tiber to the Caucasus, to the Elbe and the African sands, could never equal it. Is it not wonderful how a land that is disrupted by eternal barriers of Nature, by immeasurable deserts and impenetrable forests, by hot and cold climates, how Astrakhan and Lapland, Siberia and Bessarabia, could have formed one empire with Moscow? And is that mixture of its inhabitants less wonderful, that composite and heterogeneous mass of varying degrees of civilization? Like America, Russia has its savages; like other countries of Europe, it displays the fruits of a protracted civil existence. One need not be a Russian, one need only think, in order to read with curiosity the traditions of a nation that by daring and courage has obtained dominion over the ninth part of the world, has discovered countries, hitherto unknown, and has enlightened them through God-sent faith, without violence, without atrocities practised by the other devotees of Christianity in Europe and America, but merely by dint of good example.

It made no difference to Karamzin that many of the nations in Europe and Asia acquired by Russia had independent cultures that were old when Moscow was only a small, inconspicuous village, and this process has continued to the present with the USSR following before and after World War II in the line of Ivan the Terrible and the other czars and autocrats. It made no difference that many of these nations wanted their own independence and the right to govern themselves and develop as they would. Moscow and St. Petersburg know best and it is for the older brother to tell them what they need. It was not for nothing that Shevchenko, mocking the words of Pushkin, could write in *The Caucasus*:

“From the Moldavian to Finn
On every tongue there is a seal.
For—there is happiness...!”

It was this desire for standardization on the Russian model that differentiated the onward march of Muscovy from the overseas

empires which involved the seizure of colonies for commercial advantages. After the liquidation of the African slave trade, the West commenced to develop its colonies, sometimes harshly, sometimes stupidly, but never with the idea of the forcible elimination of all native traditions. As a result, when the wave for national liberation started, both Great Britain and France were able to restore liberty and independence to the scattered colonial peoples and today those empires are gone, while Moscow realizes that the extension of liberty would jeopardize not only its control of its far-flung domains but would reduce its nucleus to an inconsiderable rank among the nations of the world and it was "the most unkindest cut of all" when Mao Tse-tung casually remarked in his ideological war with Khrushchev that Red China would some day recover the lands south of the Amur in the neighborhood of Vladivostok which were taken by Russia only in 1840, a polite, if tactless, hint as to the methods by which Moscow became great.

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What might have been expected happened in 1917 when the Russian czarist regime fell and all the peoples held in the Russian prison of nations declared their independence. In a few months Russian control was limited to Moscow and the Great Russian sectors. But the West did not understand and exerted all of its power to restore the vanished unity. Many of the statesmen still do not see what has happened and cannot conceive of a prison of nations. They did not understand the desperate struggles of the non-Russian peoples; they did not understand the meaning of the Leninist reoccupation of exhausted areas; they did not understand the obvious insincerity of the formation of a Union of Soviet Republics in which Moscow held the old position of leadership. They did not understand the Stalinist famine in Ukraine and the many deportations and exiles far surpassing in numbers and brutality the old slave trade. They did not understand the courageous efforts of many of these peoples on the outbreak of the Nazi-Soviet war, when only the blindness of Hitler and the liberal support of the United States restored the hated unity to the Russian Soviet Empire and prison of nations. They did not understand when Stalin utilized every opportunity to seize the nations that were liberated after World War I and to deport to slavery and worse the victims of the German concentration camps on the ground that they were Nazis at heart or they would not have surrendered. They do not realize today that the Soviet advance into Cuba is a bold move to extend the domain of Moscow still further and they still believe that they can persuade the Russians through

education to abandon their ill-gotten gains, while White Russian emigres and Communists alike agree that the unity of Russia-USSR is absolute and indestructible.

Other than the need for Russian control, what philosophy explains this and what are the obvious inferences that are to be drawn? There is first the tradition of Russian unity, but Lenin himself knew that it would be impossible in the conditions of 1917 and 1918 to choke off the aspirations of all these peoples who had once caught the breath of liberty and been able to use freely their own native languages. He realized that the spreading of education to the masses could only be through the development of their native languages. That had been shown by the experience of the peoples of Central Europe throughout the nineteenth century, when one language after another rose with popular education from the rank of a peasant dialect to a literary language as it had been in the past. So he devised the Union of Soviet Republics but in such a way that the power of Moscow could be steadily increased by the encroachment of the centralized regime into all walks of life. At the same time practical experience based on the revolutionary period had shown the futility of any dreams based on a Communist International uniting the Communists of the leading industrialized nations, for their Communist representatives were now refugees and pensioners of Moscow, while the Russian Communist Party had become the dominant factor in the old empire and had to deal with the various national problems as they came up.

Even before the death of Lenin, the influence of Stalin was obviously growing. Stalin, a Georgian and the most prominent of the non-Russian Bolshevik leaders, definitely had a coterie of Georgians as his backers. He was appointed by Lenin Commissar for Nationalities but he had little sympathy for the complicated nationalities problem (it is still questionable about his sympathies for Georgia). But while he was not secure in his power, it was necessary for him to proceed cautiously, as most of the Russian Bolsheviks and Communists were Great Russian chauvinists as ardently sure of the indivisible character of Russia as were the czars or the White leaders. As a result he allowed the development of the independent national cultures to continue, while he paid at least lip service to the ideas that they expressed.

As soon, however, as he felt sure of his ground, Stalin began to introduce restrictions, chiefly in the cultural and economic fields, and he frowned on the independent cultural manifestations. To him by the end of the twenties, the vital question was to break any forces

or groups which were aiming to liberate the great majority of the non-Russians from Great Russian tutelage and he became steadily more hostile to all manifestations of national independence and cultural separateness. The adoption of the First Five Year Plan gave him his opportunity and the history of the non-Russian peoples during the late twenties and early thirties was a history of purges, deportations and executions as writers and thinkers were repressed, newspapers in other than Russian were closed, and theatrical troupes and similar manifestations were prohibited. The process continued with slight intermissions until World War II, when the mass desertion of non-Russian soldiers showed him that it was necessary to make concessions in a slight degree, even though he carefully veiled this from the eyes of even the Allied powers during the war and later he was able to boast that victory was due entirely to the heroism of the Great Russians, an attribution that was true in fact but in direct opposition to the avowed principles and constitution of the Soviet Union which accepted as their main thesis that Communism was the wave of the future and one which would win enthusiastically among progressive people everywhere. To Stalin by the end of World War II, the word Soviet and Russia were synonymous and the non-Russian people were not entitled to any rights other than those which the Great Russians gave them voluntarily. He opposed any contamination of Russian with non-Russian words. He insisted upon the administration of everything from Moscow. Still it is to be noted that it was always advisable for any poet speaking of the "friendship of nations" to say a good word for Georgia and for any poet who sought to translate into Russian to try his hand at translations of Georgian poetry, something which had been previously almost unknown in Russia despite its great past. Incidentally the Georgian Beria was one of Stalin's most trusted advisers and as Minister of Internal Security, he was responsible for many of the later purges of supposedly disloyal persons.

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On the other hand, a new star was rising in the Soviet firmament, Nikita Sergeyevech Khrushchev. Born near the Ukrainian borders, of a Russian family, Khrushchev early seized the opportunity to make his career in Ukraine, where he carried out most of Stalin's anti-Ukrainian and anti-minority orders. At the same time, like Stalin before him, he endeavored to create his own personal staff of aides, many of whom came from Russianized Ukrainian Communists. When Khrushchev returned to Moscow, he found ways and means

to bring many of these with him and install them in key posts and despite his official past of wreaking havoc in Ukraine, he ostentatiously posed as a friend of the Ukrainians. In addition to that, his enthusiasm for travel led him to extend his influence in those sections that were distant from Moscow, so that he had a large acquaintance and devoted followers in all parts of the Soviet Union.

Then by clever maneuvering, he made himself the spokesman for a policy of decentralization which aimed to give increased power to the local industrial leaders and thus weakened the remains of the Stalinist group which sought national control from Moscow. At the same time, he realized that the root of the discontent was to be found in the peasantry and as fast as it was possible, he aimed to eradicate this by turning the peasants into agricultural hirelings forced into *agrogorods* or agricultural cities or factories. He could thus deprive the peasants of their individual plots and their feeling of ownership of at least part of the soil which they tilled for their own support, and he sponsored the grandiose conception of the virgin lands, the transference of a mixed population to large areas in Kazakhstan which was to be a new agricultural empire carved out of the wilderness as a monument to Khrushchev.

Decentralization was to be the bait to lure support into Khrushchev's camp and so he provided for new regions, new governing bodies and new forms. But as always the emphasis on the individual region never failed to promote an effort on the part of the people to improve their own condition, and Khrushchev, as flexible in methods as Stalin had been inflexible, bitterly attacked the administration of any region which sought better conditions of living. From his regional plans, he moved on to as complete a separation as possible between industry and agriculture until his ideals could be achieved, and from this new mass of groups, there emerged a new conception of a supreme authority in Moscow to regulate everything, while more and more Khrushchev began to assume the pose of the supreme literary, artistic and cultural critic that Stalin had once been. The cult of personality of Stalin was abolished and in its place came the infallible judgment of Khrushchev in all questions as well as in his opinions as to agriculture.

The only new point was that Stalin had come to his glorification of the Great Russian through his dislike of other peoples and his suspicion, although he never denied their existence. To Khrushchev there was only one Russian or in his words one Soviet people. Even more than Stalin he equates Russian and Soviet but he prefers to use the second as the name of the man who speaks Russian. Thus there has been no direct thaw in the cultural problem, although as

yet he has not asserted the same iron and ruthless rule as did Stalin but he is perfectly capable of it, although he tries to present himself as having no part in any of Stalin's excesses.

Now we can understand the reason for the protests at the commemoration of the independence of Ukraine. His increased pressure on the peasants and his reduction of the standard of living in the cities by the raising of food prices can start and has started new discontent. But to suppress this and gain a free hand for intrigue in Cuba and elsewhere he must pretend for the moment that all is well and that there is at least lip service to the independence of those Soviet Republics guaranteed in the Soviet constitution, while he carries through his schemes to make Russian even more fully the official language than ever before.

It is as a weapon in the cold war that Khrushchev is using these protests and that cold war is being waged not only against the free world but against the self-respect of the non-Russian population of the Soviet Union which is destined to become not citizens of a Ukrainian Soviet Republic but of a Soviet Republic which will respect and admire only the Russian language and Russian culture. Since this is so and he is also faced with opposition by the Chinese Communists, the hint by Mao of the return of the Maritime Provinces to China is a subtle insult, the more cutting because the foreign friends of Russia refuse to accept this truth, for Russia according to them has had the same boundaries for centuries despite the steadily widening control which it exercises.

As the free world gets rid of its colonies, Communist Russia is spreading its influence far and wide in the approved pattern of Russian imperialism throughout the ages. That imperialism is finding new methods, new slogans but the underlying principles of brutality and falsehood have not changed in centuries and they will not change until the captive nations are once more free and the West has learned the error of its ways in 1917 and 1945. May that lesson soon be learned!

OUR WORLD AT THE CROSSROADS

By VANO J. NANUASHVILI

The political picture of the world today as reflected in the press creates an impression of general chaos and turmoil. A careful analysis, however, of the present state of the world discloses that political events are developing quite logically and with inevitable consequences.

Among the prime developments are, of course, those taking place in the Communist camp. Worthy of special consideration is the emergence of a difference of interpretation of Marxism and Leninism between Moscow and Peking. The press of the Communist bloc minimizes this divergence of views of the two centers, attempting to reduce it to a mere academic matter. Yet it marks an ideological parting of the ways fraught with consequences and, as such, will dominate the world situation for a long time.

The prolonged division of China and the fierce internal struggle which lasted for several decades have come to an end. The Chinese people have become united. At long last China is able to make fully felt the weight of its 600 million and its 12 million annual population increase. This emergence of a unified China has its inevitable consequence: the doom of the Soviet Russian Empire.

Underlying the ideological divergence between Soviet Russia and Red China is the latter's size and dynamism. Because of its size, it demands first place in the Communist camp. Fanatical and impatient, it sees itself as the true spokesman of Marxism-Leninism. Scornful of human life, overcrowded Red China presents a menace to the world that is unequalled in that it alone appears to be unafraid of a thermonuclear war. In fact, students of this emerging colossus suspect that Mao would welcome being rid of a couple of hundred million hungry mouths.

The scarcity of food has indeed plagued Mao's brave new world. In 1958 he launched his "Communist Revolution"; the goal: to catch up with Great Britain in fifteen years and to establish a communist state in half the time it was taking Khrushchev and his minions. This was to be the Great Leap Forward, with agriculture finally equated in importance to industry.

Within a few months the drive for food saw 99 per cent of the peasants organized in People's Communes, strictly regimented but unwieldy groups where all got the same pay. Communal kitchens sprouted up to cut the cost of feeding commune members. Tens of thousands of miniature steel "mills" were set up to supply the material for the host of tractors, trucks and railroads needed.

The rivalry with Soviet Russia seemed to be in China's favor early in 1959. Grain production was reported to be 375,000,000 tons, steel output was put at 10,700,000 tons. It was not long, however, before it became apparent that the figures had been inflated by ambitious bureaucrats—a typical communist failing. The steel—some 3 million tons of it—produced by the backyard furnaces was so inferior in quality as to be useless.

The actual grain harvest turned out to be 250,000,000 tons. The 1959 quota of 525,000,000 was quickly scaled down to 275,000,000 and than came drought and floods. By the end of the year barely 170,000,000 tons were harvested.

Apparently the centuries that China's millions had lived on the rim of disaster were not easily to be repelled. Mao had come up against the fact that massive farm production needs large-scale mechanization, enormous amounts of fertilizer and peasants trained in their use—all of which takes time and money.

Peking promptly called on Moscow for help. It came, but not on the scale extended in 1952 and 1957, when massive Soviet aid made possible an annual industrial growth of a breath-taking 20 per cent. On November 7, 1958, Foreign Trade Minister Yeh Chichuang announced the arrival of Soviet aluminum, trucks, tractors and equipment for a sizeable blast furnace at Wuhan. But all this was not enough, and at the same time reports began circulating that Soviet Russia had refused to furnish Peking with atomic weapons.

The basic enmity between these rival communist camps now began to become clearly discernible. Soviet overlord Khrushchev openly supported Marshal Peng Teh-huai, defense minister and Korean war hero, who counseled in the Chinese politburo that China's industrial and agricultural pace had to be braked.

Mao's answer was to oust Peng; and when Khrushchev released the dove of peace at Camp David, the first Chinese incursions on the Indian border occurred. Food or no food, Red Chinese aggression had appeared; Soviet Russia no longer enjoyed undisputed supremacy in the lands of the communist world.

The problem of food, however, continued to plague the land of the Bamboo Curtain. The harvests of 1960 and 1961 were no better

than in 1959. While the population increased annually by the millions, the food supply fell off by a third. Western observers estimated that the average diet in the country in 1961 ranged from 600 to 1200 calories—a subsistence level. This low diet had its enervating effect on the people and, consequently, on industrial production. In November 1960, Agriculture Minister Laio Lu-yen grudgingly admitted that only five per cent of the farms had been mechanized.

There can be little doubt that Khrushchev took no small satisfaction in now lecturing Peking that it must follow the Soviet pattern of first slowly building socialism (genocide takes time) and raising the standard of living—for even “Potemkin villages” take time to erect. Khrushchev had realized that the traditional road of Chinese expansion leads to the West: the wastes of Siberia up to the Urals, with Soviet Russia proper—the prison house of nations—just beyond. This is the route along which all the invasions from the East have coursed—and the Kremlin overlords have become increasingly aware of it.

Thus the open friction between Moscow and Peking in 1962 that became so heated that Moscow recalled its aid and industrial experts from China, leaving hundreds of plants unfinished. Closed were the Soviet consulates in Shanghai and Harbin. And the ideological divergence burst into acrimony.

Finally bolstered by a near-normal crop, Mao demanded in his theoretical organ, *Red Flag*, that a conference of all 81 Communist parties be called. And he challenged Khrushchev to publish the Chinese position in the Soviet press. The way was being paved for a modern Ghenghis Khan.

What courses of action lie before Soviet Russia in the face of this new and yet ancient threat from the East, a menace that seems certain to achieve its own nuclear striking power by the end of this decade?

Of course, one possibility before Soviet Russia is to band together with the free nations of the West. Two obstacles, however, are all but insurmountable in this path. The first is that with such a move Soviet Russia would reveal that its internationalism has been merely a masquerade all this time for its unchangeable imperialistic self. Relinquished beyond recall would be its claim to hegemony in the Communist world as well as to the sympathy of fellow-travelers the world over. The center of the communist stage would automatically be taken over by militant Red China.

The other obstacle would be the West itself. Committed to a policy of anti-colonialism, the West could not afford to embrace as an ally the sole colonial power left in the world—the multi-na-

tional Soviet empire. Such an act would constitute a betrayal of dozens of submerged nations and millions of oppressed people—and ultimately of itself. Such a devastating moral collapse would lead to a rapid and total disintegration: a more direct route to suicide on the part of the West would be difficult to imagine.

Hence the minimum price of admission that would be demanded of Russians is the “dismemberment of Holy Mother Russia”—the freeing of its imprisoned nations and satellites. That Soviet Russia could be able to rid itself of its imperialistic and messianistic bent—thanks to which a huge portion of the globe’s land surface has come under its control—is simply unimaginable. Added to which, the freeing of such a nation as Ukraine, rich in resources and with a 40-million population, alone would deal a mortal blow to this “monolith.”

Another possibility of action is to attack Red China before the latter realizes its potential strength. Despite the Chinese menace, this course is a remote one. Again, Soviet Russia would alienate itself from the communist world forever were it to assault one of the bastions of Leninism-Marxism. Even a military victory would be a hollow affair—the problem of ruling a race that cordially detests the white man would prove insoluble. In fact, this problem of ruling millions of oppressed people at home is yet to be solved by Soviet Russia. In itself, this Achilles’ Heel of the Russian Empire remains an excellent deterrent to any Soviet excursion, eastward or westward.

Although the West has been slow to accept the facts of the Soviet experience in World War II, mountains of documented evidence have been amassed which attest to the hundreds of thousands of desertions from the Red Army before Nazi *Schrecklichkeit* made itself felt in such rebellious countries as Ukraine, to the genocide perpetrated upon such “unreliable” peoples as the Chechen-Ingush, and to the astonishing activities of armies like the Ukrainian Insurgent Army—a force which was not put down by Soviet tanks and artillery until World War II had been left behind several years.

Today the Soviet Union still seethes with discontent. The synthetic “Soviet man” remains an illusion; a few lectures on Marxism-Leninism cannot, the Russians have learned to their chagrin, affect centuries of separate national existence, culture, and language. Genocide has failed: even Stalin despaired of killing off all the Ukrainians. As with all tyrannical regimes, Soviet Russia has no solid foundation upon which to mount a sustained attack.

The third possibility before the Kremlin is to side with Red China in a showdown with the West, and, hopefully emerging victorious, then to turn on Red China.

Unfortunately for the Russians, the free world is characterized by phenomena which are diametrically opposite to those of the Communist world. Despite the fact that a free press makes more noise than a controlled one, the camp of freedom is not racked by irreconcilable antagonisms as is the curtained world.

Every member of the Western bloc has come to understand that its line of defense is the Elbe. All are convinced that it is only by a grand collective effort that freedom can be preserved. And it is precisely this love of freedom which binds the West and will inspire every man to fight.

The free world is no federation or confederation of paper states, nor is it a terrorized bloc of satellite lands that had been subjected by force of arms in 1920 and 1945. The West is preeminently a voluntary coalition of free nations with centuries-long traditions of national statehood and human dignity.

In the communist bloc, on the other hand, the defeat of either Soviet Russia or its counterpart in the Far East would automatically mean hegemony over the communist camp for the survivor. It would signify the release of the oppressed in the defeated state: one reason why the communist press does not dwell on the basic differences dividing Red China and Soviet Russia, ascribing any friction to minor differences as regards dialectical materialism.

Contrast this situation with the West, where every nation realizes full well that failure or defeat for one means failure or defeat for all. Hence the opposing worlds are unequal. An equation is impossible, for one of the terms, freedom, cannot be counterbalanced.

To be underscored is the fact that the West today is not the West of World War I. Europe then was a vehicle of great powers. All possessed bloated armed forces which seemed to assure each of supremacy not only in Europe but in the whole world. Yet although each had reached the zenith of individual strength, this disunited Europe made for a feeble West. This Europe turned upon itself, and it is the shattering experience of two world wars that has finally welded Europe into a cohesive and powerful whole.

Based as it now is on the collective will of all the peoples, the further economic and political development of Europe is assured. With this development, the world inevitably enters a decisive phase.

Whatever Soviet Russia does, the clash between East and West will come. In keeping with history, the struggle will again be decided along the Elbe. On one side stretch out the forces of the West, culminating with the bastion of freedom that is America. On the other is an uneasy melange of expedient allies, ridden by mortal antagonisms and racked by the strains and stresses induced

by the liberation-seeking nations. And the struggle, again, will not be resolved by technology but by the human spirit.

This massive confrontation cannot be allowed to become a repetition of the old tragedy of the peoples of Eastern Europe. These peoples have served countless times in the past as a bulwark against the onslaughts of the hordes from the East. No victory can be meaningful without the realization on the part of the West that it must serve as the guarantors of freedom for the peoples of Eastern Europe, who in large measure are responsible for the survival of Western civilization up to the present.

There is every reason to believe that the West will not shirk its responsibility this time—which ensures the doom of the Soviet Empire, trapped between an enlightened West and an aroused East.

THE HATEMONGERS IN AMERICA

By ROMAN SMAL-STOCKI

Contemporary public life in the U. S. A. is characterized by three hate movements which, in cancerous fashion, sap the body of the American nation, disintegrate the basic ideas of the American Declaration of Independence and render us ridiculous before the whole world.

The first hate movement is the American Nazi Party. One readily gets a clear idea of it by looking at the picture of its leader, Rockwell, and of his gang in *Esquire* (March): their faces, postures, uniforms with Hitler swastikas and guns. One is shocked. All the memories of panic come back to the writer, experienced during many Gestapo investigations during World War II. Here personified before our very eyes is a conceited, aggressive, brutal anti-Semitism which venerates the heritage of Adolf Hitler on the soil of George Washington. But the real danger lies in the fact that this American Nazi Party is only the visible expression of a vast undercurrent of anti-Semitism in the U. S. A., promoted by a large literature, including the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, which makes the Jews, especially the American Jews, responsible for all the Communist victories and the enslavement of all captive nations after World War II. Hate of all Jews is the driving force of the American Nazi Party, a violent, aggressive, brutal hate of all Jews. The writer would not be surprised if we should learn that the real promoters of this movement in our capital are the erstwhile allies of Hitler—the Russian Communists. They use “dialectics” even in propaganda. We do not underestimate “the masters of deceit.” Anti-German propaganda must constantly be promoted in America in the interest of Moscow.

The second dangerous and growing hate movement is the Negro Muslim cult of Islam in America under the leadership of Elijah Muhammed, the “Messenger of Allah.” Of course, these Black Muslims have no connection with genuine Mohammedanism. They believe in the “Black Master Race,” superior to the criminal white race, which is blamed for all evils of the world. They are ferociously anti-white and anti-Christian. The American Black Hitler, Elijah Muhammed, and his gang believe in violence; they train actively for the Battle

of Armageddon in which the blacks will kill off all whites. Hate is the driving force of the Negro Muslim cult of "Islam," hate of all whites and Christians. But where are the roots of this hate movement? Again we would not be surprised to learn that through many indirect channels Moscow pulls its strings in the interest of Russian Communism for the disintegration of the U. S. A. We should not forget the old Communist plans to organize a Negro state in the South.

The third movement is conducted by the American "Russia Firsters" and is directed against the aspirations for liberty and human rights of all the captive nations of the Soviet Union. At the very time that in Asia and Africa virtually all colonial peoples have gained self-determination and liberty, here in the U. S. A. a "seeker of truth" of Princeton University, Gregory P. Tschebotarioff, conducts a campaign for the preservation of "Holy Russia, one and indivisible." He qualifies the victims of Russian Communist imperialism as "minorities" within the Soviet Union. He challenges the right of the Tartars, enslaved by Ivan the Terrible, to call their country Idel-Ural. He challenges the nationhood of the Cossacks, and demands the "Repeal of Public Law 86-90" of our Congress on the Captive Nations. In this connection his reaction to this law completely agrees with the position taken by the "Hangman of Ukraine," N. Khrushchev, the "liberator" of Cuba, in the famous "kitchen discussion" at the American Exhibition with Vice-President Nixon during the latter's visit to Moscow.

For many years the writer was a friend of the great leader and poet of the Idel-Uralians, Ayaz Iskhaki, who died a decade ago in Istanbul; and the writer was shocked by the brutality exhibited in free America toward this unhappy "underdog" nation of Idel-Ural. The veracity of Tschebotarioff regarding Cossackia may be easily verified by the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, in which the re-establishment of a free and independent Cossackia in the years 1917-1920 is ascribed to the "manipulations" of the imperialistic governments of the U. S. A., England and France, which "supported the Cossack government with money and arms and helped it in every way..." To smear the existence of these nations as "Nazi Myths" is a typical trick of the Russian Communist press. Professor Gregory P. Tschebotarioff in his vociferous press propaganda, misusing the prestige of Princeton University, forgets to inform the American public that he was permitted by the Russian Communists to visit the Soviet Union with a group of Americans (cf. *The Cossack Life*, January, 1962, p. 14) and to return to Princeton to continue his political activities. We call attention to the fact that the State De-

partment, in issuing visas to naturalized American citizens who are former citizens of the Russian Empire, expressly warns the traveler that he is making the trip at his own risk, because the Soviet Government considers political anti-Communist exiles as criminals. Apparently, Professor Tschebotarioff's activities in the U. S. A. were highly appreciated by the Russian Communist regime. In any event, such a visit is impossible for any bona fide refugee anti-Communist scholar, who in the U. S. A. is an uncompromising and dedicated fighter for academic, religious, and political freedom and a fighter against the Communist dictatorship. It is self-evident that there is only one problem which Imperial Soviet Moscow fears and that is the revolutionary nationalism of the non-Russian captive nations, and in this regard every white Russian imperialist is a welcome ally to Communist Moscow for perpetuation of the enslavement of all non-Russian nations by Russian Red imperialism.

In this regard Tschebotarioff has a very dedicated ally in Mark E. Weinbaum, the editor of *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*. For years he has been a candidate for the laurels of a Disraeli of Russian imperialism because he is one of the main motors of this brutal and aggressive Russian chauvinism, in spite of the fact that he knows well the plight of the Jews in the Soviet Union. Mr. Weinbaum continues the traditions of those Jewish writers and journalists who in Europe, before and after World War I, were dedicated servants of different imperialisms: in Imperial Russia, Gringemut; in Germany, Maximilian Harden (a Polish Jew Isaak Witkowski) regarding himself as the guardian of Bismarck's imperialistic traditions; and Karl Kraus, in Vienna, the editor of *Fackel*, an Austrian imperialist and anti-Semite. Radek and Ehrenburg were the red Disraelis in Moscow, for decades promoting Red Muscovite imperialism. Mark E. Weinbaum's and Tschebotarioff's business is Russian imperialism, a violent hate of all rights of the non-Russian nations for independent statehood and liberty. In whose interest is this movement in the U. S. A. conducted?

May we assure our Russian friends and colleagues that not one of the scholars of the non-Russian nations is infringing on the basic rights of the Muscovite-Russian nation? They are only defending their old countries and nations against the violent Russian imperialism, red and white, in America united into a common front, which was and is the only real cause of our protracted world crisis, and which already has reached Cuba.

The activity of these hatemongers makes them the "Ugly Americans" inside the U. S. A.; and they look rather strange against

the background of the official statement by Adlai E. Stevenson (United Nations, General Assembly, November 25, 1961):

The United States is against colonialism—wherever and whenever it occurs. As a nation, we believe that man—a physical, intellectual, and spiritual being, not an economic animal—has individual rights, divinely bestowed, limited only by the obligation to avoid infringement upon equal rights of others.

We do not claim perfection in our own society and in our own lives, only that we seek it honestly and that the direction we take is always that of greater liberty.

We believe that justice, decency and liberty, in an orderly society are concepts which have raised man above the beasts of the field; to deny any person the opportunity to live under their shelter is a crime against all humanity.

Our republic is the product of the first successful revolution against colonialism in modern times. Our people, drawn from all the nations of the world, have come to these shores in the search for freedom and opportunity in a progressive society. We have never forgotten either our origins or the nature of the world we live in.

As President Kennedy said in his Inaugural Address:

We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution... Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and success of liberty...

That is a continuation of American traditions:

Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end, and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Woodrow Wilson, 1917.

Finally, some lessons for the hatemongers who enjoy liberty in the U. S. A., especially to all successors of the Russian "Black-hundreds":

- (1) "Liberty is the only thing you cannot have unless you are willing to give it to others"—William Allen White, 1940.
- (2) "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty"—II Corinthians III,17
- (3) "The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time," Jefferson.
- (4) "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves," Abraham Lincoln.

Amongst all these hate movements the alliance of the White Russian imperialism here with the Red Russian imperialism of Communist Moscow and the blessing accorded to this alliance by Mark Weinbaum is, in the writer's opinion, a unique achievement of assiduous Soviet strategy. It rivals a similar achievement in

Cuba, where careful Soviet strategy and tactics maneuvered into a situation the leaders of the "free world," the U. S. A. and Great Britain, in which Moscow forces them to protect the Communist dictatorship of Fidel Castro over Cuba against the Cuban revolutionaries outside Cuba, fighting for self-determination, liberty, and democracy. Thus Khrushchev is conferring upon the U.S.A. and Great Britain the "honor" of being "co-jailers" of the Cuban nation! Tschebotarioff struggles along with his friends to extend this "honor" for the U. S. A. in regard to all non-Russian nations..

These hate movements in the U. S. A. completely undermine all ideological beliefs of American statesmen. The victims of Russian imperialism have the feeling of being cheated. The U. S. A., therefore, is losing the trust of Europe and the world as well as its prestige at home and abroad. Why? Put baldly, cruelty to animals evokes the protests of all Americans, but cruelty to the Captive Nations in our midst gets scant, if any, attention.

BOOK REVIEWS

RUSSIAN FRONTIERS: From Muscovy to Khrushchev. By William G. Bray.
The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis, 1963. pp. 273.

This work is another solid addition to the growing list of books which place Moscow and the Russian totalitarians in true historical perspective. It is no exaggeration to say that this historical analysis, along with Smal-Stocki's *The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union* and Radzinski's *Masks of Moscow*, would equip any student of Eastern Europe with a sound, basic framework of historical understanding than can be obtained from the usual assortment of texts and treatises on the subject. Lucidly written, well organized, and replete with keen perceptions, this contribution is a further indication of America's increasing knowledge and understanding of traditional Russian imperialism.

It might also be said that the author could very well teach scores of the usual professors of Russian history on the basics of the subject. Significantly, Mr. Bray is a Congressman from Indiana. He is a longtime student of Russian history and Russian character. He has traveled in the Soviet Union and has observed the thinking and behavior of non-communist Russians in Korea. As the work shows throughout, he combines experience and knowledge to make his telling points on centuries-old Russian expansionism.

Chapter One, appropriately titled "Communism, the Latest Vehicle to Carry Russian Imperialism," sets the pitch of the Congressman's general thesis. To understand the forces operating in the present the author exposes the reader to the outlines of traditional Russian imperialism, going back to the first Muscovite conquest of a non-Russian nation, that of Novgorod in 1478. A heavy portion of the book is devoted to the centuries of Russian conquests begun by the Muscovite tyrant, Ivan III. Deftly and adroitly, the author presents them as cumulative lessons for threatened America. His well chosen evidence is not a mere compilation of simple "historical precedents."

What is equally of worth and importance is the remarkable insight shown by the Congressman in this perennial Russian problem. "It is of note here," he writes, "that Russia's pattern of first pretending to be a friend in order to destroy the country befriended commenced with her first conquest and continues until today" (p. 14). He admits that it has been difficult for the Western mind "to comprehend the Russian philosophy of making constant conquests against her neighbors a way of life," but whatever the psycho-cultural explanation, the facts of five centuries of imperialist aggression are plain for all to view. As the author puts it, "Russian aggression during the last five centuries has devoured forty-six distinct races speaking sixty-one different languages, and her appetite remains unquenched" (p. 15).

Oftentimes analogies accomplish much more than do objective descriptions in conveying the truth of a matter. Mr. Bray resorts to this when he states that "Russia's territorial hunger can be compared to the farmer who, when queried as to why he was acquiring so much land, said: 'I don't want much

land, I just want that which adjoins my farm," (p. 13). Also, pungent phrases and observations can be found in chapter after chapter. For example, on negotiating with the Russian totalitarians, we are told that "Russia always wants to negotiate with the Free World. To the Russians negotiation means but one thing—they intend to keep what they have and negotiate for what we have" (p. 211). The Leninist technique of taking two steps forward and one back—so well applied in Cuba—is an old Russian institution, a major instrument in Russian empire-building. This and other instruments receive clear description and elaboration in this work.

Except for an unfortunate slip at the beginning of the book, the conceptions used throughout are well grounded and accurate. The writer mistakenly identifies the history of Russia with that of Rus, but this is a difficulty that only time will resolve. Beyond this error, his historical and analytic treatments are forceful and correct. The Russian empire is properly depicted as "the last conglomerate empire, the last empire held together by force, composed of various nations and peoples with no racial, geographic, or linguistic reasons for their being thrown together" (p. 17). The author is at his best in showing this empire as a direct descendant of the Mongol Empire. In another context, we find this well established observation, "Communism in the world today has long since departed from its announced altruistic aims and has become a most efficient vehicle to carry Russian greed and lust for power toward the control of more peoples and nations" (p. 207). Time and time again, the author stresses the prime enemy of Russian imperio-colonialism and the instrumental nature of communism. For instance, "Today we think of Russia's territorial aggression as a result of Communism instead of regarding Communism as a weapon being used to assist in her historic imperialistic aggression" (p. 27).

From cover to cover, the reader will also find refreshing and perceptive interpretations that are firmly buttressed by historical fact. The motivations of both Stalin and Khrushchev, as concerns education and modern technology, are rightly likened to those of Peter the Great, for whom the spread of imperial rule and domination was primary. The philosophical vehicles of Russian Orthodoxy, Pan-Slavism, and now Communism are vividly described as deceptive fronts for the same, unchanging real force—traditional Russian imperio-colonialism. Also, the irrelevance of Marxism to Russian Communism is properly underscored. As the author accurately observes, "Perhaps the greatest error that the Western world has made in its dealing with the Soviets is continuing to believe that Russian Communism is closely allied with the basic Communist philosophy..." (p. 32).

Most instructive in this work are the cold war explanations given for many of Russia's imperialistic conquests. The Russian aggressions against China since 1658, against Iran since 1715, against Ukraine since 1654 and so forth are historically detailed and make for a composite understanding of the reactionary force threatening the peace of the world today. "Russia for centuries," writes Bray, "has been adroit in accomplishing the destruction of a nation's freedom 'without firing a shot'" (p. 196). Here, too, in short, the cold war is an old Russian institution.

Toward the end of the book, the author shows his awareness of the struggle being waged in this country for a speedy recognition by our own citizenry of these and other truths bearing on the captive nations. He covers

the Captive Nations Week Resolution and quotes an address by the reviewer on this subject. He brings out the Rusk letters and the fight for a Special House Committee on the Captive Nations. Briefly, he gives the reader a comprehensive picture of what is really our basic problem in this country in coping adequately with the Russian imperialist threat.

Georgetown University

Lev E. Dobriansky

SOVIET POLITICS AND THE UKRAINE, 1917-1957. By Robert S. Sullivant. New York and London, Columbia University Press. 1962, pp. ix + 438.

The key to this valuable, if sometimes baffling, book is to be found in the following passage in the Conclusion; "In a general way Ukraine has appeared in three characters to Soviet leaders, each character posing its own problems and prompting separate ideological and political programs. As a distinct ethnic region differing in language, traditions, and culture from central Russia, Ukraine, with other minority areas, has forced the development of a nationality theory and significant modifications of political practices. As a distinct physical and political region, possessing a certain economic and territorial unity apart from its nationality character, Ukraine has confronted Soviet leaders with a type of regional exclusiveness and ethnocentrism. And as a collection of districts in the Soviet Union, Ukraine has most fondly been viewed by Russian officials as but one part of a single, uniform Russia with a system of politics integrated into the all-Russian system. Because the three characters have so differed from one another, it is not surprising that Soviet policies in Ukraine have not always been consistent." (p. 214).

From its beginning the Russian Empire expanded by conquest or by making alliances with other national entities and then finding ways and means to eradicate any special privileges which it had guaranteed to the people and relied upon the autocratic power and machinery of the czars to produce later a national unity. In a very real sense Lenin was brought up in this tradition. In accepting Marxism he based his theory of leadership on the role of the intellectual elite as much as had the czars and while he and Stalin had thought copiously about such questions as the nationality problem and the position of the proletariat, both were in a way unprepared for the stubborn assertions of national rights proclaimed on the downfall of the czar in Ukraine and many other parts of the former Russian empire. Once in control of the country and no longer mere agitators for revolution, they had to decide how to meet this opposition, what value to give to it, and how to overcome it.

Marxist thinking had a markedly theoretical character but Lenin had enough practical and political sense not to seek a final and definite solution, if it would imperil the fabric that he was building. Stalin, a Georgian, was more rigid in his thinking but even he could utilize the Ukrainian nationalist movement to cement his own power and give him the prestige necessary to crush it; and he was ruthless in doing so. The same method was employed after his death by the unsuccessful Beria and the successful Khrushchev, who had made his career in Ukraine and acquired along with the hatred of much of the population whom he had exploited for Stalin, a corps of devoted followers who could serve as a nucleus of a personal following in Moscow in his bid for power.

This book is then a careful study from Soviet sources of the methods and arguments by which the leaders and a host of lesser and often unsuccessful

men attempted to resolve the contradictory points of view indicated in the quotation. It is not a history of Ukraine, of the Ukrainian Communist Party or of the Ukrainian people during these wars, except in so far as immediate events influenced the arguments of the men in Moscow, Kiev and Kharkiv, who were determined to assert their power. Thus there is almost no reference to the great artificial famine of 1932-33 which caused the death of millions in order that Stalin could carry through at all cost his program of industrialization and collectivization. There is relatively little about the destruction of the more prosperous peasants or the independent thinkers and writers, or of the Ukrainian resistance in World War II to both Nazis and Communists. All these things were not germane, although they influenced tremendously the lives and fortunes of the Ukrainian masses. They do not compare in importance for a study of Soviet political thought with the repeated discussions as to the meaning of Ukrainization or its limits or the growth of the national and regional economy.

This is not said in irony. From the beginning Soviet thinking was directed toward a proper theoretical solution of world problems and the task of constructing a world state under Communist control. For his day Lenin was more flexible, Stalin more rigid, but more and more it has become evident that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is merely an enlarged name for the domination of the Great Russian, now called the Soviet man. Once this is recognized, much that is baffling, becomes clear and we can only thank the author for the patience and energy with which he has tried to analyze the apparently kaleidoscopic use of socialist political and philosophical terms.

The book will be of great value to scholars and should be on the shelves of every library which aims to include books on Russia, its captive nations and Communism. It can be warmly recommended.

Columbia University

Clarence A. Manning

ONE DAY IN THE LIFE OF IVAN DENISOVICH. By Alexander Solzhenitsyn. Translated from the Russian by Ronald Hingley and Max Hayward. A Bantam Book published by arrangement with Frederick A. Praeger, 1963, 201 pp.

"The most powerful novel ever to come out of the Soviet Union!"—is the caption, not without justification, that appears on the cover of *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, the moving book which appeared recently in the United States. Some American critics have gone so far as to characterize the book as "more revealing than *Doctor Zhivago*."

The author of the book is Alexander Solzhenitsyn, who hitherto has not been known as a Soviet author. He was born in 1918, just a few months after the advent of Bolshevism in Russia, and was educated in Rostov, where he won a degree in physics and mathematics. During War War II he served as a commissioned officer, commanding an artillery battery, and apparently was twice decorated for bravery and outstanding military feats. But in 1945 an unguarded sarcastic remark against Stalin caused his arrest and deportation for eight years into Central Asia. In 1956, after Khrushchev's "famous" speech in which he denounced Stalin for his "cult of personality" and terror, Solzhenitsyn was released. He resumed his metier as a mathematics teacher and continued to write in his spare time. This book is apparently his first major literary product.

The protagonist of this terrifying story is one Ivan Denisovich Shukhov who, much like the author himself, is a typical product of the Soviet system. Shukhov, mobilized into the Red Army in 1942, is surrounded by the Germans and eventually captured. His captivity lasts only one day: he succeeds in escaping from two German soldiers taking him to a POW assembly point.

After rejoining his unit, Ivan Denisovich is arrested and tried for "high treason," on the ground that he allowed himself to be captured by the enemy. Knowing how "Soviet justice" works, the hero, to avoid being executed on the spot signs a confession and is given ten years at hard labor.

The plot of the book concentrates on Ivan Denisovich's life in a slave labor camp in a snow-covered part of the Soviet Union's northern periphery. It is a story of life in a man-made hell—the Soviet slave labor camps. It is a morbid and depressing account of the misery, persecution and inhumanity that existed in these camps while Stalin was alive.

The author reveals in the book the presence of many non-Russian inmates of the camps—Ukrainians, Estonians, Latvians, Rumanians and others. In referring to the Ukrainians he identifies them as "West Ukrainians," apparently meaning the former inhabitants of Western Ukraine. These Ukrainians are depicted by the author as being extremely polite and religious, as people who still maintained their self-respect and a sense of honor, and who defied the gross inhumanity of the camp's guards. Reference is also made by the author to a prisoner who is arrested for bringing milk to the "Bendera (Bandera) partisans." (In the "Explanatory Notes" this reference is explained as follows: "Stepan Bendera, the leader of the Western Ukrainian nationalist partisans who at first collaborated with the Germans against the Soviets during the war, but then became disillusioned with the Germans and continued guerrilla warfare on Soviet territory until about 1950. Bendera was assassinated by Soviet agents in Germany in October, 1959.")

There are references to inmates imprisoned for religious "crimes," such as passing along a Bible, belonging to a Russian "Old Believers" sect, and the like.

The book, of course, is additional revelation as to the fact that the entire Soviet system was based on inhumanity, denial of justice and stark barbarism. But Solzhenitsyn is not the first to tell us of this morbid reality. A number of books—some by Ukrainian authors—have already documented the horror of the Soviet concentration camps.

But what is interesting above all is why this book was allowed to be published in the Soviet Union (its original Russian version appeared in the Russian-language magazine, *Novy Mir* in Moscow).

The book was obviously allowed to be published and then released a-broad for propaganda reasons. Khrushchev is still contending with the hard-core Stalinists both within the Soviet Union and in other communist countries. He therefore continues to degrade Stalin, although he must proceed cautiously lest the reaction may turn against Khrushchev himself. For Khrushchev is no angel by any standards of judgment, even Soviet. Stalin's reign of terror began on a large scale in 1934 after the assassination of Kirov. In his speech at the XXth Congress of the Communist Party Khrushchev hinted that it could have been Stalin himself who ordered the assassination of Kirov so as to have a pretext for the mass extermination of his real and potential rivals.

Early in 1937, it is to be recalled, Khrushchev was sent by Stalin to Ukraine to suppress the opposition in the ranks of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Khrushchev made such a thorough job of purging Ukraine that he was heaped with honors and won the confidence of Stalin, becoming one of his closest mentors and supporters. In 1945 Stalin again dispatched Khrushchev to Ukraine to purge the country, this time of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism," which in plain language meant patriotic Ukrainians who hated the abhorrent regime imposed upon them by Moscow and who wanted to establish their own independent state.

Undoubtedly the book by Solzhenitsyn will contribute greatly to the knowledge of the Soviet reality and the Soviet system. It would be inaccurate to characterize the book as an "eye-opener" for the world. But in that it is a work of art, it emerges as a powerful vehicle of truth.

Hence *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* is definitely a welcome contribution to the roster of the many books which have brilliantly depicted the inhuman system now prevailing in the Soviet Union, a system which Khrushchev helped mightily to establish and fortify.

Walter Dushnyck

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE RIVER: Red China Today. By Edgar Snow. Random House. New York. 766 pages. \$10.00.

ESCAPE FROM RED CHINA. By Robert Loh as told to Humphrey Evans. Coward-McCann, Inc. New York. 378 pages. \$5.75.

Here are two books, both published in America, both about the Chinese mainland. Both purport to describe China as it is today—under Communism. But at this point the analogy ends, for the two writers hold almost diametrically opposite viewpoints which, consciously or otherwise, affect their perspective. Edgar Snow, who visited Yanan back in 1939 and is one of three or four Americans to travel in mainland China under Communist control, is still the starry-eyed admirer of Mao Tse-tung, described as "teacher, statesman, strategist, philosopher, poet laureate, national hero, head of the family and greatest liberator in history—Confucius plus Lao-tzu plus Rousseau plus Marx plus Buddha." Robert Loh, on the other hand, lived under the Chinese Communist regime for eight years and from his personal experience says emphatically, "Anyone who has lived in Red China hates the regime," and again—even more succinctly—"living in Communist China is hell."

How is the reader of both books to know the truth? Assuming ordinary intelligence and common sense on the part of the reader, the red carpet treatment to Edgar Snow in the midst of a 10-year "hate America" campaign explains what the Communist leaders expected from their old friend. On the other hand, the gradual disillusionment of Robert Loh, returned student from America, favorably disposed to the new deal for his country, is too authentic to be disbelieved. He saw, and reveals, the ruthless methods by which "a small group has been able to achieve complete control over 650 million *unwilling* people." Loh witnessed the liquidation of ex-Nationalists, the terrorizing of the intellectuals, the pressures used to make the big industrialists and then the small shopkeepers subservient. But even as late as the "three-anti" and "five-anti" movements, he believed the regime was fighting wrong attitudes among the intellectuals and corruption among businessmen, big or small. He did not realize the Communist authorities were attacking one class after another, good in-

dividuals and bad alike, to bring them into complete subjection. When the Communists betrayed the working class of the cities, and then the peasants of the rural areas, Loh saw that they were not serving the masses (as claimed) but "intent on making the people serve them, and their objective was nothing more (nor less) than political power" over all classes of society.

Since Edgar Snow is a well-known author of ten books and a one-time associate editor of *The Saturday Evening Post*, anything he writes will influence many people. The very size of his book, his five months in Red China visiting 14 provinces, his numerous interviews and his accumulation of statistics, all tend to make his book appear authoritative. Yet, as *The New Yorker* magazine queried: "How reliable is this honest, impassioned, well-meaning effort? Mr. Snow skilfully fuses reporting with historical exposition, personal reflections, statistical analysis and argument... (He) has a huge accumulation of facts, if we could only guess which they are." If almost-unknown Robert Loh's book were required reading for all who read Snow, there would be no problem. Snow's rosy idea that the Communist regime in China enjoys almost complete popular support is completely shattered by Loh's deadly expose of the continuous process of applying the stimulus of fear—constantly, everywhere, to everyone—so that the small hierarchy in Peking can maintain total power over their "unwilling millions."

Snow achieves his apparent objectivity by admitting various failures, mistakes or over-claims on the part of the Communist authorities; then explaining these away with mitigating circumstances; and finally concluding with optimistic predictions on his own part that everything will be fine soon. For example, he admits that Mao's promise of "1650 lbs. of grain and 110 lbs. of pork per person per year *within a year or two*" had to be changed after two years as not possible "for fifty years." Nevertheless, he insists that Mao's "record as a prophet is good," even though in this case he was at least 48 years off. Again he admits that "some communes have been failures," that "in *some*, land under cultivation actually decreased by their deep-plowing," that in some, cadres had "inflexibly followed higher directives calling for communal housing" when the peasants preferred their mud-floored *homes*, yet he thinks the communes (deplored by most of the world, including Mr. Khrushchev) are "the key to China's future" and predicts that the communes are the way to agricultural production adequate to feed China's millions. Yet, J. Lossing Buck, in three volumes of the most authoritative information on China's land problem, long ago declared "collective farming is not advocated (as the solution) by *any agriculturalist*." And in Free China on Taiwan, with a population greater than that of all Australia on an island two-thirds mountainous, the Chinese have the highest caloric intake in all Asia, export millions of tons of rice, and are sending agricultural missions by invitation to a number of friendly African countries.

Edgar Snow also has a curious way of equating things unequal to each other. He talks, for instance, of the Communists bringing "equal rights to women" in China, but he does not mean equal rights as in America; he means equal rights to build roads and dams, to dig irrigation ditches, to break rocks, run trains, operate cranes,—yes, and to attend endless indoctrination classes, and to have no civil rights, even of free elections.

He says that before China's crop failures in 1961, her investment was "growing faster than in capitalist countries," but (even if true) it is not an equation, because he hides the fact that the State was investing in industry or

agriculture what had been confiscated from the millions of people. He equates America's FBI with Communist espionage, though he has admitted there is "no assurance of privacy in phone calls" and that "East Europeans warned (him) his room would be bugged." Most of his equations, especially between Red China and America, are valid only if Communism and Democracy are equal. Does Snow really think they are?

Some of his statements are untrue; many are in error. For instance, he says that "by the 20's and 30's the solvent land-owning tillers were reduced to a minority." The owners of their own land were a higher percentage of farmers in China than in America, according to both Dr. J. Lossing Buck and Dr. Edmund de S. Brunner of Columbia. Moreover it was a majority (57%) of self-respecting farmers, not demoted in those days to being called "peasants." It is untrue that Chiang Kai-shek, sent by Dr. Sun on a visit to Russia, was "trained in Moscow." Untrue that the Chinese Reds bore the brunt of war against Japan; Mao admitted that 10% of their efforts only went to fighting the Japanese.

Snow's appalling unconcern for the loss of human freedom in China, his defense of the inhuman communes and reform-through-labor camps (from which so many never return) are unforgivable. After taking notes through a long day, he thinks it amusing to his readers to say, "I am a slave laborer." Presumably a capitalist himself, Snow apparently approves the confiscation of the personal property of almost everyone in a nation of 650 million. He avoids ugly words like "confiscation" and "retroactive taxes," and reports many former businessmen as taking "bench jobs in shops they formerly owned" as though it were voluntary, or an improvement in industry to have those with technical know-how doing manual tasks, while know-nothing cadres ran the business or the factory. There was "only one rich man left in China," the world-famous opera star, Mei Lan-fang—and now *he* is dead.

The great difference between the two authors is that Snow believes what Communists *say*, whereas Loh knows that what they say and what they *do* have nothing in common. For instance, Snow believes they honor the constitutional guarantee of freedom of worship. Loh, living in Shanghai, knows that of 253 churches in that city, only eighty were still open. Church property confiscated, used as godowns or offices, does not faze Snow. Snow believes that contributions to the "Resist America-Aid Korea" campaign were voluntary. Loh under pressure contributed a month's salary; it was not enough; the pressure let up on no one until three months' salary or wages was given. The Communists *say* they are doing everything for the welfare of the masses. Therefore Snow believes the millions in China support the regime. Loh was there when Mao Tse-tung made his famous speech to improve relations between cadres and people by saying "Let a hundred flowers bloom," promising no retaliation on those who criticized. He witnessed the depths of bitterness revealed as all classes of people, especially intellectuals, attacked the Communist system itself, until the ground swell of opposition shook Peking itself. He was there when Mao's promise of "no retaliation" was broken.

Robert Loh had left teaching and was manager, under the Communists, of three flour mills belonging to wealthy friends of his family, when the Reds got around to pressuring industrialists into subjection. He witnessed the process of harassment of the 165,000 private enterprises in Shanghai until they capitulated and "voluntarily" became Joint State-Private Enterprises. Later they would be pressured to give over to State ownership with "5% of profits until

1963" in return for their "cooperation." When it came to the subjugation of the workers themselves, if they refused to knuckle under, they were put on a so-called "Honor Roll," and sent off to work in desolate regions where they suffered the slow death of "labor reform." Most of them never returned.

Loh's chance to escape came when—after extremely cautious maneuvering—he succeeded in getting a permit for "two weeks only" in Hong Kong to receive his share of his late father's estate. Once out, he had no intention of returning. For the stark truth behind the outward appearance which so impressed Snow, for the proof that what Communists *say* bears no resemblance to what they *do*, Robert Loh's eyewitness account of eight years under the Chinese Reds is the most convincing book yet written about Red China.

President, Women for Freedom, Inc.

Geraldine Fitch

OLD UKRAINE. By Nicholas L. Fr.-Chirovsky. The Florham Park Press, p. 432, Madison, N. J., 1963.

The writer of *Old Ukraine* is to be congratulated for his ability to dig into history and reveal to the world a comprehensive and enjoyable book on a section of the world which is in everyone's mind today. The author, Nicholas L. Fr.-Chirovsky, professor of economics at Seton Hall University, produced a socio-economic study of the time prior to 1781. This means that he had to do *research* in the fullest meaning of that word—*research* into the geography, history, sociology, and economics of the country known as Ukraine.

Most Americans knew little about southeastern Europe before World War II and not too many know more today. And I am referring to the modern era—1963. Prof. Chirovsky presents the background for today. He shows the past. He shows it from the earliest recorded period up to 1781.

In a clear style, Prof. Chirovsky develops systematically a story about Ukraine's growth, its commerce, its influence on Europe. There is hardly a country in Europe that did not feel the Slavic culture. The countries closest to it—Poland, Lithuania, and Hungary—still feel its culture, only today it is ruled by a Red hand.

Students in America have scarcely heard of Rurik, Volodymyr the Great, Yaroslav the Wise, or Daniel of Galicia. These are important men in the history of yesteryear. Prof. Chirovsky shows them as part of the Ukrainian socio-economic development.

To give an example of Prof. Chirovsky's research, turn to any chapter and you will find headings of this kind: (Chapter 12) "Political Background and Social Structure," "Political Developments—Ethnic and Social Changes—Cossacks—Nobility—Peasantry—Townsppeople—Foreigners—Eastern and Southern Frontiers—Western Ukraine."

An example of the writing style is provided by the following quotation:

"At the beginning of the 16th century the Kozak Host was organized in the South of Ukraine, beyond the cataracts of the River Dnieper, as a separate political military order under the nominal supremacy of the Polish kings. From its earliest days, however, the Host identified itself as a leading political factor in the national life of the Ukrainian people; it was the champion of their cause and the defender of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church..." (Page 221).

Smooth writing, easy writing, welcome writing. Truly a writer with a gift—the gift of making an economic historical subject interesting.

Page 212 reveals Prof. Chirovsky's research ability. He writes about the *grosz* or roughly translated, "penny." He states: "In order to get at least some approximate conception of the value of the Polish *grosz* (penny), the following price list in the year 1580 may serve as an indication:

"average daily wage for an artisan	1 penny
daily pay for an infantryman	1¼ pennies
daily pay for a cavalryman	2 pennies
a carp	1 penny
a sturgeon	2 pennies
a carload of wood	7½ pennies
a jar of wine	45 pennies
a hundredweight of wheat	50 pennies
a head of sugar	180 pennies

Most interesting figures. Compare them with today's prices.

What possesses a man to write about the old Ukraine? In this case, Prof. Chirovsky was born in the Ukrainian world. He was educated at the University of Graz and the Ukrainian Free University of Munich. He received his doctorates from both institutions. His knowledge of Russian, Polish, German, French, and English made it possible for him to read original documents at Columbia and Seton Hall Universities and the New York Public Library at 42nd Street. In reading and writing time, the task took him six years.

The professor dedicates his book to his three sons, and adds: "that they might learn of the country of their ancestors." For this dedication, the world is richer in the knowledge of the old Ukraine as well as the new Ukraine.

The professor's last chapter is called "Ukraine After 1781—A Captive Nation, A Contiguous Colony." The title reflects the sadness of a nation that is "down, but not out."

The last 60 pages of this 432-page book contain notes of explanation. In many instances, the "notes" are as interesting to read as the text.

This is a scholarly piece of writing, but don't let that word—"scholarly"—scare you. You do not get the feeling of "long hair" or "learned." You get the feeling of delightful reading—delightful because the book tells about a nation's background in a concise and graphic manner.

Seton Hall University

Stanley Strand

STUDIES ON THE ROMAN-SLAVONIC RITE IN POLAND. By Karolina Lanckoronska. *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, 161, Point. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, Roma 1961, pp. VIII, 194, map.

In her work, the author, Miss Karolina Lanckoronska, uses sources which offer evidence of the existence of the Slavonic rite from the ninth to the twelfth centuries in the southern and eastern parts of present-day Poland. She identifies this rite as "Roman-Slavonic," although in the sources cited mention is made of "Greek paintings" in churches in Lublin, Sandomierz, etc. (pp. 7-8), of "Greek traditions" in the oldest dedications of the Wawel churches (p.29), and despite the narrative of Dlugossius on the church in Wislica—"cum cripta subterranea, in priscorum et praesertim Graecorum more" (pp. 44, 167)—and despite the fact that in the study of the same matter by the Rev. Jozef Uminski (pp. 157-9) mention is made of Byzantine influence and the tradition concerning "Greek chasubles."

Miss Lanckoronska has formulated her hypothesis as follows: the Roman-Slavonic metropolitanate, which undoubtedly did exist in Poland, was not originally a Polish ecclesiastical province created for Poland, but was partly situated in Polish territory at the beginning of Poland's history. It embraced all those lands which until 907 belonged to the Great Moravian State, for it was a part of the Moravian Metropolitanate of St. Methodius (p. 28). Father Uminski assumes that this Metropolitanate was founded at the time of Boleslaw the Great (p. 161); Miss Lanckoronska, however, is nearer to the truth, because this Polish king was under the influence of the German Catholic bishops, and one of them, Reibern, was sent by him with his daughter, who was married to the Ruthenian prince Sviatopolk, and in 1022 Boleslaw persecuted the Christians of Slavonic rite (pp. 100-04).

Miss Lanckoronska, like other Polish historians, has written about "the Polish lands along the rivers Dniester and Bug" (p. 42), although no traces of the Polish Roman Catholic population before 1349 can be found there. On the contrary, the population in the western Carpathian Mountains in the lands of the Cracovian archbishopric was a Ruthenian one with its Lemkian dialect, common to the northern and southern sides of the Carpathian Mountains, a transition from Ukrainian to the Slovak. Although this Lemkian region undoubtedly belonged to Poland from the eleventh century on little Polish language influence may be found in this dialect. Miss Lanckoronska has failed to mention that Ibrahim Ibn Jacub and *Dagome Judex*, cited by her, excluded from the Poland of Mieszko I its later southern province (including Cracow). In accordance with the narrative of Ibrahim Ibn Jacub, Cracow belonged to the Czech state in the second half of the tenth century, and the neighboring Ruthenian merchants came to this city; the state of Mieszko was north of it. In the document *Dagome Judex* the boundary common to Poland and Rus extended from Cracow to Prussia. Mieszko I and his Polish tribe were converted to Roman Catholicism in the basin of the Warta River; this territory was named the "Great Poland," and the prominent Polish historian, Oswald Balcer, has explained the meaning of the term "Great Poland" as "Old Poland." Boleslaw the Great subjected the Silesians, Vistulians, and Mazovians, who had accepted the Christianity of the Slavonic rite before their annexation to Poland. The Polish anthropologist, Jan Czekanowski, expressed the opinion that the Mazovians were an East Slavic tribe, subjected by the Poles and Polonized. The locality "Iwaniska" between Sandomierz and Wislica furnishes a language similarity between the Vistulian dialect and the Old Ruthenian language. The Polonization of the Silesians, Vistulians, and Mazovians spread parallel with the Roman Catholic faith; the remnants of the believers according to the Slavonic rite joined the Ruthenians. The Ruthenians sent expeditions against Poland in behalf of these remnants of the Slavonic rite, namely in 1135 to Wislica (p. 89), and later in 1205 by the Ruthenian king Roman, to Zawichost. His son, the Ruthenian king Danylo, in 1244-46 occupied the district of Lublin; his son Lev also occupied this district in 1290-1300. The Ruthenian *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* called the population of the Lublin district "*Iakhove-ukrayiniane*" (the Liakhs-Ukrainians). Their remnants joined the Ruthenian people at the time when the Ruthenian provinces (districts of Lviv, Belz, Kholm, Podlachia, Volhynia, Podolia, Bratslav, and Kiev) belonged to Poland. In the seventeenth century there were a few Ruthenian churches in Lublin with their famous church brotherhoods. Therefore, it was at Lublin in 1680 that the Uniate and Orthodox Ruthenians carried

on their conversations towards mutual understanding and good-will (*Colloquium Lublinense*). An envoy of the Holy Roman Empire in Moscow in 1517 and 1525, Slegmund Herberstein, stated in his *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* that "*Russia montes Sermaticos haud longe a Cracovia attingit.*"¹

The Polish church dignitary, Canon Jan Krasinski, stated the same: "*Roxolania, quae Carpathios montes non longe ab urbe attingit Cracovia.*"² Evidently, the Ruthenians lived in the sixteenth century in the Carpathian Mountains close to Cracow.

The author has followed the lead of the Polish historian, Henryk Paszkiewicz, in applying the name "Bug" to the Boh River (p. 68), but she has not touched upon the interpretation of the text in the Prague Privilege of 1085-86 by the prominent Polish historian, Stanislaw Zakrzewski, who had found the geographical names "Bug" and "Ztir" in the neighborhood of the Wag River in Slovakia more in accordance with the text of this document. Miss Lanckoronska does not accept his interpretation, nor do other Polish historians, because it is not consistent with their national chauvinism.

After the death of the Ruthenian prince Volodymyr the Great, Boleslaw the Great used the opportunity to occupy the "Cherven' (Czerwień) cities" between the Bug and Wieprz Rivers, while Peremyshl' (Przemysl) was occupied by the Hungarians. Therefore, in the *Annales Hildesheimenses* under the date of 1031 the son of King St. Stephen, Emerik, is titled as "the prince of the Ruthenians." Peremyshl' (Przemysl) was occupied by Poland only in 1069; in 1084, however, it was the capital of the Ruthenian appanage principality. The statement of Lanckoronska (p. 49) that Przemysl belonged in the eleventh-twelfth centuries to Sandomierz has, therefore, no basis in truth.

The occupation of Galicia in 1349 by Casimir the Great is viewed by Lanckoronska as "the lost Eastern territories returned again to Poland" (p. 143). The region of Lviv had never previously belonged to Poland. Lanckoronska here follows H. Paszkiewicz, who saw in Casimir's title, "*Russiae dominus et haeres*" (*The Origin of Russia*, London-New York 1954, p. 96), "an obvious proof of the vivid awareness, still persisting in the XIVth century, that those lands formed a part of Poland in the early years of its history."

The reviewer has cited sources which deny the dependency of the Vistulians and Mazovians on Poland in the early years of its history, indicating that the Polish state of Mieszko I had no common boundary with Galicia. Casimir the Great accepted the title "*Russiae dominus at haeres*" with the consent of the Hungarian kings Charles Robert and Louis I, who regarded themselves as hereditary kings of Galician Rus, inasmuch as in 1205 the Hungarian king Andrew II had accepted the title "King of Galicia and Lodomeria." Charles Robert and his son, Louis I, temporarily renounced their "hereditary rights" to Galicia in behalf of Casimir; the last Galician-Volhynian prince, Boleslaw-Yury II Troydenovich, sprang from the Mazovian branch of the Polish Piast dynasty, although neither he nor his related Mazovian princes enjoyed any friendship with Casimir, who in 1339 warred against Boleslaw-Yury II in alliance with Charles Robert. The author may find information on

¹ The first edition, Vienna, 1549. The text is taken from *Historiae Ruthenicae Scriptores Exteri Saeculi XVI*, ed. W. Starzewski, Berlin, 1841, vol. I, p. 4.

² *Polonia-Mizleri de Kolof Historiarum Poloniae et Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae Collectio Magna*, I, Warsaw 1761, p. 418. The first edition of this publication appeared in 1544.

the relations of the Mazovian Piasts with Casimir in the study of the Polish historian, Ewa Maleczynska, on the Mazovian princely vassalage (*Kziazeczo lenno mazowieckie*).

The reviewer's remarks apply only to collateral incidents, because the main problem is well elaborated upon by the author. These studies of Lanckoronska are important and valuable contributions to the history of the beginning of Christianity in Poland, as well as of the development of the Polish nationality and Poland's relations to its Western (German) and Eastern (Ruthenian—Ukrainian) neighbors.

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NICHOLAS ANDRUSIAK

UCRAINICA IN AMERICAN AND FOREIGN PERIODICALS

"L'ESODO DI UN POPOLO UNITO NELLA FEDE," and article by Archbishop Ivan Buchko. *L'Osservatore Della Domenica*, Vatican City, November 18, 1962.

This particular issue of the Vatican publication is devoted to concise descriptions of all the rites of the Catholic Church. Its thirty-two pages are filled with representative pictures of prelates, ceremonies, and statistical material. One large section appears on the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Written by Archbishop Ivan Buchko, this article describes the history of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. A statistical breakdown is given on the worldwide distribution of members in the Church. The largest diocese in our hemisphere is Philadelphia with 160,912 recorded. The article is bordered by pictures of all the Ukrainian bishops who attended the first session of the Ecumenical Council in 1962. A photo of Archbishop Joseph Slipy appears, although the Metropolitan was still held at the time imprisoned in the USSR.

"THE CRAFT OF INTELLIGENCE," an article by Allen Dulles. *Harper's* magazine, New York, N. Y., April 1963.

Fascinating and intriguing are the appropriate adjectives for this article, written by the former director of our Central Intelligence Agency. The article is actually a book-length supplement, and the material presented here will form a major part of Mr. Dulles' forthcoming book. The writer covers a wide range of cases, topics, and personalities in this absorbing article alone.

There are many statements and points in the article that invite much criticism. For example, in one place Mr. Dulles says, "A new kind of threat, practically unknown in the days before the Communist revolution, has put an added strain on our intelligence capabilities. It is the Communist attempt—which we began to comprehend after World War II—to undermine the security of free countries" (p. 132). This is a most unfortunate conception disclosed by the writer because it reveals his unfamiliarity with Russia's traditional cold war techniques, going as far back as the 15th century. On the level of espionage, he does better when he states that the "secret police was not the invention of the Soviets and even the foreign arm of the KGB has precedents in Russian history" (p. 136).

Aside from vulnerable points of historical conception and judgment, Mr. Dulles' article is superlative in the story-telling department. He relates the murder of *Otaman* Petlura in Paris in 1926, and he gives an accurate account of the more recent murders of exiled Ukrainian nationalists at the hands of Khrushchev. In relating the murders of Lev Rebet in 1957 and Stepan Bandera in 1959, Mr. Dulles accurately holds that "In the most recent era of 'socialist legality,' proclaimed by Khrushchev in 1956, a later generation of exiled leaders was wiped out."

"THE RECOGNITIONISTS, THE THREAT TO AMERICAN SECURITY," an essay by Arthur W. Radford, Admiral, U. S. N. (Ret.) *The Committee of One Million*, New York, N. Y. 1963.

With the so-called rift between Moscow and Peiping in great discussion, some elements in this country have been arguing for a recognition of the oppressive Peiping regime. The lure is supposed to be a further intensification of the rift. For the past seven months many Americans have been deceived by this lure.

The writer of this striking essay was the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under the Eisenhower Administration. His experience in the field of strategy and American security is rich and unique. The experience is brought to bear in this essay. Formerly, as Admiral Radford points out, the Red China lobby in this country sought recognition for the Red Chinese totalitarians on grounds "that Chinese Communism was not really Communism at all but rather 'agrarian reform.'" Then the ground shifted to the pretension of Red China as "an industrial and agricultural giant." When this was exploded, we were told that "we must deal with Red China if we were to have effective international disarmament." Now the dream hovers about a Sino-Russian split.

In one comprehensive sentence, the author sums up his position. He urges the reader to bear in mind these three points: "(1) except for Taiwan and the Pescadores, China is an occupied country, like Ukraine, and the people captives of an alien regime," (2) World War III commenced some time ago between the United States and the Moscow-Peiping Axis, and (3) Red China seeks to spread its imperialism throughout all Asia.

THE ROOTS OF RUSSIA," an article by Lev E. Dobriansky. *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, Annapolis, Md., April 1963.

This scholarly journal presents a lengthy article on the fundamental subject of traditional Russian imperialism. The analytic approach to the centuries-old problem is an institutional one, dealing with economics, history and politics in an integrated treatment. The writer systematically covers current misconceptions about 'Russia', the institutional background of the USSR—which entails Russian imperialism and colonialism, totalitarian despotism and tyranny, and the ideologic masks of Russian Messianism—the Russian and Non-Russian Revolutions of 1917, USSR as Moscow's primary empire, and the Non-Russian centrifuge in the new Russian empire.

Sharply critical of many quarters in this country, the article attempts to furnish a structure of thought for our relations with the Russians. Dominant perspectives and ideas are concisely set forth, along with suggested ramifications for logical reasoning and sound action. The captioned introduction to the article contains its essence: "For five centuries, in the name of 'Holy Mother Russia,' the heirs of Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great have committed imperialistic expansion and totalitarian despotism under a variety of expedient ideologies. We cannot dam the red tide by damning it." Rather, suggests the author, we must try to understand a people who are not at all like us.

The pictorial display in the article is quite impressive. The pictures accentuate the literary points made.

"ROMAN CATHOLICISM, KREMLIN COOPERATION," a commentary. *Time* magazine, New York, February 22, 1963.

Much of the Free World was surprised by the unexpected release of Archbishop Joseph Slipy at the beginning of this year. The spiritual head of Ukraine's Catholics had been imprisoned in Siberia by the Russian totalitarians. This commentary views the event as a gain for Pope John's policy of easing tensions with Moscow.

Augustin Cardinal Bea, chief of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, and Gustavo Cardinal Testa, secretary of the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Church, are described as the two responsible for the Archbishop's release. According to this account, Testa met with the two Russian Orthodox observers at the Vatican Council last November, informed them of the Pope's disavowal of the protest lodged by a group of Ukrainian bishops against their presence, and brought up the subject of Slipy's imprisonment. The Russians promised to do something about this, and the result was the sudden release.

One cannot deny the success of these negotiations. The fundamental question is whether in the long run Moscow will realize the decisive net gain as it focuses its deceptive policy of peaceful coexistence on the Vatican and progressively undermines the bulwark of anti-communism in the religious field.

"LA LIBERATION DE MGR. SLIPYJ, METROPOLITE DES UKRAINIENS," a report. *La Libre Belgique*, Brussels, Belgium, February 21, 1963.

The release of Archbishop Joseph Slipy from imprisonment in the Soviet Union last February received world-wide publicity and comment. This Belgian paper was one among hundreds that not only reported the event but also evaluated it in terms of cold war developments. Its special correspondent in Rome reports and comments on this unexpected development.

Further interesting material about Slipy—his knowledge of the Italian language, the high regard Pope Pius XII has for him and the like—is reported in this account. Particular stress is placed on the uncertainty of Slipy's return to Ukraine. There are pros and cons on this issue. Most reports suggest the Metropolitan's desire to return. Whether Moscow would find it in its interest to permit this readmission is another matter.

"WHAT BENEFACTORS!," an article by F. Makivchuk. *Radyanska Ukraina*, Kiev, Ukraine, January 24, 1963.

Following the highly successful celebrations in this country of the 45th Anniversary of Ukraine's independence, a heavy barrage of vicious criticism and protest appeared in both Russian and Ukrainian publications. This amusing article spews its venom on Rockefeller and Senator Scott of Pennsylvania. The Potemkin writer expresses his sense of hurt about their declarations on Ukraine's lost freedom and independence.

It's most noteworthy that similar articles appeared in *Radyanska Kultura* ("Reply to Benefactors," Kiev, January 24, 1963), *Molod Ukrainy* ("About Long Arms!," Kiev, January 26, 1963), *Literaturna Ukraina* ("An Answer to 'Benefactors,'" Kiev, January 25, 1963), *Pravda* ("What Benefactors!" Moscow, January 26, 1963) and *Izvestia* ("His Tongue Will Not Bring Rockefeller to Kiev," Moscow, January 24, 1963). Many more diatribes followed, showing an ostensible indignation over American interest in the Russian colony, Ukraine.

"MR. DEAN RUSK, 'ENGLISH JARGON,' UNESCO, POLITICS AND BYELO-RUSSIA," a pamphlet by Wiktor Ostrowski. London, Great Britain, 1962.

In a medley of brief articles the writer strikes at all the fundamental misconceptions nurtured in the West about Russia, the Soviet Union, and the captive non-Russian nations in the USSR. The first article begins with the title, "Russian Imperialist Tendencies Supported by the West." A later piece is "The Terminological Confusion." All parts of this instructive pamphlet are designed to aid the average reader in overcoming these various political and historical misconceptions.

Mr. Ostrowski wastes no time in using the now famous statement by Secretary Dean Rusk as his prime example. Almost two years ago the Secretary fumbled badly when he wrote, "The United States Government's position is weakened by any action which confuses the rights of formerly independent peoples or nations with the status of areas, such as Ukraine, Armenia or Georgia, which are traditional parts of the Soviet Union. Reference to the latter areas places the United States Government in the undesirable position of seeming to advocate the dismemberment of an historical state." This blind statement cannot be repeated too often. It discloses a grave misunderstanding of the USSR at the very top levels of our government.

The fallacy of the Rusk conception is more than adequately shown by the selected material of facts and authoritative testimony provided in the pamphlet. The dates of declared independence by the non-Russian nations in the USSR are enumerated; a long quote from Dr. Dobriansky's foreword to Dr. Roman Smal-Stocki's book on *The Captive Nations* is directed at the Secretary; and a well-founded running criticism is made of certain standard books on "Russia" and also the UNESCO publications. It is unfortunate that the writer didn't have the opportunity to examine the utterly scandalous UNESCO publication, *Equality of Rights between Races and Nationalities in the USSR*. This book of Soviet Russian fables—naturally prepared by bought "scholars"—offers evidence of Moscow's profound fear to have the truth about its captive non-Russian nations in the USSR disseminated throughout the world.

"THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST STATE," an editorial in *Radyanske Pravo*, Sept.-Oct., 1962. Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press, "Prolog," New York, January 1963.

Quite a number of interesting articles and editorials appear in this valuable digest published by Prolog. The reader in English can, with a minimum of background, easily discern the dialectical and often-times dishonest twists of interpretation that are contained in the Soviet Ukrainian productions. This editorial seeks to portray "the truth of life" about the UkSSR, "an independent and sovereign nation." Significantly, it stresses, "The truth of life reveals that the slanderous statements of the American and other falsifiers written about Soviet Ukraine are untrue..."

In a futile exercise of soothing their own consciences, the writers attempt to show that Ukraine is independent. They point out, "The Soviet Government of Russia, in the first months of the revolution, recognized in its decrees the national and state independence of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Finnish, Polish, Armenian, Georgian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian and other peoples of Russia..." Mind you, they're supposed to be "peoples of Russia." The fact is that imperialist

Moscow, now red rather than white, had no choice but to recognize the genuine national independent movements in these non-Russian countries. Some of them were soon raped thereafter; others received similar treatment twenty years later. Using the social class strategem of interpretation, the editorial conceals the earlier rape by Moscow in these terms, "The Bolsheviks of Ukraine headed the struggle of the toiling masses for the overthrow of the Provisional Government and of the counter-revolutionary Ukrainian Central Rada, and for the transfer of all power to the Soviets..."—i.e. to colonial Moscow.

"CAPTIVE UKRAINE AND 'HOLY MOTHER RUSSIA' COMPLEX," a letter to editor by Lev E. Dobriansky. *The Evening Star*, Washington, D. C. February 14, 1963.

Three long columns on the editorial page of this newspaper are devoted to a refutation of the positions taken by two previous letters on the general subject of the captive non-Russian nations in the USSR. Written by a Gregory Tschebotarioff and a Russell Forrest, the two letters contained essentially Soviet Russian arguments for the captive status of Ukraine and Cossackia.

Point by point, the writer of this lengthy letter shows the striking similarity of language between the two letters and Moscow's propaganda, the identity of arguments concerning Ukrainian independence, and the common targets of attack. The letter makes it quite clear that "As we continue to flush out the exponents of the 'Holy Mother Russia' complex—those who view Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia, etc. as 'traditional parts of the Soviet Union,'—the ground will be set for the exposure of the worst imperio-colonial system in modern history, the Russian one in the USSR itself."

"THE SOVIET UNION AND THE RIGHT OF PEOPLES AND NATIONS TO SELF-DETERMINATION," a pamphlet. Federal Ministry For All-German Questions, Bonn/Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany, 1962.

Going back to World War I, this study of the principle of self-determination demonstrates the prostituted use of the principle by the Russians. The study is well organized and incisive. It contains all the essential data from Wilson to Roosevelt, and applies the principle to the case of East Germany.

An important section is devoted to "The Russian Empire 1917: From 'Freedom of Secession' to 'Freedom of Union.'" Many poignant observations are made. For example, referring to Lenin's 1917 *Declaration on the Rights of the Russian Peoples*, the writers state, "However, at the time this Declaration was made the old Czarist Empire had already to all intents and purposes collapsed, so that the Declaration was no longer able, nor did it need, to confer anything at all, but only corresponded to a state of affairs already existing in fact. Finland, the Baltic States, Poland, White Russia, Ukraine and the Caucasian peoples had broken with Russia, declared their independence and set up anti-Soviet Governments." This valuable study is replete with numerous other sound and accurate observations.

"A CONGRESSMAN REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON," a report by Bill Bray. *Sun Commercial*, Vincennes, Indiana, January 17, 1963.

Congressman William Bray is the author of the current work, *Russian Frontiers: From Muscovy to Khrushchev*. In this report he traces the fight for a special House Committee on Captive Nations, quotes Rusk's letter to Chairman

Smith of the Rules Committee, quotes Dr. Dobriansky on the captive nations, and concludes that many Americans are falling prey to Moscow's campaign to deflect attention from the captive nations.

As the Congressman puts it, "But through the ages Russia has been able to mellow her adversaries against achieving all-out victory. And she has again worked indirectly through the influence of well-meaning and dedicated Americans to achieve her goal— in this instance to discourage the captive peoples who are willing to work and die for freedom." Those who have opposed a special House Committee on Captive Nations might well take these words to heart.

"THE CAPTIVE NATIONS AND THE WEST," an article by Reuben Darbinian.
The Armenian Review, Boston, Mass. Winter, 1962.

An outline of developments surrounding the Captive Nations Week Resolution is furnished in this well-written article. The contents of the resolution are examined, and the five chief organizations working in behalf of the captive nations are listed. Also, the presidential proclamations are considered.

The writer, however, expresses pessimism over the ability of our Government to go beyond these sympathetic gestures toward the captive nations. He feels the children of parents who have come from the captive nations must be more politically assertive to move our officials toward a policy of deeds as well as words. This is important, of course, but there are also powers of reason and persuasion.

L. E. D.

RAGE OF MOSCOW OVER UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY OBSERVANCES IN U.S.



These are the front pages of four Ukrainian and two Russian newspapers of Kiev and Moscow attacking observances of the 45th anniversary of Ukraine's independence in the United States Congress in January, 1963. (Cf. editorial, "Ukrainian Lives and Fights On," page 9-10 in this issue of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*).

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